

THE HISTORY  
OF THE ORDER OF  
ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

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BOOK I.—(CONTINUED.)

ABEYANCE THE FIRST.

OUT on the pinnacle of the rock looking towards Jerusalem, about five miles from it, stood a horseman, evidently Christian, from the setting beams of a vivid October sun, A.D. 1187 (the very last day of that month,<sup>1</sup> for early in November Saladin was before Tyre with his army),<sup>2</sup> which sun flashing on

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 219.

<sup>2</sup> Arrivez sur un point élevé de la route; nous avons arrêté nos chevaux, et nos regards se sont reportés sur Jerusalem. Quelle profonde détresse!—Michaud: Orient., iv. 297.—That Grand Master Gardiner was quite a different man from Gardiner, Prior of England, is certain also from this latter's having been still prior there in 1189.—Appendix, Num. xxxvi.



his scarlet surcoat, showed most distinctly its white cross; his eye accompanying each movement of another horseman that indistinctly in the deep shade was coming nearer and nearer, though rather slowly; and at probably two hundred paces away, as he got over some rising ground on the plain, keen gazers could observe he wanted the right arm, and wore a white cross of small dimensions. And they soon knew each other; and the younger, with as much speed as he could manage, rode climbing not straight over the rocky face, which was impossible, but round by the village. "Sir Almeric de Vere," said the Grand Master, as this knight of his drew up from behind, with a low bow, being without the hand to salute with his sword, or touch his helmet, "I am very glad to see you alive, even so." "Nor," said Sir Almeric, "did I hope evermore to meet your Grace in this world; for the last thing I recollect just as I felt falling, and before quite losing my senses, was to have seen your blood bursting out in torrents; so, in spite of all our exertions, you were severely wounded, and as I believed, killed, like such multitudes." "But death gave me only a distant shake again," answered the veteran, "for which, under God, I am to thank you, and indeed the whole of the valiant three score that were round me when we clove our passage at Hattim, and of whom the survivors are



you and the seven patches you see in muster behind me. We stopped first a little beyond Nazareth, where we buried several, and afterwards in certain caverns, where others of our party died, and then it was too late to go to Acre or Ascalon; for from Tyre to Egypt, all along the coast, is Moslem. And now being better, we have come to take our last view of that thrice holy and most noble metropolis, and then endeavour to get round by the mountains into Antioch, or somewhere in those parts. But having told you of us, let me ask you how you got into Jerusalem, and what has happened there since Saladin is its master, which he has been this fortnight, as we are informed; and as many exact details as possible, for we are worried with contradictions!"

"Very little could be testified," replied Sir Almeric, "by one senseless from that bloody field, or lying wounded in a room. However, I know it was that angel, an English lady, who had me lifted, with Saladin's leave, and her sweet care recalled me to life, and had me conveyed on a litter to the Jerusalem Hospital, several days before the siege. But in a week after I had undergone amputation, there was a great noise; and I went to the street door, and behold there was a motley crowd, monks, priests, canons, Levites, hermits, anchorites bent with the heavy



weight of years, and now, alas! obliged to carry arms, women, old or young, and even children; nor indeed could a finger be raised an instant above the parapets without being hit—and amongst the rush, I distinguished the English young lady (she was only seventeen) with a helmet on her head, and carrying drink and refreshments to the soldiers on the bastions. Nor did an hour pass before I saw her borne in wounded, and her brother, who had received an arrow in his face; but fortunately it glanced sideways, and slid along the bone, so that surgeons extracted the wooden part,<sup>1</sup> but the steel barb lies still buried in the flesh. As to my gentle Margaret, she had been struck on the shoulder by a large splinter of stone,<sup>2</sup> so that she cannot yet get up, and bled dreadfully, but is out of danger. To such a dreadful crisis had matters come, that I myself heard five thousand byzantines offered for fifty soldiers to man one tower for a single night. It was the public crier from Government.<sup>3</sup> But not a single person was to be had at that extremity. It would have been only worse, for traitors rendered all real defence impossible. The Greeks and Melkite Christians now openly regret it did not last for a

<sup>1</sup> Cogglesdale : Chron., 27.—Bib. Crois., i. 351.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas of Beverley.—Bib. Crois., iii. 371.

<sup>3</sup> Cogglesdale : 34.—Bib. Crois., i. 355.



few hours longer, for that they had resolved that very night to cut the throats of all the Franks.<sup>1</sup>

“The capitulation, that each should pay a small sum of money, was not rigorously exacted; thousands of expedients to avoid it. Forty days were allowed for all who chose to betake themselves to Tyre or Tripoli.<sup>2</sup> After a week, came the time prefixed for leaving Jerusalem, and, certainly, it was a melancholy scene; all the gates were shut but one, and Saladin on a throne to see all pass, the clergy with the consecrated vessels and the ornaments and treasures of the churches, and chiefly of the Holy Sepulchre, which some fanatic Moslem wished to pull down, and plough up the place, to prevent all further Christian pilgrimages<sup>3</sup>—the priests and their infinite riches were all allowed to file by unexamined.<sup>4</sup>—Even upon some of his emirs objecting that those treasures were valued at two hundred thousand pieces of gold, and that, by the capitulation, the clergy had only leave to carry away their own effects, and not the church ornaments, Saladin replied, ‘Let them alone, otherwise they would accuse us of treachery. They do not well know the true meaning of the capitulation.

<sup>1</sup> Aboulfarage.—Arab. Chron., 207. Note.

<sup>2</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 289.    <sup>3</sup> Arab. Chron., 214.

<sup>4</sup> Arab. Chron., 211.



Let them rather have grounds to praise the kindness of our religion.'<sup>1</sup>—The Queen, and ladies, and barons, and knights.—And Saladin respected her grief, and his words were full of kindness.—A large crowd of women, some with children in their arms and all with shrill cries of distress; wives, mothers, daughters. And Saladin, stung with deep pity, promised them aid to support their calamity, and gave the wives their husbands, and the mothers their sons, as many as could be found among the prisoners.—Since every one was permitted to carry what they could, many left their most precious effects, and, instead, put their aged parents, or sick friends, on their shoulders.—And Saladin then rewarded them, and pitied their piety, virtue, and misfortunes. All misfortune, even of his foes, found an entrance to his pity. And he permitted all of our order to remain in the city with the sick, and continue to take charge of them, till quite recovered. Nor can I but confess that the Mahometans praised and were proud of their sultan's noble compassion.<sup>2</sup> Large sums did he bestow on the ladye captives, with wondrous courtesy; but, particularly, on those of them that had lost their husbands or fathers; to some more, to some less, according to their wants. And many

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 212.

<sup>2</sup> Id.: 219.



beautiful dames and young ladies had to praise God, internally and most sweetly, for the good and signal honour which Saladin had done them.<sup>1</sup> Fierce, glorious and lofty were his virtues; and he testified it by the careful respect shown by the soldiers he sent with each band of Christian captives; towards whom they acted with the utmost humanity, permitting none to insult them, and if a man or woman, or child, fell sick or tired by the way, those soldiers used to alight and walk, and put their prisoners on their horses. Kindness, and tenderness, and courtesies, were found in all Saladin's army. I declare it was so then, whatever it was before or since. And, to several Christian knights he gave fiefs, considering they had neither the strength nor riches for a journey to Europe, and were too accustomed to the climate to change. Nor proposed any altering of religion to them. So that of the one hundred thousand Christians, by far the greater part went free; ransomed by their own money or Moslem charity. The soldan's brother paid the ransom of two thousand, Saladin of as many, and also set free crowds of poor people and orphans. Numbers were furtively let down the walls by ropes; others borrowed Mahometan dresses, and escaped as such. One thousand grown-

<sup>1</sup> Bernard le Tresorier.—Bib. Crois., ii. 280.



up Christians, at most, fell into slavery, and about five thousand infants.

“Certainly this is very unlike the extermination of the first crusade, but here there was a capitulation, and there the city was taken by storm. Nor was it a cold delicacy in Saladin, that engaged him to defer his triumphal occupation of Jerusalem till after the Christians had gone. A few days sufficed for the mass of the population. Those who chose to linger, were present at the entry certainly, nor could the Moslem army wait longer under the walls. It would have been unjust. Indeed the pomp of the Mahometans was very splendid when they entered. Then, with the single exception of the Holy Sepulchre, all the churches were turned into mosques; that of Omar washed with rose-water from Damascus, and embellished as before. Inhabitants, law, religion, all is changed in unhappy Jerusalem. Name it as you will, it has wholly vanished. Like those other boasts of antiquity, it no longer exists. It is lost for ever and ever! And please your Grace, all is over, all is lost with it. As for me, I have experienced nothing but kindness, from that completest of defeats at Hattim (which in truth was the downfall of the holy city) to this moment; for when all that care and skill could do for me in the hospital had been done, Saladin ordered me to



mount this good steed from his own royal stables; and sent me this honourable safe conduct, with which I may embark anywhere hereabouts, nor I or my suite subject to any examination, only if I should have a body of above fifty armed men. So you see I can take your Grace and all your retinue with me, and I believe all that are alive of Hospitallers and Templars in Palestine."

"Which cannot be, Sir Almeric, and I think every one of these will refuse as well. But I do not mean at all to decline your services; on the contrary, confide a mission of great importance to you, which no one can do half so well!" And here he called one of his troop; "For be it known to you, Sir Almeric, I am tied in my saddle, and my hands are bandaged, so that my surgeon, who leads my horse, bears my ring. Now take that ring and let him put it on one of the fingers of your left hand, and it will be your sure passport to all Christian countries to obtain ships, monies, advice, every aid you may want; and presenting it to whoever commands at Tyre or Tripoli, and taking all the Hospitalleresses, sail with them to Italy or France, and thence, after placing individuals of them in any of our houses they like, take the rest to England, where the prior will fix them pleasantly, in our various commanderies, or Buckland, or Normandy,



or direct them to Prague, or our new establishment in Spain, as he judges best, and as the ladies themselves prefer—many of them are English. But I recommend them all to you equally, and to every one who sees that ring. Which may lead you to Germany or Spain, but everywhere I entreat of you to mention the straits of the Christians here; and at Rome, prostrate yourself before the Pope in my name, and come to me back with the ring. But if your physician prescribe your home air, or that you hear of my departure, in either case give that ring finally to the prior, and tell him to pray for his poor (however younger) brother's soul."

But the voice of the turtle had gone forth at the battle of Tiberias and Jerusalem's downfall, and mournfully had it echoed through the whole Christian world.<sup>1</sup> The then Pope is said to have died of the grief.<sup>2</sup> "On the 2nd of October, Jerusalem was retaken, and on the 19th, Urban hearing it at Ferrara, he dropped dead," says the Papal biographer. But Muratori objects to its coming such a distance in seventeen days. Still, of seven carrier pigeons, the fleetest reached Tyre in an hour, and, with a brisk, fair wind, a sailing ship is nearly as rapid as

<sup>1</sup> Anspert (Dubrowsky Ed.): Chron., 6.—Bib. Crois., iii. 259.—Pantaleonis Colonia Chron.—Bib. Crois., iii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Vertot: ii. 291.—Michaud: Hist., ii. 296.—Platina: iii. 31. Note 6.



a steamer, and from Ravenna you can go in less than two hours; so from Syria to Ferrara in seventeen days is not incredible. What had been deferred too long, was undertaken at once. The aged hero, Frederick I. (Barbarossa), of forty pitched battles, was the earliest of that third crusade.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that so excellent an army never left Europe. Some of the Moslems make his army six hundred thousand, and his waggons carrying arms and provisions twenty-five thousand.<sup>2</sup> Much exaggeration certainly; but it shows the opinion. Christian chroniclers have eighty thousand horse, from every part of Germany, and fifty thousand foot.<sup>3</sup> Of his cavalry of fifty thousand, not one single man but was a complete soldier, and either a gentleman, or a healthy, well-built citizen, of good conduct, and independent. Every private had to furnish a written document, that he had conducted himself well in two campaigns, and fought at least in one great battle.—A letter of recommendation from his bishop. Recruits to be examined naked by a physician and surgeon; and each, for wealthy, to pay one whole year's revenue, for the poorest of them, three hundred francs to the imperial treasury, as

<sup>1</sup> Anspert: 9.—Bib. Crois., iii. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Arab. Chron., 281.

<sup>3</sup> Ricobaldus apud Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, vol. ix.—Bib. Crois., ii. 612.



credit towards their expenses for two years, in going, staying, and returning. "Formidable indeed to the enemy in arms, but also entitled to the admiration of those who wished for peace in whose lands, and under whose roofs they lived, without oppression or harm."<sup>1</sup> One would think it impossible to raise an army on such terms, to pay, instead of being paid. Yet, it is said, many more offered than were accepted.<sup>2</sup> The infantry was similar. Frederick I. was ill-treated early. "I have made his troops so suffer, that they will not be able to give your Excellency much trouble," wrote the traitor of Constantinople, the imperial Greek, to Saladin.<sup>3</sup> But the celebrated Frederick I. was lost in a small rapid river of Cilicia, or Thessaly,<sup>4</sup> whether in bathing,<sup>5</sup> or at a hunt,<sup>6</sup> or to avoid the mountains, or to speak to his son, whose wing had encamped on the other side, as appears was most likely,<sup>7</sup> is little matter. Frederick I. was the greatest soldier of his day, as all agree.<sup>8</sup> "The only one that resem-

<sup>1</sup> Milton.

<sup>2</sup> Michaud: ii. 317.—Vinisauf: 1.—Bib. Crois., ii. 668.

<sup>3</sup> Michaud: ii. 323.

<sup>4</sup> Albi Chron., 15.—Bib. Crois., iii. 218.

<sup>5</sup> Canisius, 24.—Bib. Crois., iii. 183.

<sup>6</sup> Robert du Mont.—Bib. Crois., iii. 104.

<sup>7</sup> Anspert (Dubrowsky).—Bib. Crois., iii. 269, and ii. 670.  
—Vinisauf: who also affirms it was close under a rock, on which had been cut long before, *here shall the greatest of mortals perish.*

<sup>8</sup> Michaud: ii. 333.



bled the great captains of antiquity.”<sup>1</sup> Much, seeing it was the age of Cœur de Lion! Yet, how does our hero king’s biographer exclaim at Frederick’s death: “O sea! O earth! O heaven! the ruler of the Roman Empire, that august prince, who had revived the glory and power of ancient Rome, has perished, alas!”<sup>2</sup> Instead of burying his intestines at Tarsus, and embalming or salting his corpse, some say<sup>3</sup> it was boiled on the spot; that the bones, separated from the flesh, were collected and deposited at Antioch,<sup>4</sup> or Tyre,<sup>5</sup> or Nazareth, and (as Jerusalem, which the emperor’s will had prescribed, was always in the power of the Mahometans) finally, he was brought back to Spire,<sup>6</sup> and interred with the other emperors. His fine army melted away, their horses eaten, the wood of their lances burned for fuel,<sup>7</sup> a mountain of metal formed in Asia Minor of their weapons and armour;<sup>8</sup> the very few of the German warriors that got to Palestine, like spectres, so worn by famine and incurable fever, could not possibly be of any assistance, but far better

<sup>1</sup> Ricobaldus.—Bib. Crois., ii. 614.

<sup>2</sup> Vinisauf.—Bib. Crois., ii. 670.

<sup>3</sup> Arab. Chron., 273.

<sup>4</sup> Anspert (Dubrowsky).—Bib. Crois., iii. 270.

<sup>5</sup> Nangis d’Achery.—Bib. Crois., iii. 236.

<sup>6</sup> Arab. Chron., 274, 380.

<sup>7</sup> Id., Id., 280. <sup>8</sup> Id., 278.



not show them for fear of discouraging the Christians. His poor son died soon—the second—for the first had remained at home as regent.<sup>1</sup> One good came of it, that deadly Asia Minor was renounced for ever. The sea for all future crusades!<sup>2</sup>

Scarce had Acre fallen to Islam, when Conrad, son  
1187 of that Marquis of Montferrat who as related,  
had been taken at Hattim by Saladin, coming in a ship from Europe, found out his mistake before landing, so remained on board as a merchant in the port; till hearing the Christian flag still flew at Tyre, profited by a favourable wind to sail out of the net, and got to the Tyrians, who were so encouraged and elated also on observing his engineering ability, that they acceded to his proposal to make him their prince. Had Saladin gone against Tyre immediately from the victory of Tiberias, he would have perhaps succeeded; but his delay followed by Conrad's coming, spoiled all.<sup>3</sup> As to Acre, it had become Mahometan, with the rest, which occurred immediately after the overthrow at Tiberias. And very soon after the fall of Jerusalem, a small Christian detachment had begun to observe, if not besiege Acre. Against whom Saladin marched; but went round by Tyre, and for the third time essayed to reduce it by

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 279.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 282.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 219.



presenting Conrad's father in chains; but the valiant young prince, whom Saracens call the most voracious of wolves, the sliest of all Christian dogs,<sup>1</sup> chose rather to be a martyr's son than a traitor. So the Moslem had to remove to Tripoli, where the *green knight* rendered all in vain.<sup>2</sup> And the besiegers of Acre kept increasing in numbers every day. The desultory had soon to become sanguinary, and that small detachment grew up into an army.

Not only religious exasperation—a sort of despair—but likewise the spirit of every description of patriots, had been much changed by the remodelling of Palestine. Latin or Moslem despotism—the Hospitallers wished for neither. Yet they now had to choose; and which worst, was evident. Their affections, forced to become isolated, grew stronger. So they attached themselves entirely to what seemed possible; but, alas! was to baffle all their efforts. Inscrutable are the secrets of the Lord! They for the future saw no other refuge than the cross! Their only triumph was to plant the cross! The softener of the heart—the enlightener of the mind—Christianity! To them all the rest was dross! The present world was a glimpse—of nonsense; if they could not ascend

<sup>1</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Id.: Id., 239. All known of the *green knight* is, that he was a *Portuguese*.



even the first step towards civilisation. Nor can any be civilised but Christians. Freedom flows in the same direction. To be free, you must first be a Christian.

His title of King of Jerusalem, which he had been forced, while prisoner, to swear to abdicate, was taken back by Guy, who had been liberated; perhaps from the bad motive that he might breed dissensions, and prevent the Giaours from having a better monarch. But even so, and though his oath of abdication, extorted by force, was therefore invalid, yet, when a conclave of bishops dispensed him from the obligation, it appeared as if Christians were always ready to break what had been sworn.<sup>1</sup> In spite of his oaths (cried the Mahometans), King Guy (whom God curse) violated the pact.<sup>2</sup> But Conrad (curse him), a devil for perfidy and daring, the cleverest of Tyrian wolves, the impurest and most artful of curs—not even the Tyrians would acknowledge him. So, after wandering awhile, he led his few followers to join the siege of Acre. And soon indeed we have nauseous images; the ribs of Saracens, well cleansed, being made into bows by his bowmen.<sup>3</sup> But better men than their

<sup>1</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Arab. Chron., 220, 238.

<sup>3</sup> Florentini: Chron.:—Bib. Crois., iii. 320.



royal leader soon joined the nucleus increasing every day.

Acre, just before that time, had been a strong and flourishing seaport, with considerable commerce, as transit between the East and Europe. On the land side it was thought to be defended by walls and the *Cursed Tower*; and the *Tower of Flies*, at its harbour's narrow entrance, made it pass for secure. From November of the year before, there had been a small Christian army of nine thousand at most, with Guy observing,<sup>1</sup> rather than besieging, the Moslem garrison within it.

Acre has long been in ruins, and since Ibrahim, more than ever. Yet man cannot deprive it of its southern glory, Carmel! Eastward the ground shorn of its woods, is marshy, but was a glorious plain.

Saladin was not far from Zook, collecting a great force to begin the new campaign of 1188, and at one of his military banquets had most beautiful apricots from Damascus, which shows the spring was far set in.<sup>2</sup> Yet little was there to conquer in Palestine. The two forts—one, Kaucab, belonging to the Hospitallers, the other Sefed to the Templars—were the principal things. But he had in his mind a far mightier foe—the third crusade, which certainly

<sup>1</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Arab. Chron., 244.



menaced him with what does him vast honour. For he had to resist not only the three chief monarchs of Europe—Germany, France, and England—one led by *Barbarossa*, and one by *Cœur de Lion*, and the other, by a name very properly dear to France, *Philip Augustus*—but all Christendom; for Italians, Spaniards, Flemings, Swedes, Friezlanders, Portuguese, and others, composed it. They had Mahometans at home, but nevertheless Ebro and Mondego sent several to be Templars and Hospitallers; besides who was the Green Knight? Saladin might hold his head high; for he, risen from a private station, had to contend with all Europe, led by renowned warriors, to be conquered by any one of whom would have been a credit to any member of the military profession, alive or dead.

But seeing the crusade delayed, Saladin moved about, and in five weeks occupied Laodicea and Tortosa, and the iron bridge near Antioch, and all along the Orontes, and several places; yet avoided Marcab (say the Moslems themselves), for it appeared impregnable, and belonged to the Hospitallers, who were sure to defend it ably, which is a just tribute to those heroes, but may be fairly attributed to a wish in Saladin to preserve his army entire for the coming foe; though his prudence must have been pain to his self-love, for Marcab lay



directly on his line of march, and he had to diverge from it. The Moslems who mention this, do not make any excuse.<sup>1</sup> "Glory be to God," said Saladin, "for permitting me to take so many towns all on Fridays in a few weeks, rendering easy what in itself is difficult!"<sup>2</sup> In the middle of Ramadan he attacked Sefed, and it soon capitulated. A few days afterwards, he heard his brother had taken Petra and Montreale; so, regarding the four places he had said he coveted,<sup>3</sup> his mind might be at ease.<sup>4</sup> Kaucab having foiled his emir, he went against it himself.<sup>5</sup> "Having taken Sefed, he will also take Kaucab," said the Christians, "and then it is all over with us. If the Hospitallers could only resist until the arrival of our brethren from Europe!"<sup>6</sup> Hear Emad-eddin, Saladin's private secretary: "We came to Kaucab, and found it a fortress as if hanging from the stars, or the nest of eagles, or domicile of the moon. There inhabited the *barking dogs* and *perfidious wolves*<sup>7</sup> who whispered to each other, 'While one of us is left, our name shall be unspotted.' Their walls began to shake, and several wide breaches were made; but the season

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 225.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 228.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 224.

<sup>4</sup> Id. 231.—Michaud: Hist., ii. 341.

<sup>5</sup> Id. 232. <sup>6</sup> Id. 232.

<sup>7</sup> The Hospitallers, says the note on the original.



was bitterly rude, rain in torrents, wind, mud, at every moment the stones yielded, the cords relaxed, the tents fell, and had to be put up again. Notwithstanding such excessive rain, we were without good water to drink; the roads were so slippery, that our mules were continually tumbling on their bellies, and from the weather, the highway, which was wide, became choked up to a narrow passage. The soldan had left us with the baggage below, while he had his engines dragged up the mountain. Each morning and evening we used to clamber up to salute him; at last his miners got under the walls!"<sup>1</sup> So Kaucab was taken by storm; but very easily, since without any opposition; all its survivors having found a way out to join the Tyrians, it did not contain a human creature.<sup>2</sup> If Kaucab and Margat, or Marcab, were the same place, then Saladin must have been doubly pleased; but it was not with his army, but a picked corps of his Mamelukes and his guards, that he made this second approach, not unsuccessful like the first.<sup>3</sup> Thus he himself, in a letter to his brother: "Kaucab was the stronghold of the Hospitallers and infidelity, the ordinary residence of the grand master of the order and its head-quarters, since being expelled from Jerusalem. We waited long

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 234.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 232.



before we attacked it, and our efforts have been crowned with full success. All is safe now. We are masters of every one of those fortresses. We only want Tyre. If that city was not continually succoured from beyond sea, it would long since have been in our hands. But God be praised! the infidel rebels are in no ark, but rather in a prison. The Christians have nothing left but a few yelling curs, led astray by Satan. But for us, they would come on like outrageous lions; and falsehood would have triumphed over virtue. Our brethren from Egypt and the Emperor of Constantinople, send us word that the Franks in the west have already unsheathed their swords. The partisans of error coalesce against us. God confound them! Mad men, they will soon put back their sword into its scabbard. With the aid of Providence, we shall thrash them. Let us supplicate the Lord to strengthen our hearts and hands, and keep us united. Only great men are called to great things. Whatever God decrees, cannot but be effected." <sup>1</sup>

Then the soldan went into Acre, and passed most of the winter there, fortifying its fortifications with great care.

In Europe, the Christians wore black in mourning

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 235.



for the loss of the Holy City, and took arms; their women, too. A Christian prisoner told the Moslems that his mother had no other child, and sent him on the crusade, and sold her house to equip him.<sup>1</sup>

Saladin, in a letter, tells the caliph that the crusaders are not individuals, but the whole body of Franks, able to bear arms. That they come by every way; easy and difficult, by land, by sea; from the remotest regions, as well as the nearer.

Yet one division of the third crusade had already perished. If the Germans had arrived, it might have been written: "*Here once reigned the Mussulman!*"<sup>2</sup> Some residue of Frederick's grand army reached Acre. It had been easy to impede them; *but when God wishes a thing, he prepares the causes.*<sup>3</sup> That remnant of a division of Franks got close to Acre on the 12th of August, 1189, and the soldan, who had advanced to cut them off, but missed the road, some day later. Truth is, the Duke of Suabia, Frederick I.'s son, and the rest of his army, had been engaged to remain on the Orontes, not to discourage the Christians by their haggard sight—living skeletons as they were, of no use to the crusaders; on the contrary, very dangerous. But a

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 242.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 243.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 244.



bribe of sixty thousand besants from Saladin persuaded a Frank prince to induce the poor Germans to join the crusaders, as if these acted from a spirit of envy in depriving them of the honour of sharing the besiegers' victory. Whereupon the imperial duke did come with his troops to Acre, and was the cause of most lamentable dissensions there.<sup>1</sup> So Saladin's march was a feint.

The Christians were not in numbers sufficient to enclose Acre, but only two thousand horse, and a larger multitude of foot; so left one of its gates free, of which Saladin profiting, introduced some troops and provision, and then pitched his tents on the little hill of Kissan, directly opposite the principal street of the town, with his left leaning on the ancient Belus or *Rivulet of Sweet Water*, and his right on the hill Aiadia, so as to form a crescent behind the Christians, who were between him and Acre, having their king's tent on the hill Massallaba, or Thuron, exactly facing the harbour.<sup>2</sup>

Combats every day, the Moslem wheeling like butterflies round a light. The soldan trying to moderate their zeal, and economise all for a great blow. He, also, was receiving reinforcements almost each day from Mesopotamia and the whole

<sup>1</sup> Vinisauf.—Bib. Crois : ii. 678.

<sup>2</sup> Arab. Chron., 245. Note.



East. Acre was now completely occupied by a forest of ships on the sea side, and there remained only a little spot open towards the land. Even that was closed about the end of August, and then really began the siege of Acre; one of the mightiest events of the middle ages. The Moslêm had been two years working at its defences, under direction of one of the ablest engineers then in existence. At first Saladin's emirs had advised him to throw down Acre; but when he saw how fine a city it was, he sent for the famous Egyptian, who had built the Cairo citadel.<sup>1</sup> That celebrated Caracousch was then in Acre, and continued in it during the whole siege, as one of the two that directed the whole government and nearly every operation.<sup>2</sup> The Christians had to resist both the garrison and the Moslem army. There was much blood shed; yet conversation often ensued by mutual accord, when tired of fighting. Nor unfrequently, the belligerents disarmed and mixed, singing, dancing, gambling, friends for some minutes, and, at a signal resuming their arms, enemies as before. In those pacific intervals, their children not seldom played at battle, mimicking their fathers, for some trifle. When a boy was down, his parents ransomed him

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 246.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 246.



for two bits of silver, and it is related that one wanted to retain the other, declaring he had made him prisoner, and did not wish to sell him, but to have him as his slave. At all events, he blushed deeply, and was unwilling to accept the ransom.—It was considered by the Turks a good omen, that a valuable horse leapt from a European ship, lately arrived, and swam, not to the Christian camp, as his owners intended, but into Acre.<sup>1</sup>—An emir falling sick, and wishing for death in battle, ordered out his charger, and mounting him with excessive pain, died a martyr.<sup>2</sup>—The Christian line stood like a perpendicular rock, on which nothing could have effect. One slain, another took his place instantly. They had fought till night, and lay on their arms, and renewed the battle at day-break. Until noon, it was balanced. The Moslems' right at last penetrated to the city, by the latest spot the Christians closed, and where the works were fresh. Even Saladin himself then rode into Acre, but returned to his camp with his army, which there went to repose after such fatigue; Saladin's physician protesting that his master had not tasted nourishment from Friday morning to Sunday night<sup>3</sup>—so he had to retire. But for that retreat of his,

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 248.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 249.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 247.



the Christians were lost. They made use of the opportunity, and built the spot up. Next day the Moslems came too late. The Frank camp was impregnable, and every passage to Acre impossible. The Grand Master of the Templars was taken,<sup>1</sup> the same who had been taken at Hattim, and given his freedom; but this time the soldan had him slain. Three Christian women, who had fought on horseback, like brave men, were made prisoners, and their sex discovered only when their armour was dragged off.<sup>2</sup> Ten thousand corpses of Christians (most of them knights) were thrown into the river by the soldan's orders. Christian infantry took small part in many actions. Some pious Moslem civilians, quiet lookers on, having made off on their mules, passed Jordan, frightening the whole country; and never stopping to eat or drink, but hastening forward, each with his hands firmly set on his beast's neck and breathing with difficulty; some of them never pulling in, till they got to Damascus; they were soon followed by the truth, that all was well, and that their party had gained a victory; "*at this their spirits grew calm, and they regretted having run away.*"<sup>3</sup>

But the stench of the slaughter caused sickness,

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 251.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 251.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 252.



and even the soldan felt sick.<sup>1</sup> So he and some Moslems retreated to another hill, the *Karoula*, a few leagues from Acre.<sup>2</sup> In October not many troops remained near Acre; so the Christians employed the time in cutting wide deep ditches and raising a high wall quite round their lines; with room behind it for a body of archers armed with the *zemboureck*, the *quadrellus* of Ducange, the French *carreau de la foudre*. This weapon appeared a moment at Constantinople among the modern Greeks, but fell out of use. The Popes, from humanity, had prohibited it to all Christians; and we first hear of it at the siege of Tyre by Saladin. Thence it went to Acre, and when Cœur de Lion came, he adopted it for some of his archers, which on his return to Europe scandalized the Christians, and it was considered a judgment on him that he was slain himself by a *coup de carreau*. Since the invention of gunpowder *zemboureck* (in some countries) means a kind of light artillery or field piece.<sup>3</sup>

Saladin's sickness soon passed, since that very winter we read of his being out hunting with his falcons.<sup>4</sup> The Moslems find it very curious  
1190  
that women (and dissolute ones too) were  
allowed in the Christian army—but particularly

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 253.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 254.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 255. Note.

<sup>4</sup> Id., 257.



a company of three hundred courtezans, regularly shipped out together in the same ship, to amuse the warriors, who were some of them unmarried, and some separated from their wives—which impropriety soon becoming known, many emirs, Mamelukes, and other Mahometans, contrived to frequent the Christian camp on visits to those sprightly ladies. These appear to have been considered by the infidels as an essential part of our military discipline, to keep and direct the spirits of the soldiers towards furthering whatever plans their commander-in-chief might have.<sup>1</sup>

Excellent divers—who passed through the Christian camp by night—and carrier pigeons were the only communication with Acre now.<sup>2</sup> An embassy from the Caliph of Bagdad brought some Greek fire, as a sample, and five men, who knew how to compose and throw it.<sup>3</sup> Saladin next came back to Kissan and his vast and most beautiful camp. In July, Count Henry, who was related to both Philip and Richard, came with news of the French and English crusade, which from hour to hour might be expected.<sup>4</sup> “See the Pope of the Franks,” said Saladin in a letter to the caliph, “how he imposes taxes for the holy war, and whatever he

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 258.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 260—286.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 261.

<sup>4</sup> Id., 282.



desires is as a law to all Christian people. But you who are of the blood of our Prophet, it is for you to do far more than that infidel high priest of Rome the great. What your servant here writes, he would dare say in the dust at the threshold of your palace. I am resigned to the will of God, and hope to be firm in danger. But you are Islam's physician, and we the sick."<sup>1</sup> Again. "Not only the Pope of his own authority restrains the Christians as to eating and drinking, but he menaces with excommunication whoever does not march with a spirit of piety to the deliverance of Jerusalem. Such is the obstinacy of Christians in their perverse cause. Then what should be we true believers?"<sup>2</sup>

All the Moslem army were now at Kissan. Their camp was like a splendid city. Several streets and an immense square. "I myself counted seven thousand well-stocked shops (wrote an eye-witness) and a hundred and forty sheds for shoeing horses. Of a multitude of kitchens, one had twenty-eight boilers, each boiler large enough to hold an entire sheep; a single seller of butter had paid seventy gold pieces to transport his utensils; of baths there were one thousand, a bit of silver being the

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 284.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 286.



price of a bath. As to the warehouses of new and second-hand dresses, they were too numerous to count!"<sup>1</sup>

About this time Guy's Sybilla died, as well as her two children; on which Conrad of Tyre resolved to marry Almeric's other daughter. But how? for she had for years been the wife of young Thoron. Yet Conrad got clergy who broke the marriage. As for Isabella, she seemed contented with any husband. Yet the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom (as being on the spot, having come from England with some recent crusading party) the Jerusalem Patriarch delegated his authority, excommunicated the pair; at which both Conrad and she laughed. Thus he had two wives, one at Constantinople and one in Palestine. And two Kings of Jerusalem; Conrad in right of his living wife, and Guy of his dead one.<sup>2</sup> This, and other miseries, made Canterbury die of grief.<sup>3</sup>

On the 20th April, 1191, the King of France  
1191 joined the Christians before Acre. A few  
days afterwards, the Count of Flanders, one  
of the most powerful of the Western lords;<sup>4</sup> and, on  
the 3th of the following June, the King of England.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 262.

<sup>2</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 365, 366.

<sup>3</sup> Vinisaufr.—Bib. Crois., ii. 681.

<sup>4</sup> Arab. Chron., 302.

<sup>5</sup> Id., 304.



Monies for the third crusade were in each parish to be paid, in presence of a priest, a prelate, a *Templar*, and an *Hospitaller*. The same of the tax called Saladin's penny. Those knights then became the treasurers of Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Some gentlemen of Bremen and Lubeck<sup>2</sup> added to the German Hospitallers, and a small remainder of Frederick I.'s army,<sup>3</sup> after having existed as a party, it is hard to say precisely how long, became one of the three military orders, ranking henceforth with Templars and Hospitallers, by the formal institution of a Papal bull, dated the 22nd February, 1191.<sup>4</sup> Not in Jerusalem, like the other two, yet in the most honourable position of that moment, under the walls of a city against which were now coming the united forces of France and England, after Germany's had been broken on the way. Glorious was the post where the Teutonics openly raised their nascent flag. And if their first steps were naturally weak, still they soon learnt from their elders to act as a worthy member of that celebrated trine.

All was joy and illuminations in the Christian camp. But an omen took place the very next

<sup>1</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 306.      <sup>2</sup> Id.: Id., 389.

<sup>3</sup> Werner, Martene.—Bib. Crois., i. 332.

<sup>4</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 494.—Appendix, Num. xlvi.



morning, which appeared highly consoling to the Mahometans. The King of France having a favorite falcon "of a terrific aspect, and rare in its kind, a very large, and really fine bird, milk-white—I seldom saw a finer—(says Boha-eddin), it flew away from his fist, and into the city, whence it was sent to the soldan; King Philip, who used to caress and fondle it, and loved it much, *as the falcon did him*, offered one thousand pieces of gold to ransom it: and was refused." <sup>1</sup>

But now the season was quite favourable. Small cavalry affairs had been rather for show; everything was ready on all sides; furious struggles, and the whole is to be decided.<sup>2</sup> The Pisan fleet had been off the mouth of the port from the first.<sup>3</sup> When the first fifty ships of Europeans were descried from Thoron, there had been a moment of cruel surmise; after which, came a joyful hurrah from the vessels, to which the Christians on Thoron sent a similar shout in wild response. They were twelve thousand Danes, Friezlanders, and Flemish, headed by Sir James D'Avesnes, of the founder's glorious family, and who was soon to die as became it.<sup>4</sup> Long ago with Henry of Champagne no few English had arrived, among whom the Archbishop of Can-

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 302.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 306.

<sup>3</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 344.

<sup>4</sup> Id.: Id., 346.



terbury; if not even some weeks, still earlier, as some chroniclers record.<sup>1</sup>

On the 12th of February that year, Guy, as King of Jerusalem, made a deed of gift to the Hospitallers, of an addition to their house in Acre, learning that the said house is small (*dinoscens*), and recollecting how great had been their establishment in the holy city. As he was then not in possession of Acre, nor in it, but only near it (*apud*), this at least shows he was sure of it; and of course, some months later, he executed his obligation. Of that document an extract shall be given in the Appendix: not because it praises the Hospitallers, for in that case the whole of their diplomatic codex might be copied, and it would be little; but because it proves that Gardiner had not died at Ascalon of his wounds the day after the battle of Tiberias, as Vertot and the others relate.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, here he is alive four years later, after having participated in the battles of that siege; and as he is not said to be *in extremis*, or sick at all, for aught we know, there is every reason to suppose he shared the victory: at soonest, may have expired in the following autumn. When I differ from my predecessors in the history of the order, I do so

<sup>1</sup> Vinisau, Brompton, Cogglesdale, Beverly, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Vertot: liv. ii. 271.—Appendix, xlii.



unwillingly; and like to testify it, by assigning the paramount evidence.<sup>1</sup> It is not surprising that the King of France should be received as an angel, after two whole years of battles.<sup>2</sup>

If Richard had delayed a little, he had been forced at Cyprus to reduce a despot to order, and put him into chains, not of iron, but silver, as descending from the imperial Comneni. Nor did Richard take to himself that Latin kingdom, which was to last three hundred years; but with characteristic generosity gave it away. Richard is said to have been very handsome, and with chivalrous manners; and remarkable even at first sight, from a magnificence of dress, that distinguished him from every one else;<sup>3</sup> particularly on his noted fawn-coloured horse from Cyprus. Why so called is somewhat doubtful. When he too came, it might be truly said, all the most celebrated captains then in existence in any part of the world, were before Acre. On his voyage thither, off Cyprus, he had destroyed a monstrous Saracen ship, with stores of every known description, for Acre; and unknown also—two hundred deadly serpents, to be sent as ruin among

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Dipl. Geros., i.—Num. lxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 370.

<sup>3</sup> Vinisauf: 2.—Bib. Crois., ii. 684.



the Christians. Who ever heard, before, of poisonous serpents as instruments of war? <sup>1</sup>

Also the crusaders' camp was like a city, with streets, palaces, churches, as spacious as Saladin's, or more so; so that to the eye, there were three Acres, not merely one. And the army of Richard was more numerous than Philip's, for a very excellent reason, that the former gave higher pay. He too sided with Guy, and the other with Conrad. Philip's party was of French, Genoese, Germans, Templars. Richard's, English, Hospitallers, Pisans. So Conrad, who had visited the crusade, betook himself back to Tyre, resolved to make no *self-sacrifice* to unite the Christians. There was much of the noble generosity of chivalry in the relations between Saladin, and Richard, and Philip, and their mutual presents, contrasting strongly with the fanatical barbarism of the holy wars, particularly on the side of the Mahometans; which exposed all the leaders, Moslem and Christian, to an accusation of lukewarmness in matters of religion, and even of Deism and Atheism. After long debates it was resolved, first, that Guy should be king for life, and Conrad after him; second, on the days the English party attacked Acre, the French should defend the camp from Saladin; and *vice*

<sup>1</sup> Vinisau: 2.—Bib. Crois., ii. 686.



*versá*. The besieged kept fortifying, while the besiegers disputed. Giant battles ensued, minings, escalades; during one of which Richard, being sick, had himself carried in a chair to direct the action,<sup>1</sup> of which he must have been at the head, in the very hottest, since he struck several of the enemy with his lance.<sup>2</sup> At a surprise the man pre-eminent for intrepidity was a Bishop of Salisbury. The Moslems were in vast numbers from Asia and Africa. It was Asia and Africa against Europe.<sup>3</sup> "Only let God rest neuter, and victory is ours," cried the Franks.<sup>4</sup> "Impious cry," says their chronicler.<sup>5</sup> Fanatical enthusiasm on both sides. What worse could a cannon do than what one of Richard's machines did, throw a stone that killed twelve men in a single discharge? He had carried with him a dozen of those machines, that reduced everything else to dust, but could not resist the devouring Greek fire.<sup>6</sup> The despair of the garrison was terrible. They twice had asked for quarter, and were refused. The Christians wished to take it by storm. Death at all events.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vinisauf: 3.—Bib. Crois., ii. 690.

<sup>2</sup> Id.: Id.— Id., Id.

<sup>3</sup> Bib. Crois., ii. 677.      <sup>4</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 349.

<sup>5</sup> Vinisauf.

<sup>6</sup> Vinisauf.—Bib. Crois., ii. 689.

<sup>7</sup> Id.      Id.      Id.



The Moslems were as certain to die; then why not rather with arms in their hands? The fishermen having caught one of their divers in their net, he was tortured, whipped, and beheaded.<sup>1</sup> All means had been employed to inform Saladin of their straits. Yet desperate violence wore out, and remained the weakness of terror. So all failing, they capitulated.

All had but to succumb; there was no other resource. Famine and distress of every kind had reached their zenith.

To apprise the soldan of their piteous resolution, they sent him this final missive. They were now less than six thousand.<sup>2</sup> It was on a Friday, July 17th, 1191.<sup>3</sup>

But he, having received their pigeon and letter that very dawn, had called a council of war to consider on a last effort to save the garrison. It was near the stroke of noon, and while the council deliberated, on a sudden they saw the Christian flag raised on the walls. The Mussulmen were in the utmost consternation at the sight. Dumb for awhile, as if struck dead by astonishment. Then burst forth their sighs and sobs like madmen. All

<sup>1</sup> Vinisauf: 3.—Bib. Crois., 679.

<sup>2</sup> Id.: Id. 691.

<sup>3</sup> Arab. Chron., 316.



participated in that common sorrow. Only in proportion of each one's faith and piety, was his deep affliction; the deeper, the more religious. To restore the cross and one thousand six hundred Frank prisoners and pay two hundred thousand pieces of gold.—All to be the price of the city and their mere lives, and all the human creatures within Acre the hapless to remain as security in the victors' hands until full execution of the treaty.—Such the substance of the capitulation, sworn to already and hostages given.<sup>1</sup>

“As for me,” says Boha-eddin, “I remained the whole time close to Saladin, and tried to console his anguish, which was like that of a mother for the death of her only son. I conjured him to turn his thoughts rather towards how to save Jerusalem and Palestine.” The historian Emad-eddin, who was also present, tells us of the soldan's great sorrow. Nor did they as yet know the hard conditions. “It was God's decree! Towards evening Saladin shut himself up in his tent, full of black thoughts. Consolation was feeble, and hope had flown far off. In the morning we returned to see him, and found him dejected and unquiet as the evening before. We said, Islam has not perished,

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 317.



for losing a town. Let us confide in Him as much as ever." Saladin never fought a battle without having implored the Lord first, nor won a victory without, prostrate or kneeling, pouring out fervent thanks to Him on the field. Why should the hero be suspected of fear or hypocrisy? The Mahometans who relate it, did not mean to question either; but admired his courage and profound faith. The Frank also marched to battle "*with the ardour of a courser on his way to the pasture,*" write the same Mahometans; often did his troops rally at his voice. "And we," said the Christians—"were also displeased at the capitulation; for above two whole years have we shown more bravery than would have sufficed to conquer all Asia; and now we are defrauded of justice!"<sup>1</sup>

On learning the conditions, and they sworn to and hostages already given, Saladin hesitated to stand by a capitulation in which he had no part, but his emirs to his interrogations answered unanimously, "Those Mahometans are our brothers and companions, we cannot do otherwise than ratify; no excuse, the Koran allows none; we must absolutely give really what they promised, whatever be our private opinion." So he sent immediately for money to

<sup>1</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 393.—Vinisauf: 3,—Bib. Crois., ii. 691.



Damascus, not having the sum with him. In such circumstances all Mussulmen are bound for each other as their Prophet expressly lays down. "So also the cross that he had taken at Tiberias. As soon as it came, deputies were deputed from the Christian camp to identify it, which they did, and knelt to it; and knew it to be the very same that had served for the crucifixion of the Messiah, and had been sent to the Bagdad Caliph, and could convince themselves of Saladin's good will and sincerity," says Emad-eddin.<sup>1</sup>

If there were afterwards a doubt, the Moslems refused to consider it. But before the cross was delivered up, or the money paid (for which there was a month allowed by the capitulation), the passions got inflamed on both sides. The King of France had already returned home, not only from sickness (it is said), but also from disliking the intimacy he perceived between Richard and Saladin. Thus Richard remained sole master of Acre and commander-in-chief not only of his English, but of all the Christians, including the French under the Duke of Burgundy. Cœur de Lion's first duty (if duty) was a cruel one. But if the Arab chroniclers have been often cited already,

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 318, 319.



they shall be still more frequently during the remainder of his stay in Palestine, because his English biographer or any Christian might pass for a partial authority.

From the first day the Christians entered Acre, they violated their word—not treating the Mussulmen well, but extremely rude, and threw them into prison under pretence of saving them from the crusaders.<sup>1</sup> If the garrison held up their heads like brave soldiers, they merited honour for it. Their most noble resignation ought to have inspired admiration and respect, not hatred.<sup>2</sup> To Saladin's just proposal, for them to set all the Mussulmen free at once, and that he would pay all the money at once, not in quotas, as the capitulation prescribed, and give them the cross, which by their deputies they had already verified, they objected as unwilling to liberate any one before they were paid and had the cross; and, when he proposed *vice versa*, only that since they did him the injury of distrusting him, he would them; and required that the Templars should be their guarantee on oath, for he supposed, that those religious gentlemen would think that what is sworn is to be observed; then the Templars denied to be guarantee or to

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 319.

<sup>2</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 392.



swear or to be responsible for any one or anything.<sup>1</sup> So the ratification was withheld—which drove King Richard (God curse him) furious, and meditating a terrible vengeance, he mounted his horse, and in the plain before the two armies drawn up, had his handcuffed and enchained hostages put to death, to the number of better than three thousand Mussulmen.<sup>2</sup> Yet it is affirmed, it was not the king, but the whole Christian army, that decided in a general court-martial. The sentence iniquitous or not, was theirs, not his.<sup>3</sup> Some Moslems blamed Saladin more than Richard; and that their soldan, by not keeping the treaty, abandoned his co-religionists to death.

Saladin should not have allowed any sum, or any worldly consideration, to make him spur the Christian to a deed which he could not have well avoided in his station, where the interests of so many nations were confided to him alone, and many ready to accuse him of imprudence. Of his private generosity all Mahometans were convinced, and that his rigour was for the public.<sup>4</sup> But the whole was over as to that treaty, and cross and money went back to Damascus. “As to the cross, not from any value the soldan saw in it, nor any

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 319.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 320.

<sup>3</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 395.

<sup>4</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 396.



other motive, than that he knew it pained the Christians to think it was in Saracen hands," writes Emad-eddin.<sup>1</sup>

On the 30th of August, two days after the massacre of hostages, the fortifications of Acre being put to rights again, and in good state, and in free possession of the Franks, the Christian army set out on its march along the coast southward. They were then three hundred thousand strong, but of all different nations and manners, and some of them unwilling to quit Acre, where the wine was excellent, and the women renowned for beauty.<sup>2</sup> "It was at the end of August, two days after the massacre of our poor martyrs, the defenceless prisoners."<sup>3</sup> This was the order of the Christian march leaving Acre: King Richard headed the vanguard; but, as he flew about everywhere, the Templars and Hospitallers were the head,<sup>4</sup> leaving Caiphas. The standard in the centre was surrounded by the Normans, and from it streamed the banner of England. The Duke of

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 322.

<sup>2</sup> Vinisauf.—Bib. Crois., 693.

<sup>3</sup> Mahometans' words.—Arab. Chron., 323.—Moslems and Christians come precisely to the same date as Vinisauf in his round-about manner, the Sunday next following St. Bartholomew's day. But Bartholomew's day is the 24th August, and in that year fell on a Tuesday, and a day for change of style.

<sup>4</sup> Vinisauf: 3.—Bib. Crois., ii. 694.



Burgundy and the French composed the rear-guard.<sup>1</sup> Their march was slow; for the Saracens, on their small, light Arabian horses, kept always flying round them.<sup>2</sup> Stopping at every town, and halting some days frequently, it was a continuous combat; and that the Christians lost immensely is proved by this, that a little beyond Cæsarea they were reduced to a third.

Richard himself had been wounded, by his avowal, without deigning to say exactly on what day, or by whom.<sup>3</sup> The sea was on their right; the hills and the Mussulmen on their left. Then it was that the Christians made great use of the zembourek, that kills horse and horseman together. They had a long line of carts, with mantles hanging like curtains, behind which lay those with that destructive weapon. But the mantles were only on the Mussulmen's side. In reprisals for the massacre, the soldan had the head of every prisoner he took during the whole march, cut off. He said his evening prayers, and then, as was his custom, mounted on horseback, and ended his day by having the Christian prisoner or prisoners beheaded.<sup>4</sup> In September, one of the greatest of the

<sup>1</sup> Vinisauf: 3.—Bib. Crois., ii. 695.

<sup>2</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 398.   <sup>3</sup> Id.: Id., ii. 400.

<sup>4</sup> Arab. Chron., 327.



Islam champions, a Mameluke of Saladin's, remarkable for his strength, ability, and audacity, was killed, to the general grief. The first proposals by Richard were quite inadmissible. The battle of Arsouf was a<sup>1</sup> deep grief to the Moslems, and glorious to the Christians, by the confession of the Mahometan eye-witness as well as themselves.<sup>2</sup> It was given in an extensive plain. The Christians had now but a hundred thousand instead of thrice that number, as when leaving Acre; and two hundred thousand Moslems awaited them. As soon as Richard perceived the enemy, he drew up for battle in five divisions. The right wing the Templars, next those from the north of France, in the centre the English and Normans with the standard, next them the Hospitallers, and the left was composed of a strong body of archers. The first to enter the plain were the Templars, and then the different corps deployed in the order given. Count Henry, with a detached body of cavalry, observed the mountains; and Cœur de Lion and Burgundy were free to move about in all directions. The Christian army was drawn up so close that an apple could not drop but on a horse or man. They had commands not to stir; but, strictly only standing on the

<sup>1</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Arab. Chron., 329.



defensive, wait the enemy's charge. It was tremendous, but vain. The Moslem called the Franks a nation of iron.<sup>1</sup> At a signal of six trumpets, two at the right, two at the centre, and two at the left (but not before), they might advance. The Moslem did all they could to make them break their ranks. One of Saladin's bravest officers exposed his own life to sacrifice by insulting the Christians, and even striking some of them; but was allowed to return alive, and without one word of answer. The Grand Master of the Hospitallers then rode up to Richard, and expostulated with him on the slaughter of several of his knights in that trying manner; and that it would be out of his power to restrain them any longer. To which Richard replied that he could not be everywhere at once, and that the Hospitallers must remain even as they were. And at Gardiner's return, every one beheld with admiration the quiet magnanimity of that glorious confraternity under every form of threats, danger and death. At last two other knights, heroes not under as rigorous discipline as those of the Hospital, charged, at which the Hospitallers followed; and probably the trumpets had blown, for Cœur de Lion came on a gallop to join them, and

<sup>1</sup> Michaud : Hist., ii. 402.



the Christian gained that mighty victory. King Richard, though he does not say a word about his own exploits, affirms in his letter that Saladin had not suffered a similar defeat those forty years.<sup>1</sup>

Gardiner's being there shows that splendid veteran was not as yet dead, and it was now within a week of October.

There the illustrious Jacques d'Avesnes closed his earthly course at the enemy's third charge; he had resisted long, and slaughtered many; but in the third charge lost one leg and the foot of the other; on which he cried out, *Bon Roi Richard, vengez ma mort*, and, still struggling, slew the Saracen that rushed on him; and then by a crowd had his arm cut off, and fell dead with a multitude of wounds. That Richard and the crusaders buried him next day with all honours, after having attended with tears at his funeral service in the church, in presence of his corpse, is only as it should be.<sup>2</sup> He, also, was of Norman blood; so that he was not only a Frenchman, but, in one sense, had a right<sup>3</sup> to call Cœur de Lion his countryman. The interpreter, between Richard and Saladin's brother, was

<sup>1</sup> Mathew Paris: Chron.—Bib. Crois., ii. 796.

<sup>2</sup> Vinisauf: 3.—Bib. Crois., ii. 698.—Michaud: Hist., ii. 405.

<sup>3</sup> Brompton.—Bib. Crois., ii. 748.



that young Thoron, Isabella's first husband, made prisoner at Tiberiade; which shows that the growing generation of the highest class then learnt Arabic. After the day of Arsouf, Saladin kept aloof; so the crusaders entered Jaffa and Ascalon peaceably after the soldan, forced by his emirs, had destroyed its fortifications; so the whole road to Egypt lay open; and dismantling Ramlah too, he entered the holy city September 30th, 1191. But pressing<sup>1</sup> were the calls for Richard home, where John had already begun a civil war. "Palestine and the cross are the cause in dispute," said Richard in a note to Saladin. "Let us divide the first—you taking all beyond Jordan; we all on this side of it. The cross is in your sight a mere bit of wood. Give it to me, and let me return to England."

"But if Jerusalem is the cradle of your religion," replied the soldan, "it is still a holier city to us. Thence our Prophet ascended to heaven; and it is in Jerusalem the angels assemble. Only culpable Mussulmen could give it up. Palestine was ours formerly; you took it from Mussulmen that had waxed weak. Better if the cross had never existed; but as it is, it must be of use to Islam, and exchanged for something of immense value."<sup>2</sup> Richard next offered his

<sup>1</sup> Michaud: Hist., 410.    <sup>2</sup> Arab. Chron., 334.



sister, with Acre and great wealth for her dower, to Saladin's brother, who should be King of Jerusalem, and she Queen, and the city free to both Christians and Moslems; a proof that Richard considered Acre as his own, to be given where he liked. But she refused her consent, as Saladin foresaw; and therefore perhaps he gave his. Monks and priests persuaded her that it would be a denial of her faith.<sup>1</sup> Another proposal of Richard's was to divide Jerusalem into two equal parts.<sup>2</sup> But Saladin resolved to listen to none. "What guarantee? I dead; and all over again!" When Saladin made peace, it was that he was forced to it.<sup>3</sup> Richard had viewed Jerusalem's walls well, and declared them impregnable so long as Saladin lived, or any one that knew how to defend them, and that Moslems remained united. So he went back to his camp near Ramlah. There the tidings he first received was, that Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, and whom he had just acknowledged King of Jerusalem, had been assassinated at Tyre; and although it was confessedly an act of the Old Man of the Mountain, in consequence of the murder perpetrated by that Templar who had been sentenced to death, and was in prison, in Almeric's

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 335.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 336.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 336.



time, but at whose death was left free (as in Chapter V).; so that the Assassins' vengeance was directed against the new sovereign, as responsible for his wife's royal father; still that miserable crime added to the divisions that were already too general among the Christians. Then came the French,<sup>1</sup> calling to be led to Jerusalem. "As long as I command this crusade," he replied, "I will do nothing to incur shame. If you go to Jerusalem, I will accompany you, but not lead you to it. Saladin knows our strength. What if he descend into the plain of Ramlah, and intercept our road and convoys? What would then become of us before Jerusalem? Our army is too small to surround it. I am responsible for the evil that will ensue! There are people enough here—ay, and in France too—who would rejoice at inducing me to commit an imprudence, in order to reproach me with it. Neither you nor I know the country. Let us consult those who do, and proceed as they advise." So by King Richard's counsel, they named twenty faithful persons, and determined to abide by their suggestions—five Templars, five Hospitallers, five French, five Syrians. It is vexatious to have no record of their debate; but their verdict was against going to Jerusalem, and

<sup>1</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 411.



that they ought previously go and take Cairo. However strange this seems—though one of those cities seems to have nothing to do with the other—yet it assuredly exculpates Richard, and is in strict conformity with great military authority, both then and now. He who was the most celebrated for warlike qualifications at that time, and who had longer experience of each city, was of their opinion; and affirmed that Cairo was the only real key to Jerusalem. The first crusaders found the Egyptian in possession of the Holy City; and it seems Ibrahim thought the same in our own day; and that Egypt is the only military road to Palestine.<sup>1</sup>

So, full of the most perplexing meditations, King Richard and army marched back to the coast, and spent the rest of the winter in raising the walls of Ascalon and Jaffa that Saladin had pulled down.<sup>2</sup> Early in the spring of 1192, King Richard  
1192  
advanced into the mountains of Judea,  
near Jerusalem, and had several battles. In which of them precisely the subsequent facts occurred, is not specified. But the chronicler Ricobaldus gives a sure date when he says it was between Ramlah and Jerusalem, and on St. George's day; for only in 1192 did Richard advance thither, and St. George

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Crois., ii. 712.—Vinisauf: 3.

<sup>2</sup> Arab. Chron., 340.



is on the 23rd of April—the difference of a day in the almanacs may fairly be attributed to passing from the old to the new style. Whatever be the opinions of Muratori, he, by the very act of rescuing it from the dust and publishing it, makes the chronicle so far his own—and of excellent authority—agreeing with five Arabic MSS. in the Ferrara Municipal Library. Tiraboschi tells us Ricobaldus wrote about 1297.

“Saladin and his brother Safadin were on a hillock directing the Moslems, who had repulsed the English, when from the right wing up hastens King Richard on Fauvell, and springing from the saddle, puts himself at the head of the archers, and stooping down to one of their companions who had just been slain, loosens the small tape with which the Kentish use to tie their sheaves of arrows in their quivers, and winding it round his own leg, just below the knee, bids all the chief knights (who were indeed his associates, and of all Christian countries) do the like, and fight that day in honour of St. George, for it was St. George's Feast, whose mass he had heard that morning, and received the host at it; and truly, though those gentlemen always fought well, they never performed such heroic actions as on that day. The consequence was, that Saladin seeing Richard a-foot pitied him—



thinking his horse slain—and in a few moments up rode Safadin, leading what Saladin had just alighted from, a beautiful Arabian in the richest housings, and though fawn-coloured Fauvell of Cyprus and Lyard of Paris were fine steeds both, this was far finer. ‘My brother bids me say, “Shall the pupil continue mounted when the master is on foot?” So sends your Majesty this present, and begs you to accept it for the love of him.’ And the Moslems were ordered to retreat, whence ours believed we had won a victory; but indeed, had Safadin’s advice been followed, and the Paynim charged then, we had been hardly put to it.

“Here was the first idea of the Order of the Garter, to which Richard afterwards gave its motto in his French wars, and made it exclusively an English order, from being common to all Christendom, as it till then had been.”

A floating tradition of this had reached Ashmole; but too vague and imperfect, so he could not follow it. Still he rejected the fable about Lady Salisbury’s garter. Edward was then not a creator, but a restorer. Clearly, if Ashmole had lived to Muratori’s time, he would have assented to Ricobaldus at once.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 345.—Rerum Itali. Script., ix.—Tiraboschi: Litt. Ital., iv. 287.—Ashmole: 122.



Count Henry married Conrad's widow, as the people proposed and Richard consented to, and in her right, Henry became King of Jerusalem, *de jure*, no doubt; let him conquer it, and he is so *de facto*. It was a compliment to France as well as England, for he was nephew to both. But Palestine was a most disunited land. To every event opposite colourings. Falsity and treason. No repose or candour. No confiding in any one. Even the French disaffected. Not contented with the twenty, three hundred of the chiefs of the Franks met in a plain on horseback, and chose twelve commissaries; and these chose three arbiters, who had to decide whether to attack Jerusalem or not, and also came to the same resolution—No! This was in July, 1192. As to the Franks being on horseback in council, such is always the custom with them, says Boha-eddin.

Count Henry offered to reign as vassal of Saladin, who instantly was angry at the proposal.<sup>1</sup> King Richard then wrote to Saladin: "That as he did not think he had himself any right to sacrifice his own subjects, neither did he suppose the soldan thought he had any such over his; that therefore, for both Christians and Moslems, it was better to make peace. My nephew is at your service at the head of the Chris-

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 346.



tians, he and his troops. Do not refuse me the only thing I ask, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. I renounce all the rest, and go home; for what you used to call my iron health is at length broken, and I feel sick. Whatever state that church be in, I accept it with gratitude.”<sup>1</sup>

All the soldan's emirs desired him to accede to the offer. “Your nephew,” replied Saladin, “shall be to me like one of my own children. I give it to you; it is the chief church in Jerusalem, and we call it of the Resurrection. The country to be divided; to you the coast, to me the mountains. But Ascalon and Daroum must be razed. I will give no fortresses.”<sup>2</sup> King Richard immediately sent to thank Saladin, with also two falcons as a present, but insisted on Ascalon and Daroum as they stood. “The king only asks them to content the Franks. What are two such insignificant places to the potent soldan?”<sup>3</sup> So it was agreed on; yet some trifle extinguished the whole.

From Ascalon, Richard had frequently advanced towards Jerusalem, while Saladin was within its walls with expert engineers, adding to its fortifications, and Moslem troops devastating all the environs; and in an action near the fountain of

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 346.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 347.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 347.



Emaus, or Nicopolis, I find the Grand Master Gardiner again, in summer 1192, commanding, and indeed punishing one of his own knights for a breach of orders, though accompanied with signal heroism.<sup>1</sup>

Jaffa had to furnish another instance of the incomparable valour of Cœur de Lion.<sup>2</sup> He might have been thought gone for Europe; but it was not so, he was in Acre preparing to embark, but not yet embarked, when on tidings that the Moslems were besieging Jaffa, he threw himself into a ship, and sailed thither.<sup>3</sup> Thus the Mahometans: "Saladin had taken the town, except the citadel, when Richard appeared. At sight of sails, at peep of day,<sup>4</sup> those who were besieged within the citadel, mounted their horses, and rushed down

<sup>1</sup> Vinisauf.—Bib. Crois., 711. Then Gardiner was not only alive, but he distinguished himself in various battles subsequent to February, 1191. What, after all, shall I have done, except adding, on respectable authority, a few months (at most twenty), to the several years which Seb. Paoli proves by an unanswerable document? Manifest error of all past historians. I only corroborate what the diplomatist had the perspicacity to divine; and since Gardiner was commanding armies as late as summer in 1192, and that no chroniclers tell of his sudden death, which infallibly they would at that juncture, it is almost a moral certainty that he survived until nearly the end of autumn, and that it was he who had the honour of accepting Richard's gift, and installing the order in Acre.—Appendix, Num. xlii.

<sup>2</sup> Arab. Chron., 349.    <sup>3</sup> Id., 350.    <sup>4</sup> Id., 350.



all at once, like one man, and filled the town;<sup>1</sup> ours flying in such confusion and hurry, that many were nearly suffocated in the gateway;<sup>2</sup> others cut to pieces in the churches. Yet our flag was still flying on the walls.<sup>3</sup> At Richard's arrival at the mouth of the harbour, he hesitated an instant, thinking all lost, and that he was too late. The noise of the waves, and cries of the soldiers, made it impossible to hear. Moreover, the soldan was beating to arms. The Christians were in the utmost terror; one of them, *it was a priest,*<sup>4</sup> shouting '*I devote myself for the glory of the Messiah!*' sprang headlong from the top of the citadel, right down into the sea,<sup>5</sup> and swimming out to King Richard, let him know the truth, who was the first to leap ashore;<sup>6</sup> and every one of our people made off. The soldan had the pen in his hand, to sign the capitulation; but he had to retire.<sup>7</sup> The entire city had become Christian dogs—God confound them! The king had taken Jaffa.<sup>8</sup> Even Saladin's camp insecure; all was Richard's. Our master marched east on Saturday evening, the 19th of July, but came back, suddenly, five days after-

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 351.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 351.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 351.

<sup>4</sup> Vinisauf, 3.—Bib. Crois., 716.

<sup>5</sup> Id., 351.

<sup>6</sup> Arab. Chron., 351.

<sup>7</sup> Id., 351.

<sup>8</sup> Id., 351.



wards—that is, on Thursday, the 24th,<sup>1</sup> when that accursed King Richard had but ten horsemen and some hundred foot,<sup>2</sup> all lodged *in ten tents*, therefore outside the town, the walls of the town being in ruins and of no defence. But though our Moslems environed these few Christians, these stood rooted firm, *grinding the teeth of war*.<sup>3</sup> Astonishing! our cavalry kept cantering round them, without venturing to strike a blow,<sup>4</sup> and then returned into line. It was in the plain, quite close to the ruins of the walls, and the royal miscreant had marshalled forth his shadow of an army, as regularly facing ours in extensive array with the soldan at its head, as if there were a parity. But what struck me dumb altogether, was to see a whole division of ours at the sound of a trumpet charge like one man, and stop all at once, when they got close to the uncircumcised, as if these were a wall of steel, or something unearthly; their horsemen having their lances couched and vizors closed, but remaining motionless. And their infantry's first file were on one knee, with the ends of the handle of their lances fixed in the soil; so that they formed an angle, whose points were elevated a couple of feet, the other file up-standing, as usual; but not

<sup>1</sup> Arab Chron., 353.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 353.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 353.

<sup>4</sup> Id., 353.



a weapon was used on either side, nor a word spoken, but ours went back silently and slowly to their ground. Yet ours, I knew, were incited to the utmost by hate and desire to sack.<sup>1</sup>

“The indignant soldan then rode through our ranks, to excite them.<sup>2</sup> In vain his son set the example, by riding in a rush towards the Giaours.<sup>3</sup> An emir called out, I could not distinguish what, but it was clear that ours refused to obey.<sup>4</sup> So, our Saladin, after having, in vain, twice given the command, *Charge*, perceived he was committing himself uselessly, and, in a transport of rage, had a retreat sounded, and retired, and shut himself up in his tent without seeing any one, and so remained there invisible to us all for three days.<sup>5</sup> But our troops waited for a still more shameful scene. King Richard, advancing alone, rode along our whole front with his lance in the rest, and no one was bold enough to accept the challenge, and stir from the ranks to fight him.<sup>6</sup> On which he made a sign to his servants to come with his dinner, and, descending from his horse, sat down and ate and drank in the face of our army, drawn up as for battle; his small troop, and the handful of foot,

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 354.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 354.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 354.

<sup>4</sup> Id., 354.

<sup>5</sup> Id., 354.

<sup>6</sup> Id., 354.



drawn up opposite likewise; so that he was banqueting half way between the two armies ”<sup>1</sup>

All this being from Mahometan accounts, and not the least in contradiction with what other Mahometans write, and having come down through so many centuries, unquestioned by any of the Moslems, would it not be very hardy in us to consider it an hyperbole, if even a Christian be reduced to call it a greater feat than what is attributed to Achilles or any of the ancients, or Amadis de Gaul, or Roland, or the greatest heroes of romance?<sup>2</sup> Nothing equals the plain truth. See what it is to be terror-struck. Perhaps no veteran will deny the possibility of this, if he has been ever swept off by soldiers in a panic. Then it comes to be like other facts, merely a matter of evidence. It stands solitary in history. It may be wiser to disbelieve everything historic; but, if we believe any, it is hard to see why not this, which comes from the most opposite quarters. At a time when all disagreed, they agree as to this.

Some weeks later, King Richard sent to Saladin again: “How long am I to humble myself before the soldan? How long is he to remain deaf to my entreaties? In God’s name grant me peace, I am

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 354.

<sup>2</sup> Vinisauf, 3.—Bib. Crois., ii. 688, 722.



unwell, and my kingdom is in an alarming state of sedition. Urgent business calls me home, and winter is approaching, when it will be too late to navigate the sea."<sup>1</sup> It was towards the end of August. Withal the king's sickness had increased,<sup>2</sup> which renders the recent exploits still more stupendous. The soldan sending to him ices and fruit,<sup>3</sup> as well as his renowned physician,<sup>4</sup> added a treaty for three years, says he who wrote, counting from September, 1192.<sup>5</sup> It was ratified, the rest swearing by King Richard's soul,<sup>6</sup> but the king giving only his hand, since kings never take an oath.<sup>7</sup> The swearers to it on the Christian side, were Count Henry, young Thoron, the Hospitallers, the Templars, and some of the principal barons.<sup>8</sup> These went, next day, to the soldan, who received and lodged them in a magnificent tent, and the day after, he gave them his hand; and his brother Malek-Adel swore by the soldan's soul, for the Moslem, to the treaty, and the soldan's two sons, and the Emir Marchtoub, and others.<sup>9</sup> Then peace was proclaimed, to the infinite joy of both

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 352—356.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 354.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 354.

<sup>4</sup> Michaud: Hist., vi. 323.

<sup>5</sup> Vinisauf, 3.—Bib. Crois., ii. 722.—Arab. Chron., 356.

<sup>6</sup> Hoveden.— Id., Id., 777.

<sup>7</sup> Arab. Chron., 354.

<sup>8</sup> Arab. Chron., 356.

<sup>9</sup> Id., 357.



Mahometans and Christians, and that the road for as many as chose to go in pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre was open.<sup>1</sup> Several reasons combined for Richard's conduct: 1st.—Those decisions. 2nd.—The letters hastening him to England. 3rd.—The dissensions.<sup>2</sup> 4th.—His sickness, which kept on the increase. Any of the four would have done; but, in his mind, the first alone counted. And if to remain in Palestine was utterly useless, what right had he to defer his return home, where his presence was absolutely required? His lady mother's letter, as well as the trustiest of his noblemen, who brought it, declared his return to be, to the last degree, urgent. Several messengers, including both church and laymen, and the cream of his peerage, had followed by different routes, to hurry him. Indeed, he had tarried too long already; and left time for rebellion and a wicked alliance to be organized. His whole road, land and sea, blocked. The net was spread. Still little he or Saladin thought that, within little less than four short lunar months, both should be snatched away from this world's blue air; one to a dungeon, the other to his grave.<sup>3</sup> If that queen had only been on a par with her sex in ability, the English less

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 357.      <sup>2</sup> Id., 358.

<sup>3</sup> Michaud: Hist., ii. 451—454.



faithful, less stout-hearted the Pope, never had Richard re-ascended his throne.

Count Henry—whom the Christians called of Jerusalem, the Mahometans King of Acre<sup>1</sup> (but he himself appeared not to have used either titles)—left as the only protector of the Latin colonies, sent to ask Saladin for a pelisse and turban.<sup>2</sup> “You know neither are in dishonour with us. I mean to wear them both for your sake.” It was evident Islam had nothing to fear.<sup>3</sup> Yet Saladin would not have made peace, had it depended on him. “Our soldan was forced to it by his emirs.<sup>4</sup> Had he not died soon, it might have been worse for Mahometans as well as Christians.<sup>5</sup> No better treaty in the circumstances could be, says the chronicler. Who say otherwise, they are in error, or it is malevolence; England had no reason whatever to hope for more advantageous terms.<sup>6</sup>

It had been one of his first and warmest requests to give back the property of the Templars and Hospitallers. But when he found it in vain, he never more mentioned it. It is said his last act was to give Acre to the Hospitallers, which is traditional

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 379.      <sup>2</sup> Id., 358.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 359.      <sup>4</sup> Id., 360.

<sup>5</sup> Id., 360. Note.

<sup>6</sup> Vinisauf, 3.—Bib. Crois., ii. 722.



and highly probable. Yet nothing remains that the Paolis could discover, to prove it. Still a comparatively modern has "Our valiant King Richard regained Acre, and gave it to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem;"<sup>1</sup> and it is to be supposed he had a legitimate authority for what he asserts frankly, though it has baffled the present writer's researches. He who gratuitously gave Cyprus to the Temple, could scarcely not have nobly remunerated the Hospitallers, to whom he was so publicly and affectionately devoted, although no such deed of gift be now extant. His scrupulous and earliest care, on regaining freedom (even before reaching Normandy or England), was to write a formal declaration of his gratitude, and to confess he owed them much, and took care to deposit that legal document so securely, that it has been lately printed, and therefore is now out of danger for ever, and shall be borrowed for the Appendix.<sup>2</sup>

A weeping train of the entire population of Acre accompanied him to the shore, where they bade farewell to him whom they loved and revered as no human creature. It cannot but strike every reader of those times that maritime matters must have been far less behind than we think, when such

<sup>1</sup> Comm. Geograph., ii. 18, Ed. London, folio, 1709.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix, Num. xxxix.



large armies of cavalry were conveyed in their ships, the King of France alone having had forty-five thousand cavalry at least when he sailed from Marseilles to Acre. Chroniclers never talk of any difficulty as to transport, nor of the Franks buying any horses in Syria. All seem to have brought their horses from Europe. The light Saracen horses may have been used by a few officers, but the soldiers were on powerful horses from Normandy, England, or Germany—remarkable for strength, as befits cuirassiers. With respect to sappers and miners, those from Aleppo were perhaps as good as any we have now. The invention of gunpowder has given an immense superiority to our artillery, no doubt. Yet the machines that could throw balls of six hundred pounds weight were dreadful things; as the steel barb from the zemboureck, that passed through three cuirasses and their contents—three human bodies.

Many are the stories told about King Richard and Saladin, some of which may be true, but some not possibly so; if no gravestone of the latter remains at Damascus now, that may fairly be ascribed to the lapse of ages. A similar reproach might for a long time have been made to England, and in truth both have their best of monuments in tradition, the lasting memory of nations. England



was shortly to mourn for her monarch, captive she knew not where ; and noble and holy Damascus for her soldan's death. It was now the end of November, 1192, and on Wednesday of the first week of the next following March, in spite of his celebrated physician—most learned Maimonides—died Saladin, “the Phœnix of his century, the firm and beautiful pillar of Islam,” as his grateful countrymen call him ;<sup>1</sup> and for the accuracy of the date, we have the authority of the Grand Master of the Hospitallers in his letter from Palestine to his lieutenant in Europe.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the order within its proper orbit had performed its first revolution of better than ninety-two years, under its Founder or Provost and eight Grand Masters.<sup>3</sup>

END OF BOOK THE FIRST.

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Chron., 376.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Acquin.—Bib. Crois., iii. 322.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, Num. xlvii.