

CHAPTER IV.

EUSTACE, who, at the siege of Jerusalem had stood beside Godfrey¹ on his tower, like a lion by a lion, say the chroniclers,² as soon as he learned of both his brothers being dead, felt it was his own turn next, so came as far as Puglia to embark; for many held him the natural heir—nor does he seem to have been one who would have avoided that inheritance of glorious danger. But he was long returned to France, and had only left it during the short interval of the first crusade, and now he was separating from many dear old friends, and European con-

¹ Michaud: Hist., i. 335.

² Godfrey was the eldest. Ego Godefridus, &c., fratribus meis Balduino et Eustachio. Anno 1094. Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 352. Quæ peperit Godefridum de Bullione postea Regem Hierosolimitanum, Balduinum et Eustachium. Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 347, (Note e) ex. annual Belg. Ægidii di Roya.

nections and habits, which was hard; so it might not have wounded him cruelly to be spared the sacrifice. Whatever were his inward feelings, as soon as informed that his cousin had already been chosen and put into possession, and would probably make some resistance before leaving the throne, he at once exclaimed, "God forbid my ambition should cause dissensions in our family," and forthwith hurried back to the West.¹

Baldwin de Bourg, who was fortuitously at Jerusalem, as has been related, was chosen to succeed—chiefly from the time it would cost to wait for the arrival of Eustace an argument pushed strenuously by Joscelin, Lord of Tel-bacher, who was related to the new king; who if they had formerly quarrels, all these were now forgotten, and Baldwin de Bourg giving Edessa to Joscelin, assumed the Jerusalem crown himself, under the title of Baldwin II.² So he followed Godfrey's example, by administering justice according to the *assizes*. It was Easter of 1118, when he was solemnly proclaimed by the barons in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and banquet at Solomon's Palace. Penury of money, that assailed him at the very outset of his reign, was to be his permanent scourge, as well as

¹ W. of Tyre. Bib. Crois., i. 142.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 59.—Arab. Chron.: 38.

of his successors, and the cause of many of the disasters of the Latin kingdom. Terrible fights near Antioch, against an irruption of Moslems from Mesopotamia.¹ A prince of Antioch fell in the place called *field of blood*—very proper name for a battle.² That Baldwin's first act as a sovereign was to go there and gain a victory, was considered a good omen. And so it was, regarding what was fought immediately after his return to his capital. But if scarcely one of the many conflicts in Palestine since Godfrey's reign, had been without a corps of Hospitallers, "who were the nerve of every Christian army," says the Moslem,³ this of 1119, in the sense of being their first pitched battle so near Jerusalem, may be called their first field; but certainly in no other. The marshal that led them that day was a noted warrior, who must have acquired his experience in those more distant, and perhaps lesser actions that were very numerous, but all after the crusade, at which he could not have been, without making him far too old; even decrepid and above 106, which is not to be easily credited. That day the Christians won a bloody victory, covering themselves with glory. But, in

¹ Arab. Chron., 39.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 60.

³ Arab. Chron., 116, Note 1.

the meantime, Gerard was dying at Jerusalem—a most placid end. It is not quite certain whether he died in the last of 1120, or in the first of 1121; but that only makes the difference of a few days.¹ His ails, that had been always increasing, now left him a blessed respite of several weeks before he expired. Of Baldwin's success, he seems never to have had a doubt. And, if several of his knights had fallen in the conflicts, and that some others might do so at present, yet he rejoiced they had gone direct to Paradise. The review was consolatory in the highest degree; why should he not make it? It was his duty to make it. Before him his faithful secretary held a long roll containing the list of the knights from almost every country under heaven, where there were Christians, and deeds of gift, and regular establishments of the order made during the life of the founder, in many remarkable places of Europe and Asia. Paoli gives a list of forty, with regard to which the legal proofs still remain; yet how few that remain, in comparison of what are lost!² Probably of as great antiquity are those of Gozlar (in the Hartz) and in Palestine, Laodicea, Tortosa, and several others,

¹ Vaissette: *Hist. de Languedoc*, ii. 362.—*Cod. Dipl. Geros.*, i. 330.—P. A. Paoli: 192.

² P. A. Paoli: whole three chapters xvii., xviii., xix.

but direct documentary proofs are wanting. Such extension supposes many knights.¹ A glorious answer to the Papal and Norman circulars. That roll has perished; but the Paolis, with the perspicacity of a Leibnitz, and the industry of a Muratori, have collected several ancient documents, of which this abridgment allows but culling a few, chiefly English, as well as can be made out of names that are strangely *traduced* into Italian, or Latin, or old French. A more accurate eye will discover others—to the glory of our most illustrious families—under their horrible disguises.

Sir William Peter, *Chancellor in 1126.*²

Sir Allan, *a Castellan in 1121.*

Sir Fulk, *Constable.*³

Sir N. Gardiner, soon *Prior of England.*⁴

Sir ——— Peters, *Treasurer.*

Sir ——— Gerard, *Cupbearer.*

Sir Gilbert Malemmano.

Sir Peter Alemanno, *Prior of Constantinople.*

Sir ——— Gerard, *Master in Acre.*

Sir ——— Ponzio, *Guardian of the Sick.*

Sir William Williams, *Preceptor in Antioch.*

¹ P. A. Paoli: 406.

² Id.: 412.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. Num. x.

³ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 42, Num. xli.

⁴ P. A. Paoli: 315.—Appendix, xxx.

Sir Bernard D'Ansillan, *Prior in Toulouse.*

Sir Robert Richards, Junior, *Master in England.*

Sir N. I. Gardiner, but why *called* of Naples, yet not *Napoli* in Italy, but in Palestine the ancient *Sichem*,¹ converted by the Greeks into Neapolis, and by the Syrians into Naplouse? Perhaps he was lord of it; but that he was brother of the Prior of England demonstrates his country; long afterwards to be Grand Master.²

Sir Raymond du Puys, *Marshal*, and soon first of the Grand Masters.

The most material thing was to enter into the spirit of the founder. But that was not well reflected on (says Paoli) by the historians of the order; for the oldest statute found being under his successor, they held he founded the institution; but on the contrary, had there been change, it would have been said in these documents.³ Yet that there was a regular rule before 1113, is clear from the expression, that the head of the order must be chosen by the *knights professed*, which implies a rule, and approves it, which was written and lost, but orally lived in its members, and quite enough of documents survive to permit us to add, and in

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 440.—Michaud : Orient., v. 467.—B. Poujoulat : ii. 451.

² P. A. Paoli : 427.

³ P. A. Paoli : 196.

the minds of all Christendom. His successor, before he began to legislate, writes what decidedly supposes a rule; and we find knights in Gerard's time refusing to fight with a Christian, because they declare it would be contrary to their vow to take arms against any but Saracens alone; full proof they had made a vow, and therefore *professed* a rule.¹ All the companions of Gerard that we know of, were persons of the highest rank; no doubt but there were clerical members in the order from the very beginning, and that they formed a separate class, among whom were an Archbishop of Arles, 1117, and a priest of a very noble family in England as early as 1100. But as to the original creation, and the first twelve years, they have been spoken of before; so whatever the poor expiring founder might think on, let us endeavour to avoid repetitions.

About 1113 (at latest), the first Roger and his son had left a deed for permitting the free export of all things for the use of the Hospitallers and the Holy Land, and that the Hospitallers might go where they liked by sea or land, and that the ships to receive them should never have to pay pilot or freight; and also in Bari, and the other cities and towns of those parts, the Hospitallers

¹ P. A. Paoli; 200

shall have warehouses, under lock and key, to preserve their rents, and sell them when they please, for the use and necessities of their establishments in Palestine or elsewhere; and if that deed itself perished, we have extant another which confirms it, by William, King of Sicily in 1179.¹ In 1115 the order had a house in Arles,² and likewise near Narbonne, as a document in the archives of Toulouse shows (or showed half a century ago), and if Vaisette³ thought it regarded the Templars, or the Holy Sepulchre, the Hospitallers were often called of the Holy Sepulchre, and sometimes of the Temple, in those remote times, which could lead to no mistake then; for in 1115 the order of Templars did not exist,⁴ and were not declared a regular incorporation till thirteen years later, and had their first creation in 1119.⁵ The priory at Constantinople dates 1119, that is, a year before Gerard's death; so that the prior that writes to Louis Seventh of France, appears to have seen Gerard, and lived the whole of Raymond's reign.⁶ The

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 227, Num. clxxxiv.

² Id.: i. 301, Num. xxi.

³ P. A. Paoli: 398.

⁴ Michaud: Hist., ii. 490.

⁵ Id.: 144.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 467.—W. of Tyre.—Bosio, par. 1, lib. i., anno 1118.

⁶ P. A. Paoli: 313, 314.

English priory was then one of the greatest in the order. Sir William Allan was prior after Gardiner.¹ Confusion on this point is natural in northern Europe, from knowing little, and caring nothing about the origin of either Hospitallers or Templars; but turning away with a sneering smile, that says it would be a complete loss of time for them to inform themselves of such antiquarian frivolities.² The Wurzburgese on the other hand, are full of disdain that little is said about Germany, although many Germans were in the first crusade.³ Of the servants-at-arms, since lay-brothers date no further back than the twelfth century, they may rather derive from servants-at-arms, than these from those; and of the aggregated and Hospitalleresses, we have already shown they made an integral part of the order from the first, as far as aggregation goes. Many of the first crusaders had brought their wives with them, as a Count of Poitiers; but immediately after it, a number of females came to Jerusalem, of the highest rank, as a Countess of Holland, with whom the Roman lady Agnes; as certain as several historical facts; not quite proved, yet on as firm ground as many.⁴

¹ P. A. Paoli: 315.—Appendix, xxx. ² P. A. Paoli: 383.

³ Id.: 382. ⁴ Id.: 352, 366, and passim.

But although that other body, the Donati, were not an integral part of the order, but strangers taken into its service; still they are a very ancient corps, and reaching to the founder's time with various privileges; linked to the knights, but not their equals in any way, nor members of their confraternity.¹ We have no precise deeds earlier than Gerard's successor; but these positively show that the Donati had pre-existed.² There is their formula of reception, as old as the thirteenth century,³ in the Vatican. They were accepted for a time gratis, to merit to be eventually fed and clad by the order, to wear a cross somewhat resembling that of the knights (with a quarter less, difference introduced posteriorly in 1160 at least), in hopes of being considered superior to hired servants or stipendiary soldiers.⁴ In the documents are to be found two Donati, one in London, in 1104, or thereabouts, and another in 1128, who gave himself (*dono*) and all he possessed to the order. A Count of Barcelona was a Donato some time before 1131, since he died in that year.⁵ There were *Donate* too for the sisterhood of Hospitalleresses.⁶ There were *Turco-*

¹ P. A. Paoli: 339.

² Id.: 340.

³ Id.: 341.

⁴ Id.: 342.

⁵ Id.: 343.

⁶ Id.: 344.—Appendix, Num. xxxi., xxxviii., xlii.

pili also under Gerard.¹ Besides the mercenaries of that name, and the commander himself was a knight called *Turcopolier* (General-in-Chief of the cavalry) a title soon for ever united, not with the Prior of England, as Vertot says,² but with England, as always an Englishman. The prior mostly resided in his priory, and often old, and sometimes a clergyman; but the *turcopolier* was usually with fighting men in the East. Not the *capo*, but the *second* English dignity. There were no worn-out veterans yet. Then naturally the grand masters tried to have as many knights as possible on the field of battle; and one way of effecting that, was to confide commanderies of all civil and financial employments in Europe to the clerical class. But that was only at first; after a few years, we find such places occupied by the knights themselves, to whom, in the usual course, they belonged. There was a spirit of fraternization all through the first crusade, which survived it, and Gerard shared it eminently. The Emperor Barbarossa himself, the hero of forty pitched battles, the only human being that could have rivalled with Cœur de Leon in war, and with the King of France in the cabinet, held

¹ P. A. Paoli: 345.

² *Titres inseparables*. Vertot: liv. xi., p. 266.—Bosio, par. 1, lib. iii. anno 1166.

that, by the right of fraternization, every knight was his brother in arms and equal. Any officer that has ever been in an action will own that equality is a feeling strongly stamped in human nature. But it in no sort interfered with the subordination required; and it comforted Gerard's mind to see that many of the superiors, which his plan implied, were already established before he died. Almoner is as early as 1117, and in 1129 another. But not everything is to be found in the few deeds left. Rather let us be thankful for having these few.

Gentlemen poor, gentlemen sick would not be used towards the indigent, either then or now, but was indeed a nobler qualification than now; and certainly meant crusaders and persons of noble birth and station. The reverse were ridiculous, or worse; a very bad and ill-timed joke. "*Signori ammalati, Signori poveri, termine in quei tempi nobilissimo.*"¹ Of chaplains or rectors, the oldest known of is in England, the chaplain of the Brisset donation, which comprised a church or chapel.² For the places certainly created by Gerard, or so very ancient that they probably were so, let us have recourse to Paoli; and we find them to be

¹ P. A. Paoli: 324.—Appendix, Num. xiv., cap. xvi.

² Id.: 325.

Præpositus, Provost or Guardian (Grand Master), High Constable, Castellan, Turcopolier, Marshal or Master-at-Arms, Cupbearer, Preceptor, Chancellor, Treasurer, Hospitaller of the Halls or Receiver of Guests, dating all equally from Gerard's time; though it is necessary sometimes to recur to universal long-established tradition. We have the exact paper too, only taking the pains to draw the just inference. Master at first denoted a very dependent rank (for there were many masters) though, with the addition of grand, it came to be assigned to the head of the order. At Acre, Vienna, various places in Germany, France, England, everywhere in which the order had houses, there were masters, masters of infantry, of archers, of fortifications, naval masters, masters of horse, at arms; there were numbers of masters, as in these days captains.¹ The Templars—who were founded at Jerusalem, eighteen years after the Hospitallers—took divers of his titles. Their very founder was called master-at-arms.² Yet the Templars assumed only one of the three duties of the Hospitaller—not hospitality, for they had no seat; but they gave their chief the title held by the other duty—the army, master-at-arms. Sir Roger Pagano was

¹ P. A. Paoli: 275.

² Id.: 276.

Gerard's first master-at-arms.¹ If he was the brother of that Sir Hugh de Pagano who founded the Templars, it is a noble origin, and agrees with the prevailing opinion that they sprang from the Hospitallers; not from their servants, as Brompton pretends, but from their knights, their knights their own illustrious equals!²

In the first pitched battle, the knights of the order were led by the then marshal, or master-at-arms, who was afterwards to become the famous Grand Master Raymond du Puys. But that Raymond was not a precise companion of Gerard's in the first crusade (as Paoli elsewhere proves), is no impediment to his having been master-at-arms, and fought while Gerard was president or provost.³ It is very probable that the celebrity gained by Raymond as marshal, may truly have given rise to his election to be the head of the order.⁴ Bosio has Revel; but that De Moulin was in 1181, is certain. Yet the sole difference is about *the grand*, which does not merit many words. The Gardiner mentioned in England, is not the same man who became grand master after De Moulin. They may have been near relations, and probably were, or even brothers; but were two different persons,

¹ P. A. Paoli : 276.

² Appendix, Num. xxxvii.

³ Id. : 280.

⁴ P. A. Paoli : 283.

one a knight, and one a priest; one celebrated for valour in Palestine, and the other for zeal and piety at home; similar only in family name, and so confused, because contemporaries and countrymen.¹ The Prior of England in 1180 and 1189 could not be the same made grand master, in 1187, in Palestine. No little error in chronology will overthrow that; but it must be avowed that the good and learned Bosio was wrong; others of course.² Nor was it a time to have an old priest, but a brave knight to replace him slain in battle. The *Preceptor*, Sir N. I. Gardiner, became Grand Master after De Moulin.³ The old, little known Papal bull of 1120 (which is given in the Appendix), fortifies much that is or shall be said.⁴ It has been insufficiently, or not at all, examined by former historians. The constable presided over the stables, and what regarded the tables and hospitality; possibly too, used to carry the standard of the order on the field and great occasions.⁵ The standard was sometimes borne by the marshal. Tudebonde the chronicler saw Bohemond's constable carry his standard in 1101; and it is likely

¹ P. A. Paoli: 816. ² Id.: 317.

³ Id.: 318.

⁴ Id.: 308.—Appendix, Num. vi.

⁵ Id.: 288.

the order continued the same fashion for a time, though constable ceased soon to be in vogue, and his functions were given to another. Matthew Paris says the order's standard-bearer had its proper name of Balnicafer; but perhaps that was afterwards.¹ The keeper or castellan, is implied in castles, and though several medals and seals belonging to many such functionaries found of late are all of Rhodes, still as Godfrey gave a castle, it follows that he also gave it a keeper. Essilia was the castle's name in 1100;² one month after the first foundation of the order, Essilia of St. Abraham, is called simply St. Abraham in Godfrey's donation, from its being close to it, perhaps an appendage of it; and many other castles in Palestine were given to the Hospitallers before 1100; and in each was a keeper, and over all there was a lord keeper. The names of two of these earliest keepers are come down to us in two documents.³ Of the *turcopolier* we have spoken already at full length. There is a fixed tradition in the order, even amongst such as have not much studied its annals, that *turcopolier* is contemporary with the founding of the order; but indeed, troops of that name were used by the Turks, and even

¹ P. A. Paoli: 289. ² Id.: 291.

³ Id.: 293.

Christian Greeks, long before the first crusade, and fought at Nice, and other places of Asia Minor. If the *turcopili* originated with the Turcomans, these were generally light cavalry, not much dissimilar from the Cossacks, though more richly accoutred, since some of them had lances with heads of gold. Forty thousand Tartars are said to have been so equipped.¹ The marshal was a military dignity, and chiefly directed the infantry.

The pincerna, or cup-bearer, and the chancellor, and the treasurer, date equally from Gerard's days.² The hospitaller of the halls, or receiver of guests, was almost always then a charge confined to one of the clergy. The preceptor was the fourth charge in the order, and was over all respecting the finances. A chronicler tells us the name was particular to the Hospitallers; for others called him procurator, or economist. But the Templars and Teutronics followed the Hospitallers in this, as in many things; and called their procurator, preceptor.³ So in speaking of them as being (to a certain extent) all three one whole in those ancient times, is only to do what they did themselves. We hear of the preceptor's being then on

¹ Chron. Corn. Zanffiet, 3.—Bib. Crois. i. 336.

² P. A. Paoli : 302. ³ P. A. Paoli : 295.

occasions an assistant to the second dignity in the order, the master-at-arms, or marshal, as early as 1155, and cited as of long standing.¹ In Dugdale, and an old chronicle in the Cottonian (now London Museum), is "the master or preceptor." And Clement IV. appears to have considered the preceptors vice-masters, both with Hospitallers and Templars.² And, when we recollect that the Pope had written to all Christendom to send them money at Jerusalem, we must conclude that the preceptor had enough to do to receive and account for such sums that were to suffice for armies, and such hospitality and charity.³ Sir Hugo de Revel, who became grand master, passed to that from this place. Also De Moulin and Gardiner had been preceptors, before elected grand masters.⁴ The marshal and *turcopolier*, though often united, existed separate under Gerard.⁵ When we add to all stated the two Papal bulls,⁶ we cannot but allow that few founders of any human society were ever so fortunate as this one, who lived to see his order rich, powerful, and glorious in so many places of Europe and Asia. Quite enough has been substantiated to vindicate his right to a station far

¹ P. A. Paoli: 296. ² Id.: 297.

³ Id.: 297. ⁴ Id.: 300.

⁵ Id.: 301. ⁶ Appendix, Num. v., viii.

above any rival in his own fraternity; not merely a brave, holy, and high-minded nobleman, but fully entitled to rank as a princely founder and sublime legislator. And after a multitude of proofs, for which there is not room here, has not Paoli a right to say? "Mine is not merely an historical truth, but an historical demonstration."¹ And if Gerard in his corps was unique in title, he was so also, I will not say in birth (many were of as high birth in that glorious order), but worth; nor is it to affirm little, since numbers illustrious for eminent worth were there among the heroic Hospitallers. Of course there was much subsequent legislation;² but indeed they were only comments on a rule already formed, and most certainly reduced to writing; nor are we for a moment to suppose that the Popes would have approved of what they had not deliberately read and submitted to their council. Some soreness had existed from the first elevation of a Latin Patriarch,³ who, having a spiritual power co-existing with that temporal one of the king's, had superiority over Antioch, that like Edessa, Tripoli, Acre, &c., was but a fief of the kingdom.

But the Antiochese archbishopric aspired to be

¹ P. A. Paoli: 457. ² Id. 215.

³ Appendix, Num. vi.

independent (or rather dominant), and sent a deputation to the Pope, who refused to alter what had been regulated by his predecessors. And the disappointment disposed an ambitious hierarchy to discharge their acrimony (but very unjustly), not on the Papacy, of which they were afraid, but on those it protected—the Hospitallers, who had nothing to do with the matter. Still, in reference to this accusation, the Legate Berengario was sent in 1115 to Jerusalem, and deposed its Patriarch.¹ Beside the rule that disappeared at Acre, or in some preceding mischance, the few we have, show that at least four other apostolical letters to Gerard have been lost.² No wonder at all; rather the wonder is that these few incontestible documents have come down to us; and if that of Lucius is in the Vatican, it is, that to have sent it then to Palestine would have been highly imprudent, seeing what a confusion that country was that time in; Jerusalem to fall in less than a year, and Acre already tottering at Saladin's approach, who was then climbing towards his ascendant.³ But when these and all the ancient records of even Gerard's successor were thought to be lost utterly, and of his successor too, then a Pope of a later epoch (Boniface VIII.) was

¹ P. A. Paoli: 310.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 549.

² Id.: 208. ³ P. A. Paoli: 212.

engaged to receive some scraps of bye-laws instead, on pretence of their forming the substance of the founder's rule, and putting them together and ascribing all the merit to another than Gerard, whom they did not mention at all. Some ignorant, and perhaps not ill-intentioned persons, procured an analogous bull; which, however, the Pontiff gave rather doubtfully, so that Paoli, on inspection of the original, suspects it, from the context, to be in part falsified by a paragraph anciently foisted in, not agreeing with what precedes, though with ink of a similar colour and identity of writing, and probably in the drawing up of the document formally for his Holiness to sign;¹ by which means the imposture was got up, and superseded the truth during several ages; and now these documentary proofs overthrow the entire production; but all is of little importance at present. The very dress of the knights is not mentioned in those scraps, as having been determined long before. Nor were the females separated as nuns (which became the case afterwards), but joined the knights at table and in the church, and by the couch of sickness, and attended on strangers of their own sex.²

That Gerard died at the age of forty-four is no ways

¹ P. A. Paoli: 213 and 214.

² P. A. Paoli: 216.

surprising; but that the distinguished personage¹ lived so long, that he expired peaceably, that his body was held in great reverence, that it was transported to Rhodes,² and thence into France, may be easily assented to; and if it was the ancient custom of the order, when possible, to elect the new grand master in presence of the corpse of the dead one, it was very likely that the marshal, who had recently gained a celebrated victory, was immediately elected to the vacant dignity. Sir Raymond du Puys, of a most noble French family—sometimes called Florentine, from its having come originally from Tuscany, or rather Lucca,³ and himself an illustrious knight—was then made head of the order.

1121 His own proclamation⁴ and a Papal rescript, prove that was in 1121;⁵ and, by the context, it was early in the January of that year.⁶ The proclamation itself presupposes a rule; how else should there be chapter—knights professed—duties to which they had sworn? Sworn duties imply a rule. Nor would oral remission do, where there was

¹ P. A. Paoli: 467.

² Id.: 476.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 330.

³ Cod. Dipl. Gros., i. 332, 335.—Bosio, par. 1, lib. i., anno 1119.

⁴ "I Raymond, on the blessed Lord Gerard's death!" Appendix, Num. x.

⁵ Appendix, Num. ix.

⁶ P. A. Paoli: 477, and passim.

a written document to be given: "Raymond ne devoit sa place qu' a l'eclat de ses vertus."¹ Then it was to his *eclat* he owed his election, and he merited it; albeit not probably quite in the sense intended. Though the Normans themselves, and the first crusade, had shown that eminent bravery, and all military talents, and a fervent spirit of religion (or what some call superstition), which are perfectly compatible, to an attentive reader that proclamation proves he considered his election alone made him a sovereign. How could that be, but that he had become the chief of a body already organised and made sovereign by universal consent? His *per gratiam Dei* has ever been a phrase consecrated to royalty.

But the East is a curious country. Events the most opposite occur almost in the same breath; triumphs and defeats in wondrous rapidity. So, in spite of the favourable omens and the late victory, we read of Turcomans ravaging Syria the very same year; but on their misconduct, the sultan having cut off their beards, this mark of ignominy so humbled and vexed them, that they all deserted to beyond the Euphrates.² Nevertheless, King Baldwin is winning battles near Aleppo in the autumn

¹ Vertot: Hist., i. 72.

² Arab. Chron. 43.

of 1121, and sent word that he was sure to take the town he was besieging; for that he had reduced it to the state "of a horse that had lost the use of his forefeet, and whom¹ his master pampers up with barley, in the hopes of selling him to advantage; the barley all eaten, the horse dies, and the sultan has neither barley nor horse." But Baldwin failed, and the Mussulman autocrat smiled with scorn. Yet his was a short-lived exultation; for, eating
1122 mutton, and melon and other fruit, his belly swelled and gave him an oppression of the chest that killed him.² But his nephew Balac, near Edessa, surprised Joscelin (to whom, as a Christian, the Mahometan deals his usual *God curse him*), and wanted him to surrender his country; but the Frank, prisoner as he was, had the courage to reply: "We and our castles are like the camel and his pack-saddle; when the camel dies—but no sooner—his pack-saddle passes to another."³ So Balac, spreading terror over both banks, went along the river like the roaring lion of Scripture, seeking whom he may devour; while he carried Joscelin with him to his hold in the north of Mesopotamia.⁴ Whereat Baldwin II. sallied forth; yet, instead of setting Joscelin free, was taken himself, and

¹ Arab. Chron., 45.

² Id.: 46.

³ Id.: 46.

⁴ Michaud: Hist. Crois., ii. 63.

consigned to share his client's captivity. But on Balac's marching against Antioch, the Karthert captives broke their bonds, and with the 1123 assistance of some Armenian deserters, murdered the whole garrison and might have escaped. "Now that we are at liberty," said the wiser count, "let us go, carrying away as much booty as we can." "But," replied the king, "I'll remain here to keep possession; and do you depart to call my troops;" and he forced Joscelin to take an oath neither to change clothes, eat flesh-meat, or drink wine, except at mass, before he came back to deliver him.¹

But Balac, hurrying east, retook the hold, and slew all the Franks, excepting Baldwin, whom he shut up in another stronger castle. When Joscelin got to Jerusalem, it was too late. Still, after various adventures, he with ten thousand men, attacked Balac in Mesopotamia, who was beaten and obliged to fly. It is said that Balac led the charge fifty several times in that battle, without being once wounded, nor had any armour, or any other weapon than sword and lance. To-day he thanked Allah fervently for his victory; on the next, had all the Christian prisoners massacred; and, on the third, had his collar bone broken by

¹ Arab. Chron., 47. "Men communicated in both species," says the Christian commentator on that passage.

an arrow, and but a moment to tear away the barb and spit on it and say, "There's a shot that kills all Mahometans." That he was slain in the battle would be then a Christian fable; still some affirm his death proceeded from Joscelin's hand, though the arrow came from the ramparts.¹ Baldwin remained a long time prisoner; five years, say some. The Saracens took this opportunity of invading Palestine. That Gardiner, who afterwards became grand master, and then was Count of Sidon,² and constable, certainly of the order, and probably of Jerusalem itself (second charge in that kingdom), and by rights regent during the king's captivity, led the Christian army, and by rights, too, the Hospitallers, their grand master being before Aleppo. Gardiner was brother or nephew to that other Gardiner who was in England as prior, and priest, and, indeed, bishop. From the name, they are often confounded, but were two separate persons.³ Far from old,⁴ he was very young, remarkably young for that charge, scarcely any more than twenty-two, at that time, Jan., 1125, since he lived till 1191.⁵ Yet what was the Christian army?⁶ In numbers very in-

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 70.—Vertot: i. 89.

² Cod. Dipl. Geros., 484.

³ P. A. Paoli: as already.

⁴ Vertot: i. 85.

⁵ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 339.

⁶ Michaud: Hist., ii. 70.

ferior, not seven thousand. The chief dependence was on two hundred Hospitallers. They, and a miracle, put to rout the Egyptian myriads. Those sombre heights had many terrific stories to tell, and glorious; let this be of the number.

Poor Gardiner, his own name is completely altered by a writer of authority, but in truth it was not D'Agrain,¹ but Grener or Grenier, as foreigners spell it.² His wife had died, but left him two sons, who grew up, and we have still the deed in which one of them confirms his father's, and that which is witnessed by his other son.³ But the ingratitude of forgetting even his name is of a piece with what mankind has always been, and perhaps will always be. Men were first ungrateful to their good God, and others have been so to them. They who were such to their Maker, may be also to each other. The Mahometans were freely plundered, having been themselves plunderers and murderers, as they are to be. Envy of the Pisans and Genoese more than anything else, appears to have decided the Venetians. The Doge landed at Acre, and went in triumph to Jerusalem. The regent

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 65. ² Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 453.

³ Id.: Id.: Num. xiii. in 1133.—Num. xxiv. in 1147. These sons write of him as dead, and he was so to them from the moment he entered the order exposed to such imminent dangers.

in Baldwin's name proposed attacking Ascalon or Tyre. But the Venetians first bargained for a church, street, and oven, in any town they assisted in taking. So a third of Tyre was promised, and it capitulated, after five months' siege, in the spring of 1125, a rich commercial place still, and defended by a range of mountains from the north-east winds, in a beautiful country, though no longer the fine Tyre of the Bible. During the siege came news of Balac's death,¹ and every one foresaw Baldwin would soon be free. However, his ransom was eighty thousand pieces of gold. Timur-tach, who liberated him, admitted him to his table, and eating and drinking together, made him a present of a royal tunic, and a cap, and buskins of gold, and the same horse on which he had been made prisoner, and when he rode away, leaving as hostages his own daughter, and Joscelin's son, and others to the number of twelve, and the first of the four portions of the money, off he went, and at once forgot his promises—"God curse him!"²

The Christian besiegers of Aleppo did everything they could to irritate the Moslem on the walls, as, taking a Koran from one of the many little mosques in the suburbs, and tearing out some of the sacred leaves, and fastening them under the

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 72. ² Arab. Chron., 50.

tail of a horse, where the animal covering them from time to time with its ordure, then the infidel began to clap his hands, and burst into loud fits of laughter in derision of Islam.¹ Also at Moussul there were many Assassins, or Battenians; for the Moslem, and famous Turcoman captain, Borsaki, on his way to mosque on a Friday, in the middle of a great crowd, was assailed by eight Battenians, disguised as dervishes, and, in spite of his coat of mail, and his guards, was pierced with many daggers, and expired. The eight Battenians were all killed, except one, who escaped; whose mother, when she heard that Borsaki was slain, and that his murderers had perished, believed that her son was of the number, and quite joyful, she decorated herself, and tinged her brows and eyelashes with collyrium, and showed her exultation publicly. All of a sudden arrived her son himself, all alive, and in perfect health, on which her rapture changed to sadness, and she tore her hair and defiled her face. Miserable woman; she adored her son, but such fanaticism is in that frightful sect, which she participated, that she had rejoiced her child had got to the eternal delight of Paradise, and then she fell into despair, as natural. The Spartan mother's was a weaker sentiment. This more to

¹ Arab. Chron., 52.

be reprobated.¹ Battenians, Ismalians, or Assassins (for they are all one, the Old Man's people—though he was called Old Man, not from age, but dignity—shieekh, or elder, having a double signification, lord, or *vecchio*). These villains were sometimes in league with the Christians, who ought to be ashamed of it. So the Moslem Governor of Damascus had all the Battenians that were in that town (six thousand it is said) put to death, with the aid of the citizens, who hated them; but the officer who commanded in Paneas, being a secret Battenian, delivered up that fortress to the Christians, among whom he went to live.² Nothing but troubles and anarchy through all Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia; Moslems and Christians sometimes allied, and suddenly at war. Zengui, perhaps rather just than sanguinary, was about ten at the first crusade, when his father died. Except
1128 Aleppo, Damascus, Emessa, and Humah, there was now scarce a spot where a Mahometan could exist at peace. "But God resolved to fulminate the demons of the cross, and his searching eye saw no one so proper for this Divine purpose as the jewel of religion, the blessed martyr Zengui, of the unshaken heart and firm will."³ So he was

¹ Arab. Chron., 55. ² Id.: 56.

³ Id.: 60.

elected Prince of Moussul and Aleppo, and the sultan ratified the election.

“ At that time the Franks (whom God curse) held Edessa, and much of Mesopotamia. If God had not given them Zengui, it was all over with Syria and the Moslems; but at his appearance, the true believers lightened up their looks, and the prophet’s words were verified. ‘ My country shall never be without a friend of God, nor religion without a protector.’ The Lord did not abandon the Mahometans, but placed at their head one whose soul is to be sanctified.”¹ Yet was no way scrupulous, since he put the Prince of Damascus, a brother Mussulman, whom he got hold of by no very honourable stratagem, on a bed of straw, and scourged severely by a common executioner, to extract a ransom, and make him give up a fortress. Moslems ravaged all about Laodicea, leading away to slavery nine thousand men, women, and children, and one hundred thousand head of cattle, all which dislocated the arms of the Franks. Such were the amusements of that time.

Even long before this, Sir Raymond had seen his body, with a rapid success, rivalling that under its founder, go on growing till not an illustrious

¹ Arab. Chron., 64.

family in Europe but furnished a knight to one or other of the military orders in Palestine, as early as 1128; and even sovereign princes soon learned to lay down their royal pomp, to wear either the scarlet coat-of-arms of the Hospitallers, or the white mantle of the Templars.¹ The Hospitallers wore black at home, but abroad a scarlet surcoat, field for the white cross and black ribbon, their colours in memory of Gerard, from that day to this.

The moment Baldwin was free, instead of returning to the delighted Jerusalem, he assembled an army towards Antioch, and marched against Aleppo.² But being repulsed, though joined by the head of the Arabs, and even some emirs, he visited the capital, and after gathering a company of Hospitallers and other distinguished knights, he made an inroad on the Damascan countries, and won such large booty, that it produced a sum that sufficed to ransom the people he had left in captivity in Mesopotamia,³ his own daughter included. It is probably the only instance of a king's having hired out his daughter into slavery. Yet perhaps the times, and not he, were to blame.

The Turkish cavalry, in 1128, was better in

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 82. ² Id.: Id., ii. 71.

³ Id.: Id., 72.

evolutions than the Frank ; but both Egyptians and Turks left the sea to the European Franks.¹ The Turks of that period were disciplined. Nor were Curds, Arabs, Turcomans, and innumerable hordes, wanting ; but on the day of battle they all joined against the Christians for love of Islam or of plunder.² Swimming over the Tigris or Euphrates, they united to ravage Syria. Ferocious savages they were ; enough that they were Mussulmans ! And indeed, from one or other of those uncultured tribes, sprang many of the most distinguished Mahometans—even Saladin himself.³ As for the Bedouins, they were sometimes in favour of the Christians ; and at worst they were easily kept in order by the castles of Montreale, built by Baldwin I. between the Dead Sea and Egypt, and by the fortress of Kerak, in Arabia Petrea. The old chronicles are full of the wonderful cruelty of the nomades, they call Parthians ; but these barbarians were Turcomans swarming from the eastern shores of the Caspian, beyond the Persian frontiers. Yet on the whole, the Christians had to this been on the increase. Even after the fall of Edessa itself, Joscelin had still various flourishing towns through Mesopotamia, and along both sides of the

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 73. ² Id. : Id., ii. 74.

³ Id. : Id., 75.

Euphrates, and the declivities of Mount Taurus. Antioch, Tripoli, and the whole line of sea coast to Egypt, were Christian. After Jerusalem, 1130 Antioch was by far the greatest city in those parts. Yet it is somewhat unfair to praise the Hospitallers in 1130, without adding that, from the first crusade, without the interval of one single moment, the Latin kingdom owes its existence to them. Normans liberated the Holy Sepulchre, and founded its permanent defence up to the woful, when all was lost.¹ The Hospitallers took proper pride in the Templars and Teutonics as their children—fruit of their own loins; and a historian of the Hospitallers has a right to comprise them all in that one word. Consolidated, why should a rash hand try to separate them? At most, from their legal foundation 1128,² the Templars may be treated as a separate body; and the Teutonics from theirs, when we come to it. Who were the Kings of Jerusalem's great and valiant lords? The Moslems tell you Hospitallers!³ The rapidity of the Christians notwithstanding the weight of their armour,⁴ is very remarkable; no comprehending it—at one time here, and at the next there, a great distance off.

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 81. ² Id.: Id., ii. 490.

³ Arab. Chron., 128, Note, Ibn Abontai.

⁴ Michaud: Hist., ii. 83.

Now in Europe or Asia Minor, now on the Orontes or Euphrates, almost at the same instant in a battle beyond the Red Sea, defending Jerusalem, or making an inroad on Damascus or Aleppo. Their scorn of ambushes or stratagems was likewise great; and prudence in their leaders was too often called weakness or timidity, and many of their princes paid with their lives or liberty the vain glory of dangers that were without any utility to the Christian cause. Yet these uncalculating exploits produced results that resembled prodigies, the only policy that could have maintained the European sovereignty so long.¹ Another advantage derived from thoughtlessness (though it had an air of the political) was, that when any Mahometan population had to leave a town, they were replaced by Franks, who, marrying women from Syria or Apulia, produced a race called Pulani,² like Mulattoes, despised by some, yet faithful subjects to the Latin domination.

Baldwin, now old and with only two children, and both of them daughters, married the eldest to a noble warrior and pilgrim, Foulques of Anjou, who thus became at once his sovereign's presumptive heir; and the other daughter to young

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 84.

² Id.: Id., ii. 88.

Bohemond, Prince of Antioch. Foulques, if not a Norman, was nearly allied to the Normans of the royal family of England, and therefore of the Norman party. On return from an unfortunate attempt against Damascus, in the arms of his Melisenda and her husband, and blessing their infant son, in 1131 died the last of Godfrey's companions—and also as such loved and revered—the illustrious warrior Baldwin II., a virtuous and sagacious king.

About this same time, Sir Raymond received the two bulls of Innocent II., dated 1130, both in the first year of his pontificate. "How pleasing to God, and how venerable to man, is at least one spot on earth! How commodious, how useful a refuge is that which the Hospitallers' house of hospitality in Jerusalem affords to all poor pilgrims who face the various dangers by land and sea with the pious and devout wish to visit that sacred city, and our Lord's Sepulchre, as is well known to the whole universe. There indeed are the indigent assisted, and every sort of humane attention is shown to the weak, fatigued by their numerous labours and dangers! They are there refreshed, and resume their strength; so that they are enabled to see the sacred places which have been sanctified by our Saviour's corporal presence. Nor do the brethren

of that house hesitate to expose their lives for their brothers in Jesus Christ; but with infantry and cavalry, kept for that special purpose, and paid by their own money, defend the faithful from Paynims fearlessly, both in going and returning. It is these Hospitallers that are the instruments by which the Omnipotent preserves His Church in the East from the ordures of the infidels." Thus says the Pope on the tenth of March, and thus on the twelfth:¹ "The more these excellent men, the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem, are assailed by malicious tongues for their religion and probity, the more are we desirous of protecting them, and showing that the Roman Church is intimately persuaded of the purity of their devotion. Therefore it is that we lay our injunctions on all parish priests, and other clergy over the whole globe, to allow no one to presume to speak against the Hospitallers, but to recur to every means in their defence, even excommunication." And so this continues, and many other Papal decrees, in the same tenor.

Fulk became King of Jerusalem. His first exercise of authority was an unpleasant one; for Alice, his wife's sister, having been left widow, conducted herself so scandalously, that it was necessary

¹ Appendix, Num. xii., xiii.

to import a husband for her only child, the little Constance, as soon as possible; which Fulk did, in the person of the Count of Poitiers, whom he got sent from France for that purpose, or rather from England, for he was then at the Court of Henry I.¹ The delicate commission was executed by a celebrated Hospitaller, Sir Robert Joubert, whom we shall find, a few years later, grand master of the order.² While that was being done, and Melisend was regent during her lord's absence in Antioch, there was a grievous storm from Egypt, *viâ* Ascalon, to repress which, it was found expedient to build a fortress in that direction, and give it in care of the Hospitallers. They and the Templars made Bersabee a secure refuge for Christians, as well as a check on the Bedouin Arabs, and attacks from Egyptian or other Saracens. All the states of Christendom then saw their defence in that of the Holy Land; and none able to defend it but those knights.³ Indeed, the renowned warrior Alphonso the Great of Arragon, Emperor of all the Spains, as runs his title, who had conquered in twenty-nine battles against the Moors, being without children, made a will of his

¹ Mathew Paris: 1133.—Rob. del Monte, anno 1130.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 394.

² Vertot: i. 105.

³ Id.: 109.—Bosio, par 1, lib. i. anno 1131.

entire dominions to those two orders in 1131. And if his last testament never came to effect, that was owing not so much to the Spaniards, whose chief grandees had signed it, as to the knights themselves, who preferred some succour towards the wars in Palestine to the affairs of royalty, in which soldiers saw but an encumbrance. In their eyes, it was a full compensation to be allowed to defend certain castles and extensive fortresses, and the honour that no peace could ever be made with the Moor without their consent.¹

It was on his return from Spain that Raymond assumed the title of grand master; and if that of præpositus be higher, and had been given him in the Papal bulls of Innocent II., perhaps accidentally, yet this other was destined to be forevermore the distinctive of the heads of his order.² Fulk had reason to feel happy that the Moslems of Moussul divided from those of Damascus, who joined the Christians in taking Paneas; and satisfied in depriving the Mesopotamians of a city, left it to a Christian garrison, which defended Jerusalem on the Lebanon side.³

¹ Vertot : i. 116.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. i., anno 1132.

² Id. : 117.—Id. Id.

³ Michaud : Hist., ii. 99.—Or Cesarea di Filippo, or Bellina according to some. Seb. Paoli: Notizie, ii. 434.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1141.

Vertot, like Bosio, complains that no
1141 historians relate when the change from
religious to military began. Of course they do
not, for no such change ever took place. From
the foundation the whole was natural, and offended
none of the tastes of the age, but was in its very
spirit, neither more nor less than the crusade: and
all Europe had given full proof of the universal
way of thinking, by the voluntary progress of all the
Europeans then alive. In no way could the asso-
ciation of nobility and servants-at-arms agree after-
wards. But then it did, and they glided in to-
gether without the least difficulty; and once the rule
was established, no one ever saw anything in that
honourable familiarity but justice and truth; and
so it has come down to our own time without a
single objection. In the presence of a loftier, all
lower ideas vanished. There would have been soon
a difficulty, but then there was none. Gerard
knew how to take the ball at the hop. Like most
other great discoveries, it seemed quite easy when
effected, and in the usual course, nothing to
startle. I avow that after I had learned to doubt
the current opinion, I yet thought that Raymond
must have written something of a body of laws, or
left some fine charter, to acquire the fame of a
legislator, though not the order's founder, or its

prime Lycurgus. But when I saw what a few meagre trivialities they are which obtained him that estimation, I was wholly astonished. Not a single principle of any importance, or generality do they contain. The very first words prove that Raymond had no idea of forming a rule; but only of commenting on some of the minor obligations contained in a rule which had been sworn to by him and the other members of the order, and therefore well known to them all. Perhaps some of the brotherhood had been a little remiss in the particulars he notices. Like most subsequent grand masters and chapters, he found something to condemn or amend, not as to the established rule, but as to the mode of executing some of its articles. But as he was the first grand master, posterity thought they could go no higher. The founder was gone, and when his rule was lost, it was not hard to pass off this as a substitute; so as not read, but received with blind or dishonest credulity; not even the shadow of a rule, but only a parcel of bye-laws, chiefly regarding the sick, or punishment for some diminutive misconduct in trifles scarce deserving notice: no few of them utterly childish and ridiculous, clownish, and but practical jests. The impression it cannot but leave in any one that has the patience to examine the

rubbish, is highly to Raymond's disadvantage. Yet was he a very eminent personage. Undoubtedly this trash given in his name, was never meant by him to be the apology for a rule. Impossible to suppose it ever came from him at all, but was evidently only a collection of many little stray notes, thrown together by chance, and referring to some observations he may have made on miserable negligences in the daily service. No doubt the wording was by some of his lowest subalterns, who may have thought they were writing something very becoming; and that it was his, is not to be dreamed of, nor merits a serious objection. Forsooth it is a nasty custom to walk about naked. Kindness is due to the sick. It is wrong to speak loud and disrespectfully in the church. All indecency is to be eschewed, particularly in the company of women. Nor should females be allowed either to wash heads of knights, or feet. It is forbidden to wear foreign furs;¹ which reminds us of the sumptuary laws of the Italian Republics, in none of which, however, are found so many littlenesses as in this. So to have this exhibited as the rule of an order that never occupied itself but with things of the greatest moment, and had something of the *qu'il mourut* in all its transactions, is not unlike an insult to com-

¹ Appendix, xiv.

mon sense. One of the greatest captains of his age, "*par sa rare valeur, des plus grands capitaines de son siècle*,"¹ as Raymond is represented, we have no right to impute to him anything of puerility; and to this veteran's instructions, young Baldwin owes his beginning very early to distinguish himself as a warrior. For the princely boy's father had been killed by a fall from his horse, 1142 when coursing on the thirteenth November, 1142 (which agrees ill with what is elsewhere said of his having got blind, and probably meaning only a little short-sighted),² and left two sons, Baldwin of thirteen, and Almeric of seven. Their mother at first assumed the regency, but in less than two years the grand master and some other of the great lords had the elder boy crowned by the 1144 title of Baldwin III., who instantly led out a body of Hospitallers and Templars on an excursion against the Saracens in the land of Moab, and came back with the fame of bravery.³

The Christian cause had just entered its 1145 decline by the fall of Edessa;⁴ Joscelin

¹ Vertot: i. 170.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1159.

² Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 362.—Appendix, Num. xxvi. It reconciles both passages to reckon from the coronation of Baldwin III. on Christmas day, 1144, and not from his father's death.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1142.

³ Michaud: Hist., ii. 99, 100.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii. anno 1142.

⁴ Vertot: i. 118, 119, 120.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii. anno 1143.

being dead, and his son totally incapable to be his substitute. Edessa was one of the great fiefs of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and had been so ever since the time of Godfrey de Bouillon; but now Zengui took it with hideous slaughter. No need of a continual repetition. The Christian army there at this time means Hospitallers. The juvenile monarch's next act was a war unjust in its motive, and unfortunate in its result. An emir, who commanded at Bosra, to the south-east of Damascus in the Haouran (which has now above two hundred uninhabited towns and villages, which testify to its numerous population once), proposed giving them up his post—an offer that the Christians greedily accepted, although the prince and emirs at Damascus, astonished at the rumour, entreated them not to commence hostilities, but remain faithful to their treaty of truce, whereas an unjust war could never prosper. In vain; and when the Christian army reached Bosra, it had a fresh Damascan garrison, the treasonable officer's own wife having betrayed him. Frightful retreat; heats, and poisoned waters, and famine; and most of the gallant Hospitallers left their bones to whiten that desert, after the wild beasts had devoured their flesh; all the inhabitants having fled into caverns, and carried off every scrap of food for man or horse. There

were thistles all over the plain, and the Turks set them on fire. Only for St. George on a white horse, and holding a red flag, all the Christians were lost.¹ Glorious young Baldwin might have saved himself at the beginning of these disasters, but refused to leave his army; like St. Louis in another memorable defeat.² Yet not calamity, but repose was the true gangrene of the Franks. So Zengui thought, and he was right. It was Joscelin the Second's enervating dissoluteness that lost Edessa, and so it shall be soon with Antioch, the two strong outworks of Jerusalem however distant; and thence the same foul disease shall go on eating its way, till it ruins Palestine and the holy city itself. Therefore it was, that Zengui (according to the Mahometans, a blessed servant) used fraud to the utmost against Edessa, before he had recourse to force. So weakened, he overcame; and by the sword condemned the people of Edessa to eternal silence; and diminished into Orfa, it is now a poor place, of little strength. Well might the Imaums sing: "O Mahomet, Prophet of Heaven, in your name have we destroyed these idolatrous sinners, and torrents of blood have run for the triumph of your law!" Edessa, that had acquired much power under the Franks (observes

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 102. ² Id.: Id., ii. 102.

Ibn Alahir himself),¹ one of the stoutest fortified places in Asia, the queen of beauty, and limpid waters, the city over sixty towns, was no more. Its altars upset, its riches and songs gone, its unrivalled magnificence, as if an edifice carried from heaven to be built on earth.² Whatever of the atrocious massacres were subsequently perpetrated by Nouredin, his father Zengui had showed the example; so that, if the scimitar devoured its people as fire devours straw, yet on Zengui's head, the man of blood, be the whole! Some weeks later, the man of blood was himself murdered by his own Mamelouckes, while asleep in his
1146 camp.³ The Emperor of Greece had a few years earlier come into Syria at the invitation of a cadî near Aleppo, who became Christian with four hundred of his village, and many of the natives having taken refuge in caves in the hills, the Greeks making large fires at the mouth smoked out some, and suffocated others of the unfortunates within. But it having been contrived to cause dissensions between the Greeks and Latins, the emperor had to retire.⁴ On the whole, Zengui deserved his death, and the earth was liberated from a monster. News of

¹ Arab. Chron., 66.

² Michaud : Hist., ii. 177, 187. ³ Arab. Chron., 78.

⁴ Arab. Chron., 67.

the fall of Edessa, and that Islam began to advance her horns in Mesopotamia, roused Europe to the second crusade, under Lewis VII. and Conrad, which ended so unfortunately; for most of the Germans died in Asia Minor, and if a remnant of French got to Antioch, Queen Eleanor learned the vices of it, so that Louis VII. was obliged to get divorced from her, as soon as he got back to Paris. Some pretended she saw the famous Saladin there, then a very young officer, and, if it depended on her, would have run away with him. Too young, perhaps, but it seems the queen was of a different taste. Certainly he was rather twenty or twenty-four, than ten; since, within a year later, he was the second in command, under his father, at Damascus.¹

Conrad and king met to weep at Jerusalem, and made an attempt on Damascus, that ended ineffectually, and the European sovereigns returned home with slender retinue, and no armies, though the imperial had left Europe with ninety-thousand horse, and the royal with fifty thousand of the same arm; for, as to the infantry of both, they were beyond counting.²

The effect of the second crusade in beautiful France, was mournful, "Our castles and villages deserted, widows and orphans are everywhere,

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 177, 187.

² Arab. Chron., 93.

whose husbands and fathers are alive.¹ Many are the historians of the first crusade, but of the second, only three; and these three all
1147 break off suddenly at Damascus. Their silence shows what people thought then of that crusade.²

Of such wonderful strength was Raymond de Poitiers, then, by marriage, Prince of Antioch, and by birth uncle to the Queen of France, that he could bend an iron stirrup, and, one day passing on horseback under a gateway, whence hung a chain, he took the chain in both hands, and with his legs pressed the horse so prodigiously, that he stopped the animal at full gallop, and kept it there stock still, without its being able to move an inch in any direction. But he died soon, and only left a boy of the name of Bohemond, and his widow, to have some one to hold the rudder of government during the minority, and lead the troops, married Renard de Chatillon, of whom, soon again, says the Moslem;³ but Christian chroniclers give her a less honourable motive.⁴

In Palestine, the immediate effect of the second crusade had been to show at once that there were

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 132. ² Id.: Id., 191.

³ Arab. Chron., 98.

⁴ W. of Tyre: 16.—Bib. Crois., i. 144.

dissensions among the Christians; for, at a council at Acre, of the King of Jerusalem, with his knights and barons, and the King of France and the emperor, in the presence of the Queen of Jerusalem and the Christian ladies, neither among these was there the Queen of France, nor amongst those the Prince of Antioch, or the Counts of Edessa and Tripoli—sad omen, and so, as all question of besieging Aleppo was over, by Raymond of Antioch's absence, and scarce a word about Joscelin or Edessa hazarded, although the main object for calling of the council, was to decide whether to attack Aleppo or Edessa, it was resolved to besiege Damascus.

Here, for the first time, the Moslem writers distinctly mention the Knights of the Temple, and almost ever after name them with the Hospitallers. Scarcely either without the other. Indeed 1148 the historian of the crusades himself, is not much earlier; for he hardly speaks of the Templars before telling that their grand master had advanced to meet Louis VII, in Asia Minor.¹

Damascus, one of the holy cities of Islam, and famous for its fanaticism as well as its gardens of seven leagues and forest of orange trees, and almost every kind of fruit, must give up the story about

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 169.

Mahomet, since it cannot be possibly true; he having been never near it. Yet its wines are praised by Ezekiel.

The Christian camp was fine, and contained the chief nobility of France; small remnant of the vast army Louis VII. had led. As to the emperor and few Germans,¹ these behaved with magnificent bravery. The emperor's charge was irresistible. The French as became them. Why did the Christians then not conquer? No one knows. The Syrian lords are said to have given bad advice from corrupt motives. But treason and perfidy are always in the mouth of the vanquished.² On the Jordan or in Europe, treason is the cant at every failure. And it is to be generally observed that the Latin chroniclers always went with public opinion.³ Fact is, the Christians retreated. Ayoub, father of Saladin, was the Moslem who directed the defence; and under him was the youth who was soon to be so distinguished a warrior,⁴ which is perhaps the most remarkable event of the siege.⁵ Dreadfully eloquent is the silence of annalists. So are the Moslems brief or mute while losing. The same spirit on both sides. No glory compensates

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 184.

² Id.: Id., 191.

³ Id.: Id., 190.

⁴ Arab. Chron., 97.

⁵ Michaud: Hist., ii. 187.

reverses. The Christian had neglected to colonise Asia Minor and so had no retreat; which rendered a fault irreparable. Immense too the immorality. In part it was indiscretion; from St. Bernard's too easily receiving the vilest culprits. Louis VII. was a pattern of piety, and many of his leaders.¹ Too little of human prudence, too much of leaving all to Providence. In the first crusade were devotion and heroism; in the second, more of the cloister than of enthusiasm. Priests and monks had too much handling of affairs. Louis was but a martyr and common soldier; the emperor a champion utterly imprudent and presumptuous, which caused the loss of his beautiful army. Neither monarchs had extensive views, or the energy requisite for great actions. Nor heroic passions, or anything of the chivalrous, nor famous captains were in the second crusade. Also the forces of Christendom were divided. Not all were directed on Asia; but some to the north of Europe, against the Slavi; some to Spain, against the Moors; and that division contained many English knights. Normans from Sicily, were in Africa; and with them were many Hospitallers; at the very time the Christians were before Damascus. By no means did this second crusade represent the whole of Christendom

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 193.

like the first; and St. Bernard was blamed for sending the Christians to die in the East as if Europe could not afford them graves. Yet had he spoken with the eloquence of a mighty orator and the unction of a father of the Church of God, and he rejoiced that the public anger should rise rather against him—poor buckler of the Lord—than be guilty of disrespect to the Lord himself. Nor should those who (borrowing the words of the pious historian of the crusades)¹ speak of the “*unfortunate eloquence of St. Bernard*,” do him the injustice of not avowing that it also impeded the usual enormity of that age, a massacre of the Jews.

Not long after that retreat from Damascus many Hospitallers fell in a great battle on the upper Orontes; when the Prince of Antioch was slain² and his head sent to Bagdad.³ Several of the best seaports of his principality were taken by Nouredin. Young Joscelin, after various attempts to retake Edessa, was made prisoner and led captive to Aleppo and died there in misery and despair (partly it is said, from the consequence of his own vices), chained in a dungeon. It was early in 1148. What remained alive of Latin inhabitants, not of

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 132.

² Arab. Chron., 98.

³ Michaud : Hist., ii. 202.

the town alone, but of the entire county of Edessa, decamped in a body, and sought refuge from Greeks and Turks, in Syria or Palestine, and being pursued in their flight, like the Israelites by Pharaoh, underwent a thousand dangers.

On the twenty-seventh of June, 1148, the Count of Tripoli was assassinated by an unknown hand; and all the towns of his dominions thrown into mourning.¹ In Jerusalem the queen mother was in open insurrection against her own son. Unfortunate Baldwin abandoned by France and Germany, and his whole kingdom falling to pieces, was obliged to besiege his own mother, who with her partizans had shut herself up in the tower of David!² Which tower of David was 1149 afterwards pulled down by the Moslems, who admired the immensity of its blocks and how firmly they were fastened to each other, Cyclopean architecture.³ To fill the chalice, two Turkish princes undertook to beleaguer the holy city, and would have succeeded, but for a few Templars and Hospitallers. Nor was Baldwin III., nor the Patriarch, nor the military orders unmoved, but sent the tidings to the Pope, who endeavoured to excite Christendom. But the recent crusade had caused discontent

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 203. ² Id.: Id., 203.

³ Rothelin: MS.—Bib. Crois., i. 379.

and even popular raillery, so that the sovereigns did not dare face new reproaches. The holy war had been ruinous to both nobility and clergy. Even St. Bernard refused his voice—holy warning! Yet on his death-bed Suger regretted he had not assisted the Eastern Christians. But how were they fallen! The Mahometan dynasties too, they had forgotten even the names of their once renowned monarchs. Their descendants were in the depths of Persia or some Indian province! Every ambitious emir set up for himself. Only each usurper offered an unmeaning homage to the Caliph of Bagdad, or Cairo, protesting he had sprung
1150 from the dust of his feet.¹ Nor did the Christians know that Aleppo and Damascus are the two keys of Syria; nor did they ever possess either.² But Nouredin built on his father's victories, and had much of the austere simplicity of the early caliphs, "uniting the noblest heroism with the profoundest humility," say the Arabian poets; "and when he prayed in the mosque, his subjects thought they beheld a sanctuary within a sanctuary."³ Encouraging the sciences, cultivating letters, he likewise applied himself to making justice flourish in his states. His

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 212. ² Id.: Id., vide Note (1).

³ Id.: Id., 213.

people admired his clemency and moderation. The Christians extolled his generosity and signal heroism. He followed the example of Zengui in becoming the idol of his soldiers by his liberality to them and his zeal to combat the enemies of Islam. Noureddin then revived the fierce despotism that was nearly extinct in the East, and announced the Koran's triumph, and the destruction of the Christian colonies. Baldwin III., by trying to stop him, only afforded him an opportunity of displaying his courage. Ascalon was more than repaid by Noureddin's conquest of Damascus, always Moslem it is true, but now swayed by the most dangerous of Moslems; seduction and promises his weapons.

An interval of inaction that resembled peace, produced no event except the piratical expedition of Renaud de Chatillon (now Prince of Antioch) against tranquil Cyprus;¹ "an injustice that nearly equals what was perpetrated by Baldwin II. himself against the poor Arabs, who used to feed their flocks in the woods of Paneas by a treaty with him and his successors. His soldiers fell suddenly on the unarmed pastors, who fled in part; another part of them were killed, and their animals driven

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 219.

as booty to Jerusalem.¹ Some Flemings landing at Beyrout, formed an episode of disgrace.² Yet, in the midst of such scenes of calamity (what a lesson!), Baldwin married a niece of the emperor, as if all was at perfect peace³—nor was a stratagem wanting; the Hospitallers who had been dispensed from some formalities,⁴ were entrapped into refusing what they were right in refusing, and accused of shooting at the Holy Sepulchre in scorn; which forced them to apply beyond sea—petty annoyance desired by their foes, not without a slight hope, that in the frequent succession of the Papacy, some Pope might come who was of their own and less partial to the Hospitallers, things which could scarcely be, since the Hospitallers had done no wrong, as this pitiful accusation itself proved; since their worst enemies could find but these nothings. So how unsullied indeed the Hospitallers must be, and how nobly had they merited of the Holy See⁵ and all Christendom! Ecclesiastical spite! base ingratitude! Accuse them of not respecting the Holy Sepulchre; them, its best defenders!⁶ Had they not on all occasions risked their lives in its

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 220. ² Id.: Id., 221.

³ Id.: Id., ii. 221.

⁴ Vertot: i. 147.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1154.

⁵ Michaud: Hist., ii. 222.

⁶ Vertot: i. 151.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1155.

defence, with transcendent devotedness? The Patriarch was not ashamed to go with those stupid accusations; but the Pope had the honourable sagacity to turn him away, and do open justice to the injured and most meritorious Hospitallers.

Baldwin III. built another fortress against Egypt at Gaza, and gave it to the Templars.¹ But Noureddin and his Saracens set ravaging the lands around Antioch, while the sultan and Turcomans devastated the north of Mesopotamia. Baldwin the King, and two military orders, assisted the miserable Christians; but what way but this was left? So putting the entire multitude of fugitives, men, women, children, animals, baggage, and property of every sort, into the middle, he, the Hospitallers and Templars, kept up a continuous action with Noureddin during a long retreat, to keep him from the prey he was enraged to lose; but those noble warriors drove off the rabid tiger at last, and lodged the tremblers safe within Antioch. Still that absence of Baldwin nearly cost him his capital. The Egyptians going round by Damascus, attacked the Christians on that side, and advanced to the very walls of Jerusalem. In the evening, the citizens with consternation might see who hoped to take the city by escalade the next morning. Prowl-

¹ Vertot: i. 131.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii. ² Id.: 133.—Id.

ing barbarians, they knew it had neither king nor garrison. Yet their very confidence made them lose the favourable moment. Had they stormed it then, they might have taken it; but waiting till morning was their ruin. The few Hospitallers and Templars that remained, took arms, and encouraged the inhabitants to resist; and, since their numbers were sufficient to man the walls, they rushed out, and finding the Moslem asleep, set fire to his tents, cut the ropes, and filled the whole camp with terror and death; so that he was struck with a panic, and ran away in remediless confusion, and flying towards Jericho, met the king and his cavalry on their way home, and these put five thousand to the sword. Of the rest, the Christians of Naplouse killed several, more still the peasantry, and a palsied residue, almost to a man, were drowned in the Jordan in a blind attempt to pass, swimming, and escape the Frank's steel.

1154 Baldwin, as reprisals for the intrusion, set off with Hospitallers and Templars and other Jerusalem forces, to assail Egypt by the coast; and after a long and sanguinary siege of seven months, took Ascalon on August 12th, 1154.² The Moslem garrison removing to El-Arish, was replaced by a

¹ Vertot: i. 135.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii.

² Id.: i. 148.—Id.: Id.

Christian one, chiefly Hospitallers. That same time, by a very inhuman and atrocious villany against his brother Mussulmen, Noureddin possessed himself of Damascus, to the vexation of the Judæa Latins, who were sorry to get so bad a neighbour.¹ And good right they had; for his first act was to gain a victory over them near Paneas; and among the spoils of their camp, was a magnificent tent for himself.² Damascus may balance Ascalon; so in this respect, the parties were quits.³ The following year was terrible for earthquakes throughout the whole of Syria, principally Antioch, Tripoli, Hamah. In the last town, all the boys of a school were swallowed up the first shock, while the schoolmaster was out; and on his return, not a parent or relation came to inquire about one of them. Parents and children alike had shared the sad disaster.⁴

Noureddin had a present from the caliph, of seventy thousand pieces of gold, besides arms to the value of thirty thousand.⁵ It ended by the Christians having to ask pardon of the Caliph of Cairo, to whom, at the same time, the Emperor of Constantinople sent to beg him to order his fleet to go

¹ Arab. Chron., 106.

² Id., 109.

³ Michaud: Hist., ii. 219.

⁴ Arab. Chron., 107.

⁵ Id.: Id., 108.

against the King of Sicily, and that Egyptian fleet carried off the brother of the King of Cyprus, and transmitted him, as a present, to that same Greek Emperor. Fine treasons to each other amongst these Christian princes! Nouredin had tents enough, since, beside that fine one taken from the Franks, the Greek Emperor sent him a silk tent of considerable value, and several rich dresses and jewels.¹ The acquisition of Ascalon caused more joy through Christendom than any event since that of Jerusalem itself, and all knew what an active hand the Grand Master of the Hospitallers had in it; so that whether he was personally present or not—and perhaps he was not, seeing his advanced age of above eighty—matters little; for Baldwin was his docile pupil, and to Raymond's advice the fortunate resolution, whole conduct, and victorious conclusion of that gallant siege, were universally ascribed, and may very likely have been the cause of that splendid eulogium which Anastasius IV.² made of the order, repeating what his predecessors had said before, and even adding new marks of distinction, and rarer privileges: "Since you, my brethren, make so excellent a use of your wealth, in hospitably receiving pilgrims of every nation, and

¹ Arab Chron., 109.

² Vertot: i. 146.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1154.

defending all Christendom, of what lowest or most exalted rank soever; therefore it is that I excuse you from paying tithes, and forbid any bishop to publish interdict on any church in your property, though the whole country round be perhaps interdicted; that no bishop can interfere with you, but any priest be in safety within your territories, if you take him under your protection; and the same too of laymen—that they cannot be touched by any ecclesiastical tribunal, while protected by you—and that you owe spiritual obedience to no one but the Holy See and your own chapters. And if the ordinary bishop refuse to ordain any one a priest whom you propose, I, the Pope, authorize you to apply for that purpose to any other bishop you choose; and we precisely prohibit the receiving any member of your order into another, under pretence of leading a life of greater sanctity. And let the Hospitallers for ever elect their grand masters in perfect and entire liberty. We confirm all that has been done, and all that shall ever be done in their favour; nor are any allowed to take them by surprise, or attempt to force them to anything under any pretext whatever." No doubt this soothing language, from such a high personage as the Pope was then, was extremely grateful to

the dying Raymond; but it prepared much enmity to the Hospitallers.

Perhaps then, for the first time, the clergy began to
1158 look upon them with an evil eye. To lose the
tithes of such great landlords over the whole
world was a severe blow. But what wounded their
pride still more was, that while the kings and princes
of Jerusalem and Antioch, and other distinguished
grandees, were subject to priests, patriarchs, and bi-
shops, these were openly deprived of all authority over
the Hospitallers. Nor were the Templars without
sharing in the same odium. But that of church-
men is proverbially tenacious, and waits to ripen
well before it shows itself. A malicious sneer at
their riches, and with a malevolence quite charac-
teristic of irritated ecclesiastics, they stuck up some
arrows on their steeple, as if they had been shot at,
or were in fear of their lives from the Hospitallers
opposite; and observed with malignity that the
Hospitallers had erected that magnificent edifice to
attract admirers more than the Holy Sepulchre
directly facing it. These little symptoms of ill-will
sufficed at the beginning;¹ but soon after gave rise
to the fable of William of Tyre, who had a brother a
bishop, and became a bishop himself; fable that has

¹ Vertot: i. 152.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii.

come down to our own day. On all occasions malignity—the worst construction put upon all their actions—an iniquitous motive always supposed. That eulogy and distinction—much more, that they merited them—were the primitive cause of the injustice suffered by the various military orders often, from that age to the present—all of them wounded in their original head. Belied were the Hospitallers; but still more relentlessly were the unfortunate Templars to be soon assailed, and at last brought living to the stake. Yet it was not the income of the Hospitallers or Templars that merited investigation, but how that income was employed!¹ on which true question the Hospitallers (and probably Templars too) might have defied research. Most of those favours had been also granted by former Popes; and whatever the far by-gone generations might have been, or the future were to be, the Popes of that age had unrivalled power over almost all Christians; and for that very reason, considerable influence over the Paynim too. But it appears, the proverbial hatred of ecclesiastics had been growing with a silent growth; perhaps some unknown particulars might have kept it hidden. But not ungrateful were the Pontiffs, who would not

¹ Vertot: i. 156.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii.

authorize clerical avarice or haughtiness; and Raymond was revered generally as a virtuous man, and fearing God. Nor did his knights fail to set an example in Spain; which soon created its own knight-hood in imitation.¹ If not his direct, the Spanish orders were his collateral descendants; and who can tell but they may yet rejoin their common parent, before falling into the ocean to which they all tend? Would it not be finer (and safer likewise) for them to unite and approach their ultimate delta in one broad stream? Perhaps, conjoint strength protracting their existence, they might erect another opulent Flanders in Lord knows what distant part of the world! Calatrava was formed in 1158; and from it the two others in some sort derived, that of Saint Jago in 1175, Alcantara in 1212,² all three with the Norman characteristics of singular bravery and religion. It is not of them alone, but of all human institutions it is true, that in a succeeding period they somewhat decline from the purity and fervour of the first. Nor does impartial history affirm that any of the six military orders were ever remarkable for degeneracy. Was it not rather for their riches they have been attacked?³

¹ Vertot: i. 157.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1159.

² Id.: 163.—Hallam: Middle Ages, i. 279.—Mariana, etc.

³ Vertot: i. 164.

Raymond is said to have been a Frenchman, and probably he was born in France, though that is not proved, but his parents were Italian, and the family Del Poggio, its original name, translated, or mistranslated into Du Puys, was from Lucca, and Lucchese antiquaries still boast of him as their countryman.¹ “In Avenione et Parisiis et aliis partibus Franciæ” (says the *Juramentum Fidelitatis* of 1331, still extant in the Lucca archives), “are living the Del Poggio, Lucanis civibus; who therefore, not to lose their privileges, claim to swear allegiance through their attorney.” In every respect it could not but have been a flattering consolation to Raymond, in these his last days, that a Pope who, as a Tuscan, was his own countryman, wrote a bull, as highly laudatory of his order and himself as what Innocent II. had written; and if that bull of Eugenius be lost, yet the substance of it, and a copy of Raymond’s bye-laws, which it contained, are come down through another of the Popes;² and that they passed for a rule was no fault of him, nor of the Pontiff either.

And here I have to prepare for leaving my best of guides, the mild, intelligent, and most conscien-

¹ Cod. Dipl. Géros., i. 335.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii. anno 1160.

² P. A. Paoli: 219.—Platina: iii. 23.—Appendix, xiv., first and fifth paragraphs.

tious P. A. Paoli, who had learned from his uncle to pluck the very heart of truth from the compilation he had left him, and to continue in his path. Muratori had the well-regulated library of Modena, but the undiscovered ocean of the Vatican, and the whole world, were to be the field of the diplomatist of the order of Malta, who for a considerable period completed his books, and died. After extracting
1159 the facts from each document, the nephew threw away the outside, and placing these essential facts so as to explain and elucidate each other, produced an impregnable whole, as far as he went, and then he too died. And now this unworthy pen is at the third operation, a little history from their mighty labours. But though the nephew's short volume be ended, the diplomatist's columns still continue, and I mean to try to keep close to them. P. Ant. Paoli only attended to those earliest of the order's annals, defaced by fables, which, with his aid, I have got through. After having been shown so far, the rest is easier, and with the diplomatic help, not difficult, and for that reason more adapted to me.

The Del Poggio had fiefs and lordships in Tuscany, as early as the Countess Matilda. The Del Poggio were marquises and dukes, and always sign themselves with such titles in several papers still existing, as far back as the tenth century. A

Poggio was Bishop of S. Miniato, in 1038.¹ But wherever the grand master's birth-place was, or however illustrious his ancestors, he added new laurels to all that belonged to him. Nor the denying his having been the founder of his order, or its earliest legislator, is at all to try to deprive him of his fair fame, which needs no other support than its own. Far indeed was it from him to wish to tarnish Gerard's merits, or foresee that malicious fables were to make him and his great predecessor rivals; or rather, to throw our founder completely into the shade; whereas Raymond's loftiest of desires was to be his follower in worth as station. That his Hospitallers were showing themselves deserving of the name, and his royal pupil gathering honour, soothed his respected death-bed, when, valiant and saintly octogenarian, he expired placidly at Jerusalem in the first month of 1160.²

¹ Borghini Discorsi : ii. 421.

² Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 335.—Vertot : i. 170, &c.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii. anno 1160.