

CHAPTER V.

IN Raymond's place immediately came in 1160 Sir Otteger Balben,¹ a French gentleman of Dauphinée, celebrated in the order for having engaged Palestine to decide in favour of the orthodox Pope in the great schism, as well as to declare itself an hereditary, and not elective monarchy; so Alexander the Third's legate was invited into Jerusalem, and Baldwin III. dying, from an ignorant Syrian doctor,² or poisoned as some aver,³ and 1162 leaving no children, his brother Almericus succeeded, and was anointed, and crowned on the eighteenth of February, in 1162,⁴ and the ceremony scarcely over, the Grand Master, Sir

¹ Vertot: ii. 171.—Bosio, ut supra.

² Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 363.—Michaud: Hist., ii. 223.

³ Vertot: ii. 171.

⁴ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 365.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. ii. anno 1162.

Otteger Balben¹ was followed by another as old, from the same province, Sir Arnaud de Comps, who likewise, after a few months, was replaced by Sir Gilbert d'Assaly, or De Saily,² whom some call an Englishman,³ and some from Tyre;⁴ yet both may be true, if he was from English parents, and born in Tyre, or brought thither in his childhood; however all that is quite uncertain; mere conjecture might suggest Sir Gilbert d'Estley.⁵ Certainly his making for England as his last refuge, like a hare to its form, seems to denote his fatherland.⁶ He was too unfortunate for any nation to be very desirous of owning him. Notwithstanding what has been written, it is most certain, from the incontrovertible evidence of three documents extant, that D'Assaly was Grand Master in January, 1163.⁷ Now De Comps could have but eight months at most, which however were enough to lay the seeds of a calamitous undertaking. For having accompanied Almeric in an excursion into Egypt, it was attended with good success, the Moslems not having been able to bear the shock

¹ Cod. Dip. Geros., i. 335.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. ii., anno 1163.

² Vertot : ii. 193.

³ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 336.—Num. xxxviii., clxiv.

⁴ Id. : Num. clxxxvii.

⁵ Sir Harris Nicholas : Synopsis, i. 32.

⁶ Cod. Dipl., 335, 336.—Bosio.—Hoveden ibi.

⁷ Id : Id.—Num. xxxviii.

of the Hospitallers and Templars,¹ which led to peace, and an alliance to defend that land from a threatened invasion; and the utmost generosity on the part of that caliph, who made splendid presents to his Latin allies, and remunerated their services well, "to send them home content," was followed by a solemn treaty between them and the Egyptians, by which these were to pay one hundred thousand gold crowns to the King of Jerusalem. The barren Judea appeared to him a sorry sight, and a sway poor and narrow compared to the fat and fertile banks of the Nile; discussing the probability of Jerusalem becoming again subject to Cairo, as it had been before Godfrey's conquest; and if the aged grand master encouraged those wanderings of the royal mind, what might be pardonable to the fervent imagination of youth, should not to the cold season of judgment and duty.

Almeric pored over the dangerous thought, and that it would be better for him to seize the Pharaohs, than wait for the Pharaohs to come and seize him. So he sent ambassadors to the Greek Emperor Manuel, whose niece he had married (like his brother in 1149), and her uncle encouraged his projects against Egypt, and offered

¹ Vertot: ii. 185.—Bosio, par. i., lib. 2, anno 1163.

him a fleet,¹ and unveiling his breast to Assaly, now Grand Master, he met with an easy, perhaps immoral assent.² Even if the entire political plan did not succeed, of the utter conquest of Cairo, and to make it a provincial town, dependent on Jerusalem, still great riches would be acquired by the pillage of all Egypt. Yet the grand master could do nothing without a general council of his knights; and that his opinion would be theirs, would be extremely problematic; so, to gild the pill, it was accompanied by the royal offer, that if they took Heliopolis,³ the first city the Christian army would besiege in Egypt, and finest, except the Cairo—it would be given to the Hospitallers; and of the beauty of Heliopolis and its signal advantages, which would soon render it the centre of European commerce, Assaly spoke at great length, and how fit a residence it would be for the order, if ever it was driven from Jerusalem; as we see had already become a possibility.⁴ These false reasonings, and probably some not unambitious feeling in the younger knights, and the influence of the grand master and his partisans, checked every opposition from the elders of the assembly;⁵ so, shut-

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 232.

² Vertot: ii. 193.

³ Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. xlvi. Num. xlvi.

⁴ Vertot: ii. 195. ⁵ Vertot: ii. 196.

ting their ears to further attempt at calm discussion, the majority with loud cries for war voted an unlimited credit of money for its expenses.¹

At this, Almeric made sure of the Templars. But he was wrong, for they absolutely refused to consider the matter at all, as quite contrary not only to the statutes of their rule, but to every sentiment of honour and justice. The more so that a Templar had been one of the signatories to the treaty to be broken, and had been admitted to kiss the caliph's hand on it, being the first Christian who ever had that honour, or been allowed to enter that sacred, gloomy, rich, mysterious palace.² For
1167 that it was of direct obligation to keep faith with all men, even Pagans; whereas here it was proposed to begin with a most flagitious act, the breach of a treaty to which they had so lately sworn and affixed their formal signature. It ended by the Grand Master of the Temple and all his order declining to take part in any such enterprise, and that they would remain quietly in their own quarters. And so they did; and Almeric, with his army and the Hospitallers, marched without them.

It is not to be supposed there was much of the

¹ Vertot: ii. 197.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1165.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 230.—Vertot: ii. 188.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1166 and 1168.

spiritual in the strife between the caliphs; though he of Bagdad blessed Nouredin, and of Cairo cursed him. To the vulgar it was religion, and had the pomp and circumstance of a holy war; yet Nouredin, in the bottom of his heart, might exclusively desire to extend his temporal kingdom. Though his thoughts were principally turned towards the Nile, yet from desultory conflicts with Christians he never ceased. In a surprise in Syria, he threw himself on a horse still picketed, and might have been either taken or killed, but for a Curd,¹ who lost his own life in assisting him. And when at some distance, he was advised to retire further, or that he might be attacked by the Franks: "I swear by the living God not to lie under a roof before revenging Islam and myself for this indignity," was his reply. On another occasion,² to one of his own pay-masters he said, "Give my soldiers the indemnity they ask, simply, instead of swearing them, or examining their accounts at all, without heeding the sum. What right have you to curtail my generosity?" And when his ministers, seeing his immense expenses, hinted at seizing the church property, he received the advice with serious displeasure, and answered, "Why deprive them of

¹ Arab. Chron., 110.

² Id., 110.

their revenues—these who fight for me at all times, even when I am asleep in my bed—to enrich people who only know how to fight for me when I am leading them, and whose arrows sometimes hit and sometimes miss? It is from the prayers of the little that I expect my victories; for is it not writ, ‘*From the little you shall draw your subsistence and your strength?*’ It would be a grievous injustice in me to touch what was given them by others, learned holy saints who founded, and with what belonged to them endowed, the establishments that every good Mahometan ought to revere!”

To prepare himself for a campaign, he used to sleep on the hard bare ground, and abstain from all sensual pleasures. Mesopotamia, most of Syria, Egypt, and Arabia the Happy, composed his vast dominions when he died at Damascus¹ (of a quinsy, at fifty-six), in some hole of a room, nearly without assistance, which he shunned. Moslems say he deserved a place next the four earliest of Mahomet’s followers.² He adhered faithfully to his marriage vow. Every day he read a chapter of the Alcoran, besides his long fervent prayers. Once, on a representation to increase his frugal expenses, he replied, “Not even for my

¹ Arab. Chron., 152.

² Id., 153.

beloved wife will I incur the risk of falling into hell's fire. The money does not belong to me, but to all Mahometans. As for me, I am extremely poor, and will not, to please her, become an unfaithful treasurer. However," added he, softening, "I possess three little shops, which I let out to rent at Edessa, and she may take them if she likes."¹ A learned and pious person having observed in a letter to him that field sports were over futile for so wise a true believer, Nouredin, highly hurt at the reproach, wrote back with his own hand: "In the presence of God, it is not to amuse myself, but to keep in training myself and my horse; for, often close to the enemy, we must be ready day and night, winter and summer; and it is a holy war, a war for Islam and the Lord's self. Repose is frequently quite necessary to the soldiery, and then, likewise, they must be kept in exercise. I ought to give the example, and be always prepared to mount on horseback, continually on our guard. Our horses must be rendered docile to the rider's voice; and for this reason accustomed to it, and know him well personally; and before the Almighty, that is my only motive for sometimes playing at mall."²

He had much studied jurisprudence, and loved its

¹ Arab. Chron., 154.

² Id., 155.

purity, and strictly conformed himself to its injunctions. Once he was cited, and instantly went to the tribunal or *cadi*, and said, "I come to defend my cause, do towards me as towards any one else." And when, after a patient trial, the sentence was given in his favour, he added, turning to the *cadi* and court: "I knew that my accuser was wrong; but I am glad to prove it was not my desire to injure him. At present, that it is clear justice is on my side, I wish to make him a free gift of that land, therefore I call you to witness that I give it up to him."¹ The reverse of all the Moslem sovereigns of his day, he forbade the use of torture, under any pretext. Progress, that no one would have expected at that time in such a quarter.² He was, indeed the first Mahometan that ever erected a court of appeal, and he presided there himself, twice a-week, in presence of his *cadis*; on which his greatest *effendi*, who had been guilty of much extortion, called his lawyers, and bade them instantly satisfy every one of his creditors, for that anything was preferable to appearing at the bar before Nouredin and the judges. At which he shed tears of joy, and exclaimed, "Praise be to God that our subjects do

¹ Arab. Chron., 157.

² Id., 158.

right of themselves, without its being necessary for us to constrain them to it.”¹ The great object of his life—in appearance at least—was to wage war on the Christians; the decree of God against which he never attempted to struggle.² Also on heretics; and in the Fatimites he saw not so much their Mahometanism as their heresy, and persecuted this, rather more than he loved and revered that. With regard to free thinkers, or the sect who called themselves *philosophers*, he only followed his father in punishing them severely, and with extreme opprobrium, as atheists, and had them scourged on an ass through the whole city.³ Towards such he was inexorable, saying, “Why then should we punish robbers and highwaymen, if not those who sap the very foundations of all religion?” Having found a piece of money too much in the accounts, he gave it back to the treasurer, saying, “I know you will think it a trifle, for which very reason I beg of you to accept it, since your shoulders are less weak than mine, and I am afraid it might be an injustice that would draw on me an affair with the Omnipotent God.”⁴

He was the first to render military benefices hereditary; small fiefs, or colonies, to receive

¹ Arab. Chron., 161.

² Id., 162.

³ Id., 164, 170.

⁴ Id., 159.

veterans, and furnish recruits.¹ Many hospitals, and particularly the great hospital at Damascus, were founded by him; so vast and wealthy an establishment for all Mahometans in general, rich or poor, without distinction, that, "once asking," says the historian of the Atabecs, "for a doctor, I was directed to the great hospital, where the doctor wrote me a recipe and said, 'In a moment my apprentice will bring it to you.' To which I replied, 'But, Sir, thanks be to Heaven, I can pay for my own drugs, without trespassing on the property of the poor.' On which, he looked at me steadily: 'O Sir, I have no doubt but you can do without our drugs; but here no one disdains to accept Nouredin's benefits. In the name of God, I assure you that emirs and sovereign princes send to this hospital for their medicine, and never pay.' 'I was ignorant of that.' 'It is that his desire was to be useful to all Moslems, rich or poor!'"² He also erected many khans, or caravan-serais,³ as well as forts, fortresses, and mosques, and monasteries for sophis; and he it was who erected that most useful invention, pigeon posts,⁴ and magnificent colleges for every sort of science, which, at that time meant more than theology, or mere

¹ Arab. Chron., 165.

² Id., 167.

³ Id., 167.

⁴ Id., 150.

poetry, and comments on the Alcoran, but much chemistry, mathematics, medicine, law, astronomy, mining, architecture, at least.¹ Nevertheless, few were the mourners for his death, since there was something haughty and despotic in his manners. He scarcely permitted people to sit down in his presence, before he had told them so to do, except that on perceiving a doctor of law, or sophi, or faquir, he used to rise to do them honour, and make them sit down close by his side, as one of his own family, and converse with them amicably. The Mahometan Prince of Moussul, by proclamation, told his subjects to divert themselves, and drink as much as they liked, seeing Noureddin was dead.² During his battle near Tripoli, when his right wing broke, he dismounted, and prostrate was heard praying fervently: "O my Sovereign Master, do not abandon thy servant, for it is thine own Divine religion I protect." Nor did he cease humbling himself, and weeping and rolling his face in the dust, all bathed as he was with tears, till God heard the voice of his supplication, and sent him victory.³

Such was the manner of man had sent Saladin to Egypt, under pretence of assisting the Cairo

¹ Arab. Chron., 168.

² Id., 171.

³ Id., 120.

Caliphs, but in reality to destroy them. They were but lifeless idols, or like the *Rois faineans* of France. Their viziers were their *Mairs du palais*. This state of things led to the double invitation of both Noureddin and Christians. And finally to their honourable dismissal; after Almeric's having received a thousand pieces of gold a-day, besides feeding his pack-animals, as had been stipulated before, and other advantages to "the *Hospitallers, who formed the nerve of Christian armies.*"¹ And indeed Noureddin's army likewise returned to Syria, except that, as the youngest of his emirs, Saladin, with his permission, remained in the Egyptian service.²

1168 It was but a triumphal march to Almeric when he returned again to Egypt; and after small opposition, he took Heliopolis. Before reaching it, he had a visit from a former acquaintance, to whom, as he entered the royal tent, Almeric said: "Hail to the Emir Schems-helkelafe!" "Hail to the perfidious king!" answered the Emir. "Yes! For if your intentions are upright, why are you here?" "I was told that the vizier's son had married Saladin's sister." "That is false; but even if it were true, that is no infraction of the

¹ Arab. Chron., 116.

² Id., 122, 125, 126, 135, 137, 139.

treaty!" "Then truth is," replied Almeric, "that the Franks from beyond sea have forced me!" "Well, what do they want?" "Two millions of pieces of gold." "I'll take your answer to the vizier, and do you tarry here."¹ But instead of Almeric's tarrying, he proceeded to under the walls of Heliopolis, where the vizier's grandson commanded. "Where are we to encamp?" asked the Christian. "On the points of our lances," replied the young man. "Do you think Heliopolis is a cheese good to eat?" "Yes! and Cairo shall be the cream!"² But Heliopolis, when taken, was cruelly sacked and partly burned, before delivering it up to the Hospitallers. This drove the vizier to despair; and it was clear the Egyptian army could make no available defence.³ So the caliph, in his consternation, had nothing for it but to apply to Nouredin as his only protection, and added to his lamentable letter of entreaty an enclosure of the tresses of all the women in his harem, cut off in the extremity of their sorrow, to testify it and stimulate his pity to the utmost haste. "They are the hair of my wives, who implore you to save them from the outrages of the Franks"—reference to the angelic song in the Koran: *Glory be to Him who*

¹ Arab. Chron., 128.

² Id., 129.

³ Id., 130.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1168.

*has given the beard to man for ornament, and her long hair to woman."*¹ And Noureddin, the moment he received the letter, wrote a command to his best general to take the flower of his troops instantly, with the greatest possible despatch, round by the Dead Sea to Cairo. The difficulty was to stop the Christian till the succour could arrive; and to do so, a desperate expedient² was resorted to, which exceeds by far what patriotism has displayed of most terrible in our own times.

Had the Frank shown humanity at Heliopolis, he most assuredly had taken Cairo without the least resistance.³ But, from the moment the Caireens were reduced to desperation, they changed character and feeling like those who fight with a halter round their necks, resolved to resist unto death, and manned their walls with most formidable energy. Which was represented in glowing colours by that same emir to Almeric, who, whatever their courage, would not let himself be intimidated, but moved on. The very same authority that rates both the Cairos of that age at seven millions—three for the old, and four the new—estimates Pekin at less than two.⁴ Old Cairo stood on the east bank

¹ Arab. Chron., 130.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 236. ³ Id: Id., ii. 237.

⁴ Comm. Geograph.

of the Nile; the new, where it yet stands; and fortified round—in a circuit twenty-two miles (say some) and others, thirty.¹ So those of the new joined their rulers in an invitation to all of the old, to remove instantly within fortifications, that at least had the river between them and the enemy. Perhaps (deducting exaggerations) old Cairo was the largest and most thickly populated city ever in the world, after New Cairo, ancient Thebes, and Babylon on the Euphrates. Old Cairo was also called Babylon,² and outdid and destroyed Memphis.³ It was in Old Cairo our Saviour spent part of his earthly life.⁴ Would the citizens of that unfortunate place obey such a mandate, and, abandoning all their property, quit their native dwellings, men, women and children—every human being? Had the world till then in any age produced such examples of self-devotedness? To hurry Nouredin the more, he in the same despatch had been offered the third of all Egypt,⁵ and full pay and every necessary for his army, if it got in time to save the government. The army consisted of two thousand picked Turks, and six thousand Turcomans,⁶ all on valuable horses. Nouredin

¹ Comm. Geograph, ii. 189.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 34. ³ Michaud: Orient, vi. 19.

⁴ Id.: Id., Orient, vi. 20. ⁵ Arab. Chron., 130.

⁶ Arab. Chron., 131.

had accompanied them to Rosselma, edge of the desert, and, on taking leave of them, had given each soldier twenty pieces of gold over and above his pay; and besides splendid accoutrements to the commander-in-chief for himself, handed him as credit for the public service (to face fortuitous calls) a sum of two hundred thousand gold pieces. Human wisdom and generosity could go no further. No other Mussulman since the commencement of the crusades, had been able to go to any such expense.¹ But is all soon enough? Let them have pinions! Not the third of Egypt, but will not the whole of it be his, when he has his lieutenant there? Whatever be Saladin's Egyptian title, he to Nouredin will be but his lieutenant.²

An advance of Almeric produced a return of the confidential emir, who dwelt anew on the resolution of those of Cairo; and thus the vizier had bid him reason: "If your Majesty even take it, much blood at least will be lost—neither you nor I can be sure of victory—on both sides numbers of brave men must infallibly be slain; then is it not better for both of us to agree in sparing such slaughter by your receiving what I offer—four hundred thousand pieces of gold?" Some assure one

¹ Arab. Chron., 132.

² Id., 139.

million. The king assented, and receiving one hundred thousand, allowed a delay for the rest.¹ But to please the Franks, he was forced to a further advance; and, though a carrier pigeon arrived to the caliph with a note that Nouredin's forces were on the road and would arrive within fifteen days, yet the assault might be sooner; and if the tidings reached the Christians, immediate.² Almeric had now pitched by the lake, scarce two leagues from Old Cairo. New Cairo was indeed fortified, and might stand a severe siege; but the old was defenceless, and the soldiers at all events might have every comfort there, during several weeks of rest; and even fearfully pillage it, before going to assault the new. But the fatal Emir Schems-elk-helafè entered again the royal tent. It was night-fall, and he led the king to the canvass door and lifted it: "You see those immense flames that mount up to heaven?" "I do!" "Well, it is Old Cairo on fire, I lighted it myself, by the caliph's and vizier's orders. I had twenty thousand bottles of naphtha sprinkled everywhere on the heaps of wood and other inflammable matter; and lit it at once in hundreds of places with

¹ Arab. Chron., 131.

Ibn-Alatir, 151.

ten thousand matches. It has been resolved that whole city shall perish for ever and ever. There is no possible remedy. So you must retire." "You are right," said the dejected monarch. And on the same moment began his retreat, lest his own camp should be burned also.¹ Slowly he moved backwards and stopped beyond Heliopolis several days,² while the Hospitallers³ evacuated the city given to them with so much pomp one month before.⁴ But it was idle waiting. No transitory flame was that which he had left. Not an inhabitant remained to try to extinguish it, nor by any mortal was an attempt ever made to put out that mighty fire. Had there been, it would have been in vain; the pitiless flames were at full liberty to burn themselves out; not a roof, scarce a wall was left standing, the conflagration lasted fifty-four days. In lieu of a fine city, there is now a sorry village named Forstat; where it is possible that some of those black, half-shattered columns shown in the mosque may have survived the fire, and been afterwards furnished with gables and a roof; and still more is it not quite impossible but where our

¹ Arab. Chron., 130.

² Id., 132.

Vertot: ii. 205.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1169.

⁴ Cod. Dipl. Geros., 448.—Num. xlvii. and xlvi.

infant Saviour and his blessed mother sojourned, may exist; for it is a cavern or grotto.¹ Old Cairo had an amazing quantity of splendid palaces as the residences of the opulent Egyptian patricians, which rank appeared to have existed then, though there has been scarce a shadow of any such in Egypt for centuries. Its being an open town, made it more convenient for horses; and besides it contained the chief charitable and religious establishments, and its streets were neither so narrow nor so crowded and suffocating as New Cairo: but above all, there was more liberty; as not exactly under the despot's eye, nor every moment subject to his caprices, so that a menaced grandee could escape into the country or desert or Upper Egypt; and the same might be said of other classes respecting the custom-house officers, or tax-gatherers and the multifarious tools of a bad administration; as well as avoiding their inevitable consequences, frequent frantic and bloody revolutions. Once that nest of aristocracy is in cinders, tyranny may reign rampant over the whole land of Egypt. Nothing to arrest the tyrant; all moral restraint at an end, and vice and brute force are everything.² *Beware of Egypt* was scriptural; but into whatever effeminacy or

Michaud: Orient., vi. 20.

² Id.: Hist., ii. 240.

profligate manners Syria or Palestine had fallen, the warning was as applicable in 1168 as in the period of the Old Testament.

One other call from the emir, before Almeric can get off, who had received a hundred thousand pieces of gold in part payment of the sum promised him; and shall he return home with them?¹ “The vizier begs you to send him back half the money.”

“Assuredly.” “Upon my word, your majesty is extremely generous, having an army that makes you master of our lives!” “It is, I am very certain,” replied the King, “that your having spoken to me in such a way is proof something extraordinary has happened.” “You are right,” rejoined the Emir; “for Nouredin’s troops have passed our frontiers; so you are in no safety here any longer. The vizier advises you to depart. We mean to respect the treaty. The cash we have, added to this from you, may suffice to satisfy Nouredin’s general; and as to our debt to you, we’ll pay it when we can.” “Just as you like,” answered the King; “I shall at all times endeavour to be useful to you; you have only to command.” And with most melancholy reflections, the Christian continued his

¹ Arab. Chron., 132.

retreat to Palestine. For was not evident irony in the vizier's words? The king himself had broken a treaty; and why expect the Egyptians to keep theirs? The whole world shall hear of the retreat of the Christians. Villany has been punished, and perjury; and the Egyptians rejoice at it.¹ One moiety of the gold pieces was given back to them, and the other being nearly expended, this military chest would hardly suffice to keep his men alive as far as Jerusalem; and the Constantinopolitan fleet shipwrecked!² Not only his dreams, but all his best-founded hopes had vanished.

Nor were D'Assaly's ideas brighter; for where was Heliopolis? City, commerce, maritime power, immense revenue, sovereign rights over a vast tract of most fertile country comprising fifty villages, nearly a million of inhabitants, handed over like so many beasts of burden—all had disappeared; and what remained to the order was a debt of four hundred thousand crowns, prodigious sum for that time.³

Pushed hard by Nouredin's Turcomans all along that disastrous road, when Almeric reached his metropolis, it was with an army frightfully reduced

¹ Arab. Chron., 133.

² Vertot: ii. 204.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1169.

³ Id. ii. 205.

by desertion, sickness, famine, and with the shame of having broken a solemn treaty, and undertaken an unjust and ill-planned enterprise.¹ On the miserable grand-master most of the public blame fell; so that this, added to his self-reproaches and those of his brethren, forced him at length to abdicate against the advice of the king, patriarch, and a large majority of his own knights; and hurrying to Normandy, he did homage to Henry II. at Rouen, and embarked at Dieppe for England, and was lost, for the ship foundering at sea, he was not among the eight saved.² In his place, in 1170,³ was substituted, as *locum-tenens*, Sir Castus for a few months, and then Sir Roger de Moulin for a few months, during which the knights in full chapter drew up a memorial to the Pope, asking him to decide whether they should take back D'Assaly (of whose death, so far off, they did not know), or elect a new one;⁴ but that during the interregnum, both Castus and Moulin, though only *locum-tenens*, should be called grand master in the deeds, is only following the Syrian custom; as, during young

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 240.

² Vertot: ii. 207.—Hoveden.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iii., anno 1169.

³ Cod. Dipl. Gerosi, vol. i., 336.—Num. li.

⁴ Id. Num. clxxxvi.

Bohemond's minority, his guardian was called in the deeds Prince of Antioch.¹ So Moulin is called grand master in a deed still extant of 1173, though in reality he did not attain that dignity till several years later. It is thus Sebastian Paoli puts history on a fair agreement with the incontestible documents; and is he not right?² But in 1170 1173 we come to the regular election. Nevertheless, let Sir Castus have his place among the grand masters as sixth by courtesy; and with time Du Moulin will have his too, but in reality.

The seventh Grand Master, then, is Sir Robert, or Joubert, or De Osbert; greatly celebrated, years before, for the great ability with which he executed the plan of Fulk, King of Jerusalem, in getting over Poitiers, to espouse the young Princess of Antioch—which cleverness and royal confidence had been ever since followed up, and at length led to this remuneration. Of what country he was, is uncertain, so any may be given. It is likely that the French historian would have told us if 1173 he was from France, and a Joubert; that being his surname, and Robert, as in the Italian version, his

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 47.

² Cod. Dipl. Geros., i.—Num. lii.

³ Id. i., 337.

Christian. By some he is called Robert, by others Roger or Richard, Josberto or Osberto, Jesberto, or Zeberto, which equally prove it a surname; and, certainly, to translate Osberto, Osbert is less change than Joubert. So, he may very well have been a Sir Robert Osbert of the family of that Norman who was Bishop of Exeter, in 1102.¹ And, indeed, it is but fair to indulge such surmises, that agree with his being at the Court of England, under Henry I;² for it is quite remarkable that, where there were so many English-Norman knights, there should seem to be so few grand masters of that nation. There must have been many, but their names are disguised in the translations. But whatever country he was of by birth, he was a very charitable person, and made bye-laws for the sick, as well as Raymond; one of which, still extant, is that white bread be given to the poor gentlemen, or "*Seigneurs les povres.*" And reading the deed about bread, and all those precautions, we ought to keep in mind that it was in a country often the seat of war, and a city ever threatened with a siege, where the knights, and their healthy visitors too, might be

¹ Sir Harris Nicolas: Synopsis, ii. 846.

² Vertot: i. 105.

reduced to eat inferior or black bread; but the sick got it white, and of pure wheat.¹ He signs himself *Jobert*, in that MS. from the Vatican. Could he have used so ill-chosen a phrase as *seigneurs*, almost a sneer, if applied to mendicants? But they were crusaders—his own equals or superiors.²

The great historian of the order says he died in 1179, from pure sorrow at seeing what ruin was impending over the Holy Land.³ Vertot would have it he fell prisoner and was starved to death.⁴ Hoveden is Vertot's authority. But, in truth, neither opinion agrees with the sure documents; for one of them shows his successor reigning in October of 1177. So, Hoveden certainly mistook, and assigned to Sir Robert, what really befel the Grand Master of the Templars.⁵ During that interregnum of three years, from 1170 to 1173, under Castus, and Du Moulin, as *locum-tenentes*, different events took place; and in 1174, Almeric and Noureddin both died.⁶ ⁷ The former, by his first wife, a Courtenay, left a boy, then about thirteen, and a

¹ Appendix, Num. xxiii.

² P. A. Paoli : 260.

³ Bosio: book i.

⁴ Vertot: ii. 233.

⁵ Cod. Dipl. Geros, i.338.—Num. clxx.

⁶ Cod. Dipl. Geros, i.—Num. cc., cci., cii. Two of these three documents show Almeric's death, and his son crowned.

⁷ Michaud: Hist., ii. 242.

daughter Sybilla,¹ and, by his second wife, niece of the Emperor of Constantinople, another daughter Isabella. The boy became Baldwin IV., whose guardian or regent was to be his nearest relative, Raymond III., Count of Tripoli, descended from the Count of Thoulouse, or St. Gilles, so famous during the first crusade.² And that the regent bore, amongst the Turks, as nickname, *Satan* of the Franks,³ displayed not only his talents as a politician and soldier, but their hatred of him; which, at least, should have spared him (but did not) his countrymen's suspicion; but these were falling, and of course prompt to suspect. He was a dangerous minister, from the enmity that his unpopular manners incurred, and he was so occupied with defending himself, that little time remained for government. He had cultivated his mind, and read much during his various imprisonments among the Saracens, but his natural talents served him more; for he was too impetuous to consult his wisdom. He thought everything was due to him, and that no favour was as much as he merited. With pride he demanded the recom-

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 364.

² Michaud : Hist., ii. 246.

³ Michaud : Hist., ii. 228.

pense of his past sufferings and services, and saw justice and public weal nowhere but in his own elevation. So he inspired his young master with terror, and found gold the most effectual poison at both Courts, Moslem or Christian. Inheriting much of his ancestor's activity and ambition, he did also of that indomitable character which irritates the passions, and provokes hatreds the most implacable.¹

To the Grand Master of the Hospitallers the unhappy young monarch could not but be dear, from the memory of his royal grandfather, as well as from his name of Baldwin, which recalled those matchless Normans who had been the order's earliest founders and patrons. It is said the orphan child had more than ordinary talents;² but his tutor told him what no kind and prudent physician would have had the heart to tell him; for it must have broken the boy's spirit for ever, and effectually deprived him of whatever palliative medical art might have attempted, or love, or hope. His cruel pedagogue informed him he was curelessly infected with that terrible disease that is in-

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 247.

² William of Tyre, book xxi.—Bosio: part 1, lib. iv., anno 1173.

finitely contagious, and separates from communication with any healthy creature; that renders one an object of ineffable disgust and terror to every human being for a long time, and is always getting worse, and, after prodigious sufferings, moral and physical, closes by a fearful agony—the leprosy—which marks you as unworthy of every earthly society from the very first, and never admits of the least glimpse of comfort in this world. The most unfeeling of fathers could never have pronounced such an atrocious sentence on his son, much less a mother. If for nothing else, for this William of Tyre merits the severest rebuke; nor that he was that tutor, could the writer have willingly believed; but he must, since it is that same Tyre himself relates it.¹ No wonder then if the hapless youth lost all courage, and teased several with vain entreaties.

Noureddin's death brought Saladin from Egypt, and was the Latin kingdom's knell. That Saladin became a beneficent sovereign to Egypt, is still remembered by the Nilometer, or Joseph's Well, so called from his name Joseph. That he had the Cairo Caliph murdered in or out of the bath²—per-

¹ Michaud: *Bibl. Crois.*, i. 159. ² Vertot: ii. 209.

haps by an order from his master at Damascus¹—is narrated freely by the Christians, but the Moslems are silent;² nor is it improper to hesitate as to giving a verdict of guilty, without clear proof.³ It were murder, aggravated by deep ingratitude, for that caliph had made him vizier, which surpassing elevation Saladin is said to have at first been afraid to accept, and it certainly brought him the envy of his own sovereign. Saladin, who was very fond of pleasure in his youth, soon reformed⁴ into a grave courtly politician and saintly warrior, and decided to receive the robe, and other marks of that supreme dignity, and ascended to the palace, clothed in the caliph's presents—a white turban, embroidered with gold; a robe sparkling with jewels; a tunic lined with scarlet; a mantle of a singularly fine texture; a collar worth of itself alone ten thousand pieces of gold; a scimitar enriched with precious stones, of the value of five thousand pieces of gold; a chestnut mare taken from the caliphate's own private stables, and reputed to be the fleetest in all Egypt, the animal herself valued

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 229. The Bagdad Caliph seems to have approved of all the doings of any lord of the ascendant.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 239. ³ Id.: Id. 241.

⁴ Id.: Id. 239.—Vertot: xi., 190.

at eight thousand gold pieces; her necklace, saddle, and bridle, studded with pearls, stirrups of solid gold, her caparisons of gold, &c., &c.¹ But notwithstanding his lofty station in Egypt, Nouredin in his letters never gives Saladin any other title than his old one of emir,² and having recalled him frequently to Damascus, as if to do him honour, the wary adventurer always declined the invitation, excusing himself on divers pretexts, satisfied with besieging with more or less success Petra, or Montreale, or some other of the Christian fortresses south of the Dead Sea, and then hastening back to Egypt on the approach of any Syrian Mahometans.³ Although, in his replies to Nouredin, we find him always sign himself his Mameluke or slave.⁴ And this mutual distrust made Nouredin on his death-bed recommend his only son to his friends, and that they should save his poor boy;⁵ and the dying father was right in his fears, for Saladin, coming from Egypt, under covert of protecting him from those emirs, removed his real friendly protectors one by one, and at length exiled young Maleksalek to Aleppo, where, under

¹ Arab. Chron., 138.

² Id. 139.

³ Id. 148.

Id. 139.

⁵ Id. 140.

inhuman tortures, he died, though exactly how, was never known. But volumes are in this line from one Eastern to another. "Then happened what happened: I witnessed much I'll never mention; interpret it well, and ask me no more."¹

As in 1171, with the Fatimite Caliph, had expired the Egyptian schism (fourteen caliphs of that race, in 250 years²), those of Bagdad came to extend their spiritual sway to all Egypt, where the black flag of the Abassides was instantly hoisted; and before expiring, Nouredin had the satisfaction of extinguishing a family he considered heretical.

Saladin had now only one superior, and he but spiritual and orthodox; and as Sultan—1174—was prayed for in all the mosques of his vast dominions.³ From 1174, absolute sovereign, up and down in a succession of useful victories, Saladin settled his dynasty—that of the Ajoubites, and, overrunning the Bekaa, then a rich popular valley, though now comparatively a solitude, visited the ruins of Baalbeck, the ancient Heliopolis of Asia, which Tyre confounds with Palmyra.⁴

If the Latin kingdom, Syria and Palestine, was

¹ Arab. Chron., 176.

² Vertot: ii. 182.—Michaud: Hist., ii. 241.

³ Michaud: Hist., ii. 247. ⁴ Id.: Id. 248.

tumbling down, perhaps it is that the heroes of the cross had disappeared, and, with the not unfair exception of the military orders, warlike virtue was gone. The descendants of an illustrious race had degenerated from their pristine morals, and contracted what may be compared to the impure stain oozing from the olive, or rust that corrodes steel.¹ Nor is this the opinion of a fanatical monk alone, but also of a cool statesman. Immediately on return from Egypt Almeric had undertaken an imploring visit to Constantinople, with confidence in his relationship to the Greek sovereigns; but it produced nothing.² A little later, he had to investigate that outrage perpetrated on the Old Man of the Mountain's merchant; and the criminal Templar was thrown into prison, and after trial, sentenced to death, which certainly would have been executed, if Almeric had lived; but not being so, the Assassins considered they had a full right to put any new King of Jerusalem to death, as responsible for his predecessor's neglect of justice.³ Another Templar, in Armenia, had become Mahometan, an Englishman, Robert de St.

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 245.—Vitri.

² Id : Id. 240.

³ Vertot : ii. 219, 223.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1172.

Alban.¹ But if one Judas did not dishonour the twelve, neither should two the Templars. But the pair of culprits furnished some cloak of reason to cite, when the storm began to rise against the whole body of those unfortunate gentlemen.²

Whether the following events happened exactly before or after Almeric's death is not quite certain; at least Michaud and Vertot disagree on the subject.³ The eldest of Baldwin IV.'s sisters married the Marquis of Monferrat, called Longsword, and he dying in a few months, left Sybilla, a young widow, with an infant son, heir to the throne, and she, having seen Guy Lusignan, a Frank adventurer, at Court, he debauched her, and her brother had to make them marry.⁴

Isabella, Almeric's other daughter, was given in wedlock to the famous Thoron's son, or nephew, a boy only ten, and she eight. And, after her divorce from him, she had several husbands, among whom was not, as is pretended, Renaud de Châtillon,⁵ widower of the Princess of Antioch, who may have married old Thoron's widow, and young

¹ Hoveden.—Bibl. Crois., ii. 775.

² Vertot: ii. 214, 218.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1172.

³ Id.: 223.

⁴ Michaud: Hist., ii. 253. ⁵ Id.: 249.

Thoron's mother; and now in right not of his own, but of the minor Thoron's wife as their factor or lieutenant, was called Lord of Petra and Montreale. And this is so true, that Renaud does not appear in the list of her husbands, in Seb. Paoli, or any other documents.¹ But the Hospitallers appear to have had military possession of both Petra and Montreale frequently.² Saladin besieged them ineffectually in Almeric's time. Montreale, Mons Regalis, so designated from its having been built by a king—Baldwin I., is called by the Arabs *Shaubeec*, the name of the mountain on which the town was built. Both Petra and Montreale were reputed impregnable, and built for the express purpose of keeping the road open between Syria and Egypt, round by the Dead Sea, and of dominating Arabia and the Bedouins. The soldan, when afterwards in his hands considered them the keys of the road to

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 366.

² William of Tyre: books xv. and xx.—Karak, or Kerak, or Petra Deserti, the Petra of antiquity, the Petra now so famous among travellers. Petra and Montreale were different fortresses, more than sixty miles asunder. Mons Regalis distat ab urbe Crac (vel Petra), xx. leucas versus Egyptum. Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 448 —Num. lxii. Crac vel Petracensis civitas est castrum ubi civitas olim Petra. Id. Id. Sanuti makes a mistake in thinking it and Montreale the same place.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1172.

Mecca, and, for that reason, refused to give them back to the Franks, though he offered to return Jerusalem to them, and to pay for reconstructing its walls. But both the King of France and the Mahometan continuing to hold Petra and Montreale a *sine qua non*, the treaty was broken off for ever.¹ That was many years later, and only mentioned now, to show how important those places were.

But now Sidon, and Paneas, and several other places fell, and by storm was taken the Christian fortress, above Jacob's ford, on the Jordan, the defence of Galilee; in which fortress many of the Templars were slain, and their grand master made prisoner, and flung into a dungeon, where the barbarians (incensed that to their demand to get himself ransomed, his reply was that *by an old custom no Templar could give more ransom than his girdle and his knife*) made him die of hunger; and they *sawed* two of his knights asunder, with a wooden saw, like Isaiah;² and several Hospitallers left their corpses there, and their Grand Master, Osbert may have been severely wounded; but he got back alive to Jerusalem, for we have a document of his

1177

¹ Vertot : iii. 410.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1171.

² Roberto del Monte : Chron.—Bibl. Crois. iii. 96.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1178.

dated January, 1177, between which month and the following October, he must have expired; for another document shows Du Moulin reigning in October, 1177. Vertot may have been very right in saying Osbert died of grief, at the sure signs of the approaching ruin of the Frank kingdom, only he mistook as to the date; as he was assuredly borne out in affirming that no landed acquisitions could be a compensation for the loss of a wise and able politician, and great captain, as Osbert was.¹

Most of the Christian forces having marched towards Antioch and to the siege of Harenc—a scene of the grossest dissipation and gambling, and diversions the most dissolute—as well as the honest recreation of hawking—Saladin advanced against Jerusalem, which compelled poor Baldwin IV. with all his ailments, to march out against him, accompanied by the Count of Tripoli, the Grand Master of the Hospitallers and many Knights Templars; and “by the goodness of God” was enabled to overthrow the Mahometan chief so completely, that he had himself to take part in the flight, nor could but scramble in haste up a dromedary and escape into the desert. Yet the

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 338.—Num. clxix. and clxx.—Bosio : par. 1, lib. v., anno 1180.

cavalry of Baldwin is said to have been only three hundred and seventy-five; who cut all the Mamelukes to pieces in their silk surcoats of saffron (Saladin's colour), and the whole road was strewed with cuirasses, helmets, little short iron boots of the Moslem runaways, who for the most part perished of thirst, hunger, and cold—for it was now November of 1179.¹

Nevertheless dire were the presentiments of Jerusalem.² When Saladin was driven back with that great overthrow, so that scarce one of the Egyptian army ever got back to Egypt, yet a victory was proclaimed at Cairo, and pigeons spread the triumphant news over Egypt *to quiet the spirits of the public.*³ How unlike modern times! Nor had it been the fault of the Moslems (say their writers), but the leper king, before he marched, alighted and in tears prayed to the Omnipotent, who thereupon sent a violent wind, that blew the dust against the eyes of the Mahometans, that they were forced to run away, and Saladin was so sore on the matter, that he swore to abstain from the nouba till he had avenged his honour. The nouba in the

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 251.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. iv., anno 1176.

² Id.: Id., 252. ³ Arab. Chron., 179.

East is a kind of music that only royal persons have a right to, five times a-day at their door—a privilege which he who renounces, for even a short space, is considered as abdicating so long all his other highest privileges, and confessing he lies under a stain, which must be washed out.¹

In one of the late battles, the son of the Lord of Ramlah—a private nobleman, was obliged to pay as ransom for himself alone one hundred thousand gold pieces and the liberty of one thousand Mussulmen; and Saladin's favourite physician, a Doctor Jssa, being made prisoner on the other side, the soldan paid sixty thousand pieces of gold to ransom him. How money had increased since the first crusade, when the ransom of a sovereign would hardly have been rated at such sums.²

In 1179 fell in battle Humphry de Thoron, remarkable for his wisdom and valour.³ He was uncle or father of the youth of that name who espoused the child Isabella, younger sister of Baldwin IV., a marriage that was afterwards to be broken.⁴

That there had been some small dissensions

¹ Arab. Chron., 180.

² Id. 182, Note 2.

³ Id., 181.

⁴ Michaud: Hist., ii. 366.

between Hospitallers and Templars is a natural consequence of human defects in which both parties may have erred from the strict rule of right—weaknesses scarce meriting notice, 1181 and no doubt frightfully exaggerated; but, whatever they were, Alexander III. made the two orders agree.¹ There had been disturbances at Antioch which were appeased by umpires, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the two Grand 1183 Masters of the Hospital and Temple.² As well as a mutiny at Constantinople happened, in which nearly all the Hospitallers in that city were murdered, and the great establishment there sacked, including hospital and church.³

Saladin accused his rival Moslems of leaguings with the Franks and the Assassins as if they were all one; and to his eyes they were so, or he wished it so to be thought, and that he was a staunch prejudiced Mahometan.⁴ Therefore when advancing against the Christians at Beyrout, he wheeled round suddenly and marched beyond the Euphrates to attack the Moslem Prince of Moussul; because he had made a treaty of truce with the Franks

¹ Rymer: i. 149.—Vertot: ii. 235.

² Vertot: ii. 238.

³ Id.: Id., 240.

⁴ Arab. Chron., 184.

for twelve years, paying them a tribute of ten thousand gold pieces a-year; Saladin also declaring there was a secret article to make war on him in Syria, Egypt, everywhere. So having threatened the Tigris, and taken Damascus and Aleppo, he was master of the most of Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. All he had to do, was to conquer Palestine.¹

Yet if the Moslems were divided a little, greatly more so were the Christians. *The sons of Belial* (in the chronicler's words), the true workers of ruin, hates, jealousies, mistrusts, embittered and tried to profit by the royal infirmities. No consolation for weak Baldwin! Little of this time is worth recounting, except an expedition made by Renaud de Chatillon from Petra against the shores of the Red Sea; for he built some ships at Petra, and had them carried on the backs of camels to Suez, where launching them, he devastated many places along the coast. As Christians had never appeared there before, the Turks were taken by surprise; and he made a large booty, advancing to the vicinity of Mecca and Medina. But here he was stopped by forces from Egypt. The Christians on the east

¹ Arab. Chron., 185.

bank were ready to ravage the holy cities, when the Saracen massacrers let few escape; and as to the prisoners, these were handed over to the haggis, who mostly cut their throats at Mecca, in place of a sacrifice of sheep as is usual every year, or lambs; and what Christians remained after the pilgrimage, were sent to Egypt to be immolated by the devout, and the doctors of the law.¹ The real Franks were not above three hundred; but there was a large proportion of apostate Arabs. The Christians' design was to disinter the Prophet's bones, and export them to Europe, to deprive the faithful of one of their chief objects as pilgrims. The intentional desecrators were within a day of Medina when arrested. Violent was Saladin's rage when he heard of such profanation: "The infidels have dared to violate the very cradle and asylum of Islamism. They have contaminated the country with their looks. It is a deep stain. Take care that the prisoners who have once seen the road do not return to be guides. We should be inexcusable in the eyes of God and men; every tongue would curse us throughout the whole East, and parts of the West also. Purge then the earth of those

Arab. Chron., 186.

monsters who dishonour it. It is our sacred duty. Let us cleanse the air of the air they breathe, and let them all be devoted to death." Such were Saladin's secret written orders¹—preparing the murder. And he undertook himself to besiege Petra, but did not succeed; so returned to Damascus, killing, burning, and destroying everything along the road. The Prince of Moussoul being now his vassal by force, had no longer alliance with the Franks; so Saladin had nothing else to think on but war against the adorers of the cross.² And to any of his emirs that wished for peace, this was his ready reply: "Allah has made it our strict obligation to carry on the holy war, without the smallest intermission. Nor are we to foresee wants or difficulties. His precepts are his orders. His promises a sure gage. Let us do our duty, and Allah will do His. He who neglects Allah, Allah will neglect him."³

The *Leper King*, known by that abhorred distinction, and that alone in the whole history of man, suffering from leprosy, or *king's evil*, or (are they the same?) *morbo regio laborans* being the

¹ Arab. Chron., 187.

² Id., 188.

³ Id., 181.

words of at least one chronicle¹—yet was his death to be a calamity to Palestine—the Leper King, seeing it was impossible for him to marry, or even hold the reins of government, and being now entirely out of minority, began the removal of Count Tripoli, and to associate his own brother-in-law, Guy; reserving to himself only the title of king, the possession of the metropolis, and a pension of about ten thousand crowns. But it excited the envy of the grandees; nor Tripoli disrelished such divisions.² Renaud, from Petra and Montreale, by his lawless incursions affording too good grounds for the reprisals Saladin desired, this called out a Christian army, and Guy at its head; and however it was, whether from his own incapacity, or want of discipline in his officers, he spent more than eight days in presence of an enemy inferior to him in numbers, without coming 1184 to battle;³ which cowardice, and the loud protests of the chiefs of the state, prepared the sure ruin of the Latins, say Mahometans.

Both they and Christians agree in pronouncing that the proximate cause was Renaud de Chatillon's

¹ *Annales Acquininetem.*—*Bibl. Crois.*, iii. 320.

² *Vertot*: ii. 241.

³ *Michaud: Hist.*, ii. 358.

breach of the truce which Saladin, in spite of all his prejudice, had contracted with the Christians.¹ Strange that the Christians, whose best defence was that sworn truce, were the first to break it, while the infidels kept it.² Nor was it now alone; but Renaud was continually pouncing from either Petra or Montreale, and now, like a robber, was unable to resist the temptation of rifling a caravan passing near on its quiet way to Mecca; but finally asked for peace, when the irritated Moslem was at the very gates of Petra, the Christian's den, which, to the surprise of many there, the soldan granted; for his late fever abated much of his ambition. And the truce he would probably have maintained religiously, though in the bottom of his heart he might rejoice that such a pretext came, as it were, forced upon him; but whatever he might have felt, outwardly he exhibited great anger, and swore to put the perjured traitor to death, if ever he fell into his hands.³ This is so contrary to the noble generosity we are frequently obliged to admire in Saladin, that it leads directly to the observation of his having unfortunately been of a religion that tended to embitter all his worst

¹ Michaud: Hist, ii. 266. ² Id.: Id., 266.

³ Arab. Chron., 189.

qualities, and to suffocate his good; and that, without meaning anything of the bigotry suspected in a monkish speech, it may be very true that had he been a Christian, he would have been a greater hero, and without many of the blemishes that stain him, and which may be fairly imputed less to him¹ than to the malignant dervishes, cadis, santons, around him, and the creed in which he was brought up. To confirm such excuses, here is a literal translation of a Moslem historian regarding another whom he evidently revered: "Some years before, when Saladin had a violent sickness, and that his life was despaired of, Cadi Fadel told him that undoubtedly God wished to punish him for his pitiless lukewarmness towards Islamism, and that the only way to recover his health was to promise the Almighty to turn for the future all his efforts against the Christians, adding that, as a sign of his firm purpose, he ought to begin by swearing to kill with his own hand, on the very first opportunity, Renaud of Petra for his sacrilegious enterprise against Mecca and Medina, as also Count Tripoli, firmest pillar of the Christian army. In the cadi's opinion, it was necessary to put those two wretches to death.

¹ Aboulfarage: 19.

On which Saladin gave his hand to the *cadi*, as consenting. When, two years after, the war broke out, the *cadi* took care to remind the soldan of his vow, and that it was only on this condition that God had restored him his strength. And this was the reason why he showed a more than usual fervour. It was the *Cadi Fadel* himself who recounted this anecdote to a friend of *Emad-eddin.*"¹

As early as 1184 poor Baldwin IV. had lost his eyes, his extremities had fallen off putrified; he had no more either hands or feet, and abdicating the administration in favour of his sister Sybilla's husband, had his little nephew crowned as Baldwin V., with great pomp; the child (then only five) being borne in a grandee's arms to the Holy Sepulchre, a splendid banquet given in Solomon's Palace, the barons and burghers of Jerusalem serving the new king; nor since then has there ever been a feast of joy in that metropolis.² During his minority his father-in-law Guy was to hold the regency, which dismissed Count Tripoli, whom his many enemies accused of treasonable plots, and a secret correspondence with the Moslem; but upon

¹ Arab. Chron., 198, Note 1. ² Michaud: Hist., ii. 259.

finding Guy decidedly incompetent, and deficient in courage, and unpopular among the soldiery, and, indeed, that they refused to march to battle under such a captain, the leper resumed his powers, and ratified the child's coronation. So Baldwin IV. determined to call back Tripoli to the regency, which the count was induced to accept, only with the express stipulation that the Hospitallers and Templars should promise to command the army, and the boy be under the protection of the Kings of France and England and the Pope; so that Tripoli should be without any responsibility on that head, and then he made a new truce with Saladin, at the severe, but necessary price.¹ The object of the truce was time to ask for a new crusade; and to obtain it, an embassy was composed, as before, of the patriarch and the two grand masters. But that patriarch had been already known as a vain, presumptuous man, and the state council, fearful of his impetuosity and outrageous pride, refused at first, and would have continued their refusal, to confer a place in the embassy on him to the courts of high and haughty sovereigns, were it not for calculating on the moderation, politeness,

¹ Vertot: ii. 247.

and knowledge of the world of his two colleagues.¹

1185. The trio sailed from Jaffa and arrived safe at Brindisi, and there learned that the Pope was at Verona, not to pacify Italy, but driven to it in this horrid manner. The cruel by nature, time easily changes them. Thanks be to God, nothing like what I am going to relate happens now. People are to-day of a purer porcelain.² In a sedition those of Rome seized on some innocent clergymen and scooped out their eyes; and putting them astride on donkeys, each facing backwards and holding the animal's tail, forced them to proceed in rueful procession to Velletri, where the Pope was then in Villeggiatura. Which barbarous sight struck the poor old virtuous Pontiff with such horror that he drove off instantly for Bologna, and thence by Modena to Verona, where he sickened severely, and after lingering a few months, died in the arms of the emperor, who had come to meet and console him.

This Pope Lucius was a Lucchese, and proud of having had the first grand master for countryman; it was a consolation to him to do justice to the order; as he did in a bull still extant, with all the

¹ Vertot: ii. 249.

² Platina: Vite dei Pontefici, iii. 25.

formalities that distinguish such instruments.¹ He, like his predecessors, praises the Hospitallers, and says that the Pope was always ready to ascribe fine, holy, and noble things to them, and nothing else. Mild man, he had been bishop of his native city, and loved its quiet, and, as it were, holiness; nor was it very willingly that he sat on the Papal throne—bidding farewell for ever to his dear home, and at his age ascending the tremendous stairs of the stormy Lateran. And to overturn the politics of Jerusalem, one of the three ambassadors expired at Verona—he of the Temple—on whose courteous wisdom it had relied much. The emperor then there was the famous Frederic I., who (destined to die within three years) was soon at Pavia, issuing a confirmation of privileges to the Hospitallers in the most solemn and flattering manner. It shall be given in the Appendix.² The patriarch and the survivor of the grand masters went by France, where they found Philip II., a pleasing young king; crossed the Channel to visit the English monarch, on whose succour they chiefly calculated, Henry II.; where, in the presence, that rampant patriarch made a

¹ Appendix, Num. xiv.

² Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. 311. Num. xxxii.—Appendix, Num. xlv.

most insolent speech—which is an excellent proof that the royal personage, so prudent then, could never have permitted his passion to run away with him and use words that naturally led to Becket's murder. Far from obtaining a crusade, to have consigned the brutal envoy to a dungeon would have been no infringement of international law. At this the grief and confusion of the Hospitallers were great, and presenting his Majesty with the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and the Jerusalem banner, as sent to him, "because that sacred city has a right to consider you its head and hereditary chief, and descendant of that Duke of Normandy who had been the first choice of the crusaders, though he ungratefully refused the crown offered to him, on which they had to confer it on another, who, however, also was a Norman, as nearly all their kings have ever since been. So, as Duke of Normandy, they have a right to your Majesty's protection." Nor did Henry II. object to their homage.¹ That haughtiest of kings allowed them to go back to Syria with fair words and a considerable sum of money also. The words of Hoveden also are clear, "The keys of the Holy Sepulchre, the tower

¹ Peterborough Chron., 14.—Bibl. Crois., ii. 846.

of David, and Jerusalem, and the royal banner;” but as they are somewhat in contradiction¹ with Michaud, the original shall be in the Appendix.²

The Jerusalem people complained of their ridiculous passionate patriarch, and that as a Heraclius found the cross, so it would be lost now through fault of a Heraclius, whose violent temper made him odious to the whole world.³ And to these murmurings were added the fearful prognostics, a dying king, a minor his successor, and an ambitious, irreligious regent, suspected of a partiality for the infidels, and of aspiring to the crown.⁴ After all which, Baldwin IV., departed on the 15th of March, 1185; and a few days later, Baldwin V., feeble and fragile hope of the Christians, his sudden death being ascribed to poison, whether from Tripoli, or Guy, or the child’s own mother, desirous to become queen, and make her lover (now husband) king. Neither Sybilla nor Guy were satisfied with her brother’s decision; and they resolved on a plot, that 1186 required time, to get the mass of their opponents out of the way.

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 260.

² Hoveden : 2.—Bib. Crois., ii., 773.—Appendix, Num. xxiv.

³ Vertot : ii. 256.

⁴ Id. : ii. 257.

Whoever takes the pains to scrutinise this chronology minutely, will find it very different from the usual one; but it is to be hoped, he will also find it reposes on the stablest of testimony, to examine which put the writer to much trouble, perhaps more than such small matters merit; but, he flatters himself, it is once for all, and settles them for ever.

Renaud's breach of the truce coinciding (and most iniquitously was it broken by wicked Christians, avow chroniclers),¹ Saladin sent a circular
1187 throughout his dominions, summoning every Mussulman to the holy war, and in May of 1187, marched from Damascus with the caravan for Mecca, and laid siege again to Petra; and his son, marching against Acre, fought the Day of Sephoria, by Christians called the battle of Nazareth. And indeed, the spot where it was fought, is only about five miles to the north-east of Nazareth, into which the two Grand Masters of the Temple and Hospital, with their little escort, had come that very evening, on their way to Tiberias, whither they were sent on a mission by the Jerusalem Government. The little village has disappeared,

¹ Sicardi: 2.—Bib. Crois., ii. 547.

but there is a circumstance mentioned by the chronicler,¹ which marks the spot out still; and it is the threshing-floor of a farm-house of El-Majed, which, however strange it seems, survives to our own days, amid changes of everything else of much more importance, particularly in that extraordinary land, where nearly universal have been the changes during so many centuries, and a rapid succession of masters. Cities, dynasties, and empires, have gone; and here is the threshing-floor, and there is the small hamlet of Cana, still known for ever by the same name.² "It was there," says Mr. Gillot, with most pardonable warmth, "that the France of the East had her Leonidas and Spartans, and they expired under the shade of Mount Thabor, and their Thermopylæ were the passes through those naked calcareous rocks and precipices."³ More astonishing still, Bonaparte's victory of 11th of April, 1799, called battle of Cana, took place on nearly the same spot; and there are not wanting Frenchmen who may consider this as reprisals of that—tremendous length of interval! And the valiant actors—Templars, Hospitallers, and

¹ Bernard le Tresorier : Chron.—Michaud : Orient., v. 455.—Bib. Crois., ii. 574.

² Michaud : Orient., v. 458. ³ Id. : Id., 461.

Republicans, were unconscious of the past or future. A fellow-countryman of Maillé's cut that Templar's name on a small rock that just peeps from the centre of the threshing-floor.¹

The chronicler says, the straw on that threshing-floor was all reduced to dust by Maillé's struggles; and so it would have been now at the same season; another Chalgrove, or Hougoumont, or rather its quiet cottage. While the heroes, so soon to die, slept at Nazareth, that very same night the seven thousand Saracens had passed Jordan, and instantly began to slaughter the peaceful peasantry, who, when they opened their eyes, it was in another world; and at daybreak a voice echoed through the streets, "The Turks, the Turks! to arms, O men of Nazareth! To arms for the true Nazarene!"² And the grand masters and their little escort, of about five hundred, instantly marched to meet their more than ten-fold adversaries. Their meeting was on the threshing-floor in question, fronting the farmer's, at foot of a little hill that shelters the village of El-Mazed, on the road from Nazareth to Cana in Galilee.³ Considering their great in-

¹ Bapt. Poujoulat: *Asie Mineur*, &c., ii. 396.

² Cogglesdale.—Michaud: *Hist.*, ii. 266.

³ Bapt. Poujoulat: ii. 397.

equality of numbers—there having been one hundred and thirty cavalry, including Templars and Hospitallers, and four hundred foot, on one side, and on the Moslem, seven thousand—it is not astonishing the Franks were worsted with a cruel slaughter; and after feats the most splendid, particularly by the Marshal of the Temple, Jacques de Maillé,¹ who, by the Moslem, was believed to be St. George on his white horse. The action was on the 1st of May, 1187, and the Grand Master of the Temple and two of his knights escaped.² “God declared for Islam,” say the Mahometans. “He is always in favour of the larger battalion,” say some Christians.³ The Grand Master of the Hospitalers, his horse being killed, fell with him, and the illustrious rider, the sworn foe of Islam,⁴ not disentangling himself fast enough, perhaps partly from the confusion, and partly from his age and the weight of his armour, left time for a crowd of Moslem lancers on foot, to gather round him, and finish him with a thousand wounds. Among whom it was pretended was Count Tripoli, under a

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 267.

² Id.: Id., 268.—Coggeshale's Chron.

³ Arab. Chron., 190. ⁴ Id., 190.

masque—rumour noticed, because others do so—but here only to accompany it with the due stigma of declaring it a wicked falsehood, utterly disproved by the melancholy events that followed. Du Moulin had the noble fine end that became him, and was found the next day beneath a mountain of corpses.¹ The words of Hoveden are very precise, “Et eodem die, videlicet Kalend Maji, sexaginta fratres Templi et summus Magister Domûs Hospitalis, cum pluribus domûs suæ fratribus, interfecti sunt.”² Sir Roger du Moulin was probably the first with the epithet “Grand” in any document, though Bosio and Vertot give the primacy to the bull of after years.³

At these tidings Saladin hurried back from Petra, and at Damascus found a body of ten thousand of choice regular horse;⁴ but of the irregular, so numerous that some Moslems compare them to the entire human race collected together for the day of judgment.⁵ Saladin had no more to do than divide into centre, right, and left, and vanguard and rear, and in that array advanced

¹ Cod. Dipl. Geros, i. 339—Vertot: ii, 265.—Bosio: par. 1, lib. v., anno 1187.

² Hoveden: 635.

³ Vertot: iii. 525.

⁴ Arab. Chron., 190.

⁵ Arab. Chron., 190.—Emad-Eddin.

towards Tiberias for a general action, though contrary to the advice of some of his council; at which time his forces, full of enthusiasm, amounted to eighty thousand men.¹ And he moreover recalled his son with his seven thousand, flushed with victory, from Nazareth, well aware that those victorious troops could not but render his own more ardent;² not disdaining any way of increasing his numbers or rousing them to energy. Thus in his circular he was not ashamed to call all Moslems to join him, whether they acted from religion, or love of plunder and prodigious wealth and untold hoards of money, and all kind of luxury and delights—every morsel of land from Persia to the Nile, towns and villages for his bravest emirs, the spoils of every Christian family and every farm and estate, to be divided among the descendants of those Mussulmen who had been driven from Palestine; all spiritual blessings from the Caliph of Bagdad, and his warmest orisons for those who marched to the conquest of Jerusalem. Thus was it written on his colours: “This is the banner for all who love Mahometans or hate Christians or

¹ Michaud: *Hist.*, ii. 268.

² Cogglesdale: 4.—*Bib. Crois.*, i. 352.

desire unbounded wealth, or lands or palaces. Welcome to all who wish for gold or silver, or jewels, or fields, or fine houses, or captives hard working or beautiful, male or female. All of you join us and fall in quickly."¹ The earlier days of June, he passed in the river.²

As soon as Du Moulin was found by some knights of his order, they bore his corpse into Acre; and, at a chapter holden in its presence, Sir N. Gardiner was chosen. He was at that very time grand preceptor, and had been so certainly from previous to 1180,³ and even constable in 1125, and probably turcopolier,⁴ as well as brother to the Prior of England.

But under the leper, and after his and the minor's death, and during various regencies, the plot had been going on for the last two years at Jerusalem, and divisions, which Saladin kept tacitly fomenting as much as he could. And as soon as the Grand Master of the Hospitallers had been sent on that expedition to beyond Nazareth, whence it was agreed the Grand Master of the Temple

¹ Coggleshale: 3.—Bib. Crois., i. 351.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 268.

³ Cod. Dipl. Geros., i. Num. xlvi. —P. A. Paoli: 300.

⁴ P. A. Paoli: 302, 427.

should return as he did (otherwise he would have stayed to share the heroic death of Maillè, no doubt), and that all the other grandees not in the secret had gone to the states general at Naplouse to consult about who should be king—then the plot broke out, and the gates of the metropolis were shut (as we learn from an eye-witness), and no one was allowed to enter or go out for two days and nights, during which there was a meeting of those called the princes; but indeed (adds the same authority) there were no princes there, but only a few priests and the Grand Master of the Temple, and Sybilla, Countess of Joppa, and Guy and their friends—that is, the conspirators. And Sybilla being crowned by the Patriarch and told by him, that as a woman she should give that crown to the person most capable of governing the kingdom, she arose and calling her husband, there present, she said, “Sire, come and receive this crown, for I know no one who can employ it so well!” On which he knelt, and she placed the crown on his head, and so they were king and queen, and proclaimed publicly; and the gates flung open again, and the tidings reached Naplouse. The consternation of those barons was great,¹ and Tripoli exclaimed, “Have

¹ Michaud : Hist., ii. 264.—Bib. Crois., i. 368.

we not Isabella's husband?¹ Let us elect him sovereign, who is of Baldwin's blood, but Guy is a total stranger!" which frightening young Thoron, who was only fifteen, he rose and rushing forth, rode off to Jerusalem, and threw himself at Sybilla's and Guy's feet, calling for pardon and doing homage.² And then those at Naplouse separated; and, since it was too late to resist, hurried one by one with their allegiance to the royal pair in Solomon's Palace. And also soon came Sir N. Gardiner from Acre—though melancholy must have oppressed his soul—not for himself, he was resolved to do his duty the very best he could, and die; but he knew that the battle in which he was about to head the Hospitallers, was a vain defence, and that won or lost, Jerusalem must soon be taken, and the Latin kingdom fall. Likewise the high-minded and too injured Tripoli came to a similar resolution, and that in this public extremity, no private considerations should be listened to; though when he met his brother Franks, it was to be thus accosted!—"We suppose you have become a Mahometan!" So Guy, hearing of

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 265.—Bib. Crois., i. 369.

² Id.: Id., 265.

his approach, proceeded out on horseback ten miles to meet him, and then they both alighted on the road, and Tripoli knelt and kissed Guy's hand,¹ and, embracing, they entered Jerusalem as devoted friends. All the garrisons from the various towns had been called in, and all the crews of every Latin ship from Scanderoon to Ascalon, and together a body of fifty thousand men occupied the valley, a few miles south-west of Naplouse, which encampment Guy and his suite joined, to hold a council of war, that same evening, and march next day perhaps.²

Saladin had already taken Tiberias, and Tripoli's wife and infant child retreated into the citadel, which still stood, while the Saracens scoured all the country with infinite devastation, and had even burned down the town of Tiberias itself, all but its citadel. The flames were visible from the Christian camp, as well as the ruin of the whole province, that Saladin might drive the Giaours from their position, or by a decoy, which was to succeed. For, in the council of war, when Tripoli had spoken for not stirring, "It being better to lose Tiberias, and I, my town, and wife, and child—no one sacrifices

¹ Bernard Tresorier: Chron., 5.—Bib. Crois., ii. 574.—Michaud: Hist., ii. 268.

² Michaud: Hist., ii. 269, Note 2.

so much—than lose Jerusalem. Here are wells, food and shade, but there would be neither. Those arid solitudes would soon consume our army and horses, and hunger and thirst and the burning heats of this season. The Saracens must soon remove, either to attack us at grievous disadvantage, or to retreat from sickness and want of food and water; on which we could pursue them, we and our chargers fresh and vigorous, and with that blessed Cross; for at present the Saracen numbers are in their favour, but then not. Then I swear to you, they'll all perish in Jordan, or the lake, or by thirst, or our swords, or fall into our hands prisoners." Renaud to this, "It is to intimidate us, that he has exaggerated their numbers; but at all events, the more the wood, the better the blaze!" Nevertheless, that soldierly advice of Tripoli's engaged the majority to vote for biding, and Guy adopted that salutary intention.¹ But when he was in his tent, the wily Grand Master of the Temple shook his resolution by protesting that it would destroy the spirit of the army to be lookers on at such barbarous deeds; and that he, for one, and his Templars were resolved

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 271.

not to endure the dishonour, but would lay down their white mantles; so, the unhappy monarch weakly issued orders for an advance to battle, at day-break. Some may suspect the Templar of treason; yet it probably was not, but rash impetuosity. Tiberias, that lay on the western bank of the lake, is no longer to be found; its walls had been rebuilt, but the earthquake of 1837 threw it down; so that a subsequent traveller could not find any shelter to sleep in there, and was obliged to go and bivouac on the opposite bank. For the first time, Guy was obeyed, and it was to ruin the Christian cause.¹ "We suppose you are afraid," said the unblushing Renaud, "since you advised the reverse." "As you go, I will, also," replied Tripoli, "though against my opinion. If it end disastrously, that will be no fault of mine." When Saladin perceived the Christians advance, he saw his stratagem had succeeded, and exclaimed, "We have conquered, and all Palestine is ours!"²

The Count Tripoli led the vanguard, as was his feudal place, on that morning of Friday, the 3rd of July, says the eye-witness.³ The left and right

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 272.

² Arab. Chron., 192.

³ Cogglesale.—Michaud: Hist., ii. 273.—Bib. Crois.

were composed of troops belonging to various barons of Palestine. The centre held the cross, surrounded by a picked corps, and Guy with his bravest knights; the rear was confided to the Templars and Hospitallers. These both were called a swinish race that he was resolved to exterminate, by Saladin. They rarely gave, and had never any reason to expect quarter. At about three miles from Tiberias, the Christians began to suffer from thirst and heat, and met the Saracen. There were high rocks between them and the lake. So Tripoli sent back to the king to bid him hasten his march to gain the lake before night; and the count pushed on, Guy's answer being that he would follow him close. But instead of this the king, hearing that the Turks were pressing on the rear severely, felt irresolute, and gave the command to halt and pitch the tents. So the army was separated, and had to pass a dreadful night; and indeed all was lost. Impossible to depict the sufferings and horrors of that, to them, long night. Still the Franks did not quite lose their courage: "To-morrow we'll find water with our swords." There was much of the pale blue of the country round Rome in that lowland, between the rocky lines that keep it from the most sacred of lakes—a mile off to its right, and

Mount Thabor to its left, at the distance of about three miles. All along that plain grew a quantity of tall dry grass, weeds, and brushwood, to which the Turks set fire; so that, to augment the torment of the Christians already dying of thirst and heat, they were enveloped on every side by smoke and flames, till they became black as devils and half roasted; while the shrill cries of the savages who never one moment ceased from assaulting them, caused the air to ring with the groans and clamours of the murderers and murdered, making a terrific accompaniment to the rustling and roaring of the conflagration. So passed that whole horrid night. And between them and the wavy fresh-water lake, day-break only showed the entire Saracen army in an extensive dense mass. Many were the charges to break through it; and Frank bravery did whatever could be done by valiant and desperate men, speaking of the cavalry; for as to the infantry— but in vain. And now all was confusion, death or flight; yet this was death too, for they were surrounded. Only Tripoli, after prodigies of valour, with his incomparable vanguard united like one man, broke back again through the Saracens and joined his countrymen, who were in the horrors of an irremediable, indisciplinable defeat; on which the stoutest of his

peerless corps charged the Saracens once again with such determined valour, that it succeeded as before, and they were the sole large body of soldiery that escaped from that bloody field. Nor was it duplicity in Tripoli, as pretended, nor from any leniency in the Saracens, but as their own Moslem commander confessed afterwards, he saw resolute despair in the Christian looks and whole demeanour, and to avoid it, made his men divide and leave them a free passage. Some other individuals cut their road to liberation; but they were very few. Tripoli's were the only party forming anything like a regular body, and with them the count retreated to Tripoli, his capital, and in a few days died of grief. The army of Franks scarce any longer existed. The picked guards, who retreated with the cross to the right horn of the Hill of Hattim,¹ being for the most part killed, their sacred deposit was taken. It is not in a spirit of hate that Mahometans neglect the cross; but they think the real Jesus returned to heaven, and that an angel was sent down to suffer and be crucified in his place.² After fearful struggles, the king

¹ Rex (Guy), victus cum majoribus Tyronem. Hatti ascendit, ubi comprehensus est cum principibus suis et aliis, et in captivitatem ductus.—*Oliveri Scho. Chron.*—*Bib. Crois.*, iii. 137.

² *Arab. Chron.*, 195. Note.

and immediate suite, and the bravest of the survivors, rode up its left horn. "I was then with my father below it," related Afdal, later, "and they charging down from the hillock upon our troops, who were beginning to mount, drove them back; and looking at my father, I saw a cloud of grief on his face. 'Make the devil a liar,' he cried to his Mamelukes, catching hold of his beard. At this they threw themselves on the enemy, and forced him to regain the top of the hill, at which I shouted joyfully, '*They fly! they fly!*' But the Franks returned to the charge, and came down to the very foot of the hillock, yet were again obliged to return up, on which I shouted again, '*They fly! they fly!*' Then my father looked at me, and said, '*Hold your tongue! They will not be truly defeated until the king's standard falls.*' And scarce had he finished speaking, when the standard fell. On the instant my father alighted from his horse, and prostrate, thanked God with many tears of joy."

"This was the way the king's standard fell," says Ibn-Alatir; and, since Mahometans and Christians come to the same conclusion, it cannot but be true. "When the Franks charged down, it was an effort like that of a dying man, for they were ready to expire from thirst; not an endeavour

to rally, for the day was lost, they knew, but to gain the water. So at our repulse, they dismounted from their horses, and sat down on the grass. The Mahometans ascended the hillock, and going round threw down the king's standard. No Christian hand would have dared to do it; and there they sat mute and stupified, making no resistance." But there must have been something in their eyes that protected them; yet they were only a few. It was the whole royal party made prisoners. The king, his brother, Renaud of Petra, the Lord of Gebail, were among them; and young Thoron, the Grand Master of the Templars, and several Hospitallers and Templars. But Gardiner, and his choicest of knights, had cut their way to liberty, or perished in the attempt. Yet though the slaughter had been great, the number of prisoners was great too, including nearly all the infantry, that had refused to fight from the very first. Not so much that they were traitors or cravens, but they declared it impossible for them from the heat and thirst. Of the fifty thousand Christians, scarce one thousand escaped.¹ Never had the Franks, since their invasion of Palestine, suffered any such defeat. Saladin

¹ Arab. Chron., 199.

knew it was the conquest of every town in it, not excepting its metropolis, which must all drop, one by one, quietly into his lap, like ripe fruit, their fortifications having each been taken by storm on that day, and, as it should always be, far from the habitation of innocent women and children, and the pacific population, who ought never to be exposed to a siege. After the battle, Saladin had a tent pitched, and, retiring into it, called for the king and other principal prisoners, and made Guy sit by his side, and observing him to be thirsty, had iced water brought in. The king, after drinking, presented the cup to Renaud, which made Saladin exclaim, in reference, no doubt, to the Arab custom, which obliges you to defend the life of whomever you have once given meat or drink to, "It is not by me that this scoundrel was invited to drink. I am no wise bound towards him." And recollecting that he had twice sworn to slay him (and, in fine, all that was adduced in a former page), he, sending him a look that made every one present feel terror, reproached him with his crimes, and rose, drawing his scimitar—but let us hope it was only a signal to his emirs, and that he did not himself strike the defenceless unfortunate, whose head was instantly struck off; yet Emal-eddin, an ocular witness, says

that in each case life was offered on turning Moslem, but Renaud preferred death, and the others too; so his head rolled at the king's feet, which set him trembling; but Saladin told him not to be afraid, for that his life should be spared. So was also that of the Grand Master of the Temple; certainly because to his advice the victory is to be ascribed. As to the rest of his knights and their likes, the soldan had them all beheaded. Nor his own prisoners alone; but knowing the avarice of his soldiers, and that they would conceal them for the ransom, he had it published by a regular order of the day, that he would purchase, at the rate of fifty pieces of gold each, whatever Templars or Hospitallers were brought to him, which produced two hundred of them, and they, in like manner, were slain. "For," said he, "since they like homicide so much when it favours their own religion, it is but justice to let them taste a little of it themselves." He looked upon them as at permanent war with Islam; and, in that same spirit, wrote to his lieutenant at Damascus to put to death all such knights there, whether belonging to private individuals or not, which command was executed. But, besides all slain, there were immense quantities of Christian prisoners, which reduced their price so much, that

one of them was sold for a pair of slippers.¹ A letter says, "Were we even to pass the whole remainder of our life in thanking God, it would not be enough." And another, "Here is a victory without parallel. A little part, for to tell you even the half were impossible."²

Young Thoron, who remained a captive, was afterwards, at his mother's intercession in Jerusalem, sent with her to Petra and Montreale (by the Arabs called Karak and Shaubec), which were to be his ransom; but these fortresses refused to surrender; so he was led back to his prison at Damascus, and his mother fled to Tyre, then the only town in Palestine not yet taken by Saladin.³

The rest of that Saturday, Saladin kept the field; but on Sunday marched against the citadel of Tiberias, and took it, and sent to count Tripoli his lady and child. That count had, however, died of sorrow, too persuasive proof that he was no traitor.

And Saladin advancing against Acre, it resisted only two days; and in succession, Nazareth, Caipha, Cesarea, Jaffa, Sephoria, Sebaste, Naplouse, Sidon,

¹ Arab. Chron., 200.

² Id., 200.

³ Id., 211. Note 2.

Beyrout, Ramla, Hebron, Bethlehem, Gaza, Daroum, Ascalon, and other towns, were only preparation for Jerusalem. He however wished to leave it full time; and though he spoke severely, to try to frighten the Franks, his real object was to reduce it to a quiet capitulation; for it is the holiest of cities, to Mahometans as well as Christians. Nor did he wish to defile it with blood: the less so, that it would seem like imitating the Giaours. Besides, there was, what he counted on more, the treason of the unquiet Greek within it, and Melkite Christians.¹ He expected much glory from taking the city of God; and he would be the first since Omar, who took it from the Christians; that he and Omar would be the only two that ever took it from the Christians—if on a Friday,² the greater the glory through all Islam; and that such lofty repute would be a solid recompense.³ “From Gebail to Egypt nothing along the coast, or near it, remains to the Christians, but Tyre and Jerusalem,” wrote Saladin. “So I’ll go and take the Holy City; and when it pleaseth the great God, we’ll go to Tyre!”⁴ And on the 21st of September he left the sea for the

¹ Michaud: Hist., ii. 286. ² Arab. Chron., 204.

³ Ibn-Alatir: 59.—Michaud: Hist., ii. 283, 288.

⁴ Arab. Chron., 204.

Mountains of Judea. On reaching the walls of Jerusalem, he employed five days in examining them;¹ next he harangued his emirs—"That if God should give them the grace to chase the enemy from the Holy house, what felicity, what gratitude we should owe Him! That, behold, the holy city has been in the hands of infidels for eighty years, during which the Creator receives but impious praise there; that the Moslem Princes had often desired to deliver it, but nevertheless this high honour was reserved for the Ayoubides, to gain them the hearts of all Mahometans. That their entire thoughts should then be directed to the conquest of Jerusalem; that there is Omar's Mosque, choicest fabric of Islam; that Jerusalem is the dwelling of the prophets, where the saints repose, which the angels of heaven visit in pilgrimage, where shall be the general resurrection and the last judgment; that it is there the elect of the Lord resort; that it contains the stone of untouched beauty, whence Mahomet ascended to Paradise; that it is there the lightning flashed, the night of mystery shone forth, and that truth beamed which has illuminated every part of the world; that one of its gates is that of mercy,

¹ Arab. Chron., 205.

and whoso entereth by that gate, is deserving of Paradise; that there is the throne of Solomon, the chapel of David, the fountain of Siloe comparable to the river of Paradise. The Temple of Jerusalem is one of the three mosques of which the Alcoran speaks. Surely God will give it to us back in a finer state, since he honoured it with a notice in his Divine book.”¹

And the siege began; and was severe for a short time. All the medical men there were not sufficient for the wounded² writes an eye witness, who had himself received a sore wound then, of which he was suffering still, when he wrote years after. But in less than four days³ the citizens were driven to capitulate; and Saladin, with inward satisfaction, granted what he had offered from the first;⁴ and precisely on the first Friday of October, 1187, the Moslem standard was raised on its walls; but Saladin made his triumphal entrance several days later.⁵ Yet sixty thousand, able to bear arms, are said to have been at that time within the city.⁶

¹ Arab. Chron., 206.

² Cogglesdale: 26.—Bib. Crois., i. 354.

³ Michaud seems for thirteen days: Hist., ii. 288. Note 1; but the Arab. Chron. says decidedly four; 209. Note.

⁴ Michaud: Hist., ii. 289.

⁵ Arab. Chron., 210.

⁶ Arab. Chron., 212.

More than one hundred thousand Christians, says Michaud.¹ Now then (may be well asked), could Jerusalem, in Godfrey's time, with a handful have withstood the immense forces of Islam? Most certain is, what has from the commencement been asserted, that without Gerard's knights the Latin kingdom could not have stood a week. His order was then a natural and absolutely necessary consequence of the first crusade.

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¹ Michaud: Hist. ii. 290.

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Michael: Hist. ii. 200.

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