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THE HISTORY

OF

THE HOLY, MILITARY, SOVEREIGN ORDER

OF

ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM;

OR,

KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS, KNIGHTS TEMPLARS,
KNIGHTS OF RHODES, KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

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"ADELAIS."

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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OF THE ORDER OF

ERRATA, VOL. IV.

Page.
147, Note 1, add Appendix, Num. CCXXXI.
ib., Line 22, for much, read most.
Appendix, Num. 2, Anno 1100, add this to note *
—Registrum Muniment (Dugdale's authority) headed Clerkenwell• has, Jordanus Brisset Baron, filius Brieni Brisset.
Cotton MSS., Nero, E., VI.
Appendix, Num. CLXXXI, Line 2, for Serenissimo, read Serenissimi.

those two high dignities being united in one person —it was no small matter for the grand master to have acquired the gratitude of so potent a personage, suiting much of what follows.[1]

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[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxiv. 489.

THE HISTORY

OF THE ORDER OF

ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

BOOK IV.—MALTA.—(CONTINUED.)

CHAPTER II.

Now do we enter the memorable 1565, for ever glorious to the order of Malta. The captain general of the Spanish navies, the famous warrior Garcias de Toledo, by Valetta's advice, made Viceroy of Sicily as well—first instance of those two high dignities being united in one person —it was no small matter for the grand master to have acquired the gratitude of so potent a personage, suiting much of what follows.[1] 1565

Solyman had many political reasons for his expedition. It was now ready, after five years of hard labour, and was about to sail—such the best

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxiv. 489.

intelligence. Stupendous armament! Was it not the same Solyman who had taken Rhodes? Such artillery, heavy, light, of all sorts, so numerous, such immense stores of every kind, so vast an army, a cavalry so equipped and mounted, so magnificent a fleet, such various machines to besiege fortresses, beyond what the Ottoman house had ever before brought together! Nor did he neglect any resource, but to make the sure still surer, had likewise his spies everywhere. But principally at Malta, two renegade engineers, one a Sclavonian, the other a Greek, who had noted every gun, and measured every battery there; and got back safe to the Golden Horn, where they assured the sultan Malta could be taken in a few days, without need to dig a trench, for that Borgo was without what merited to be called fortifications, and unable to resist a brisk *coup-de-main*. New buildings cannot possibly be strong, and whatever be pretended in show, yet in reality would not be tenable for a week, even less; and as for the fort of St. Elmo, it was too small to be of much avail, and would be quickly knocked to pieces by the Turkish heavy cannon.* The rest of the island contained nothing to withstand the crescent a moment. Yet would Malta be a most serviceable conquest, and to defray the expenditure, were there not the bequest of the

late sultana, the wealth of who would not be backward for so holy a purpose; the large mosques, and other ecclesiastical endowments; the offerings of devout and rich Mussulmen; and even all the universities and pious associations of Islam in the Levant?

While the Grand Seignior, or his deputies, master of the whole Mediterranean and a large majority of Europe, might dictate laws, as universal lord, from that not unpleasant rock, and look down upon his shipping at anchor in its excellent harbour.[1]

Nor was the grand master idle, but on Monday, the 9th of April, had a visit from Don Garcias de Toledo, who had asked his majesty for twenty-five thousand infantry, between Spaniards, Germans, and Italians, and now had come to Malta with twenty-seven galleys, to see it himself; so after having dined with the grand master, it was interesting to see those two celebrated warriors walk out together to examine the positions; which being done, Toledo, before the whole council, gave his word of honour to the grand master to be back with succours before the end of June; and smiling added, "I leave you hostage my son, whom I dearly love, and one thousand Spanish foot, a re-

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxiv. 490.

markably fine corps." His son was a promising youth, and took the habit.

Finally, Valetta, begging of Toledo some professional counsel for his conduct during the important siege, the experienced Spaniard, after some modest reluctance, uttered these three maxims; first, that the council-of-war be restricted to very few, and excellent veterans, it appearing to him best for prompt decisions and secrecy; second, not to allow sorties and skirmishing, but husband his people for resisting assaults; third, above all, to take care of his own person, on whom the whole depends; for that the sovereign's death has often caused overthrows, and loss of victories.[1]

That nevertheless Valetta was not even then quite certain the Turk could come against Malta, or not rather against some other spot of Christendom, is proved by his letter to the Pope a moment after Toledo's departure, on the 10th of April, and wonderful it is how he could have written so quietly and wisely at so critical a juncture,[2]

Many of the preparations intended (like suspending the building of the new city months before, when the rock was only cut down half of what was prescribed by the model), with regard

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxiv. 500.

[2] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., cxcvi. 1.—Appendix, cexix.

to sending the rest of the invalids out of the island to be supported elsewhere, at their country's expense, and similar, were broken off abruptly, by pressing and infallible tidings that the Turk was at hand. So ensued a parade of the different Languages as of old, drawn up each before its own inn, to be examined by a knight of another Language, with all the ancient details; and of the fourteen chosen knights-examiners, was Nuzza, Bailiff of the Eagle. Only what appears to me an adjunct is here precisely specified, that each individual had to fire three musket shots at a target, with a premium for the best. A roll showed them in all (knights and servants-at-arms), a little more than five hundred. But these were in the most perfect condition, ready for any grade, whether the lowest, or to act as superior officers to excellent troops; valiant and faithful volunteers, of all ranks and nations, and a not effeminate population.

What countries sent forth who participated in so famous a siege, so glorious a war, it is not just to deprive them of their due fame. Therefore, says Bosio, "here they are for an eternal memorial, as far as my brother and I were able to discover;" and they lived within some thirty years of the event.

	Knights.	Servants-at-Arms.
Provence	61	15
Auvergne	25	14
France	57	24
Italy	164	5
England	1	
Germany	13	1
Castille	68	6
Arragon	85	2

They together make five hundred and forty-one; besides whom there were several chaplains in the inns, and other clergy, as their bishop, who though members of the order, were never permitted to be fighting men.

Continentalists will find many of their most illustrious names. If Italians are singularly numerous, Malta was near; and the Bosios, as of Italian extraction, and writing in Italian, may naturally have taken more pains to have their countrymen's list complete. As to the hapless English Language, though mightily fallen, it was not utterly annihilated as yet. And those unwilling to circumscribe to one solitary one, the Englishman present at that magnificent danger, may prefer thinking that they disguised their names by some foreign termination; valiant hearts, unwilling to bring down persecution on their families at home.

Where emigration is necessary, perhaps masquerade may be so too. Their brothers in arms would have thought it a noble charity to accept them under translated titles, incorporated them into their own body, and giving them a new nationality, keep their secret. Nor is it easy to blame either such refugees or such donors. If they concealed their names, it is to be supposed they had sufficient reason for it; so leave them to the Lethe they chose. Or if that sound harsh, is it not remediless? Who is able to deter them, even were it not over late?

On the 8th of May, two hundred of the Spaniards, promised by Toledo, appeared, very jewels of prime soldiery. The Turkish fleet, proceeding towards Malta, were however traced every step, and the grand master exactly informed of each of their movements; how they suffered from storms, and in a calm were carried by the current on sandbanks, where, on one occasion, off Cerigo, they had one thousand men drowned, chiefly Spahis, and on another lost two of the heaviest cannons, and above eight thousand barrels of gunpowder, with one thousand three hundred cannon-balls of cast iron, which agreed with an ill-omen on their leaving Constantinople; so that the Turks were not the least surprised when they heard of these disasters;

nor even later, when they saw a pitiful remnant of that splendid expedition return without having effected any part of the projects for which it was sent.

At last Pasha Mustapha resolved to investigate the state of his armament, and it now consisted of thirty-eight thousand three hundred, all tolerably good, but not all select troops, without counting any of the great number of strangers, and hangers on of every description.

On Friday, 18th of May, their ships were clearly visible at sunrise, about fifteen miles to the south-east of Marsa Sirocco, at which St. Elmo and St. Archangelo fired each three cannons, preconcerted signal for the enemy in sight. Then was there a popular disturbance, which increased at the terrible advance of the infidels. In the memory of no living man any such thing had been seen. How grand, how numerous, how well ordered were those multitudes of sails! What sublime energy in those armed ships!

The dread signals being returned by other three cannonades from Città Vecchia (Notabile), and by three from Gozo, roused the inhabitants of both islands to a loud clamour of drums and trumpets, sounding and beating to arms everywhere. A violent commotion ensued, some labour-

ing with utmost diligence in polishing and preparing their arms and horses; others loading their beasts of burden and themselves with their household stuff and children, to convey them to a place of security; some gathering together and heaping the corn, already cut in many parts of the country, to transport it into the fortresses; and no few replete with horror, not knowing what they were doing, began running to and fro. In such universal disorder and peril, so ardent and near, the lower classes, that afterwards became so dauntless, were at that first encounter stricken with the wildest consternation. Even some who used to be held valiant and boastful, could not prevent their cheeks from turning pale, or such like symptoms of inward terror. But knights and soldiers, and the most experienced of the Maltese, as accustomed to arms, and intensely occupied, testified by their animated gesticulations their great joy at this splendid opportunity of fighting in defence of their creed, liberties, and country.

Bravest of the brave was Valetta himself; not the smallest sign of hurry or internal conflict was to be seen in him, but much tranquil intrepidity, as it were perfect security, breathed from his serene truly royal aspect, which set every heart at ease, and made it quietly resume its proper place

within the breast. And to act with unison and maturity of purpose and established rule, from the outset in this confusion, perhaps necessarily incident on the foe's sudden approach, and to consult on what would be the wisest on their proximate landing, he convoked a council of many of his grandees and chief knights, among whom was Sir Oliver Starkey, Lieutenant of the Turcopolier, the only real and avowed Englishman on that awful and most brilliant spot. There were many famous captains, generals, aid-de-camps, chamberlains, statesmen, secretaries, and distinguished men of all nations formed, as it were, into Valetta's personal guard, or military household, who never left him day or night, but accompanied him everywhere during the siege. This council advised him to send instantly to inform Don Garcias Toledo of the Paynim's arrival; and that he should despatch further details to his imperial highness as speedily and regularly as he could; and the officer was back from Sicily the third day. As yet on board, it seemed the intention of the Turks was, by their continually sailing alongshore, to distract the Christian, and then land without the smallest opposition, when and where he least expected.

Appearances lead us to infer that poisoning the

wells was one of the ordinary defences of the times; for Bosio relates quite simply, as nothing unfrequent or astonishing, or at all criminal, that the chief physician was ordered over the whole island on that inhuman service, "attended with considerable success until the barbarians discovered the stratagem, and had the waters diligently *purged*."[1]

The crescent sailing leisurely round its victim, so close to land that the ships were generally within a stone's throw of it; and where the rock was high, and projected out a little over the sea, they passed immediately under the feet of the Maltese explorers; so that these could look down perpendicularly on the decks, and numbered the shipping, and their number agreed precisely with the review off Greece. While that was going on, the poor from the *casali*, with their infants in their arms, and their other little ones on their shoulders, continued retiring into the forts. The Marshal Couppier, Knight of Auvergne, with his horse and foot, according to orders, kept marching along the sea-side, observing the hostile fleet, which, on arrival off Mugiazzo (Haintofecha), a few miles south of Citta Vecchia, opposite a large

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxiv. 514.

fountain head, with abundance of spring water, dropped anchor at once, but in such a manner as indicated a design to proceed on, since without a signal for the landing of any body, nor showed the smallest movement during the remainder of the day, but kept quietly reposing; the marshal too always standing with his troops openly drawn up until dusk; and at night shutting in, left videttes and sentinels, and a good guard in observation, to inform him every now and then of what was occurring, and drew off his little army to refresh at Citta Vecchia, whose citizens, seeing the Turkish fleet had anchored there, apprehending the first attack would be on themselves, sent to the grand master for either permission to abandon their city, and with their families and chattels retire into Borgo; or that he would send to Citta Vecchia a good guard of knights and hired soldiery, with requisite powder and artillerymen for the cannons which their walls had already, in which case the citizens to a man promised to do their duty. At that very moment the grand master was reading the rolls, and found his whole force, all comprised, came to eight thousand five hundred in round numbers:

Crews of the Galleys	600
Crew of the Galeon	100
Men of Borgo	500
Those of Bermola, and that part of the Island	300
Those of Citta Vecchia, and principal part of the Island . . .	4560
Artillerymen	120
Household of the Grand Master .	150
Garrison of St. Elmo and St. Archangelo	150
Hired Spanish Troops, those of Colonel Mas included	800
Volunteers of Medici . . .	200
Volunteers of Sicily, Genoa, Piedmont, and Italian outlaws . . .	675
	8,155

Which, with the knights make up the number a trifle more. The numbers were small, and the Maltese irregulars, but long marshalled under the knights, who indeed formed the leading officers of the whole array. When the grand master had done with the rolls, it was near midnight, and then he gave audience to those from Città Vecchia, bidding them tell the inhabitants to be of good courage, and resist, and that he would send them all they asked. And so he did at daybreak,

and moreover ordered the good knight and celebrated Melchior d'Eguaras to make Citta Vecchia his head-quarters for all the cavalry, retiring thither, and harassing the foe's rear, in case he should march to besiege Borgo, or St. Elmo. Therefore those of Citta Vecchia were quite pleased, and ever performed their devoirs with fidelity and valour.[1] That same morning, as soon as it was broad day, the grand master, accompanied by his council and his *azonini reali*, and engineers, went reviewing the walls of Borgo, prescribing various urgent repairs, strengthening everything with great assiduity, and assigning their posts to the different Languages, in the same order pretty much as in 1551. Every one might know where to go to prevent confusion, and all might be ready to move at the slightest signal, with the accuracy of clockwork.

In what was naturally the most perilous place on the only land-side of the triangle (for such is Borgo), and comprehends its whole front, were to stand the three French Languages, Provence, Auvergne, France. But art had rendered it the strongest now and most secure. The Italian Language, commanded by its head-admiral of the order, a knight of seventy, yet eminently daring

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxiv. 516.

and courageous to heroism the most romantic, a splendid and liberal man, a cousin of the late Pope Julius, and Governor of Castle St. Angelo at Rome, and one day to be Grand Master, Sir Peter del Monte, was to defend the whole island of Senglea and St. Michael's Fort. The entire curtain which forms the triangle's second side, from the extreme west of France unto St. Angelo, was entrusted to Arragon, including Catalogna and Navarre; and the third, from St. Angelo to Provence, would formerly have belonged to those of Castille and Portugal, of England and of Germany; but the first of these being by far the most numerous, it was thought best to station them in the most dangerous part, to wit, from the angle of Provence to where the riding house once stood, but was thrown down for that effect; and to Castille and Portugal succeeded the German Language; and next what should have been the English; but as it was reduced to a single individual, Sir Oliver Starquey, a body of hired soldiers were put under his command, to defend the rest of the curtain up to St. Angelo. And since the Auvergnese were not in sufficient number, the grand master planted some Genoese between the corner, where Provence ended and Castille began, whence that spot is called to this day, Post of Genoa. In the infirmary,

since it had gates towards the marine, they were closed, and parapets raised, where some hired troops were posted, under command of the officers of that house itself. The same regarding the prison. And the shipping in that much-frequented port received orders to raise their guns, so as in case of need to aid to defend it, if the enemy should try to force its entrance. The platform flat with the sea at the foot of St. Angelo's, opposite St Michael's Spur, where is fastened the chain that shuts the Creek of Senglea, was given in guard to a Spanish knight, who fortified it with the crew of his galley so well, and nine pieces of heavy artillery grazing the waves with their fire, and protecting the chain, that to touch it would have been a labour of vast fatigue and infinite danger. That chain had been made at Venice, and was three hundred paces long, and so thick, that nothing like it had ever before been seen in Christendom, and was linked to a most enormous anchor, that had belonged to the great karack, stoutly imbedded in the living rock, cut on purpose with much trouble and ingenuity; chain supported about three hands above the water, upon beams perforated by other as wide beams of the most durable oak, like a huge ladder in one continuous line, reposing on a quantity of empty casks, well smeared with

pitch and tar, and at the nearer end connected with a colossal cable tightened or loosened by several windlasses on the platform; nor could they be wrought, or the smallest boat pass without orders from the said knight.[1] Several other curious works, it is too tedious to describe.

Hired soldiers, as far as they went, were divided out to all the Languages. The Governor of St. Elmo being too old, he was not insulted by superseding, but under colour of captain of succour, a Bailiff, in the prime of manhood, with forty knights, and a corps of the choicest troops, were stationed there.

On the grand master's return to his palace, he found two men waiting for him, both of them villains unknown to each other, both of them spies, both renegades, sent to him by his Constantinopolitan emissaries, to advise him carefully of the true state of the Turkish fleet, in which they both had come in different ships, and landing with the earliest disembarkation, ran away, and bore him letters and countersigns. One was from Salerno, the other from Cataro. The former regularly in pay of the grand master himself; the other he had never seen. However, he brought proofs not to be doubted. Both agreed in the most minute parti-

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxv. 519.

culars; that most certainly the Turks, before going to Barbary, would try to take Malta; that though Mustapha might delay fighting till he had news from Dragut, in conformity with the sultan's injunctions, yet it would be solely not to lose time while his galley was going to Tripoli and returning, if he had the appearance of only reconnoitring the fortresses. And indeed the impatient pasha had already unveiled his intentions in a great degree; for though the fleet kept at Mugiazzo to deceive the marshal, thirty-five galleys from off the rearguard had received a portion of troops at night in deep silence, and sailing off with them, disembarked them quietly at Marsa Sirocco and the Cala before daybreak. About three thousand Turks, who kept continually increasing by other boatfuls in multitudes, they were intended to prevent the Maltese from carrying in the harvest, and to cut off the marshal from re-entering either Borgo or St. Elmo. Everything prognosticated that the first attack would be on St. Elmo. Then clearly did the grand master perceive the marshal's dangerous position, and instantly sent him orders to leave the cavalry at Citta Vecchia, and march with all the foot into Borgo without a moment's delay.

No longer lamentation; too late for that; he had

lamented before. Promises to him had been broken, and he taken by surprise after all, without half the hired troops he had bargained for, and stores he had purchased, but which had failed to be delivered at the appointed time, by no fault of his.

He took care that a right-valiant knight marched a body of troops in a quite different direction; so as to be visible to the Turks, and divert them from the marshal, who, however, had left Citta Vecchia at daybreak, to succour some skirmishers, who had lost their way in those embarrassing little enclosures, and then fallen into an ambuscade, which deprived the order of two promising young knights; one (a Portuguese), killed; and the other's horse the same, and under it fell its rider (from the heart of sweet France), and was carried off prisoner, severely wounded, to Mustapha, who rejoiced at such an opportunity of information, but could squeeze little out of him, though put to the torture, except that Malta was exceedingly strong, with a large army, which the Turks believed.

Of course, as soon as the marshal received the orders, he had his squadrons recalled, and making them follow him to within sight of Borgo, entered it with the infantry, and sent back the cavalry.

Indeed cavalry are generally of no use in Malta, but quite necessary at all times, on the coast of Barbary, where the Turks were to go next; so they had a considerable proportion of that arm with them, also because of inveterate custom; for what is a Turk without his horse?

Grievously did the mis-adventure vex Valetta; particularly to hear of capture, fearing that torments would force that unfortunate young knight to a disclosure of their unprovided state. Yet quite the reverse. He spoke but of the strength of the fortifications, and that even if there were not these, still would Toledo hurry from Sicily on the instant with a great army, which disturbed the pasha much.

But in the meantime, the grand master in Borgo, the admiral in Senglea, the bailiff in St. Elmo, kept readying everything day and night. Equally the Commander, Mesquitez, in Citta Vecchia. And now the whole Turkish fleet, no longer concealing their movements, sailed back to Marsa Sirocco, and disembarked most of the soldiery; who fortified their camp, from dread of the Christians, lest they might attack them of a sudden.

On this Valetta, who was very religious, summoned the bishop, and ordered him, with two other

priests, to exhort the people by sermons and processions, and to implore the divine succour; for it was the Lord's day, 20th May. And immediately on return from prayers, he bade the marshal to be drawn up at daybreak at the Casal of Ālterscen (half way to Marsa Sirocco), with one thousandtwo hundred men of foot, and the whole of the cavalry, which he must immediately order from Citta Vecchia. So done; the horse under Sir Melchior d'Eguaras, and the infantry re-inforced with many knights volunteering—who to avoid observation, left their steeds behind in Borgo; but the marshal, perceiving the enemy were at Casal St. Catherine, a little further on, ordered Sir Melchior to advance. The Turks, as soon as they saw the cavalry, quitted their entrenchments instantly, and skirmishing, got nearer by little and little, with a great number of banderoles of different colours, and firing from wall to wall, killed several of ours, having a great superiority from the length of their guns, and wounding more and forcing them to recede—the rather, that our horses, impeded by the walls, could not effect much. At which moment, a renegade Frenchman, who had been taken in Barbary, fled to Sir Melchior; who sent him to Borgo to the grand master, with four of his dragoons, but previously questioned him a

little, and learned that the squadron before him consisted of ten thousand Turks, which made him bid his Ensign, Sir Stephen Clairmont, retire slowly with the standard; so very slowly, as to be unperceived, ever skirmishing ardently, until he decoyed the enemy into St. Leonard's plain, where the marshal had prepared with harquebussiers (sharp-shooters) all those enclosures called *chiuse* in Maltese; but which are simply diminutive fields, with dry stone walls, instead of hedges, and which cavalry, to get out or into them, must know the passes. Our horse and foot, thus aiding each other, fought to advantage.

The plan acted excellently well, to the enemy's great detriment; but at length the marshal, fearing to get surrounded by the Infidel myriads, and calling to mind his instructions, began retreating till under the walls of Borgo, whose artillery drove the enemy back; and from the counterscarp issued several bodies of foot and horse, the grand master having been unable to restrain the rush, and eight hundred fresh harquebusses hurried to succour the marshal. And his soldiers, encouraged by this reinforcement, flung themselves all together on the foe with such daring animation and order, kept up by the marshal and his intrepid and experienced officers, who added to their repute this day, that

at length the Turks commenced by turning in confusion, and ended by fairly running away. Conquered and broken, many of them were slain, and a few given quarter; but much greater would have been the result had the cavalry been sooner on the spot. But conformably to the grand master's first instructions, the marshal had sent them back towards Citta Vecchia, when from a rise seeing what was going on, they wheeled about, and came to join us at full gallop; and indeed lanced thirty or forty of the Paynims, but not in time to catch them on the open space, where they could have acted freely. Not that the victory cost us nothing, for besides a few slain, badly wounded was Sir Melchior himself, who had to pass the command to Sir Peter Couppier, of the magisterial household, who led back the cavalry to Citta Vecchia; while Sir Melchior had to enter Borgo to be healed, not only from his wound but also because of the dreadful bodily weakness consequent on remaining three days without food or repose.[1]

In this action a Navarrese knight, Sir John de Morgut, killed a sumptuously-dressed Turk, who wore on his right arm an armlet of gold, on which were engraved some words in Arabic, to be

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxv. 522.

translated thus: "I do not come to Malta for wealth or honour, but to save my soul." Curious and later proof than is easily imaginable, how the religious enthusiasm, or fanaticism as some please to call it, which produced the holy war, was not limited to the Christians; who were not in truth even the inventors of the name, but the Mahometans themselves.

Slowly did the Turks begin and proceed, while day and night, not only men, but women, with their *animals* of burden, laboured at bearing in earth from the country, and making mounds of it in Borgo, wherever was judged best. The Salerno renegade, having gone twice or thrice backwards and forwards from our army to the Moslem, by the grand master's orders, came to him early on the morning of the 21st of May, to inform him that the two pashas had determined on making an armed recognisance up to the very ditches of Borgo, not only to display the bravery of their soldiers, but also to strike terror into the Christians, at that most potent Turkish array. That they would not disembark their military stores, till they had examined the harbour better; and also it would not be until after dinner, when men are usually more daring. So all the artillery were loaded, and the Languages

ordered by the grand master to their posts; and he exhorted their leaders to be extremely attentive that day, for that much depended on repressing the first impetus of the Turks; and to be very careful as to the gunpowder, so that no disorderly explosion should take place on that day. And recollecting Don Garcias de Toledo's maxim, he at first resolved to admit of no sortie or skirmishing; but on further thought, deemed it expedient to except the enemy's first approach to the ditches, lest it might be taken for timidity, whereas it was necessary to show him a bold face. Nevertheless, to avoid any of the disorderly enthusiasm of the preceding day, which had not pleased him, he determined on sending out only six hundred of the very choicest of their musketry, under the Marshal and Colonel Mas, and the renowned standard-bearer, Medrano, to entrench themselves in St. Margaret's, within a musket-shot, in a straight line in front, from between the bastions of Auvergne and Provence. The cannon of those posts, without any injury to our own, could do great harm to the enemy, if he ever approached that small country church. He likewise sent two other expert knights, with four hundred foot, armed with pikes and corslets, and some musketry, to descend into the covered way of the counterscarp; and other com-

panies of soldiers, and as many of the people as chose, with ensigns, banners, and a loud noise of drums, should show themselves on the top of the posts to be assailed. And because of his desire to keep his knights for cases of need, he forbade any of them to go out; which more inflamed their ardour to get face to face with the Turks, whence he was so tormented, that he yielded permission to some of them, which caused a violent disorder, that there was danger of his being left alone in Borgo; for the other knights, thinking it a mark of shame to remain shut up there, while those of St. Margaret's had leave to begin with the enemy, who was now appearing in sight, all ran from their posts to the gates, to go out. It was necessary for the grand master in person to present himself to shut them. Scarcely was he able to curb his own knights; it required all his authority to prevent them from forcing them open; and before he had been able to have their shutting compassed, a great crowd of knights had got out. Yet after remedying that nuisance, he was himself to blame for exposing his person to a great danger, contrary to the advice of his assistants, by ascending into the bastion of Provence; where he remained almost the whole day with extreme peril, taking high delight in observing the fine

shots of the artillery breaking, injuring, sweeping away whole ranks of the infidels, whose army, covering the whole country, and estimated at forty thousand, or little less, drawn up closely in form of a crescent, marched direct on St. Margaret's; extraordinary and superb view! For not only all were in rich, gaudy, resplendent dresses, but carried a quantity of triangular banderoles, of different lively colours; and the magnificent armour and arms, and standards and flags, made the whole, at a distance, seem infinite multitudes of flowers in a meadow or luxuriant pasture; nor delightful only to the eyes, but also to the ears, from the various instruments, melted down by the air into exquisite harmony. But to this harmonious sweetness soon succeeded a rude and horrible dissonance from our cannonades and theirs, and the harquebusses of both. The marshal had commenced properly what lasted several hours, during which myriads of turbans went flying—little pebbles thrown among them with remarkable generosity—play which the artillery joined in finely. Those long-robed gentlemen were observed to run about, far more nimbly than could have been imagined. Our musketeer, too, managed his weapon much better, as the Moslems learned to their cost, for their muskets, seven or nine palms long,

could not be charged as rapidly as ours, or discharged, which gave us a great advantage; only resting on a wall, they had a rather longer range.

Bravely skirmishing for a considerable length of time wearied our troops, while the enemy, from their numbers, were always renewing theirs with fresh ones; neither bridled by the slaughter from the Giaours in the church, nor from the Borgo artillery. Each new corps of infidels kept driving forward what survived of their force; which the marshal perceiving, not to lose any more good soldiers, and valiant knights in vain, some of his being already killed, was obliged by his instructions to abandon what had been only meant for a temporary obstacle.

The Paynim, with their accustomed shouts of triumph, erected on its gable the standard of a sanjac-bey (major-general), and round it various other banners. At that same moment a monstrous mischief had threatened the grand master while urging the artillery to augment their efforts; for besides the Turkish fusillades that poured down on all sides, so that a soldier next him was shot dead, and one of his pages wounded in the neck, one of our own cannon being discharged, the wind carried a spark to another cannon, and fired it off unex-

pectedly, killing four of our people in that same bastion, and more or less maltreating a multitude of others of them; among whom Don Frederick de Toledo, son of the viceroy, in his cheeks and hands—and much worse another knight of a renowned family in Syracuse, who died of his wounds a few days afterwards.

Yet that gun regained our esteem by its next shot, which most opportunely cleared the marshal from his greatest difficulty, carrying away many a turban into the air, and extending their wearers' corpses, who an instant before had been so full of pride and temerity in pressing on our outpost; which so completely humbled the misbelievers, that their vanguard refused to advance a step, and on sight of a small corps emerging from the counterscarp to aid the marshal, they turned and fled; and being followed by a cannon-ball that killed a few, it struck the rest with such a panic of terror, that the whole Turkish army halted, and could not be induced to come nearer. Only half-a-dozen straggled from the wings, to plant and lose a few banners near the ditches, while ours were employed in retaking St. Margaret's. And retake it they did; not but that some of our knights were slain, and one severely wounded in an eye, which had just dropped from its socket; he

was not hindered by that from killing the sanjac-bey with whom he was engaged; nor desisted from the tremendous duel, until he wrenched from his dying grasp one of the principal standards of the Grand Seignior's armies, which was hung np subsequently in St. Leonard's Cathedral.

It is not astonishing that in an action of six hours in an open country, against such odds, where the Turks lost from nine hundred to a thousand of their best troops, we should have had a loss of twenty-one, comprehending those in the Provence bastion, and those blown up in a house near Bormola. During the skirmish at St. Margaret's, Mustapha, mounting and accompanied by his advisers, favourites, engineers, and that French knight taken near Citta Vecchia, rode to the top of a hillock called Asieli by the Maltese, whence could be seen the post of Castille, and ditch, and flank and casemate of Auvergne; and after gazing intently for some time, called Sir Hadrian de la Riviere, and promised him liberty if he indicated Borgo's weakest point, to which his reply was, "Highness, the weakest point is that fronting you." Scarcely had ours discovered Mustapha, from his beautiful Arabian horse (and in truth the Turks had brought several beautiful ones) than they directed a piece at him with such accuracy, that not to be hit, he was forced to

descend; and then, in striking contrast with his habitual clemency, was the arrant cruelty with which he had the gallant and high-minded Hadrian put in irons, and driven aboard to be bastinadoed to death, and bid farewell to sweet France.

Then the Turkish army divided into three, and set about robbing and devastating the island; but one of their divisions approaching St. Michael's and Senglea to reconnoitre, out sprang the old admiral, and gave them too severe a lesson for them ever to return.

On Tuesday, May 22nd, before daybreak, two other renegades came into Borgo, having been won over by the Salernitan, who was afraid of returning any more to the Moslem camp; so on his last visit corrupted two of those about the person of Mustapha—the one spy having promised a generous recompence to the other—which they now came to merit, by recounting that both the pashas, Mustapha for the land service, and Piali for the sea, had had a long conference in a garden; the nautical showing the risk they were running by keeping asunder, for that in certain weather it would be very hard to re-embark at Marsa Sirocco. So they determined to reconnoitre St. Elmo that very day; and if it was so easy as the engineers told Solyman, it could not resist above four or five days; and

their fleet might be in perfect security at Marsa Muscietto—and it would be a kind of conquest of the whole island—and they might come and go as they liked; that the principal Turks were glad, for they had begun to fear it was destined they should never embark again, but all die at Malta; that on the fleet everything depended, not for them only, but for all Islamites; and that the fleet's destruction would be destruction to the entire Ottoman Empire.

Much did these tidings please the grand master too, and he showed it; for thus he would be left time to finish the ramparts of St. Michael's, and what remained to be done at Borgo. He informed the bailiff, and sent him succours of a hundred knights, and a body of hired soldiers under the renowned Colonel Mas and the knight, his brother and lieutenant, in hopes the bailiff would hold out until the arrival of those from Spain, bidding him be exceedingly careful not to allow of skirmishing and sorties; that he considered St. Elmo the key of Malta; that in defending it, he would insure his own merit, for to him precisely, and to him alone, the whole intelligent world would attribute the final victory. "Yes! Bailiff d'Eguaras might rest assured that he individually would be considered the

real protector of Malta, and that the grand master would be only second in universal fame."

But the recognisance of St. Elmo could not but cause a fierce contest, in which some were slain on each side, but incomparably more on the Moslem's. By land, the whole way from Marsa Siroceo, did the Turks draw their heavy artillery up Scheb-Erras (Maltese for the mountain on whose top St. Elmo stands), each enormous cannon (as could be distinguished clearly from St. Angelo's fort) besides a multitude of men, had twelve pair of oxen. At such ardour in the infidels, the grand master began to be afraid St. Elmo would be irrevocably reduced previous to Toledo's rescue. Was he unfortunately to be too true an augur?

The council advised him to despatch his own nephew, a most trusty knight, and the spies themselves to Toledo instantly, with the whole recital of all events at Malta hitherto; and entreat his viceregal goodness to transmit the succour without further delay, and the same as to whatever hired troops the order's own authorities had succeeded in levying. If possible, that they should all come with the galley's return. An ambassador extraordinary, Sir Camillo de Medici, was by the same ship sent to the Pope, imploring him to urge all the Christian potentates to prevent Malta being lost, their own

irreparable loss. And by the same opportunity the grand master wrote a circular to all his priors, that not only they should instigate the several sovereigns, but likewise appeal to all the Christian people in Europe; and in reply, many gentlemen adventurers of every nation marched. His Catholic Majesty issued orders to his whole army to assist Malta. But to give and to effectuate are very different things. Yet would Malta have been a dangerous place to let fall into bad hands. Its ports are too secure a refuge to belong to any not trustworthy. But Don Garcias de Toledo had also sent to Malta. The ships crossed each other without knowing it. Laudatory or not, the viceroy's letter, whatever opinions it exhales, shows a firm and fervent predilection for the order in general, and the grand master in particular. Not a doubt of it. Such the first impression; though in several of his suppositions he be headstrong, or quite wrong, his last words evidently came from the bottom of his soul: "Believe me, not one of its own members bears a sincerer affection for the order than myself, nor for your individual happiness. Well, by the account I have to render to the Almighty I swear, that what I told you is what most becomes you and your illustrious brotherhood. I conjure you to have great care where you trust your person, in respect of

fusillades and everything of the kind; for on the day (which God forbid!) of such a calamity, Malta and all belonging to it, may consider themselves completely ruined."

The whole of that night, and the next day, the Moslem artillery were being dragged up Scheb-Erras, while ours had some houses thrown down for the aim; and high over the old platform, containing the guns, on a level with the water, to defend the chain, was erected a new one, nearly as lofty as Scheb-Erras itself; and on that novel eminence were placed the weightiest of our cannon, and the stoutest, and were pointed against the spot made ready by the Turks for their batteries; only we were forced to economise our powder a little, and keep it for the assaults, for, although a good provision of it had been laid in, yet it was not sufficient, as was visible towards the end of the siege; so vast the consummation necessary for muskets, cannonades, mines, and all sorts of military fireworks, rockets, and mortars, the endless items of a protracted leaguer.

With wondrous rapidity and ingenuity, the misbelievers continued, and deserved encomium of indefatigable and transcendant ability in trenches, and underground works, of what denomination soever. Although nearly the whole island of Malta

is rock, the ditches round its fortresses are exceedingly deep, but chiefly those of St. Elmo, extending for little less than a mile; nevertheless, the Turks overcame each difficulty, and impeded as they were in every way, contrived to use pickaxes, spades, and shovels, with cleverness and daring, equal to their amazing toil, transporting to such a height fascines and timber, from shrubs and trees cut down throughout the island, except, alone, the *Boschetto*, kept in reserve until towards close of the war; so that already had they burrowed and formed subterranean passages to within a firelock's reach of St. Elmo, not a Moslem being disheartened by its never-ceasing cannonades. The batteries of the Turks were ornamented with a quantity of banners, and when they got closer we learned, to our own cost, what capital musketeers they were. Often were they seen to hit what foreheads soever peeped for an instant above the Christian parapets.

At length Bailiff Eguaras sent one of his bravest officers, a Spanish nobleman, captain in the service of the King of Spain, to ask the grand master for succours and stores, his little citadel being closely pressed. And on the chief of chiefs asking him in public, for on the square of Borgo their meeting chanced,—"How is St. Elmo?" replied what he ought only to have hazarded in secret, in the ma-

gisterial palace, and private closet, not to frighten the people: "Sire, St. Elmo is too small to be ever able to resist such considerable forces!" At which Valetta, highly displeased, directed to him a disdainful look, and conceiving an unfavourable opinion of him at once, thanked him ironically for the information, exhorting him to do his duty, in a very high tone of voice; otherwise that "he would go himself with the other troops, and protect the fort from every harm." Not but he that same moment sent a corps of two hundred chosen Spaniards, led by Gonzalez de Medrano, famed for his intrepidity, and delighted at being named to that service.

Then came a Spanish renegade from the Moslems telling they had planted fifteen of their heavy guns, and would infallibly begin firing them within three or four days; and never, from that hour, was the firing to stop, or be suspended a single minute, day or night, until St.Elmo was taken, and the crescent in full possession of Marsa Muscietto; and that the Turks spoke no more of going to Goletta, or any part of Barbary, but only not to quit Malta till they had entirely reduced it.

Fortunately no great effect is produced by firing cannon, however weighty, from above to beneath, otherwise those from the summit of Scheb-Erras

could have destroyed all the shipping in the harbour at Malta, and all the works of Borgo.

Sir Melchior, being now better of his wounds, contrived to return to the cavalry at Citta Vecchia, and on the very same day, Pasha Piali approaching to see the wondrous mounds of earth that in a stony island like Malta, the Turks were able, in so short a time, to gather and erect about St. Elmo, one of its cannon sent a ball against a rock, some of whose splinters wounded him in the face.

But, on Tuesday, the 29th of May, when ours losing patience at the near blockade, attempted a sortie, under Mas and Medrano, what was our surprise, when the smoke of the artillery blew off, at beholding the counterscarp occupied by the Turks, and ornamented with their banners, all along its edge! Certainly it was a grievous though beautiful sight! And little by little they built up a wall, at first obstructing the view, and eventually enclosing the fortress.

At length arrived Dragut, and the sultan's firman was read out, that, considering the King of Tripoli's great military experience, neither of the pashas should undertake anything of importance without his consent, which naturally tickled the corsair's vanity; and a council of war was held, in which he

proposed attacking "Gozo first, and Citta Vecchia, which should not be left in the enemy's hands, to disturb our rear, but either quite our own or utterly destroyed." Yet he finally assented to what the Aga of the Janissaries argued for, and nearly all the other officers. "St. Elmo, not for any other reason," exclaimed Dragut, "than that it becomes the reputation of the Turkish army not to retire ever from what it has once begun!" And reconnoitring St Elmo, he assured Mustapha that, to save time, he ought to take the ravelin, at what cost soever of his bravest troops.

Various gallant actions daily fought by our cavalry proved the wicked policy of the corsair's proposal. Not an hour of idleness did those who held the country about Citta Vecchia indulge in certainty; and among them some Maltese of conspicuous valour.

Nor did the Turks not exert themselves to finish their general battery, and proceed to assail St. Elmo. Thus (as they had brought from Constantinople the pieces of timber all prepared to be joined together and formed on the spot) that immense machinery was erected early before sunrise on the last of May; after labouring on it for fourteen days, from their landing at Marsa Sirocco. Placid was the weather and quiet the waves that morning,

when forth burst from that awful battery an echo that reverberated everywhere; and those infernal engines, with too fair order, began opening furiously against the doomed fortress. In one straight line from northeast those dreadful batteries extended on the pinnacle of Scheb-Erras, so as to be on a level with the great cavalier of St. Elmo, at one hundred and eighty yards' distance, as noted in the journal of the order's engineer at that time. Fourteen standards of different colours were planted thereon; with as many cannon, ten sending iron balls of eighty pounds each, three colubrines of sixty each; and a basilisk of one hundred and sixty. Thirteen had wheels; but the basilisk, another sort of machinery moving with more ease to aim better and recoil less; as those most excellent of artillerymen showed to perfection. Wonderful! Those monstrous guns struck point blank what smallest mark soever; and continually passed through our port holes and overturned our cannon. The grand master that morning stood a good hour without once moving, admiring the various effects of the Turkish battery; some of whose balls after hitting their first mark, rose and went hissing in a direct course up towards heaven, crowned as they flew with a fiery circle; and then descending gave a second blow, and often several blows—killing

many of our people at each. Nor did those blazing orbs not drop by times upon the sea, and rebounding seek the distant sky—charming, but for us terrible to witness.

Yet less with what happened before his corporeal eye was the grand master then occupied, than with revolving deeply vexatious tidings received that very night. And when asked what, he called a council to hear a letter from Toledo, who had detained his nephew's galley at Messina, and now wrote by this Maltese felucca that his promise had been on the clear understanding he should be lent the order's galleys, and galley slaves during the siege; when they could be of no use at Malta, or worse, for the former might fall into the enemy's clutches, and the latter were useless mouths at least, and required being looked after; that the Hospitallers could not expect him to keep his promises, if they broke their own; that the proper way was for each party to perform what they had promised, and then he would punctually execute his. The grand master's reply (and his council applauded it) was that it was no fault of his, but the Turks had taken him by surprise and made it quite impossible for him to send slaves and galleys, as the viceroy would know himself if he were here; so that it required at least fifty knights and

troops of confidence to keep the galley slaves down, and he had not the force; that he was now in Borgo without more than two hundred soldiers; all the rest being in Citta Vecchia, St. Elmo and the other forts; that if he sent away the two hundred from Borgo, its citizens would undoubtedly leave the town, with infinite disorder for consequence; that therefore, to receive the galleys and galley slaves, Toledo must send another corps without losing a moment, besides the one thousand men, with whose aid even it would be very hard for him to hold out until he came with the army to liberate him entirely; that already the Turkish guns had destroyed the cavalier of St. Elmo and taken its counterscarp; that he entreated him to be quick and come himself soon, and not to fail sending the one thousand men instantly.

On the 1st of June, a cannon ball having cut the staff of the standard of the cross and it falling down, there rose a loud shout from the Moslems; for it being Friday, they reputed it an omen of victory.

The fierce contests are beyond recounting. Dragut objected to the fewness of the pieces, and that not fourteen but one hundred he would have had; and fifty at a time playing, while the other fifty reposed, thus keeping up a continuous discharge

night and day without even for an instant ceasing; and to follow his advice at least in part, another battery was added by these Turks (who have no equals for moving earth expeditiously) and another basilisk and fifteen as heavy guns as the others: so that poor St. Elmo was now thundered at by thirty of the hugest of artillery, brought nearer to thirty-five short yards.[1] Nor can we assuredly be unamazed at so small and defective a place resisting such a tremendous fire, and not at once in cinders. Yet despite all, it continued—that superhuman resistance.

On the 3rd of June, when by a singular concidence falls St. Elmo's day, the Turkish engineers, from the counterscarp which they had taken, perceived (by striking with their harquebusses) that the ravelin had no flanks—discovery they could not have made but for want of care, which ours were almost obliged to have, from the vigilance of those most excellent harquebussiers and surest aimers in the whole wide world, the Janissaries; so as to render it utterly impossible for a man to let himself be seen an instant over the parapet without being infallibly shot dead, which constrained the guard to lie down, and it fell asleep; including the sentinel, who ought to have occupied the angle. It

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxv. 539.

might not have been wholly without excuse that the sentinel (if there were one) without sleep for so long a time should have been thrown by nature into a slumber, contrary to his best efforts; particularly in such a posture. Others report he received a bullet through his skull, which slew him too instantaneously to be able to cry out. This would be a more serious affair and argue some inexactitude in making the rounds, for why not have replaced the dead sentinel with a living one without a moment's delay? Blame was given to the chiefs. Yet was it not to be over severe? Did they not act in the main, regarding so many other things, incomparably well? There are narrow bounds to man's noblest energies. Still must we own, it was not exactly proper, to have left none of the knights to oversee so important a post, but entrust it entirely to forty soldiers however choice, partly Spanish and partly Italians, under a corporal—though even of De la Cerda's.

The Moslem engineers, entering by an embrasure not much higher than a tall grenadier, astonished to observe no one, and unobserved themselves, since the angle was a dead wall, ran instantly and told Pasha Mustapha, who happened to be near, and without a moment's loss called some of his fiercest and most ferocious Janissaries, who at once leaped into the ravelin

with such sudden swiftness, that the guard had not time to form, and the corporal being killed immediately, his soldiers shamefully fled in a panic out of the work. Then but for the valiant sergeant-major stationed in the covered way, who, with a tremendous shout rushed forward, followed by his superb corps, and shut up the passage with their wedged bodies, and defended it with such rare heroism with pikes and muskets, that they stopped the invaders, who were making for the inner drawbridge—but for him and his, St. Elmo's loss had dated from that day.[1]

Attempts the most desperate to retake the ravelin were all fruitless. A Pisan knight, Sir Francis Lanfreducci, did wonders; but nothing could retrieve the lost.

How dreadful to us from Borgo to see that famous ravelin crowded with turbans and their banners stuck all along its line of parapets! What use our efforts? In less than an hour the ravelin was levelled so open, that the Turks could walk into it carrying logs of wood and fascines to cover themselves from our musketeers above. The bulwark of defence has ceased to exist. But can still be of offence! And take what it failed to protect! "Lions of Islam" (roared a dervish, just as they

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xv. 541.

were about rushing again to the assault), "Let the sword of the Lord separate their souls from their bodies, their trunks from their heads, liberate spirit from matter. Oh ye who believe in one sole God, now is your time! Your perspiring enemies are delivered into your hands. Bind them not! Soil not your hands with touching them, but cleave them to the earth! Too nauseous to touch! Their very touch would blister you. The canine idolators must be thrust down into Gehenna! Soldiers of Paradise, penetrate into their accursed den and spare nothing; not yourselves, much less the Giaours! Hesitate, and they require more venom! This is your day of judgment, O infidels! Allah Keram!"

Which truly caused a momentary verbal altercation soon to be followed by deeds too horrible for words, and on the Christians raising a shout, thus the Moslem: "No shouting, Giaours, till out of the wood!"—"But you heartless Paynim, you mangy dogs, there are no woods here; but as much of arid rock as you like! On which, by the blessing of God, your bones shall bleach and your flat skulls be found by future generations and exhibited by chirurgeons as a curiosity." [1]

The Spanish knight who had the dispensing of

[1] Sch. Paoli: Serie ii.

gunpowder, and the care of bathing the cannons with vinegar when they were too heated, was slain, which caused no little delay and confusion. The bailiff, severely wounded in a leg, seeing the brave serjeant-major had lost an arm, so many knights killed, and soldiers; while the enemy was augmenting with fresh numbers, and that it would be nugatory to lose more of his men, resolved on an orderly retreat to within the main body of the fortress itself. At which sight the enemy chased us with violent fury; but when they presumed penetrating into that sacred square between the cavalier and body of the hold, were met with such a storm of fire, and wildfire of every description, the hideous rush down of weighty stones, torrents of boiling oil, volleys of musketry, and several cannons vomiting destruction, that multitudes were reduced to atoms—not a man of the survivors but was glad to draw back. Yet had they reason to exult that they had taken the ravelin; so hoped to be master of St. Elmo as well this same day. Transported with the joy of victory, and a most rash and uncivilised daring, against the merest rudiments of the art of war, they determined on the assault, and like brute beasts, void of the least glimmer of reason, in disdain of evident and most manifest death yawning and staring them in the face, they ran

open-mouthed to set their persons as a mark for our musketeers, and close to the jaws of our cannon, which enfiladed them on both flanks, and were intended to defend the approaches of the ravelin—by that very lane they rushed into the ditches, holding a multitude of scaling-ladders, and placed them against the rock and the walls of the castle. Though the ladders were almost all too short, yet a few of those infuriated savages contrived to get as high as the parapets, so as to display their banners to our defenders, who easily threw them down backward; and since muskets are of little use in such a situation, and that heavy stones are far more efficient, and artificial wildfire, and above all liquid pitch at a boil—for this sticks as well as scalds, and inflicts a certain death of torture —these, and similar, were poured most profusely on their naked heads, and obliged them to desist, in a rage not to be able to take St. Elmo yet awhile, but retire in shame.

The action had lasted from sunrise to an hour after noon, during which whole period, the roaring of artillery, volleys of harquebusses, and horrid screams and shouts, in every language, smoke, and flames appeared, as if the globe was splitting asunder. Throughout this conflict not one instant of intermittance in the brazen bellowing, where

effects could be produced, of theirs, or ours. Of the flower of the Turkish troops, fell two thousand; of ours, of course much less in number, but far more significant in reality. The knights alone were twenty, among whom was the brother of Colonel Mas, and a Portuguese knight of the celebrated family of De Britto, and a Frenchman of Choiseul.[1] None of the whole score of deaths but showed something of striking heroism, or a placid devotion, or both. One, a French knight, having received a bullet that lodged in his chest, was assisted off by another knight, for a little while, until the mortally wounded said, "Now, my sweet Achilles, return and combat valiantly for our faith." And then scrambling alone to the chapel of St. Elmo, reached the steps of the altar, and after recollecting himself for some moments there, dropped dead. Of their hired soldiery, about sixty privates were killed; for, of the wounded, no account was kept by any party, on either side. Only Bailiff Eguaras' lieutenant, Don Juan de la Roche Pereira, a Castilian knight, was most dangerously wounded; to whom, though young, this high place had been given as a recompense for his practical valour; and, during that murderous contest, when the bailiff went out to try to win back the ravelin, the entire command of

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxv. 542.

the interior was left to De la Roche; so he and the sergeant major had both now to be sent to the infirmary at Borgo. Couppier, for some time captain-general of the cavalry, and another knight, sent by the grand master to inspect St. Elmo, declared that to take back the ravelin was quite impossible, and all that could be done was to keep St. Elmo itself to the last extremity; but that, in its present state, it was indeed a most dangerous post, and barely tenable by the bravest for a very short while. All which the grand master wrote to Toledo; and that, in spite of the most heroic efforts, it could hold out but a very few days, or less.

"However, had I the one thousand soldiers your excellency promised, I think I could defend Borgo still. As for St. Elmo, you who have inspected it, will repute it lost, as well as I." Yet so great was Toledo's desire to increase his Catholic Majesty's fleet with the Maltese galleys, that he sent for them, affirming that it was the only means to enable him to vanquish the Turks, and save Malta. And at the same time he forwarded Captain Miranda, real leader of those troops, at St. Elmo—Medrano being only his standard bearer—under hope of that chieftain's great experience, ability and valour finding a way to set things to rights.

It afflicted the grand master sadly that Toledo

fixed the 20th of July for the date he could come with the succours; but he counterfeited other feelings, and only opened his mind to his nephew in a retired chamber. For, alas! his doubt was—could he hold out so long? So he despatched express orders to his two galleys in Sicily, to receive on board whatever succours his own prior had ready, and to return with them at every risk—even that of going down.[1] In a letter to Toledo he supplicates for even five hundred men, within an hour, and that he is delighted with Captain Miranda, whose valour and military talents will certainly delay St. Elmo's surrender a little.

Miranda after reviewing it, assured its assembled garrison that far from wishing to display any authority given him, he came very willing to die in such honourable company; determined to be their servant to the knights; and to the soldiers a companion and loving brother; not to exhort them to conduct themselves valiantly, for he knew it unnecessary; but to serve and aid them and run the same fortune with them. And "though the place was small and weak, yet so much the more honour." And to acquire popularity he hurried off a message to the grand master that nothing in war was better than to try to keep the soldier pleased and content;

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxv. 543.

and that nothing conduced more to this than allowing of his handling money, to pass the noisome hours at gambling, and buy wine and some additional dishes to please the palate and restore bodily strength; for which he begged his highness to make them have good living and good cash. And the grand master at once complying, the soldiers got back into the best possible good humour and forgot their disasters.

As long as that furious cannonading of the Turks continued, he had the soldiers kept out of all danger—only a rigid look out on the sentries. And thither were sent up the one hundred harquebussiers of various nations from Citta Vecchia making it be their own request; and also some knights volunteers, who desired to follow Miranda's fine example. And the grand master and council hearing the wound of Bailiff Eguaras in the leg was getting worse, sent him word to come be healed at Borgo; for that it was not at all well the supreme head of a fortress in such straits should lie under any impediment. To which he replied that, though he certainly felt a little uncomfortable, he nevertheless was resolved not to quit the fortress! "But," added the noble veteran, "if the grand master have in his eye any one of greater experience and ability than mine for this weighty

charge, let him be sent freely by all means; for it will give me great satisfaction to resign, in respect of the order's service; only allow me to remain here likewise; for my desire is to sacrifice my person for Christendom. Feeling myself aged, I do not think I could spend my few remaining days of life anywhere so well as where I am." So the only magisterial resolution come to, was that in case of his death, Colonel Mas should succeed him; but that so long as the valiant Bailiff lived, he should not be superseded. The consequence was that he became more operose than ever, and took a hand in everything, even the meanest offices. Often were he and Broglia, somewhat his elder, seen to go side by side to work at the repairs and carrying baskets of earth to encourage the others; for necessary had it become, they should all concur if they wished for the least shelter from the enemy's artillery, which eat away by degrees every one of their defences. The Turkish basilisks pierced through more than eighteen palms of solid masonry. The insupportable fatigues increasing, chiefly the whole night, and the burying in the parapets of bowels and limbs of men all torn to pieces and pounded by the hostile cannon, to such a pass had the hapless besieged been now reduced; what with never stirring from their posts, but sleeping there and eating; with all other

human functions, in arms always, and prepared for combat; by day exposed to the burning sun, and by night to the cold damp; privations of all kind, from the blasts of gunpowder, smoke, dust, wildfire, iron, and stones, vollies of musketry, to explosions of enormous batteries, insufficient nutriment or unwholesome, they had got so disfigured, that they hardly knew each other any more. Ashamed of retiring for wounds not manifestly quite dangerous and almost mortal, those with the smaller bones dislocated or shattered, and livid faces bruised with frightful sores, or extremely lame and limping wofully; these miserably bandaged round the head, arms in slings, strange contortions—such figures were frequent and nearly general, and to be taken for spectres rather than living forms.

Justly can it be averred that this was one of the most perilous, direst, cruelest sieges in the memory of man; only as to food, some other besieged people have been still worse off. If here was no drought or famine, it is to be put down to the grand master's praise, and his kind foresight; for if the commissaries had calculated well as to eating, they had miscalculated as to what is perhaps more important, the liquids; and the cisterns were much sooner drunk dry than thought; so Valetta at one time feared we should have been

left without water, with a renewal of our sufferings in Barbary. But thanks be to God, this did not happen.[1] Also the order had to feed about seven thousand of the poor Maltese, excellent creatures, who well deserved our care; for while some others deserted to the Turks, not one native Maltese did.

The indefatigable Turks next turned their ideas towards cutting off all communication between St. Elmo and Borgo, and realized their project in a great degree. It was now the sixth of June, and their horrid, most merciless artillery bellowed and raved night and day just the same, it seeming their design to pound the fortress into ashes. Now few cannons remained to the Christians. In spite of all his efforts to prevent them, the Moslem built up a wall on the ravelin, as high as St. Elmo's parapets, and enclosing it.[2] The only momentary repose of ours was to scrape together a little clay from the underground vaults within the fortress, and well wetting it, wrap themselves up in it as in a blanket, to lie down on or near the new parapets, which they made of wooden boxes, filled with earth, and covered with mattresses and bags of wool instead of fascines; of which they had no

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxv. 545.
[2] Id.: id., id. 547.

more, and earth too waxed scarce, of which refuge they were finally deprived, and it consumed their small residue of force. A variety of contrivances to take ours captive encountered an intrepidity that made them all fail. But our most signal heroes went dropping; Medrano's serjeant was killed; Miranda declared longer defence impossible, and engaged Bailiff Eguaras and Governor Broglia to convene a council-of-war. There was Medrano instructed to relate the whole to the grand master, and that they every minute expected to be blown up with the rest of the fortress, which leads immediately to the conquest of the whole island; and then Toledo's coming would be useless. The only way to save the order's best nerve, " so many of its most valuable troops, is instantly to call into Borgo the survivors, where they perhaps may hold out until the Spanish army's arrival." Medrano obeying, got with some difficulty to Borgo, and secretly, in the grand master's own private room, told him and his council the entire unhappy verity. Whence after profound consultation he received this answer: " We know very well that in a mere military point of view St. Elmo is untenable; but our oath and profession is freely to sacrifice our lives for Christendom. We are absolutely obliged to undergo a certain and

manifest death to save the Christian people, and our order, in this case when our liberators are so near; and therefore this council and I determine that they must not abandon St. Elmo, even if they were alone; but that we will instantly join them if necessary, and die with them."

As to blowing up, they had before been told it was out of the question, the fortress standing on a rock; which however was contrary to what the unfortunate besieged saw and heard, for several mines exploded with a smothered noise under them, and the rock and the fortress both went rocking, and casks of vinegar rolled about their hall, and quantities of earth in the ditches.[1]

So on Medrano's return with fresh troops, and some timber and old sails and other stores, sorrowful was the greeting. Horrible the dread of being buried alive; not even able to fight, but see shaking about what must infallibly soon fall and crush you. Not one by any possibility could hope to be saved from that hideous end.

The Bailiff, Miranda, Mas, and most of the knights, frankly and enthusiastically expressed their resignation, as well as the new comer, Captain Vagnone; but the rest thought it a cruel sentence, and De la Cerda (with some who consulted their

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxv. 550.

personal safety), under pretext of wounds, departed for Borgo, not without disapprobation; but gained shortly afterwards the valiant and honourable death that became him in defending that town. Others, that is, of the privates (for not one of the officers would sign it, much less any knight of the order, though some few of them were thought internally to assent to it) wrote to the grand master with the intention of obliging him to recall them. "We came to defend a fortress, this is such no longer, but without counterscarp or ramparts. The ravelin has been built up to the roof; we can neither offend the Turks, nor defend ourselves. So send no more succours, for they would be only so many more lost; for unless boats come take us away this very night, at the toll of nightfall, we are resolved to force a sortie, and die as becomes soldiers. June 8th, 1565."

The grand master's only reply was that on his word of honour Toledo's re-inforcements were on the point of arriving, and that a renegade just arrived from the Moslem camp had assured him the Turkish engineers had discovered St. Elmo could not be mined, as planted on a living rock; that they had tried to mine it, but totally in vain; but however, if resolute to abandon St. Elmo, to let him know first, that he might send gunners to

nail the guns, and boats to receive them and all, for St. Elmo lost, every hope of having succour from Toledo was lost also. And grand master and council decided likewise to name three commissioners to take an ocular view of St. Elmo, a Spaniard, a Frenchman, and an Italian—all three grand crosses of the order—to give in a regular report. These found the soldiers ready to depart, having already sacked the ammunition and public store of every kind of arms, and in the very act of throwing all the spades, shovels, and pickaxes into the cistern, when stopped by Colonel Mas, who had still some authority with them; which rebellious misconduct caused more surprise and terror in the commissionaries than if they had seen the Turks in possession. As to speaking in private to Miranda, Mas, Eguaras, or Broglia, it would not at all be allowed by the mutineers. These notwithstanding, returned in a short time to their duty. Whoever liked to leave the place, might; since for every one who returned, four offered to succeed him; on which all resolved to stay, nor would an individual of them undergo the shame of being the first to retire. All determined to remain and ask the grand master's pardon; that they would lay down their lives willingly, and

defend St. Elmo as long as any others could, though desperate its condition indeed.

Fifteen knights were sent as aid; and what is astonishing, two Jews volunteered to go and die with them.[1]

Then Miranda had the colours hung out on various spots, to make the Turk think we had received great re-inforcements, and cried to ours with a soldierly speech,—"So let me see you sell your lives dear; and let there be a loud noise of drums and trumpets, and several vollies of musketry, and some discharge of cannon too, as wild rejoicings."

But this irritating the Infidels, their battery's dreadful bellowings were worse than ever. The grand master's consolation at the garrison's sublime coming about, was darkly overcast by tidings that the two galleys he recalled had come—perhaps, too, with some supplies—and in strict conformity with his letter, had put into Hayntofecha; but on finding it in possession of the Turks, returned forthwith to Sicily. As to Toledo's succours, they were coming, though delayed; and that viceroy may have been too careful. Will they not come too late for poor St. Elmo?

An invention of the war in Hungary, under

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxv. 553.

Charles V., to be used instead of gunpowder in besieging or maintaining a siege—circles of fire—were much in request with the order, who almost alone had the secret. And a most infernal one it was; but now published by Bosio as quite easy to make, and much practised against the Turks at the siege of Malta. Of these two, three, even five were enveloped in the same fiery circle, the wider, and the more victims, the better. No escape, but for all to agree instantly, and rush together into the sea. For the rest, the Turkish harquebussiers were far superior to ours, so that twenty-five of our sentries were shot dead in one morning. Strange; but Toledo seemed to care more for what is not unfitly called the little succour, than for all in Malta. But it was seeming only, for in reality he was a stanch friend to it. His precise commands to the commander of succours were, not to land them if St. Elmo was taken, or Citta Vecchia; for in case of either, neither Borgo nor St. Michael could make any resistance. But on the 16th of June four galleys sailed from Messina to Malta, with eight hundred soldiers and stores.[1] Exactly that day had the Turks selected for their first general assault on St. Elmo. Their galleys and Draguts having come round from Marsa Sirocco, followed by the whole

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxv. 560.

Moslem fleet—the idea being, that when these light vessels had essayed and forced the passage, then the heavy should enter and choose their stations—firing at St. Elmo as they passed, and landing the maritime to join them to the land forces, and advance all together to storm the Giaours in their castle. Thus like a thick forest was the sea at the harbour's mouth. Towards sunset, and during part of the night, the galleys proceeded to batter the mark, for the purpose of keeping the besieged without repose, and have them weary when the real assault should begin. About two hours before day-break, was heard a single loud voice, and clear singing out of certain words in a foreign tongue, to which the whole army replied in a low murmur; and we learn from persons practised in their rites, that it was a delegate from the Grand Mufti, their High Priest, making a kind of confession in the name of all, and after it an absolution, explaining the happiness of a future existence, according to the Koran's promises, to all who intrepidly advance to death in support of the law of Mahomet. Next a long profound silence, during which they reinforced with four thousand harquebussiers all the trenches of the counterscarp quite round, and ravelin, both in front and towards Marsa Muschietto, as well as the part near the spur of the Cavalier.

Which most patient and attentive harquebussiers holding their harquebusses pointed up towards the fort's parapets, no sooner was observed the crest of a morion, or a vizor opened, than they hit it, not permitting one of us to be seen, before the Turk and ours came to the grapple; for then those sharpest of sharpshooters, not to hurt their companions, ceased; though happen it sometimes did, that the same bullet killed both a Christian and a Turk. Indeed stupendous and admirable were the punctuality and diligence of that corps during the whole war, especially in assaults, when the harquebussiers slew more of ours than artillery, archers, those enormous engines, or any other weapons of offence whatever. The enemy also sent armed men (as many as they could hold) into the ditches immediately round the fortress, with multitudes of ladders. And little noise as they made, we discovered it; and did our best to disturb them with artificial fire and fragments of hard limestone, which last made a great figure in all this deadly siege. Very ineffective indeed, we repeat, is the musket in repelling scalers, at least as a firearm, when the aim is straight down. And if with the bayonet, it becomes a sort of pike; but the real pike is better, as lighter, longer, and more manageable. But stones are still better, if of a weight to upset the ladders; for

then a whole line of men fall, some of them killed, and all wounded.

At sunrise, up sprang a furious dissonance of cannonading from the batteries and ravelin, for about an hour, making the earth tremble, and the sea. Nor was it an exaggeration, but sad reality. It lay before their eyes. Then, and during the whole siege, many lives were saved by having people who attended to nothing else than at the smoke of the priming of the cannon, to shout out; at which cry every one threw himself on his face until the ball passed. Yet this at present was only the harbinger of a stately pomp, since advanced a body of eight thousand Turkish horse, led by Mustapha, with the great standard confided to him at Constantinople by Solyman's own hands; and it was now planted in face of the chief bridge before St. Elmo's principal front—signal for the assault general, which Eguaras, Mas, Miranda, and the new governor Montserrat prepared to withstand valiantly; and our garrison too, which those late reinforcements had restored nearly to its proper number, all eminently brave. Then, and in subsequent conflicts, a knight was put between every three men, to observe these, and make them do their duty. Three corps of aid stood under Miranda, Eguaras, and Montserrat. Heaps of heavy stones lay arranged along

the parapets. A corps of who from wounds or age could not be able fighting men, had to carry about certain large deep plates, with wedges of bread steeped in wine and water, to refresh and invigorate our combatants without their having to move from their places. Others had for office to draw out the corpses from between the feet of our living heroes, lest they should be shackled in their motions, or struck with horror at trampling on their dead companions. Not far from the parapets were placed barrels sawn across in two, full of a sort of vinegar and water for the soldiers or knights to dip into when the wildfire caught their clothes, for that lotion extinguished the flames at once.[1] Large assortments of circles, pikes, trumps, pots of wildfire, were everywhere at hand. Some of the most expert warriors were to walk about from post to post, investigating each. Others, in regular order, were appointed to measure out the gunpowder; others to hand the harquebusses to the harquebussiers; others to present the balls and cordage. But how make the wildfire? Gunpowder, saltpetre unrefined, ammoniacal salt, pounded sulphur, camphor, Greek pitch, powdered varnish from the grains, are the ingredients. The exact proportions are well known (says Bosio), and it is sold in the shops potted up. The pots of

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxv. 562.

earthenware, badly baked on purpose, to break the easier (that day St. Elmo showed many thousands of them), each large enough to be thrown by a man's hand twenty or thirty yards. The mouths of such pots were narrow, and after their being charged as above, had to be kept shut up carefully with linen or thick paper, tied very close crosswise with harquebuss cords presenting four ends covered with sulphur, first liquified, and then dried; which ends, when they are well lighted, you throw the pot, which breaks, and never fails setting fire to the mixture, most voraciously burning and consuming whatever it touches. Trumps are by the turner, round, concave tubes of wood, two palms thick in circumference, and three long, to be nailed or fitted tightly to the handle of a halbert, or partisan, and filled as the pots, only rendered more liquid by a little linseed oil, in such a manner that when you light the trump, it continues a long time snorting and belching vivid, furious flames, and large, and several yards long—not unlike an enormous furnace excited by a most powerful bellows—and with a violent impetus devours the opponent. Striking the face or head of a man, it either kills him at once or throws him down frightfully wounded. Pikes of war ought to be very acutely pointed, and become pikes of fire when you put a little of the mixture into a purse

two fingers long, placed in such a way towards the head of the pike, that its flames are nearly as effective as the trumps; and it finishes by firing two small cylinders of iron or brass, loaded with very fine gunpowder, and exploding leaden bullets like those of a harquebuss. Other execrable utensils of the sort are omitted for brevity; seek them who will in my authorities.

On rush the Turks and Delhis with their atrocious howl, unchained demons. The defence however was as intrepid! The noise was heard in Borgo, whence also men saw (or thought they saw) the assault and glorious resistance. Perhaps an attack more obstinate has never been read of. Thirty of the most noted warriors of Islam, rash barbarians, who had bound themselves by a solemn compact to penetrate into the fortress this day, or die together in the attempt; they advanced most brilliantly during the hottest of the conflict, which the grand master observing (as he could very well from the top of St. Angelo), and that they were close on storming the corner of the cavalier defended by Colonel Mas, had two pieces of heavy artillery brought to bear on them; the first of which, instead of good did us harm, for the gunner, keeping a little too much to the right, killed not only some of the enemy, but likewise

eight of our own knights. Still the second made amends by striking in the exact middle of those choicest Islamites, and swept away twenty of them, which was such a thunderstorm to the rest, that they fled, and never could be got to return. Of Spahis and maddened Delhis various parties next flew forward; and Janissaries with reiterated efforts, often refreshing with food and exciting drinks, but were as often driven back. Dervishes, emirs, sheriffs, and the whole band of Santons, with the most fanatical of sectaries, the Arapies, utterly regardless of their lives, endeavoured to scale the cavalier, but were unsuccessful the same. The circles of fire rolled down on them, and several, by half-dozens at a time, were consumed, tearing each other, and shrieking in spasms of the most frantic torture. Lofty this mountain! There sparkle the waves a thousand feet below you, into them if you can! Whirling, tossing with fiery convulsions in every direction, rolling too wild to look at, a blazing hurricane, with a most agonized human voice, now excruciating and loud, in various tones of intolerable pain—now so faint; at least the death they yelled for (though slow to their impatience) came in less than half an hour.

Nevertheless, two of the very wildest of the desperate fanatics, cheered on by Mustapha him-

self and Dragut, were given each a splendid banner. But all was useless. Above six continuous hours had lasted that terrific drama. With the rudest scorn the bannered lunatics were rebutted, their rich banners taken and spit upon, and then torn to fritters.

Of other four banners that we took, one was in a sortie by Medrano, and flung by his own hands into the fort. The magnificently-dressed Turk who bore it, had set it on one of the gabions, at which our said captain rushed out, killed the infidel, and wrenching the banner from his final grasp, had scarcely time to fling it up to us, much less to draw himself back, when a Moslem ball pierced his forehead, and the frank and valiant soldier fell dead, to our infinite regret. With us was his ensign, who resolute to die at his master's feet, leaped forth in a twinkling, and jostling, overturning, slaying, or wounding several Turks, was at length overcome by numbers, and killed, as he desired, at foot of that glorious corpse, which they endeavoured to pull off with them, but could not, for ours came and bore it in; and it afterwards was carried to Borgo, where it was buried in St. Leonard's, among the order's grand crosses.[1]

Victory was ours; but at severe cost. At Borgo

[1] Bosio: par iii. 563.

the grand master and council went in public procession to church to thank the Almighty donor of all good gifts. But besides our wounded (so dangerously, that one of them died in the boat to Borgo), several of our knights were slain, and three hundred of our gallant troops.

So with shame and disappointment the Paynim folded the imperial standard, and left us acknowledged victors—"for to-day" (muttered the malicious Paynim)—"but to-morrow shall be your last."[1]

It being necessary to replace our losses, and the grand master declining any but volunteers, the Neapolitan knights stood forth instantly in a body, priority of courage highly praised at the time; and the heroic example was followed by various of the most renowned knights of nearly every nation. From all which offerers, thirty knights were selected; to whom were added from the men of Borgo what made up the three hundred; and all were boated to St. Elmo, while Marshal Couppier with the cavalry from Citta Vecchia created a most opportune diversion by attacking the rear of the Turks. Since their universal opinion imputed their ill success to three things: 1. That the Giaours had still one heavy gun left. 2. The

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 564.

fresh succours. 3. The interference from fort St. Angelo; their engineers went with Mustapha and Dragut to review the situation, where it was determined how to prevent that gun from having effect; how to keep off succours by land or sea; how to screen out St. Angelo's fire; and to make a drawing of such devices. But while about it, was shot a cannon ball, which striking a rock, one of the splinters flew through Dragut's enormous turban; and though he was carried off to the commander-in-chief's tent, the famous corsair expired—to Christendom's great comfort.[1]

Another splinter killed the aga standing by Mustapha; who did not however stir until the drawing was finished. And then likewise was it determined to execute what truly was the immediate cause of St. Elmo's final ruin—a covered way by which the Moslem could advance unseen as far as even the wall they had to storm.

And behold! on the 19th of that same month, the covered way was finished completely and in full use. Yet prior to that a small cannon from the top of St. Elmo killed the head master of the Turkish artillery, which made them add to their battery; so that St. Elmo was now under the fire of thirty-

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 565.

four heavy cannons, as lugubriously ceaseless as ever.[1]

About then we had another mishap. The mill for grinding gunpowder at St. Angelo's blew up; and not only a large quantity of the composition was worse than lost, but likewise the materials for composing it burned, and ten of the workmen killed; and to inquire if merely accident (as it was) a commission was sent from Borgo of two; one of whom was Sir Oliver Starkey, and twenty-five stone weight of gunpowder was administered from Citta Vecchia for immediate use.

The heavy Turkish battery still on the increase were now thirty-six.[2] A second general assault was given, worse than the first; because by the covered way, St. Elmo was entirely insulated and cut off completely from all mortal succour. Still it refused to surrender. The word capitulation had indeed altogether ceased to be named by either party. In this second, Montserrat was among the killed; and Miranda, Eguaras, and Mas of the dangerously wounded. None of them so blind as not to be quite aware of their situation, as not to know it was contrary to military calculation; yet the tenderness of honour and sublime devotedness to the Christian creed, kept them perfectly reconciled to

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 566. [2] Id., id. 568.

their sufferings, or rather they prized them very highly, and were quite gay and hopeful, and told the grand master's messenger they could hold on still; although that knight saw how certain and proximate was their ruin, and that they perceived it as well as he; nor was his own coming and returning without excessive danger. For coming, his companion sitting next him had his head swept away by a cannon ball, and in returning one of his rowers was shot dead by a harquebussade.

Valetta himself was astonished at the eagerness of his knights to be appointed to that most forlorn post. In the second assault general two hundred of that male garrison were stretched corpses; whom their companions, little by little, had removed a few paces inward from the parapets. It was all they could do; wounded and weary, more was impossible.

Except that after reposing some moments, they were able to join in shouting Victory! victory! joyously; yet with something of the solemn was it heard at Borgo, which knew the cry of that voice.

"Promptitude, or St. Elmo is totally gone; for two-thirds are killed, and not one of the rest unwounded, and so tired, that they scarcely exist. Yet at daybreak comes the third assault general." Such the tidings in a letter brought towards

evening by a swimmer, under water. Dismal were the Turks, by a consciousness of disgrace; under any circumstances can they blush? With admirable magnanimity did the grand master, with an air of satisfaction, affirm the Christians had a glorious victory, and were in hopes that with succour they could resist until Toledo's arrival; when knights, soldiers, citizens, offered themselves immediately, to the grand master's great wonder. He had but to choose from numbers contesting for election. But he would only suffer a few remarkably brave to go, with much food and ammunition, leaving it at liberty to the chiefs of St. Elmo either to accept the succours, or come back with them, for which he took care to leave room enough in the five boats; his intention being to save that honoured residue, and abandon the dilapidated fortress.[1] But the boats, in spite of every precaution, were obliged to recede, for eighty galleys, and other vessels, and guns innumerable, closed the pass hermetically.

Meantime, the besieged (nor should a Christian deign putting them on a level with Leonidas), showed a tranquillity above all praise, confessed one to another, and embraced cordially and devoutly, as all utterly equal. What other sacra-

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 571.

ments could they expect? They died doing their duty, and had no fear.

The merciless Turk knew they were too weak and wounded a handful to resist, and therefore his third assault general on a few disabled wretches.

It was the vigil of St. John's day, their patron saint. Their resistance was far greater than could have been imagined. But all their military stores were nearly out; of circles, or wild-fire, none; and even gunpowder so scarce, they gathered the grains of it that might remain in the pockets of their dead companions. "Incomparable valour, generosity, high-mindedness," exclaims Bosio, proud of his order, as they deserved.[1]

They were soon but sixty alive. For four long hours did they fight, with no other arms than common pikes, swords, stones. Miranda having had such a shot as prevented his standing, got seated on a chair near the parapet, with a pike in his hands, as if to defend it. Through several breaches had the Turks now broken in, and could take deliberate aim at whatever seemed to have still some corporal strength. Then did old Bailiff Eguaras (he too having been forced to sit from his wounds) send a command for part of those on

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 572.

the cavalier to descend, a last resource. But on their coming, the enemy retired, with perhaps a feigned panic. There was breathing time, even some hours.

But lo! when least they expected it, and bandaging their wounds, and otherwise seeking some refreshment, at ten forenoon, sounded is the fourth assault general, and suddenly the foe rushes, and finds a passage open on every side. Already knowing by experience that we were wholly without defence of wild-fire, gunpowder, or anything, and rendered quite harmless from wounds and debility, the infidels no longer employed the least screen, but swarmed and menaced all round.[1] Colonel Mas, seeing all was lost, and determined to sell his life dear, like a brave soldier, since his leg was fractured, had himself seated on a log at his post of command, and brandishing a great two-handed sword—a weapon he used to manage with singular skill—slew several Turks, most valorously, to his ultimate gasp; after which he was cut up into minute bits, by exasperated pigmies. Universal massacre ensued, and all defence ceased. Sir Francis Langfreducci, severely wounded as he was, in many places, contrived to hobble to the post opposite Rennella, and there, where the wooden drawbridge

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 573.

once stood, kindled a smoke, according to the express instructions he had received from the grand master, ultimate signal of the loss of St. Elmo; which the savages observing, and all the hundreds of corpses on the ground (for none had ours been able to bury since many a day), a loud command was heard for Janissaries and Spahis to hurry in, to consummate the butchery of the Giaours, who could no longer hurt them. Then with shouts to deafen the air, in rushed the crescents, and found men only half alive. Yet, even in that hopeless state, heroic were the deeds of several of the knights and highly generous. Honour, though but a word, to their expiring feats! Aged Eguaras, desperately wounded as he was, seized a lance, and limping advanced resolutely, and with the brightest courage opposed the first Janissaries that dared pass the door of the fortress. But few instants, and a scimitar cuts the bailiff's white head sheer off. Sir Paul Avogadro, of Novara, to prevent the savages from, in cold blood, putting him to some strange, atrocious, ignominious death, darted forward like an enraged lion, and chased them wildly out by the breach, wounding them wofully, until he was hurled down headlong into the ditch.

Nine knights alone, and these too severely wounded to be able to make the slightest defence,

were carried away prisoners, not by the Turks, but by Levantine corsairs, from lucre of gain—to sell them into slavery, or perhaps for their ransom. The Turks obeyed Mustapha's orders to give no quarter, but immolate every human creature in St. Elmo; and that he would pay four crowns apiece for every head brought him, which, however, is said to have been commanded by Constantinople. Whether the crime was Solyman's or Mustapha's, admits of hesitation. There it lies between them; it were not unlike either. Five Maltese, who saved themselves by swimming, were the only persons who really got free.

Mustapha entering St. Elmo with the imperial standard, very much wondered so small a place showed so many dead bodies; and judging from the son what the parent must be, perceived he had embarked in a far more difficult adventure than he conjectured.

A fact recounted to this day at Malta is, that of the knights found dead, as well as those of them so wounded that they could not move in bed, and were pulled out and killed with fiercest torments, from each of them (martyred saints!) he had head and hands lopped off, and their arms extended and nailed to two timbers formed like a cross, planted in a hole made with the scimitar through the breast

and back; and fastening those most disfigured relics of humanity in a long line, he had them thrown into the sea, hoping the tide would waft them into Borgo—as indeed it did—by way of a salutary lesson what punishment would follow any resistance to his will.

The Christian deaths in total were one thousand two hundred, including a hundred knights and three servants-at-arms of the order, whose names are registered at full by the good Bosio.

Provence	15
Auvergne	15
France	18
Italy	31
Arragon, &c.	11
Germany	5
Castille, &c.	18
	113

Immense the Turkish joy for its taking; and Mustapha stimulated it, as if the rest of Malta were an easy matter now. And deep Valetta's grief, no doubt; nor could he bear abiding any longer in the palace from whose windows he had been blasted with the sight of Islam banners on that famed fortress. So he kept changing house after house; but whatever his internal anguish, outwardly his noble

countenance remained serene, and fine his address to the council: "If St. Elmo's fall give us concern, it was also splendid, and exceeding holy, nor should cause us any consternation! Not at its fall should we wonder, but exult that the noble few could hold out so long!"[1]

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 577.

CHAPTER III.

OVER was the eventful vigil, and with daybreak floating on the gentle waves, arrived the cadaverous procession just off St. Angelo's, and sometimes even touching the chain. The sad wonder, even at that early hour, brought multitudes to the ramparts; but no one could identify any individual of the melancholy headless swimmers, for their heads were in sacks already sailing for Constantinople. With reverence, therefore, the grand master had the chain opened, and had the whole honoured group lifted from the water and buried together, with all the minute particularities that indicated high respect; no hurry, but profound attention, astonishing for such a time, and if doleful

the wail of the women, tender and pious were the ceremonies, as if all had been peace. Yet scarcely had the large tomb been closed, than Valetta turned to his knights, and as reprisals for that most barbarous extravagance, bade them instantly send circulars to their order everywhere, commanding no quarter to be given to any of those Paynims; and so, till the close of the siege, there was a Turk regularly hanged or shot every day at Citta Vecchia, where there were continual actions of cavalry, and wretches brought prisoners in on purpose.[1] But after that perhaps painful duty, the grand master in his usual mellow tones, and with a most placid aspect, not only deeply affecting to his council, but also to the assembled citizens, and even this promiscuous crowd, said—that St. Elmo's example should only increase our hardihood and hopefulness—that here is a stronger and more extensive station—that we should imitate the heroism of our brethren, in lieu of mourning for their happy, glorious end, and since by washing out in their own blood every sinful blemish, it is, and ought to be our heartfelt belief that they have won a blessed, immortal, eternal diadem—that what else is prescribed by the oath of our illustrious profession?—that what can a knight of St. John's so ardently desire as to die in arms?

[1] Bosio : par. iii. 580.

What greater blessing can be vouchsafed to him by Christ, than to die for His holy creed?—That we should not then lament, but sing songs of triumph;—that much more reason would those accursed infidels have to lament for having lost so many of their choicest soldiers—that if small, feeble St. Elmo cost them so much, what are they to expect from us here?—That ours is certain victory! with God's aid, most certain victory!—that away with impossibilities. In His service are none!—that only think you may, and you can do all things—that it is therefore, you are able to do anything. "In His service I tell you we are omnipotent." Then addressing more particularly the women, he reminded them that it was St. John's day, so that they must now dry up their tears, and flock as usual to the church, where they would find the accustomed consolations and those holy observances that lift the oppressed spirit, and fill it with joyous ease; and that in the afternoon the popular festivities should take place as usual; for that indeed it would be a great shame if the valiant men of Borgo should not feel as much innocent hilarity as their females. So it was indeed. And when the usual shouts, rattles, bonfires, arose—it may be doubted whether to imitate them was the Moslem wish, and St. John being previous to Christianity, might have been a

saint to them too; howbeit, it is recorded that on that occasion at least the Turks had the very same rejoicings as the Christians.

Well might it be that Valetta had not time then for foreign correspondence. At all events, he wrote to a Spanish knight, Governor of Citta Vecchia, for him to write to Toledo of St. Elmo's fall; that succours of all kinds were necessary, but that he relied chiefly on the order's own, so to send instantly the troops come with the four galleys, and instructs him how to act in case of a blockade; also to write the information touching St. Elmo to the other of their dignitaries not in Borgo.[1] Nevertheless, though Mesquitez performed all the grand master's injunctions exactly, the news of the fall of St. Elmo was sagaciously kept back until the arrival of what is called the small succour, which was landed safely in Malta on the 29th of June.[2]

It reminds us of Rhodes, that here too the Turk endeavoured to estrange the Maltese from the order; but in truth succeeded no better than with the Rhodians.

With this small succour came what may be termed the cream or most valuable part of the whole: first of all, the Commander, Parisot, the grand master's nephew—

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 579. [2] Id.: id. iii. 582.

2nd. A Spanish grandee, Knight of St. James, with his corps of two hundred foot—

3rd. The Prior of Hungary, with some gentlemen—

4th. Sir Augustus Ricca, with hired soldiers, at the expense of the order—

5th. A French Knight, with sixty men from his galley—

6th. The little succour itself; Knights of the order, forty-two—[1]

7th. Gentlemen, adventurers of Spain, several being of the highest families, as the Duke of Infantado's brother, twenty; id. of Italy, eleven; id. of Germany, three; of England, two;[2] hired gunners, fifty-six; imperial foot, six hundred—in all, seven hundred and thirty-four.

But the knights and gentlemen adventurers were, every one of them, noted warriors, and the gunners and foot were all picked men. That the succours, however limited, should have given much vexation to Mustapha—who was blamed for negligence in letting it pass—and depress the spirits of all the Infidels, is natural, and much consolation to the Christians, as a good omen, and

[1] Of all nations, but chiefly French, Spaniards, Italians, &c.

[2] John Smith,—Edward Stanley, as becomes his historic house.

sure earnest of what would happen; and therefore it was that the grand master wrote to express his gratitude to Toledo, in a letter dated July 8th, adding, that he feared it would be impossible for any other little succour to enter Borgo, so closely had the enemy blockaded it now; but that with twelve thousand he might easily beat the Turks completely, and perhaps the half would suffice, so broken are they and divided; but that he was very eager for a victorious exit as quickly as possible, from fearing want of water, with such a quantity of helpless people pent up in no vast town.

Andrea Doria at length coming to Sicily with his squadron, and the Duke of Savoy's admiral with his galleys, and those from the Duke of Florence and Piombino, who had received at Terracina, and landed at Messina, six hundred soldiers from the Pope, as a temporary succour, under Colonna, that the grand master might be able to hold out until the arrival of the effectual one, united ardently, requesting to be forwarded to Malta; Doria subjoining that at all events he himself would go. Toledo at first assented, but afterwards considering he should want Doria for the great succour, resolved to transmit immediately, not him, but those of the Papacy, and the adven-

turers, and Zapata, with two hundred Spanish foot, in all twelve hundred men.

But so strict the blockade, that the grand master thought it best to refuse. and made a signal for them to return to Sicily, yet contrived to send the viceroy a letter, that there was no help for it; that rather than a new massacre, and attempts that could not but be fruitless, wait he must, and try to resist until the army came to be master of the pass into Borgo, which implies the entire island; for which twelve thousand men, eighty galleys, and provisions for one month would be quite sufficient. "Yet fearful are our wants." July 11th.

Some believe it was no impossibility, but that the grand master judiciously refused, in order to hasten the radical cure.[1] So the viceroy wrote with his own hand to his Catholic majesty, enclosing the letters of the grand master himself.

Several breaches so wide were effected on the 14th July, that a troop of horse could charge and dismount, and remount quite easily! Yet what served they? In the general assault, thirty thousand pots of wildfire, and the superiority of straight long swords over the scimitar, aided superhuman valour, and the Turks fled with frightful slaughter, while the Christian shout was ever, *Remember St.*

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 596.

Elmo! Consequence was, that a party began to be formed in the Turkish army, favourable to desisting from the Maltese war, as mis-managed from the outset, and therefore could not succeed.

In those sanguinary actions, Commander Parisot, nephew of the grand master, who hoped that high-minded youth, firm, valiant, dressy, handsome, would be his age's staff, was killed with great glory. And memorable and highly generous was the grand master's manner on his being informed of the death of him he loved as his son; and turning to the bystanders, thanked God that his nephew had acquired so blessed and glorious an end, and after pouring out fervently his prayers to the Almighty, "Now" (he cried) "to your duty, and think of it no more," and never did any mortal hear from him another syllable on the subject.

Then originated a dissension between the two pashas, which was certainly a happiness to the Christians; yet not very great, since recorded as a still greater was their finding a spring of potable, though not very excellent water in Borgo.

Sixty heavy cannons now beat on Borgo, and its principal fortress, St. Michael's, and were heard at Sicily. Nor do the Turks think anything of the lives of their soldiery, so they succeed. But the Spanish monarch's answer had arrived for Toledo

to use extreme diligence, and instantly succour Malta at all events, and at what cost soever; wherefore he wrote to the grand master, that by the last of August he would be at Malta with ten or twelve thousand foot;[1] that in a day or two he meant to despatch Doria with four thousand brave Tuscan soldiers; that his royal master had made only one exception in his royal graces, by expressly forbidding him to land in person, as he warmly would have desired, to testify not only his cordial affection for the order, but still more for Valetta himself. The wings of fame and the honoured cry of our defence of Malta had gone forth through the world, and a crowd of volunteers for that noble adventure had met from all parts at Messina; the baronage of Germany, and the counts and practised warriors of France, Spain, Italy, even the remotest spots of Christendom.

Nor suppose that one moment's quiet is allowed to Borgo. No! Just as at St. Elmo. The batteries and every sort of fighting day and night; all along the posts and bastions; landsides, seasides the same incessant conflict never knows the shortest, not truce, but momentary pause. The soldiers necessarily relieved each other for nutriment and brief repose. But scarcely with us the knights. How often had

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 616.

we to drive foes from the parapets to whom a breach had given ingress! How often to root up banners they had planted! Enough that the defence of Borgo was worthy of St. Elmo's. But ended differently! Gallantly did our turcopolier command his foreign companions; and troops for that post of England had one of the two pashas[1] for assailant personally on Friday, 3rd of August, and there naturally fought whatever Englishmen were in Malta at that time, belonging to the order or not. At least those two already named; and probably some few others, whose names are lost. According to a Spanish soldier, who deserted and became a renegade, there remained now but five hundred combatants alive in Borgo; and these extenuated and wounded, every one of them. He stated that the rest of the population consisted of superannuated persons and children and women, the sick, the dangerously wounded, and the blind or lame; that nearly all the ammunitions were consumed; that by the grand master's orders no more cannon were fired, except in cases of inevitable necessity; preserving the powder for the harquebusses; that of war pikes and wildfire there was no more; all broken or bent, and badly ironed, medi-

[1] Piali, the Admiral, and perhaps more formidable than Mustapha.

cines all gone; that however Giaours were too obstinate ever to surrender, so that the only way was to exterminate them all, and take care they get no further succour.

True or false, what cared the pashas? But they told it to their troops to encourage them. The two in spite of former disagreements, agreed again against the Christians. Mustapha undertaking St. Michael with Senglea, and Piali, Borgo—dividing their efforts for the second assault before dawn on Tuesday, August 7th.

Then amongst several others fell regretted by all Christendom one of the rarest and most able captains in the whole Spanish army. But both Mustapha's assault and Piali's, though exceeding bloody, were unsuccessful.[1]

Our cavalry from Citta Vecchia made a diversion on the enemy's rear; and after one more tremendous struggle, in which every grade, order, condition, and each sex exerted themselves herocially, the day was won. As soon as all was quiet, the grand master hastened to the church to hear Te Deum sung for our new victory. To cull an individual from the vast number of infidels then slain, probably the worthiest and best-conducted person in Islam, to say a great deal, was the Bey of

[1] Bosio: par. ii. 629.

Rhodes, as remarkable for acuteness of intellect and valour as for goodness.[1] More horrible and mortal still, were the attacks and batteries of the Turks the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th of August; perhaps from some intelligence that Toledo was coming, and to reduce the défence to cinders previous to his arrival. However that might be, the firing on the Castille post began to lessen its severity on the 17th, whence ours suspected a mine, as was indeed discovered; so we made a countermine. Mustapha reflecting that summer was nearly over, that he had lost so many men killed or wounded, that no succour was coming from Constantinople for him, while that for the Christians was to appear every moment; having learned from his two spies that same morning, that at the port of Saragossa in Sicily, were thirty-six ships, a hundred and thirty six galleys at Messina, with above ten thousand infantry in the King of Spain's pay, awaiting additional troops from Italy; and that Toledo was quite prepared to sail himself against the Turkish forces in Malta—that St. Elmo had cost him so dear—that St. Michael's and Borgo were not yet taken, and the siege of St. Angelo not even commenced, he had a long consultation with Piali and others of his captains; when the deter-

[1] Bosio : par. iii. 630.

mination, as a last and only remedy, to finish the whole affair, was taken, to recur to three or four general assaults, not separately, but continuously; the most impetuous and terrible they possibly could, with the firm resolution to storm, and always replace the stormers with fresh ones; changing them and refreshing by turns, in such a manner that one-half of the army was always at rest, while the other half was at the combat; so that, without once ceasing, they should oblige the besieged to be always in the extreme of labours and dangers, without one single instant of repose, or for meals. Most clearly it follows, that, having ceaselessly to defend those feeble ramparts against an onset so interminable and furious, without ever changing, or having quiet, food, or sleep—flesh in the long run not being able to resist steel—they must, at last, be consumed away by that intolerable fatigue and those prolonged vigils—extenuated by famine, they could not but fall, particularly with Turkish artillery and their unequalled harquebussiers. "Then must every one of the Giaours be slain. Even already the breaches are ample and numerous, and like an easy walk, or most smooth wide highway. Then is there not the glory! And I the Pasha, promise you a great recompense!" So cried Mustapha, and after many feints and stratagems,

to intimidate us and ours, an immensity of Moslems covering all Scheb-Erras, marched down to the sea-side; sure sign the assaults were at hand. The whole night was devoted, by the grand master, to visiting all his posts; yet the next day had nearly passed, when suddenly an attack was made on the post of Castille; and a huge red banner on a golden-headed pole, with a horse-tail flying at its end, was planted on its bastion, that most people thought Borgo taken; but not at all. The grand master, unarmed, and talking in the square, quietly took his helmet from his page, and putting it on his head, advanced thither with a lance that some one put in his hand. Nothing could stop him; not even the revered prayers of one of the chief dignitaries of his order. And hastening to the bastion, where seven soldiers had just been slain by one cannon ball, he placed himself among the pikemen, at the breach, just like a private; and seemed to think on nothing but doing his duty as such.[1]

And the urgency gone, he established his residence at that bastion, nor were any intercessions of his knights, repeating Toledo's maxim, able to change his continuing there for the rest of the siege, declaring no other spot so especially becoming him, and that he much preferred a death honour, in com-

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 638.

pany of his own dear knights. Then no doubt it became our habitual usage to sleep armed on the parapets.

The Turks encountering so desperate a resistance, could not be induced the whole of the next night to attack us anew. But at dawn, the pasha having hung out the signal for assault general, his army rushed forward with three shouts, the loudest ever heard. Not to me only (says Bosio), but also to the best writer in the world, it would be impossible to relate properly the many heroic deeds in that day and the two following! nor of any one in particular, but of every one who fought there on those days, the same may be truly said, and deeds of superhuman heroism are to be ascribed to every one of them; nor is that asserted on any other authority than the very highest. Five similar assaults were given to St. Michael's, with similar results. Proclamation was made next, that the sack of the whole city and all it contained were all allotted to the troops by the Grand Seignior's orders, reserving nothing to himself, with the sole exception of the grand master's person.[1]

These continuous assaults made many think the pashas had determined a universal massacre, as at St. Elmo; yet even with that belief, only two of

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 646.

the multitude of Christians, one an assistant gunner, and the other a Greek sailor—so neither of them even private soldiers, but of a still lower class—deserted at that solemn moment to save their vile lives. Finally Mustapha, seeing the unconquerable spirit, and that even women and children fought like stout men, yet fearing to return to Constantinople without accomplishing what Solyman had ordered, resolved to stay the whole winter, and starve the besieged out.

To this Piali would not consent, but openly protested he would return home with his fleet, before the bad season came on and would take all the marines, and recall them from the land force, for that for them he was responsible, which some impute to jealousy.[1] Notwithstanding internal agitation, which he only revealed to a few friendly advisers, Mustapha assumed a smiling face, and mounting his horse, assured his troops they had only to continue the assault for the next night and day, and that the worn-out Giaours could not but yield; to which the Spahis and Janissaries replied they were fatigued, and that it was clearly the will of God Malta should not be taken by the Turk. On which, Emirs, Dervishes, Moolahs, and Moors, asked to have the honour of leading next morn-

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 647.

ing's storm; to enter the restive city or die for their faith. Then Spahis and Janissaries ashamed reclaimed their rightful place. But Mustapha only allowed it in half; and that companies of both parties should storm together, and relays of both be prepared to repose in their turn.

The grand master went to the infirmary, where summoning into the hall of arms all the wounded who could move from their beds, said, "Although I too am severely wounded, yet I contrive to continue my duty (instead of calling medical aid, which I sadly want), in my concern for the common benefit and the greatness of the need. Other valiant knights and soldiers do the same, and remain on guard on the parapet, though they are almost all wounded men, and none but are fatigued in the extreme and deprived of the greater part of their bodily strength; but nevertheless stand unconquered in mind and full of vigour. For plainly do they see that things are at a crisis; when it is better to end life valiantly fighting with arms in their hands (in which consists their only hope of safety in this world) than basely wait to be massacred in hospitals or houses, or undergo torments from most cruel barbarians firmly resolved not to spare a single soul of them."

And enough were these few words, which pene-

trated like sharp darts into every one; and drawing power from their very weakness, none remained in the hospital except those already in the final agony. In arms the wounded human beings hurried to the ramparts, where who could, fought; and who could not fight, there assisted the combatants. On that day was shot an arrow from the Turkish line to ours with a scroll containing nothing but Thursday; which carried to the grand master, he recognised as from one of his spies signifying the foe had determined to give one or two other storms, and then depart.[1] Fact is, the next assault general ensued at dawn on Tuesday, perhaps fiercer than any preceding, and it lasted longer in two relays until night, that is twelve hours without an instant interval; and so thick the smoke that they could scarcely distinguish each other. Women and children absolutely showed most astonishing and little short of peerless ability. By the goodness of God, Mustapha neither by threats nor promises could engage his army to a new assault. So there were different snatches of comparative quiet, and the grand master wrote to Toledo complaining of the delay of succours; that all his knights could do was to die in that defence, and that there was too much languor in a matter of

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 648.

such importance. And the Turks found they had lost eighteen thousand of their choicest and bravest men. And now the Moslem scope was to shut up the port entirely by a great many beams of timber joined to each other; which pleased the grand master, since it disclosed they did not know his hopes of immediate succour, and meant to conquer the island first.

The conflux of adventurers of all nations and of two hundred and fifty knights of the order, who had met at Messina, engaged Toledo to move to the succour of Malta at last; after being told by one of those knights that if he left his brethren without aid, and that they perished, it would be a great shame for both him and his royal master, and a mighty loss to the whole of Christendom. Was this ill-will in Toledo? Certainly not! Since many of his family had been in the order, and recently his best beloved son had been killed during this very siege; and he missed no good opportunity of expressing his gratitude to Valetta for procuring his being nominated viceroy, as well as captain general of the imperial fleet. But he was extremely cautious and fearful of squandering the lives of the troops entrusted to him. So in the three or four days next following the 20th of August, he embarked what is called the *Third*. Knights of Provence 29.

Knights of Auvergne 37.[1] Id. of France 42.[2] Id. of Italy 60.[3] Id. of Arragon 56.[4] Id. of Casille 22.[5] Id. of Germany 2. Knights of St. Stephen 40. The Italian adventurers under the most illustrious noblemen, Corgna, the two Colonna, Vitelli, Sforza, Palavicino, Rangone, Gonzaga, Peschara, Rocca, Pio, Pallavuini 531.[6]

Spanish adventurers under Cardenas, Cefuentes, Guznan, Granuella 104.[7] Other Italian and French 18. Other Spaniards 70.[8]

To the above several must be added to make them as said, eighteen hundred.

Spanish regular troops, five thousand; Italian ditto, one thousand seven hundred; so that in all eight thousand five hundred were the body with which Toledo sailed for Malta on the 25th of August.[9]

[1] Of whom a Grammont, D'Aubusson, Beauregard.

[2] Lions, Boutillier, Beloy, De la Fontaine, Vieux Ponts, Damas, Neuville.

[3] Gonzaga, Orsino, Rovero, Grimaldi, Spina, Lomellino, Rocca, Brusca, Malaspina, Alliata, Carmignano, Del Pozzo, Villa, Carretto, Cenami, Valperga, Tapparello, Pucci, Castiglione, Serra.

[4] Toledo, Sano, Mugnoz, Cabrera.

[5] Guzman, Henriquez, Lara, Avila.

[6] Savorgnano, Serbelloni, D'Appiano, Gambacorta.

[7] Rosalez, Solo, Gomez, Zapata, De la Cerda, Benavides, Lanoy, Cogny.

[8] Padilla, Molo, Guimeran, Salazar, Aranguela, Ruys, D'Eredia, Vivez, Navarro.

[9] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxi. 668.

In the meantime, without precisely assaults general, the cannonade and mining went on as before, at Borgo. The breaking of the weather induced hopes in the Maltese that the Turks would sail away. And now the Post of Castille had become so little tenable, that the grand master was warmly conjured by his knights to retire into St. Michael's with the order's archives, and the account books of the treasury; but he positively forbade any such request again, for that he would live or die on that post of Castille. And to end the question, ordered most of the forces in that fortress to leave it, and come to join him where he was, and then had the wooden drawbridge between it and Borgo sawed asunder; thus extinguishing all possibility of getting into the former, reputed one of his noblest actions.[1]

Mustapha is said to have published in his army that the Grand Seignior had instructed him to winter at Malta, if he could not take it earlier; whence the Janissaries and their companions, apprehensive of having to abide so long on that sterile rock, determined to storm obstinate Borgo; as they did most resolutely during three hours, but were at last driven back with universal scorn. And then it was that poor De la Cerda,

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxii. 675.

who had sustained some blemish for quitting St. Elmo, but now conducting himself heroically, received that bad wound, of which he died, after lingering in torments for ten days in the hospital.[1]

Mustapha, hearing firing in the direction of Citta Vecchia, decided on doing what the late Dragut had said he should have done from the first; and as it had been represented untenable, and would not require more than a *coup de main*, he promised the Janissaries they might sack it, and keep all the persons in it as slaves for themselves; which pleased that terrible corps much.

He marched with four thousand infantry the last of August, leaving to Piali the continuation of the siege of St. Michael's and Borgo. The four thousand were almost all Janissaries, along with a quantity of stakes, and engineers and their tools, and about thirty horse; and after having reconnoitred Citta Vecchia within cannon-shot, he surrounded it. But Mesquitez, the governor, making not only his soldiery, but also a number of useless people go to the ramparts with firelocks, caused the place to appear much better garrisoned than it really was. So Mustapha thought better of the matter; and retiring to sup and pass the night at the grand master's house at Boschetto,

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxii. 680.

went back next morning to his former camp, where he found Piali had pitched his own tent, exactly facing the post of Auvergne.[1]

On the 4th of September appeared Tōledo's fleet off Gozo, and began landing his troops on the island of Malta.[2] Yet had that beginning but a delusive aspect to the Christians; who considered it little better than idle talk, when he sailed, they thought, back to Sicily. However, even his appearance had been favourable to us in this, that it forced Mustapha to give up the assault general he had projected, on the basis of the unwillingness of the Turks to winter in Malta; it cowing them to that degree, that they allowed a small party to venture a sortie, and burn the principal of their besieging machines. Yet replete with persuasion, that his return to Constantinople without having taken Malta, would incur his master's merciless indignation, he rather than face the likes, preferred any other imminent and manifest danger of perishing where he was.

Not so the other pasha, who desired ardently to get back with the fleet whole and healthy,[3] believing Solyman a reasonable man, who as a statesman

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxii. 684.
[2] Id.: id., id. 685.
[3] Id.: id., id. 687.

could not but prefer saving his fleet and army after such mighty efforts; when remained but provisions for twenty-five days and neither artillery nor ammunition for the siege of St. Angelo, even if they had taken Borgo and St. Michael's; so it was concluded to expend an extreme effort in storming the ramparts once more with utmost vigour; and then, whether successful or not, at all events go home; for that in the one case they would return with glory, though they did not take St. Angelo; and in the other they would have done all that man can do, his best; and so neither have merited, nor should undergo punishment. Again did several of the Janissaries openly assure Mustapha it was certain Allah chose they should not take Malta.[1]

Nor were the Christians deficient in preparing for resistance, not only with courage, but with pride that Malta should have sufficed without succour from Toledo or any one else; relying on themselves alone.

Andrea Doria, arriving from his cruise, learned with surprise and vexation that succour was not as yet landed. So at length on the 7th of September it was disembarked in the island of Malta at that part called Tremeca, over against Gozo. Yet was it neither twelve nor ten thousand men, but what

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxii. 688

some reduce to eight thousand and three hundred.[1] Toledo after seeing it forwards about a mile, and having promised it a re-inforcement of five or six thousand foot, to be brought by himself in that same fleet within five or six days, retired on board, and straight for Sicily.

Two hours before dawn at the tinkling of a bell, "Ho Paynims, come on!" from our impatient wall shouted the already risen Christians—not one of whom was aware of the landing of the succour, and that it was marching towards them.

Full of mental energy and confidence at this to be the last assault, they lined the ramparts with utmost heroism; and even the lowest class threw stones towards the enemy, on whom they poured execrations and defiance. But of the infidels none were advancing, although now it was clear dawn. Christians thought they overheard Turkish whispers about what some interpretations referred to dissensions between the two pashas, and others between Spahis and Janissaries, as to which should head the storming party, and many to complaints regarding our fortifications being better manned than ever. And behold, to the excessive wonder of ours (it was now sunrise or later) the Turks, emerging and defiling from beneath our walls, be-

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxii. 690.

gan retreating. Not one of us divined the truth. Whether Piali's small craft had brought him intelligence of the Spanish succours; or that nothing certain had arrived, but only an uncertain rumour slid around; fact is, Mustapha commenced suspecting what really occurred opposite Gozo, and his troops instead of mounting to the assault, took quite a contrary direction.[1] However a mistake in the signals prevented the grand master from knowing of any disembarkment in any part of the island, and left him still more ignorant than the rest. Until within half an hour of noon, he disbelieved all such reports as idle fables. Nor even was quite persuaded although he headed the people to thank God, and had all the church bells ring a merry peal, after a silence of three months; but no salutes of cannon, seeing little gunpowder remained. As soon as it was sure that the Spanish army had landed, the Turks determined to profit of that night to embark their artillery and burn their camp. And one of them pondering on the miraculous defence, and the ignominious sequel, concluded that the Christian faith was much better; so with a resolve to be Christianized, deserted to Borgo before light, and announced that the Mahometans had em-

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxiii. 693.

barked and sailed off. And he was veracious as to the greater part; but a few lingered yet, amongst whom Mustapha himself, and ventured some ineffectual attempts. At length the grand master wrote an announcement of his victory to the Pope, and through him to all Christendom, dated September 11th. That letter still exists to tell its own story, and shall be in the Appendix.[1] Toledo would have everything to be attributed to his succours. The Maltese, with proper pride, to their own efforts, and that the cause was won prior to the Spaniard's arrival. It was the demon of ill, who was at his function, disseminating dissension.[2] But finally the whole remaining Moslem force, quite dispirited, made sail back for the Levant, on the 20th of September.

Toledo came at last to Malta, and the grand master went down to the beach to meet him; and there those two renowned captains cordially shook hands, which softened the bystanders to tears. And the grand master gave a splendid supper to the viceroy and all his officers; and after it he and Valetta spent most part of the night in consulting whether it were better to pursue the Turkish fleet or undertake the siege of Tripoli in Barbary—but finally

[1] Appendix, ccxxx.

[2] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxiii. 704.

decided for the last. So in that direction Toledo sailed with the greater part of the Third.[1]

Yet very grave must have been Valetta's thoughts, when given leisure to collect them; for he saw but ruins all around, and an uninhabited waste, where a populous island had lately stood, and his order reduced desperately. A plan occupied his intellect, and appeared the only way to put down that terrible despotic power; by depriving it of the means of making a similar invasion any more. Yet the destruction of the arsenal shall not be attempted in his life-time! If any effect it ever! Borgo was then changed into Vittoriosa, its present name. About nine thousand of the victors were killed at Malta. Yet of the knights here is an abstract. In Bosio are the names: Provence, 18; Auvergne, 4; France, 21; Italy, 50; Arragon, 14; Germany, 4; Castille, 18.

These are the victims registered in the Order's Church, and for whose souls anniversaries are solemnized. If included in the nine thousand, how small a fraction of it they make! But they were not other than the superior officers of their hired and volunteer troops, as often observed. Besides in the registers are only the downright and immediately slain, or those, whose mortal wounds produced death during the siege; and not even all of these. In no list are

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxiii. 707.

given the (however grievously) wounded and maimed for life.

When Solyman received the despatch of the two pashas he let it fall, as thunderstruck with astonishment, and exclaimed, "It is only in my own hand that my sword is invincible!" The despatch rated the Turkish loss at thirty thousand men.[1]

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxiii. 714.

CHAPTER IV.

As Innocent VIII. to D'Aubusson, so Pius IV. offered the cardinalship to Valetta, yet with more delicacy leaving him a choice, by consulting him beforehand, of which he availed himself and refused; extremely courteously of course, supplicating it should be rather given to his brother, a true ecclesiastic, then Bishop of Vabres; whereas he himself had grown old in the profession of arms. "Very different from the holy spotless life of my brother, who has all which qualifies for that sacerdotal elevation." But it was too late—Pius IV. could no longer confer anything in the world, for he died on the 9th of December, 1565;[1]

1566

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxiii. 720.

and it was now in 1566, the 5th of January, as is the date of the instructions Valetta gave to his ambassador at the Court of Spain: "That he should ask his majesty for a garrison for Malta, that otherwise the order would be obliged to give it back to him; of which, if he approve, then to beg him to assign a spot to which we might remove. To fortify Malta would be absolutely necessary, in case we are to remain there. The knights are quite ready to spend their lives, and all their worldly means, but if the whole be not enough, what more can they do. Others must do the rest, if done it should be. And, in returning through France, repeat to its monarch all that you will have said to him of Spain; and, besides, that if his Catholic Majesty do not, then it will be for all the Christian princes in Europe to resolve. That, to keep Malta will require an established force of fifteen or twenty thousand men; which the order makes known in this perplexity and confusion, that if the Moslem fleets come back, it may not be imputed to us, if the island be lost. That, with three thousand of our most excellent hired troops, and our body of knights, we will undertake to keep and fortify St. Angelo, St. Elmo, and Citta Vecchia, which is more than can reasonably be expected from so small a commonwealth. That, much above its force, is

the being responsible for the entire island, which, however it will try to defend; but without the slightest hope of success, and we now protest as much, in anticipation, for the purpose of disculpating ourselves to the Almighty, in every event, and in the eyes of the world.[1] I and my companions, we shall have done our very utmost."

To repair St. Elmo, alone, the engineer declared the labour of four thousand workmen for four months would be requisite; and that even so, it would be always liable to being taken again, from its narrowness; a natural imperfection, not to be remedied, "and therefore it is my opinion, it is far better to fortify the whole mountain, on an angle of which St. Elmo stands; otherwise the present situation will require twelve thousand foot, and two hundred light cavalry." And more to urge the chill tardy conclusions of the Spanish council, a circular to all the order's priors, cited to Malta every knight, and commander and servant-at-arms, to present themselves armed, accoutred, and equipped, not later than the end of next April, under the same date of January 5th, 1566.

But, on the 10th of the following February, met the chapter wherein the English language, under Sir Oliver Starkey, as Lieutenant of the Turcopolier,

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxiv. 725.

had to be represented by a French knight, in the absence of any English one.[1]

A law, by this meeting, that every knight taken by the infidels, and enslaved, should preserve his station amongst the knights during his slavery, and this be as favourable to his promotion as if spent on actual service, at the order's head-quarters, was surely in clear contradiction to both the words and the spirit of the old rule; that a knight made prisoner, and a knight dead, were one and the same thing, of which are to be found various instances in their brightest period. Yet high minded and rare bravery were the Hospitallers still to show, nor did it not encounter this of opposition, that for the nine knights at St. Elmo, since all too severely suffering from their bad wounds, for their consent to be either asked or given, it would be only just to make an exceptionable clause; but that a universal law were no compliment to them, and to it may be demurred on the best grounds.[2]

Only some months, and the succeeding Pope, in the name of Christendom, sent to exhort Valetta to set about creating his new city; and it having been observed that many decrees of the Council of Trent

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxiv. 728.
[2] Id.: id., id. xxxv. 730.

were irreconcileable with the order's privileges, his Holiness notwithstanding confirmed said privileges, only adding a clause to his confirmatory brief.[1]

Then returned the grand master and ambassador from Madrid, with a letter bidding Toledo pay the order two thousand crowns' worth of provisions and ammunitions, and a thousand other crowns for a much larger debt due to it by Spain several years. Yet were such petty matters soon drowned by what went through all the Levant, that Constantinople was preparing a second invasion of Malta; which hostile rumour at length alarmed the better class of the Maltese to that degree, that they began selling their things to remove their wives and children to Sicily; preferring the most disastrous exile to the horrors of last year. And willingly the grand master gave them leave, to unload himself of so many mouths—of slender utility in war. Hence those Sicilian ports became colonies of Greeks, Rhodians, Maltese.[2]

On the 14th of March began the building of the new city of Valetta, by laying the foundations with many religious ceremonies. But there was, besides the map, a model of it in wax laid before several of

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxv. 737.
[2] Id.: id., id. 738.

the most experienced engineers in Christendom.[1] And another very consolatory brief came from Rome, conjuring Valetta not to put into execution his threat of leaving Malta, and going to abide in Sicily; "But rather remain, dearest child, in the fortress where you have already won immortal praise and glory throughout every land. The succours of his Catholic Majesty cannot be wanting, for therein is interested not only his fame, but the very safety of his own dominions. Nor ours; for we would be ready to spill our blood for love of our Redeemer and the benefit of this Christian republic. Above all, the Eternal will succour you, even He who so evidently saved thee last year. Nor will be wanting His supernal aid to your knights and soldiers. . . All religious and faithful Christians listening to our invitation, will invoke a blessing on you. We instantly will write to the King of Spain and Sicily," dated Rome, at St. Peter's, under the fisherman's ring, 22nd March, 1566. Nor is to be forgotten the present by the Spanish monarch immediately after the siege, in testimony of his extraordinary ability and valour—a sword and dagger, both of which had hilts of the purest massive gold, beautifully chiselled, and of immense value.[2]

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxv. 741. [2] Id.: id., id. 767.

It was at this time that among several French youths, volunteers for the Turkish war, came Vignacourt to Malta, and shortly afterwards entered the order; and in process of years was to become its chief. Nor was Toledo any longer tardy; but transmitted five thousand Spanish and three thousand German foot —to be commanded by Valetta, "with as full authority as if he were my own person," were the words of the King of Spain; which forces added to the knights, and their hired troops and some corps of Maltese, made in all eighteen thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry—a body quite sufficient to face whatever Turkey could convey to Malta.[1]

But the Moslem fleet, instead of attacking that island, sailed up the Adriatic, and entering the port of Venice in a friendly way to refresh, vomited its ill-humour in a hostile demonstration on poor little Ragusa, and in cannonading some of the imperial towns along the coast of Dalmatia.[2]

Meantime the grand master took delight in superintending the construction of his new city—for the working at which on all festivals (even Sundays included) there was a Papal dispensation, so urgent did it seem to all Christendom. The hod-bearers to assist the masons amounting to eight thousand; and

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxvi. 770.
[2] Id.: id., id. xxxvii. 773.

inhabitants of other countries will certainly smile at the solemnity with which the historian Bosio speaks of the discovery of a little spring of fresh water in cutting the rock—spring of no greater dimensions than a man's thumb. But people who have ever been there, will be nowise surprised; considering its aridity even now.

On the 22nd September, 1566, Selim ascended the Ottoman throne, his father having died in Hungary, of which new sultan tidings reached Malta on October 2nd, and were forwarded to Rome and Vienna, who were ignorant of the fact (much more the other Christian capitals) except, what is worse, that the imperial ambassador at Venice had written to his master that there was a similar vague rumour—not to be traced to any good source. So Malta at that time was the direct road for Levant news to get to Europe; and it was Europe rather than any one else, that first named the nascent town Valetta. It was the interest and care of all nations. All nations laboured to build it. It was considered from the beginning as much theirs, as the islanders'—a cosmopolitan city—the only one of that kind that perhaps ever existed from the foundations. The property of all the civilized people in the world a thousand times more than of the, however faithful, natives.[1]

1565

[1] Bosio: par. iii., xxxlib. vii. 783.

Selim was then forty-three, and being addicted to wine, women, and all luxurious habits, was no valiant warrior like Solyman (the better for Christendom), nor an irreconcileable enemy of the sacred, most illustrious Hospitallers. But no event distracted the grand master from his usual most diligent assiduity respecting the growing city. Nevertheless, not unmentioned must be the assassination of his private secretary, a renowned knight, by a bullet, in the dark, within a few paces of the palace, as he was returning to his house, to the deep vexation and grief of Valetta; who made many unavailing attempts to discover the murderer, whose harquebuss indeed remained on the spot, but led to nothing, being filed over with such care that it could not possibly be identified. Not but Valetta had to attend to all the order's concerns, as well as to an agreement still extant, and then made with a corps of hired soldiers; where are observable :— 1st. That the order kept usually three thousand of such; 2nd. That they had what would be enormous pay at present—forty dollars a-month each—which included sub-officers to be sure, and perhaps some of the very lowest officers likewise; but the rest and all the superior officers being Hospitallers, cost nothing. Even the superior officers of whatever allies marched with him, were generally in the same category, and, as Hospitallers, cost nothing.

The very ground on which Valetta was built was bought from the Maltese, and paid to them by the knights; in which sense also it has a right to be called a cosmopolitan city, and belonged much more to all Christians than to a nation, who had scarcely ever a single member in the order. The first name given to it by the knights was *Humblest.* And to assimilate themselves in some degree, exteriorly at least, a bye-law condemned them for the future to wear plain black; except in uniform and during campaigns. And that chapter met certainly in the *humblest* of halls—two temporary wooden huts, which the grand master had erected to defend himself and chancery from sun and rain, that he might be near the buildings, few of them, as yet, covered in. However, it was there he received an ambassador, sent expressly by the French King to ask the grand cross for his brother, the Duke of Angouleme; who professed, with the hope of one day becoming Prior of the Language of France.[1]

But Selim, however unwarlike himself, headed a nation that loved war with the Christian; so prepared an expedition against Malta. And it being now the winter of 1567, the grand master was persuaded the threatened siege would take place next spring; so sent a citation to every 1567

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxvii. 793.

knight and servant-at-arms, not generally to the priors, but also to each individual separately, to hasten to join his language at Malta. And a Neapolitan nobleman—Signor Carlo Spinelli, Prince of Cariati and Duke of Semmara—on learning the grand master's urgency, and that the order was using every exertion to be ready to face the Turkish invasion, to provide him with that nerve of war, money—heroic generosity—sent a gentleman to Malta most affectionately to beg Valetta's acceptance of one hundred thousand crowns; or rather a security on his whole estates for that sum, for the merchants to cash in any way the order wished; and the agent presented to him the appropriate deed legally, with all the due formalities, with the duke's seal and signature—piece which Bosio gives in full, dated 17th December, 1567. And as frankly as it was offered, was it accepted by the grand master and council; and they had the fact registered regularly on their books, without making use of it however. And hearing it was the Moslem's intention to stop first at Gozo, Valetta went thither on February 8th, 1568, and remained there six days.[1]

Yet soon ceased every doubt respecting the Mahometan fleet, whose intention was not to make any

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxviii. 808.

real attack either on Malta or any Christian state; but clearly only to disturb all Christendom.

To this period the interference belongs which renders the town of Valetta so unsightly, with stairs as necessary as numerous from its standing on such different levels; but the idea was to have the whole city on one level, and the rock was to be cut far more down in a platform large enough to contain all the streets and houses; but that menace of a Turkish invasion caused the work to be left half undone—content with having the grand master's palace, St. John's, and the Languages, and the chief commander's house on a level, and the other habitations were built as they could; which probably at first was intended for only a temporary expedient; but the building once broken off, was never taken up again. And indeed a radical change and return to the primitive design became very difficult, from the foundations; if not quite impossible, and every year got worse and worse. Had the original plan been adhered to, and the rock cut down as far as was intended, the town would have been much more commodious and beautiful, and the batteries much stronger—however strong they be at present. In July, 1568, Valetta, very jealous of his new city, had several precautions taken. Also he wrote the Pope a sharp remonstrance at so

1563

many of the order's privileges being broken by the Papacy; particularly in giving away dignities that ought to go to the impoverished knights, who had faced death with such surpassing gallantry, and endured such fearful wounds, for the defence of Christendom—and this return ensued before the perspiration was well rubbed from their blood-stained fronts, or their wounds were entirely closed.[1]

In some brief dream of hope, or momentary resurrection of the English Language—how, is not quite apparent—but a Sir Richard Shelley is somewhat suddenly mentioned by Bosio as Prior of England;[2] though it be decidedly affirmed, that Weston was the last of our priors up to the dissolution of the monasteries.

The English Language fell then of inanition; and though some melancholy bystanders, and even doctors, retouched its pulse, and considering life not wholly gone, may have essayed a palliative, yet has it ever really lifted up its head since? Parties notwithstanding, in this all Englishmen will perhaps agree that it was not quite generous to hurl destruction on a body that had for ages been a glory to their country, and to whom all Christendom owed so much. If all be innocent

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xxxviii. 815.
[2] Id.: id., id. 817.

till proved guilty, these were not even accused; why then confiscate their property? But that was over long since. Regret is now as vain as defamation. Yet he, who does not take it upon him to blame those times may lament their severity—which, if not necessary, was extremely unjust. But quietly in his closet, he ought not to forget that the statesmen of that age were exposed to thousands of difficulties, and a thousand hostile passions.

But on the evening of the 21st of August, 1568, Valetta could no longer brook what passes away with time, yet survived a stroke of apoplexy for about an hour, and even uttered, "Oh, my God, send me one of thy blessed angels to assist me in this extremity!" And the pious prayer was indeed heard—but thus, that instantly he left the shadow of pain. In his attached household it had been considered ominous that, one by one in the three days preceding his death, his three favourite animals had died—a falcon, presented to him by the King of France in allusion to that bird's being the crest of the Valetta house; his pet ruby-coloured parrot, that at a distance might be mistaken for a miraculously large ruby; and his tame lioness, so tame (at least towards him) that she used to sleep in his bed-room at full liberty.

Neither at his funeral, nor his successor's elec-

tion, any other Englishman than Sir Oliver Starkey appearing, the English Language had to be represented by a foreign knight.

One or two days after, Sir Peter del Monte took the usual coronation oath:—I swear solemnly, in the Divine presence, to observe the established and good ancient usages of our order, and to act in all state affairs by the advice of the members of the council. So help me, God![1]

On the 25th of the same month he ordered the late grand master's corpse to be carried into the new city founded by him, and buried there as he had prescribed. To his epitaph were added, and cut on the tombstone, some Latin verses composed on the occasion by Sir Oliver Starkey, a good scholar, then Lieutenant to the Turcopolier, and afterwards Bailiff of the Eagle.[2]

Del Monte had distinguished himself as head of the Italian Language during the siege—then being seventy. The order's marshal having died in France, his place was given to the Commander John le Vesque de la Cassiere. Again was Sir Oliver's rather quaint Latinity put in requisition, and over one of the gates of the new city is still to be read.[3]

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 822. [2] Id.: par. iii. 825.
[3] Id.: id. 828.—Appendix, ccxx.

The celebrated *Sixiena* in Spain, which had left off its original dependence on the grand master since above a century, returned to it by an oath taken by its ambassador before the entire council of Malta on the 17th of May, 1569, in eight articles, which being approved by the order, 1569 those nuns obliged themselves to obedience and the annual payment of a silver vase as feudal recognition.

Long had that nunnery existed with royal splendour; and when Alphonso II., of Arragon, died, his widow and their daughter retired thither, and took the veil, as others of that sovereign line did afterwards; and those ladies used to wear the white cross on their left side, like the knights, and the prioress on her chest. Nor were they founded under the grand master Berengario, as said by many generally—and not even by any grand master at all—but one hundred and seventy years earlier, and by another Berengario the order's provisor among the Spaniards, as is completely proved by the document shown on that occasion. The nuns were of all the royal and most illustrious houses—not of Spain alone, but of all countries as well; nor paid entrance or income, but were maintained every one gratis. In choir they bore little silver sceptres in memory of their august foundress, and

had a particular prayer-book, which, when Bosio wrote, was four hundred years old, and more.[1]

In 1569, Sir Oliver Starkey, promoted to the Eagle—vain title in a vainer expectancy of the English Language's restoration — had the same melancholy satisfaction of sitting as bailiff in the chapter general without seeing any of his countrymen.[2]

Some pretext never wanting, Selim claimed Cyprus, and declared war on Venice, whose doge wrote to the grand master; but Loredan dying suddenly, his successor, Moncenigo, sent it on the 11th of May, 1570, begging his assistance. But Del Monte, who had long wished to abdicate, yet put it off while the Turks threatened Malta, now that their vengeance turned towards the Queen of the Adriatic, thought he might indulge his desire. But the Pope wrote with his own hand to exhort him to refrain; that it would be to go against that Providence that assigned him that glorious load; that he ought not to allow himself to be intimidated either by age or weakness; "on the contrary, become more animated the shorter the road you have to travel; for He will not fail to give you strength for whatever He ordains you to perform.

[1] Bosio: par. iii. 837.

[2] Id.: id. lib. xxxix. 842.

Without Him not a leaf falls from the tree; so this be your prayer, not mine, but His will be done. Remember, in the tribulation of the world, you must not lose confidence, for He has said I have conquered the world. As to your death, it will happen at the time assigned by Him." Rome, 8th December, 1570.[1] 1570

So good, aged Del Monte was consoled, and followed the Papal advice, and remained and made the whole order remove into the new city—deeming it little less glory to give it a soul, by giving it inhabitants, than to have built it. On the early days of March, 1571, the general removal was decreed; and on Sunday, the 18th, it took place. 1571 Publicly did he declare that none should have his benevolence who did not do everything in their power to benefit Valetta—the name coming into use instead of *Humblest.* And he engaged his own nephew to build himself a fine palace there, which the order subsequently bought to be the magisterial residence. So where the English governor now resides was erected by a private knight for his own dwelling; which gives us an idea of what the knights then were, and that it was a vast advantage for a small spot to have them for sovereigns. So persuaded was the Pope of the

[1] Bosio: par. iii., lib. xl. 870.

superiority of the Hospitallers' galleys, that he writes to thank the grand master for his promptitude in sending them to join his own Papal squadron at Messina—assuring him that it would not be the least disagreeable to the King of Spain.[1]

It was a preparation for the great sea-fight of the age—to take place a little better than four months later. Certainly Lepanto was a defensive battle, and gained all it aspired to—the saving of Christendom. That was far from nothing; it was everything. Fair are they who put the Christian victory on a line with the Grecian Salamis, only on a larger scale; for Lepanto saved not a single country, but all the countries in Europe. The description of the day is spirited in the Venetian sketch,[2] adding, that it ought not to have been nearly silent about the Hospitallers; since Don Juan of Austria, supreme leader there, was himself a knight of our order, which took a great part in that victory; indeed almost a greater than Venice herself, as Contarini confesses, and likewise the Venetian commander-in-chief, Morosini. Nor were their praises from partiality, but an almost forced echo of universal beholders. Don Juan, of Austria, may be called no competent evidence, because sup-

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccxviii.
[2] Family Library, Num. xxiii.

posed over favourable to his own order. But in fact he only spoke like the others. He Knight of Malta; they were both reciprocally worthy of each other. No more, and the eulogium of both is perfect. It was on Sunday morning, the 7th of October, that the two fleets met in awful conflict two hours after daylight—not on the 1st, as related by some moderns. The original pieces still exist. You have only to read them. The *Capitana di Malta* was not in either wing, but No. 6 in the centre of the line of battle.[1] Why leave out Contarini's words? "The Prior of Messina, a Giustiniani, Admiral of the *Capitana di Malta*, was so badly wounded that he was all but killed!" Of known valour, he saved the lives of several.[2] But alas! the grand master, under whom so many fine things happened, died on the 20th of January in 1572, as his gravestone shows;[3] and was succeeded by that Cassiere, whose heroic feats on the coast of Barbary have been noted. Leaving France in 1522 as a volunteer, on his way to the siege of Rhodes,

1572

[1] Sansovino: Hist. dei Turchi, 480.—Impresa del Regno di Cipro di G. P. Contarini etc.

[2] Yet dreadful the carnage! Of the Christians were killed seven thousand six hundred and fifty; and thirty thousand of the Turks, writes Galucci, best authority on that subject. Tentori: ix. 286.

[3] Seb. Paoli: Serie, ii.

he then met L'Isle Adam at Messina, and received the cross of profession at his hands; and he now had risen to be Marshal of Auvergne when elevated to the supreme dignity. About two years later is the leave from Grand Master Cassiere to a knight who had fought in the Turkish wars with distinction, to live at the order's expense even out of Malta, or wherever he pleased. He had been in the *Capitana di Malta* at Lepanto, and fought until he
1574 could no longer stand, and fell so desperately wounded that he passed for dead; yet so recovered that he lost but an arm, a leg, and an eye.[1] Alas! what a state! Is that recovery? Howbeit, he survived, and that there is slight mention of Lepanto in the Cod. Dipl. Geros. is a new proof of to what glorious feats they were accustomed. For them there had been many a Lepanto; and even that renowned action was nothing new, nor of surpassing consequence.

But to one of the Barbary pair succeeds that other —Verdale; and under this latter it was that Gregory XIII. writes that, lest the ancient title of Turcopolier, distinctive of the head of the English Language, from the very beginning, as a memorial of all days, after having been so long pre-eminent over

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccxx.—Sch. Paoli: Osservazioni. See Appendix ccxxvi.

every other conventual dignity of the order, should be at any time exposed to neglect or profanation, the grand master is requested to assume it to himself, and incorporate all its rights and privileges with the grand-mastery unlimitedly; until (if that desired epoch ever arise) this lamentable secession come to a close, the then grand master shall be quite able to return the turcopoliership, without a single loss or blemish; on the contrary with each iota de jure of its antique advantages in no way deteriorated, tarnished, clouded, but sedulously preserved like a most precious jewel, deposited by a tender father, in a secure treasury for his beloved child.[1] With whomsoever the idea originated, it was lofty, fine, piteous. A regular document of this nature will obtain the veneration, not only of the order, but probably of all mankind.

Yet neither Cassiere nor Verdale shone as grand masters; both were on unhappy terms with their knights. The former, after having been a prisoner in his own palace, was called to Rome; to which he went, and had an honourable acquittal, but it broke his heart and he died there; though his remains being afterwards brought to Malta, we find his tomb among those of the grand masters. Verdale appears

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccxxiv., dated the 9th of June, 1582.

also to have been a haughty, severe man, and had a not dissimilar end.[1]

From a letter to the grand master in answer to a petition from the monastery in the island of Patmos is clear, 1st, that he exercised still a protecting power in the Levant; 2nd, that where St. John the Evangelist wrote the Apocalypse had belonged to the order during its stay at Rhodes.[2] Undoubtedly it must have contributed to nourish self-esteem highly, that the order obtained the highest praise from the most venerated sources; nor was *laudari a laudato viro* ever more exemplified than in their case; and whoever collects the encomiums of the Hospitallers, will form several huge volumes; and strenuously is it repeated that theirs was then the most useful of human institutions, and the small spot where they resided ark and bulwark of Italy, nay of the whole civilised world.[3]

Verdale, however, also ended his sojourning in 1595, and was succeeded by Garzes,[4] who may not have been extremely prudent; for I find Clement VIII. complaining of discord at Malta, and attributing them not to the Languages, which he seems to

[1] Seb. Paoli: Serie ii. 477.
[2] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccxxxi.—Appendix, ccxxi.
[3] Id., Id. ccxxxii. Id., ccxxii.
[4] Seb. Paoli: Serie, ii.

regard as having been always in the order (whereas they were an innovation that had caused discords before, and might again), but to the form of electing the grand master, which indeed remounts to Gerard himself; so the knights are desired to dēcide on a new form of election. Now this was most manifestly to deprive them of all independence, and extort openly what, if sought by other Popes, they at least sought it under a cloak.[1] But the reply was becoming, that in most humble accordance with the Pontiff's desire, the knights during eight months had kept trying and trying without success, but found every change for the worse; so that his Holiness is besought to let them adhere to their olden form, that had almost invariably worked excellently and been so often confirmed by his holy predecessors.[2] The advice is dated 17th Sep., 1599; and the answer signed by grand master and council, July the 14th, 1600.

But on Garzes' going to his mansion in Feb., 1601, the choice fell on Wignacourt, a Frenchman, who in his long reign of twenty-three years showed himself an able and worthy sovereign.[3] A new proof how idly superfluous was the idea of condemning the ancient

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccxxxv.
[2] Id., Id., Id. ccxxxvi.—Appendix, ccxxiii.
[3] Seb. Paoli: Scrie, ii. 477.

form of electing the grand masters; since two years had scarce elapsed ere the same Pope had to write in high praise of Wignacourt, as most zealous for the usual discipline, and therefore animates him to continue what he had so well begun.

In 1609 in November, that grand master wrote a letter to the King of Persia offering him the order's alliance in a war against the Turk;[1] and the answer of his Persian Majesty, translated from the original, preserved in the archives of Malta, shall be given in the Appendix.[2] Which may have rendered it the more advisable to cite to Malta all the knights of his order in a circular of 15th of February, 1614.[3]

But, in 1622, a Papal letter, both lamenting Wignacourt's death, and congratulating his successor, Vasconcellos, a Portuguese[4] who, however, reigned for only about six months; and was succeeded by

1622 De Paul of Gascony,[5] and to sharpen his sense of responsibility, a generous descant is rung on the glories of the order, and its valour, which terrifies the barbarian, and is the shield of Europe.[6]

1 Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccxlv.
2 Id., id., Id., ccl.—Appendix, ccxxiv.
3 Seb. Paoli: Oeservazioni, ii. 506.
4 Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cclvi.
5 Seb. Paoli: Serie, ii. 479.
6 Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cclxiii, 17th of June, 1623.

It seems Urban VIII. had recommended the Franciscans of Holy Land to the grand master, in general terms. But a letter from the Father Guardian at Nazareth, on the strength of that recommendation, asked him for *four slaves*—though the proper term, at present, would be prisoners of war—of whom the order must at all times have had many, for the greater part employed to row their galleys, and without similar unfortunates, there could be no navies then. Yet, as the Father mentions none in particular, they were probably for a present to Constantinople. In whatever case, it was a charitable deed.[1]

A reply of this grand master to a despatch from the King of France, shows the meaning of the latter,[2] coinciding with a note of the council to the French Ambassador at Rome,[3] and another of the same to the Prior of Thoulouse,[4] which three documents shall, in substance, be given together in the Appendix. Other letters from the grand master and council, to the emperor,[5] to the King of Spain,[6] and to the King of France,[7] supplicating

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cclxx.
[2] Id., Id., Id. cclxxvi.—Appendix ccxxv.
[3] Id., Id., Id. cclxxvii. Id.
[4] Id., Id., Id. cclxxviii. Id.
[5] Id., Id., Id. cclxxxv.
[6] Id., Id., Id. cclxxxv.
[7] Id., Id., Id. cclxxxvi.

them to request the Pope to cease interfering with the commanderies belonging to the Languages, but permit them to follow their forms and usages, and not dispense any favours regarding the same —this was in June, 1625. That they obtained what they wanted, and the expostulations of the order's ambassador, Imbroll, were at length attended to, and that Rome prohibited its court of cardinals and prelates to decide on matters appertaining to the grand master and his council, but simply allowed Papal ministers to take preliminary informations; which only tended to render the decisions of the order more respectable—we have a proof in another diplomatic document.[1]

1625

That the order lost two galleys, offers a fine opportunity to its own Prior of Aquitayne to make it a present of four thousand six hundred gold crowns;[2] a new instance of the benevolence of its members towards their common stock, very characteristic, and highly laudable trait, which an historian would be singularly inattentive to his duty not to notice.

Another attempt of his Holiness, in 1627—like that of Clement VIII., in 1599—to introduce again the new form of electing the grand master, was

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cclxxxvii.
[2] Id., Id., Id. cclxxxviii.

met by a similar negative from him and his council,[1] which bold refusal, who but will approve of? The rather considering those difficult times. 1627
Nor less Urban VIII. persisted, and discharged the thunderbolt of his spiritual authority,[2] and perhaps they must have submitted, at least in appearance. But they can bide their time, and war and circumstances allow them to retain much of the spirit of their ancient liberties, and the substance of popular self-government, in spite of exterior 1628
and transitory shackles; so they remain true to themselves. That undying resolution, and the tempest quickly subsides. What has braved six centuries, will not expire now. True, peace and luxury are secret worms that feed on our very vitals, and are far worse than war with Turks or Tartars, or any desolating troubles of murder and famine. But, for a long time yet, the 1629
knights are to run no risk from too much quiet—if ever. The grand master convened, on the 18th of January, 1629, a chapter general; but soon saw how it was, and that although they, perhaps, might abstain from violence, they would by no means assent, as desired; so, in his letter to the Pope, on that subject, respectful as are his

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii, Num. ccxcii.
[2] Id., Id., Id. ccxciii.

terms, and though he sent his own nephew with it, imply a fear that his Holiness wished for some other forms in their sittings, which his knights would not at all tolerate, nor subscribe to the smallest innovation.[1] Not that De Paul did not perceive it was the Pope's intention to strengthen the grand mastery, but he who held it now, preferred their ancient constitution, to any private interests of his own. It is but justice to him to say that he appears to have been wholly without any undue ambition. Much less did he wish for the hatred of his knights, and to leave the sad renown of having subverted the body who had elected him for other purposes. Yet, whatever De Paul thought, or however pure the Papal motives, the fact is the order was deprived of the mainspring of its liberties, the chapter general, during above a century; and though the heavy expenses it cost, was the specious excuse, the real cause might be that it was easier to manage a restricted council, than a numerous, and, as it were, popular assembly. Nevertheless, Urban VIII. did not change his mind; but obstinately confirmed his bull, regarding the form of electing the grand master, in a document, from Gandolfo Castle, on the 21st of October, 1634.[2]

1634

[1] Boisgelin: i. 265.

[2] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccii.

But a truce to all theological or civil squabbles! Here is what must eclipse them, and is more consonant with our order. The Turks are not slumbering. On the 27th of March, 1635, comes a despatch from one of the chief ministers of the King of Spain, El Conde de Monte Rey, with intelligence of a large armament preparing 1635 in Constantinople, against, it is said, Persia, but perhaps against Malta; and if this last case turned out, the grand master may be sure of succours being ready in Spain, and that they be sent instantly, and in sufficient number, and of artillery forthwith.[1] Which may have roused the grand master into a still greater conviction of the necessity of his labouring to remove every discontent from the minds of his people; so he wrote a letter to the emperor, supplicating his imperial majesty not to send an ambassador to beg the Pope to yield grand crosses of the order by dispense to some young Italians, who have not the merits requisite; as is the rumour amongst their language, to the grievous dissatisfaction of all that body of knights.[2] This, under date of the 15th of August, 1636 1636. But on the 21st March of the next year, Cardinal Barberini, by the pontifical com-

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccliii.
[2] Id., Id., Id cccliv.

mands, writes to the grand master, informing him that the Greeks, and their patriarch at Jerusalem, having, by means of the Turks, possessed themselves of the keys both of the *præsepio* at Bethlehem, and of the Holy Sepulchre taken violently from the Franciscans, though belonging of old to the Latin Church; and therefore he requests of him to indicate the surest expedient to get back the keys, and holy places, and advise with the other Christian princes, regarding the same.[1] To which the grand master, that this is his council's answer, in which he also joins; "a war of all Christendom would be perfectly just, but only available in a way that those at Rome do not perhaps mean; for a crusade as of yore would be too long, and hardly practicable at present; the great omnipotent God of armies being able of course if He pleased, but not man. But thus it would be easy, and of instant result. It is most allowable to wage war against the really culpable, Greeks and Turks. So the Christian potentates should send out a few ships, and give leave to all individuals to do the like, and seize on the person and property of those two people; the rather, that it is certain nearly all the merchandise sold as Greek, is in reality Turkish, but marked with a

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccv.

cross, and Greek names on the bales. Almost instantaneous the effect would be; that on their knees the culprits would restore the keys and places. Such reprisals would be strikingly fair. True and only remedy after mature reflection, and consulting with those who know the Levant well. This evidently just way of impartial reprisals would at once bring the usurpers to be the first to conjure you to receive back everything, and cease further hostilities." And on the 8th of the next June, grand master and council again join in a letter imploring the King of Spain to ask the Pope to revoke his brief in favour of a French knight of the name of Saurè, on whom his Sanctity confers the grand cross with an active and passive voice in the council, grievous injury to his own, and likewise solemnly and unanimously protested against by all the Languages, Spanish, Italian, German, French. And this is probably the last letter written by the Grand Master, De Paul; for his tombstone says he died on the 7th of the Ides of June, 1636;[1] and he must have been succeeded nearly immediately by Lascaris, since here is a Papal brief, dated Rome, the 2nd of July, 1636, congratulating him as already grand master.[2]

[1] Seb. Paoli: Serie, ii. 479.

[2] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccevi.

Sir Paul de Lascaris Castellar, Bailiff of Manosca, was born of the ancient Counts of Ventimiglia in Piedmont, originally of the imperial house of Constantinople. "In his election soon appeared the validity of the new reform" (which Urban had after all effectuated—notwithstanding the knightly oppositionists), "and deluded was the sagacity that dictated it;" are the words of an eminent commander of Malta, no vulgar historian.[1]

In the chapter general a few years earlier, a number of mere boys had been admitted to the votes by a dispense from Rome, who might even then have sufficient to give the grand master a majority whenever he liked; and now this new grand master asked and obtained a similar dispense to raise them to the full complement of one hundred, which certainly deprived the order of its former freedom, that the grand master and Pope might at any time command the order's supreme tribunal, the chapter general.

The new reform was manifestly calculated to put the election of the grand master in the Pope's power, had not He whom all things obey, decided otherwise. Every human contrivance appeared to concur towards the destruction of our liberties; yet matters did not proceed as intended. How

[1] Pozzo: par. ii., lib. i. 2.—Verona in 4to.

weak and blind are mortals! Why should not that petty assembly have its troubles, as well as the illustrious British Parliament? Both have known how to overcome all the wit of man. It was far easier to manage the grand master than the rightful superior meeting.[1] On the 5th of February, 1638, is an extremely courteous letter to the grand master from the then Doge of Venice, Franciscus Erizo;[2] as well as a somewhat similar to the whole order, from Louis XIII.;[3] and another to the grand master, from the Queen of France signing herself his good cousin Anne, a St. Germain, ce 17 Avril, 1639.[4] 1638 1639

Most determinedly following his design of lifting the grand master into absoluteness, that same Pope, now in his sixteenth pontificate, restricted all diminution of the magisterial authority, during the vacancy between one grand master and another, when the knights indulged in comparative liberty, and whether willing or unwilling, the grand master's name was used as having applied for such a Papal rescript.[5]

On further rumour of an invasion of Malta by

1 Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccx.
2 Id., Id., Id. cccxiv.
3 Id., Id., Id. cccxvii.
4 Id., Id., Id. cccxviii.
5 Id., Id., Id. cccxxi.

the Turks, the same Pope concedes a dispensation for a hundred little boys, of six years old, to be made knights professed, on their paying so much a head, to be laid out in the defensive armament; a great lure to an avaricious grand master, and an easy way for the Papal quota—the Pope offers no other; yet money was the least evil, where a popular government was to be converted into despotic. Happily the temporal power of the Holy See changes, usually, with every Pontiff.[1]

Three months later, the King of Spain sends to his viceroy, in Sicily, to aid Malta in the threatened Turkish invasion, his command being signed *Yo el Rey. De Madrid, ade Hebraro, de* 1640.[2]

1640 In the following August, the French king alleviated the taxes, regarding those of the order in consideration of its services to Christendom, both by land and sea.[3]

A King of Poland, in 1642, to the grand master, announces a new priory for Poland alone, about to be founded in favour of the Radzivil family; since not only the Polish knights, but the entire nation of Poland, consider it an injury and insult to be

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccxxii.
[2] Id., Id., Id. cccxxiv.
[3] Id, Id., Id. cccxxvi.

any longer allowed to remain united with the Priory of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria, as before. So the Poles had resolved to erect a priory for themselves, and humbly apply for the magisterial sanction, *Wladislaus Rex, Warsaw, 4th of April*, 1642.[1] 1642

And follows another of his Majesty to the council, on the same, and of the same date.[2]

To which we have two years later one of especial courtesy from Louis XIV.,[3] and a similar from the queen mother,[4] both to the Grand Master Lascaris. 1644

Within some months Grand Master Lascaris directs a circular to the Prior of France, bidding him cite every dignitarian, knight, or servant-at-arms, as well as novices, and those youths who in their childhood had become professed by dispense, and were now eighteen—even such as may have entered into the French army, or any other military service—to set out instantly for Malta, without a single exception for those too decrepid to fight, but that they must appear and be judged on the spot, whether to be declared invalid or not—all with their

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccxxix.
[2] Id., Id., Id. cccxxx.
[3] Id., Id., Id. cccxl. Appendix, Num. cccxxiv.
[4] Id., Id., Id. cccxli.

arms, and having servants twenty years of age at least; otherwise they should be deprived of the cross and insignia, besides other severities, and this to front the siege of Malta, which the Turk is said to be about undertaking, January 24th, 1645.[1]

1645 To corroborate which the King of Spain wrote to the grand master, to promise prompt succour, in case the Turks invaded Malta.[2] The real cause of this warlike threat—no more than a threat respecting the island of Malta—for the storm burst on Candia—was according to Pozzo, the anger of the Grand Turk at the taking of his favourite sultana and child, by the Maltese ships, who were admitted into Candia, where the beautiful young mother expired, having been already poisoned by a rival in the Constantinopolitan seraglio; but her infant was given to the grand master, who had him bred up a Christian, with real care, and afterwards he travelled through Europe, and came back Prior of Porto Salvo, to Malta—his home until his death, in 1676. The story at large is very romantic, but probably true.[3] The council's decree by which the volunteer, Viscomte d'Arpaion, is made captain

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccxlii.

[2] Mi muy Amado Amigo. Yo el Rey. De Zaragoza a 9 de April de 1645.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccxliii.

[3] Pozzo: Istoria, ii. 91.

general of the army and fortresses of Malta, during the siege, with the order's marshal second in command, but superior to all except the said viscount, is dated May 27th, 1645.[1] It certainly caused sorrow, quite the contrary of satisfaction, at Malta, when they heard the Turkish fleet had sailed against Candia instead; so prepared were the knights, and so confidant of victory.[2] Truth is the Candian war is as much of Malta itself, as of Venice; and so the knights always considered it. Therefore if they were the primary cause of it, it is only fair. Nor does Venice disagree, however dear to her—and with good reason—be the glories she earned at Candia, as will be fully proved by the documents to be cited. Yet what seemed must have blown over, since no document of importance till ten years later. In 1656 is a letter from the Doge of Venice, Bertuccio Valerio, to the Grand Master Lascaris, imploring his *usual* aid to withstand the fiercer than ever Turkish attacks on Candia; knowing that in the worst of peril is when those much noble Knights of Malta will come with their troops, both by sea and land, to try to win back what we have lost; not only from their own

1656

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccxlix.

[2] Pozzo: Istoria, ii. 114.

thirst of glory, but for their compassion for universal Christendom, and its interests.[1]

But the fifty-seventh Grand Master, Lascaris, died on the 14th of August, in the next year, after reigning twenty-one years, and living ninety-seven, as his tombstone shows.[2] 1657

And next came Redin, Prior of Navarre, elected fifty-eighth grand master, who had been Viceroy of Sicily, and a great warrior, and even in his last years had offered either to be the Godfrey de Buglion of a new crusade, or take part in it as a private gentleman.

There is a bull of Alexander VII. praising Redin as he merited, and that he was right in standing by the Venetians, who had the constancy and fortitude of rejecting the peace offered by the Turks on such conditions; an illustrious and generous refusal, which deserves all commendation, and is, in truth, heroic and worthy of the egregious and signal high-mindedness of the true glorious hospital. "This marvellous example calls forth even our energies," exclaimed the aged Pontiff, "so that we are preparing eight or ten triremes, as strong and as properly furnished with artillery as we possibly

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. lii. Giunt.—Dato in Nostro Ducali Palatio, 9 Decbr., 1656.

Sch. Paoli: Serie, 2.

can." Rome, 26th January, 1658.[1] But that G. M. died on the 6th of February, 1660, in the seventieth year of his life. And Clermont de Chattes Gessan, who reigned next, had been Bailiff of Lyons, and was indeed of an ancient royal house, but in three fugitive months after his elevation (in consequence of the breaking out of an old wound received in his youth, in the African wars) he expired on the second of June, in the same 1660. 1660

On which succeeded Sir Raphael Cotoner, Bailiff of Majorca, and as the Candian war may be as properly called Maltese, his first act as grand master was to send a party to aid the Venetians in the Levant.

So it was to R. Cotoner, to whom was directed the letter of the Doge of Venice, Domenico Contarini, that in the war of so many years, the sacred cross of Malta has ever been ready and true, in all circumstances, to the standard of St. Marc, nor will the Venetian republic be slow in due gratitude to the conspicuous and glorious deeds which have been worthy of the sincerest esteem and love; 17th of August, 1661.[2] 1661

On the 1st of October of that same year another letter from Doge Contarini to the same grand

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccli.
[2] Id. Id., Id. ccclii.

master, is concerning a naval victory gained over the Turks, off Khania.[1] But towards the close of 1663, Raphael Cotoner died, and another of that family name, Sir Nicholas Cotoner, Bailiff of Negropont, succeeded.[2]

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclv.

[2] On the 20th of October.—Seb. Paoli: Serie, ii.

CHAPTER V.

THE war of Candia from its beginning in 1644, —when after the usual preliminary in Constantinople, of sending the Venetian bailiff suddenly to prison, the Moslem fleet sailed against Candia,[1]— lasted indeed twenty-five years; and was all that time a sharp struggle, in which the order had throughout taken a great part, considering it nearly as much Maltese as Venetian, with good reason too, if the Hospitallers were the real cause of it; but perhaps it was not exactly so. However, a recent Venetian repeats it, and that there were six galleys under a knight of the French Language, and that the sultana was among the

[1] Pozzo: par. ii. 114.

prisoners. "Although some Venetian historians doubt, I believe it to be the exact truth, on the authority of Graveson, a most veracious and learned writer."[1] Then allowing all that to be certain fact, and that it was the proximate cause, it equally follows that the cause in reality may be found far deeper and further off. War between Turkey and Venice was always ready to break out, and the smallest occasional whim was sufficient, particularly as to the Mahometans, who always became the more suspicious the more their commerce kept on decreasing; and decreased it had always since the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, which was injurious to Venice likewise. But the Venetians knew better how to husband their wealth; so that they never displayed more fortitude than at the league of Cambray, long after their mortal wound. But without entering into the details of that course of heroism—whether the chief secretary of the Council of Ten was despatched by the Doge Erizzo to Malta, to guide and foment that fervour,[2]—it will be sufficient to take a view of its twenty-seven last months—supreme continuous siege of the city of Khania, during which there was not one single spot in it

[1] Tentori: Istor. Ven., x. 125

[2] Pozzo: 119.

safe, day or night, from the tempest of bombs, cannon, musketry, flaming rocks, and every kind of flame; the hissing of balls, and echoing detonations of all sorts, but chiefly blowing up of mines.

In November, 1668 (as during the whole war), the Order of Malta sent thither sixty knights and three hundred of their choice soldiery, 1668 as well as a present from the grand master of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds of gunpowder. Alas! Such succours prolonged, but could not prevent the loss of that town. Only all Christendom could have, and would not. The hopes of Venice were in France. And indeed Louis XIV. sent a fleet with the Duke of Beaufort and twelve of the finest French regiments under the supreme command of the Duke of Noailles, added to a selection of the ablest and noblest officers of that kingdom; likewise three hundred of the royal guards, and two hundred picked musketeers, who all arrived at Candia on the 19th of June, 1669. But in spite of these volunteers and of the renowned Pico della 1669 Mirandola with ten thousand Modenese levied for the most part in his own duchy, though at the expense of the Pope; the heroic efforts of the Venetian garrison, and the Hospitallers, and the faith-

ful Candians, who were almost the whole population—and vied in fidelity with the Rhodians themselves—Candia had to surrender. The French beaten in a sally with the death of the Duke of Beaufort, the Duke of Noailles, deaf to the warmest entreaties of the valiant captain general, Morosini, recited at length by the historical chroniclers of that time, obstinately determined on departing from the place in its most needful crisis, and embarked to return home; "a conduct so irregular, proceeding either from want of fidelity or of courage, was ruinous to our republic," exclaims the exasperated historian without another word on the subject.[1]

If in speaking of Lepanto, there was reason to complain of the too slender mention of the Hospitallers, far worse is it with regard to Candia. In both cases it was unfair, but in the latter particularly so. For though the English author allows the departure of the French to have preceded, he leaves it to be inferred, that also the Hospitallers withdrew unnecessarily from the hapless city; without saying that they had struggled as much as the bravest and most devoted men could, that of four hundred knights, who little by little had joined the siege within those few months, very few

[1] Tentori: Istor. Ven. x. 130.

remained alive, and none of these few or of their hired soldiery but were severely wounded; not one single one of them but had several ghastly evident wounds: nor has that writer the least allusion to the fine eulogium by Morosini, who in deep grief declared he much preferred their small corps to all the other military he had ever been sent. Nor content with saying it, wrote it also to his government, and his words are now before my eyes.[1] Yet he did not ask them to remain, for he saw it useless; yet they seem to have lovingly deferred till the very last moment, to judge by the extract about to be given from one, who is reputed most trustworthy, particularly on this subject; and who by grand master may have meant the Hospitaller commanding there; for I find no proof that Cotoner was there in person, and considering his great age, suppose he was not; but am far from affirming he was not. "Thus was the end of Candia. Morosini and Noailles had ever agreed from the beginning in this, that Candia was in a most desperate state and could not hold out, but for the French succours; and that a regular defence was not enough, for that the enemy had already advanced his works within theirs, so it became

[1] Perdo, più dalla partenza di quei pochi ma bravissimi guerrieri, che da quella di tutte le altre truppe."—Pozzo: par. ii. 381.

absolutely necessary to make a vigorous sally, and completely raze those works of his before Candia could be tenable. Well this sally Noailles was determined to execute immediately, and by French troops; no others would be permitted to join them. In vain Morosini and others entreated Noailles to reflect well whether it would not be better to wait for the other succours expected in a few days; above all Mirandola's corps of considerable renown. However, the French not only refused to wait, but insisted on no one's being allowed the honour of accompanying them. So to it they went, most wilful men, and advancing in high style, had some great success immediately. But the blowing up of a small powder magazine was mistaken for a mine; so thinking the field of battle was all mined, every effort of their officers was unable to prevent a panic terror, and they bent and retreated with the loss of many, and amongst them the lamented Duke of Beaufort; a French grenadier declaring he saw his grace slightly wounded, a short time before the blowing up, and that he then sent one of his gentlemen to have his horse brought to him, he having left it under one of the batteries; but that in the interval the confusion had ensued and the Turk came rushing on, cutting everything to pieces. No more was ever seen of Beaufort, but hopes were

entertained awhile, that he was among the prisoners, and a flag of truce went to the Moslem camp, but was assured no such person existed there; so, no doubt he was butchered. Upon this Noailles embarked his remaining forces, and departed; notwithstanding all the dissuasions of Morosini, and his protest that it was to France the town owed its downfall. The whole was lost. And then only the small remnant of the Maltese likewise ascended their ships. Yet at least some of them appear not to have sailed, but rather disembarked—being represented as still on shore during the capitulation. The last reply of Noailles was, that if the French sally did not succeed, it at least cost no other lives than French, and that France had spent enough of its blood at Candia, and of its most illustrious blood. All that mortal courage and ability could do, was done at Candia. Few soldiers except the chiefs were Venetians, but of every Christian nation. What but capitulate? and so they did on the 6th of September, upon terms generally esteemed *honourable and advantageous*, and certainly not disgraceful either to the vanquishers or the vanquished. And admirable were the discipline and good faith of the Moslem; for during the twelve days allowed for departure, crowds of Turks sitting on the works, so near the Christians as to be able to touch them, kept quite

silent, that instead of soldiers, you might have taken them for Pythagorean scholars, or religious hermits. Among the objects they most distinctly admired was the Grand Master of Malta, and whenever he passed, they viewed him with extraordinary veneration;[1] and looking on St. Andrew's Gate, where his knights had stood, they wondered, and expressed to each other their high respect." Yet if some of even that valiant nation, the French, to a certain degree erred, be it not forgotten, that it was only from too much precipitancy, which cost their own blood; and if their second in command was slain, the first, Noailles himself, was wounded; so that any irritability he showed, may in fairness partly be ascribed to physical sufferings. The fidelity of the Candians to Venice reminds us of that of the Rhodians to the order.

Likewise the first line of defence had been all lost before the French came, so it was only the second they could have kept, and it would have never sufficed at the long run; but from the moment they embarked on the 20th of August, the fall of Khania was at hand necessarily; and the Turk coming to the assault before Mirandola's arrival, though in sight with the succours on the night of the 22nd of August, General Grimaldi visited the

[1] Brussoni: Guerra dei Turchi, ii. 299.

post of Malta at St. Andrew's Gate, and had the grief to see that valiant corps reduced to few indeed; corps which he too held dear above all other soldiers, and also because he knew they were in such high repute above all other armies in the world, that their name alone was a defence; on this account he called them away into the middle of the city, to be sent anywhere in the most desperate case.

The captain general, since all was in vain, and that the Turks had penetrated into the city (which would have been the case days before, but for the incredible valour of that heroic band of Malta), had a mine fired which blew up St. Andrew's Gate, and the redoubt beside it, with terrible carnage of the multitude of infidels, who had taken possession of it, which drove the enemy back for some moments; nor though their officers kept menacing them with their scimitars, was it possible to make their soldiery advance a step. The city, with the whole island of Candia, was at the mercy of the foe, who for an instant might stop, but was already within their walls, and no defence remained. It was now the 29th of August, when the residue of the order of Malta had the summons from their supreme commander to embark; who gave what they had still of biscuit and other food, to the friar, who undertook to divide it between the famishing poor creatures of

the town; and General Grimaldi, with deep sorrow, exclaimed, "They are the bravest men I have ever known." What few were still alive of the knights were miserably disabled, and of their hired soldiery the same. A large portion of each had been killed already.[1]

The fall of Candia appears to have made Cotoner more laudably intent than ever on adding to the fortifications of Malta.[2] Neither did Candia appear very tenable to the Moslem, from the mufti not permitting the erection of mosques (churches) in it, but only of simple (meschites) chapels.[3] And the order surveying its own walls, found them very insufficient, and called Count Mauritius Valperga, of Savoy, the greatest engineer then in Christendom, to undertake fortifying the *Floriana* of Valetta; so four galleys being sent to take him, he came on the 9th of February, 1670. His drawings were presented to the council, and accepted on April 2nd, after which he visited Gozzo, and decided on new works to strengthen those already there. It was no vain flourish, but the real truth, when a great authority still at that time called them "those most distinguished

1670

[1] Pozzo: ii. 382.
[2] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclviii.
[3] Villa: 114.

for bravery above all men, those surpassingly dear to every class of human kind, and to whom universal Christendom owes immortal praise, the renowned Knights of Malta."[1]

The English ambassador, Finch, on his way to Constantinople, visiting the grand master, was of course most honourably treated; but what was most observable was, that not a single word dropped implying that one of his majesty's Norman predecessors had been founder, and several of them chief protectors of the order, which defended Christendom, and to which all its princes were therefore indebted greatly; but all symptoms of friendship, or of anything resembling gratitude, appeared too antiquated to be thought of. It seemed to be considered much that they met courteously, like condescending strangers.

What must have flattered the grand master infinitely more, is, that the Duke of Savoy, in 1674, constituted a regiment, of which all the superior officers from captain up, should be Knights of Malta, giving them certain privileges, and to be called *Regiment of the White Cross*, and be acknowledged the best and finest corps of that day in those parts.[2] 1674

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii.. Num. cccIviii.—App., Num. ccxxix.
[2] Pozzo, par. ii. 437.

In 1675 the English Admiral, Narborough, com-
1675 manding his country's fleet in the Mediterra-
nean, frequented the order's island with his ships a great deal during war with the Tripolitan pirates; and indeed he received all due honours, and extreme civility from Malta.[1] But in the following year the plague broke out there, to the grievous misfortune of that people, and lasted seven months.[2] Nor indeed did they care much to see the English return victorious, though they brought them free the Malta slaves as some acknowledgment for their kindness to the fleet; because they thought it was the English shipping had introduced the contagion, and to boot that in their present woful condition to bring them additional mouths to feed, was highly distressing. That was not England's fault however, and Charles II.'s letter was extremely courteous.[3] In that mighty plague the knights who died were only ten, less than in many of their battles; which only shows more palpably that the knights were never numerous, so never could have been more than superior officers of the excellent hired troops they led, and kept permanently in their pay.

There were then (and shall be often again, which

[1] Pozzo: par. ii., 437, 439. — Cod Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclix. Appendix, ccxxvii.

[2] Pozzo: par. ii. 441. [3] Id.: par. ii. 445.

may perhaps be passed over, so this observation applies to them all) several questions that now seem very unimportant respecting etiquette, military or diplomatic; in which methinks the order were right to struggle hard, before yielding any one of its ancient distinctions. Such, however little in themselves, were revered memorials of ancestral feats, and had been acquired by the blood, possibly, lives, of illustrious men, whose fair fame their descendants (as far as lies in them) ought not to allow to be thrown into the shade, and forgotten.[1]

The Grand Master, N. Cotoner, now very old, so drawing near his end, was not an uninteresting figure, in spite of considerable corporal debility.[2] His admirable eloquence, nobleness of spirit, and uncalculating generosity, were rather for an imperial station, than a constitutional one. He rose from the rank of a private gentleman, to that which was the very highest in his profession, and beyond doubt a sovereign; but yet sovereign of a republic, and not of a despotic government, whence rose disputes he could not bear, and his haughtiness disgusted many of the order. The income of the grand master at that time amounted to one hundred thousand a year.[3]

Besides having a permanent engineer, the order

[1] Pozzo: par. ii. 458. [2] Id.: par. ii. 466.
[3] Id.: par. ii. 467. Crowns, about £15,000.

appears to have been in the custom of having at heavy expense whatever eminent engineer won an elevated fame in any country in Christendom. So Grunenberg, the imperial engineer, came to Malta in 1680; and, besides his observations on the fortifications, showed the knights how to construct a machine for drying a lake, or taking out all the water from an arm
1680 of the sea; and which, worked by only two horses, there arose as if a mighty river rushing from the bottom of the waves, and was employed to draw off all the water from the dock of Bormola, and would be equally applicable to a marsh.[1]

But on the 29th of April of that year, N. Cotoner went to repose with the just, and the Prior of Rocella, a Neapolitan, Caraffa, was chosen grand master, and proved, even then that the servant-at-arms in the election was no vain show, but a reality; since between three candidates there was a parity of votes, when it was the servant-at-arms gave the casting vote that decided the fierce struggle.[2] And it is a remarkable proof of what was observed before, that the grand masters were never, or very rarely, of any reigning house (though there were, at all times, several of the younger branches of them in the order, who were often also of much personal merit), that the hero of Lepanto, Don Juan of Austria, who was not only a knight professed, but

[1] Pozzo: par. ii. 483. [2] Id.: par. ii. 472.

moreover one of the highest dignitaries of the order, grand prior, lost his election.[1]

To Caraffa did the Emperor Leopold write a letter to thank him for keeping off the Turkish fleet from Christendom ;[2] but what every one will find splendid, is that the renowned John Sobiesky does something similar; when not forgetful of the duties of a good knight, he writes to the grand master a full account of his two famous victories; one under the walls of Vienna, the other some weeks later at Barcan, fortress beyond the Danube.[3] 1683

The next year on the 25th of February, Caraffa writes to his Holiness to offer himself as part of any league against the Turks.[4] Again the same to the same, on the same subject in August.[5] But in December the Doge of Venice again expresses his sense of the generous kindness of the sacred knightly order, which is as usual ever ready to come to the aid of Christendom in any of its mishaps; and with the co-operation of those renowned cavaliers of St. John of Jerusalem, whose valour is so celebrated through the world, the 1684

[1] Pozzo: par. ii. 477.

[2] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclx.

[3] Pozzo: par. ii. 503.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclxi. and ccclxii.—Appendix, Num. ccxxix.

[4] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclxiii.

[5] Id, Id., Id. lii.—iii. Giunta.

Venetians have just now taken Santa Maura and
1685 Prevesa.[1] Another similar informs the same of the attack upon Coron, and that one of the cannons taken at Santa Maura is sent to Malta as having belonged to L'Isle Adam.[2] Again the same to the same some days later.[3] A note concerns Maina.[4]

Full of the same praises of the order is this letter from Morosini, the Venetian captain general, to the
1686 grand master in date of Napoli di Romania 6 Sept., 1686.[5] The doge to the grand master anew returns to speak of the valiant order and informs him of the gallant way General Count Cavalier Heberstein directs his companions, the marvellous Knights of Malta, dated in our Ducal Palace die 27 Septemb., 1686.[6] Same to same on the 27th of the same month.[7]

Indeed a great martial figure in the wars of that time is the Prior of Hungary of the order of Malta Count Heberstein, general in the imperial service, and of the league of Malta and Rome with Venice; whose commander-in-chief was Morosini.

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclxv.
[2] Id., Id., Id. ccclvi. 22nd August.
[3] Id., Id., Id. lii.—v. Giunta, 29th August.
[4] Id., Id., Id. lii.—iv. Giunta.
[5] Id., Id., Id. ccclxvii.
[6] Id., Id., Id. ccclxviii.
[7] MS. Sex.

In August of 1687, the doge,[1] unweary of the glorious name of Lepanto, couples it with that of Prior Heberstein.[2] The same to the same speaks of the sanguinary encounters during the constant and resolute defence of Castelnuovo,[3] where the attack was directed by the known experience of the general of the Knights of Malta Count Heberstein 9th of October, 1687.[4]

Even the Pope lauds *strenua Castrinovi expugnatio.*[5] In this year was some notion of re-creating the English Language. But it soon failed.[6] Which whether it had anything in common with the event next recorded is not specified; that on the 29th of November, 1687, a youth about fourteen, a natural son of the monarch (James II.) along with the Duke of Grafton (natural son of Charles II.) Lord High Admiral of England, put into Malta. What appears to have been greatly more important in Pozzo's eye than anything appertaining to England, is, that the illustrious course of Heberstein terminated this

[1] Pozzo: ii 626.

[2] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num., lii.—vii. Giunta.

[3] Small insignificant hold, that cost a thirty days' siege, and the lives and hurts of many, among whom ten Knights of Malta killed, and twenty-four badly wounded.—Castelnuovo lies near Cattaro.

[4] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii , Num. ccclxix.

[5] Id., Id., Id.,

[6] Pozzo: ii. 673.

year; for he came to Malta regularly to take leave on his departure to die in Germany, and resolving that his heirs should have no mortuary expense on his account—not even the usual per centage which the next of kin of every deceased knight has to pay on any chattels he leaves—under the title of spoglio; he came to an agreement with the treasury to pay a given sum himself at once, in lieu of every demand of the kind after his death; and when the Priory of Hungary going back naturally to those to whom it belonged, the knights, all the remainder of his vast estates and his property real or moveable, went to his lawful heirs without any defalcation whatever. So having made his last obeisance to the grand master and embracing his colleagues for the last time, he embarked; and in fact the very next year his Priory returned without a word to the order.[1] But whatever petty intrigues were on the restoration of the English Language went out long prior to the death of Caraffa.[2] And on the 26th of July, the sixty-third grand master succeeded; for we have the Papal brief of the 9th of the next August congratulating him. Yet though the Pope was their ecclesiastical chief says Boisgelin, "it was only for form that the knights

1688

1690

[1] Pozzo: par. ii., anno 1688.

[2] Seb. Paoli: Serie, ii. 484.—Boisgelin: i. 39.

asked his approbation of their election," and not in the least as an acknowledgment that his Holiness had right either of accepting or refusing."[1]

It was to Wignacourt that the famous Doge of Venice Franciscus Maurocenus, wrote on the 30th September, 1690.[2] Six weeks later the Pope again writes to the grand master "expressive of his deep gratitude, as was his duty, not to let slip any opportunity of testifying by documentary evidence his sense of the order's splendid benevolence."[3]

The Emperor Leopold to the grand master, recommends him the Czar of Muscovy's ambassador.[4] Which czar carries on a ten years' war against the Turk.—That therefore he has strongly recommended his ambassador to the Pope; and also gives him a letter of most friendly introduction to the grand master January 4th, 1693.[5]

And indeed there is the czar's own letter to the grand master.[6] 1693

The Doge of Venice to Wignacourt, announces the conquest of Scio at cost of the lives of two

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclxxi.—Boisgelin: i. 192.
[2] Id., Id., Id. lii.—viii. Giunta.
[3] Id., Id., Id. ccclxxiii. App. Num.ccxxviii.
[4] Id., Id., Id. cclxxiv.
[5] Id., Id., Id. cclxxv.
[6] Id., Id., Id. ccclxxvi.—Imperii, 15 anno.

Knights of Malta dated 13th November, 1694. But
1697 on the 4th of February of 1697 died that grand master, and was succeeded by Perellos of the Language of Arragon, and at that time Bailiff of Negropont.[1] And that Innocent XII. should immediately send him a congratulatory brief is only that things took their natural course.[2] It is rather more singular that the King of Persia wrote to the grand master in 1699; as shall in part be given in the Appendix, but translated into Latin.[3] Again the Doge of Venice, as head of that republic, expresses the gratitude of senate and people for the exertions of the valiant and noble Knights of Malta at the price of their blood.[4] From all has been seen, there is nothing strange in the Pope's consoling with the grand master on the order's having lost its headmost
1706 trireme by shipwreck.[5] But in June, 1706, the same to the same has a more pleasing theme, congratulation on a naval victory over the Tunisian pirates.[6] And another of thanks for his promptitude in succouring the fortress of Oran.[7] For mainly to the

[1] Seb. Paoli: Serie, ii. 485.
[2] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclxxviii.
[3] Id., Id., Id. liii. Giunta. — Appendix, ccxxiv.
[4] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. lii.—x. 456. App. Num. ccxxxii.
[5] Id., Id., Id. ccclxxix.
[6] Id., Id., Id. ccclxxx.
[7] Id., Id., Id. ccclxxxii.

valour of the knights was due that Oran prolonged its heroic defence for four whole months; since it was still resisting on the 31 October, 1707. Brave Spaniards! But the same to the same not 1707
vainly promising, but really sending excellent troops to Malta to aid in its defence in case the Turk attack it; with this proviso that if he attack any other spot in Christendom, then the Knights of Malta will immediately hasten to defend it with the force of Genoa and Tuscany and others added to the Papal.[1] Likewise a similar letter on a maritime 1708
victory off Tripoli in Africa.[2] Next appears 1709
a commission of Stanislaus, King of Poland, regarding some property of the order in a memorial dated Barthè, 29th of January, 1711, and confided to the generous Jacob George Gordon going 1711
to Malta.[3] We have now to transport ourselves to Germany, where a chapter general of the whole German Language, with its grand bailiff and grand crosses, commanders, knights, met at Wesel to subscribe a protest against any act of the congress of Utrecht confirming the confiscation of any part of the order's property, after the flagrant injustice of having refused to listen to their rightful claims.[4]

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclxxxiii.
[2] Id., Id., Id. ccclxxxiv.
[3] Id., Id., Id. ccclxxxv.
[4] Id., Id., Id. ccclxxxvi.

A Papal brief to the grand master observes,—

1713 "Although the recollection of how unhappy had been their former invasion of Malta, will in every probability be quite sufficient to prevent the Turks from sending their expedition against it; still his Holiness cannot but highly applaud the grand master's preparations of defence, and promises his own troops; and hopes all the princes of Christendom will aid him, in case of an attack.[1]

A letter from the Doge of Venice to the grand

1716 master relates how the Turks were driven from before Corfu, and forced to re-embark after repeated assaults, all in vain.[2] One from the Pope to the same, declares that his Holiness approves of the

1717 Bailiff, Belle Fontaine, as Vice-Admiral, and head of the entire fleet of the league.[3] That, from the Doge of Venice to the grand master, nar-

1718 rates how at cost of their blood and lives, the Knights of Malta aided us; for which we present to you and them our sincerest thanks.[4]

That Perellos died about the middle of Febru-

1720 ary, 1720, and was succeeded by Zondadari before the 17th, we know; not only from

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclxxxvii.
[2] Id., Id., Id. lii.—xi. Giunta.
[3] Id., Id., Id. cccxciii.
[4] Id., Id., Id. lii.—xii. Giunta.

the diplomatic series, but also from the Papal brief to the latter, congratulating him on his election.[1] Again from the same to the same, is for the good omen it is to the first year of his pontificate, that the Knights of Malta have captured two notorious ships of piracy; *binas infensissismis hostibus in præsens ereptas naves.*[2]

Abdi Aga, Commander of the Five Sultanas in sight of Malta, 28th June, 1722, to the grand master was received and answered by Zondadari and council; conformably to the translation preserved in the archives, forming two documents that shall both be in the Appendix.[3] But it is the last act come down to us of that grand master, who died in 1722, we do not know exactly on which of the last days of August;[4] but it must have been on one of them, since we find the Pope's congratulatory to the new grand master, in date of September 2nd of that year, to wit, Sir Anthony Manoel de Velpena, a Portuguese, who, born of a most illustrious, nay royal family, acquired much personal glory in the order, both as warrior and statesman,

1722

[1] Seb. Paoli: Serie, ii. 485.—Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccxciv.

[2] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccxcv.

[3] Id., Id., Id. cccxcvii. and cccxcviii.—App. ccxxxv.

[4] Seb. Paoli: Serie, ii. 406.

in his passing with singular distinction through an immense variety of charges; wounded off Tripoli in taking two vessels; then Commander of the headmost of the ships of war, Colonel Commissary of War, Grand Cross, Grand Chancellor, and finally Bailiff of Acre, when chosen Grand Master.[1] Amongst Vilhena's actions merit especial notice his admirable foundation for invalids, in his project dated the 16th October, 1732, where the sentiments are not unworthy of those that in after years induced his Majesty William IV. to erect that magnificent hospital at Malta. "The Prince has obligations towards his poor subjects, so having an hospital for the indigent sick, we have thought of one for indigent invalids;[2] which thereupon obtains confirmation and approval.[3]

1732 We are now entering that period pretended of peculiar degeneracy, yet I humbly submit whether it be the fact, and whether any of our grand masters hitherto were inferior to the common run of European sovereigns? As to the superiority of D'Aubusson, and L'Isle Adam, and such like, over those of their time, probably none will be so extremely unjust, as not candidly to avow it at once.

[1] Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii. Num. cccxcvi.
[2] Id., Id., Id. cccciv.—App., Num. ccxxxii.
[3] Id., Id., Id. ccccv.

In 1742 Vilhena died, and was succeeded by Sir Pinto de Fonseca, who came to a long truce with the sultan; excepting that each side retained their prisoners, who were in a sort of slavery. For against the spirit of the knights howsoever, yet, as the Turks would not relinquish that barbarous custom, it was forced upon the others as equitable reprisals; which if not a good reason, at least palliates a bad; besides to have galleys, how to do without galley slaves? Nor is it quite clear whether it be worse to have to row, than what the French prisoners-of-war had to endure a few years ago in our own hulks. But many of these called slaves were raised from the galleys to a far easier existence, domestic servants in the houses of nearly all of the order, beginning with the grand master himself. Particularly confidential servants out of livery, as secretaries, pages, butlers, and own men, were almost invariably Mahometans. Not but the situation of slavery be not totally and entirely contrary to the spirit of our order, and even of Christianity itself. And here it is that I observe the first indubitable evidence of the knights degenerating from their ancestors. Far from imitating the Turks, they should have avoided it the more. The primitive knights would have disdained to copy the infidel even in his good; so modern knights might well

have refrained from copying his bad. To palliate their degeneracy is not to defend, but sorrowfully avow it in some degree. If the facts which remain to cite do not prove greater weakness than has been common to almost the whole of Europe, I am better pleased to be accused of severity, than of partiality to those who do not need my favour, nor that of any one. Here as everywhere, plain truth is the best, and enables one patiently to unravel many Gordian knots. This usage of having domestic slaves produced familiarity, and familiarity blindness; which, under the cloak of compassion, was in truth an error that, like all vices, brought its own punishment with it; for the result was a horrible conspiracy, whose accidental discovery alone prevented the grand master's throat being cut in the middle of his sleep, and that of every knight in Malta, by the very persons whom each relied on the most, and who were entrusted with the key of the bed room. No doubt some of the conspirators were really attached to their masters, who were remarkable, perhaps without exception, for their kindness towards their domestics; but even

1742 , none of them resisted to the threats that assuredly were used there, as well as in other secret societies. But for a mere casualty, the multitude of atrocious murders would have been committed. It is said those villains amounted to four

thousand, many of them rich and made free, and all of them benefited by their masters. Some few of the slaves from blood-thirstiness or avarice, or desire of liberty, or fanaticism, but the rest from abject fear, all would have mercilessly bathed themselves in their masters' blood that hideous hour. This comes of slavery! If the tree is to be judged by its fruit, what bitter fruit have we here! Why should it not be a salutary example? Treat slaves with what humanity you please, it cannot be greater than that of the Knights of Malta. Yet slavery has poisoned them, and they will murder you when they have an opportunity. You have done them the greatest possible harm, that beyond human compensation. If they are ungrateful, you are still worse. Then away with slavery, horribly injurious to the enslaved, and more so to the enslavers.

A captain in the Prussian service being appointed by his king in 1763 to repair to the Grand Prior of Germany, to demand the confirmation of Prince Ferdinand in the new dignity to which he was elected in the branch of the order in Brandenbourgh, it was finally agreed that the ancient connection between the Protestant knights and those of Malta should be renewed, and that the Protestant commanderies should pay their responsions in the same way as the Catholic; from which 1763

time the Protestant knights were treated as brethren, and allowed to take the title of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.[1] "The Order of Malta, though it regrets the difference in religion, does not refuse their Protestant fellow knights a place among its members in fighting against the enemies of Christ. Although this may seem contrary to general opinion, it coincides completely with that of Pius VI., when he approved the association of the Russian knights of the Greek Church with the Order of Malta; as it does also with the instructions given to the deputies to Augsbourg, as in a former chapter; and with the magisterial bull, 9th of May, 1764."[2]

The next grand master was Ximenes, in 1773; under whom took place what is called the "sedition of the priests," regarding which a member of the council thus: "The great Baracca" (meaning a battery of that name, and now a delightful resort of children and loungers, its wide arches and seats, like immense boxes in some immense theatre, being far superior to what the Roman Colosseum ever was) "has, it appears, become the meeting place of sacerdotal conspirators; yet not of any worthy members of their holy profession, for such remain at home

1773

[1] Boisgelin: i. 254. Note.—Appendix, Num. ccxxxiii.
[2] Id.: i. 261.

at their studies; or, if abroad, it is attending to their sacred duties. But those of whom I speak are mischievous demagogues. Still, as unworthy priests, let them be visited rather with ridicule than anger. It were a pity to bleed capons, or to damage a spot whence there is so fine a prospect. Wherefore my opinion is, that the rebellious clericals be well deluged with no very clean water from above." And his advice was followed; men ascended by ladders unseen, and with buckets of water and large leather squirts, soon dissolved their noisy reverences into a shameful rout, and laughter extinguished the whole plot. Yet is there a recent party[1] who treat it seriously, and affirm that though called of the priests, it comprehended a numerous body of Maltese, who were true patriots, desirous of recovering their ancient liberties. But whether these ever existed causes a demur in some, who also question the validity of their mastra, and, at all events deny its right to be considered a golden book. Certainly they must have fallen amazingly from their ancient grandeur, when the commissioners were sent thither in Charles V.'s reign. If the Maltese had any privileges, and wished not to be given away without asking their own consent, then was the time to have said so; and there being a large portion of knights, and

1775

[1] Appeal of Malta, &c.; London: 8vo., 1811.

particularly the French knights, against accepting Malta, if to these, though a minority, and the disheartening account of the commissioners, were added information that the offer was notof attached, like the Rhodians, but of unwilling subjects, the probability is that the order would never have inhabited that island. That they were not merely priests, but also laymen, is thought to be proved by their possessing themselves of St. Elmo; but another doubts it as a *non sequitur;* for if they took St. Elmo by a trick, they gave it up without a struggle. Well for the Hospitallers if they had refused Malta, and kept sternly to their refusal. Their abode in it so long, was almost at variance with the very spirit and letter of their creation.

But a troublesome epoch draws close; truly their income had always decreased a little, ever since the extinction of the English Language; while as to their expenditure, it was greater than before. Not indeed their war expenses, particularly while they were in Palestine, and almost exclusively cavalry; for then the price of horses was as high, or much higher than at present, meaning of good chargers, indispensable to knights; but all other necessaries of life cost more in Europe than in most parts of Asia. Certainly living costs more in Malta than Rhodes.

The storm is thickening around you, dearest com-

panions. Towards fourteen years hence your wants shall be extremely pressing, and in eight more —— Yet shall I not stop here, but continue my not inglorious theme, and with the same exact veraeity as I used in recounting your former three, recount also your fourth great disaster, doleful as it needs must be; and if I obtain little attention, impute it not so much to any wilful backwardness in me, but rather to nature, which has not perhaps gifted me—I do not say with eloquence, for of that indeed I have none whatever, as you well know—but of the common faculty of relating plain facts clearly. Still, notwithstanding my misgivings, should the world hear me, it shall hear the very truth, and may then fairly judge.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY in November Ximenes' hour was come; so he was succeeded, on November 12th, by Rohan,[1] whose perhaps most distinguished acts were, first,
1776 his having convened a chapter general in 1776—a novelty to all men then alive, except those who had perused our history, and who could not but know it was the order's supreme tribunal.—
1782 Secondly, the formation of the Anglo-Bavarian Language, in 1782;[2] though England had nothing to do with it, but in name.—Thirdly, the order's most magnanimous charity during the Cala-
1783 brian earthquakes in 1783.[3] It may be doubted whether it be possible for any human pen to do anything like justice to the conduct of the knights on that most lamentable occasion. They, facing all the dangers of shipwreck, pestilence, and war, aided with money, food, clothes, bedding, the distressed Sicilians and Calabrese, much more than their own sovereigns; and thinking

[1] Boisgelin: iii. 1. [2] Id.: iii. 9. [3] Id.: iii. 11.

of these things, who can impute degeneracy to men so courageous and so generous? Even fallen as they are said to be now, and shorn of many of their members, there was something of cosmopolitan in all their actions; and wherever there was distress in Christendom, thither they hurried, calling countrymen not merely those of their birthplace, but all Christians; quite as eager to assist Protestants or Greeks, as Catholics; asking your wants, not your creed; you might make sure of their life and purse, most cordially offered in any calamity. Is it entirely certain any other people would have done the same? But these had been formed of a choice from the whole of Europe, and had thousands of illustrious examples in their annals, whom they had been always urged to follow; it was the common discourse of the Knights of Malta; so these remnants of a fine body had in them still what challenges admiration. Nor can we suppose that in a few years no high-minded men remained amongst them—though broken up and flung adrift, and themselves exposed to the pitiable emergencies they were now relieving, and as long as they have the means, shall continue to relieve. A long sequence of misfortunes, it is said, wear out too frequently the very best; but if so, there are exceptions, and to be chiefly looked for in who still exist of that famous order. Certainly it appears that its

galleys were of no mean repute even so late; for when Spain, that possessed one hundred sail of vessels of war, thought it necessary to withdraw its fleet into harbour in winter, off the coast of Algiers, it requested the grand master to instruct his galleys to keep the sea there; as indeed they did during the whole winter, to their excessive danger and no trivial detriment.

The Code Rohan appears to have displeased the people of Malta,[1] perhaps reasonably, though party exaggeration may not have been wanting; but at all events the knights were nowise identified with these laws, and Rohan must have been deceived, for he was a good man; and that he had no despotic desires is proved by having convened a chapter general, that surety of the order's ancient liberties, and of which it had been deprived above a century, the chapter general being to the grand master pretty much what the parliament is to a King of England. Only it is more like a republic in the

[1] Appeal, &c. Rohan is dear to freedom; for he restored the mainspring of our ancient liberties—the chapter general, a century and a half out of use, from De Paul in 1631 to Rohan in 1776. That nothing very remarkable happened during that long interval and the chapter general's restoration at such a momentous juncture, proves liberty is best suited to great circumstances: and that equality within its own body, and the most free liberality in its politics, are as characteristic of the commonwealth of St. John of Jerusalem as valour and discipline in the field; where alone we permit of a dictatorship.

grand master's case, who becomes somewhat like a cypher while the chapter general lasts.

The very fact of its convening is substantial evidence that the order had not fallen into the abasement pretended maliciously by the French (and by some English dupes too[1]), who fostered that idea carefully, because they meant it should soon furnish an excuse for confiscating its property throughout all France. Nor was the interval long, for in 1789 began radically what quickly deprived the Knights of Malta of nearly all their revenues. 1789 Of a large annual sum that was imported every year into that island, nearly the whole ceased at once. Already the finances of the order were in some confusion. But henceforward, what possibility of retrieving them? The chapter had indeed retrieved somewhat of the spirit of liberty. Yet that which should have been a good was turned into an evil by the malignity of the times, for it only served to exasperate some fine minds, who were really attached to their order, and its genuine, well-regulated, constitutional freedom; and to lead astray into the contagion of the revolution some other cavaliers not deficient in natural or professional talents, but without deep intellect, without much experience, and with no wisdom; while

[1] Mr. Eton; and others like him.

the great majority were unsettled, and even to a certain degree terrified by the surrounding heats, and violent discordant opinions of those rival factions they read of in the Parisian newspapers; their own corps as sovereign, giving rise to a fierce error. Besides, were not the French knights reduced to comparative poverty; and is not unwonted poverty (except some very lofty-minded individuals) the ready road to unbridled passions, and strife, and wild, perhaps dishonourable expedients, and even madness?

Rohan received those unfortunate French with the kindest generosity; which would have been only becoming towards the knights from any land, much more from his own; nor can any one blame him on this matter, for he ordered the expenses of his own dinner to be reduced to two shillings a-day, and all the other monies in the treasury to be dedicated to the support of his indigent brethren. As to financial balances, no farther about them. The greatest genius in the world can effect nothing where the outlay is great, and the resources little. A cabinet was formed by the modest Rohan, to assist him with their advice; one of whom was the Bailiff Hompesch, in consideration of his great understanding; he having been a distinguished diplomatist, and at that very moment was the emperor's minister to

the grand master; nor openly did he on any question swerve from his established reputation, of being a friend of his own order.

What had been the Templars' residence, and so called the Temple, even during its long occupation by the Hospitallers, whose ambassador to Paris lived there, had now been converted into a prison for innocent Louis XVI. Not a ship arrived from Languedoc, or Provence, but brought some additions to the sorrows of one party, and the exultation of the other. Amongst which was the answer of the last ambassador that the order ever had at Paris; and which, while it shows the high nobility of character (Boisgelin rather superfluously gives it as a proof there were still some high-minded men in the order—whoever doubted it?) showed also that all was illegality and anarchy in miserable Paris. "Be under no apprehensions," said the prime minister—"I am under no apprehensions," was the gallant old diplomatist's reply;—"for now the moment has arrived when a man of honour, who faithfully performs his duty, may die as gloriously on a gallows, as in the field of battle." And the noble-minded Bailiff de la Brilhane went down stairs, and expired suddenly. Those frightful times are too well known to need farther elucidation; already have we had enough to turn the stomach. 1792

When all at Malta should have been union to confront the approaching tempest, on the contrary all was division. Hard was it for these fine young French knights, accustomed to be the most open, off-handed, gay-tempered, best-dressed gallants in Europe, to go meanly about, and live at the expense of others. And if some of them lost every regard for their reputation, and fell into a bad course, and a few even joined the revolutionary party, and took up with the false humbug in which it dealt, we may pity rather than severely blame them.

In the cabinet may have been less flux of words; but from the discordancy of those who composed it, no mighty quiet could be expected. But in the council (which had more of the chapter general than council-board), boisterous were the sittings. One whose name matters nothing (but he is said to have been meagre, and sallow-faced, and with an envious look), spoke thus:—"Many of our knights are indeed worthy members of our most honourable confraternity; but some of you are turbulent self-seekers, and fond of vanities and gadding abroad. Yet ought we less to think of our individual selves, and more of the true interests of the entire order. Therefore it is that I propose we should totally give up the galleys, as a superfluous expense; and also the incomes given from our common treasury to so

many idle young fellows, who would be much better away earning their bread, than here doing nothing but idling, or causing tumults, and consuming our means!"

But he was stopped by Ransjat, who had long since acquired the fame of being rather favourable to the dreams of the Jacobin; and after several somewhat desultory speeches, broke out: "This moment have I heard it rumoured that the cruel and avaricious pedlars are to come with their Sepoys from the distant East; but they will find young Europe very unlike those timid Indians. The French, no more than themselves, are eaters of nothing except rice, and drinkers of only water and coffee, or believers in Bramah; but even like the shopkeepers, we enjoy all kinds of meats, and wines and spirits; albeit with less voracity, and drunkenness, and hypocrisy. No doubt we had long ago to cashier the paltry bankers, who have been against us ever since, and will be against us now also. What matter? The blessed doctrine of the rights of man will continue its glorious course, in spite of a few tyrants; who, as well as other stumbling-blocks, must be subverted, utterly consumed from the very root, and brushed away; so that the next generation will never for one hour have been degraded by the nonentities of which they'll read; as we

do of Paganism and the Cæsars. Fortunate descendants, for whom our blood will have bought what never should have been lost, reducing our foolish ancestors to slavery, and us also, until the ecstatic moment which opens our eyes, and lights up that God-like energy which cannot but vanquish; and is growing universal to a resumption of the imprescriptive, undeniable birthright of mankind. Hear it, ye priests and despots, and tremble,—that divine, omnipotent shout, 'Liberty and Equality!'"—But this outburst was not without its reply: "Never did this brotherhood reject them; it is not true that it ever did! The English ceased coming among us; their own choice, not ours! Nor will we ever, nor (be not so presumptuous as to flatter yourself) will the order ever more join your doleful cry. We are free, not slaves. But aristocratic pride humbles itself to the ferocity of a mob. You were once too supercilious, and are now too base. That tacit, voluntary separation of England from us might at any time have ceased; and might cease even now. She has only to wish it and come half-way towards us; and if she will not take our ancient oaths, reducing them to be, word for word, the same as at our foundation, and which our primitive members made no objection to, and which our predecessors slightly and perhaps uselessly varied, not altering the spirit—why not propose

and carry a reasonable modification of them, in the chapter general, which is our supreme tribunal, and certain to consent? Such a reform and development as become us to accept, and her to propose, have nothing of Jacobinical; and are merely a wise conformity to the times. Such things have been, may be. Why not? Ask our histories! We, as well as all things human, go on changing; I hope, progressing in the direction of good. Change is synonymous with time. Are any of us one instant without changing? That beneficial, honourable, practical renewal of what is best in our glorious institution, and its application to whatever is permanently useful to mankind, this aptitude to fit any circumstance of life, is a proof of our lofty origin. This candid modification of our habits, and an however limited income, as much as their own Parliament considers sufficient to maintain them as gentlemen, and the English are our brethren at once. And sincere will be our joy at receiving them. I am borne out by the fact that in our brightest of times, when heroic deeds were as common as they are uncommon, at present, in that dazzling orient, where the order of St. John of Jerusalem began, and soon acquired that illustrious fame, which whoever mentions without ardent aspirations is unworthy to bear our cross—then were the English our pride, and always treated

with a peculiarity of esteem; as splendid examples of what mankind produces of most generous, most noble. Nor mean I aristocratic distinctions—and doubtful such were at that time — but the true nobility of nature. Nor is that wondrous, if antiquity be right that they are of Norman blood, like our founder and his first knights; and that the Normans were far superior to all others of the human race." And he might have advanced to still more exciting sentiments, were it not for an elderly bailiff, who seemed to be of the majority: "Neither any one who has read his Bosio can fail to know that inflexible neutrality between Christians is the very basis of our institution; and so I maintain we are bound to it, and that it is idle to intermeddle with what is not our own; and we should occupy ourselves simply with what strictly belongs to us, the state of our finances, which are in a wretched condition, and will quickly destroy us unless we find some remedy."—"But that is not merely hard, but quite impossible," cried another, "for every day our expenditure goes on increasing, and our means to meet it frightfully lessening."—And a fourth: "That being an impossibility, then is it useless to debate upon it; and, therefore, instead of vain labour to our lungs, I propose we retire."—So the assembly dissolved itself, like so many others, a usual daily event during months. On another

occasion is recorded, "Some persons speak of a war with the Saracens as if it were at any time optional, or aggressive, which it was not, but simply defensive. The Mahometans were attacking Christendom from the very beginning—that being over, so are our wars. What part of Christendom do the Turks ever assail now? So the grand master has done very well to abolish both galleys and caravans; a foolish expense." And perhaps the dolt did not see that, this inutility of the order conceded, its fall was the logical conclusion. Indeed, a mischievous set were bent upon working that up into a truism, with the design of employing it as a cogent argument for the abolition of the order; with a shrewd eye to the plunder which on such occasions is to be scrambled for, and the most adroit is sure to get rich. But that malevolent avarice was in but a very few of the knights, if in any; but was rife in several about the order, though not exactly knights, and in the consuls, and a number of the Maltese; not excepting their principal merchants. Nor is it singular, for a similar delusion was in most countries of Europe. Admiral Neuville, with a large fleet, arriving from France, obtained leave for a certain number of his ships to enter the harbour, and thus was able to land himself, and judge of things by his own eyes. Now we know he had secret orders detrimental to the sovereignty of Malta; but we

likewise know that he informed the Directory it could not be taken by his forces, nor as easily as they thought. It is clear, however, that Rohan, in keeping to a strict neutrality, had no screen from the overbearing regicides; and though he tolerated a French ambassador at Malta, no ambassador from the knights was allowed to enter Paris. All the kindness and most scrupulous fair dealing was on the side of the grand master, without any reciprocity whatsoever. The more every self-support vanished, the higher parties ran. They were, in truth, innumerable; for it was a time of anarchy rather than factions. Every man of any repute stood for himself, and had a way of thinking of his own. Yet, however they were split up into subdivisions beyond counting, they substantially consisted of four; the existing government, who were desirous of leaving matters pretty much as they found them; those knights who wished for a prudent reform; those knights who advanced the revolution; and the Maltese, the people of Malta, looking to their island as a thing quite separate from their knightly sovereigns. Poor Rohan endeavouring to steer among such a confounded storm, that menaced something ineffably worse, and to be got through by none except a man of rare steadiness and intrepidity of mind; he, not being such, had no other refuge than death—and he sickened and died.

1797

Of the munificent decisions of the Emperor of Russia respecting the order, alas! Rohan never knew; for he was on his death-bed when the courier with that consoling intelligence arrived.[1] Yet at the moment such a benefit availed nothing, and only disturbed men's minds, still more by adding a most uncertain gleam of hope, that freed from the necessity of deciding between calm resignation to their fate, or a manly resistance. However it happened, no one of distinguished merit coveted magistery. The only candidate who appeared was that member of the cabinet already spoken of. Perhaps it was advisable, in such tumultuous times, to hurry the election. Truly his antecedents, and his Austrian diplomacy, united him, apparently, to the aristocratic party; and although he is reputed by some to have been secretly upheld by the revolutionists, from his real want of talents, he concealed sentiments quite at variance, in either case, with his exterior. Many were grievously surprised and alarmed when Hompesch was presented to them as grand master.

His first act was to expedite an embassy of thanks to the Emperor Paul with Valetta's cross (which the order had always preserved with the most affectionate respect) wherewith his imperial majesty permitted

[1] Appendix, Num. ccxxxiii.

himself to be installed and saluted the order's protector. If the empress and princesses were then received as Hospitalleresses, it would certainly not have startled Gerard (who called females from the very beginning), much less L'Isle Adam or La Valetta, who could not but have hailed it as a return to the finest times of the order; presenting them with fit companions in those olden centuries, Queens of Spain, royal daughters of France, and Empresses of Germany. It is likely those high Russian dames knew very well, they in wearing that cross, were only wearing what is worn at almost every Court; even now by an elect few of the most distinguished ladies in Europe—not at all excepting St. Petersburgh.

Imagine at what a crisis, which such an event could only sharpen. Then had the order had a man of eminence—a Cæsar, a Washington—he would have come forward; but as it was, all those of any considerable talents took care not to be candidates for the grand mastery. And those of no talents would have had no votes. But there was one individual who of talents and information had unfortunately just enough to betray him into a pitfall, not to get him out of it. That he had got so high in the diplomacy is a sufficient proof that he neither wanted a good common intellect nor assiduity; and

those who have invidiously observed that he was the only German grand master the order ever had, only exhibit some petty malevolence, for really persons of that calibre exist in tolerable numbers in every country. It is said he had not intended to be a candidate, since it was usually conferred on persons of age, who had earned a considerable reputation by their conduct in youth and manhood; so that Hompesch would have been too young, and was not engaged to do so, till a priest laid before him that a Frenchman could not be chosen at that moment; for that no Frenchman could maintain himself between two such furious parties. To side with either the Directory, or Legitimists, were alike destruction. Which advice that ought to have kept him aloof from the same rock if he had much judgment, easily lighted up his miserable ambition. Nor were his principles perhaps very bad. But he had not the firmness necessary to a grand master in even the commonest times; more especially he had not that analogous to the situation his temerity had courted. It would have needed a greater genius than Napoleon Buonaparte himself, to succeed with the feeble discordant means possessed by the knights then; while France, however shaken by internal dissensions, was still a splendid nation.

It had been supposed Bonaparte had some design

of getting a Spaniard, the Prince de la Paix, Godoy, made grand master; but if so, it soon evaporated. And on the contrary. There were councils and insane meetings without number. Day nor night was there a moment's quiet; but every one went roaming and blustering about. Except indeed some; and the terrified women, who kept pining in corners. If Hompesch retained his principles, he did not dare avow them. The reverse, and that he was rather in favour of the revolution, was the vulgar opinion. There were multitudes of extravagant play. An Italian knight astonished the elder members of the council by expressing at length what he hesitated to propose till called upon by the public voice.

"Seeing that our finances are going to utter ruin with a velocity increasing every hour; nor do I for an instant object to our maintaining the three French Languages, for it is our bounden duty after their having lost all in France; seeing nothing in these quarters but ruin, and that similar dangers threaten all Europe, is it not better for us to leave this region of despair, to gather all we can of our moveable property, and sail off? Nor do I mean towards Russia, or any part of Europe, nor any island in the Asian division of the Mediterranean, where we should be soon followed, and subjected to every sort of persecution. Yet England forms an exception,

and we formerly had a Language there, but now not —nor have we any reason to expect it at present; even the contrary, since France is her declared enemy, and we have so many knights of that nation. Still England, which is at this moment the greatest maritime power in the world, will not persecute, but rather aid us a little from the natural love of aristocracy for a like body; and that pity for worthy people which, it is said, has almost invariably distinguished the English. Then I see but one road to success, if we have the energy to take it; I mean sailing for the antipodes, as would be one of the South Sea Islands, of which there are several uninhabited, according to the recent circumnavigators. We should not be in a much worse state than our ancestors when they left Rhodes. So far off in those fair antipodal places, I dare say no one would assault us. And better still, if we returned to the ancient customs of our founders, and the two first centuries of our order, on the continent of Asia. Jerusalem is inland. The primitive Hospitallers knew nothing of ships. We might establish ourselves in some parts of Chili or Peru, which would not be ungrateful to the inhabitants there; particularly if we paid them some small equivalent. Long the arms that could reach us there; even Madrid could come to no effective hostilities

against us. There wild horses are in plenty, and we might become expert riders and lancers, like our ancestors. And we might have our hospital like them; exercise hospitality as well as here. If no Turks to fight, the age for that is over. But here we have no choice; there we should have. Besides, have we not Spanish and Portuguese knights to instruct us? Without any idea of giving up any scope of our creation, we might execute all proposed, and return after this tremendous hurricane blows itself out, and blow itself out it assuredly will. But at present what possible safety, but in escaping from the blast? Are we not like other willows? But on its cessation, we might return; not indeed to this petty island, but nearer to the Holy Land!"

What would have come of this proposal cannot be told; for the council broke up in confusion, some unwilling to look the danger in the face, but misled into sliding towards it by chance; others in open anger, readier to talk of a bold defence, than provide for such a crisis. Many loved believing that the Christian countries would never permit persons belonging to the noblest families in Christendom to be ill-treated or slaughtered; and that the worst that could happen would be to have a little increase of taxation. Some of the best knights were not

sorry that a reform would be necessary, in which all the plate and similar finery of the order would be consumed, and force them to resume the frugal and simple manners of their heroic ancestors, as more befitting their profession, whether in a military or sacred point of view. In short, nothing was done; nor do I find the subject was ever taken up again. The noble and magnanimous conduct of Russia (in whatever it originated), which certainly meant pure good, yet produced this of bad, that it blinded the Knights of Malta to their imminent destruction.

Here is Napoleon Buonaparte close on the footsteps of the Admiral, who, as well as the indefatigable diplomatist, who had concealed his political under the disguise of his consular function, the French Consul at Malta, had disseminated sedition and treason all through Valetta; not at all excepting the knights, particularly the French knights, and their well-known chief, Ransjat, who indeed was an eloquent fanatic, a grand cross of the treasury. 1798

Buonaparte was then on his way to Egypt, with an immense fleet of transports, some two hundred merchantmen, laden with all the troops and stores requisite for that expedition, inclusive of the scientific body, with their books and instruments. Nor were the Maltese aware of what is well known now, that

the Directory's strict orders were not to stop at Malta, if there was any resistance, which might create a delay extremely injurious to the main object, which was Egypt; so that if the grand master had made even the show of defence, Buonaparte would have continued on his voyage; the more that Nelson was already on his track. This visit to Malta had the effect of a short respite, for it misled Nelson to the West Indies. And if returning he at last found the French fleet off the Nile, he would have performed his exploit much more effectual before. Buonaparte had unwittingly given him an opportunity, of which he, unfortunately for the knighthood, did not avail himself. Then both Directory and Nelson combined to save Malta; but the total want of firmness in Hompesch, and all the treasonable preparations in the island, such as the spoiling of the gunpowder, and the flight of the treasurer, secured its fall. Yet when the conqueror was off the harbour, there were not wanting some courageous voices still in the council: "Often has the Holy See rescued creatures otherwise forlorn. Whatever unfortunate exceptions may have been, yet charity is its basis, and generally it is true to it, although the democrats pretend the contrary, and would force us to believe them. I am then for following the policy proposed to our grand master—appeal to

Rome. And still better appeal would be to our own swords. If decision and promptitude be necessary to our own body, more so as to the island at large. What we submit to ourselves, no one can reasonably blame as to the inhabitants. Mutual should be our hardships and valiant defence. Then we may crush the head of the serpent, or we are destroyed; make your minds up to it. Meekness, and we shall have our throats cut quietly. Their guillotine is soon erected! And what is worse, this ancient, most noble, most beloved order extinguished! Hope for no protection from any one; Russia is too distant. Do you not perceive how every sovereign in Europe trembles? Every state totters? Our own good swords alone are to be depended on. They are our only resource! I am ashamed to go on, as if you wanted to be put in mind of your ancestors and encouraged. Not all, but some of us have had their hearts and souls spirited away, I fear; and a base panic terror has begun creeping over us like other European sovereigns. But it ought not—must not be so! If this invader frighten us, we are decidely gone—infallibly ruined—not only our state, but our very existence. It is not only exile, but abject poverty and death. Let him promise, but not one of his promises will he keep. To crouch to him is dis-

honour, famine, scorn, beggary, the vilest servitude! Respond to my defiance; there he is, but here are we!" There was a shout, but was it of the majority? And there were popular shrieks without; it was evidently a revolutionary noise—and the deputation which had been sent to visit the great magazine entered in evident dismay. "Not only the gunpowder dealed out to the various batteries has been spoiled, as you know; but the great magazine itself, all it contains; the provisions for four years utterly spoiled—not an ounce worth a farthing. How it came to pass may ask chemical inquiry; but as to military and immediate use, it is beyond the smallest doubt entirely destroyed, we think." And that bailiff, though of a green old age and perhaps not timid, appeared petrified. And in ran another and said, "Buonaparte has landed." On which Ransjat got up and approaching Hompesch handed him the key of the treasury, saying hurriedly that he could not fight against the French. It was the only instance of the kind says Boisgelin—and a plain declaration of high treason; but it was also bold at least and candid. A great confusion ensued, during which Hompesch retired through a kind of private door, which shut after him; and opened only on the outside. Perhaps Ransjat would have followed; but how could he? There was the pub-

lic door, but it was at the bottom of the room; and how get to it? But certainly Ransjat is said to have become deadly pale. Perhaps he thought he never might be allowed to leave that room. "Neither should," opined more than one of those cavaliers. "If there be traitors amongst us," with a voice like thunder cried a knight (after having locked the great door inside, which Ransjat seeing is reported to have got, if possible, still paler), "which I prefer not believing, in spite of all that noise about the gunpowder and at such a critical moment too—such culprits ought instantly be put an end to. There was what sufficed for valiant men before the discovery of gunpowder, and why not now too? Our cannons are useless, that is all; but the works and drawbridges are serviceable the same; and this invasion may be easily prevented from penetrating into our city."

How it had ended it is vain to attempt divining; for a loud report was heard from a platoon of wild Maltese militia in open sedition, and indeed mixed with a rabble of rioters of the lowest of the people, and among them some young scamps of citizens; all armed, who fired into the keyhole and at once burst in the door, and Ransjat running to them put himself into security in their centre; and their bayonets having in an instant cleared the room, they issued with

loud republican cries and bearing Ransjat with them; so some of Hompesch's servants came and shut the door again as well as they could. And all was for the moment over.

Terrified by no few of the revolutionary Maltese, who strutting through the rooms of the palace, gave it clearly to be understood, that not only they counted on the grand master as nothing, but that they themselves were the real lords and would deliver up the city to Buonaparte, whether the knights liked it or not; yet the very difficulty of his situation appears to have elevated Hompesch's spirit a little once; resolving to go forth and present himself to the mob and call upon them to return to their former fidelity, and defend the island against all invasion. The great probability is that they would have shot him—which many of the order representing to him and that his murder at that moment would be assuredly the signal for a universal murder of all the knights, and that his life had ceased to be his own property from the day he had become grand master; he allowed himself to be persuaded to abstain from the project. Yet if he had realised it, who knows but it might have succeeded? A band of stout men executed the sentence of the grand master, and carried Ransjat into prison at St. Angelo's. But what use of it? The mob broke into that fort and liberated him.

Then, under colour of armistice, Buonaparte himself came into the city without any fear whatsoever; for it was clear the grand master had lost all power. Not however to lodge at the palace did he come; but in the house of a Maltese of consideration. The grand master asked Buonaparte to supper that very night; which he refused, and pretended on the contrary that the grand master at the head of his knights should first come to visit him. This was too humiliating; still after a day or two of reluctance, Hompesch was obliged to submit to it. The interview was cold and of no importance whatever; as to what was called the capitulation, curious document, which then first appeared, pretending to be between the grand master and Buonaparte, and had not the former's signature at all! The only Hospitaller who signed it, was Ransjat himself; no longer a member of the order he had renounced.[1] Yet on the whole it cannot be denied that, "Hompesch had done what could never be repaired, and gave a mortal stab to his order; and he and his party (if he had any) cannot prevent their names from being delivered down to posterity among those celebrated villains who have betrayed their country and caused all its misfortunes," cries one of his knights not unreasonably; although perhaps with somewhat of exaggeration as regards Hom-

[1] Appendix, ccxxxvi.

pesch, who may have been rather a feeble creature totally beneath his difficult situation, than a villain. As to the celebrity it certainly came entirely from the order he had the honour to head—and not in the least from him. The capitulation was in substance; that the knights give up Malta to the French army, that the French shall try to engage the Radstadt congress to procure a principality for the grand master equivalent to the one he gave up; that in the meanwhile the Republic promises to pay him an annual pension of three hundred thousand French livres, besides two annats of pension as an indemnification for his personals; that he shall be treated with the usual honours during his stay at Malta; that the French knights may return to France, as if they had never left it; that the French Republic will use its influence with the Cisalpine, and all Italy and Switzerland, to do similarly regarding the knights of those nations; that the French Republic shall give an annual pension of seven hundred French livres to each knight now resident in Malta; and one thousand to each above sixty years of age; that the French will employ its credit with the different powers, that the knights may dispose of the property of the order in their dominions; that the knights shall not be deprived of their private property in Malta, and that its other inhabitants are

left their religion, privileges and property, and not be subject to any extraordinary taxes, and that all civil acts under the late government shall be valid." But these conditions were by no means kept. Neither the three Maltese, the Sicilian or the Spanish ministers had anything to do with the order. So that one of the chief parties gave no assent whatever; and *de jure* the entire deed is as if it never existed. But *de jure*, only a risible jeer at that time, had its whole validity from brute force alone.

Disastrous was the aspect with which the Buonaparte star first rose on troubled Europe. It was proclaiming the extinction of all the laws of nations, and that treaties were only binding just as long as it suited the stronger party; and that no appeal of the weaker was of any avail whatsoever. Some instances of the kind were at every period to be found; but it may be doubted, if that immoral practice was at any time so universal and openly established as during the next ten years and better. With the single exception of England—which some attribute to her insular situation exclusively, and not at all to steadier and superior principles of action, or real grandeur or any riches infinitely mightier, not only than those of commerce, but those of the most aristocratic of landed proprietors—with England's single exception, the governments of Europe (each in its

turn) were to fall into a decline of more or less duration. The grand master began a long list of who had ceased to govern. Never has the direct contrary of honesty is the best policy, prevailed to so barefaced an extent as throughout the times alluded to. An armistice of twenty-four hours was proposed; but Buonaparte's people set about making preparations for his entry, as if the city was already taken, and explained the flag of truce into surrender; and a capitulation not signed by both the principals, as had been even of the barbarous Turk at Rhodes, allowed invaders to walk into Malta and insult the grand master within his own fortress; round which the invading artillery were being placed by who knew very well that their commander-in-chief was sleeping there; the terror they had caused was enough, and no need of firing. By this most insidious operation, work of secret treason, to which that of sappers, miners, is as nothing, was taken without a shot one of the best-fortified towns in existence. Indeed even Buonaparte thought it inexpugnable; and looking on some of the pieces said, "Well for us that we had friends to open the doors!" The whole night between the 10th and 11th of June was spent in the most tumultuous manner. An insurrection of the people was tried at with unexampled diligence and treachery—accusing the French knights of being in

league with their countrymen; the very reverse being the truth, with few exceptions. The order was now indeed critically situated; not counting above four thousand defenders. The grand master offered money and in appearance at least, attempted to lead back the people to good behaviour, and take courage; but quite in vain. All respect was lost. Confusion and disorder were at such a pitch, that the Maltese Militia shot each other in the streets. The people, roused to blind fury, directed it towards the most innocent commanders, who were pointed out as the guilty, instead of the real criminals, who were under the mob's protection; not but some of the citizens, with tears in their eyes at this ungovernable anarchy, waited on the grand master, as if spirited and noble conduct in him might possibly have brought over a portion of the troops, and some of the riotous rabble; but it was too late. Householders had become frightened at beholding the populace turned savage and in revolt, and seeing they were capable of sacking the whole town, and destroying everything. Too true; but they should have added that they themselves were the traitors, who had misled the multitude, and caused the misfortunes they were now bewailing. Spacious and splendid apartments and the drawing-rooms of a court were now filled by a promiscuous crowd of nobles, lawyers, merchants, shop-

keepers, shop-boys, perhaps shop-lifters, lowest of the low, who proudly strutting, as if those rooms belonged to them, and pompously threatening, bawled they had just signed a paper before the Dutch consul, that they would submit to the French, and deliver the city up into the hands of General Buonaparte, without attending to knights or order. There were stout-hearted cavaliers, but yet none of them possessed the energy requisite for so difficult a situation, and worthy of their ancestors. It was an avowal of weakness, and consciousness of inability to face the boaster in the saloons, that they had retired into a back room. This was towards sunset. Liberty and equality and long life to Ransjat, resounded He had got out of Castle St. Angelo by the mob's breaking into it, and they were now carrying him in triumph to the palace. He seems to have been in the Orient and signed before his imprisonment. But it has a mystery that is not explained by his own justification, and his declaration that many knights and the grand master had entreated him to go on board for the capitulation, which may be true or not.[1] An hour after sunset, the French were reported to have entered in one body into the city, which increased the tumult.

[1] Ransjat: Paris, 9th year of the republic, and re-printed Malta, 1837. But it is rather a justification of Vaubois (who did not need it), than of himself under Hompesch.

Then it was that the council really met. Emissaries had poisoned the popular mind during so many hours night and day, that they deprived the grand master of the little authority still left to him. Huzzas, cries of rage and fear, and shots could be heard from the square in its front, ringing through the palace even so as to penetrate into the council chamber in its rear. "Whether it be that the gunpowder was spoiled, or that there were means used for its not being rendered effectual by being served out, it is equally certain there was treason; which is also proved by yonder man having been forced in upon us by a popular sedition, which has ruined our order and Malta. They call him a grand cross, as he was once; but he has himself renounced our order, so is no member of it, and vitiates this our, perhaps last, sitting. Yet I am far from voting him out." "No," thundered Ransjat. "It is not the people that have ruined our order; but itself, its own finances. Which of you is a better judge than I am, who have been your Minister of Finance for twenty-one years? In 1788 the revenue of the order was above three millions of francs, in net revenue, and its expenses about two; leaving a clear gain of two hundred thousand. But from the year 1790, there has been a deficit every year, and since 1792, when the property in France, Germany, and Arragon, was

confiscated, has become ruinous. The order had four millions of francs from France alone, of which one half went in expenses, chiefly in France; so that its net here might be valued at one and a half. The French confiscation must soon have ruined you, without any sedition—nor was it I who ruined, but I am he who would have prevented the ruin of our order; for I would have reformed it, to be worthy of the glorious era we begin, of liberty and equality, and of the holy rights of man. Papal bulls, electioneering broils and pecuniary distresses, all diminished or ceasing, it is not quite impossible but we might have found out how it might be employed in some way not unworthy of the new-born glories of our age."—"Hold your peace, most infamous Ransjat. Would that your eloquence could excuse you! But words cannot; not even yours. No necessity for hushing to hear the shouts and shots outside. They cry for our blood, you know. Why, behold the Russian ambassador who put his life in great danger in endeavouring to save an innocent man from those revolutionary furies; nor did he succeed, for they murdered several before his eyes.[1] But it is revolution outside; here we are shut in, and nearly every one of us armed. Why should we not defend ourselves and the state? The capitulation is all a sham. All on one side, as invalid for us, as unbinding on them. Who has signed it? None of us but

[1] MS. Coll.

Ransjat! who by his own word is no longer of our order.[1] But he is of our order still, or why is he here? Only this day is full of contradictions. One thing is sure, that we ought not to fall and disperse without resistance. If there be traitors amongst us, they ought instantly—and there is no severity in what I demand—be put an end to. We have not a moment to lose; those furious howls tell you so. A little energy may save us yet. Trials are for those who have hours to dispose of. A strong suspicion must suffice in this extremity. None of us should be even suspected. Begin with me. Willingly I put my life to the vote, ready to die without defence. Sentence, and I submit. There the scimitar, and here is my bosom—bare, as you see! So of each within these four walls! Only death; rather die guiltless than guilty. One after another be the life of every one of us balloted, and the instant he is condemned likewise executed by the sword next him. So the traitors may be got rid of, or we not live to see them triumph. Then we shall be sure of each other, and darting forth like one man, be certain of it, that even our small corps imitating our ancestors, will be more than sufficient to put all those undisciplined soldiers and vociferous rabble to flight; and drive every one of them and our few invaders out of the town. And closing the gates and lifting up

[1] Appendix, Num. ccxxxvi.

the drawbridge, we may still remain masters within this city. And may then decide in a chapter general what is to be done for the safety of the order; even when it be to renounce our wealth and most frugally secluded from the world live within this same inexpugnable fortress; resisting whatsoever force may come against us; after some weeks perhaps extending our possessions to the whole island—if these islanders cordially unite with us—and in this state of honourable penury wait until the actual storm be over; though it may blow hard for several"—perhaps years he would have said, but the bursting in of the doors by a whole body of French bayonets with poor vile Hompesch held forcibly at their head, dissolved the assembly, and unfortunate Boisgelin had but to sheathe his sword and retire with his companions. Yet his proposal however extravagant, was not more so than several that succeeded in history. Though it afterwards seemed superfluous and bombast. Perhaps it only proved that he was not capable of executing what he nobly thought; not in the least equal to those historic heroes who in one included both thought and act. Both must be in the same person in such situations. No time for infusing your idea into others. Example not by words but action is the only thing. Yet such simultaneousness, is it not cruel to expect it? Here it was not, and everything was gone!

The Turks never destroyed so much at Rhodes, as French during their first days at Malta; pulling down all the statues of renowned heroes, and chiselling out the coats-of-arms everywhere, and even over the palace—Hompesch himself present. The French have been distinguished lovers of the fine arts since; and even at that very time their army contained a deputation of scientific men, and able artists, who should have prevented such barbarous profanation, but did not—perhaps could not. That he had not the power, is possibly the best excuse for Buonaparte himself, whose wishes must have been quite the contrary to similar mischief. Denon, whose rich mind must have been already prepared for the splendid book he was so shortly to compose, could not but have been opposed to such Vandalism. It were a grievous injustice to him not to be certain of it. Whatever be your opinion as to his artistical prominence, and qualifications to be the historian of Egyptian antiquities, still is it incredible that any one should take him for so utterly denuded of all respect for works of art; which, whether of the lowest class, or any class, merit at least some degree of consideration. Deliberately with a chisel! If they were however bad, they became worse.

The fronts of the houses in Malta are still there defaced, and will perhaps for many years bear evidence to the truth of what I am sorry I cannot

but relate. The broken statues have disappeared naturally; but not so with the edifices, that have that awful accusation written ineffaceably on their marble foreheads. Pardon the poor Bedouin!

Three or four days of continual insults sufficed to teach Hompesch it was not enough to have abdicated, but that he must quit Malta. Abdicated Hompesch was as unlike L'Isle Adam, as the Directory (for to them, not Buonaparte, his persecution is to be imputed) were to Solyman. "Some of the French Knights of Malta joined the tricoloured flag; yet I will not blame, but pity them," wrote the high-minded Boisgelin afterwards in London. To wound Hompesch the more, it was Ransjat was sent to him with an ungrateful message, as to how much, or rather how little, the capitulation was to be followed—the very he who is accused of having plundered much of the grand master's effects, and sold even his cypher seal—he now came to say that all his plate and jewels were confiscated, and that therefore he handed him several of his reliques, from which all their precious stones, and setting, and gold or silver, or other rich cases, had been subtracted—that in place of these, and all his personal property, he was to receive seven hundred thousand francs; but that one-half of that sum must be left in the island for his creditors; that of the three hundred and fifty thousand he was to receive he gave him two-thirds in

paper (whose real value was extremely problematic, whatever the nominal), and the remainder, less than four thousand pounds, was all he got in money, and could reasonably be sure of; with this too, that he was to embark for Trieste, not on board a ship of war, but of a common merchantman, and that whoever pleased to accompany him, would be held to be individuals at their own expense, and not forming any part of his suite; and that to keep him to his course, and prevent him touching land anywhere else, or having any correspondence with the enemy, he like any other convict, should be subject to the inspection of the marine police, a corvette, until at a certain point. The cruel and humiliating interview over the night preceding, he embarked about a couple of hours after, and cleared the harbour just at sunrise on the 19th of June, 1798, accompanied by five knights, a page, and two servants-at-arms.

Thus, far from their natural orbit, sort of exile from the land of their predilection, in the small island of Malta, ill adapted to their duties of hospitality, yet endeavouring to consult utility to mankind, main scope of their profession, even there did the knights continue through their fourth period of above two centuries and a half, under twenty-seven grand masters.[1]

[1] Appendix, Num. ccxxxvii.

ABEYANCE THE FOURTH.

THE less said on such a dreary matter the better. If any one had written during former abeyances, I should at least have a precedent. But happily for all other historians of the order, they wrote after it was restored; so in the full of glory. The nearer to the abeyance, the nearer to the recent triumph. If the Nile was to avoid being ever seen small, so neither should this glorious order be exhibited in her lowest estate and troubles; until she had got triumphantly out of them.

To be practically useful, is the atmosphere out of which she cannot possibly exist; deprived of that essential quality, she never should display herself, or imagine she can stand an instant. It would be

totally contrary to the spirit of our founder. Utility to mankind was what his plan was built on. It saved Christendom, when there was no other way of saving it. And certainly, but for the Hospitallers, the Turks would have advanced from Constantinople into the very innermost heart of Europe! The order's war, like the crusaders' themselves, was simply and rigorously defensive; on the same principle that to defend Carthage, Hannibal attacked Rome. But not in a Turkish war lies utility to Christendom now. In a strict alliance with the Turk, it may. Than useless, far rather allow herself to die off. It were no ignoble death! In thus ending my history, I give up all pretension to being ONE (*simplex dun-taxat et unum*), as I hoped; all which could only be, if after historically getting through the Abeyance, I could relate of another modification, replacing the order on its original pedestal of practical utility. But indeed with the catastrophe of Malta ends my history. So finding myself get old, I give it to the world in this unfinished and defective state, without more waiting. My attempting part of an abeyance, already much longer than any of the preceding three (though in every other respect not half so painful and will no doubt come like them to a happy result at length), part comprising from the calamitous day brought on us by France, to the present hour, is only to gratify fair

curiosity; and should be received as no more than a brief hasty sketch.

Posterior to a tedious and disagreeable voyage of thirty-nine days, Hompesch reached Trieste; where, after a short stay, he resigned his office and separated from the companions of his flight; and with what became of him subsequently no need of inquiring. Before that, an alert Russian courier from Malta had reached St.Petersburgh; so that the unfortunate grand master's abdication counts from his leaving the island; and it follows that the Emperor of Russia in his quality of Protector had in the strictest view a full right to proclaim himself *Locumtenens*. Nor is it not with some little pride it is recorded how in that moment of extreme disorder, between on the one hand an autocrat reputed mad (though perhaps unjustly, only because he saw farther than most people), and on the other universal revolution, headed by a formidable warrior, who was shortly to be the conqueror of all the European Continent—not even in that cruel dilemma, was there any irregularity in the order's proceedings—happy casualty, which after all is but another name for the direct intervention of a benevolent Providence, to be deigned to them the more perhaps, from considering the merits of the Hospitallers of former ages, rather than their own individual inadequacy to their

most unhappy circumstances. The Protector[1] or *Locumtenens* having been already legalized by a grand master, had no need of the election of a council, as would have been instantly the case, otherwise; but assumed his vicarious power at once, as naturally as the Camerlengo at Rome enters into office as soon as the Pope dies; and, in the order at least, to die and to abdicate are the same thing. Then completely was it in rule, that on the 29th of June, Paul took the protectorship, and on the 27th of October, the knights then present at St. Petersburgh elected him to the grand mastery, as they had a perfect right to do; and offered him the magisterial cap, &c. in a public audience, which after mature reflection he accepted, on the 13th of November; the Russian vice-chancellor pronouncing the act of acceptance, and all the knights taking the oath usual on such an occasion. So that up to Paul's death, for that short time it appears he was really grand master; for any little variation in form may be excused from the urgency, and in substance there was none. Therefore it is to be supposed future historians of our order will give him a place in the magisterial

[1] To that day the order's only Protector had been the Kings of England. Neither France nor Germany, however friendly, had that distinguished title. It was like *Turcopolier* belonging to England alone. *Unice noster protector* was said even to Henry VIII. Appendix, Num. ccxii., ccxiv., ccxv.

roll, rather ascribing to him fine intentions in its favour, than any effectual benefits. After his death the link of connexion between Russia and the heads of the order, appears less close. I do not find it at all necessary to stir up what was a turbid period for nearly all continental Europe; except only France, who at least had military glory as a compensation for much suffering. And a splendid and tenderly beloved compensation it will always be to that nation of soldiers. Whatever Buonaparte did, or was in the intention of doing in favour of our order, fell with his throne, and died with him. In the congress of 1815 the treatment of the order was of a piece with the ingratitude displayed in many places, and the dislike of freedom everywhere and to every feeling of independence. Better for the residue of Normans, and the representatives of the heroes founded by Gerard, and of the illustrious spirits of no small number of ages, that they owe nothing to that meeting of absolute monarchs. Would it have been befitting such a government as ours, far more resembling a commonwealth than absolutism, and where the seeds of constitutional freedom had been always preserved? If the grand masters for a time were misled into some encroachments, these were sure to be put an end to by the first chapter general; and chapters general could not but be convened in times of signal difficulty,

or any great financial disaster. Why should we then have been restored in 1815? That we were not, is a merit now; and ought to be considered so with all wise lovers of regulated liberty, whatever ensue. There are blemishes in all human things. And injustice must be put up with, until we prove it to be clearly the interest of the nations to restore us. Nor is it quite easy to point out, how we could be rendered useful to mankind. Yet that is the very foundation of our order. All without it is vain buffoonery. We ought never to be seen in the world but as pre-eminently and practically useful. Until then, better continue our sickly slumber. But we can tell in what we cannot be of the least use. Not in an island, nor nautically, nor warring with Turks. A small island; what do then? Be carried off by pirates! A fine end for the banner of our glorious order! Then we ought to return to our first employment during above two hundred years, when we had the name of Equites; because we were horsemen and knew nothing of the sea.

Whatever was done as to the order, during the years immediately following 1815, challenges, perhaps, no very anxious inquiry. Of small importance is it whether reduced to beggary or not, since it confessedly is not rich enough to do any of its duties; which it can

never do without a spot on earth that it can call its own. Sovereign and independent in name, it must be so in reality, before it can effect the purposes for which it was created. Not to be useful in a small matter, but in great matters was the object of its founder; and he executed it in the way then effective; and if he were in the actual circumstances, the same faculties of mind which discerned the best in those times, would have well-known how to discover the surest manner to-day.

In Cattania and various places the order lived secluded. Powers, who acknowledged our grand master to be a sovereign of the second or third class, prescribed his being called only Locum-tenens until possessing a sovereignty.

In 1837 the residence was Ferrara under Locum-tenens Brusca, whose successor Locum-tenens Candida, removed to Rome, and on his death, was followed by Locum-tenens Colloredo, relation of him who in 1840, represented his Imperial Majesty in Vienna, the Empress being so by his niece, who as Hospitalleress, wore a broad black ribbon and white cross, which caught the eye at once.

Colloredo too lives in the house that belonged to his ambassador at Rome. There, with a restricted circle of members, he preserves carefully what remains of the order's archives, and has several writers, some servants,

and a few horses and carriages, like a not rich private lord who keeps a hospitable, and even splendid table, at least upon great occasions; and without taking any active part whatsoever in the politics of thē day in any country. Nor will this appear otherwise than praiseworthy. It required resolution, and was the only conduct that became the fallen order. It deserves the gratitude of all parties. Assuredly the most of the knights round their chief are old men; for they are the highest dignitaries of the order, many of whom had entered it at Malta; and equitable it is, and pious and fitting that younger members, wherever stationed, should squeeze their means a little, for the purpose of rendering the age of their superiors as pleasing and honourable as possible. This too is a mark of delicacy to which no one will object. This to be sure is an over easy life, not fitting any person not absolutely decrepit. But the order at Rome is not a fair sample; for those to be met with elsewhere are, for the greatest part, fine youths. The property of the order has been in part restored in many countries, and in some, as Bohemia, never was confiscated or dilapidated. At Vienna the order has an ambassador and a secretary of legation. Many of the Austrian officers are Knights of Malta. One of the Imperial family, son of the celebrated warrior, the Arch-duke Charles,

possibly one of the handsomest young men in Europe, and who had distinguished himself both in army and navy, became a knight with all the antique ceremonies, and pronounced the irrevocable oaths in the presence of the Empress and all the Court at Vienna. In the first bloom of life, beloved by every one who knew him, accustomed to a sovereign rank, and with the most industrious habits of attending to business and the public offices on a great scale—(nor a more exact accountant ever was), and habituated to a high command, and led the attack of St. Jean D'Acre in Ibrahim's time—he seemed created on purpose for the magisterial dignity, and indeed Colloredo had become locum-tenens with the intention to abdicate in his favour, and certainly the Arch-duke Frederick cultivated the idea; and if dislike to quit the imperial service, and perhaps some wild juvenile passions which would soon have disappeared, made him defer awhile, it was his firm design to procure the order's restoration and become its grand master. Of many projects on that subject, one (which was read to him in the arsenal of Venice, where he then commanded and spent several hours in it every day with remarkable assiduity) seemed to be sure of success. On finding himself seated opposite his imperial highness at a small table in a remote room and without any third person, an unknown individual asked him whether

he chose to be spoken to as a prince, or as a simple knight, as between equals from a knight to another knight, and upon his deigning to prefer the latter: "Then let me remind you that though born on the steps of the throne, you can never become emperor without the deaths of many whom you cannot and ought not to wish dead. You absolutely are cut off from all hopes of that kind. Nor probably would you be one of the new small kings—as of Greece for example," and the Arch-duke smiled with scorn, and replied no!—"Then the only way for you to become a legitimate sovereign is to restore your order and become its grand master. It is easy, you have but to wish it. The only real difficult thing you have already got over! It may be some special providence, beyond all human calculation. I certainly never should have dared proposing the fearful step to a young man of your rank and means; but it was taken before we met. You had pronounced them of yourself in the most solemn manner, those irrevocable oaths which bind you never to marry. Then why not take the good as you have taken the hard? Nothing easier than thus to acquire a sovereignty which, however, small is full of fair fame; and which placing you amongst the most legitimate of sovereigns, will carry your name with glory to all ages. Nor is it to be lightly prized that you will always walk sur-

rounded by a guard of most faithful and heroic men, whose interests are strictly bound up with your own." So to the project he assented fully, only that he could not put it into execution immediately. And on his hailing him as the restorer, Prince Frederick rose in a transport of evident satisfaction, and took his hand and squeezed it in his own and kissed him on both his cheeks; but added he could not begin executing it instantly. How forget that day? There he stood the very picture of health and manly beauty! He was then about thirty-two. His intimate knowledge of finance and all official business and war by land or sea—his habits of application, his travels almost over the entire globe—he had every qualification natural and acquired that could be wished—his speaking of various languages, English certainly like an Englishman, and indeed few Englishmen knew their native land so minutely; nor apparently was there a spot in England, Scotland or Ireland where he had not been. To see him one would have taken him for no Austrian, but English duke. In fine he seemed inimitably adapted to what had been proposed; and no doubt he would have been one of the order's most illustrious grand masters; and by that restoration too, would have acquired a celebrity at least equal, and perhaps superior, to that of D'Aubusson or L'Isle Adam. But

when he uttered "not instantly," he little dreamed, or any other mortal else either, that his instants were already counted, and were to be few indeed. For in less than a week on my returning from a journey, I found a letter on my table announcing his decease. They were tumultuous times, and people were unwilling to believe that one so full of life and health should so quickly die of a natural death. But however it be, this is sure, that fever can carry off the most able-bodied person in three days and less.

"What would have been so easy for him, was very hard for any one else; and for an insignificant person like me quite impossible," said the gentleman. Nevertheless, contrary to his own surmises, and the injunction of his best friends, upon finding nobody offering to take the burden on his shoulders, he resolved to set to work and do all he could towards the restoration of the order. So after having made himself a bore by writing to personages whom he had not the honour to be in the least acquainted with, in France, Italy, England, and Germany and other countries, he is at length utterly convinced of the impossibility to him; and therefore gives his project to be put into my book. "Whilst I nourished the faintest hopes," said he, "I kept it secret; persuaded that secrecy is necessary to the simultaneousness which was a characteristic of the order from

the beginning, and must be I think of its restoration; but now that I am obliged to confess the perfect hopelessness of my project under me, and that no one else will undertake its advocacy, I have no objection to its being published or anything else; so do with it what you please." And what can I do with it but give it a place in my Appendix? Perhaps it may turn out of a kind of use in some unforeseen eventuality.[1]

Elegancies of language, in this work there are none, If ever they came into my head, I was quickly obliged to throw them out of it. The manner I adopted produces extreme exactness. It is not unlike a sailor who off a dangerous shore is continually heaving the lead; and my apologetic tone when not following Bosio, or any other of my great predecessors, shows clearly enough that I regret not to be able to do so. Nor have I the presumption to hope that this manner of writing history will be adopted (though I think it should), for it is too troublesome. And necessarily recalls the writer to his subject from any desultory reasoning of his own. And such continual breaches are highly annoying. As to

[1] Egotism, however disagreeable, is far less odious than even the slightest appearance of want of candour; so the gentleman is no other than the writer himself. See, just after the Appendixes.

minor details, are they not what render Livy so delightful? But his subject allowed of a latitude which mine does not. I had to endeavour to be brief as well as circumstantial. So my study invariably has been to say what I had to say in the fewest words I could. To which everything else was sacrificed; full of my subject I acted with my eyes open. The ruggedness of my eliptic style will I trust be forgiven, if I have preserved things of more importance. Nor do I believe this manner of writing is natural to me, nor plead ignorance in the least; but own my faults of style were voluntary. I throw myself on my reader's forgiveness; begging of him also to recollect that, like my theme, my book too should be cosmopolitan, and that I was writing not for England alone, but for the whole world.

I return you the tweezers; for such were the documents to me during almost my whole long course in testing whatever was related, and plucking out as false, or at least doubtful, whatever did not agree with them. If the effect has been to show clearly, that before this history it was not possible (nor even for our own knights in any language) to learn the facts without carefully examining and digesting several heavy tomes—that the order became in part what may hesitatingly be called naval, not earlier than at Rhodes, and had been above two

hundred years old before it managed a boat, but was altogether equestrian during its two first and perhaps most glorious centuries, and became maritime in a period of distress and decline—awful change and hard—matters that sound new, so ancient are they—and now requiring proofs which have been given, it is expected to universal satisfaction—that the grand masters, through no short roll, were in general above mediocrity, not one of them beneath it—that we may regret the severity which bade the noble English Language cease existing—and fearlessly do we add the sooner it is restored the better, but first by inevitable relation the order to which it had the honour of belonging, and without which it can no more live than the branch without the trunk—that to corroborate my proofs, or amplify my details would be easy; but to overturn one particle of my statements is quite impossible—finally that if, as I hope, these pages have contributed, in however faint a degree, to your pleasure, O courteous reader, or information, then of the author say God bless him.

END OF BOOK AND ABEYANCE THE FOURTH.

APPENDIX TO BOOK FIRST.

APPENDIX INSTRUMENTORUM, NUM. I.

Donatio Gotofredi de Buglion, vid. Num. xix., xx., xxi. 1099

Donatio Gunzelini Comitis in Zuerin.

Ex tomo ix. Reliquiæ MSS. Petri Ludevig. pag. 496.

Gunzelinus Comes in Zuerin et frater ejus Heinricus dilectis fratribus Hospitalibus Sancti Johannis 1100 in Hierusolima IN. m. . . . . per antiquitatem temporis a memoria viventium in oblivionis exilium . . . Ideo . . Creatori nostro licet in modico bonæ voluntatis nostra devotionem exhibitam in præsentia scribi, sigilli nostri impressione fecimus communiri. Villam itaque Godin cum omnibus attinentiis suis et cum omni juri præter judicia sanguinis . . . eo videlicet tenore contulimus vobis, ut prædicti agri et eorum cultores a communi servitio quod ad constituendam urbem vel ad parandam debetur et ab omni exactione præter eam quam terræ defensio poscit, liberi maneant et exempti. Testes autem hi aderant, Gwilhelmus; Geroldus de Ekelen; Godefridus de Friberge; Switherus; Fridericus Hasencob. Acta sunt hæc anno Domini millesimo centesimo.

Num. II. Anno 1100.

Donatio Jordanis filii Radulphi filii Brieni Briset.

Ex Bibl. Cottoniana apud Monast. Anglican. tom. ii., pag. 826.

Notum sit omnibus Sanctæ Ecclesiæ fidelibus tam
1100 præsentibus quam futuris, quod ego Jordanus filius Radulphi filii Brieni dedi Deo, et Sanctæ Mariæ, et omnibus sanctis, et Roberto Cappellano* . . . XIIII. acras de terra in campo qui juxta fontem clericorum situs est liberas et de omnibus rebus quietas; . . . sed omnino separatas ab acra quod eisdem Hospitalariis in eodem campo dedi pro XIII. denariis, quos Hospitali de Jerusalem. per singulos annos in elemosina me daturum promisseram . . . et sedem ad molendinum faciendum, salva et retenta propria multura mea et primo loco molendini . . Hi sunt testes, Alanus, Bernardus, Hugo Canonici.

Num. III. Anno 1101.

Donatio Rogerii Comitis Siciliæ Rogerio filio anno 1136 confirmata.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Johannis Christ. Lunig. tom. ii. sect. 5, *pag.* 1635.

Universis Christi fidelibus præsentem paginam inspecturis. Jacobus, miseratione divina sacrosanctæ Hierosolymitanæ Ecclesiæ Patriarchæ, . . . pro parte religiosi viri, Magistri sacræ domus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolymitani, nobis extitit præsentatum quoddam privilegium sanum et integrum, in nulla sui parte vitiatum beatæ memoriæ D. Rogerii, Siciliæ, Calabriæ, et Apuliæ quondam Regis, bullatum ejus Regis bulla plumbea, cum

* Cappellano is then a dignity coeval with the very creation of the Knights Hospitallers.

filo serico violaceo pendente, et humiliter supplicatum, ut illud manu propria transcribi et autenticari, nostraque bulla plumbea roborari de gratia dignaremur, cujus privilegii tenor talis est.

In nomine Domini anno incarnationis ejusdem MCXXXVI. indict XI. Rogerius, divina favente clementia Rex Siciliæ, Ducatus Apuliæ, et Principatus Capuæ

. . . . . .

nos, quos Deus in Regno Siciliæ primo solio præsidere voluit . . . qua domus Hospitalis sacra beati Johannis Baptistæ Hierosolymitani Christi pauperibus et infirmis continuum præstat hospitium, et levamen, ad justas et humiles preces fratris Gubaldi, Vener Magni Prioris, ejusdem sacræ domus Hospitalis, et conventus ipsius totum locum et tenimentum situm in campo Mes- 1101
sanæ extra muros civitatis, ubi est ecclesia, qua in honorem St. Johannis Baptistæ, sub beatæ recordationis glorioso Comite Rogerio, patre nostro, constituta pie noscitur cum omnibus suis edificiis, cœmiterio, divisis, et pertinentiis, subnotatis, de munificentia nostræ gratiæ, et favore pro remedio animæ ejusdem patris nostri fel. mem. Comitis Rogerii, matrisque nostræ Adelasiæ Reginæ, necnon et nostra, nostrorumque parentum salute perpetua, dicto venerando priori, et ejus sacro conventui, ac eorum successoribus concedendum duximus, et perpetuo confirmamus, firmiter inhibentes, ut prædictum locum et recreationem infirmorum, illuc confluentium misericorditer, deputari ob reverentiam Jesu Christi . . . nulla persona sublimis, vel humilis, prælata vel subdita, perturbare, aliquomodo audeat vel offendere seu aliquam violen-

tiam eis inferre . . . et hospites, ac bona eis collocata protegere, qui se ad confirmationem languentium, et sostentationem pauperum, quotidie indefessos exhibent.

. . . . . .

Ad hujus autem nostræ concessionis et confirmationis memoriam et inviolabilem firmitatem, præsentem paginam per manus dicti notarii fidelis nostri scribi, nostraque pari bulla plumbea, insigniri præcepimus. Datum Panormi per manus Guarini, Can. 6 idus Octobr., anno quinto regni Rogerii, gloriosissimi Regis Siciliæ, Ducatus Apuliæ, Principatus Capuæ, decimo, feliciter. Amen.

Num. IV. Anno 1112.

Donatio et Confirmatio Donationum facta ab Arnolfo Patriarcha Hierosolymitano.

Ex Cod. Diplomatico Hierosolymitano Sebastiano Paoli, tom. i., pag. 4.

. . . . . .

. . . . Consecratus fui Patriarcha in tota Jherosolymitana Provincia coram Domino Balduino glorioso . . . . . .

Hujus autem descriptionis nostre paginam in capitulo Sancti Sepulchri canonicis audientibus, et assencientibus feci recitare, sigillique mei impressione insignitam corroborari. Si quis autem contra hanc confirmationem nostram ire voluerit, et aliquo modo infringere temptaverit a perceptione corporis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi alienus fiat donec resipiscat, et ad satisfactionem veniat. Actum est autem hoc anno Domini incarnationis M.C. XII., indictione V. Captionis Jherusalem a Christianis XIII., Do-

mini Patriarche Arnulfi primo, et invictissimi Regis
B. XII. Illi vero qui hujus rei testes sunt sub- 1112
scripti permanent in æternum.

S. Roggerii Lidensis Episcopi.
Fulcherus Prior Montis Oliveti.
Aicardi Prioris Templi Domini.
Rainerii Prioris de St. Abraham.

. . . . . .

Num. V. Anno 1113.

Bulla Approbationis et Confirmationis Paschali II.

Ex Cod. Diplom. cit. pag. 268, *atque ex Collect. Conciliorum P. Joanni Dominici Mansi ad Concilium Beneventanum, tom. ii., pag.* 279.

Paschalis Episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabili Filio Geraudo institutori, ac Preposito 1113
Hierosolymitani Xenodochii ejusque legitimis successoribus in perpetuum. Piæ postulatio voluntatis effecta debet pro sequente compleri. Postulavit siquidem dilectio tua, Xenodochium quod in civitate Hierusalem juxta beati Johannis Baptistæ Ecclesiam instituisti, Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate munire et beati Petri Apostoli patrocinio confoveri. Nos itaque piis hospitalitatis tuæ studiis delectati petitionem tuam paterna benignitate suscipimus, et illam Dei domum, illum Xenodochium et sub Apostolicæ sedis tutela, et beati Petri protectione persistere decreti præsentis auctoritate sancimus. Omnia ergo, quæ ad sustentandas peregrinorum, et pauperum, necessitates vel in Hierosolymitana Ecclesia, vel aliarum Ecclesiarum parochiis et civitatum territoriis per tuæ solici-

tudinis instantiam eidem Xenodochio acquisita, vel a quibuslibet fidelibus viris oblata sunt, aut in futurum larguente Deo offerri, vel aliis justis modis acquiri contigerit, quæque a venerabilibus fratribus Hierosolimitanæ Ecclesiæ Episcopis concessa sunt tam tibi quam successoribus tuis, et fratribus peregrinorum illic curam gerentibus quieta semper, et integra conservari præcipimus. Sane fructuum vestrorum decimas, quobuslibet vestris sumptibus laboribusque colligitis præter Episcoporum vel Episcopalium ministrorum contradictionem Xenodochio vestro habendas possidendasque sancimus. Donationes etiam quas religiosi Principes de tributis seu vectigalibus suis eidem Xenodochio deliberaverunt ratas haberi decernimus. Obeunte te nunc ejus loci provisore atque præposito, nullus ibi qualibet surreptionis astutia seu violentia preponatur, nisi quem fratres ibidem professi secundum Deum providerint eligendum. Præterea honores omnes sive possessiones, quas idem Xenodochium ultra seu citra mare in Asia videlicet vel in Europa, aut in præsenti habet, aut in futurum largiente Domino poterit adipisci, tam tibi quam successoribus tuis hospitalitatis pio studio imminentibus, et per vos eidem Xenodochio in perpetuum confirmamus. Ad hac adjicientes decernimus, ut nulli omnino hominum liceat idem Xenodochium temere perturbare, aut ejus possessiones auferre vel ablatas retinere, minuere, vel temerariis vexationibus fatigare. Sed omnia integra conservantur eorum, pro quorum sustentatione, gubernatione concessa sunt usibus omnimodis profutura. Sane Xenodochia sive Ptochia, in occidentis partibus penes Burgum S. Egidii. Asten. Pisani, Barum, Hispalim,

Ydrontum, Tarentum, Messanam, Hierosolimitani nominis titulo celebrata in tua, et successorum tuorum subjectione ac dispositione, sicut hodie sunt in perpetuum manere statuimus. Si qua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica quælibet sicularisve persona hanc nostra constitutionis paginam sciens contra eam temere . . tentaverit, secundo tertiove commonita si non satisfactione congrua emendaverit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reamque se divino judicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat, et a sacratissimo corpore et sanguine Dei et Domini Redemptoris nostri Jhesu Christi aliena fiat atque in extremo examine districtæ ultionis subjaceat. Cunctis autem eidem loco justa servantibus sit pax Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quatenus et hi fructum bonæ actionis percipiant et apud districtum Judicem premia eternæ pacis inveniant. Amen. Amen.

Ego Paschalis Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Epis. ss.

Ego Richardus Albanensis Epis. ss.

Ego Landulfus Beneventanus Archiepisc. legi et ss.

Ego Cono Prenestina Eccl. Episc. legi et ss.

Ego Anastasius Card. Presb. tituli B. Clementii ss.

Ego Johannes Melitensis Episc. legi ss.

Ego Gregorius Terac. Episc. legi et ss.

Ego Romaldus Diac. Card. Rom. Eccl. ss.

Ego Gregorius Card. Presb. tituli St. Grisogni legi et ss.

Datum Beneventi per manum Johannis Sanctæ R. Ecclesiæ Cardinalis ac Bibliothecarii XV. Kal. Martii Indictione VI. Incarnationis Dominice Anno M.C.XIII. Pontificatus autem Domini Paschalis P.P. II. anno XIV.

Num. VI. Anno 1113.

Fragmentum spectans ad Concilium Beneventanum nunc primo eruitur ex Cod. membran. Biblioth. Vaticanæ, No. 1345 tergo, scripto præfigitur titulus.

Ex Concilio Piæ Memoriæ P. P. Paschalis apud Beneventum habito.

Finito sermone post inclinationem tanto Pontifici debitam
1113 consencis gradibus ad ejus pedes me reddidi surrexerant antequam sedissem viri duo crinibus, et barbis congerati, calamistrati non ex industria, sed ut apparebat ex incuria, ætate comparabiles, habitudine venerabiles, et posternati coram domno Papa per salutationem se legatos esse dixerunt Antiocheni Principis Rogeri, Bernardique civitatis ejusdem Patriarchæ, qui domno Papæ sic prosternati supplicabant petentes, ut Ecclesiæ suum jus . . enæ restitui juberet . . Ad hæc Papa; . . Sanctimoniæ venerabilis Urbani Papæ, ... discretissimum Patris decretum rescindere non audemus. Accepto legati responso tacuerunt, et repatriandi prudentiæ vacaverunt.

Num. VII. Anno 1117.

Ex Appendice probationum ad historiam Occitaniæ seu septimaniæ curante Vaisette, tom. ii., pag. 399.

Ego Atto Aretanensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopus, et com-
muni consilio canonicorum, dono Domino Deo,
1117 et S. Joanni Baptistæ, et hospitali S. Sepulchri, et pauperibus ipsius hospitalis, et tibi Beraldo Hospitalario, ... et successores eorum Hospitalarii in perpetuum; ea tamen conditione ut in Ecclesia illa nemini sepulturam exhibeant, nisi his tantum qui de expensis hospitalis communiter vixerunt. . . . . .

Num. VIII. Anno 1220.

Bulla Calixti II. confirm. et amplaint. Bullam Paschalis II.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Hierosolym. Seb. Paoli, tom i, pag. 269.

Calixtus Episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabili filio Giraldo Institutori ac Præposito Hierosolymitani Xenodochii, ejusque legitimis successoribus et perpetuum 1120

. . . . . .

Quamobrem, dilecte in Christo fili Giralde Præposite, piis hospitalitatis tuæ studiis incitati petitionem tuam debita benignitate suscipimus, et institutum a te in civitate Jerusalem juxta Ecclesiam B. Johannis Baptistæ Xenodochium, ad exemplar domini prædecessoris nostri sanctæ memoriæ Paschalis Papa, protectione sedis apostolicæ communimus . . . . . .

a domino prædecessore nostro sanctæ memoriæ Paschalis P.P. confirmatum est. Et universa quæ ad sustentandas peregrinorum et pauperum necessitates, etc. *Sequitur inserta, atque ex integro edita Bulla Paschalis quam supra retulimus. N.V.*

Ego Calixtus Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus.

Datum apud St. Ægidium per manum Chrisogoni S. Rom. Eccl. Diac. Card. ac Bibliothecarii XIII. Kal. Julii Indictione XII. Dominicæ Incarn. anno MCXX. Pontificatus autem Dom. Calixti II. anno 1.

Num. IX. Anno 1121 circiter.

Litera Calixti II. ad omnes Episcopos, Abbates, &c. per Europam existentes.

Ex. Cod. Uldarici eruit Jo. Georgius Eccardus, edidítque in corp. Historiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii., pag 364.

Dominus Papa Calixtus servus servorum Dei dilectis . . . episcopis, ... et cæteris
1121 per Europeam fidelibus . . . quæ a prædecessore nostro sanctæ memoriæ Papa Paschalis caritatis, intuitu constituta sunt, nos auctore Domino conservemus. Latorem præsentium ab Hierosolymitani Xenodochio Præposito Raimundo missum ad vos caritati vestræ attentius commendamus. Idem enim R. omnium ab Hierosolyma redeuntium testimonio, commendatur, quod sincere, devote, assidue peregrinorum et pauperum curam gerat. . . .

Num. X. Anno 1121.

. . . edit Eccardus loco citato, pag. 363.

Sed iterum emendate ex Cod. Membran. Uldarici in Biblioth. Cæsar. Vindobon. Num. 45, *pag.* 146.

In nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi et glori-
1121 osissimi Sancti Sepulchri, et omnium virtutum Hierosolimis. Ego Regimundus per gratiam Dei post obitum Domini G. factus servus pauperum Christi, cum omni clero et sancto populo, qui illic militamus ad honorem Dei, mittimus salutem et benedictionem ex parte omnipotentis Dei . . . . . .

Num. XI. Anno

Bernardi Episcopi Arelatensis Confirmatio Donationis facta ab Attone.

Ex. tom. i., Gallia Christiana Instrum., pag. 97.

. . . Ego Bernardus Arelatensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopus, communi consilio canonicorum, . 1129 . . . confirmo Deo, et Sancto Joanni Baptistæ, et Hospitali Sancti Sepulchri et pauperibus, et tibi Stephano Raimundo hospitalario, . . .

atque periculis fatigati, resumptis viribus, recreantur, atque ut ipsi ad sacrosancta loca Domini nostri Jesu Christi corporali præsentia dicata valeant proficisci, Fratres ejusdem domus, non formidantes pro fratribus suis animas ponere, cum servientibus et equittauris, ad hoc officium specialiter deputatis et propriis sumptibus retentis, tam ineundo quam redeundo ab incursibus Paganorum defensant. Illi sunt, per quos Deus Orientalem Ecclesiam a Paganorum spurcitia liberat, et Christiani Nominis inimicos expugnat . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . si qui eorumdem fratrum . . .

. . in quamlibet civitatem, castellum vel vicum advenerint, si forte locus ipse a divinis officiis fuerit interdictus, in eorum jucundo adventu, semel in anno aperiantur Ecclesiæ, et excommunicatis ejectis, divina officia celebrentur.

Ego Innocentius Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus subscripsi.

Ego Joannes Episcopus Cardinalis Ostiensis subscripsi.

Ego Conradus Episcopus Cardinalis Sabinen. subscripsi.

. . . . . .

Datum Laterani, per manus Haymerici, Sanctæ Mariæ Novæ, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Diaconi Cardinalis Cancellarii, decimo Calendas Martii, Indictione octava, Pontificatus vero Domini Innocentii Papæ Secundi anno primo.

Num. XIII. Anno 1130.

Bulla Innocentii II. pro Fratribus Hospitalis Hierosolimitani.

Ex Lunig. Cod. Dipl. tom. iv., pag. 1451.

Innocentius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei venerabilibus Fratribus . . . Religiosos 1130
viros Fratres Hospitalis Hierosolimitani pro religione et honestate sua tanto propensius a malignorum incursibus protegere volumus . . . . . .
. . . . . .

Datum Laterani duodecimo Calendas Martii Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Num. XIV. Anno 1135 circiter.

Regula a F. Raimundo de Podio Hierosol. Hospit. Custode ordinata, et ab Innocentio II. appro- 1135
bata, dein novis accessionibus aucta, primum, ab Eugenio III. et anno 1185 a Lucio III. confirmata.

Ex Cod. Membran. Biblioth. Vaticanæ, N. 4852, *e regione nunc apponitur Itala Interpretatio.*

Ed oltre le sopraddette coso noi confermiamo i rimedii stabiliti dal provvido consiglio per la cura degli

Et sanz les autras choses devant dites nos confermons les remedes establiz de porveable conseil a la cure des

ammalati che è quanto dire che nella casa dell' Ospedale sieno sempre cinque medici, e tre serusici, alla disposizione, dei quali quelle cose, che saranno necessarie in vivande o tutt' altro, siano amministrate, e piu altre cose che voi registrandole nel vostro scritto avete profittevolmente ordinate, e proibiamo rigorosamente che queste cose siano da qualunque nomo rivocate, se non per avventura quando le sopraddette cose fossero mutate in meglio per loro accrescimento. I quali stabilimenti son quelli che vengono dichiarati per la scrittura seguente.

malades, ce est a savoir quen la maison de l'ospital soient tous iozz V. mieges, et III. serurgiens a la disposicion des quelz celes choses lesqueles seront necessaires en viandes ou en autres choses soient amenistrees, et autres plusors choses lesqueles vos metans en vos escriz avez ordine profitablement, et deffendons estroitement ces choses estre rappelees de nul home, se non par aventure les devant dites choses seroient muces et meaus en acreissant iceles, lesquels establimenz sont ceus qui sont declairez par l'escriture ensivant. . . . . .

(5) In oltre proibiamo che i fratelli non vestino da qui inanzi panni ysambruns, nè gilembruns (+) nè pelli selvaggie, nè fustagni, ed

(*) *Nè panni forestieri, nè pelli di lusso.*

(5) Denqui en droit nos deffendons que les freres ne vestent dorenavant dras ysembruns ne gilembruns ni pennes (8) sauvages, ni

(8) *Peaux.*

ancora che non mangino che due volte il giorno, e non mangino carne il mercoledi ed il Sabatto, nè dalla settuagesima sino a Pasqua, se non coloro che sono ammalati o deboli, nè mai dormano nudi, ma vestiti in camicia di lana o di lino o in altro qualumque vestimento. . . . . .

. . . . . .

(6) Nessun fratello accusi l'altro fratello se non lo puo provare bene, e se l'accusera, e non lo potra provare, non è fratello.

. . . . . .

(7) E noi con tutte le cose sopraddette la costituzione, la quale tu Rogerio nostro amato figlio ordinasti col consenso del tuo capitolo intorno ai cibi degl' ammalati, i quali piu volte incorrono malattie incurabili per i cibi non convenienti cioè a dire che ciascun ammalato abbia cio, che la mallattia di ciascheduno richiede, sic-

fustaines, encores que il ne manincent se non II. fois le ioz et que il ne maniucent char le mercredi ne le samedi ne de la septuagisme jusque Pasques se non ceaus qui sont malades ou febles, et onques ne gisent nuz mais vestus en chemises de laine ou de lin ou en autres quelconques vestimenz. . . . . .

(6) Nul frere accuse l'alitre frere sil ne puet bien prouer, et sil l'accusera e prouer ne le porra il n'en est frere.

. . . . . .

(7) Et nos aveuc toutes les choses devant dites, la constitucion la quele tu Rogier notre ame fiz ordenas de lassentement de ton chapistre, des viandes des malades qui plusors fois encoroient maladies non curables por les viandes desconvenables, cest a savoir, que chascun malade ait ce que la maladie de chascun

come si contiene nello scritto fatto; da qui inanzi vogliamo, e giudichiamo esser ferma e stabile, e la confirmiamo e convalidiamo coll' appoggio di questa presente scrittura. . . . . .

requiert seiom il est contenu en lescrit fait. Denqui en droit volons et juions estre ferm et estable, et la confermons et garnissons par le deffendement de cest present escrit. . . . .

. . . . . .



Io Lucio della Cattolica Chiesa Vescovo.

Je Lucius de la Catholique Iglise Evesque.

Io Teodino vescovo di Porto e della sede di S. Rufina.

Je Theodin du Port & dou siege Sainte Rufine Evesque.

Io Enrico vescovo d'Albano.

Je Henry evesque Dalbane.

. . . . . .

Dato a Verona per mano d'Alberto della Santa chiesa di Roma prete Cardinale e Cancelliere agli XI. delle

. . . . . .

Donee a Verone par la main Dalbert de la sainte Iglise de Rome prestre Cardenal et Chancellier es

Calende di Settembre nella quarta indizione nell' anno dell' Incarnazione di nostro Signore 1185, nell quarto anno del Papato del Signor Lucio Papa terzo.

Questo è il proprio trascrito della regola confermata per Lucio Papa e bollata col piombo.

XI. Kalendes de Setembre quarte indicion, in lan de lincarnacion noustre Seignor MCLXXXV., au quart an dou papat dou Seignor Lucie Pape le tiers.

Le est le propre transcrit de la regle confermee par Lucie Pape et boulee de plomb.

Num. XV. Anno 1150 circiter.

Caput XI. Excerptum ex Descriptione Terræ Sanctæ Joannis Virburgensis.

Ex Mss. Vulgavit Bernardus Pez, tom i., Anect. part. iii. pag. 526.

Redit auctor ad descriptionem sacrorum locorum, muris Jerusalem inclusorum, Hospitale S. Joannis Baptistæ, Parthenon Mariæ Majoris, Cœnobium S. Mariæ Latinæ, et S. Sabbæ, Ecclesia S. Jacobi, Hospitale Alemannorum. 1130

Num. XVI. Anno 1154 circiter.

Epistolæ Fr. Petri Hospitalis S. Joannis Baptistæ Constantinopolis Prioris. 1154

Ex Bongarsio Gesta Dei per Francos, pag. 1180, 1181, 1173.

Illustrissimo Dei gratia Ludovico Regi Francorum, P. frater Jerosolimitani Hospitalis, et Prior Ecclesiæ Beati

Joannis Constantinopoleos, nuntiusque sanctissimi Imperatoris E. N. et utriusque vitæ felicitatem . . .

Num. XVII.

Excellentissimo atque Magnifico Regi Franciæ Ludovico . . . . . .

Num. XVIII.

A gratia Dei Romanæ Ecclesiæ summo Pontifici, Hugo Ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ A drianopolis Abbas, licet indignus; necnon et . . . . . .

Num. XIX. Anno 1160 circiter.*

1160 Donatio facta Hospitali Hierosolymitano et Gotofredo Bulionio perperam assegnata.

Ex Bosio Hist. Ord. Hieroso. tom i., lib i., pag .18.

In nome della Santa indivisibile Trinita. Io Goffredo Buglioni per grazia di Dio Duca di Lorena.

That is, this copy of it.

Num. XX.

Eadem Donatio aliter expressa.

Ex. Cod. MSS. Statut. Ord. S. Joannis. Hierosolymit. Biblioth. Imp. Vindebonensis.

El nome della Santa Trinita Padre Figlio et Spirito Santo. Io Guttyfrei de Buglion per Dio gratia duca dello . . faccio assapere ad tutti presenti et futuri come per la rimissione delli miei peccati et per discarico della mia coscienza et per lo segno della crocie che porto sopra le mie spalle, come io venni ad vicitare lo Santo Sepolcro colli altri suoi Santi luoghi et quando vicitai la Santa Chiesa dello Spitale fondato nel nome et honore di Dio et della Vergine Maria et di San Johanni Baptista precursore di Jesu Cristo, nella quale io vidi tanti doni et grazie date dallo Spirito Santo et tanta carità che non è lingua umana cherraccontare lo potesse nè scrivere quello che ssi facieva alli poveri infermi con tanta abbondanza et cosi humilmente, allora mi mossi per divozione et feci un dono allo Spitale per lamore dello honipotente Iddio, adcio, nella Chiesa, la magione et li frati di questo santo hospitale fondato nel nome sopradito, che possino da ora inanzi per ogni tempo usare tutte le loro preminenzie francamente. . . . . .

Num. XXI.

Donatio eadem et a cæteris discrepans.

Ex. Cod. papyrac. Biblioth. Vaticanæ. N. 3136, *pag.* 19.

Ce est le previlegi que le Duc Godefroy de Buillon fist

al hospital en Jerusalem, por loquel sont tesmoynes molt de biens spirituales estre fays en nostre maysson en Jerusalem se parlequel est tesmoignent que le patron de nostre maysson est Saint Johan Battiste certaynement.

Au nom de la sainte, qui dessevrer ne se puet, Trinite, Je Godoffroy par la grace de Dieu et de la reigne ffas assavoyr a tous presens et avenir que come par la remission de mes pechies Je eusse chargie mon cuer et mes espaules don signe dou sauvevur crucifio pour nous; Je parvins au dernay au luog ou ssaresterent les pies du tres aut Jhesu Crist, et com Je eusse visite le saint cepulcre don Seignor et tous less saints luogs de saints hopitious entendement de penitence a la fin Je parvins a lyglise dou benaure hospital, fondez en honor de Dieu et de sa tres benaurée mêre et de Saint Johan precursor dou Seignor, et voyant en ela dons de grace dou Saint Esperit qui no se porroyt recomtier, lesquels sont departis en les povres foybles et malades habundament et humblement voay adyeu et celuy paay autres antisive et dou devot entendement de penitence a la dite mayson de l'hospital et a tous les freres une maison fondee sur monalem abryele mon boure en la froyde montagne de tout ce qui apent deli et ses rentes et avoir et poceor a touts jorns, mays franchement. Cest don de ma donation fu fait en lan delincarnacion noutre Seignor en lan de la prise de Jerusalem MCLXXXIII. en la seysesme epacte en la primieyra Indicion pour la salu de marme, de mon pere, et de ma mere, et de tous mes devantiers et de mes parens et de tous autres fiells et vis et mors.

Num. XXII. Anno 1169.

Donatio Uladislai Boemorum Regis Hospitali Hierosol.

Ex Codice Mss. Bibliothecæ No. P. Francisci Smitmer Vindabonæ.

Ego Wladislaus Rex Boemorum . . . . .

Actum est hoc anno incarnacionis Domini MCLXIX. anno autem mei principatus XXX. 1169 regni vero mei . . . . . .

Num. XXIII. Anno 1176.

Privilegium Iosberti Custodis Hospitalis Hierusalem pro Infirmis.

Ex Codice Mss. Membran. Biblioth. Vaticanæ, No. 4852, pag. 18 tergo.

Il privilegio deglammalati per il pan bianco.

In nome del Padre del Figlio e del Santo Spirito. *Amen.* 1176

. . . . . .

. . io Roberto Maestro dell' ospedale di Gerusalemme per la buona volonta di tutti i nostri fratelli, ed egual consenso nell' udienza del nostro comun capitolo inanzi alla presenza e testi-

Le prevelige des malades por le pain blanc.

Au nom dou Pere et dou Fiz et dou Saint Esperit. *Amen.*

. . . . . .

. . Je Jobert maistre de lospital de Jerusalem par la bone volonte de touz nos freres et ygal assentement en audience de noustre comun chapistre par devant la presence et tehmoing de

monianza della passione e della risurrezione di Nostro Signore ho donato e ceduto in perpetuo possesso a nostri beati Signori, cioè ai poveri dell' ospizio dell' ospedale di Gerusalemme ed a Fra Stefano attuale ospitaliere, ed a loro successori che verranno dopo di loro perpetuamente e per sempre due casali, cioé il Casale di S. Maria, et Caphaer per pan bianco che loro sara dato in tutti i tempi, . .

la passion et de la resurrection noutre Seignor ai done et otroie en possession parmanable a nostres seignors benehurez, ce est a savoir as povres dou Xenodoche de lospital de Jerusalem et a frere Estiene hospitalalier au tens, et a lor successors qui venront. apres eaus perpetuelment a touz iors II. casaus. Se est a savoir le Casal de Saint Marie et Caphaer por pain blanc qui lor soit done tout tens, .

E questo fu fatto l'anno dell' incarnazione di nostro Signore, 1176.

Ce fut fait lan de lincarnacion nontre Seignor MCLXXVI.

Num. XXIV. Anno . . Ante 1181.

Consuetudines Hospitalis S. Joannis Hierosolym.

Ex Cod. Memb. Biblioth Vaticanæ, No. 4852, pag. 20.

Le costumanze della Chiesa dell' ospedale di Gerusalemme.

Le coustumes de liglise de lospital de Jerusalem.

Nel Nome del Padre del Figlio e del Santo Spirito. *Amen.*

Au nom dou Pere et dou Fiz et dou Saint Esperit. *Amen.*

Queste sono le costumanze che devono essere mantenute, ed osservate nella casa dell' ospedale di Gerusalemme.

Ces sont les coustumes qui doivent estre tenues et gardees en la maison de lospital de Jerusalem.

La prima messa mattutina non sia cominciata prima di giorno, ne verum commendatore d'alcuna casa commandi al prete cantar messa, né verun prete osi cantar messa due volte al giorno.

La premier messe matinal ne soit commencee devant le ior, ne nul commandeor daucune maison ne comande au prestre chanter messe et nul prestre ose chanter messe II. fois le ior . .

. . ed è commando che li corpi de' pellegrini o d'altri Cristiani che dopo l'ora del vespro moriranno siano lasciati come sono fino all' altro giorno nell' ospedale ove saranno morti, nè giacciano mai nella bara senza lume e nel seguente giorno avanti prima siano trasportati alla chiesa e dopo le messe sieno portati a seppellire. Le bare delli morti siano tali come erano a Gerusalemme.

et comandement est que les cors des pelerins ou dautres Crestiens qui apres lore de vespres trespasseront, quil soient laissiez a entier jusques a landemain en lospital ou il seront trespasse ne gisent mie en la biere sans lumiere, et lendemain devant prime soient aportez a liglise et apres les messes soient portez en terre. Les bieres des mors soient teles comme les furent en Jerusalem.

Li corpi delli fratelli siano

Les cors des freres soient

vegliati nelli chiese, ed i chierici siano intorno cantando loro salmi ed i cerei siano accesi.

veilliez es Iglises, et les clers soient entour chantant lor saumes et les cierges soient alumez.

Num. XXV. Anno 1181.

Constitutiones Magistri Rogerii.

Ex Cod. Membran. Biblioth. Vaticanæ, No. 4852, *pag.* 29.

Che le chiese dell ' Ospedale siano soggette alla conoscenza del Priore. 1181

Que les Iglises de l'ospital seent ordenees a conoissance du Prior.

Nel Nome del Padre e del Figlio e del Santo Spirito. *Amen.*

Au Nom dou Pere & dou Filz & dou Saint Esperit. *Amen.*

L'anno dell Incarnazione di nostro Signore 1181, il mese di marzo nella domenica quando si-canta Lætare Jerusalem, Rogerio servo dei poveri di Cristo sedendo avanti al generale Capitolo di Chierici e laici e fratelli stando intorno convocati all' onor di Dio ed ornamento della religione ed accrescimento e vantaggio de poveri mælati.

Lan de lincarnacion noutre Seignor MCLXXXI. le mois de mars par dimenche quant len chante Letare Jerusalem, Rogier serf des povres de Crist avant seant en general chapistre clers & lais & freres connus entour estant a lonor de Deu & de la ornement de religion & lacreissement & lutilite des povres malades.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

E la seconda volta stabili col consenso di fratelli che per li malati dell' ospedale di Gerusalemme siano presi IV medici savj, i quali sappiano conoscere la qualità dele' orine e la diversità de malati, e loro possono amministrare rimedio di medicina.

Et la segonde fois establi par lassentement des freres que por les malades de lospital de Jerusalem soient louez IIII mieges sages qui sachent conoistre la qualitie des orines et la diversite des malades & lor puissent amenistrer remede de medecines.

E la terza volta agguinse che li letti degl' ammalati fossero fatti della lunghezza e larghezza per riposare la piu convenevole che potessero essere e che ciascun letto sia coperto della sua copertura, e che ciascun letto abbia i suoi panni tutti proprii.

Et la tierce fois accousta que le liz des malades fucent fait en longeur & en lariour au plus convenable que estre poyssent a reposer & chascun lit soit covert de son covertour & chascun lit eut ses dras touz propres.

E si stabili che fossero fatte piccole culle per i figli delle donne de' pellegrini, i quali nascono nella casa, cosicchè quelle giacciano in una parte separatamente, ed

Cet si establi que petiz bers fucent fait por les enfans des funes pelerines qui naissent en la maison si que il gisent a un part soulet que li enfant alaitant nen aient

i figli lattanti non abbiano alcun danno dalla negligenza della loro madre.

Dopo scrisse il sesto capitolo che le bare de' morti fossero in forma di cancelata cosi come le bare dei fratelli e siano coperte di un panno rosso con croce bianca.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

E si commando quando il consiglio fu tenuto su di cio da fratelli, che il priore dell' ospedale di Francia mandasse ciascun anno in Gerusalemme cento panni di cotone taiz per rinovare le coperte de poveri, e li contasse nella sua corrisposta con quelli che saranno dati alla casa nel suo priorato in elemosina.

In quella medesima maniera, ed a quel conto il priore dell' ospedale di S. Gilles raccolga altretanti panni di cotone ciascun anno e li mandi in Gerusalemme, con

aucun ennui par la mesaise de lor mere.

Apres escrist le siste chapistre que les bieres des mors fucent en maniere dan cancelees ausi come les bieres des freres, & soient convert dun drap rouge an croiz blanche.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Cet si comanda quant le conseil fu tenus des freres sur ce que le prior de lospital de France mandast chascun an en Jerusalem C. dras de coton taiz por renoveler les covertors des povres & les contast en sa responsion avec ceaus qui seront donez a la maison en son priore en aumone.

En ciele meisme maniere & acel conte le prior de lospital de Saint Gile autretant de dras de coton achate chascun an & mande en Jerusalem aveuc ceaus qui

quelli che saranno dati per il suo priorato per l'amor di Dio à poveri dell 'ospedale.

Il priore d'Italia ciascun anno mandi in Gerusalemme a Signori poveri due mila aune di fustagno di diversi colori ch' egli conti ciascun anno nella sua corrisposta.

Ed il Priore di Pisa mandi parimenti al altretanto fustagno.

Ed il Priore di Venezia parimente e tutto sia contato nella loro corrisposta.

E li bali similmente d'oltramare siano vigilanti a questo medesimo servigio. Per esso il Bali' d' Antiochia mandi a Gerusalemme due milla canne di tella di cotone per le coperte de malati.

Il priore di Montepellegrino mandi in Gerusalemme II. quintali di zucchero per lo sciroppo, e le medicine e gli elettuari degl' ammalati.

Per quel medesimo servigio il bali di Tabaria ne mandi altretanto.

seront donez en son priore por lamor de Deu as povres de lospital.

Le prior dytalie chascun an inande en Jerusalem as seignors povres II. m. aunes de fustaines de diverses colors que il conte an en sa responsion.

Et le prior de Pise mande autresi autretant de fustaines.

Et le prior de Veneise autresi, & tout soit conte sur lor responsion.

Et les bailliz autresi de contramer soient veillant a ceist meisme servise. Dont le bailli dantioche mande en Jerusalem II. m. canes de toile de coton as covertors des malades.

Le prior de Monpelerin mande en Jerusalem II quintaus de sucre por le syrop & les medicines & les laituares des malades.

An cel meisme servise le bailli de tabarie en mande autretant.

Il priore di Constantinopoli mandi per li malati CC fodre. In appress oltre le guardie e le veglie di giorno, e di notte, che li fratelli dell' ospedale devono fare con fervido e devoto cuore a poveri malati come à 'signori fu aggiunto nel capitolo generale, che in ciascuna strada e piazza dell' ospedale ove i malati riposono IX sergenti siano pronti al loro servigio, i quali lavino i loro piedi bonamente e gli ascuigano col panno, e facciano i loro letti ed amministrano a languenti cibi necessari, e giovevoli, e che gli aiutano devotamente ed obbediscono in tutte le cose al vantaggio degl' ammalati.

La conferma del Maestro Roggiero qual cosa debba fare la Casa Sappiano tutti li fratelli della casa dell' ospedale che sono e saranno che le buone customanze della casa dell' ospedale di

Le prior de Constantinople mande por les malades CC feautres. Apres sanz la garde & les veilles de ior et de nuit que les freres de lospital doivent faire de ardant & de devot corage as povres malades com a seignors fu anjoint en chapistre general que en chascune rue & place de lospital ou les malades reposent, que IX serjent soient prest a lor servise qui lavent lor pies bonement & les essuent de dras, & faient lor liz & aministrent as languissans viandes necessaires & profitables ; & les abiurent devotement & qui obeyssent en toutes choses au profit des malades.

La confirmacion de maestre Rogier quel chose la maison doit faire. Sachent touz les freres de la maison de lospital qui sont & qui avenir sont, que les bones coustumes de la maison de

Gerusalemme sogliono essere tali :

Primieramente la santa casa dell' ospedale suole ricevere gli nomini e le donne ammalate, e suole tenere li medici che de' malati abbiano cura, c che facciono lo sciroppo de' malati e provedano le cose che fossero necessarie a malati.

Li tre giorni della settimana sogliono avere gli ammalati carne fresca di porco e di montone, c chi non puo mangiarne abbia gallina.

lospital de Jerusalem soloient estre teles.

Premierement la sainte maison de lospital soloient ressevoir les homẽs & les femes malades & soloient les mieges tenir, qui des malades eussent cure & qui feyssent le syrobdes malades & qui porveyssent les choses qui fucent necessaires as malades.

Less III. iors de la semaine soloient avoir les malades char fresche de porc ou de mouton & qui nen povit mangier si avoit geline.

Ciascun anno suole la casa dell' ospedale dare a poveri mille pellicie di grossi agnelli.

E tutti i figli abbandonati di padre e di madre, suole l'ospedale riceverli e farli nutrire.

. . .

E suole la casa dell' ospe-

Chascun an soloit la maison de lospital doner as povres M. pelices de gros aigneaus.

Et tous les enfans getez de peres & des meres soloit lospital ressevoir faire nourrir.

. . . .

Et soloit la maison de

dale tenere un fratello calzolajo e quattro sergenti che accomodino le scarpe vecchie a dare per Dio.

E l'elemosiniere suol tenere due sergenti, ch' accomadino la roba vecchia ch' egli da a' poveri.

lospital tenir I frere corvoisier an IIII serjens qui appareilloient les vielz soliers a doner por Deu.

Et laumonier soloit tenir II serjens qui appareilloient la vielle robe que il donoit as povres.

E ciascun giorno sogliono mangiare 30 poveri una volta il giorno alla tavola per Dio, e li cinque chierici sopraddetti sono di quei 30 poveri, ...

Et chascun ior soloient mangier XXX. povres une fois le ior a la table por Deu, & les V. cles devant diz esteent de ceaux XXX povres, ...

E tre giorni la settimana si da l'elemosina a tutti coloro che la vengano ricercare, pane, vino e cucinato.

Et trois iors de la semaine donoient laumone a toz ceaus qui la venoient requerre, pain & vin & cuisinat.

Num. XXVI. Anno 1185.

Donatio Friderici Boemorum Ducis Hospitali Hierosolymi.

Ex Cod. Mss. Biblioth. N. V. Franc Smitmer.

In Nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti. Amen.
1188 Ego Fridericus Dei gratia Dux Boemorum circum-

spiciens & considerans patris mei beatæ memoriæ Wladislai regis & aliorum predecessorum meorum facta commendabilia. . . . . .

Actum est autem hoc anno Dominice incarnacionis MCXXX quinto, Principatus vero mei decimo, Pontificatus vero Brecizlai fratris mei anno quinto.

Num. XXVII. Anno . . . .

Diploma Henrici Episcopi Pragensis pro Fratribus Hospitalis Hierosolym.

Ex Cod. Mss. N. V. Francisci Smitmer Vindabonæ.

Henricus Dei gracia Episcopus Pragensis Rogero magistro Hospitalis Hierosolymitani ejusque successoribus. .

Num. XXVIII. Anno 1188.

Ex Codice Mss. Archiv. Prior S. Johannis Vindabonæ.

Clemens Episcopus servus servoruu Dei dilectis filiis de Plas & de Stragovia Abbatibus salutem & 1188
apostolicam benedictionem. Referentibus dilectis filiis nostris fratribus Hospitalis Jerosolymitani nos accepisse sciatis, quod nobilis vir P. miles de Boemia. .

Datum Laterani IIII. idus Octobris Pontificatus nostri anno primo 1188.

Num. XXIX. Anno 1189.

Ex Mss. apud N. V Franciscum Smitmer Vindabonæ.

Omnibus sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis tam presentibus
1189 quam futuris Garnerius de Neapoli prior & totum capitolu fratrum Hospitalis Jerosolymitani in Anglia eternam in Domino salutem. Novit universitas vestra quod nos tenemur servire & divina celebrare cotidie in cappella Villelmi filii Nigelli apud Swerling salvo jure Ecclesiæ de Pecham, in omnibus quod ut firmiter observetur presenti scripto & sigilli nostri testimonio curavimus confirmare. Testibus fratri Alano, fratre Mathon, fratre Roberto de Lindes & preceptore Cantie, fratre Roberto filio Riccardi, fratre Ugone de Chahul, fratre Ilberto de Vilnton, fratre Henrico Nocl, Valton clerico. Anno Dominice incarnationis MCLXXXIX. apud London.

Num. XXX. Anno. . .

Scries Priorорum Ordinis Hierosolym in Anglia.

Ex Cod. Monumentum et Evidentiarum et Locorum Prioratus Hospit. S. Joanni in Anglia exist. in Biblith. Cotton.

Nomina Priorорum Hospitalis S. Joannis Jerosolimitani.

I. Fr. Garnerius de Neapoli erat primus Prior tempore fundacionis locorum domus de Bukland tempore Regis Henrici Secundi qui congregavit sorores tunc per diversa loca dispersas ac tempore Domine Ssme. prime Prioisse . . que Priorissa vixit in virgineo statu 60 annis. Iste erat Prior per plures annos ante passionem sancti Thomæ Martiris et obiit ultimo die Augusti.

II. Fr. Ricardus de Turk Prior tempore ejusdem Priorisse obiit 13 die Augusti.*

III. Fr. Rudulphus de Dyna Prior tempore ejusdem Priorisse obiit 13 die Maii.†

IV. Fr. Gilbertus de Veer Prior tempore ejusdem Priorisse. Dedit sororibus Domus de Bukland C. S. annue pensionis exeunt: de Maneriis de Reynhains. Obiit 13 die Augusti.

V. Fr. Hugo de Alneto, Prior tempore ejusdem Priorisse, obiit 23 die Novembris.

VI. Fr. Alanus Prior et Episcopus de Bangor tempore ejusdem Priorisse obiit 19 die Maii.‡

VII. Fr. Robertus Thesaurarius tempore ejusdem Priorisse obiit 26 die Octobris.

VIII. Fr. Terrionus de Nussa obiit 21 die Decembris, A.D. 1237.

IX. Fr. Robertus de Maunby Prior obiit 14 die mensis Octob.

X. Fr. Robertus de Veer Prior dedit Ecclesiæ de Clerkenwell unam de sex ydris in quibus Ihesus convertit aquam in vinum. A.D. 1269, et obiit 15 die Febr. A.D. 1272.

XI. Fr. Petrus de Hakam Prior tempore Regis Ed. Primi obiit 11 die Januarii.

XII. Fr. Simon Bocard Prior obiit 3 die Maii.

* All English names, yet how changed! Then much more, if out of England.

† Dinan, Dynant, Dynaunt, Dynham. Sir H. Nicolas Syn., i. 196.

‡ in 1195. Id. ii. 285.

XIII. Fr. Helyas Smelthon Prior obiit 27 die April.

XIV. Stephanus Fulburn Prior obiit 1 die Januarii.

XV. Fr. Joseph Chauncy Prior obiit 19 die Maii. Iste fieri fecit Cappellam Domini Prioris in domo de Clerkenwell tempore Eduardi I. a Conquestu.

XVI. Fr. Walterus Prior acquisivit Preceptorias de Quenynton Shenegay et plures terras et tenem. et obiit 27 Maii.

XVII. Fr. Wilhelmus de Haunle Prior fieri fecit claustrum de Clerkenwell A.D. 1284 et Regni Regis Ed. Primi 12, et obiit 4 die Febr. A.D. supradicto.

XVIII. Fr. Ricardus Penley Prior tempore Regis Ed. Filii, et obiit 3 die Augusti.

XIX. Fr. Robertus de Dyna Prior obiit 24 die Novemb.

XX. Fr. Wilhelmus Cochal Prior obiit 12 die Octob. A.D. 1318. Litera Dominicalis D.

XXI. Fr. Thomas Larchier Prior obiit 28 die Augusti A.D. 1329. Hic dedit sororibus de Bukland 40 solid. annuatim improprium percipiend. de maneriis de Hiden pertinen. de Templecombe.

XXII. Fr. Leonardus de Tybertis Prior ultimo die Januarii; tempore hujus bona Templariorum data sunt Hospitalariis.

Additio Priorum Hospitalis S. Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia usque ad eorum dissolutionem in Anglia sub Henrico VIII. per

me Petrum Leycester de Tabley Cestrensem collecta anno 1649. In Bibl. Cotton. Cod. No. 2000.

XXIII. Fr. Philippus de Thane* regnante Edwardo III. annis 10 a 20.

. . . Fr. Johannes Dalton. Vid. Inf. observ. No. 18.†

XXIV. Fr. Robertus Hales regnante Edwardo III. An. 30. obiit 4. Ricardi II.

XXV. Fr. Johannes Penley an. 39 a 45.

XXVI. Fr. Johannes Redington ab. an. 7. ad. an. 18. Ricardi II.

XXVII. Fr. Waltherus Grandon ab. an. 2 ad. an 13. Henrici IV.

XXVIII. Fr. Wilhelmus Hulles ab. an. 5. Henrici V. ad an. 8. Henrici VI.

XXIX. Fr. Robertus Malery ab an. 11 ad. an. 17 Henrici VI.

XXX. Fr. Robertus Botill seu Botiller ab an. 2 Henrici VI. an. 1442. Item an. 10 Edwardi IV. quo anno ex Archiv. Turr. Lundinensis nominatus est primus Baro Angliæ et Regis Consiliarius.

XXXI. Fr. Johannes Weston an. 2. Henrici VII.

XXXII. Fr. Johannes Kendall an. 15. Henrici VII.

* Others write *Thame;* of which name there was an ancient family in Berkshire. Sir H. N. Syn. i. 62, and ii. 639.

† Prior anno 1361.

XXXIII. Fr. Thomas Docwra an. 20. Henrici VII. ad an. 4. Henrici VIII.*

XXXIV. Fr. Wilhelmus Weston an. 32 ab Henrico VIII. sæcularisatus obiit 7. Maii 1540.

Num. XXXI. Anno . .

Series Priorissarium de Clerkenwell.

Ex lib. cui titulus Ancient Funeral Monuments in Great Britain and Ireland, collected by John Weever, London, 1631.

1. Cristiana. 2. Ermengarda. 3. Hevvisia. 4. Eleonora. 5. Alesia. 6. Cecilia. 7. Margarita Whalvile. 8. Isabella. 9. Alicia Oxeney. 10. Amice Marey. 11. Dionisia Brass. 12. Margarita Bray. 13. Johanna Lewkenner. 14. Johanna Fulham. 15. Catharina Braybrooke. 16. Lucia Allwood. 17. Johanna Viene. 18. Margherita Brakwell. 19. Isabella Wenworth. 20. Margarita Bull. 21. Agnesia Clifford. 22. Catherina Green. 23. Isabella Hussey. 24. Isabella Laakwille.†

Num. XXXII. Anno 1267.

Ex Thes. Anecd. Edmundi Martene, t. ii. pag. 532.

Dilectis filiis fratri Ph. de Englis Hospitalis Jerosolimitani et aliis ejusdem ordinis fratribus in regno Siciliæ constitutis.

Licet vestri ordinis habeat observantia contra solos arma vos sumere Saracenos, quia tamen parum a Saracenis dif-

* Many write Docrai, or Docray. At Agincourt was a Docwre; in Ireland may have been retained the best way, which is simply u instead of w, making the word of three syllables—Docura. Lodge, i. 34, 348—vi. 36.

† Vid. Num. XXXVIII.

ferunt, immo aliqui sunt deteriores eisdem, carissimi in Christo filii nostri Caroli illustris Regis Siciliæ proditores qui primo ad Saracenos Tunicii transfugerunt et inde postmodum ingressi Siciliam cum incredulæ gentis auxilio quietem provinciæ perturbarunt; . . .

. . . . . nullo privilegio sedis Apostolicæ, nullaque constitutione vel observantia seu consuetudine vestræ religionis obstantibus, plenam vobis et liberam tenore præsentium concedimus facultatem et laborem quem pro tam pio negotio assumendum duxeritis in remissionem vobis proficere peccanimum volumus, præsentibus post annum minime valituris. Datum Viterbii idibus Octobris anno III.

Num. XXXIII. Anno 1306.

Literæ Cardinalis Gulielmi Tituli S. Pudentianæ ad Fratres Ordinis Hospitalarii S. Antonii, nunc ad Hierosolymitanum spectantis.

Ex Tabular Academia Nob. Ecclesiast. de Urbe, tom. i., Instrument. Roman., fol. 35.

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Datum Pictavis die 20 mensis Januar. A.D. 1308. Pontif. Domini Clementis Papæ V. Anno III.

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. . Avenione IV. kal. Septembris Pontificatus nostri anno IV.

Num. XXXIV. Anno 1308.

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Ex Tabular prædicto loc. cit., fol. 51.

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Datum Avenione IV. kalend. Septembris Pontificatus nostri anno IV.

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(*Ex Rogeri de Hoveden Chron., pag.* 358.)

Anno gratiæ 1185 . . . . eodem anno . . . idem Rex (Hen. II.) fuit in Anglia apud *Windeshoures* die circumcisionis Domini, Baldewinus Leprosus, Rex Jerusalem, et Templares et Hospitalares miserunt ad Regem Angliæ filium *Matildæ* Imperatricis, *Heraclium* sanctæ civitatis Jerusalem Patriarcham, et summos Hospitalis et Templi Magistros, una cum vexillo Regio, et clavibus sepulchri Domini, et turris David, et civitatis Jerusalem; postulantes ab eo celerem succursum sicut ab hærede et Domino terræ Jerusalem. Est enim sciendum quod Fulco frater Gaufridi Comitis Andagaviæ patris quoque istius Henrici fuit Rex Jerusalem, ut superius dictum; cum autem prædictus Patriarcha et Magister Hospitalis venirent in Angliam, Rex Angliæ occurrit eis in villa de *Redinges* et eos cum gaudio suscepit; qui statim ad pedes Regis provoluti cum fletu magno, et singultu verba salutationis ex parte Regis et principum, et universæ plebis terræ Jerosolimitanæ proferebant, et exponentes causam adventus eorum tradi-

derunt ei vexillum Regium et claves sepulchri Domini et claves turris David et civitatis Jerusalem ex parte Regis et principum terræ Jerosolimitanæ et literas ex parte Lucii Papæ in hac forma.

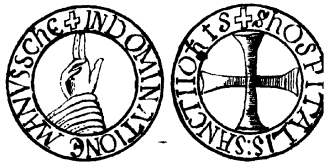
Lucius Episcopus servus servorum Dei Henrico illustri Anglorum . . . . Ille enim *Saladinus* sancti et tremendi nominis inhumanissimus persecutor . . . . sane recolat prudentia tua . . . . et ita in hac parte te cautum et studiosum exhibeas ut te in tremendo judicio tua conscientia non accuset et ejus qui non fallitur districti judicis interrogatio non condemnat.

His auditis Dominus Rex respondit rem bene processuram Deo volente, et statuit eis terminum suæ responsionis primam Dominicam Quadragesimæ apud Londonias. Ad quam Dominicam, Dominus Rex et Patriarcha, et Episcopi, et Abbates, et Comites, et Barones regni Angliæ et *Willielmus* Rex Scotiæ et David frater ejus cum comitibus et baronibus terræ suæ, convenerunt in Londoniis; et habito inde cum deliberatione consilio, placuit universis, quod Dominus Rex consulerit inde Dominicum suum *Philippum* Regem Franciæ, et sic soluto concilio Dominus Rex dedit universis hominibus suis tam Clericis, quam Laicis, licentiam capiendi crucem. Unde factum est quod *Baldewinus* Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus, et Ranulfus Justitiarius Angliæ, et Walterius . . . . et Hugo . . . . . et alii quamplures Episcopi transmarini et cismarini et *fere omnes Comites*, et *Barones*, et *Milites Angliæ*, Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ et Brittanniæ et Andegaviæ et Cenommanniæ et Turoniæ, crucem ceperunt. In cujus captione quiddam mirabile dictu contigit. Quidem

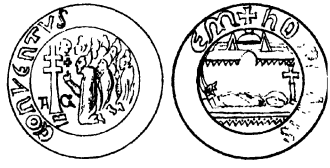
enim die . . . . The rest is altogether too puerile to quote. . . . . Deinde Dominus Rex venit usque *Windeshoures* et ibi in Dominica . . . . Deinde Dominus Rex Angliæ et Heraclius Patriarcha et multi de Principibus Angliæ transfretaverunt inter *Dovere* et *Witsand.* Dominus autem Rex Angliæ cum in Normanniam venisset magnum congregavit exercitum . . . . Deinde Philippus Rex Franciæ et Henricus Rex Angliæ habito colloquio de subventione facienda terræ Jerosolimitanæ, promiserunt se bonum auxilium illi facturos, tam in hominibus, quam in pecunia. Sed hæc omnia prefatus Patriarcha parvipendebat. Sperabat enim quod esset reducturus secum ad defensionem Jerosolimitanæ terræ prefatum Regem Angliæ vel aliquem de filiis suis vel aliquem alium virum magnæ auctoritatis; sed quod hoc esse non potuit, repatriaturus, dolens et confusus a curia recessit.

I suppose Michaud had some other authority for the scornful words; but I do not find them in Hoveden. On a double claim Henry might be called the rightful heir to the Jerusalem throne, since he had the recent one of Fulk, as well as the preceding election of William of Cornwall. That William's refusal had never been popular in Christendom was remarked before, and it was hoped that this King of England would seize such an opportunity of making amends for his ancestor's lukewarmness, whether mentioned or not. But neither Henry seems to have been so backward, nor Heraclius so extravagantly insolent, as has been pretended.













ordo hospital





Num. XXXVI.

Dall Origine dell'Ordine di Malta, dal Paoli.

Capo XVIII.

De Compagni del beato Fondatore viventi dal 1099 fino al 1135.

Fra Lamberto.*

Fra Roberto di Riccardo. Questo Ospitalario non puo dubitarsi che non fosse uno dei confondatore della sacra milizia, trovandolo al governo dello stabilimento di Londra l'anno 1100. Era Fra Roberto d'una nobilissima famiglia Inglese. . . . . .

Fra Ruggiero Pagano. Viveva questo Cavaliere a tempi del Re di Gerusalemme Balduino I., Maestro in 1112.

Fra Gubaldo, Gran Priore di Messina come e chiaro dal diploma di Roggiero Re di Sicilia colla data del 1137.

Fra Beraldo, or Bernardo, Priore in Arles, di questo abbiamo altrove parlato. Vivea occupande il detto impiego nell' anno 1117. . . . .

Fra Gerardo Jeberto. †

Fra Calvito. Di tutti questi ospitalarj sono registrati, i nomi nella citata carta del 1117.

Fra Durando Contestabile; occupavasi di quest' uffizio nell' anno 1126, come costa da una lettera di Ugone Sig-

* Gerard's first knight, most brave, nobly born, faithful, his associate in martyrdom. But whatever Sir Lambert was, he died soon.

† Afterwards Grand Master. Gerardo instead of Roberto may be a mistake; but equally shows Jeberto was a surname.

nore di Joppe. Il suo nome si legge ancora in altra carta antecedente dell 1125. . . . .

Fra Pietro Malet. Della nobilissima famiglia Malet detta anche Malleville celebre e nota presso le storie Normanne. Il suo nome si trova nella citata lettera di Ugone che é del 1126. La casa Malet era delle piu cospicue presso la sopraddetta nazione. Nel Catalogo delle famiglie Normanne che aveano terre sotto Guglielmo il Conquistatore, troviamo fra magnati Roberto Malet. Ivi sono registrati ancora Durando Malet e Guglielmo Malet, e questi hanno luogo fra possessori di feudi. Un altro Guglielmo Malet viveva a tempi del nostro Fra Pietro, e forse era suo fratello, ed il quale incontrò la disgrazia d'Enrico I. Re d' Inghilterra, come narra Roberto del Monte, e fu spogliato de suoi beni.

Fra Pietro Guglielmo Cancelliere. Tutti questi fratelli dell' ospedale vengono nominati nella sopraddetta lettera di Ugone Signore di Joppe del citato anno 1126, e de quali il nome di Fra Pietro Galliziano è segnato anche in altro diploma del 1133.

Fra Raimondo di Poggio. Di questo cavaliere per ogni riguardo insigne si parla in molti diploma dell' ordine, e come fu successore di Gerardo, viene chiamato Custode dei poveri, Maestro, Provveditore, Regolatore. . . . .

Num. XXXVII.

Compagni del beato Gerardo, che si trovano viventi fra 1135 ed il 1170.

Fra Raimondo Palazzo.

Fra Pietro, *Tesoriere*, nel 1141.

Fra Gerardo, *Pincerna*, nel 1141.

Fra Pietro, *Priore* di Montepellegrino nel 1145.

Fra Gisleberto Malemanno; si fa menzione d'ambedue in una lettera di Raimondo Conte di Tripoli, distesa nel 1145. Il Cavaliero Malemanno o Malemans, e credibile fosse d'una illustre famiglia Normanna di tal cognome, e della quale parlano gli scrittori di tal nazione.

Fra Nicolao, *Priore* in Messina, nominato in una donazione del 1147.

Fra Arnaldo, *Priore*, in S. Egidio, veggasi il Codice Diplomatico, N. XXI.

Fra Nicasio Burgio; ovveramente Burgesio.

Fra Pietro Alemanno, *Priore* in Constantinopoli circa 1154.

Fra Girardo *Maestro* in Accon.

Fra Ponzio *Custode* degl' infermi.

Fra Guglielmo *Precettore* in Antiochia nel 1155.

Fra Bernardo d'Ansillan o Adiliano, *Priore* in Tolosa nel 1160.

Fra Roberto di Riccardo juniore che fu *Maestro* in Inghilterra nel 1150 della famiglia Pembroke detti poi di Vessey, e per linea materna da Contestabili di Cestria— di de Lacy.

Fra Garnerio di Napoli, *Priore* in Inghilterra nel 1165, e 1189.

Num. XXXVIII.

orelle existenti in divese precettorie dell' ordine in Inghilterra nel 1180.

Suor Melisente e stava presso Standone, suor Giovanna ed era in Bandone, Suor Basilia ed abitava in Berebroche, Suor Amabilia e Suor Amicia di Malcthon e stavano in Senegeje, Suor Cristiana di Hoggshave fissata in Hoggeslave, Suor Petronilla presso Cosforde, Suor Agnese presso Clanefelde, oltre diverse altre delle quali si parla in varie carte, e che si trovavano altrove situate. Tre celebri nobilissime donne Janseranna, Adelsinda, e Adelaide viccontessa di Cociaco,* che unite ad altre matrone presero lo stesso metodo di vita; e ce lo narrono i cronaci Besuense e Beccense. Questa consuetudine forse che ebbe principio dal sistema della vita Apostolica introdotta a tempi di Guglielmo Abbate d'Irsangia ed approvata da.

Urbano Secondo, Papa.

Fra Guarnerio di Napoli era il primo priore nel tempo della fondazione delle sorelle nella casa di Buckland a tempi d'Enrico II. e congregò le sorelle allora disperse per i diversi luoghi.

Or questa medesima difficoltà che incontrò sempre la religione Gerosolimitana nell' acconsentire, che le sue sorelle vivessero lontane dagl' ospizi e chiuse ne'monasteri,

* A Sir William de Cochal, or Cociaco, was the 20th Grand Prior of England, Num. XXX.

è un convincente argomento che una tale introduzione era nuova e contraria a quelle prime leggi dell' istituto, di cui fu essa mai sempre gelosa e tenace. Quando la Regina Sancia volle fondare il monastero di Sixena, e ne cercò il consenso e l'approvazione di Fra Raimondo Berengario provveditore dell' ospedale, esso così rispose: "Benchè questo nuovo modo di vivere non consueto alle nostre sorelle da voiistituito a noi si domandi; perchè procede da una copiosa fonte di religione noi il vostro lodevol proposito confermiamo."

Suor Margherita di Lacy le racolse; e perciò . . . . . "La Priora e le sorelle siamo obbedienziarie del priore di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme, esistente in Inghilterra" risposero le dette dame ad Arrigo IV. Re d'Inghilterra.

D'Isabella Laakville ultima delle priore di Clerkenwell (come nella serie Num XXXI.) esisteva tutt'ora nel 1631, l'iscrizione sepolcrale la riportammo tradotta in Italiano. Eccola adesso originale.

Hic jacet Isabella Laakville,
Quæ fuit Priorissa nuper Prioratus de Clerkenwell.
Tempore dissolutionis ejusdem Prioratus
Quæ fuit 21 Octobris, obiit D. 1557
Et anno regni Reginæ Elizabeth Dei gratia, &c XII.

Num. XXXIX.

Ex Codice Diplomatico Gerosolimitano, Num. xxxvii. Giunta.

. . . . . .

Richardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, &c. Quam magnifica, quam jugis in operibus pietatis, sacrosanctæ domus 1194

Hospitalis Hierosolymitani existat ad universitatis vestræ notitiam, non minus immensitas rei quam famæ potest celeritas deduxisse. Cujus rei fidem certissimam in Hierosolymitanis partibus constitutis propriorum oculorum testimonium & experientia ipsa fecere. Nam præter quotidiana quæ cæteris indigentibus & supra fidem, & supra ipsius domus facultates Magister & fratres ipsius domus Hospitalis de Hierusalem exhibuere subsidia; nobis quoque & ultra mare & circa tam devote tamque magnifice subvenerunt, ut & ipsa magnitudo subventionis & obligatæ sibi conscientiæ nostræ indicium tanta nos beneficia dissimulare sub ingratitudine non permittant. Quo circa piis eorum operibus volentes pariter in opere pietatis respondere, pro salute animæ domini Regis Henrici Patris nostri & Alienordis Reginæ Matris nostræ, & Fratrum nostrorum, necnon & antecessorum nostrorum & nostræ, dedimus & concessimus Deo, & Beatæ Mariæ semper Virgini, & Beato Joanni Baptistæ, & supradictæ domui Sancti Hospitalis de Jerusalem, & Magistro & fratribus, & hominibus suis, in omnibus tenementis suis, & in eleemosynis, quæ eis datæ fuerunt; &c. omne ius, &c., & sint liberi, & quieti, & de exercitu & equitatu, & de theloneo, &c. nihil nobis retinentes, nec heredibus, & successoribus nostris, nisi tantummodo orationes, & bona spiritualia sæpedictæ domus Hospitalis Hyerosolymitani.

Testibus S. Lemovicensi, & Henr. Xantonensis Episcopis, Balduino de Bethune, Roberto de Harcort, &c. Datum per manum Willelmi Eliensis Episcopi, Apostolicæ sedis Legati, Cancellarii nostri, apud Spiram, quinto die Januarii anno V. regni nostro.

Num. XL.

Ex Codice Diplomatico Geros., Num. ii.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

1110 . . . Ego Balduinus gratia Dei Rex Jherosolimitanus. . . . In primis laudo & confirmo donum quod Dux frater meus fecit H. Jherosolimitano videlicet de quodam Casale quod vocatur Hessilia. . .

. . . Fuerunt autem testes hujus scripturæ quæ facta est iiij Kalendas Octobris anno ab Incarnatione Domini centesimo decimo . . . post millesimum

Hugo de Puzath . . . & Guido de Millen atque Gothman, & alii quamplures Nobiles & Boni viri qui viderunt & audierunt.

Num. XLI.

The Crat of which Wratislaw speaks as one cause of the deep gratitude he owed to the Hospitallers, and which he testifies by his donation—no sooner did they hear the news of his setting out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, than they sent him the Keys of Crat for him and his escort to remain there as long as he pleased, considering it his own and all its dependencies—Castra cum omnibus suis pertinentis absolute mihi meisque sociis ad nobis serviendum offerentes quamdiucumque intra illa manere vellemus.—*Appendix, Num. XXII.*—lies about thirty miles from Tortosa, and had been given to the Hospitallers by Raymond, Count of

Tripoli, as early as 1140.—*Seb. Paoli: Notizie Geo.* i. 428. Similiter concessi & laudavi *Cratum—Cod. Diplom. Geros. Num.* xxiii., i. 24. But Crach, Kerak or Petra did not then belong to the Hospitallers, and was near the Dead Sea, and not at all on Wratislaw's road.—*Seb. Paoli: Notizie Geografiche,* i. 447. They were quite different places, though sometimes written alike, perhaps by mistake. This latter was the fortress of which Soldans of Egypt were so scrupulously fond, and refused to give back, as communicating with Mecca; and only, in 1190, was given to the Order by the Grand Master Gardiner, who had inherited it.*

Num. XLII.

Ex Cod. Diplomatico Geros., Num. lxxix.

Carta di Guidone ottavo Re di Gerusalemme Latino, in cui dona all' ospedale di Gerusalemme una strada
1191 ivi descritta. In Nomine Dei nostri Jesu Christi. Amen. Notum sit omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus, quod ego Guido per Dei gratiam in Sancta Civitate Jerusalem Latinorum Rex octavus districtionem & parvitatem platee domorum Hospitalis Acconensis dinoscens . . . pro redemptione anime mee & pro salute

* Bosio: i. 6.—Petra was the real name, Crach but a vulgarism even then; for its bishop was entitled *of Petra,* Episcopus Petracensis; and that it had a bishop in 1177 implies some Christian population. Cod. Dipl. Geros. Num. lxii., i. 63.—Seb. Paoli: Osservazioni, i. 555 and 558. It is the confusion that is modern. Kerak and Petra were precisely one and the same spot. Petra, the capital, may have given its name to the whole district, including Kerak as one of its outposts.

anime uxoris mee pie recordationis Domine Sibille venerabilis Regine, omniumque predecessorum meorum Regum, Jherosolimitanorum dono . . . tibi Fratri Guarnerio, D. H. Jher. venerabili Magistro . . . stratam & viam . . . . ut portam & plateam Curie vestre amplietis . . . . Datum est apud Accon per manum Petrii Cancellarii nostri, & Ecclesie Tripolitane venerabilis Episcopi. Anno Incarnati Verbi M°C°L°. XXXXJ. Indictione X. ij° Kal. Februarii.

Num. XLIII.

Ex Cod. Diplomatico Geros., Num. lii.

. . . . . quod ego Constantia bone memorie quon-
1173 dam Regis Gallie L. filia & strenui Galliarum Regis L. soror, necnon & Sancti Egidii Comitissa . . & fratris mei illustris regis L. & ejus filii Domini Philippi & filiorum meorum & totius generis mei assigno Deo & Sancto Johanni Baptiste & sancte Domui Hospitalis Jherusalem & . . . . . Post obitum vero meum, corpus meum Hospitalarii accipiant & in cimiterio suo ut consororis sue honorifice acceptum sepeliant & annuale meum celebrari faciant . . . . . Quod si aliquis malignus contra hanc meam donationem, quod absit, surrexerit & perverse agere voluerit, maledictionem & iram Omnipotentis Dei incurrat. Et ut hoc meum donum ratum & firmum permaneat sigilli mei auctentica impressione scriptum hoc muniri & roborari feci. Factum est autem hoc anno ab incarnatione Dni

M°C°L°XX.°iij. Hujus rei testes sunt Dominus R. de Sidone . . . Robertus Niger . . . Magister Lambertus, qui scripsit. . . . . .

Num. XLIV.

Ex Cod. Diplomatico Geros, Num. lxxx.

. . . . . .

. . . . quod ego Bohemundus Dei gratia Princeps Antiochenus, Raimundi bone memorie Principis filius, Confrater factus sum Sanctæ Domus hospitalis Jerusalem 1193

. . . . . Et quando venero ad obitum meum, si corpus meum non fuerit sepultum in Ecclesia Sancti Petri Antiocheni, non liceat alicui sepelire illud nisi in domo Sancti Hospitalis; & quando contingerit me persolvere debitum mortis, volo ut memorata Domus Hospitalis habeat loricam meam, galeam meam, caligas meas ferreas, & gladium meum, scutum meum, & lanceam meam, & de meis equis meliorem, mulam de sella mea, & mulam que portat loricam meam, et omnes meos summerios, & pro recognitione hujus fraternitatis, dono et concedo Sancte Domui Hospitalis per singulos annos anguillas quingentas. .

. . . . . .

Factum est hoc privilegium anno Incarnati Verbi M°C°XC.°iij. Indictione xj. mense Septembri datum per manum Alexandri Cancellarii.

Num. XLV. Anno 1185.

Ex Cod. Diplomatico Geros., xxxii.

In nomine Sanctæ & Individuæ Trinitatis Fridericus,

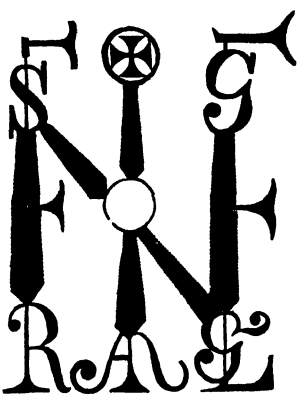
Divina favente clementia Romanorum Imperator Augustus. Si sacris domibus & locis Deo dicatis nostræ pietatis affectum impendimus, & Imperialis mansuetudinis morem gerimus; et æternam retributionem in futuro nos accepturos speramus. Quia vero inæstimabilia opera misericordiæ quæ ad Sanctum Hospitale, quod est in Jerosolymis quotidie in advenas & peregrinos, atque infirmos humanissime exercentur, per gratiam Dei, propriis oculis vidimus; & caritatem, quam virtus Dei ibidem incomparabiliter operatur, fide certissima cognovimus; piis petitionibus Raymundi Venerabilis Hospitalis Jerosolymitani Magistri, ac fratrum suorum conspectui nostro assistentium, facilem assensum præbentes; Hospitales domos Jerosolymitano Xenodochio pertinentes, in omni loco Imperii nostri ubique sitas, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, tam hominibus, quam rebus cæteris mobilibus & immobilibus sub tuitione nostræ Imperialis Majestatis perenniter constituimus, & hac pragmatica sanctione, & nostri authentici privilegii roboratione, omni ævo valitura, eisdem domibus, præfato Xenodochio Jerosolymitano pertinentibus, perpetuo confirmamus; ut omnia ipsarum domorum bona, per totum Imperium nostrum longe lateque constituta, quæ in præsenti possident, vel in posterum, præstante Domino, juste poterunt adipisci, sub nostra Imperiali defensione semper consistant, & tueantur; ita videlicet, ut nulla Ecclesiastica vel secularis persona, nostræ dictioni subjecta, in prædictas domos, & ipsarum bona aliquam jurisdictionem exerceant, vel molestiam faciant qua jam dictas domos, vel res earum, aliquo modo debeant gravare.

Sancimus etiam & in perpetuum confirmamus, ut quæ-

cumque persona, Divino instinctu, religionem Hospitalis Jerosolymitani professa, vel ejus patrocinio, legitime commissa fuerit, vel se, vel bona sua, ad usum Christi Pauperum, Deo voverit, vel rationabiliter commiserit; sub nostra protectione ab omnibus exactionibus, & angariis, & ab omni onere pecuniariæ tributionis omnino libera sit. Statuentes, & sub pœna nostri Banni præcipientes, nequis Patriarcha, Archiepiscopus, Episcopus, Dux Marchio, Potestas, Consul, Capitaneus, Viccomes, vel aliqua persona, omni loco Imperii nostri bona prædictarum domorum perturbet; nec ullam personam, Religionem Jerosolymitani Xenodochii professam, aut patrocinio ejus juste commissam, angariare, vel implacitare, aut ad expeditionem cogere, aut ad opera servilia compellere; aut in pontium, sive navium aut portarum transitu, pedagium accipere, aut in Foris thelonium capere vel aliquid de bonis earundem domorum, & hominum suorum ab eis extorquere præsumat, hæc omnia prædicta libere et absolute, usibus secularibus in posterum, & occasionibus sopitis, pro animæ nostræ, & totius generis nostri remedio, prædicto Hospitali & omnibus ejus domibus, per Imperium nostrum constitutis, in perpetuum concedimus, & Imperiali auctoritate roboramus, & zelo Dei firmiter statuimus. Siquis autem hanc nostram constitutionem violare præsumpserit, Imperialis Majestatis gratia careat, & pœna L. librarum auri componat medietatem Cameræ, & reliquum prædictæ Domui injuriam patienti. Hujus rei testes sunt Godifridus Patriarcha Alquileiensis, Conradus Lubicensis Electus, Rudolphus Prothonotarius Imperialis Aulæ, Ludovicus Landgravius Turingiæ, Bertholdus Marchio de Andechse, Comes Dio-

poldus Vvezln de Camino, Henricus Marescalcus de Lothoringia, Rudolphus Camerarius, Regnante Domino Friderico Imperatore gloriosissimo. Anni Regni ejus XXXIV. Imperii vero tricesimo secundo. Datum Papiæ, quarto Calendas Decembris, feliciter. Amen.

Signum Domini Imperatoris.



Frederici Romanorum. Invictissimi.

Ego Gotofridus Imperialis aulæ Cancellarius, Vice Philippi Coloniensis Archiepiscopi, & Italiæ Archicancellarii, recognovi. Acta sunt hæc anno Dominicæ Incarn. Millesimo centesimo octogesimo quinto, Indictione Tertia.

Num. XLVI.

It were more satisfactory to have the documents creative of the Templars and Teutonics (to accompany that of the Hospitallers); and I had hoped to give them according to the dates specified correctly by Michaud of 1128, and of the 22nd February, 1191. I wish somebody may be more successful; but after a great deal of trouble, I could not find them in the Vatican or anywhere else,

but believe them totally lost—like the original of that of Pasquale, which had, however, been copied and printed both in Mansi's Coll. Conciliorum, and by the Paolis; so that the world was deprived of nothing, though the land-rats of the banks of the Thames, or the fish of the sea, have devoured the old parchment, which—as I learn by the fragment of a MS. catalogue I accidentally picked up in the Order's library at Rome, and which was evidently that of the ancient Archives of Malta—was carefully treasured there in a numbered drawer, *Bollario* 8, *segnato* F, *nella casella* 23, until the catastrophe of 1798, when it either shared the fate of the curiosities and trophies that went down on their voyage towards France, as Botta relates, or were carried off subsequently by the English, and consigned to oblivion in some of the London underground cemeteries. But worse again befel the two primitive title-deeds of the Templars and Teutonics; and I fear an antiquary must regret that no further records remain of them than the few lines I give from Romans of eminent learning.

L'Abbé, tom. 21, pag. 358, agit de Concilio Trecensi, quo Templariis militibus anno suæ institutæ religionis nono una cum regula assignatus est habitus albus Anno Domini MCXXVIII., tempore Honori Pap. II.

Annum fundationis ordinis militaris Teutonicorum sic notavit interpolator Chronici Acquicinctini ad annum 1191 ubi scribit—"Ordo militum Teutonicorum inchoatur, quem anno 1191 Februarii die 22, Cœlestinus Papa confirmavit." Verum diploma illud Cœlestini, IIL., ad nos non pervenit, et ad annum 1192 pertinet, &c.

Pagius in notis ad Baronium.

The Bullarium Romanum is only an estimable, but no legal, complete, unquestionable authority; being merely a reunion of whatever papers of that kind were to be found by its authors in public or private archives. Many documents remained with the individuals or corporations they were addressed to; so that no valid argument can be based on the absence of anything dated earlier than 1400 from the compilation—or even from the Vatican archives, that only begin in 1200. All which is stated from the erudite archivist himself, who thinks no such parchments necessary to his Church; which has its best proofs in itself, as striking and demonstrative as any other self-evidence.

Num. XLVII.

Cod. Dipl. Geros., i., pag. 329—340.

1. Fondatore Gerardo + 1120.

Gran Maestri.

2. Poggio + 1160.
3. Balben + 1162.
4. Comps + 1162.
5. D'Assilit + 1170.
6. Casto + 1173.
7. Iosberto + 1177.
8. Molinis + 1187.
9. Garnerio.

APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

Num. XLVIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. clxxiii., vol. i., pag. 215.

. . Ego Henricus Trecensis, Comes Palatinus assensu et voluntate Domine Isabellis uxoris mee
1193 illustris quondam Regis Almerici filie dono . et tibi Fra. *Ganfrido* ejusdem Hospitalis magistro . . Fratri *Ganfrido* ejusdem et omnibus Fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis de Jherusalem . . Hujus rei Testes sunt . . . Actum Joppen Anno Dom. Incarn. M°.C°.LXXXX°.III°. *mense Januario.* . . . .

Num. XLIX.

Ex Bibliothèque des Croisades, par Michaud (trad. Fran.) vol. iii., p. 322.

Lettre de Geoffroy Maitre de L'Hopital au frere Guillaume de Villeruns prevôt de l'Ordre en Europe.
1193 Cette lettre merite comme piece historique une place dans notre extrait (voy. Annales Acquinctemsis).

Pensant que vous desirez avoir des nouvelles certaines de ce qui sa passe dans la terre de Jerusalem, nous vous dirons que peu apres le mois de Septembre, il est mort un paien celebre paz sai naissance et par ses exploits, nommé Mestoc. Le Vieux de la Montaigne est mort aussi; de même que le Sultan d'Icone. Le trepas de ce dernier a jété la discorde parmi ses enfants. Le Mercredi de la

premiere semaine de Mars Saladin notre persecuteur est mort egalement. Cet evenement a rempli de trouble et de crainte toute sa nation, et a fait naitre des dissentions parmi ses fils. Chacun d'eux refuse de se soumettre au frere de Saladin et veut s'emparer de ses domaines et l'un commande à Alep, l'autre à Damas; un autre au Caire. Nous ne savons veritablement pourquoi depuis la perte de la Terre Sainte, l'heritage du Christ n'a pu être recouvre; car le pays que les Chretiens occupent pendant la trêve est presque entierement depourvu d' habitans. Fin d'Avril, 1193.

Num. L.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. lxxvii., i. 77.

. . . . . Ego Boamundus Princeps Antiochenus notum fieri volo quod Dominus Bertrandus Margati Dominus, Domini Rainaudi Masoerii 1186 bonæ memoriæ filius, cum videret quod Castellum Margati prout opus esset Christianitati præ nimiis expensis, et nimia infidelium vicinitate tenere non posset . . . discreto habito consilio assensu etiam et concessione mea donavit concessit et tradidit sacræ Domui Hospitalis . . . civitatem Valenie et Castellum Margati . cum omnibus ad feodum pertinentibus. . . Magis ter vero Venerabilis (Fra. Rogerius de Molino) Domus Hospitalis communi assensu . . dedit Dmno Ber trando . . . duo milia et ducentos Bysantios Saracenatos singulis annis . . possideri jure hereditario in perpetuum . . quatenus singulis annis 2200 bysantii Saracenati . . Si vero absque herede . . Testes sunt Episcopi . . . de fratribus autem Hospitalis

Dominus Rogerius Magister Domus Hospitalis per cujus manum hoc factum est et alii plures. . . . . Datum apud Antiochiam M°. C°. L°. XXXVI., feliciter. Amen. (Vi era il solito sigillo dei Principi d'Antiochia come al. Num. 10.)

The four rivers of Paradise are Oxus, Tigris, Euphrates, Nile.—Mines de l'Orient, iv., 381.

Num. LI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. xxxiv., vol. i., pag. 313.

Celestinus Episcopus servus servorum Dei. Dilectis
1193 in Christo filiabus Priorissæ et sororibus de Six-
ena . . Salva Sedis Apostolicæ auctoritate et Magistri Hospitalis Empostæ debita reverentia . . . . . Ego Celestinus Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus . . . (and then follow fourteen Bishops and Cardinals as witnesses). Datum Laterani . . . Pontificatus vero Domini Celestini Papæ anno tertio.

Num. LII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. lxxxi., i. 87.

. . . Ego Henricus Comes Trecensis Pala-
1194 tinus assensu voluntate et monitu Dominæ Isabellæ uxoris meæ illustris Regis Almerici quondam filiæ . . . fratri Ganfrido Dudonion ejusdem Domus Venerabili Magistro . . Domui Hospitalis Sancti Johannis . . . Anno MCLXXXXIIII mense Januario. Vigilia Epiphaniæ Domini.*

* No repetition of Num. XLVIII; for one is in 1193 and the other in 1194. They treat of quite different things, left out, not to trouble the reader. The vanity of the man is shown by his always mentioning his marriage with royalty.

Num. LIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. Num. lxxxix. vol. i. pag. 234.

. . . . Ego Aymericus Dei gratia Latinorum Jherusalem Rex Nonus et Rex Cypri, et Domina Isabel uxor mea . . . honorabilis 1198
Regina quondam Regis Almerici filia . . . Hujus rei testes sunt: Rainaldus Sydonis

Radulphus Tyberiadis Senescalcus Regni.

Joannes, Conestabulus Regni.

Joannes, Marescalcus Regni.

Actum Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°.C°.XC°. VIII°. mense Augusto. Datum Tyri per manum Domini Incii Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Regnique Cancellarii.

Num. LIV.

Ex. Cod. Geros. i., 91. *Num. lxxxvi.*

Ego Christiana, filia quondam . . . . . consororem Domus Sancti Joannis Hosp. Jherusalem me gratanter effeci gratuita et spontanea 1201
voluntate mea, nec non concessione assensu et voluntate Domini mei, qui ipsius Domus jam confrater effectus est . . . . . Unde quia proprium sigillum non habui rogavi Dominum meum Roardum ut hoc suo proprio sigillo confirmet . . . . Unde ego Roardus . . . . sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus et proborum virorum hominum meorum et aliorum testium subscriptorum testimonio communiri. Fratres Hospitalis sunt isti, primo.

Fra. Goffridus prædictus de Donion, Domus Hosp. Magister.

Fra. Guglielmus Lombardus, tunc temporis Preceptor Domus Hospitalis, Accon.

Fra. Antelmus de Luca tunc temporis ejusdem Domus Thesaurarius . . et alii plures . .

Actum est hoc anno Incarn. Dom. 1201. mense Majo.

Num. LV.

Ex. Cod. Dipl. Geros. Num. lxxxvii., i., 92.

1204 Deo et Domui Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Baptistæ de Jerusalem et Tibi Alphonso ejusdem Domus Venerabili Magistro . . . a te supradicte Magister Alphonse . . . et uno Samite* quem vos dicte Domine Magister Alphonse dedisti michi . . . Ad hæc Ego supradictus Frater Alphonsus Domus Hospitalis universalis Magister recipiens prædictum honorem de Tuban . . . et Ego D. Dei gratia Episcopus Tripolitanus . . . et Ego Philippus de Plaisseis Dei gratia Domus Militiæ Templi Magistri qui huic venditione testis interfui . , . Actum anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCC.° IV.° mense Decembris.

Num. LVI.

Ex. Cod. Dipl. Geros. Num. lxxxviii., i. 93.

1204 Balduinus Dei gratia fidelissimus in Christo Imperator, a Deo coronatus Romanorum Moderator, et semper Augustus Flandriæ et Hannoniæ Comes,

* A kind of velvet.—Seb. Paoli : Osservazioni., i. 514.

omnibus . . . notum facimus universis quod dedimus et concessimus . . . dilectis nobis Magistro Hospitalis S. Johannis Hierosolimitani et Fratribus ejusdem Domus totam quartam partem ducatus Neocast, qui noster dominicus est et proprius cum omnibus pertinentiis ejusdem quartæ partis in terra et in mari, in montibus et in plano, in vallibus forestis et vivagiis et feodis et Dominicis libere et absolute in perpetuum possidendam, volentes hanc nostram donationem tam liberaliter predictis Magistro et Fratribus factam durare perpetuam, eisdem contulimus paginam aurei sigilli nostri munimine roboratam. Datum in palatio nostro Blancherne anno Domini MCCIIII. mense Martio.

Num. LVII.

Ex. Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. clxxv., i. 217.

. . Ego Fra. Gaufridus Magister Hospitalis . . . . Actum anno Verbi Incarnati MCCVI. . . . 1206

Num. LVIII.

Ex. Cod. Dipl. Geros., xc., i. 94.

. . . Ego Juliana Domina Cesareæ . elegi etiam mihi locum sepulturæ in Hospitali sicut consoror ejusdem Domus et amica, cui dictæ Domus pietas multum boni semper contulit et honoris . . . . Testes sunt Dominus Petrus Venerabilis Archiepiscopus de Cesarea et Fra. Goffridus Lo Rath, Magister 1207

prædictæ Domus et alii plures . . Actum anno verbi incarnati MCCVII. mense Februarii.

Num. LIX.

Ex. Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. xci., i. 95.

Ego Dei gratia Antiochiæ Princeps . . . . .

1207 Testes sunt . . . . . .

Ego Fra. Garinus de Montcacuto marescalcus prædictæ Domus . . Factum est autem hoc privilegium in tempore Fratris Gofredi Lirat Magistri ejusdem Domus Hospitalis . . . in XXII. die Maii MCCVII. feliciter. Amen.

Num. LX.

Ex. Cod. Dipl. Geros. Num. xii., Giunta, 290.

Anno . . . MCCXIX. mense Augusti. Ego Fra

1219 Isimbardus, Præceptor Domus Hospitalis Sancti Johanni in Accon et locum Magistri ejusdem Hospitalis tenens in partibus Syriæ . . confirmavi Domino Guidoni de Ronay, amico et benefactori Domus Hospitalis . . . . quandam domum nostram cum ingressu suo . . . . . et meridionali parte est Domus Hospitalis in qua habitant sorores Hospitalis . . . . . Testes sunt.

Num. LXI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. Num. xiii. Giunta, pag. 291, *vol. i.*

. . . . . Ego Wulvinus de Stubenberc in

exercitu Damiate constitutus . . . et tibi Fratri Guarini de Monte-acuto Magistri Venerabili ejusdem Domus . . ut sic sit Domus Hospitalis in pos- 1221
sessionem me vivente . . Hujus rei Testes sunt: Dominus Gundacharus de Hansbach—D. Conradus de Lobenich—D. Otho da Hasperch. . . . Actum est hoc apud Damiatam anno . . Dom. MCCXXI. mense Junii.

Num. LXII.

Ex Cod. Dipl Geros. Num. lxxxvii., i. 219.

Ego Guglielmus de Keviller, Domini Petri de Keviller filius . . . quod cum predictum patrem meum 1227
qui in quodam Castro Saracenorum in carcere detinebatur . . . me contuli . . . ad Priorem Hospitalis Jherisolimitani in Francia . . . Pergens itaque ad partes Syriæ . . . D. Fratrem Guerinum de Monte-acuto* Magistrum Venerabilem Hospitalis adivi . . . at ubi de liberacione tracteremus, contigit patrem meum carni debitum solvere, qui si paulo plus vixisset procul dubbio ipsius Magistri foret auxilio liberatus. Attendens igitur immensam charitatem . . . et quod in Domino Magistro non remansit quominus liberaretur pater meus et pro honore etiam mihi a Venerabili Magistro Hospitalis Domino Guarino de Monte-acuto . . . omni tempore decem modia bladi sic et cum ad propria remeabo

* "By a singular coincidence there was another Montacute Grand-Master of the Templars in 1221, Thomas, brother probably of the G. M. of the Hospital."—*Seb. Paoli: Osservazioni*, i. 515.

hanc meam concessionem in manus Prioris Franciæ confirmabo . . . . Actum Accon. anno MCC vicessimo VII., octavo Idus Maij.

Num. LXIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. Bolla, v. i. 271.

Gregorius Papa Nonus Magistro et fratribus Hospitalis
1236 Hierusalem. Evidens est et ambiguitatis nubilum non admittit, quod ad hoc potissime religionis habitum adsumsistis, et in Terræ Sanctæ partibus ampliationi vacando fidei, patriæ supernæ civibus aggregari. Digne igitur vobis suadere possumus et debemus; ut cum propositum vestrum ex eo precipue promovere valeat, quod Syriæ partibus aliquod diversitatis nubilum non incumbat illa promptis affectibus studeatis efficere per quæ possit eadem pacis et quietis gaudii esultare. Rogamus itaque universitatem vestram, et hortamur attente per apostolica scripta vobis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ præcipiendo mandantes, quatenus provida meditatione pensantes, quod charissimo in Christo filio nostro Frederico Imperatori id favoris debeamus et præmii, quod in obsequiis Matris Ecclesiæ sicut suam eccelentiam decuit promptus et efficax studuit inveniri Bajulo et Legato suo in prædictis partibus constituto, omne quod poteritis in Imperalium conservatione jurium, concilium et auxilium sublato difficultatis obstaculo præbeatis curam et studium habituri: et si forte nobilis vir Johannes de Gibellino ac Populus Acconensis ejusdem suggestionibus instigati ad obsidendam civitatem

Tyri vel aliquam terrarum ad dominium Imperiale spectantium procedere aliquatenus attentarent, efficacem opem et operam apponatis ut ipsi suo conatu careant, et adversus Imperatorem eumdem se ulterius erigere non præsumant; sicque fiat, quod illis a concepti erroris prosecutione cessantibus et vestra faciente prudentia, quod in prædictis partibus videntur dissentiones et scandali detrimenta, nos qui honoribus Ecclesiæ reputamus adjici quicquid secundum Deum potest utilitatis et gloriæ imperiali excellentiæ cumulari, reddatis vobis in vestris necessitatibus obligatos, et Imperatoris ejusdem potentia sit vobis opportunis temporibus gratiosa; sciturі, quod cum sæpedictus Imperator sit in remoto positus, quare nobis de suorum conservatione jurium cura imminet specialis; si enim in præmissis, vel aliis a quocumque offendi contigeret, quasi esset nobis illata injuria gravis cor nostrum turbatio fatigaret, succedentibus ultionis condigne studiis, quæ haberi condecet in præsumptorum excessibus corrigendis.

Datum Perusii V. Kal. Augusti Pontificatus nostri, anno nono.

Num. LXIV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num cxiv.

. . . . . A frere Gerin honorable Maitre de la Sainte Mayzon del Hospital de Saint Johan de Jherusalem. . . Ce est fait a Acre l'an

del incarnacion de nostre Segnor MCCXXXI. vi. Kal. de Novembre.*

Num. LXV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Bolla iv.

Gregorius Nonus Magistro et Fratribus Hospitalis Hierusalem . . . Sanc audivimus
1232 quod Regni Hierusalem turbatus est status, ordo confusus cum quidam ad charissimi in Christo filii nostri Frederici Romanorum Imperatoris semper Augusti, Hierusalem et Siciliæ Regis illustris, prosilientes, injuriam jam publice, sicut fertur, signa rebellionis ostendunt, dumque hii a cæpta molestia non desistunt et alii regalia jura defendunt, in Christianos manus Christiana reflectitur, qua in Christi blasphemos bellis non fatigata civilibus deberet extendi, et sumptus in subjectorum dispendium convertuntur in damnum hostium deputati . . . . .
unde universitati vestræ per Apostolica Scripta mandamus quatenus sicut divinam, et nostram gratiam charam habetis, hiis quæ prefati Imperatoris justitiam persequantur impendatis et consilium auxilium opportunum, opem, et operam efficacem.

Datum Romæ VII. Kal. Augusti, anno sexto.

* In this, as well CXIII, Gerin means Gawen assuredly; for both documents have the Montacute seal, which is quite different from the one used in those of the posterior Grand Master Girino. Seb. Paoli: i. 341

Num. LXVI:

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. cxviii.

. . . . Frere Priere de Veille-Bride honorable Maistre de la Sainte Maison del Hopital de Saint Johan de Jerusalem . ce fut 1241 fait en l'an de l'incarnation Jhesu Christi M.CC.XLI. el palais de l' Evesque a Triple, el XVIIJ de Novembres.

Num. LXVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. cxxiii.

Sachent touit cil qui sunt et serunt que je Julien Scignor de Saette et de Bianfort . . . a vous frere Guillelme de Chastelneuf honorable 1254 Maistre de la Sainte Maison de l'Ospital de Saint Johan de Jerusalem . . . que vos, frere Guillelme de Chastelneuf, et les freres de la dite Maison de l'ospital m'avez donné vingt quattre milie besans Sarasinats* . . . Ce est fait l'an de l'incarnation nostre Scignor Jhesu Christ M.CC.LIIIJ. el meist de Aost.

Num. LXVIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. cxxiv.

. . . Religionis vir Fra Guillelmus de Castronovo Magister Domus Hospitalis . . qui est hic præsens . . . Testes 1254 sunt . . . Fra Hugone Revel Magno Preceptore Hospitalis Octobris sub anno M.CCLIV.

* Small silver coins, worth ten French sous each. No image on them, as contrary to Mahometanism, but merely Arabic letters. Seb. Paoli: Osservazioni, i. 508.

Num. LXIX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. cxxvi.

. . . Au religios home frere Guillelme de Chastelnef honorable Maistre de la Sainte
1255 Maison de l'Hospital de Saint Johan de Jerusalem et par la main dou religios frere Huge Revel Grant Comandor de la Maison del 'Hospital d'Acre . . . En l'an MCCLV. el meis dc Mars . . . . .

Num. LXX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. ccxx.

. . . in presentia Venerabilis Viri fratris Guillelmi de Castronovo Magistri Domus Hos-
1255 pitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolimitani . . . Datum Accon anno Domini MCC. quinquagesimo quinto mensc Junii.

Num. LXXI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. clxxxiii.

. . . . Virum religiosum fratrem Guillelmum dc Castronovo Magistrum sanctæ Domus Hospi-
1257 talis Hierusalem. . . . Datum Accon, anno Domini, MCCLVIJ., mense Aprilis

Num. LXXII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. cxxxiii.

. . . . et appaltum vobis Fratri Hugoni
1259 Revel Dei gratia, sanctæ Domus Hospitalis, sancti

Johannis Hierusalem venerabili Magistro. . . . Apud Accon, anno Domini, MCCLIX., nono Kal. Novembris.

Num. LXXIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. lxxxi.

. . . . . .

. . Testes sunt. . . Fra. Robertus Anglicus *tunc commendator* Domus Hospitalis 1194 Acconensis, et plures. . . . . Facta anno Domini MCLXXXXIIIJ., mense Januario, Vigilia Epiphaniæ Domini.

Num. LXXIV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. cxl.

Jc Balian d'Ybelin Seignor d'Arsur fas assevir a toz ceaus. . . . Quc sont les noms 1261 des homes de la Seignoric d'Assur Chevaliers et Serjans qui sont assenès de fiès (who have their fiefs), les quex l'Hopital de Saint Johan de Jerusalem sont . . . selonc la tenors des preveliges que il ont de mei . . . (take a sample for all). Raon de Malo a LXXII. besans et 2 livreisons (measures) of oil, three draught and two saddle horses, he is a sarjan; but here is a knight: Odde de Selouquié CC. besans, L. measures of wheat, 100 of barley, 6 of lentils, L. lbs d'uile, et deit tenir 4 chevaucheres . . . l'an de l'Incarnation . . . MCCLXJ., le premier jor de Mai.

Num. LXXV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. clv.

. . . . . et le religios et honeste fre Nicoles Lorgne par la meisme grace honorable
1278 Maistre de la Sainte Maison de l'Ospital de Saint Johan de Jerusalem. . . . De ce sunt garens de nos homes liges. . . . Ce fut fait a Triple en l'an del Incarnation nostre Seignor Jhesu Christ MCCLXXVIII. a XVIII. jors del meis de Septembre.

Num. LXXVI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. ccxxv.

Fra. Johannes de Villers S. Domus Hospitalis S Johannis Jerosolimitani Magister humilis. . . .
1289 Fratri Mostaino de Saint Gieur ejusdem Domus. cum nuper in amissione Civitatis Tripolitanæ proh dolor amiserimus XL. de Fratribus nostris probitatis electæ, et dextriarios et equos ad arma fere centum et in armis ultra valorem millium quingentarum marcharum argenti, et ob hoc de consilio Procerum domus nostræ ordinaverimus de singulis provinciis ad partes istas de Fratribus nostris, pro reparatione conventus nostri, aliquos convocare qui probitate morum se reddant habiles ad negotium Terræ Sanctæ; quia personam vestram nobis et domui nostræ citramarine, ac etiam Terræ Sanctæ, credimus fructuosam, Fraternitati vestre presentium autoritate mandamus, quatenus in proximo futuri mensis Augusti passaggio vos ad partes Syrie cum equo et aliis equitaturis et alio

decenti hernesio, omni dilazione et causa remotis, ad nostram presentiam transferatis. In cujus rei certitudinem presentes vobis mittemus literas bulla nostra pendente munitas. Datum Accon anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo LXXXIX. Indictione II., die XXII. mensis Augusti —This document has the seal still hanging from it by a silk thread like several others of them.

Num LXXVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Bolla xvi.

Nicolaus. . . . Magistro et Fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani salutem. . . Nos ad quietum et prosperum statum vestrum be- 1290
nignius intendentes. . . . Datum apud Urbem veterem IIIJ. nonas Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno III.

Num. LXXVIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii. Num. ix.

. . . In insula Cypri potissime, ad cujus custodiam solerter intenditis, laboribus, et sumptibus non parcendo, sit vobis equorum suffragium 1297
opportunum et propter gravia guerrarum discrimina de Hispaniæ partibus equos extrahere nequeatis dictumque Hospitale Hierosolimitanum pro equis commodius nutriendis. . . . Datum Romæ. . . . secundo Kalendas Februarii, MCCXCVII.

Num. LXXIX.

Ex Cod Dipl. Geros. ii. Num. iii.

. . . . Primordia vestri ordinis in caritate fundata vigilanter studetis condire operibus . .
1294 . . . Datum Aquilæ XVIII. Kalend. Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Num. LXXX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii. Num. viii.,

. . . . Quod nos Henricus et Rodolphus Marchiones de Hochberg . . ratificamus
1297 donationem nostri Patris Villæ dictæ Haitersum . Religiosis viris commendatori et Fratribus Domus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hieroslymitani in Friburg . . . . Actum et datum in castro nostro Lusembert anno Domini MCCLXXXXVII. . testibus viz: Fratre Henrico de Hochberg, Patre nostro prædicto nunc de ordine Fratrum de Domo Theutonica. . . . .

Num. LXXXI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii. Num. xvi.,

Clemens . . . Etsi multis et arduis quæ in amplum Romanæ curiæ alveum undique con-
1306 fluunt quasi torrens pregavemur negociis . . . injungimus quatenus cum dilecto filio Magistro Domus Militiæ Templi de quorum probitate fiduciam obtinemus deliberandum . . . qui tu et ipse melius quam ceteri consulere poteritis . . . veniendum ad præsentiam nostram . . . sic caute, sic prudenter,

et sic celeriter te prepares quod . . . ad longius infra quindenam Novembris . . te personaliter . . quanto secretius poteris bono modo et quod quanto pauciores poteris tecum adducas . . . fideliter ac utiliter. . . . Datum Burdegalis octavo Idus Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Num. LXXXII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii., Num. xviii.

Clemens . . . Magisto et Fratribus Hospitalis S. Joannis Hierosolimitani . . Tecum, fili Magister et cum Magistro Militiæ Templi, antequam idem Magister caperetur. . . . Datum Pictavio, tertio Idus Augusti, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio. 1307

Num. LXXXIII.

Seb. Paoli, ii. 526.

Il Gran Maestro fu arrestato in Parigi in un Venerdi alli 13 di Ottobre del 1307 secondo Giovanni Canonico di S. Vittore in Parigi scrittore della prima vita di Clemente V. Come Nicolao Guntlero nella storia dei Templari scrive che il Re Filippo l'anno 1307 miserat per universam Franciam, &c., . . nell' anno poi 1308 il Papa ordinò la prigionia de Templari . . . onde in questa Bolla si parli della carcerazione seguita senza ordine Pontificio ed in altre del tempo in cui il Papa acconsentì. 1307

Num. LXXXIV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. xxxviii.

Magister Hospitalis Hierusalem. Priori Angliæ salutem
1195 . . propterea bone frater, quia pauca dicere sufficit satis novisti quæ et quanta nobis incumbunt necessaria. . . . Amore divino et nostro vos monemus, ut quantumcumque poteritis in primo Martii passaggio subveniatis. Valete.

Num. LXXXV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. x. Giunta.

Testes . . . Frater Golfridus Lo Rath* Magis-
1207 ter prædictee Domus . . . Actum anno Verbi incarnati M°CC°. VIJ. mense Februarii.

Num. LXXXVI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. ccxii.

Ego Johannes Dei gratia Latinorum Hierusalem Rex decimus et Comes Brennensis . . . Venerabilem Magistrum Sanctæ Domus Hospitalis Fratrem Guarinum de Monteacuto et fratres *presentes* . . . Actum anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°.CC°.XVIJ mense Januarii. Datum per manus Johannis de Vindopera notarii miei.

* If Lo Rath be Anglo-Saxon, then was he probably an Englishman; for there is no authority of weight for calling him French.

Num. LXXXVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., i., Num. cviii.

. . . Ego Frater Guarinus de M̄onteacuto dicti Hospitalis Magistri . . Testes sunt 1221
. Actum est hoc apud Damiatam anno .
. . M.°CC.°XXI. mense Maii.

Num. LXXXVIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i., Num. cvii.

Pelagius* . . . Apostolici Sedes Legatus
. . Apud Accon anno Domini M°.CC°XXI. 1221
Idibus Octobris.

Num. LXXXIX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. ccxiii., i. 254.

. . Et in veritate conoscimus nos habuisse et recepisse a vobis Fratri Guarino de Monteacuto
Dei gratia Sanctæ Domus Hospitalis Hierusalem 1225
Magistro Venerabili et Christi Pauperum Custode . .
. . Actum est hoc anno ab Incarnatione Domini M.°CC.°XXV, vigilia natalis Domini in Accon.

Num. XC.

Saphadin is the name usually given by our Chroniclers to Malek-Adhel from his common title of *Saif-eddin*, meaning *Sword of Religion;* but he had also that other

* Montacute's companion in the voyage back from Damietta.

title of *King of Kings* from the Caliph at Bagdad. Saladin is likewise from title *Saleh-eddin, Happiness of Religion;* his name being Joseph.—*Arab. Chron.* 379, *note.*

"Un Chevalier du Temple, Anglais d'origine, et nommé Robert de Saint-Alban, abandonnant la loi du Christ se retira aupres de Saladin . . Saladin lui donna sa niece en mariage et lui confia une grande armée dont il l'etablit le chef."—*Michaud, Bib. des. Crois., ii.* 775.

Nel 1221 fiori Tommaso di Monteacuto, Gran Maestro dell'Ordine de Templari . . Ma Guarinus de Monteacuto fu Grand Maestro dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano.—*Seb. Paoli: Osservazioni, i.* 515.

. . Causam inter T. de Monteacuto Magistrum Domus Militiæ Templi ex una parte, et G. de Monteacuto Magistrum et Fratres Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani ex altera.—*Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. cvii., MCCXXI.*

Num. XCI.

E Petri de Vineis judicis Aulici. . . . . Friderici II. Imp. Epistolarum dedicatione.

Fredericus autem fuit summe gloriosus inter Principes modernos. Nam a Carolo Magno citra non fuit alius Imperator Romanorum magnificentior aut potentior eo. Fuit enim . . . . . Fuit multum formidatus a Christianis et Saracenis mari et terra. . . . . Naturaliter prudens, satis litteratus; universalis in omnibus rebus. Erat enim peritus artifex omnium fere artium mechanicarum quibus animum intenderat. Multarum linguarum doctus. Scivit enim

multa idiomata, scilicet Latinum, Teutonicum, Gallicum, Græcum, Saraceneum. Strenuus in armis, satis liberalis, rigidus punitor.

Num. XCII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i., Num. ccxv.

. . Vobis Magistro Fratri Girino, Domus Hospitalis Gerusalem Sancti Johannis . . Apud Accon A. Domni MCC. tricesimo secundo pridie Kalend. Octobris. 1232

Num. XCIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i., Num. clxxviii.

. . Venerabili viro Fratre Gerino Sanctæ Domus Hospitalis Jherusalem Magistro . . Actum Accon anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo trecesimo sexto, mense Maii. 1236

Num. XCIV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i., Num. cxvii.

. . rogatu reverendi fratris B. * Dei gratia Magistri Sanctæ Domus Hospitalis Hierusalem . . Accon in camera predicti Magistri Hospitalis. Anno Dom. Nat. M.°CC.°XXX.°VI.°, Indictione IX., die XX. mensis Septembris, circa vesperas. 1236

* B. is for *Bertrand* de Comps.

Num. XCV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., i., Num. xliv.

Innocentius Papa quartus . . Hospitalis Hierosolymitani in Ungaria commorantibus . . . . contra Tartarorum feritatem idem privilegium . . in generali Concilio sunt concessa. . . . . Datum Lugduni octavo Kalendas Julii Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

1247

Num. XCVI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i., Num. ccxix.

. . Johannes de Ronay Vicemagister Hospitalis Sancti Johannis . . Datum apud Accon M.°CC.°XLVIII.° mense Novembris, ultima die ejusdem mensis.

1248

Num. XCVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. cl.

Sachent totz ceaus . . . que Je Johan de Montfort . . . conferme perpetuamment a vos frere Hugue Revel par la grace de Dieu, honorable Maistre de la Sainte Maison de l'Hopital de Saint Johan de Jerusalem . . . . le don que ma besayole la Princess Aelys vos fist . . . . Et ce furent temoins, la garantie de mes hommes (ou Vassaux) desquels ce sont les noms . . . . Ce fu fait l'an de l'incarnation nostre Seignor Jesu Christ mil dues cens et setante a l'entrée du mois de Genvierr.

1270

Num. XCVIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. clii.

Notum sit omnibus . . . . quod in presencia Domini Hugonis de Lusignano Dei gratia illustris Regis Hierusalem et Cipri, Domini . . . Dei gratia Magistri Domus Militiæ Templi . . . . nos frater Hugo Dei gratia S. Domus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolimitani Magister . . . . . ipsa scripta quæ fuerunt numero quadraginta quatuor. . . . integre restituimus Domino Biblii de quibus vocavit se bene contentum et sibi plene fore satisfactum. Acta sunt hæc in Domo prædicti hospitalis . . . . Accon secunda die mensis Junii, anni Dom. incarnat. Millesimi ducentesimi septuagesimi primi. 1271

Num. XCIX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Bulla. xii.

. . . . Nullum dilecto Magistro Hospitalis Jerosolimitani et ejusdem fratribus celsitudo Regia, subpœna excommunicationis ipso facto, vel aliquum gravamen vel injuriam illaturum. . . . . Datum Agnaniæ VII. Kal. Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno V. 1259

Num. C.

Ex Osservazioni sopra la Diploma, clii. del. Cod. Dipl. Geros. Seb. Paoli, i. 536.

+ En l'an de grace M (the two hundred wanting) et

LXXVIII. au mois d'Avril en commence de labour qui Dieu quant par le main de frere Guillaume L'Alleman Maistre et faissour dou devant dit labour par le commendement de frere Guillaume de Beau jeuc Maistre de la Chevalerie dou Temple. Prient por eaus tous ceaus qui le regarderont. Amen.

Num. CI.

Ex Ebendorfer, et Bib. Crois. iii. 199.

Non mirum, quia ego quodam prospexi die, quando Christiani ceciderunt in prælio, quod in uno corpore latue runt plures homines et uno moriente adstiterint eidem decori juvenes qui ex ejus ore susceperunt venustum puerulum.

Num. CII.

Ex Di Gioan. Villani, Lib. Settimo, cap. cxxxviii. Parte 1ma 252, *Hist.*

. . . . . Per la perdita di Acri, non rimase nella Terra Santa niuna terra per li Christiani e tutte le buone terre di mercatantia che sono alle nostre Marine e frontiere non valsono poi la metàde a profitto di mercatantia et darti; pero ch'ella era nella frontiera del nostro mare e in mezo di Soria, e quasi nel mezo del mondo habitato, presso a Jerusalemme a 70 miglia; e fontana e porto era di ogni mercatantia si di Levante come di Ponente, e di tutte le generationi di gente del Mondo v'erano, e usavano per fare mercatantia; e turcimani v'haveva di tutte

le lingue del mondo; si'chella era quasi come uno elemento al mondo.

Num. CIII.

Ex Eusebio nella Cronaca anno 1237. (*)

In Palæstina *Nicopolis*, quæ prius *Emmaus* vocabatur, urbs condita est; legationis industriam pro ea suscipiente Julio Africano scriptore temporum.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. i. Num. xx.

M.°C.°XL.I° Ego W.† . . . . Jherosolimorum et Sanctæ Civitatis Patriarcha . . . . pactum in mei præsentia Jherosolimis præfatus Robertus fecit et donavit Hospitali Sancti Johannis Baptistæ et Raymundo ejusdem Domus Magistro . . . . terram de Emmaus cum suis casalibus . . . . . tali videlicet pacto, ut pretaxati Hospitalieri . . . . reddant annuatim censum in Pascha CCL Besancios, et in festivitate Omnium Sanctorum totidem . . . . Terra tamen et ea quæ in ea sunt in potestate Hospitalis sit jure perpetuo, nisi a prælibato pacto Hospitalis fratres penitus deficerent. . . . Hujus rei sunt Testes—and follow 14 Archbishops, 1141

* Onde può credersi errore nell'edizione di voce di *Nicopolis* leggesi *Sycopolis*. Fu ~~questo luogo~~ dei Cavalieri Gerosolimitani; e abbattuto da un terremoto non serba adesso che le sue rovine. Seb. Paoli: Notiz. Geogra. i. 443.

‡ Wilelmus, from Mechlin in Flanders—not Messina, as Tyre and others have instead of Mechlini. The *W.* shows his northern blood. That very Wilelmus gave the Hospitallers a piece of ground to build a chapel on the Aceldama where strangers were then buried, as they are at this day. Seb. Paoli. Osser. i. 472.

Bishops, the Abbot of the Lord's Temple, Barons and Knights. And then—facta est hujus cartæ descriptio III Nonas Februarij Hospitali Sancti Johannis feliciter. Sunt alii supradictæ pactionis testes; and so come other nine witnesses, and it ends with Nicolaus Præsbiter Hispaniæ scripsit die et anno quod supra.

Num. CIV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. xxi.

Rex Venerando religionis viro et in Christo sibi charissimo, Fratre Fulconi de Villareto, Magistro Sanctæ Domus Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani salutem cum dilectione sincera. . . Nos ob grande desiderium quod super negotio dictæ Terræ apponatur subsidium et succursus et ob affectionem quam ad ordinem vestrum in intimis gerimus et habemus, necnon ut hujusmodo transitum vestrum melius et tutius facere possitis ad honorem Dei et utilitatem Populi Christiani . . . . concedimus quod Fratres vestri et gentes, equos et alia a Regno et aliis Terris nostris . . . . extrahere possint hac vice de nostra gratia speciali. . . Datum Kengngron*, 25 die Maii. 1309

Num. CV.

Ex Repub. Ital. di Sismondi, iv. 220. Trad. Tipografia Elvetica.

Il Venerando Giacomo di Molay erasi ritirato in Cipro col fiore dei Templari ed in quell' isola stava preparando

* Kingston or Hull, where was a royal palace.—Seb. Paoli: Osservazioni ii. 532.

cogli Ospitalieri di San Giovanni la conquista dell' isola di Rodi che poi gli Ospitalieri eseguirono soli.

Num. CVI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros, xi. *i.* 290.

Ego Dominus Cesaræ et Domina . . . . . compulsi penuria, incumbente necessitate mutuavimus . . . . interfuerunt Dominus *Garnerius Alemannus* et Altri. . . . . Accon anno M°CC°XIIJ. mense Octobris XV°. Kalendas Novembris. 1213

Num. CVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. *i.* 340; *ii.* 461—463.

Gran Maestri.

9. Garnerio . .	+1192.	17. Comps . . .	+1241.
10. Daps . . .	+1193.	18. Vieillebride .	+1243.
11. Duisson . .	+1202.	19. Castelnuovo .	+1259.
12. Alfonso di Porto gallo . .	+1205.	20. Revel . . .	+1278.
		21. Lorgne . . .	+1289.
13. Lo Rath . .	+1207.	22. Villiers . .	+1297.
14. Monteacuto .	+1230.	23. Pins	+1300.
15. Texis . . .	+1231.	24. Villaret . .	+1307.
16. Guerino . .	+1236.	25. Fulco Villaret.	

APPENDIX TO BOOK III.

Num. CVIII.

In front of the second part of Bosio's history are these lines of poor Tasso, towards the close of his short life, which terminated before the other parts were printed.

Del Signor Torquato Tasso.

Al Greco stil già largo campo offerse
Et al Latin, che piu s'avanzi e saglia,
Il suol di Charatona, e di Farsaglia,
El Mare, onde fuggissi Antonio e, Serse :
Bosio, ma piu lodato al tuo l'offerse
La buona spada che piu fende e smaglia;
E l' Angelica quasi in terra agguaglia
Sovra le genti al Re del cielo adverse ;
Ma tu d'Angelo il volo anco dimostri
Ne l'alta istoria, o meraviglie eccelse
Ir dispiegando al ciel le penne e l'armi
Io, se non posse eguale al merto alzarmi,
Con quell' affetto humil, ch' honore scelse,
Lo sparso sangue honoro e i sparsi inchiostri.

Num. CIX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. xxix.

. . . . . Frater Fulco de Villareto
1312 Dei et sedis Apostolicæ gratia sanctæ Domus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerusalem Magister humilis

. . . . ceterique omnes ejusdem Domus ad sonum campanæ Rhodi . . . . . per sanctissimum in Christo Patrem Dominum nostrum Clementum Quintum . . . . . Datum Rhodi, septima decima die, mensis Octobris, annō Domini MCCCXII.

Num. CX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. xxvi.

Rex dilecto sibi in Christo Priori Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolymitani in Anglia salutem . . . . . Bona Templariorum . . . . . firmiter inhibemus, ne quicquam alterius super negotio memorato, clam vel palam, per vos vel per alios, aut alium, procurare facere vel attentare citra proximum Parliamentum nostrum quomodo libet, presumatis. Teste Rege apud Londonias, primo die Augusti. 1312

Num. CXI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. xxx.

. . . . . Humiliter supplicarunt Serenissimo Principi Domino Eduvardo Dei Gratia Illustrissimo Regi Angliæ, Domino Hiberniæ, ac Acquitaniæ Duci . . . . . Ipse Dominus Rex volebat et intendebat omne jus suum et quorum libet subditorum suorum salvum illesum et integrum retinere et remanere . . . . . Et quod ille jus quod sibi alicui de subjectis suis . . . . . Protestatus enim fuit ipse Dominus Rex . . . . . Acta fuerunt hæc apud Monasterium in camera viridi dicti 1313

Domini Regis anno, die mense . . . . . predictis . . . . .

Num. CXII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. xxxi.

Rex Custodi quarumdam Terrarum et Tenementorum, 1313 quæ quondam fuerunt Templariorum in civitate nostra Londoniarum . . . . . salutem. Cum Dominus Papa nuper in Generali Concilio, Vienna congregato, Ordinem quondam Domus Militiæ Templi propter varias causas sustulerit et perpetuo supposuerit interdicto . . . . . omnia illorum bona immobilia et mobilia ac se moventia ordini sunt Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolymitani concedenda applicanda et unienda, memoratoque Ordini Hospitalis predicti vel ipsius Procuratoribus ejus nomine, infra certum tempus restituenda . . . . . Teste Rege apud Westm., 28 die Novembris. Per ipsum Regem Consimiles literæ diriguntur Custodibus . . . . . universis . . . . . .

Num. CXIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. xxxiv.

Rex dilecto sibi in Christo, Priori Hospitalis Sancti 1314 Johannis Jerosolymitani in Anglia, salutem . . . . . Nos eorum statui miserabili pio compatientes affectu, ac nos nolentes eos de sustentatione sua eis taliter ordinatæ defraudari, vobis mandamus quod eisdem Templariis vadia prædicta, videlicet, cui libet

eorum quator denarios per diem et prefato Imberto duos solidos per diem . . . . . quos quidem duos solidos diurnos primum Fratri Willielmo De la Mote, nuper Magistro Militiæ Templi in Anglia jam defuncto, postmodum, ad requisitionem nobilis viri Domini Ludovici de Claromonte Fratri Imberto Blanck* concessimus . . . . . Et taliter vos habeatis in hac parte, quod in vestri defectum non oportcat nos pro iisdem Templariis dc alio remedio providere.

Teste Rege apud Eltham octavo die Februarii.

Num. CXIV.

Er M. S. Strozzi.

Crocc dimezzata di bianco e rosso e l'armc chc dice *Libertas.*

Num. CXV.

E Guichuone, Mem. di Amedeo, page 362.

Il faut par necessité quc ce siege de Rhode ayt été mis par les Turks l'an 1315, car nous ne trouvons pas que ce Prince ayt rien fait en Savoye ny en Piemont cet annèc lá. Epoquc considerable qui devait êtrc remarquée par nos historiens avec un peu plus d'exactitude.

Sollevata in istato libero Macerata diede il commando supremo a Ridolfo; riconoscendolo per atto di maggioranza d'uno Standardo coll' arme del comune ripartita

* Blanck was really his name. Seb. Paoli: Osservazioni, ii. 534. Rainaldi, No. 11 in Ann. 1306.

colla *Croce* rossa in segno di città libera. Nor the colour signified, so it was a cross. Campagnone Hist. della Marca.

Num. CXVI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. xxviii. Escluseaulx.

. . . . . Cum propter abomina-
1312 tiones et errores Templariorum . . . . . ordo eorum nomen et habitus fuerunt in perpetuum in Generali Concilio Viennæ per Apostolicam sedem omnino sublati . . . . . bona dictorum Templariorum . . . . . fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolymitani translata . . . . . justitiariis Domini regis per regnum Franciæ pareant efficaciter et intendant. Anno 1312

Num. CXVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. xxvii., Lunig.

. . . . . Clementi . . . . .
1312 . . summo Pontifici, Philippus Francorum Rex . . . . . Prout bona militiæ Templi in Regno nostro in Ordinem Hospitalis Sancti Johannis, vel in novum ordinem ut ordinaretis, transferrentur pro Terræ Sanctæ servitio . . . . . quod per sedem Apostolicam sic dictorum Hospitaliorum ordo regularetur et reformetur, tam in capite quam in membris . . . . . Datum Parisiis, die 14 Augusti, M.°C.°C.°C.°XII.

Num. CXVIII

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. xliii. Vatic. Secret.

Johannes . . . . . Dilecto filio Fratri Fulconi de Villareto Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolymitani Magistro . . 1317

Ex nonnullis forsan actibus contra te provocati, quin etiam te quasi hostiliter persequentes, ad locum de Rodanis ubi tunc eras armatorum coadunata cohorte de nocte venerunt, te de persona capere et forsan offendere molientes. Et cum tu ab inde præsentiens eorum adventum confugisses ad Castrum de Lindi, instantis causa vitandi periculi, ipsi te usque illuc furibundis ausibus insequentes castrum ipsum fortiter obsederunt, ubi adhuc teneris obsessus; deinde vero in Rodo pariter congregati, te absente, licet ut dicitur, evocato, demumque deposito, dilectum filium Fratrem Mauritium de Pagnaco in suum et Hospitalis prædicti Magistrum de facto eligere presumpserunt. . . . . Ex hiis, fili, ex quacumque causa processerint, non dolere non possumus. . . . . Numquid non etenim per schisma hujusmodi domus ipsa subjicitur infamiæ communis opprobrio? . . . . . Propter quod, volentes obstare principiis . . . . . nuncios nostros exhibitores præsentium ut se ad insulam Rodi personaliter conferentes de origine dictæ provocationis sive discordiæ . . . . . simpliciter, de plano, sine strepitu et figura judicii, se plenarie informare procurent . . . . Nuntiis

istis nostris injunximus, ut tibi et ipsi gerenti certum peremptorium terminum, juxta loci distantia, præfigere debeant; in quo tu et ipse gerens nostro vos conspectui personaliter presentetis; facturi super hiis quod de nostro et sedis ejusdem processerit bene placito voluntatis . . . . . Sic obedientiæ promptitudine merito valeas commendari. Avenione, 14 Kal. Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Num. CXIX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. xliv. Vatic. Secret.

Joannes . . . . . dilecto filio Fratri Mauritio de Pagnaco, gerente se pro Magistro Hospitalis Sancti Johannis . . . 1317 Eidem Magistro et tibi et aliquibus ex Fratribus ad nos injunximus quatenus ad mandatum nuntiorum ipsorum . . . . . Sic te laudabiliter geras, tamquam obedientiæ filius . . . . . et merito valeas commendari. Avenioni, 14 Kalend. Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Num. CXX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. xlvi. Vatic. Secret.

Joannes . . . . . dilecto filio Fratri Gerardi de Pinibus, Vicario ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani per sedem 1317 Apostolicam ordinato . . . . . Licet, in Apostolicis literis super vicariatu tibi commisso confectis,

omnis alienatio et obligatio bonorum immobilium Hospitalis ejusdem tibi sit absque sedis Apostolicæ licentia penitus interdicta . . . . . nos tamen compatientis ipsius Conventus inopiæ . . . . . tibi mutuum contrahendi propterea usque ad summam quindecimmillium Florenorum auri ad quam prædictæ responsiones anni præsentis feruntur ascendere . . . . . non obstantibus litteris antefatis, plenam concedimus tenore præsentium facultatem. Datum Avenioni decimo Kalendas Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Num. CXXI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. xlvii. Vatic. Secret.

Joannes Roberto Regi Siciliæ illustri . . . . . Litteras tuas, fili carissime, affectu consuetu receptas, gaudenter accepimus . 1318
Avenione, 8 Kal. Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Num. CXXII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. l. Vatic. Secret.

Joannes . . . . . dilecto filio Fratri Fulconi de Villareto, Magistro Ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani . . . . . Placidum tamen et acceptum habemus quod ad instantiam . . . . . Roberti Siciliæ illustris, tuum ad nostram præsentiam aliquandiu retardes adventum; ut pro sui honoris decentia in ejus venias 1318

comitiva, sic tamen quod in dicto termine Te nostro conspectui repræsentes. Datum Avinioni 8 Kal. Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Num. CXXIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. liv., ii. 72. Vatic. Secret.

Joannes . . . . . Dilecto
1319 Filio Fulconi de Villareto, Priori Hospitalis S. Joannis Hierosolymitani Capuan . . . In prosecutione regiminis Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani, cujus extitisti Magister, sicut labores subiisti temporibus retroactis, tuæ quietis statui libenter intendimus et quæ tibi ad pacis cedant commoda promovemus . . . . . tibi consideratis oneribus dicti Hospitalis quibus gravatur ad præsens . . . . . Administrationem plenam et liberam Prioratus ipsius Hospitales Capuani . . . . . quoad vixeris . . . . . Nos enim intendimus tibi processo temporis abundantius providere . . . . . Avinioni, 3 Nonas Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. lv. Vatic.

Joannes . . . . . dilecto
1319 filio Fulconi de Villareto, Priori Prioratus Hospitalis S. Joannis Hierosolymitani Capuan . . . . Cum itaque dudum inter te tunc Magistrum

Hospitalis S. Johannis Hierosolymitani . . . fuerunt discordia; propter quam inter te et eos adhuc, dubitatur, rancorem et odium perdurare . . . tuque postmodum Magisterio sponte et libere in nostris manibus cessisse noscaris; nos volentes tuæ quietis commodis providere, personam tuam a Magistri præfati Hospitalis et ejusdem conventus subjectione . . quoad vixeris prorsus eximimus; Teque ipsius sedis ac nostræ immediate subjectioni reservamus. Magistro et Conventui supradictis districtius inhibentes . . Avenionę, 3 Kal. Julii, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

Num. CXXIV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Serie Chron., ii. 463.

His tomb used to be shown in the Church of St. John in Montpelier, with this epitaph, until the great French Revolution.

Anno MCCCXXVII. die scilicet 1 Septembris obiit nobilissimus Dominus Frater Folquetus de Villareto Magister Magni Hospitalis Sacræ Domus S. Joannis Baptistæ Hierosolymitani. Cujus anima requiescat in pace.

Dic pro me pater et ave.

Num. CXXV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii. Num. xlv.

Joannes XXII. dilecto Filio Fratri Giraudo de Pinibus Vicario Ordinis Hospitalis S. Joannis Hierosolymitani per sedem Apostolicam deputato . 1317

Avignone, 14 Kal. Octobr., Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Num. CXXVI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. lix., ii. 78. Vatic. Secret.

Joannes . . Carolo Regis Franciæ. .
1325 Tam Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani quam ordo universalis ipsius magno indiget compassionis auxilio . . ex causis variis præteriti temporis debitorum gravi sarcina præmitur et contra dilectum filium Elionum de Villanova ejusdem Hospitalis Magistrum et ordinem ipsum sultanus Babiloniæ et Turci dicuntur imaniter conspirasse prout dilectus filius Geraldus de Pinibus . . in partibus ultra marinis ejusdem Magistri Locum-tenens . . Avenioni, secundo Nonas Martii, Pontificatus nostri anno nono.

Num. CXXVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. Num. iii. Giunt., ii. 395. Vatic.

Clemens . . . . . Ipsi Hospitalis
1312 Ordini donamus . . . . . Datum in Priorato de Grausello quinto Idus Julii, Pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

Num. CXXVIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. Num. iv., Giunt. ii. 397. Vatic.

Clemens . . . . . Sanctio Regi

Majoricarum . . . . . Dudum siquidem Ordine Militiæ Templi, &c., *reliquum ut in superiori epistola usque ad verba,* Portugaliæ Regum illustrium actuis extra regnum Franciæ, &c. . . . . Sic igitur in præmissis te promtum et liberalem exhibeas . . . . . Quinto Idus Julii, Pontificatus nostri anno octavo. 1312

Num. CXXIX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. v., Giunt., ii. 398. *Vatic.*

Clemens . . . . . Roberto Regi Siciliæ illustri . . . . . ut præmittitur . . . . . decrevimus . . . . . Quare Celsitudinem tuam monimus attentius . . . . . Idibus Julii, Pontificatus nostri anno octavo. 1312

Num. CXXX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. vi., Giunt., ii. 399. *Vatic.*

Joannes . . . . . Heliono de Villanova Magistro Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani . . . . . Quo circa discretioni tuæ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus supportans onus a Domino, reverenter Magisterium Regimen curam . . . . . Datum Avenione quarto decimo Kalendas Julii, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

Num. CXXXI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. lx., ii. 78. Vatic. Secret.

Joannes . . . . . Joanni de Rivara
1327 Priori Pisan. Hospitalis S. Joannis Hierosolymitani . . . . . Consuevistis nobis rumores earum partium . . . . . sæpius enuntiare; sed quia tuas a paucis citra temporibus literas non recipimus, super iis plurimum admirati, discretionem tuam attentius exhortamur quatenus priorem diligentiam continuans nos statu et rumoribus dictarum partium et aliis quæ tibi occurerint nuncianda certiores efficere, quoties opportunum cognoveris, non posponas. Ad hæc volumus, Tibique præsentium tenore mandamus, ut iis temporibus Pisis cures personaliter residere. Avenioni, 4 Kalend. Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno undecimo.

Num. CXXXII.

Ex Cod. Depl. Geros., Num lxii. Vatic Secret.

Joannes . . . . . Regi Castillæ
1331 . . . . . deputare procreando in tuis Regnis et terris novo militari ordine. . . . . Nec videmus etiam, quod ordo militaris si crearetur ibidem de novo, adeo Regiis existeret opportunitatibus utilis, quin ordo dicti Hospitalis utilior esse possit . . . . . Datum Avenione sexto decimo Kalendas Maii, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto decimo.

Num. CXXXIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii. Num. lxix. Vatic Secret.

Clemens . . . . . dilecto filio, Heliono de Villanova Magistro Hospitalis . . . . . Habet namque cleri et populi quasi 1343 communis et vulgaris opinio quod . . . . . de bonis innumeris ipsius Hospitalis in Transmarinis et cismarinis partibus bonifacitis quasi nihil; nisi quod personæ Hospitalis ejusdem . . . . . equos magnos et pulchros equitant, cibis vacant delectabilibus, pomposis vestibis, vasis aureis et argenteis et pretiosis aliis ornamentis utantur, aves et canes tenent et nutriunt venaticos, pecunias congregant et conservant innumeras, et raras vel modicas eleemosynas largiuntur; . . . . . propter quod, quandoque tactum est, fore non parum utile . . . . . quod alia militaris religio crearetur per sedem Apostolicam et dotaretur de parte bonorum Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani . . . . . quod virtuosius et utilius duæ Religiones militares . . . . . mutuo zelo quam una, sicut olim Hospitalarii et Templarii faciebant; et etiam quod ad hoc abunde sufficerent bona Hospitalis prædicti . . . . . Cæterum, gens illa Turcorum . . . . . ad exterminium et confusionem aspirans præsertim regnum Cypri et Rhodi et circumvicinas insulas . . . . . viginta galeæ armatæ . . . . . videlicet per Regem Cypri quatuor, per Venetias quinque ac Hospitale

sex, per hæredes Sanuti una, per triennium teneantur; et nos quatuor per isto anno de speciali gratia nostris habeamus expensis . . . . . quin potius totalis armata posset commode ipsius hospitalis expensis teneri; cum a pluribus asseratur Te plus de thesauro quam alia tota Dei Ecclesia possidere; et preter hoc, multi Priores ipsius Hospitalis et Fratres habent, ut fertur, pecunias infinitas . . . . . Datum apud Villam novam, Avenion; Diœcesis, sexto Idus Augusti, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Num. CXXXIV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros, Num. viii., Giunt. ii. 401. *Vatic. Secret.*

Clemens . . dilecto filio Deodato da Gozone magistro Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani . .
1346 . . Heliono de Villanova Magistro Hospitalis prædicti, sicut Domino placuit, in eisdem . . . partibus transmarinis viam universæ carnis ingresso . . . . Nos igitur præmissis diligentius intellectis, licet de substractione dicti Helionis, qui prudentia et circumspectione aliisque multis virtutibus pollens dum viverat erga Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam claritate devotionis et reverentiæ præfulgebat, more doleamus humano . . in te, tunc Mag. Præceptorem Domus prædictæ, dirigentes unanimiter vota sua, te in Magistrum ipsius Hospitalis concorditer elegerunt . . . Avenioni, 4 Kalendas Julii, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

Num. CXXXV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. lxxii., ii. 90.

Fra Deodato . . . Maestro della sagra casa dell' Ospedale di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano . . . a noi carissimi fratello o fratelli il Priore o Priori di Danimarka, Dacia, Norvegia, Svezia . . . Crediamo certamente ancorchè voi abitiate negl' ultimi confini della Terra, che sappiate benissimo, e che per fama dobbiate aver inteso che nell' isola chiamata Rodi con gran moltitudine di fratelli della casa ed altri soldati abitiamo, facendo continua guerra contro crudelissimi nemici . . qui mantener non ci possiamo senza essere sovvenuti delle debite responsioni, che da' Beni nostri e in ogni parte del mondo situati, giustamente ci apparengono . . Pagate dunque ogni anno infallibilmente le risponsiono in mano del Ricevitore dell' Ordino nostro in Fiandra. Rodi, 25 Agosto, 1347. 1347

Num. CXXXVI.

Lapide nella Chiesa di S. Giovanni di Genova.

Urbanus Sanctissimus Papa Quintus eundo Romam in hac Ecclesia, Beati Johannis Hospitalis, fuit . . . Erant cum eo octo Cardinales, et Magister Ordinis Hierosolymitani, cum Admirallo Conventus et Priore Ecclesiæ Rhodi, cum multis fratribus dictæ Religionis . . MCCCLXVII Die XX. Maii. 1367

Num. CXXXVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. xii., Giunt., ii. 405. *Vatic. Secret.*

Urbanus . . Carolo Romanorum Imperatori
1366 semper Augusto . . . In Orientalibus partibus Christianum nomen et gloria verisimiliter delerentur . . quatenus pro reverentia Summi Regis per quem regnas et imperas . . . Avenioni, secundo Nonas Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

Num. CXXXVIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros, Num. xiv., Giunt., ii. 406. *Vatic. Secret.*

Gregorius . . Raymondo Magistro Hospi-
1373 talis S. Joannis Hierosolymitani . . Nuper displiciter accepimus quod Januenses ad invadendum Regnum Cypri se præparant et equis et victualibus . . . Provideas quod de tuis Terris eidem Regno Cypri nullum damnum preveniat, ipsisque Januensibus nullum præstes auxilium, consilium vel favorem . . . Datum apud Pontem Sorgiæ Avinion. Diœcesis, quarto Idus Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

Num. CXXXIX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros, Num. xv., Giunt., ii. 407. *Vatic. Secret.*

Gregorius . . Raymondo Magistro Hospitalis
1373 S. Joannis Hierosolymitani . . desiderium de tui Magisterii cessione, quod tuo ordini

nullatenus credimus expedire . . In hujusmodi generali congregatione efficaciter scribere sinceritas tua velit . . Datum apud Pontem Sorgiæ Avinion: Diœcesis, quarto Idus Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

Num. CXL.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. lxxx., ii. 99, ibi inclusa

Quoniam nos Frater Robertus de Julliacco, Dei Gratia, Sacræ Domus Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Magister humilis . . Data Rhodi die X mensis Augusti l'anno Milesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo sexto. 1376

Num. CXLI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. lxxx., ii. 99.

. . Joannis Ferdinandi, Castellani Empostæ . . Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Nonis Martii, Pontificatus nostri anno septimo. 1377

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. lxxxi., ii. 101.

Gregorius . Magistro.et Conventui Rodi . . Licet in Assembleya seu Capitulo generali per dilectos filios fratres Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani Avinione anno 1374 . . . tamen ¶u, fili Magister, visis præsentibus, auctoritate nostra revocetis, & annuletis, ac juribus vacuetis, et in pristinum statum reducere procuretis. 1377

Datum Anagriæ, X Kal. Septembris, Pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

Num. CXLII.

Ex Seb. Paoli: Serie Cron. ii. 466, *Note n,—Vita Greg. xi.—Bzovio, xiv. A.D.* 1376.

Crucem Sanctum fert Miles strenuus,
1376 Sancti Joannis præcingitur balteo
Gentem Sanctam regit, Admirallusque
Pelago minatur suo baculo
Barbam bifurcatam gerit senex
Tyrioque pollet vultu procero
Procellam superat nocte Joannes
Castellanus Empostæ Nobilis
Evaso barratro. Gerosolymitani
Ordinis—Vexillum Ecclesiæ gerebat Scn ex
Tyro Empostæ Castellanus.

Num. CXLIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. lxxxii., ii. 102.

Fra Joannes Ferdinandus de Heredia, etc. Fratri Jacobo
1381 de Leonibus, sacræ Domus Hospitalis Jerusalem, Capitaneo Generali Civitatis Smirnarum. . . . . Nos compellunt, ac etiam nostra professio providere ut ipsa civitas, ab ipsius inimicis conservata ad hæc tempora, ab eorum insidiis custodiatur fideliter; quod nusquam fieri poterit præterquam extirpatis stipendiariis infidelibus . Cumque pervenerit ad nostrum auditum quod Nicolaus Tibaudi gerens officium Stagliariæ

civitatis, spreto fidelitatis juramento . . committimus ut dictum Nicolaum modo debito informetis. Qua informatione facto, si culpabilis in aliquo reperiatur puniatis pœna condigna, ut cæteris cedat in exemplum. Datum Rhodii sub impressione sigilli nostri die XXVIII mensis Martii, Anno Incarnationis MCCCLXXXI.

Num. CXLIV.

Ex Pagi ap. Seb. Paoli: Serie, ii. 468, *Nota y.*

Sed eadem die Sabbati hora vespertina viginti quatuor Cardinales Conclave ingressi sunt, ad cujus custodiam deputatus fuit Philibertus de Naillacco Magister Hospitalariorum seu Rhodiensium qui pauco ante Pisas advenerat. 1409

Num. CXLV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. xcii., ii. 114.

Rex per litteras suas Patentes usque festum S. Johannis Baptistæ proximo futurum duraturas suscepit in salvum et securum conductum suum ac in protectionem tutionem et defensionem suas speciales, Fratrem Philibertum de Neilhaco Magistrum Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani in Regnum Regis Angliæ penes præsentiam Regis, pro certis negotiis, cum centum personis in comitiva sua veniendo, ibidem morando, et exinde versus partes suas proprias redeundo, necnon homines, equos, bona, res, et harnesia sua quæcumque. 1410

Teste Rege, apud Westmanosterium, octavo die Martii.

Num. CXLVI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. lxxxviii., ii., iii.

. . . . . Nos Frater Philibertus, &c.
1404 . . . . . de fidei legalitate et industriæ dictæ domus Fratris Petri Holt Turcopilerii Prioris Hiberniæ, &c., ... Datum Rhodi die sexta mensis Aprilis MCCCCIV.

Num. CXLVII.

Ex Seb. Paoli: Osservazioni su Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii. 591.

Prevesa Anticamente Nicopoli alle fauci del seno Ambracio oggi detto il Golfo del Atta ove stringendosi forma un canale, non piu lungo di 500 passi.

The Syrian Nicopolis was Emaus—The Adriatic Nicopolis was Prevesa.—*Com. Geo., i.* 452., *ii.* 34.

Num. CXLVIII.

. . . . . Appellanturque St. Petri Libertini. *Hist. Byzantina, cap. xxiii., page* 51.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. cxxii., ii. 146.

. . . . . Necnon Castrum alias dictum
1400 Castrum de Seynt Pierre in terra Turchiæ situatum. Quod quidem Castrum per impossibilia onera et custogia . . . . . Ordini Sancti Joannis Jerosolymitani in Rhodes prædicta a longo tempore elapso custoditum extitit . . . . . .

Il Gran Maestro Filiberto de Naillac commandando in persona, se ne impadroni dopo avervi tagliata a pezzi la guarnigione de Tartari; e lo fortificò con un altro castello ch'é fabbricò sulla grotta della punta . . . . .
e consegnollo alla custodia dei suoi cavalieri quali chiamaronsi indi a poi S. Petri Libertini. *Seb. Paoli: Notizie Geog.*, ii. 499.

Num. CXLIX

Baillivi perche "ils estaient baillez et envoies en diverses provinces par nos Rois." . . . . .
In vecchio Francese Bailiff significa Custode. *Seb Paoli: Osservazioni*, ii. 533.

Num. CL.

Ex Osservazioni Seb. Paoli, i. 548 —*Statuti dell' Ordine Geros., Tit. xix.* 7, *and Tit. x.* 45.

Turcopolerius, Bajulivus Conventualis Venerandæ linguæ Angliæ dicitur a Turcopolis, qui ut in historiis bellorum a Christianis in Syria gestorum habetur, Equites erant levis armaturæ. 1255

Num. CLI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii., Num. xcviii.

Rex omnibus ad quos . . . . . Sciatis quod de advisamento et assensu concilii nostri concessimus dilecto nobis in Christo Thomæ Launceleweck Chivalier Torcuplere des Rhodes . . . . .
Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, 3 Junii. 1434

Num. CLII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii., Num. xcix.

Rex omnibus . . . . . licentiam
1435 dedimus dilecto et fideli consiliario nostro, Johanni Domino de Scrop, quem ordinavimus et appunctavimus ad transeundum in Ambasciata nostra versus nobilem et sacræ religionis virum ordinis S. Johannis Jerusalem magistrum generalem . . . . . Teste Rege . . . . . 29 Januarii.

Num. CLIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii. Num. c.

Rex omnibus . . . . . Sciatis quod
1435 nos ad humilem supplicationem dilecti et fidelis nostri Roberti Malorre, Prioris Hospitalis S. Johannis Jerusalem in regno nostro Angliæ . . . . . cui ex parte . . . . . Magistri et Conventus de Rodes virtute obedientiæ ad proficendum ad partes de Rodes cum omni festinatione possibili pro resistentia Soldani et potestatis ejus, districte ut asserit, datur in mandatis. De avisamento et assensu Concilii nostri concessimus eidem Roberto licentiam proficendi extra dictum regnum nostrum versus partes prædictas cum fratribus famulis et servientibus suis . et quod omnimodas alias artillerias suas sibi compotentes asportare possit absque aliqua perturbatione . . . . et usque

ad summam centum marcarum sterlingorum de auro et argento cuniato . . . . . Teste Rege . . . . . 25 Januarii apud Westmonasterium.

Num. CLIV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. iii. Giunt. ii. 395. *Vatic.*

Clemens . . . . . Ordine Militiæ Templi Jerosolymitani auctoritate Apostolica in Concilio Vicnnensi eodem concilio approbante, sublato . . . . . domum ipsius militiæ Templi et omnia bona ejus . . . . . Datum in Prioratu de Grausello, prope Malausan Vasienen. Diœcesis, quinto Idus Julii, Pontificatus nostri anno octavo. 1312

Num. CLV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii., Num. cv., Vatic.

. . . . . Decrevimus eos omnes qui honorem et emolumenta ab ordinis Vestræ Religionis reportant, ad tam honesta tamque debita onera convocare . . . . . Præcipimus et mandamus. Dat Romæ, apud S. Petrum, 1444, Idus Aprilis, anno Pontif. XIV. 1444

Num. CLVI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii., Num. cviii.— Spicilegium.
Lettera del Grand Maestro al Re d'Inghilterra.

Serenissime et Christianissime Francorum Rex . .

. . . Insuper Presbyter Joannes Indorum
1448 Imperator . . . per veros interpretes
. . . . . Rhodi in nostro conventu, die tertia Julii. Anno Domini 1448. Magister Hosp. Jerusalem.

Num. CLVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii. Num. cix.

Frater Joannes de Lastico Dei gratia Sacræ Domus Hos-
1448 pitalis St. Johannis Jerosolymitani Magister . .
. . . nobilo viro nobis admodum dilecto Bernardo M. Domini Foresii Salviati . . . . quæ insignia armorum nostri magistri, ut præmittitur, monimentum memoriæ vestræ et beneficentiæ erga nos et nostram religionem donamus vobis præfato Bernardo Salviati posterisque vestris legitimus ac ex eis legitime descendentibus jus deferendi in pace et bello. Datum Rhodii in nostro conventu die quarta mensis Novembris, 1448, Magisterii vero nostri anno undecimo.

Num. CLVIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii. Num. xvii., Giunt. Vatic.

. . . . . Prædictum Generale Capitulum
1444 in Rhodo de mense Maii anni MCCCCXLV vel si aliqua cogeret prorogationis causa, de mense Octobris ejusdem anni . . . . . Romæ . . . . . 1444, 15 Kal. Maii, Pontificatus nostri anno quartodecimo.

Num. CLIX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. Num. cxx. ii., 131.

Johannes de Lastic . . . . . Post urbis Constantinopolitanæ captionem . . . . . versus Rhodum festinetis . Valete . Datum Rhodi in nostro conventu die XX mensis Januarii, MCCCCLIII. 1453

Num. CLX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. cxiv., ii. 134.

Lettera del Re d'Inghilterra al Papa supplicandelo di face una lega dei Principi Christiani tutti.

Beatissime Pater. . . . Datum ex Paladio nostro Westm. nostro sub privato sigillo, vicessimo quarto die Julii, Regnorum vero nostrorum anno tricesimo secundo. Ejusdem Sanctitatis vestræ devotus filius Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ, etc., etc. 1454

Num. CLXI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii., Num. cxvi.

Henricus etc . . . . . Religiosissimo, Potenti et Magnifico viro, Fratri Johanni de Lastico Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerusalem Magno Magistro Rhodi . . . . . Literas ad nos delatas per strenuum virum Johannem Langstrother 1454

familiarissimum nostrum et Dominationis vestræ Oratorem . . . . . non sine animorum anxietate audivimus tot flagitia imminere quibus miserimus ille Teucer flagrat . . . . . ut non aliud quærere videatur quam nomen Christianorum radicitus extirpare . . . . . Scripsimus ad Venetos pro reintegrandis vobiscum antiquis amicitiis et usi sumus rationibus quæ rem quantum conicere possumus, ad bonos terminos reducere debent . . . . . Verumtamen non est a nobis præmittendum ut . . . omnino præsedendum fore ab illo instituto ut præfatum. Priorem in Anglia ex hoc regno nostro evocet, quoniam neque pro religionis vestræ commodo, aut nostro, foret; cum maxime hic agat res vestras et ordinis, plurisque pretii sit hoc regno ejus negotiatio in rebus vestris gerendis, quam præsentia apud Rhodum. Nos quoque industriam et fidem ejus sic experti sumus, quod neque possumus, nec intendimus quovis modorum ex regno nostro abfuturum . . . . . Datum ex Palatio nostro Westm. sub nostro privato sigillo XXIV die mensis Julii, regnorum vero nostrorum anno tricesimo secundo.

Num. CLXII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii., Num. cxix.

Decreto del Capitolo Generale per un nuovo . . . . . nella Lingua di Spagna . . . . .

1460 Gaudeat nostra . . . . . sublata est enim . . . . . dissidentia quæ

. . . . . septem Linguas æque ac nationes dividebat . . . . . ut pace ordo ipse perpetua fruatur . . . . . ideo hujusce generalis capituli auctoritate statuimus et creamus . . . . . Quam quidem novi Baiullivatus dignitatem . . . . . assignamus atque concedimus venerandæ Linguæ Hispaniæ quam in Linguas duas sub una Albergia restitutas dividimus. Quia natio ipsa Hispanica militibus ordinis clarissimis præpolleat . . . . . et Linguæ ipsius partitionem omnibus honoribus dignitatibus prærogativis et utilitatibus . . . . . per institutionem Generalis Capituli Bullam communem ferream custodire . . . . . .

Num. CLXIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii., Num. cxviii. Vatic. Secret.

Pius . . . . . trucidissimi hostes, quot et quanti . . . . . tantasque Christicolarum strages . . . . . Cum 1464 armis, vestris arnesiis, et comitiva, ad insulam Rhodi . . . . . etiam Cardinalatus dignitate fulgentium . . . . . Romæ Pont. nostri anno sexto, millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo quarto, decimo Kal. Martii.

Num. CLXIV.

Ex Serie Chronologica dei Gran Maestri in Rodi., ii. 469.

" Petro Raimundo Zacosta de Ispania Citeriori Sac.

Dom. Hospitalis S. Jo. Hierosol. M. Magistro qui Generali Capitulo sui ordinis Romæ celebrato LXIII ætatis suæ anno vita functus est. Consilio . . . . . incliti . . . . . Hoc monum. Decreto

Patr. B. M. Positum.

Num. CLXV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii., Num. cxx.

Louis . . . . . comme nos bien
1471 amez, de l'ordre et Hospital S. Jean de Hierusalem . . . . . a l'occasion de la guerre apresent en l'isle de Rhodes . . . . . ces presentes apres dix ans non valables. Donné aux Montils-les Tours, 20 Septbr. 1471 . . . . . Ainsi signè par le Roi, et scellè du grand sceau en cire jaune, Tithart.

Num. CLXVI.

L'unione della Chiesa Greca alla Latina fatta nel concilio Fiorentino; la quale i Greci de Rodi inviolabilmente asservavano. *Bosio, ii.* 9, *anno* 1471.

Num. CLXVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. cxxii., ii. 143.

Frater Petrus Daubusson, Dei gratia Sacræ Domus
1477 Hospitalis S. Johannis Hierosolymitani Magister humilis . . . . . ad hæc nostra

calamitosa tempora . . . . . his quem in bello usui solent . . . . . Hinc est fratres dilectissimi quod die noctuque civitatem . . . . . et insulas nostras pro virili parte munimus et paramus . . . . . nobis credite; providendum quidem est in tempore ne cladem (quod Deus avertat) subeamus. . . . . simus nobismet subsidia . . . . . sine quo nobis vivere non licet, ne toti mundo ludibria simus . . . . . Habete fidem nobis, qui vos ut nosmet diligimus et amamus. . . . . Facite igitur de necessitate virtutem . . . . . In cujus rei testimonium Bulla nostra communis plumbea præsentibus est appensa. Datum Rhodi in nostro Conventu die prima mensis Julii, MCCCCLXXVI.

Num. CLXVIII.

Ex Seb. Paoli: Osservazioni ii., 570.

Torquato, medico Ferrarese, e celebratissimo astrologo, in un suo Prognostico presentato a Mattia Re d'Ungheria il 1480, e publicato dal Freero ii., fol. 387, predisse, fra le altre cose, la cadute di Belgrado e di Rodi. "Turcorum esercitus capiet Belgradum et Rhodum, munitissime Christianorum loca."

Num. CLXIX.

Relation du Siège de Rhodes in 1480. *Par Mary Dupuis. Edit.* 1726, *Paris.*

. . . . . La cite de Rhodes est assise

en une belle et bonne et grant isle moult bien fertile & habundante . . . . . Et est la dicte ville ou cite de Rhodes une tres belle et bonne cite et grant, et y a bien en bon port de mer . . . . . et a l'opposite de celle est assise et située la Turquie . . . . . et peut avoir depuis la dicte ville de Rhodes jusque la dicte Turquie XVIII. milles de mer, qui valent environ six lieues Francoises, et laquelle ville de Rhodes est assise en beau pais et de belle venue, de toutes pars bien murée et tourrée, et a la muraille a XXII. pies dispesseur et plus . . . . . La ville la mieulx clause que je veix oncques, et qui soit au monde comme je crois, et bien garnie d'artillerie tant grosse que petite . . . . . et y a toujours beau coup de nobles et vaillans chevaliers et de toutes les nacions du monde . . . . . Et autours de la dicte ville et cite de Rhodes a le plus beau lieu du monde . . . . . car y a beaucoup de jardins et tout plein de petites maisons.

Num. CLXX.

The *Obsidio* of Caoursini is perhaps rarer than his *Oratio*. The best edition of the *Oratio* may be found in the British Museum, among the printed books. Guglielmi Caoursini Rhodien: Vice Cancelleri, Oratio percellentissimi Magistri Rhodi ad Summum Pontificem, & 4to, 1485.

Habita in Consistorio
Publico; quinta Calendas
Februarias; anno MCCCC
LXXXV. a Nativitate.

Num. CLXXI.

Ex Seb. Paoli (Cod. Diplomatic. Geros.) ii., al lettore.

Quia civitas Rhodi obsidebatur per Turcos, et summo conatu oppugnabatur; in tanta rerum perturbatione ac formidine, peracta in scriptis non sunt redacta; sed habita victoria, historia est edita per Willelmum Caoursinum, Rhodorum Vicecancellarium, quæ per orbem impressorum arte est divulgata; qua propter in hoc spatio nihil est registratum.

Ita est! Willelmus Caoursinus, Rhodiorum Vicecancellarius.

Num. CLXXII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii. cxxvi. Freheri., Rer. Germ.

Invictissime ac serenissime Princeps. Quæ in obsidione Rhodiæ Urbis a Turcis expugnando et a nobis tutando gesta sunt, non incongruum videtur vestræ 1480
Imperiali Majestati significare, cum ad hanc diem pugnæ ad honorem Christiani nominis felicem exitum adeptæ sint; et non ambigimus vestram Imperialem Majestatem ex victoriis non parvam lætitiam excepturam. Turci ubi circa urbem castramentati sunt, oppugnationis loca diligentius explorant, civitatem quoque omni ex parte Bombardis quatere et eruere proponunt, et quod mente concipiunt, opere demonstrant; ad id quoque exequendum Bombardis, et mortariis urbem circumdant, verberant,

diruunt Turres IX. et Bolvardon; Magistratusque Palatia concutiunt et prosternunt; tribus tamen ex partibus commodissimum sibi esse videtur civitatem oppugnare et aggredi, potissime ad rem conficiendam pertinere videtur Turris molis S. Nicolai expugnatio; ex qua urbem in suam potestatem facile transituram arbitrantur. Est enim Arx in vertice molis sita, quæ versus septentrionem in mari prominet, usque ad Portum conspicit et aditum navigantibus, qui eam tenet, si libet, facile prohibet; ad occidentem Oratorium S. Antonii situm est fere ce passibus a Turri distans, mari interjecto. Conspecta igitur loci opportunitate, Hostis Turris potiundæ avidus omni conatu incumbit, ut eam in suam redigat potestatem. Ad Turrim itaque diruendam tres ingentes Bombardas ahenеas devehunt, quarum magnitudo et vehementia incredibilis erat; saxa quæque sphærica IX. palmarum torquebant, easque apud sacellum S. Antonii collocant. Mirabile dictu, calamitosum visu, opus quidem percelebre et quod stabilissimum videbatur; sed diebus assiduis et CCC. lapidum ictibus Turris pro potiore parte diruitur, prosternitur, laceratur. Hostis quidem ruinam conspiciens exultat, plausibus quoque aëra complet quæ vana gaudia in luctum suum conversa sunt. Nos vero, de tuitione Turris solliciti, grandem, horrendamque ruinam conspicientes, quod supererat munitione opplere jussimus; et quod id quoque parum visum est, propter ipsius magnum lapsum, constituimus nedum arcem tutare, sed molem ipsam S. Nicolai defendere. Omni igitur vigilantia cura ingenio operariis fere mille die, noctuque adhibitis, totis diebus, fossa non

incassum excisa, propugnaculis quoque ex lignis edificatis in vertice ipsius melis circa Turrim, in medio quoque ejus et in radice, Turrim et molem inexpugnabilem non sine magno sumptu reclusimus; tam præsidium quoque fortissimorum commilitonum in ruina molis, et munitionibus et propugnaculis circa eam confectis, collocamus. In radice quoque, ac pede ejus altera præsidia ad orientem et occidentem collocamus; nam illic radix muro clauditur et mare vadosum est; quare observatur defenditurque, ne Turci illuc transeant et nostros a tergo adoriantur. In mœnibus urbis Bombardas disponi jubemus, quæ ad tempus pugnæ officio fungantur; ignes quoque cum scaphis parantur quæ in classem mittantur. Turci ædificii ruina allecti uno et demuum altero prælio Turrim invadunt; primum, cum ipsam facile expugnare putarent, mediocribus viribus aggrediuntur, ante auroram, luce adhuc dubia, triremibus ad hoc paratis, arcem oppugnant, prælianturque. Nostri quidem tuitioni intenti locum constanter tutantur. Sic hostis victus discedit. Ea in pugna fere 700 Turci (prout profugi significavere) cecidere. Interjectis autem diebus accensi priori repulsa, Turrim maris potentia, arte ingenio oppugnant et reparamenta ac propugnacula jactu Bombardorum quatiunt, nonnullaque conterunt. Nos quoque reficimus summa celeritate quod obteritur. Parant ad hæc conficienda triremes bene munitas et ingeniose ad prælium ornatas adjiciunt, et navigia quædam oneraria (parendarias vulgo dictas) quarum quædam onustæ Bombardis et saxis erant, ut locum turris et molis, qua se potituros credebant, munirent, et ex his urbem lacesserent, diruerent, expug-

narentque. Cymbas præterea quasdam disponunt, ex quibus quinque Turcorum strenuissimi facile in molem descendant, et Pontem miro artificio ædificant, qui ex Ecclesia S. Antonio Turris in molem transitum præbeat. Nos enim suspicati, quod evenit, post primam pugnam abundantius die noctuque circa Turris et molis tutamenta vires et ingenium adhibemus, munimenta ampliamus, præsidia augemus, gravissimis impensis non parcimus; nam in ea salutem urbis constitutam conjiciebamus. Media igitur nocte grandiori accensi ardore Turci XIII., Kal. Julii arcem summo silentio aggrediuntur, omnique parte magno impetu invadunt; erectæ enim erant nostrorum aures, nec dormitabant. Ubi autem adesse inimicos comperitur machinæ saxa jaciunt, milites gladio stringuntur, balistis, fundis, et saxorum jactu ex Turri et mole hostem deturbant et propellunt; pugnatum est summa vi a media nocte usque ad horam decimam. Turci vero complures, qui ex cymbis et triremibus in molem descenderant, trucidantur. Pons natans Turcis onustus, machinarum jactu frangitur; qui supererant Turci merguntur. Quatuor quoque triremes, et ea navigia quæ Bombardis et lapidibus onusta erant, saxorum jactu ex tormentis perfringuntur et undis obruuntur! Ignis quoque in classem mittitur, qui eam retrocedere compulit, sic discedunt victi Turci. Insignis quidem hac pugna fuit morte clarorum virorum qui Turcis præerant, quorum interitus luctum exercitui præbuit. Profugi quoque post pugnam introducti affirmant, Turcos in hac pugna magnam stragem accepisse; ex eis quoque fere 2,500 excidisse. Cum autem Turci spem Turris

expugnandæ perdidissent; industriam, ingenium, vires et omnem conatum ad urbem expugnandam convertunt; et licet tota civitas machinis concuteretur et laceratur, ut vix forma prioris urbis remanserit, tamen potissimum murorum partem oppugnare intendunt, qui Judæorum domos claudunt, orientemque spectant, eamque etiam partem, quæ ad Turrim Italiæ ducitur. Ad hæc igitur mœnia diruenda et delacerenda octo ingentes, grandissimasque Bombardas comportant, saxa circuitus palmarum IX. torquentes, quæ assiduo die, noctuque muros verberant; nec cessant Bombardæ et Mortaria circa civitatem locata similes lapides torquere; quin immo ad terrorem et detrimentum ictus multiplicant. Nos ad jactum mortariorum vitandum imbecillem ætatem ac mulieres sub fornicibus, et valvis et pluribus locis pomærii cohabitare statuimus; quo effectum est, ut pauci hoc tormento interirent. Usi sunt quoque alio tormenti genere, quo igneas pilas projiciebant, ac sagittas ignitas ex balistis et catapultis torquent, quo ignem in ædificia jacerent; nos vero indemnitati urbes consulentes peritos artis delegimus qui post casum pilarum magna solertia ignem extinguerent. His remediis Rhodii a magnis incommodis servati sunt. Excogitant insuper Impii urbem ingenio occulto propinquare; fossas itaque tortuosas effodiunt quas partim lignis et terra opperiunt, ut latenter ad fossas urbis accedant; propugnacula quoque multis in locis ædificant, ex quibus assiduo sagittant colubrinis ac serpentinis Bombardis nostros disturbant, fatigantque; pensitant quoque eis esse commodum aliquam partem civitatis, quæ muro speronis adjacet,

complere. Opera igitur ab Hoste adhibita lapides congerere non cessant et occulto in fossam jaciunt; assiduitate pars fossæ oppleta, antemurali quoque æquatur, ex qua, et ruina informam dorsi redacta, facillimus conscensus in mœnia efficitur. Nos autem inimici conatum conspicientes, tuitioni urbis invigilamus; totaque urbe, et castello, reparatis et munitionibus, fossis quoque quam diligenter intendimus. Quod Turci conjectantes, desperati ad muros Judæorum et alio se convertunt, et nos munimentis ac reparis validissimis ruinam Turcorum firmamus palis lignorum vivacissimorum infixis, ac terra fascibus arbustorum et ramorum interjectis, quæ invicem subtilissime firmissimeque coherentes, vim machinarum sustinebant et ruinam protegebant, ne muri collapsi intra urbem facilem descensum præberent. Etiam loco propugnaculorum palos et vegetes terra oppletas statuimus, quæ nostros tutarentur, et conscendentibus Turcis impedimento essent. Ignes quoque artificiosos et alia ingenia paravimus, quæ ad propulsandum Turcorum vim conducere videantur; excogitatum quoque est eam partem fossæ quæ lapidibus a Turcis oppleta erat, evacuare; sed cum id palam efficii non posset, cuniculo, latentique fossa in pomærio ædificata, exitum sub lapidibus nostri habent et occulto lapides in urbem comportant; sentiunt profecto Turci qui fossæ propinqui erant lapidum congeriem minui et ascensus opportunitatem adimi, nisi quanto citius quod cupiunt efficiunt. Itaque in his operibus XXXVIII. diebus consumptis, quo in tempore 3500 vel circiter ingentium saxorum in mœnia et urbem

jacti sunt. Turci; scilicet occasione invadendi urbis conspecta, ne ascensus commoditas auferatur, accellerant propositum conficere, pridieque quam bellum iniretur ac sequenti nocte, et diliculo quod mane quo pugnatum est præcesserat, octo Bombardæ dictis muris objectæ absque intermissione saxa ingentia torquent; quod loco propugnaculorum adhibitum erat delacerant, diruunt; vigiles et custodes et mœnium præsidia pro parte potiori occidunt, et quisquam vix muris superstare posset nisi summo astu occultaretur et scala ad signum campanæ pauculum descenderent et demum conscenderent. Nec tempus datum est propugnacula denuo instaurandi, cum semper ictus bombardarum augerentur, ut eo pauco tempore 300 vel circiter saxa jacta sint. Turci vero jactu bombardarum finito, ad signum mortarii quod pridem in eo loco constituerant, confertissimi magno impetu quam celerrime VII Kal. Augusti conscendunt. Erat namque facilis, ut diximus, ejus conscensus, facilior quam nostris per scalas. Superiora quoque murorum loca, eradicato nostro quod illic erat præsidio (quod primum tanto impetu resistere nequivit) antequam subsidia nostra scalas conscenderent, occupant et illic vexilla sua statuunt. Idem quoque faciunt ad Turrim Italiæ, cujus verticem oppugnant. Clamor undique oritur, manusquoque viriliter conserunter; magnaque vi pugnatur.—Repente nostris hosti se objicientibus, dextera lævaque murorum, superioribus locis, nostri Hostem oppugnant et valide deturbant, ne mœnia discurrerent; scalis quoque, quæ quatuor erant, quibus in vicum Judæorum descendebatur, una jussu nostro per-

fracta, conscensis, hosti nos opponimus, tutamur, defendimus. Turci vero perpulchre armati duo millia supra muros erant; confertissimi de nostris secum manus conserentes qui armorum vim propellere et loco expellere nitebantur; sed nostrorum virtus firma persistens nequaquam loco cessit; sequebatur vero Turcos, qui muris potiti erant, ingens multitudo Turcorum, quæ totum campum, adjacentum ruinam, vallum, et fossam oppleverat ut terra vix conspici posset. Affirmarunt profugæ 4,000 Turcorum invasione adesse. Nostri ex Turcis qui super muro erant 300 vel circiter in vicum Judæorum propellunt, qui ad unum occisi sunt. Eo in conflictu vexillum Imaginis sacratissimi Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et religionis nostræ ante hostis conspectum ereximus, summa itaque vi horis duabus pugnatum est; tandem Turci pressi, fatigati, perterriti, vulneribus quoque fessi terga vertunt, et fugam tanto impetu arripiunt, ut sibi ipsis impedimento essent et perniciem afferrent. Decidere ea in pugna Turchi 3,500 vel circiter, quorum cadavera intra urbem et super mœnia et in fossa, munitionibus hostium, et mari reperta sunt; et postmodum ad luem vitandam combusta, quorum spoliis nostri potiti fuere, qui fugientes Turcos usque ad campi planitiem magno animo secuti eos trucidantes; tandem incolumes regressi sunt. In prælio quidem ex nostris militibus, et Balivis inter confertissimos hostes constanter pugnantes occubuere. Nos nostrique commilitones, pluribus vulneribus acceptis, Deo gratias acturi, præsidio valido muris imposito, domum revertimur; nec id profecto sine Divino auxilio contigit qui tantam

cladem a nostris avertit. Misit enim Deus, non ambigimus, de cœlo auxilium, ne plebecula Christum colens Machometis spurcitiis inficeretur. Paraverant Turcæ spe potiundæ urbis sibi funes ad captivos obligandos, et palorum ingentem magnitudinem ad vivos cruciandos. Decreverant enim omnes mortales, mares et fœminas supra decem annorum ætatem trucidare et palis suffigere, teniorisque ætatis mortales in captivitatem ducere et ad fidem abnegandam compellere et omnem supellectitem in prædam convertere, urbis ditione Turco reservata; sed frustrato suo nephando optatu, tamque pecudes ceduntur. His in pugnis et eruptionibus diversis diebus factis ut appropinquationem prohiberemus, et fossam evacueremus, et ageremus quod civitati commodum esset, etiam machinarum jactu in exercitum et viridaria, quæ incolebant (ut perfugæ divulgaverunt Turci) 9000 occisi sunt; ingens quidem multitudo vulnerata, inter quos quidem capitanei, ac Germanus Balfe, et quidam Turci gener occubuere. Pugna commissa, munimentis prius exustis, ad primum lapidem castra Turci locarunt, ubi suppellecti, impedimentis, ac machinis, onerandis, ac Turcis in Lyciam revehendis nonnullis diebus consumptis, Rhodiorum littore solventes Fiscum, continentis urbem antiquam, navigant; sic quoque victi cum ignominia recedunt. Omnipotens Deus vestram Imperialem Majestatem feliciter conservet ad vota. Datum Rhodii die 13 Septembris, anno Redemptoris nostri incarnationis MCCCCLXXX.

E. V. Imperii, M.

Humiles servitores, Petrus Daubussson
Magister Hospitalis Hierosolymitani, et Consules.

Num. CLXXIII.

E Lenuclavii, Histor. Turc., 367.

Oppidi nomen Græcis est Marmora, Portus autem Phisco, prŏquo legitur in Ortelii Natolia Fischio; situs est e regione prorsus Rhodi, qui ab hoc duntaxat octodecim milliaribus Græcis disjungitur.

Num. CLXXIV.

To prevent mistake, here are Bouhour's exact words:

Ceque l'image fatale de Minerve estoit au peuple de Troye, celle de la vierge le fut au peuple de Rhodes. Il erut que le salut de la ville en dependait, et qu'il n'avrait rien a craindre tandis qu'elle serait au milieu d'eux.—*Vie d'Aubusson, ii.* 106.

Num. CLXXV.

E Bosii, Storia, ii. 12,

Fra Henricus Haler Commendator Badsfort.
Fra Tommasus Ploniton.
Fra Adamus Tedbond.
Fra Henricus Batasbi.
Fra Henricus d'Anulay (d'Avalas).

Num. CLXXVI.

E Sansovino dei Turchi, 172.

. . . . . Questo epitafio fu dalla lingua Turchesca nell' iodioma latino cosi rapportato. Mens erat bellare Rhodum, et superare superbam Italiam.

Num. CLXXVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. xxi. Giunt., ii. 411,

. . . . Major natu Yldrymy (Bājazet II.) qui Constantinopoli imperat; minor autem natu Zyzymy in Yconium degens 1482
Rhodi die ultima mensis Julii, 1482

Num. CLXXVIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. xxi., ii. 413

Nos Sultan Bagiasit Chan Dei gratia Maximus Imperator Asiæ et Græciæ &c., &c., Reverendissimo nostro dilecto D. Petro, Almi* Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ Rhodi magno magistro S. D. P. Notum sit Reverendissimæ V. D. qualiter nos misimus ad partes, quæ vocantur palatia dilectum nostrem Gubernatorem Hachmat Bassa Veledmogli; cui commissimus ut ad vos scribat, mentem nostram declarando. Scito igitur omnia quæ ad V. R., scripturus erit, nostra verba sunt et ex voluntate nostra procedunt. Adhibeat illico R. D. V., omnem fidem verbis suis, tamquam si ex meo proprio ore audires. Itaque omnia quæ cum V. R. D., contraxerit, aut faciet, illa ego sine aliquo dubio confirmo. 1482

Datum Cataii die XXV Augusti, anno nativitatis Jesu MCCCCLXXXII, vel a creatione mundi 6990.

Harimonius Atheniensis, qui modo Muract Khim Turcè dicitur Secretarius.

* Almai, an apple, applied in Turkey to signify a very great and very strong imperial city, is given almost only to Constantinople.—*Dell' Orig. de Turchii*, 29.

Num. CLXXIX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. xx. Giunt, ii. 411

Serenissimo ac Illustrissimo Principi & Domino Soldano Pereccelentissimo.

Serenissime, inclitissime et eccelentissime Princeps et Domine, per li magnificii et nobili Duan et Solime ambasciatori di Vostra Serenità havemo ricevuto le lettere de Vostra Eccelentia eciamdio inteso a bochada li prefati, come Vostra Serenità per la vostra pristina e mutua amicizia ha desiderio di passare a Rhodi, e communicare con noi e usare del nostro consilio; e que per esequncione de questo, mandassemo alcuni navili e salvo condotto. Noi adonche intesa la volontà de Vostra Illustrissima Signoria, per la integrità de benevolentià tra noi, havemo ordinato a securità della nobilissima persona Vostra una nave grossa, con una Galca, ed una Caravella. E con ordine che le doe Galee nostre, che se troveno in Levante, se occurreranno, se conjungeno a quelle con le quali navi secure Vostra Eccelentissima Signoria può passare senza dubio; de li quali navilii havemo constituito Capitano lo Venerando Priore de Castilia Fra Domenico Alvaro de Stunighe, consanguineo del Serenissimo Re de Castilia, Locotenente nostro, per compagnar e condurre Vostra Serenità secondo convene. E per questo eseguire, mandemo li nostri salvi condotti in bola piombada, juxta la consuetudine nostra. Poterà adonche Vostra Illustrissima Signoria eseguire la sua Voluntà, che speremo lo fine sarà

1482

fructuoso. Valeat felix Vestra Serenitas. Dat. Rhodi, die XII Julii MCCCCLXXXII.

Mag. Hospitalis Jerusalem et Consilium.

Num. CLXXX.

Ex Caoursino . . . . . pompa qua exceptus est a Rhodiis Rex Zyzymy. Ed., 1726, *Paris.*

. . . . . Pannis auro, argenteo serico lanaque contextis, pro Gallorum vel Belgarum more (qui hujusce artis inventores et peritiores putantur) pons ornatur. Via enim quam pedum vestigiis incidentes premerent, Turchorum pictis tapetis sternitur. Vici qua parte eundem fuit, mixtim floribus suavem quidem odorem spirantibus respersi, ac varietate sunt distincti——Premissi sunt prestantes senatorii ordines equites . . . . Magistrum, insignis vehit sonipes spumantia frena mandens; Aureis fibulis phalerisque ornatus qui hynnitum sæpius edens, superbe graditur . . . . . Edem Sancti Sebastiani foro sitam de industria magister non transit. Illuc obviam venit Rex Zyzymy superbo insidens equo . . . . . Ad edes equitant paratos ad Palacia Francorum Equitum (magnificé ad hæc ornata) ventum est; eo dimisso, Magister suas edes petit. Rex vero ex equo in pedes sese agiliter excipit, ac duorum medius Thurcorum honoris causa ulnas sustentatium scalas conscendens penetralia egreditur. Barbaricoque sago abjecto, lectisternio pro Thurcorum more flexis poplitibus sedit. Ea die artubus salc tabentibus quies data est . . . . .

Num. CLXXXI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cxxxvii.

. . . . . Nos itaque Baiulivi, Priores, Preceptores, et Fratres capitulum generale celebrantes . . . . . diligenti recognito calculo administrationis thesauri et personæ Illustrissimi Principis Zain (Zyzymy) Sultani fratris magni Turci. 1489

. . . . . constat thesaurum nostri Ordinis ac ipsum ordinem esse obligatum teneri ac dare debere, realiter et cum effectu, ipsi nostro prælibato Magistro summam scutorum aurei cunei serenissimo Domini Regis Franciæ quinquaginta millia septingentorum, quadraginta novam, asperorum triginta novem, denarii unius; videlicet scutorum aur. LMVII. XXXXVIIII. à XXXVIIII. pro qua solutione dicto nostro magistro facienda, diligenti discussione et deliberatione habita, dictam summam assignavimus super omnibus et singulis . . . . . Datum Rhodi durante nostri Generali Capitulo die decima mensis Septembris anno ab Incarnato Christo Jesu Domino nostro 1489.

Num. CLXXXII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros, Num. cxxxi., ii. 156. 1448—*Bollandisti.*

Bayazet Asiæ Rex Imperatorum Imperator, Cham (id est maximorum maximus) sapientissimo ac illustrissimo magno Rhodiorum Magistro, Petro d'Aubusson feli-

cissimo Imperatori, Patri Colendissimo . . . nec obliviscimur te Principem sapientem prædivitem et haud ignavum esse, qui clarissima victoria potitus es, grandiaque soles aggredi facinora. Nos itaque tibi-gratificare cupientes, non fuit apud Bysantium quod acceptius tibi fore putaremus quam ea ipsa manu te frui quæ Christianæ gentis Messiæ Precursoris, cujus patrocinium invocas, corpori olim fuit juncta: ea quippe, Imperiali urbe devicta, genitoris ærario est addicta. Gratum tibi non ambigens fore manusculum oratori deferendum credidi. Excipe eja, Principe fidelissime, tui Patroni dexteram manum; quæ quamvis digna sit oblatio, animum tamen elargitoris recolito, qui grandiori pecunia rejecta, tui amicitiam censui pacto anteposuit; in quo vera quidem animi integritis deprehendi solet, quæ utilitate contempta amico morem gerere studet. Vale.

Num.° CLXXXIII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. cxxxiv., ii.

Bolla della elezione al Cardinalato ecc.

Innocentius Episcopus servus servorum . . . . . non ad tui a Romana curia absentis nec 1485
alterius per te supplicationem, sed motu proprio . . . . . Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominice millessimo quadragentesimo Octuagesimo quinto, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo, idibus Februarii . . . . . Ego Innocentius.

Num. CLXXXIV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Ceros., ii., Num. cxxxvii.

Augustinus Barbadico. Dei Gratia Dux Venetiarum
1485 . . . . . Cum ob amorem et benevolentiam qua merito quidem prosequimur Dominationem vestram . . . . . et omnem ejus amplitudinem honorisque accessionem semper obtaverimus . . . . . nuper jucundissimo nuntio creationis vestræ ad Cardinalatus dignitatem . . . . nec minus gratulamur Christianæ Reipublicæ . . . . . Datum in nostro Ducali Palatio die XVII Martii, Indictione VII. MCCCCLXXXV.

Num. CLXXXV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii. Num. xxxviii. Giunt.

. . . . . Habiamo ricevuto due lettere
1486 . . . . . l'una delle quali avanti che li nostri oratori comparisser a Rhodi; l'altra poi che V. S. dette benigna audientia; a ciaschuna di dicte lettere dando piena testimonianza de lo animo e sincera benevolentia de V. S. . . . . Hanno li dicti nostri oratori voluto che sapiamo con quanto honore li ha ricevuti, che piu ultra desiderare non saperiamo, e quanto V. S. se sia movuta del caso ed injuria a noi facta. E poi con quanto ardore e celerita ha facto non solo le provvisioni per noi rechieste, ma eciandio quelle che per noi

potevano desiderare. Nè contenta di questo che in la venuta de Sohandalbey non solum V. S. se ha ha forzato tirarlo in nostri sentencia, ma hora per ore ha consigliato con li dicti nostri oratori la causa nostra come soa propria e peculiare. Prestantissimo Principe questi tanti e si grandi beneficii appresso di noi sono posti in grande precio. Et perchi se vediamo al tempo presente non sufficienti a poterli rendere, pregheremo Dio che ne dagha faculta de fare debita recompensacione. Et in questo mezzo in locho di qualche remunerazione, V. S. prenderà per pegno e caparro li animi nostri ed in comune ed in particolare, li quali in ogni cossa occurrente distender possa a sua grandezza ed utilita a quella prompti ed apparecchiati sempre saranno. Ma ultra questo se pote persuader V. S. dover aver laude di questa causa appresso ogni Principo Christiano . . . . Manca il rimanente

Num. CLXXXVI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros. ii., Giunt., Num. xlix.

Sultam Bagiazit, Dei gratia, Turchiæque Graciæ Imperator etc. al serenissimo et Illustrissimo Excellentissimo Principi Ludovico Francorum Regi salutem. Questi di passati essendo lo mio fratello, Jem Scialbey in Rhodo, essendo lui per portarsoi in li lochi de Frangia, ordino et fere Procuratore generale lo Gran Maistro de Rhodo tali modo, ch 'ogni cosse che fera il G. Maistro de Rhodo con la Maesta nostra lii a fere contento ; e sobre-questo la Maesta nostra ave concluso con lo Reverendis-

simo G. Maestro de Rhodo di mandare una quantita de moneda per governo delo myo fratello conquesto pacto que lo dicto myo Fratello debbra star quieto in un conveneble loco in lo regno de la Maesta vostra, non andando in altro locho per nullo modo. E per no esser informato della Maesta vostra side questo è de vostra volunta sy ou non; mandamo a la Serenita vostra lo nostro nobile e fedele Usambey Ambaxiatore, del guale de parte della nostra Maesta seranno dicto alcuni cose a la Maesta vostra preghamo . . . . . e confirmati questi pacti de la serenita vostra, manderemo a lo G. Maistro de Rhodo la impromessa moneda e lui la mandara a lo mio fratello.

Vio etiam sete potentissimo Re. E cossi come noi con gli altri grandi Reii, havemo bona amicicia; anchora con voi volemo aver bona e fedelle amicicia; e li nostri oratori andarano e venerano sempre e questa sara cazone de multiplicar de di in di bona e eterna amicicia. Dat. in Adrinopoli in curia nostra decima die Marsis, anno 1488.

Num. CLXXXVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii. Num. xli., Giunt.

1486 Nullus Christianorum Principum his centum annis aut in bello fortior et solertior aut in omnibus aliis rebus administrandis providentior, acutior, modestior, fuisso inveniatur. Hinc autem incomparabilis illa utilitas ad omnes Christi fideles in orientali præsertim regione degentes, et ad Chienses

nostros præcipuè demanavit. Unde a rebus jam propemodum disperatis, in spem redacti sumus. O omnium mortalium veneratio ed amor, Petre d'Aubusson Magne Magister Rhodi dignissime, ad omnia jussa Vestræ Dominationis sumus erimusque perpetuo paratissimi. Nec minus potest Dominatio vestra chium suum, quam Rhodum existimare; quod in tutelam et protectionem suscipere non dedignetur civitatem atque insulam nostram Chiensem.

R. D. V.

Ex Genua . . . . Decembris 1486.

dvtissimi Mahonenses Chii, Genuæ existentes,

Num. CLXXXVIII.

Ex. Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. l., Giunt.

Nos Mathias Dei gratia Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ etc Rex, nec non Austriæ et Ilesiæ Dux . . . . . Magnifico Domino Fr. Petro D'Aubusson Magistro Generali Hospitalis Jherosolymitani ordinis Sancti Johannis in Rhodo . . . . . Datum in arce nostra Viennensi, XXXIII mensis Marcii, anno Domini 1488, regnorum nostrorum anno Hungariæ XXX, Bohemiæ XVIIII. 1489

T. Secretar.

Num. CLXXXIX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. clix., ii. 183.

Epistolam quam ad me attulit Orator tuas recte intelexi

1521 De amicitia quod scribis, tam gratum est mihi quam ingratum Cortupolo. Conatus est siquidem, dum huc venirem a Galiis, me ex improviso opprimere; quod ubi non successit, obscura nocte fretum Rhodium invectus, naves onerarias, quæ Jerosolymis Venetias navigabant, deprædari tenebat; sed classe e portu meo mox deducta, vim prohibui, coegique paratum fugere et prædam Cretensibus negotiatoribus ereptam relinquere. Vale. Ex Rhodo.

Num. CXC.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. clx., ii. 183.

Solymanus Tsaacus* Dei Gratia Rex Regum,
1522 Dominus Dominantum, Reverendo Patri Philippo Vilerio Liladamo magno Magistro Rhodi et Asiæ Legato salutem. Certior factus sum Epistolam meam redditam esse, quam quod recte intellexisti (mirum dictu) quam placuit. Confide quod victoriâ Taurini (the Citadel of Belgrade) minime sum contentus, alteram spem imo mihi pollicear, quam tibi, cujus semper sum memor, nequaquam occultam esse sinam. Vale. Ex Constantinopoli.

Num. CXCI.

Relation du Second Siege de Rhodes . . . Par Bourbon, Temoin occulaire.

Thus this book begins:—Frire Jacques Bastard de

* Tsaacus means Sultan or Zmaildan of Persia.

Bourbon, Commandeur de Manlois, Doysement, et Fonteynes, au Prienre de France, and thus ends:—Ce fine L'histoire et Prise de la noble et ancienne ville et cite de Rhodes. Faicte et composee par noble et excellent Chevalier Frere Jacques Bastard de Bourbon; et par ycellui naguerres corrigee, recognuce, et augmente tout selon le vray. Imprimee par le commandement du dit Seigneur, l'an 1527, le 1er, jour d'Octobre.

Num. CXCII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. clxii., ii., 184.

Solymanus Tsaacus . . . . . Valerio Viladamo Magno Magistro Rhodi, Equitibus suis, et universo Populo. Commoverunt me afflictissimæ 1522 gentis meæ commiseratio et summa injuria vestra. Impero igitur vobis perccl[illegible]erem insulæ et arcis Rhodiæ deditionem pie ultroque concessa gratia secure abeundi cum omni pretiosa supellectili, aut si libet, manendi sub imperio meo in nullo nec tributo quidem minuta libertate, aut religione vestra; si sapitis, præferte amicitiam et pacem bello crudelissimo; nam victos ut manent acerbissima omnia, quæ victi a victoribus pati solent, a quibus non defendent vos arma domestica, externaque auxilia, nec ingentes muri, quos radicitus evertam. Valete bene, quod nunc [illegible]emum fiet, si postius vim quam amicitiam malueritis, quæ neque fraudi, neque dolo vobis erit. Juro Deum Cœli, Terræque Auctorem, juro quatuor Evangelicæ historiæ Chronographos, vicies quater mille Prophetas lapsos e Cœlo,

summumque inter hos nostrum Mahomettum, adorandos idem manes Avi, Patrisque, tum hoc sacrum Augustumque meum Imperiale caput.

Ex Regia nostra Constantinopoli.

Num. CXCIII.

Ex Bourbon, c., Num. cxciii.

Alla en l'Eglyse de Sainct Jehan, puis monta a cheval, et descendit du long de la grant rue du Chasteau tirant a la marine ; et passa par la place. Et sortant par la porte du Cosquino, s'en retourna en son pavillon.

Num. CXCIV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros, Num. clxiii., ii. 185.

Adrianus P. P. VI . . . . . Cum dilectis filiis inclitis istius ordinis Sancti Joannis militibus filiis et confratribus suis adversus maximam Turcarum potentiam tanto tempore decertaverit . . . . . ut tu una cum omnibus, et singulis ejusdem ordinis militibus . . . . . ad nos et hanc almam urbem nostram vos conferatis . . . . . ut communicato consilio . . . . . ubinam ordini vestro sedes eligenda sct. Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die IX Aprilis, MDXXIII, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

1523

Num. CXCV.

Ex Bosio, par. iii, lib. ii., anno 1524.

Noi Paris de Grassi* Vescovo e Presidente delle cerimonie . . . e noi Ippolito Morbiolo e Biagio da Cesena, Maestri delle istesse cerimonie della sacra capella facciamo noto . . . . . che in questi giorni nella vigilia della nativita del signor . . . . . nella Tribuna chiamata Sancta Sanctorum della Chiesa del Principe degli Apostoli, S. Pietro di Roma insieme col santissimo Signor nostro Papa Clemente VII . . . . l'Illustrissimo Principe Fra Filippo de Villers L'Isle-Adam, Gran Maestro . . . . . per videre e udire il vespro che nella istessa vigilia quivi era del Santissimo Sig. Papa solennemente detto . . . . . ed il detto Villers chiedendo tanto per quella volta, quanto per tutte le altre—esser istrutto ove star si dovesse, parve la dimanda ai Maestri delle cerimonie sopradetti molto nuova ed insolita . . . . . ma il nostro santissimo Signor comandò che al religiosissimo G. Maestro sopradetto cosi per quella volta come per tutte le altre che di venire alla Cappella Papale gli occoresse cosi in presenza come in assenza del Pontefice s'assegnasse luogo nel primo e superior grado del solio Papale, cio'è dove si pone la gran sede, che solio Papale è chiamata, alla destra banda del solio predetta; talmente che quivi il G. Mastro predetto voltato verso l'altare . . 1534

* He was a Cardinal too (Cotton MSS., Vitellius B.V.), and was so in 1522.

. . . . se ne stesse a sedere, o, in piedi . . . . . e non gia come gli altri Principi secolari che appoggiati al muro stanno sempre in piedi. . . . . Statuo e determinì ancora l'istesso santissimo Signor nostro Papa . . . . . che il detto G. Maestro havesse l'incenso e la pace sopra il Governatore di Roma . . . . . e sopra tutti gli altri Prelati e Ambasciatori cosi Ecclesiastici come secolari . . . . . Concedette anchora la santità sua ch'andando ella in publico, ossia portata in sede ed a cavallo, ovvero a piede cosi alla chiesa sopradetta di S. Pietro, come a qualsivoglia altra chiesa e luogo, andasse il Gran Maestro sopradetto sempre dinanzi alla persona di sua Beatitudine; e che in capella ed alla messa Papale, ed in publico concistoro, dovunque si voglia, dovesse sedere e stare nel luogo che detto habbiamo . . . . . de quali cose tutte, e ciascuna di esse, l'istessissimo nostro Signor Papa Clemente sedendo allora nel trono, e solio Pontificale chiamati havendo a se noi tre Maestri delle cerimonie suddetti espressamente ordino . . . . . cosi piu volte . . . . . Per il che . . . . . In fede e testimonio . . . . . Date in Roma nelle stanze della solita residenza nostra appo St. Celso, 15 Gennajo, 1524.

Num. CXCVI.

Be it always kept in mind, and repeated from time to

time, that one of the original statutes of the Order is, that it shall always maintain the most perfect neutrality in any differences betwcen Christian Powers, whether concerning religion or politics, or whatsoever.

Quod si etiam Principes Christiani inter se bella movent, equites Johannitæ nullæ parti sese conjungant et neutrales existunt. Hæc de principio fuit—hæc est—hæc erit lex Johannitarum. *Pantaleone*, xix.

Num. CXCVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii. Num. clxx.

Fra Phillipus de Villers L'Isle Adam . . . Prælharissimis Fratribus Thomæ Docray Prioratus nostri Angliæ Priori, Albon Pol Bajulatus nostri del Aquila Bajulivo, et Joanni Babington Præceptæ nostræ Balby et Rodley Præceptori . . . . Datum in arce Viterbii, durante nostro Generali Capitulo die ultima mensis Maii, 1527. 1527

Num. CXCVIII.

Ex Bosio, par. iii., lib. iv 1528.

Al Reverendissimo in Christo Padre e Signore il Signor Fra Filippo de Villers L'Isle Adam, Gran Maestro dell' Ordine Gierosolimitano, amico nostro carissimo Enrico per Grazia di Dio Re d'Inghilterra e di Francia, difenditore della Fede, e Signore d'Ibernia . . . . . Tenendo l'istesse Fra. Antonio* che 1528

* Bosio, Uncle to the Historian.

per le virtu, la singolar prudenza edistrezza nei negotii ti e gia caro, anco per amor nostrò piu raccomandato e caro, e felicimentee ella stessa si conservi; la qualle affettuosamente preghiamo, che voglia in questo suo santo et honorato proposito assiduamente perseverare; valorosamente et coraggiosamente communicando e conducendo a fine la detta impresa . . . . . Dalla Reggia nostra di Grenvuccio, ai 25 di Febbrajo, 1528.

Vostro buon amico

ENRICO.

Num. CXCIX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. clxxv., ii., 194.

Nos Carolus Quintus . . . . . Cum
1530 pro restaurandis et stabiliendis Conventu Ordine et Religione Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolymitani . . . . . qui amissa Rhodo insula a Turcis longissima et acerrima obsidione violenter occupata, pluribus jam annis vagantes firmam tandem sedem obtinere . . . . . ac pro eo animi affectu quo eidem religioni devincimur . . . . . ne ulterius per orbem vagari cogantur . . . . . in pheudum perpetuum, nobile, liberum, et francum . . . . . insulas nostras et civitates, castra, loca, Tripolis, Melibeti, et Gaudisii sub censu duntaxat unius accipitris seu falchonis . . . . . cujus

* A copy of this (orig. Latin) is also in the British Museum. Otho, c. ix., 45.

phendi investitura in omnem casum novæ successionis renovari . . . . Dat. in Castello Franco die XXIII. mensis Martii . . . . . 1530 Regnorumque nostrorum . . . . utriusque Siciliæ, Hierusalem, et aliorum XV., Regis vero omnium XV.

Yo El Rey.

Num. CC.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Num. clxxix., ii. 203.

A los amados, y fieles nuestros los jurados y universidad de la isla y Cindad de Malta. 1531

Amados y fieles nuestros. Vimos loque escrivis, y nos imviais a supplicar con vuestro sindaco portador d'esta, y sobre ello abemos mandado proveer lo que vereys per el traslado della carta que llova, y por su relacion sabreys mas enteramente. No dexeis de server y complazor en todo lo que pudieredes al muy. Revrendo Gran Maestre y Religion, come abeys comenzado, que assi nos miraremos siempre vuestras cosas y las abremos specialmente encomendadas, come vuestra antigua fidelid ad y servicios merescen.

Dat. en Brusseilles a VIIII. dias de Marzo, del anno 1531.

Yo El Rey.

Num. CCI.

Cotton MSS.——Otho, c. ix.

We may form some idea how high the knights stood

then at every Court in Europe from the heap of letters regarding them during the short period of nineteen years, in the Cotton MSS.; and, if it was so in England, no doubt but something similar was in every other civilized country; only who was there to preserve them? Or, are papers of the kind still to come forth? During those nineteen years there are fifty-three letters, of which let the substance of a few be selected as a fair sample, all of them original, and most in Latin. So that Latin is always to be understood, where the contrary is not expressly mentioned.

The G. Master Emery d'Amboisse to Henry VIII.

On his Majesty's accession, and about the war in Egypt, dated Rhodes, October 1st, 1510; which verifies the chronology against Vertot's blunders.

Another on the 10th of the same month and year; assuring the King that he had already paid due regard to his recommendation in favour of the two English knights, Sir William Weston and Sir Richard Neville.

The G. Master Sir Guido de Blancheford to Henry VIII.

On the Turkish War, Borgonovo, April 10, 1513.

Locumtenens (interregnum) & Council to the same Sovereign.

That they meant to detain the two English knights, Sir Thomas Newport and Sir Thomas Sheffield, for the war against the Turks. Rhodes, Nov. 15th, 1513.

The Grand Master, Fab. de Caretto to Henry VIII.
(whom he calls *Protector Noster*).

Informing his Majesty of his election to the Grand Majestry, which honour he, however unworthy, could not refuse, *sine gravi nota;* and that he kept the Bailiff of the Eagle and Sir Thomas Sheffield, and other English knights, because of the necessity. Rhodes, Dec. 16, 1513.

The Same to the Same.

In answer to a recommendation of Sir R. Neville to a Commandery. Rhodes, January 6th, 1514.

The Same to the Same.

About the Turks, adding, Serenissime Rex decrevi . . . . . per nostrum Fratrem Edvardum Hill cui balsamum in parve phial . . . . . munita consegnavi. De tri . . . Sigillis unum est de armis nostris . . . . tertium vero de quodam capitano . . . . hylari fronte acceptare. Di V. S. R. Majestatis.
Dat. Rhodi, Jan. 10, 1515. humilis Servitor.

The address is,

Ser^mo^ ac illustrissimo Domino Don Henrico Angliæ et Franciæ Regi, Protectori nostro observantissimo.

Magister Rhodi,
Fabricius de Caretto.

The Same to the Same.

Ending by what shows that Henry VIII. and Queen were great likers of scents. Dabo operam ut odorifera

Serenissimis duabus . . . . . grata, ex Syria—ad nos advehantur, et istue statim destinabo . . . . . Vestram J. R. Majestatem diu felicem conservare dignetur . . . . . Dat. Rhodi, 16 July, 1515.

The Same to the Same.

And that he had given a Commandery to Sir Clement West. Rhodi, June, 1515.

Num. CCII.

Ex Templari MS. in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh.

This is a collection from papers of the Templars and Hospitallers in Scotland, of which some were printed in 1828, in a small thin 4to., of only twenty-five copies, so that the book is exceedingly rare. One copy is in the British Museum.

Sir John Nisbet* shows that the Templars and Hospitallers ranked with the laymen, and have always paid taxes as such in Scotland, and in meetings of Parliament went with the laity, nor did ever take part in the contributions of the clergy; nor were their lands comprehended within the acts concerning the thirds; that so it is clear those knights were at all times considered secular; that their commanderies were not benefices, but only a resemblance of them; nor had the Pope ever any more authority over their order, than over other secular states; that a great

* The great Scotch lawyer.

Lordship or Preceptory was given by the Scottish Kings to the Hospitallers very anciently; that those knights classed with the supreme Lords of Scotland, inter Proceres habent jus suffragii; that the Charter of James IV. of Scotland, confirming those of his ancestors, was dated Edinburgh, 19th Oct., 1488; and that the Reformation, though it extinguished the power of the G. Master, it did not the rights of individuals.

Num. CCIII.

Ex Papers relating to the Knights of St. John. MS. in the Advocates Library, Edin.

Johannes de Lastic Dei gratia Sacræ Domus S. Hierosol, Magister Humilis discreto vero fideli, dilecto nostro Digneto de Scott.

Scuta auri decem annis singulis donec vixeris tibi concessimus. Et cum de dictis decem scutis commode vivere non possis . . . . . scuta alia decem di specialis doni S.Gra. super dictam Preceptoriam nostram S . . . . ita a Preceptore presenti sivi futuro . . scuta 20 tibi vel tuis procuratoribus annuatim solvere curent—promittentes bona fide eandem summam, nomine dictæ pensionis, infallibiliter . . . . . In cujus rei testimonium Bulla nostra Magistralis Plumbea præsentibus est appensa. Datum Rhodi in nostro Conventu die 12 Mensis Junii, Anno ab Incarnatione Domini, 1442.

Num. CCIV.

Ex Cotton MSS., Otho c. ix., ff. 39. 42.

Sir Nicholas Roberts . . . to the Earle of Surrie.

Ryght honerable and my singler good lord . . . . . thankynge your Lordshipe . with your leters of recommen . . . to the Lord Master, the whiche leters I deliverede . . . . I deliverede to the Lord Master thos leters of recommendationes that the King's grace . . . Cardinal, and my lord's grace yr father wrot to him . . . . . I deliueryd unto Sir Thomas Sheffield a leter that my . . . . . your father sent hym and he gave me answer . . . . . the time shold come he wold speke to . for me and to do the best he could for me . . . it non been for hym my lord master was determined to . . geven me part of the commandrey of grace . . . commandrey called Dynmore by sydes lecieste . . . . . by the deth of the turkoplier callyd Sir . . . . . whome was slain at the seage of the Ro . . lord master hath geven the said commandre to Sir . . . . . .

. . . . . .

As towching the distructione and taking of the Rodes, I avized yor lordshipe by my lres datayd in february last past, wt. my next lres I shall send yor lordship the copy of all suche things that hath ben betwen the great . . rk

and vs during the seage*. I beleve seins the tyme of the romans as far as I have red in . . . . . was ther never no towne beshegied wt. so gret an army bothe by se and by lande as . . . beshegid with all; for by the se he had t . . . of v sailles not lakhing xvth thousand seamen, and by lande a† hundredth thousand fething men and fefte thousand laborers with spades and pikes wer the occasione of the taking of the Rodes in the space of four moniths, they brought a mowntaine of erth befor them to the walles of the towne which was as hie agen as the walles of the towne wer, the which . . . . the distructione and dethe of many a man . . . . . and child; for at all such tymes as they would geve vs any batalle they would put IIII or V springarders upon the said mowntaine, that the people for a man could not go in the . . . . . of that mountaine. I was one of those that the lord master . . . . . Religione sent to the gret turk for p . . . such tyme as the pact was made betwene the Turks and him. The gret turk ys of the age of . . yers; he ys vere wise discret and muc . . . bothe in his wordes and also in his

* Whether this promise was ever kept or not, they do not now appear in the British Museum.

† The only way to make this writer agree with greater authorities, and indeed with himself a few lines forward, is either to suppose that *a* is a slip of the pen for *two*, or that he relates in some of the passages illegible that the other half of the army slipt in later by degrees from Syria and those countries, as others relate. Turks, as well as Christians, have at least 200,000 *fighting men*; and some, several thousands more.

. . . being of his age. I was in his courte . . . at such time as we were brought first to mak our reverence unto him, we fou . . . . a red pavilion standing betwen too . . . . . lions marvelous ryche and sumptu . . . . . setting in a chayr and no creatur wt. in the pavelione, which chayr was of g . . . . work of fin gold his gard stonding near his pavilion to the number of XXII . . . . . they be callid Sulaky, thes nomber . . . continually about his parson, he ha . . . . . nombr of XL thowsand of them, they wear on ther heddes a long white cape and on the tope of the cape a white ostrage . . . . . whiche gevith a gret show . . . . . Armye was divided in fowre partes, the captaines . . . waz callid as folowith, the principall captaine is called pero bashaw, second mustapha bashaw, the third hakmak bashaw, the fourth the . . . . igalarby of anatolia. they be the IIII governours under the gret turk; eury one of them had fifte thousand men under his Baner, and they lay at IIII severall places of the towne, and euery one of them made a breche in the wall of the towne; that in some places Vc men on horse back myght come in at onse; and after that the wall of the towne was downe they gave vs battall often tymes apon even ground that we had no manner of advantage apone them; yet thankid be God and Saint John at euery batall they returned without their purpose. Upon Seint Andrue ys evin last, was the last batall that was betwene the turkes and vs; at that batall was slain XI thousand turkes and of our part a hundredth and . . . . ur score, and after that day the turkes purposed to give vs no more batall, but to come into the towne by

trenches in so much yt. they mad . . . . . gret trenches and by the space of a month did come allmost into the mydst of our towne, in so much that ther lay nightly wt. in our town . . . thousand turkes; the trenches wer covered with thick tabulles and holes in them for theyr springardes that we could not aproche them . . . . . and a monithe after we saw, presisly that the toune was loste we would never geve over in esperance of socours, and at suche tyme as we sawe yt. theyr come no socours nor no socours reddy to come, and considering that the most of our men were slain, we had no powther nor . . . . . maner of munycone nor vitalles but allonly brede and water, we ever as men desperat . . . . . determynd to dye apon them in the felde, rather than be put upon the stakes; for we doubted he wold give us our lyves considering ther wer slain so many of his men; but in the end of seson they came to parlement wt. vs and demandyd to kno of vs whether we would make any partid . . . . . and said that the gret turk was content if we wold geve him the walles of the towne, he wold geve us our lyves and our goodes; the commons of the towne hering this gret profer, came . . . . . to the lord master and said that considering that the walle and strength of the towne ys taken and the munycone spent and the most of yor Knights and men slaine and allso seing ther ys no socours redy to come, they determyned . . . . this partido that the gret turk geveth vs lyves of our wiffes and children. The lord master hering the opinion of the hole comonalty resolved to take that

partido, fell downe allmost ded and what tyme he recoveryd him sel in sort he seing them contenue in the same, at last consented to the same. During the seage the lord master hath ben found in every batall oft as the worst knight of the religione . . . . Knights ther war slain VII hundredth and three of the turkes an hundredth and three thousand they gave vs XXIII batalles, the XX . . . . . September was the generall batalle from the beginning of the day to hie . . . . with-owte sassing; they gave us battalle in V places of the towne, and ther war slane by their owne confessione at that batalle XXII thousand; the gret turk was ther in parson and in the batall we had slain three score . . . . . apon our walles or ever we wer redy to . . . . them; ther wer slaine of our part VI thousand and . . . . . during the siege tyme,

May the lord have yor lordship in his mercifull kepyng. Messena, the XVth day of May. By the hand of yor feithfull seruant and

bedman

Nycholas Roberts.*

Num. CCV.

Ex Cotton, MS.—Otho, B. ix.

From the G. Master Fabricius de Caretto to Henry VIII.

That he detains his dearest Sir William Darrell, an

* Too many of the Cotton MSS. have been much scorched and burned in both margins, and sometimes in the middle of the pages, to the loss of many words; so in the extracts these breaches are illegible.

English knight; and that the said Darrell was moreover necessary for the Christian war of defence—he being Turcopolier of the Order—precharissimus frater Guillelmus Darel nostri Ordinis Turcopolerius. Rhodi. Nov. 12th, 1515.

The Same to the Same.

That he wishes to detain Sir Thomas Docray, an English knight. Nov. 12, 1515.

The Same to the Lords of the English Privy Council, in favour of Sir William Darrell.

nostri Ordinis Turcopole . . . . . and recommending him to their Lordships' protection, in case enemies, whom he may have, (and who has them not?) malign him. Nov. 12th, 1515.

Henry VIII. to the same G. Master.

Henricus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ ac Dominus Hiberniæ Rmo. in Christo pri D. Fabricio Rhodi Magno Magistro Amico nostro carmo . . . . D. Jo Ranson Priorem de Kylin . . . . nostræ Hiberniæ et conciliarium illic nostrum, plurimum dilectum vostris prædecessoribus commendavimus;—tanto studiosius commendamus—the rather (what an opinion His Majesty had of Ireland!) that he is in the middle of Hiberni ex sylvis; quorum tanta est feritas ut nec armis nec legibus mansues . . . . . ut omnia ad solitudinem redigere conent—neque nos libentur a dicto nostro dominio eum abesse vellemus. Et instantissime

rogamus ut dicti Domini Prioris in omnibus equis causis et negotiis se præbere; quod erit nobis plurimum gratum . . . . . Ex Palatio nostro Grenvici, 1515.

From said Sir Wm. Darrell to Henry VIII.

Concerning a quarrel between him and Sir Richard Neville. Rhodes, December 9th, 1515.

The G. M. Caretto again to Henry VIII.

. . . . . Rex, Illme Princeps, potentissime Domine et Protector noster observantissime . . . . . Turcorum tyrannus preparat quinquaginta ex majoribus triremibus . . . . . ut anno proximo in expeditionem mittat; et terrestres exercitus . . . . . habet in provinciis nobis vicinis; et quum vafer sit . . . . .. et vespertilio vulgat id contra sultanum esse . . . .

Dec. 21, 1515. Rhodi.

The Same to the Same.

About the war between the Turks and Persians.

Rhodi, April, 1516.

The Same to the Same.

The Turk is said to have taken Aleppo and part of Syria . . . . . Licet nulla sibi obstiterit in Oriente, tamen classem maritimam numerosam parat, qua non nisi contra Christianos uti potest; et qua . . . . . pro cæteris Christianis nos maximo prosequitur odio . . . . . Rhodi 18th Octobris, 1516.

The then Bailiff of Aquileia, Sir Thomas Newport, to Cardinal Wolsey.

On the Turkish war—and he says it was not convenient yet to speak about Zain's son. Rhodi, January 8th, 1517.

The same Newport to the same Cardinal.

On the war on Egypt, February 10th, 1517.

Grand Master Caretto to Henry VIII.

On the Turkish fleet, Rhodes, August 19th, 1517.

Sir William Darrell, Sir Thomas Newport, and other English knights, about one of the Order.

Serenissime Rex . . . . . cum ea quæ decet reverentia recipimus has quas vestra Majestas dignata est nobis suis subditis scribere super negotium . . . . . commilitonis nostri Domini Joannis Ranson . . . . . Irlandâ domini, et ut bonis fidis et obedientibus vassallis libenti animo acquiescimus mantatis et ordinationibus sacræ vestræ Majestatis . . cui tot debemus. Ex Rhodi, 20 Augusti, 1517.

humiles et obedientes vassalli,
Guillelmus Darel Turcopolerius,
Newport, et cæteri milites Angliæ nationis
Rhodi.

G. M. Caretto to the Same.

About the Turkish preparations. Ex Rhodi, September 23, 1517.

Num. CCVI.

Ex Cotton MSS.—Otho C. ix.

L'Isle Adam to Henry VIII.

Telling him the danger of Rhodes, and that he wants aid. March 19th, 1522.

The Same to the Same.

On the same subject. 17th June, 1522.

The Same to the Same.

About his preparations of defence against the Turks. Rhodes, 17th June, 1522.

The Same to Cardinal Wolsey.

Of his journey towards Rome, dated Messina, May 20th, 1523.

Same to Wolsey.

Apprising him of his journey. Marseilles, 1525.

Same to Henry VIII.

Regarding his journey to the Emperor in Spain, and other affairs of the Order, in two letters, one in Viterbo, February 25, and the other Corneto, June 23, 1527.

Same to Wolsey.

By Sir Ambrose Layton, an English Knight—Credential in the original French. Madrid, January 28th, 1529.

Num. CCVII.

Ex Cott. MSS., in the British Museum, Marked Vitellius. B. V., p. 75.

Miseratione divina Episcopi Presbiteri diaconi S.R.E. Cardinales Serenissimo Principi et Illmo. Henrico, Angliæ Regi inclito, amico nostro charissimo salutem et sinceram in Domino charitatem. In ista hora nuncius ex Rhodo venit Magni Magistri et obsidionem Rhodi nuncians—nam die XIV. mensi preterriti bellum eis a Thurco indictum, XVII classem tranjici, captam esse jam credit urbem a toto exercitu circumsederi. Quia ipse nuncius mensem in navigatione consumpserit. Hoc igitur quod paulo ante ad Majestatem vestram suposuimus, Rhodum obsidendam formidantes, nunc obsessam eam Majestati v. nunciamus et commendamus. Illam per communem religionem et salutem obsecrantes ut statim statim aliquod subsidium Rhodiis transmittere subitum velit, nec expectare alios Principes ut faciant, quum in hoc sancto opere quisque eo laudabilior ac Deo acceptior sit quo prior et diligentior. Scimus Majestatem vestram de hoc a sanctissimo Domino nostro et requirendam et rogandam, sed non ideo nos nostrum officium et preces cum Majestate v. interponere noluimus, cum ad Sanctitatem suam non tam cito quam ad nos hoc deferri potuit, et res moram non patiatur.

Rogamus itaque quod suspliciter Majestatem v. utque Defensoris fidei, Hierosolimitamque titulis* corruscat, fidei sanctæ non deesse, et alios Principes D.G. non defuturos,

* What title but the order's Protector?

ut credimus, sui exemplo animare ad simile subsidium prestandum. Deus omnipotens prosperet et conservet Majestatem v. Cui Rhodem obsessam et in Rhodo Christianam religionem enexissime commendamus. Dat. Romæ in Palatio apostolico ex nostra generali congregatione. Die XXVI. Julii. MDXXIII. hora XX. sub sigillis trium, et ex uno a nobis deputato.

RHODI CAPITULATIO.

Ex Tercier Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, vol. xxvi.

SOLIMANUS.

Latinus Militarisque Ordo et urbe et insula Rodi ante diem decimum decedito, præsidia ubique decedito, decessus liber et securus esto.

P. Villers Liladamus.

De communi consilii equitum Latinorum militumque et civium Rhodiorum sententia, prorogatio decessus arbitrio Latini militarisque ordinis esto. Decessus Latino militarique ordini et cuilibet alteri Latino Græcoque cum omni pecunia, reque sacra et profana ac familia sua liber et securus esto. Latino militarique ordini arma tela tormenta omnemque apparatum bellicum ex arcibus secum asportandi potestas esto. Mansuri in Rhodo quinquennium ab omni tributi solutione immunes sunto.

Christo perpetuo sacrificanto, templa si lubet nova extruunto, vetera reficiunto, liberos semper in potestate habento. Nemo invitus e Rhodo decedito. Infra triennium autem cuique Latino et Græco, nunc Latinum

militaremque ordinem non sequenti, potestas abeundi cum omni re et familia libera securaque esto. Latino militarique ordini, illumque sequentibus, naves et commeatum in Cretam dato.

Solimanus pactis fraudem et dolum malum perpetuo abfuturum more majorum et legibus patriis solemniter jurato. Obsides dato.

Num. CCVIII.

Ex Cotton MS. Vitellius B. V. 251

Grand Master l'Isle Adam to Henry VIII,

Post tot ærumnas constanti animo et terra et mari perpessas variasque solicitudines et curas quibus undique premimur, Rex serenissime ac protector noster observandissime, solum nos solatur et recreat quod Deus Opt. Max. afflictionis nostræ misertus, talem nobis in ipso urgentissimæ necessitatis articulo Pontificem tribuit; quo nec meliorem nec ordinis nostri amantiorem sperare, nedum optare fas erat. Qui tanto amoris vere paterni fervore incredibilique affectu religionem meam cujus insigne plusculos annos gestavit ejusque patrocinium suscepit ab ineunte ætate, constantissime prosecutus est, ardentiusque in dies prosequitur; ut nihil pretermittat quod ad memorati ordinis sublevationem protectionem ac dignitatem promovere videatur. Quod ut commodius efficiat, Majestatem tuam cæterosque Christianos Principes per . . . . . ad eundem ordinem tuendum juvandumque enixissime cohortandos duxit. Ex cujus . . . . . cum perspicue intellectura sit

majestas tua . . . . . plenissimus . . . . . dicti Pontificis erga nos meamque religionem animum ineffabilemque delectionem non est ut in his longius progrediamur. Tuam igitur oramus atque obsecramus majestatem ut nobis quo maxime potest favore gratia et authoritate subveniat, resque nostras in ejus regnis et dominio sitas tueatur et protegat, ut quidem hactenus studiosissime fecit, talemque postremo et prælibato ordini exhibeat preces plurimum voluisse propediem dignoscamus. Vale Rex serenissime ac protector noster observandissime. Romæ, die XXVI. mensis Dicembris, 1523.

Serenissimo ac potentissimo
Regi Angliæ humilis servitor
ac Franciæ, Fidei Defensori Mag. Hospitalis Ierusalem
ac Protectori nostro Obseqimo P. Villers L'Isle Adam.*

Num. CCIX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., vol. i. p. 343. *vol. ii. p.* 461.

GRAN-MAESTRI.

25 Folco de Villaret . + 1319
26 Villanova . . . . + 1346
27 Gozone . . . . + 1353
28 Cornillan . . . . + 1355

* Besides this letter, he had already written to Henry VIII., on the 6th of December, 1523, from Rome, about his application to the Emperor to obtain the island of Malta. (Vitellius, B. V. 131.) Which proves that the first idea of Malta came from the Grand Master, and not from Charles V. Likewise, September 22nd, 1523, letter merely complimentary, and of official form.— Cotton MSS., Vitellius, B. V. 114.

29	Ruggiero de Pins .	+ 1365
30	Berengario . . .	+ 1376
31	Juliaco	+ 1379
32	Heredia	+ 1383
33	Caraciolo	+ 1395
34	Naillac	+ 1421
35	De la Riviere . . .	+ 1437
36	Lastic	+ 1454
37	Milly	+ 1461
38	Zacosta	+ 1467
39	Orsini	+ 1476
40	Aubusson	+ 1503
41	Amboise	+ 1512
42	Blanchefort . . .	+ 1513
43	Carretto	+ 1521
44	Villers L'Isle Adam	

APPENDIX TO BOOK IV.

Num. CCX.

Ex Cotton MSS. Otho, C. ix., f. 17.

per privationem.

7 Martii, 1534.

In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis sine . . expleri potest amen! Noverint Universi et sing . . sexta mensis februarii, septime Indictionis, anno . . . quingentesimo et vigesimo quarto. Coram St. Joannis Hierosolymitani Domino fra Don baptista de villaragu . . Conventus dicti ordinis natione hispano Domino fra Aurelio . . prioratus pisaru natione Italo, Et Domino fra Eduardo Weston . . R. D. Turcopoleri natione Anglico, Comissariis in hoc . . . . a Rmo. atque Illmo. Domino. D. Magno Magistro dignissimo dictoque venerando consilio deputatis in Camera nona majoris aule . . . Castri mari Insule Melite super quodam banco sedentibus . . . . ad hoc negocium . . . . . quasdam literas Illmi. Nortfrodie Ducis magno Magistro ejusque consilio scriptas. Quas eo qui decet, hon . . . acceptas, Idem Rmus. D. legi palam jussit. Tale est harum . . . . Monsieur le Grand Maistre de St. Jehan de Iherulem et del ordre Monsieur et Messieurs de si bon cueur que faire puis, recomande. Estant adverty de

la grosse rigeur qui a este tenue, par . . . Clement West . . . . Commandeur de votre religion non seulement en le deprivant de . . . Turcoplero, Mais ausi ayant saysi ses biens et detenant sa personne en prison. Pour la singuliere faveur et affection que Ie porte a vous . . . . Ie me y employeray de tres bon . . . . . A tant monsieur et Messieurs notre Seigneur vous ait en sa tres saincte garde. De Grenewiche le vi de Novembre lan cinq cens trente e troys le to . . . . amy

T. Norfolk.

. . . . . Quibus cum admiratione auditis, interogatus est Idem Ioannes Sutton si fidem haberi volebat Illmus. Dux Nortfordie ; ecquid . . . esset de tam turpi et impudenti mendacio ? . . . . . The *ipsissime verba* having been asked for, here they are, enough to be a fair sample. Why drench my readers with a long trial in Latin ? So I will content myself with referring to what is easy of access, if any one has curiosity to peruse it all or further.

Num. CCXI.

Ex Cotton MSS., Otho, c., ix., 91.

The G. Master to Henry VIII.

Serenissime Rex—Miiltiæque nostræ Hierusalem Unice protector. Durum equidem ac molestum (Henrice invictiss) Hierosolymitani Magister creatus Quad detractassem lubenter si uni mihi licuisset tam multis nobilibus contradicere. Gratum me acceptumque Majestati Vestræ

cognovissem per tuas litteras. Tu siquidem mihi primum munus hoc . . . cui fulcro quodam sustentatus, nihil non jam me—posse arbitror in hoc meo, imo verius totius orbis Christiani, ordine;—qui Majestatem vestram habuit semper, et habet per unicum et singularem protectorem ———Denuo totum hunc ordinem nostrum ab isto regali pa———pendentem in ejus tutelam——Quantum autem consilio ac viribus poterimus enitemur ut Protectore tanto ac Tutore digni habeamur. Uti hactemus fecimus ita sumus et ardentiore studio (quicquid accidere potest) facturi in posterum.—Majestatem Vestram Deus conservet diutissime. Melite die, XVI Aprilis, 1535

Regiæ Vestræ Majestatis obsequentissimus,
addictissimusque Magister Hospitalis.
Perin Del Ponte.

Num. CCXII.

An English Knight to the Turcopolier, dated Malta, about 1535.

Ex Cotton MSS. Otho, C., ix. f. 109.

——honourable Sir,—

"Leasing to understande, yesterday, by a yong man from Malta, you had arrived at Myssena, it nearly set me creazy with gladness, as the . . . . like lyfe, and dearest of all moundayne things at present" And he goes on to recount his cruise, and a sea-fight, with the Turks north of Corfu, and along the coast of Sclavonia. "It was near Previsa, XXX m. from Ragusa, on the 27th of October, we met the

Turkish fleet, and our galleys blew the trumpets for battle, and all made forwarde, ready to set upon the enemy, who drew back far behinde; the weather bad, moch with rain and wind, which did us favor, in flying at them, and trying to bord them. Yet, after the battel, we had a grete storm, and in my galley, we had a grete leke, grown all this journey, with iiii pumpes, and good labor contegnewally to kepe hyr above the water . . . . with iii or more banderos of infantry, in one ship, which we past, and could see her mainmast was shot away, all lost. Near Brindisi, the Turks again gave us sharpe battel into the midnight. 6. Frenchmen of the Cross hurt. The Englishmen, the first of these present went missinge. We burned several of them of the Crescent. The night we saw the fire of their burning. Sir, I thought, ere this day, to have made pryze of some lytle Turk for you; but as the game syne that tyme, hathe gone aboute among us, the gaynes was forgotten, and many be very well content to be here again free, themselves; and soon I trust your worship will be the same."

Num. CCXIII.

Ex Cotton MSS. Otho, C., ix., f. 102.

The G. M. to Henry VIII.

Rex Serenissime atque felicissime.

Majestatem Vestram longioribus litteris hand nunc remorabor; cum equidem prope diem præsens hane salutaturus, si modo per ætatem meam licuerit; nihilque

minus cogitandum. Dum hic in agro Tholosano privatus latebam, in defuncti Militiæ nostræ Hierosolymitanæ Magistri locum communibus omnium nationum suffragiis substitutus fui. Tanti viri mors, matura licet, (annos enim erat supra septuaginta natus) tamen displicuit; egregia nempe virtus et magna ejus prudentia diutiorem inter nos vitam postulabant. Sed et postea quod contigit mihi magis grave visum est; dum me universi, uno consensu, magistrum sibi crearunt . . . . . Cæterum jam ingravescens et provecta ætas mea non id muneris exigebat. Faciam quod potero. Reliqua Deus, et Majestas vestra quam unam semper ordo hic noster tutricem et Protectorem habuit, ad quem statim deferendum putavi quiequid acciderat. Qualem hactenus et experti sunt antecessores omnes mei et habiturum me confido; in hujus me fidem tutelam ac manum meosque omnes ac totum hunc pauperum undique nobilium cætum trado.

Cœtera Coram expressius.

Majestatem Vestram Deus diutius felicem . . . . . Ex Frontonio, Villa prope Tholosa, die XXVIII Jan., 1536.

Matis. Vræ.

Affectissimus dedictissimusque,

Magister Hospitalis Hierosolymitani,

D. de Seint Ialh.

Ex. Cotton MSS. Otho, C. ix., f. 104.

The Grand Master to Henry VIII.

Rex Invictissime.

Certus (ut tunc erant res) decreveram ante isthuc venire

quam hinc abiens Melitem—ut manum istam felicitati et gloria plenam præsens deosculare.——Huic meo consilio, præter . . . . . jam senis ætatem, obstitit ubique divulgatus Turcici apparatus rumor . . . . . quo quidem omnes mici fratres hine Africa illinc Græcia . . . . . Melite me ad se vocant. . . . . Ad meos itaque cursu quam celerimo (aliis omnibus omissis) contendo, invitus illo salutando Matis. vestræ . . . . . frustratus, cui quam multa (ne omnia dicam) Militia hæc nostra debeat, omnes nos fatemur grati. Me atque meos et quæ habemus omnia . . . . . hujus fastigio submittens . . . . Angliæ Priorem jussimus nostris qui sunt isthuc . . . . . ipsum modo præstare. In Angliam remissimus Ærarii nostri communis procuratorem Frà Ambrosium Cave, unde nuper venerat, qui cuncta de nobis statuque nostro . . . . . oculatus . . . . Nos omnes oramus esse (ut sunt et fuerunt olim semper) commendatissimi Majestati Vestræ, Protectori nostro . . Vienna, die xvii. Maij anno 1536.

Majestatis Vræ
Addictissimus juratissimus que Vasallus
Magister Hospitalis Hierosolymitani
D. de Seint Ialh.

Num. CCXIV.

Ex. Cotton MSS. Otho, C. ix., f. 105.

The Prior of Acquitayne to Henry VIII.

Serenissime Potentissque Rex, protector et Domine

nobis observandiss: Quum semper rebus nostris experti sumus benignitas ac Protectio Majestatis Vestræ . . . Quod proximis diebus nobis obliget . . . . . paucis narrabo. Ex monte Pesulano per nuntium ad hoc ipsum missum accepimus . . . D. de Seint Ialh non multos ante menses in Magistrum nostri Ordinis assumptum, illic vita functum . . . dum ad nos venire sine longiori mora decrevisset. Nos magis afflixit . . . . Sed in novi Magistri comitia congregavimus: et statim ad formam præscriptam electus fuit in Magistrum Sacræ domus hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani. . . . Joannes Omedez, Baiulivus Caspe, Aragonensis . . . . Nos electionem Majestati vestræ significare curavimus. Quod superest audiret (si dignabitur) Priore nostro Fra Guglielmo Weston ad quem latius rebus nostris omnibus scripsimus. . . . . Melite, 4 *Novembr*, 1535.

Ex decreto Consilii.

Majestatis V:

Addictiss: et humiliss: Servitor

Prior Acquitaniæ, locumtenens Magistri Hospitalis Hierusalem,

Fra Jaques Pellerin.

Num. CCXV.

Ex Cotton MSS. Otho, C. ix., f. 106.

The G. M. to Henry VIII.

Serenissime simul ac Invictissime Rex . . . . . In divi Joannis Militiæ Magistrum promotus post D. de

Seint Ialha (virum summo quovis honore non indignum,) me absentem et in Caspe parvo siquidem Oppidulo . . . . . in Hispania sito, Equites . . . . . vocare censuerunt. Quæ res aliis gravior et difficilior, meis humeris intollerabilior. . . . . Philippus Villers, dignissimus Magister noster, osculandi manus tuæ gratiæ Angliam adivit . . . . . Non potni . . . . . neque mei oblitum te penitus esse puto . . . . Ergo quod mihi datum non est, meo totiusque nostri Ordinis nomine præstabit frà Emericus Ruyaulx quem proprium ad hoc officium ad tuam Majestatem qui una cum R'do Priore nostro Angliæ . . . . . Majori qua poterit reverentia. Deus optimus maximus incolumem servet. Ex Baiulibato de Caspe, decimo Kalendas Februarii, 1537.

Majestatis tuæ

deditissimus pariter et obsequentissimus
Magister Hospitalis Hierusalem
F. To. Homedes.

Num. CCXVI.

Ex Cotton MSS. Otho, C. ix., f. 109.

From the Grand Master to Lord Cromwell.

—Dum Fra Desiderius de Seint Ialh nostri Ordinis bellorum motibus in Galliis detineretur, aliquorum importunis precibus (erat enim suapte natura perbenignus et facilis) contra nostrorum majorum jus, præceptoriam de Schingey fr. Thome Dingly donavit—sed reperitur ne electo Magistro, sive juribus ac privilegiis uti liceat prius-

quam — nostris legibus solemne præstiterit jusjurandum. Quapropter cum hic Melite nil tale juxta nostras traditiones fr. Ambrosio Cave ea Præceptoria collata fuit.— Nos igitur ob jusjurandum non præstitum, id contra leges nostras factum decrevimus; ne optimi milites de nostro ordine bene meriti tot laboribus ac discriminibus parto præmio deforent; et Majestatem Regis Angliæ ita et Illmas. D. V. certiores reddendas putavi—pacto nostro habeant ———Commendam de Schingey, quam frà Thomas— injuste occupavit, Nostrarum legum authoritate Fra Ambrosio tradendam esse. Idcirco—V. oramus obsecramusque ut Præceptoria Fra Ambrosio Cave juxta Collationem nostram tradatur—quæ sicut speramus efficier, ———et nos accipiemus, omnesque nostri ordinis, se—— centibus devinctos beneficiis habebunt.

Deus Opt. Max. Illmas. D. V. diu incolumes conservet.

Melite pridie non Maij 1538. Illmas D. V. devotissimi Magister Hospitalis Hierlm. et Consilium

Fr. To Homedes.

Num. CCXVII.

Ex Pantalone Storia Johannitorum, Etc., 307.

Erat in lingua Arabiæ et Turchiæ peritus; unde etiam Muleasses aliquot literas ei misit atque se et regnum commendavit, cum adhue Arcem Tripolim gubernaret atque magnus Balivus Germanicæ provinciæ esset. Harum formulam mihi transmissam et ex Arabica in Latinam linguam, utcumque versam, huc subjiceri placuit, ut

Arabum scribendi ad nostros consuetudinem et hujus viri apud Barbaros authoritatem cognoscamus.

In nomine Dei omnipotentis Nos Muley et haczen, Rex Tuneti, Arabum etc, Deo omnipotenti, cui in omnibus nos offerimus, gratias semper agimus. Vobis itaque strenuo nobili et famoso inter Christianos viro Priori Germaniæ in præsentiarum Castelli Tripolis gubernatori, salutem precamur et denuo nos offerimus, ad ea omnia quæ vobis grata fuerint, et ex nobis dependeant cum maximo amore et voluntate (prout semper fuimus) paratissimos. Et vos certos reddimus qualitur ad nos advenit quidam ex hominibus ex Xerra et nobis nunciavit, qualiter ferebat ad nos nonnullas vestras literas, quæ sibi in itinere ablatæ fuerunt. Cujus relationi credentes ipsum examinari fecimus an de substantia et continentia literarum esset expers: qui subjunxit, prædictas literas, hoc continere, quod homines civitatis Tasoræ, ad vestrum castellum Tripolis venissent offerentes et subjicentes se nostro dominio; dum tamen habeant et vobis et nobis securitatem et tutelam ad quod; si sic est, sic ex parte nostra respondemus, quod nos præbemus eis securitatem et volumus esse tutor absque aliqua exceptionis clausula, removentes a corde nostro omne odium et iram si qua propter eorum rebellionem fuit. Et vos precamur ut ex nostra parte, illis possitis polliceri, ad quod plenam authoritatem vobis præbemus, gratum et ratum habentes quicquid super hoc feceritis, pepigeritis, et tractaveritis cum ipsis; quod non solum ex nunc, prout ex tunc, facimus et concedimus ipsis Tasorinis, sed etiam quibuscumque aliis personis istius nostri regni Tuneti et Tripolis in præsentiarum rebellibus et non obedientibus.

Existimantes vos in dicto Tripolis regno, pro nostra persona ad præmissa. Insuper vos certiorem facimus, qualiter habemus a Cæsarea majestate salvum conductum aut securitatem et tutelam, super omnibus illis quibus placet, ad nostra servitia, dominium, et obedientiam venire; quod ex ipsius et ex nostra parte omnibus hujusmodi concedimus, prout supra dictum est. Præterea vos certioramus qualiter non sumus obliti istius nostri regni Tripolis, quando quidem, Deo dante brevi providebimus de antiquo nostro Duce aut Castellano, cum tot copiis exercitus quot in præsentiarum facultas concedit, ut possint vindictam sumere ex nostris et vestris inimicis; et erit talis persona quæ et vobis et nobis grata sit. Et quia perspecta nobis jamdiu integritas vestra, nos inducit ad credendum, quod ubi vos estis, est persona nostra, circa indemnitatem et conservationem istius nostri Regni. Aliud ad præsens scribendum non restat. Id solum vos precamur ut uxorem et filias nostri amici et familiaris Nariff habeatis in protectione et vos illis propicium præbeatis. Et si quid sibi necesse fuerit, aut ipsi indigeant, omnia ad computum nostrum date, quia bene data erunt. Et quod hactenus pro eis fecistis, gratum nobis fecistis. Non aliud ultra. Agimus gratias omnipotenti Deo qui nos manuteneat et conservet, prout semper fecit. Et vobis felicem vitam et honores precamur. De la nostra Cividad de Tunez ab 22 de September anni 1546. Io et Rey. Ego Rex.

Num. CCXVIII.

The statute of Phillip and Mary is at full in Dugdale;

but could it erect anew, what an act of parliament had thrown down? Still less can it be legal, if garbled; and that even at Malta they were ashamed of it, is proved by the bad reception with which Nuzza met. And, whether the imperfect leave to wear the G. Cross was just or unjust, it equally demonstrates the unfavourable *animus* of the knights. Nor could that law ever be popular in England; were it but for the King from whom it emanated, both as a foreigner and inquisitor.

Ex. Rymer tom. 15, *page* 527.

Elizabetha, Dei gratia etc.

Prædilecto et Præfideli Consanguineo Nostro Thomæ Comiti Sussexiæ, Deputato Nostro Regni Nostri Hiberniæ.

Wilhelmo Fitz-Williame Militi, Vicc Thesaurario Nostri Regni Hiberniæ—

Ac

Dilectis Consiliariis Nostris—

Jacobo Bathe, Armigero Capitali, Baroni Scaccarii Nostri, Regni Nostri Hiberniæ—

Johanni Parker Armigero, Magistro Rotulorum Cancellariæ Nostræ, Regni Nostri prædicti—

Johanni Plunkhat armigero —

Ac

Dilecto servienti nostro Henrico Draycost, Armigero Capitali, Rememoratori nostri.

Scacarii nostri prædicti salutem.

Sciatis quod nos, de fidelitatibus ac providis circumspectionibus vestris plenius confidentes, assignavimus vos

ac tenore præsentium damus vobis quinque, quatuor aut tribus vestrum potestatem et auctoritatem recipiendi cognitionem, sive sursum redditionem quam Oswaldus Massyngberte, Prior Hospitalis St. Johannis Jerusalem in Hibernia in Regno nostro Hiberniæ prædicto, et Confratres ejusdem Hospitalis coram vobis facere voluerint, in quodam scripto suo per quod iidem Prior et Confratres sui concesserunt reddiderunt et deliberaverunt dictum Hospitale St. Johannis Jerusalem in Hibernia, et Præceptorias eidem Hospitali spectantes ac omnia et singula Maneria, Dominia, Mesoagia, Cotagia, Terras, Tenementa, Prata, Pascua, Pasturas, Boscos, Subboscos, Redditus, Reversiones, Servitia, Molendina, Aquas, Piscarias, Piscationes, Passagia, Villanos, Wards, Maritagia, Communias, Libertates, Jurisdictiones, Letas, Heindredas, Vis, Franc. Pleg., Patrias, Parcos, Warrenas, Vivaria, Mercatos, Advocationes, et Presentationes Ecclesiarum, Vicariarum, Cappellarum, Cantoriarum, et aliorum Ecclesiasticorum, Beneficiarum quarumcumque, Pensiones, Portiones, Annuitates, Prebendas, Rectorias, Decimas, Vicarias, Oblationes, Elemosinas, ac omnia et singula alia Emolumenta, Proficua, Possessiones, Hereditamenta, et jura ipsius Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Hibernia prædicta et Præceptoriarum eisdem spectantum, quæcumque infra dictum Regnum Nostrum Hiberniæ et alibi, infra dominia nostra situata jacentia et existentia ac omnimodo Cartas, Evidentias, scripta et monimenta, dicto Hospitali Sancti Johannis Jerusalem, Præceptoriis quoquemodo spectantia sive concernentia. Habenda et tenenda nobis, Hæredibus et Successoribus nostris in perpetuum.

Et si scriptum illud sit factum ipsorum Prioris et confratrum communi sigillo suo sigillatum, et si iidem Prior et Confratres scriptum prædictum in Rotulis Cancellariæ Nostræ Regni Nostri Hiberniæ prædicti, ut Factum suum, irrotulari voluerint, nec ne, Vobis mandamus quod, ad præfatum Hospitali Sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Hibernia accedatis, ipsosque Priorem et Confratres in Domo sua Capitulari personaliter venire facietis. Cognitionemque suam super scriptum prædictum recipiatis, et quum eam reciperites, nos inde ac de die quo eam reciperitis in Cancellariam nostram Regni nostri Hiberniæ predicti sub sigillis vestris distincte et aperte sine dilatione reddatis certiores, et scriptum prædictum nobis remittendo ibidem irrotulandum una cum Præsentibus. In cujus rei etc. etc. Teste Regina apud Westmonasterium tertio die Junii.

Num. CCXIX.

That Valetta's letter is very calm, wise, and touching is all I can say (in order not to prolong the Appendix a great deal too much), and that it is a wonder he could write so calmly at so critical a juncture, surrounded by all the noise and bustle of the beginning of so bloody a siege—and only remand my reader to the letter itself in the Cod. Dipl. Geros., No. cxcvi., vol. 2, page 210.

Num. CCXX.

Ex. Bosio, Par. iii., Lib. xxxix., page 825, 828.

Of Sir Oliver's Latinity, these lines over the gate that

leads from towards what is called the mountainous district into the new city, might suffice:

Porta hæc quæ de Monte, viamque de Monte subintrat,
Petro de Monte Principe structa fuit.

Yet there is Valetta's epitaph by the same hand:—

Ille Asiæ Libiæque Pavor tutelaque quondam
Europæ, et domitis sæva per arma Getis,
Primus in hac alma, quam condidit, urbe sepultus
Valetta, eterno dignus honore, jacet.

Num. CCXXI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., Vol. ii., Num. ccxxxi.

Lettere patenti del G. Maestro.

. , ... Facciamo sapere, come avendo i nostri Predecessori di felice memoria, e prima, e dopo l'infelice perdita della nostra Isola di Rodi, avuto in ispeciale raccomandazione, e protezione il Monastero di S.Giovanni Evangelista dell' Isola di Pathmo: e volendo noi continuargli il medesimo favore, e protezione, ordiniamo e comandiamo a tutti i nostri Religiosi, ed altri Sudditi, e Vassalli naviganti con qualsivoglia Vascello, per quanto hanno cara la gratía nostra, di non molestare ne dannificare in cosa alcuna il detto Monastero, ne le robe, persone, e beni di esso; ma rispettarli come se fossero nostri Vassalli, secondo sono stati tenuti, e riputati da' detti nostri Predecessori, perche tale è la Volontà nostra; e facendo lo contrario, e pervenendo alla nostra notizia,

faremo procedere contro li delinquenti non solo alle pene di ribellione, e disubbidienza, ma ancora alla restituzione de' denari, ed interessi ed altre arbitrarie. In cujus rei fidem etc. Datum Melitæ, 15 Septembris, Anni 1568.

Num. CCXXII.

Too long!

Num. CCXXIII.

Too long! Besides, my MS. has been lost, by no fault of mine.

Num. CCXXIV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccl.

"*There is no God, but God, and Mahomet is the Prophet of God*"

Like a heading in large vermillion letters.

After which comes the seal, round which are these words inscribed,—

"*Letter of the King Shah-Abbas, Slave of God, King of His Kingdom of Persia.*" *And finally, is written in gold,* "*To the Venerable Highness of the G. Master.*"

. . . . . For which thing we have destined for our Ambassador, Count Don Robert Sherlei, a person of great valour and judgment, in whom we have particular confidence, for his great fidelity to that mighty

Catholic king, who has more subjects than the stars of the Heavens . . . . . so the above Count will present you these, and assure you of our stable frindship, connected with a strong claim. And we regret that we are a long time without your letters. In all your wants recur to us, and command us freely, for it will always give us extreme pleasure and content. May the Lord be with your Highness, Written in the kingdom of Persia, the month of September, in the year of the death of Mahomet, 1024.

Another Persian letter is assuring the G. Master that he, (the King,) had given orders for the good treatment of Christian slaves.

It is extremely fine, all golden, with many-coloured decorations, and ends by declarations of great attachment and reciprocal love:—

"Write to us then, ask us frankly and clearly for every thing you want, and let your letters always be candid, and full of loyalty.

"We end our present Imperial letter, written in the month of Regeb, of the year 1108." An annular seal at foot, and it ends with,

"There is but one God, truly King and evident!"

Num. CCXXV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cclxxvi. p. 289.

Lettera del G. Maestro e Consiglio al Re di Francia.

Tonte ceste Religion se ressent grandement obligèe a

Vostre Majestè du soing, qu'elle a vouleu prendre d'escrire a nostre S. Gran-maistre pour arbitrer les differents meus par le Mareschal contre luy; et ny a celuy dans ce conseil, qui ne portast tres volontiers son consentement a l'obeissance deue a V. Majestè; si cest affaire estoit en l'estat que vous luy a fait entendre, et que les demandes du Mareschal fussent novelles on indecises. Mais comme elles sont en prejudice de tontes le autres Langues, non seulement Italiennes, Espagnoles, et Alemannes, mais encore des Francoises, nous avons jugè necessaire, d'escrire a Vostre Majestè, et l'asseurer, que ce que le mareschal pretend au jour d'huy, ayant estè demandè par un sien devancier dans un Chapitre General du temps de fen Monseigneur de là Cassiere, Gran Maistre de la mesme Langue d'Auvergne, il en feust deboutè, et luy feust imposè perpetuel silence. Tellement, Sire, que l'affaire estant vuideè par nostre supreme Tribunal, il ne seroit point raisonnable de mettre nostre droit et nostre possession en compromis, et prejudicier aussi bien aux autres Langues Francoises subjetes de Vostre Majestè, qu au reste de la Religion. Nous esperions donc, Sire, quc Vostre Majestè, cognoissant le peu de raison du Mareschal, luy tesmoignerà le desplaisir, qu'elle a d'avoir estè informèe de luy de la sorte, et luy commandant le silence, a ses pretensions, luy ordonnerà de se contenter des preeminences qu'il poussede en vertu des nos statuts, et d'obeir a son superieur; de quoi tonte la Religion en general serà infiniement redevable a Vostre Majestè, et

chacum de nons en nostre particulier se recognistrà obligè,

Sire,

de prier Dieu, qu'il tienne Vostre Ma'estè en tres parfaite santè, et luy donne une tres longue et tres heureuse vie. A Malta, ce X Septembre, 1624.

Vos tres-humblcs et tres-obeissants serviteurs

Le Gran-Maistre & Conseil de l'Hospital, et du S. Sepulcre de Jerusalcm.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cclxvii.

Lettera al Conte di Betunes Consigliere del Re di Francia, e suo Ambasciatore straordinario a Roma.

Monsieur,

Nous avons leu en Conseil les lettres, qu'il a pleu au Roy tres Chrestien d'escrire a Nostre Serenissime Gran-Maistre, tesmoignant ee desir qu'il a, que les pretensions du Mareschal . . . . . a quoy toute la Religion, qui est grandement interessèe en ceste cause, eust voulontiers consenti, tant pour l'obeissance, qu'elle desire rendre aulx voulontez de sa Majestè, quepour la cognoissance, que vous avez de cette affaire. Mais comme les demandes du Mareschal ne sont que des vieilles pretensions, vuidèes definitivement par un des nos Chapitres Generaulx . . . . . ; ce seroit un trop. grande prejudice a toutes les autres Langues . . . . . De sorte que nous ne croyeos point, que S. Majestè prenne en mauvaise part, que nous tenons dans la possession que nous sommes en vertu du decret du dit Chapitre General, nous ne remettions point nostre droit aux doutes d'un nouveau jugement ; de quoy nous avons vouleu faire part

a Vostre Excellence, et la prier en mesme temps que si Elle en escrit a S. Majestè, que ce soit a l'advantage de nostre justice et Vostre Excellence ferà action, qui pourra porter Sa Majestè a imposer silence au Mareschal .

. . . . . Monsieur,

Vos tres affectionnès Serviteurs

Le Gran Maistre et Conseil de l' Hospital, et du S. Sepulcre de Jerusalem.

A. Malte, ce X Septembre, 1624.

Ex. Cod. Dipl. Geros, Num. cclxxviii.

Lettera al Priore di Tolosa Ambasciatore della Religione appresso del Re di Francia.

. . . . . Vous verrès dans la lettre, que nostre Serenissime Gran-Maistre vous escrit en son particulier et dans les memoires qu'il vous envoye, l'instance que luy a faicte le Roy de compromettre les differents meus par le Mareschal contre le Magistere, et . . . . . Nous avons deliberè ainsi, que vous verrès par la lettre que nous luy escrivons, dont nous vous envoyons la copie, vous serès particulierement informé de nostre droit, et du decret que nous avons en faveur. . . . . qui leur imposa perpetuel silence. Vous rendrès donc à Sa Majestè la lettre, que nous luy escrivons, et apres l'avoir particulierement informè de nostre droit . . . . . a fin que nous vivions dans la paix et union necessaire et tonsjours convenable . . . . . Nous attendons des bons effects de vostre negotiation, et nous

promettons que vostre prudente conduite nous donnerà subjet de vous en remercier . . . . . .
A Malte ce X Septembre, 1624.

Num. CCXXVI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros, Num. ccxx., ii., 194.

That Lepanto was the greatest sea fight of that age is known to every one. That the Hospitallers distinguished themselves mightily in it was only natural; so here is a regular decree by which the G Master allows a knight (who was indeed an invalid for life) to live out of Malta, or anywhere he likes, at the Order's expense, dated November 26, 1574.

Num. CCXXVII.

Ex. Cod. Dipl. Geros, Num. ccclix., 362.

Carolus II., Dei gratia Magnæ Brittaniæ, Franciæ, et Iberniæ Rex, Fidei defensor. Eminentissimo Principi Domino Nicolas Cotoner Magno Ordinis Melitensis Magistro, Consanguineo et Amico nostro Charissimo Salutem.

Eminentissime Princeps, Consanguinee et Amice noster charissime. Non solum per literas Johannis Narbrourgh Equitis aureati, quem classibus nostris in mari Mediterraneo Admiralis jure, ac potestate præfecimus, sed aliunde quoque intelleximus, quam benigne Eminentia Vestra, vestroque jussu et exemplo totus sacer ordo Melitensis, illum aliosque navium nostrarum bellicarum

Rectores tractaverit; ita ut domi et in armamentariis nostris melius quam in portu vestro Melitensi haberi non possent. Magnæ quidem hoc est amicitiæ indicium eoque majoris, quod Regnia, et maria nostra ab usitata sacri Ordinis Melitensis navigatione tam longe distent, ut Eminentiæ Vestræ humanitati in hac parte respondendi rarissimæ nobis occasiones expectandæ sint. Alius igitur modus exquirendus est, quo gratitudinem nostram et affectum erga Eminentiam Vestram suæque sacræ militiæ socios, pro merito notificaremus. Quod ut faciamus, omnes opportunitates quandocumque obvenerint, libentissime amplectemur, studiosissime prosequemur. Eminentiam interim Vestram totumque Ordinem Melitensem Dei Optimi Maximi tutelæ ex animo commendamus. Dabantur in Palatio nostro, Whirihali,* die 26, Januarii, 1676.

Num. CCXXVIII.

Ex. Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclxxiii.

, ... Muneris esse nostri duximus has ad te universumque ordinem grati animi testes dare literas . . . . . non omissuros nos occasiones, quæ se offerent, ejusdem animi sensus splendidis effusæ benevolentiæ documentis comprobandi . . . . . Roma, 18 Novembris, 1690.

Num. CCXXIX.

Ex. Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii. Num. cclxii.

. . . . . Scimus enim nobilissimam

* Whitehall.

insulam istam universæ Italiæ arcem ac præsidium esse; unde pax non modo ad nostros derivari, sed derivata conservari maxime potest.

Romae, 15 Martii, 1591.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cclxiii.

. . . . . Barbarorum formido et Italiæ securitas docere possunt nationes universas quanti fieri debeat in Europa Hierosolymitani religionis virtus.

17 Junii, 1623.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclviii.,

. . . . . Melyta Melitensium Equitum fortitudo est. Toti præcarissimo cœtui immortales a Christianis universis laudes debentur.

So the Pope in 1670.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclxi., et ccclxii.

Two letters from John Sobieski, King of Poland, relate in detail both his famous victories over the Turks on the 13th September, at Vienna, and on the 10th of the next October, in 1683, repassing the Danube, though too long to insert in this Appendix, will be interesting to some readers who will find them in the volume cited—surely highly honourable to the Order of Malta, to whose Grand Master they are directed.

Num. CCXXX.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num cc.

Too long also for this Appendix is Valetta's letter, just after the siege, to his own Prior, Sir George Hohenstein

—etsi non dubitarunt; but it is a splendid instance of the simplicity with which a great man announces his great victory—fratrum nostrorum auxilio præsertim tuorum similium. Melitæ, 7 Idus Octobris, 1565.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccxxx.

From its great length, Valetta's despatch to all Christendom, through the Pope, on the same subject, is still more denied a place here. Whoever wishes to read it, is told where to find it. The book having become rare in Italy, implies it is to be found in many private libraries of England, still more in her public—the British Museum included; where the writer has often consulted it.

Num. CCXXXI.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. cccxlix.

Letter from a son of the Dey of Tunis to the Grand Master, informing him of his having left Mahometanism, and become Christianized, and moreover wishing to be allowed to enter the Order of Malta. 1646.*

Num. CCXXXII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. lii—x.

The Doge of Venice to the Grand Master.

. . . . . come capo delle sue valorose forze, i nobili cavalieri Gerosolymitani che hanno facilitato col proprio sangue l'acquiti stessi e stabilitone in noi il

* And enter the Order he did, but died shortly after.

possesso. Il Senato rivelandone una particolare gratitudine . . . . . 12 Marzo, 1699.

What better accompaniment to such praises than the charitable and princely words of the Grand Master, Emanuel Vilheña, in *Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccccv ?*

Confirmation and approbation, 16 December, 1732.

MANOEL.

Num. CCXXXIII.

Ex Pantaleone Storia Johannitarum, &c.

Pantaleone, generally reputed a good Swiss Protestant, says very well, that the Order is not to defend any division of Christianity, but the whole of it, from the Barbarians—quo Christiani pacifice vivere ac Dei gloriam in parte Europæ, immo terrarum Angolo, celebrare ad seculi consummationem intrepide queant, 1580, pag. 387.

It is the same writer who repeats Solyman's expressions to his Vizier just on L'Isle Adam's departure from Rhodes —words not to be found in Bosio or any other of the Historians: "Equidem haud possum non dolere, qui infelicem hunc Senem propriis laribus pulsum, mœstum hunc abire videam" 200. (He adds in another page 183): 'No description of Protestants will ever deny that the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem merit high favour.' Indeed, his very title-page is an eulogium of them, and it is the more gratuitous and impartial that he never belonged to the Order in any way.

In the instructions to the Ambassador of the Order,

sent to the meeting of the Protestants in Germany, I read, "Pregasse i Principi Protestanti acciochè considerassero l'ordine Gerosolymitano come *indifferente* con tutti e che impiegava i suoi beni e rendite in far continua guerra al Turco nemico commune . . . . . beni dedicati alla santa ospitalità, e al mantenimento della milizzia cristiana." *

* Pozzo, par. 2. pag. 158. Pozzo was a Knight Commander of the same Order.

Num. CCXXXIV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii,. Num. cccxl.—xli.

Lewis XIV. to the Grand Master.

Mon cousin . . . . . Je prierai Dieu qu'il ait mon cousin en sa Saincte et digne garde.

Ecrit a Paris
le 25 Mars,
1644.

Louis.

The Queen Mother to the Same Grand Master.

. . . . . je tiens celuy que vous m'avez nouvellement donné, parceque le Sieur Bailly de Villeneufve votre ambassadeur . . . . . le dit Sieur Bailly m'a apportè beaucoup de consolation et vous l'expliquera plus particulierement. Je me contenteray de vous dire qu'il s'est si prudemment acquittè de la charge, qu'il merite bien la continuation de vostre confiance, de laquelle estant tres digne je vous prie de la lui

vouloir conserver, avec parfaite croyance que je suis votre bonne Cousinne.

A Paris,
Le 29 Mais, 1644. ANNE.

Num. CCXXXV.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclxxxvii.

Letter from Abdi Aga, commanding the Five Sultanas off Malta, June 28th, 1722, translated from the original preserved in the archives.

Let it be known to the chiefs and principal men of the island of Malta, heads of the Counsel, and the leading persons, French or Venetians, and those other magnates of the religion of the Messiah who happen to be in that island, that we have been expressly sent by the Great Lord and Patron of the universe and refuge of the world, that you may consign to us and transmit to us, all the slaves, and particularly those of St. John, who find themselves exposed to their bad and unholy government, in order that they be presented before his august and eminent Throne. And since this is his will and command, we have come well armed, and with the greatest valour inform you by this letter of our arrival to receive all such slaves; and in case you make any difficulty in consigning said slaves, you shall know and repent. The answer to this letter you shall send to Tunis.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros., ii., Num. ccclxxxviii.

Risposta del G. Maestro e del Ven Consiglio. (1722.)

Si è letta . . . . . Saprà ella senza dubbio e la Maestà sua che il nostro instituto non è di andare in traccia di schiavi, ma di assicurare la navigazione ai bastimenti Cristiani . . . . . onde ascoltiamo con molto gusto la di lei proposizione; perchè speriamo che questa siccome è gloriosa per la Maestà sua, cosi darà a noi campo di autenticare che noi pure . . . . . per via di riscatto e di permuta, come si stila fra i Principi; attenderemo sapere come sua Maestá desideri . . . . . come bramiamo. E Dio la prosperi.

Num. CCXXXVI.

Ex Recueil des principaux Traites de l'Europe depuis 1761, *par Geo de Martens. Edit revue par le Baron Charles de Martens. Gottingen Vol. vi., page* 322.

12 Juin, 1798.—Convention conclue entre la republique Française representèe par le Citoyen Bonaparte General en Chef, et l'Ordre de Chevaliers de Saint Jean de Jerusalem representè par M. le Bailliff de Turin Frisari,* le Commandeur Boisredon de Ransjat, le docteur Nicolas Muscat, l'avocat Benoit Schembri, et le conseiller Bonnani sous la mediation de S. M. C. le roi d'Espagne representè par le Chevalier Philippe Amat son chargè d'affaires a Malthe.

Art. I.—Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jerusalem remettent a l'armee Française la ville et les

* Probably of some Neapolitan order, at all events no representative of that of St. John of Jerusalem.

forts de Malthe, renonçant en faveur de la Republique Française aux droits de proprietè et de souverainetè, qu'ils ont sur cette isle ainsi que sur celles de Gozo et de Comino.

Art. II.— La Republique Française emploierá son influence au congres de Rastadt pour procurer au Grand Maitre une principautè equivalente a celle qu'il perd, dont il jouirà sa vie durant. Elle s'oblige en attendant a lui payer une pension annuelle de 300,000 livres outre le payement de deux annates de pension, à titre d'indemnitè pour son mobilier. Pendant toute la durèe de son sejour a Malthe il continuerà de jouir des honneurs militaires qu'il recevoit.

Art. III.—Les Français Chevaliers de l'Ordre de Jerusalem residents actuellement a Malthe, qui seront reconnus comme tels par le General en Chef, pourront rentrer dans leur patrie, et leur sejour a Malthe sera considerè comme un sejour fait en France. La Republique Francaise employerà ses bons offices pres les Republiques Cisalpine Ligurienne Romaine et Helvetique pour que le present article soit rendu commun aux Chevaliers de leur nation.

Art. IV.—La Republique Française assignerà une pension annuelle de 700 francs aux chevaliers qui resident actuellement a Malthe, et de 1000 francs aux chevaliers agés de plus de 60 ans; et elle interposerà ses bons offices pres des Republiques Cisalpine Ligurienne Romaine et Helvetique pour qu'elles accordent pareilles pensions aux chevaliers de leur Nation.

Art V.—La Republique Française s'interposerà pres des autres puissances de l'Europe, pour qu'elles conservent aux chevaliers de leur nation l'exercise de leur droits sur

les biens de l'ordre tant danc l'ile de Malthe que dans celle de Gozo.

ART. VI.—Les Chevaliers conserveront leur proprietès particulieres tant dans l'Isle de Malthe que dans celle de Gozo.

ART. VII.—Les habitants des Isles de Malthe et de Gozo continueront d'avoir comme par le passè, le libre exercice de la religion Catholique, Apost: Romaine, leurs proprietès et privileges resteront intactes et ils ne seront assujettis a aucunes contributions extraordinaires.

ART. VIII.—Tous les actes civils passès sous le Gouvernemcnt de l'ordre conserveront leur validitè.

A bord du vaisseau l'Orient en face de Malthe le 24 prairial, an 6 de la rep: Française. (12 Juin, 1798.)

BONAPARTE.

Le Commandant Boisredon de Ransjat, le Baron Marie Testa Ferrata,* Le doct. J. Nicolas Muscat, Le doct. Benoit Schembri, Le Consul Bonanni Commandant, Le Bailiff de Turin Frisari, sauf le droit de haute domination qui appartient à mon souverain comme Roi des Deux-Siciles.

Le Chevalier, Philippe Amat.

Articles Additionels.

ART. I.—Aujourdhui 12 Juin le fort Emanuel, le fort Tigni, le Chateau St. Ange, les ouvrages de la Bormola, de la Cottonara et de la Citè victorieuse seront remis a midi aux Troupes Françaises.

* This gentleman may have represented the island of Malta, but not the order, any more than the Neapolitan ambassador or the Spanish.—*See Boisgelin.*

ART. II.—Demain 13 Juin, le fort Ricasoli, le chateau St. Elme, les ouvrages de la Valette, de Florian, et autres, seront remis a midi aux troupes Françaises.

ART. III.—Les officiers Français se rendront aujourdhui a 10 du matin chez le grand maitre afin de recevoir les ordres pour les gouverneurs qui commandent dans les differens forts et ouvrages qui doivent etre remis au pouvoir des Français.

ART. IV.—Les memes dispositions auront lieu pour les forts et ouvrages qui doivent etre remis demain 13 aux Français.

ART. V.—En meme tems que les ouvrages des fortifications seront consignès, l'on consignerà aussi l'artillerie, les magazins, le plan et tout ce qui concerne l'architecture militaire.

ART. VI.—Les troupes de l'Ordre de Malthe pourront rester dans les casermes qu'elles occupent jusque a nouvel ordre.

ART. VII.—L'Amiral Commandant la flotte Française nommerà un officier pour prendre aujourdhui possession des vaisseux, galeres, batimens, magasins, et des autres effects de marine appartenant a l'Ordre de Malthe.

Num. CCXXXVII.

Ex Cod. Dipl. Geros, ii. 463-576, *&c.*

GRAND MAESTRI.

44. L'Isle Adam . . + 1534
45. del Ponte . + 1535

46. di San Jalla . . + 1536
47. Omedez . . . + 1553
48. de la Sengle . . + 1557
49. Valetta . . . + 1568
50. del Monte . . . + 1572
51. Cassiere . . . + 1581
52. Verdale . . . + 1595
53. Garzias . . . + 1601
54. Vignacourt . . . + 1622
55. Vasconcellos , . + 1623
56. del Paula . . . + 1636
57. Lascaris . . . + 1657
58. Redin . . . . + 1660
59. Clermont de Chattes Gessan + 1660
60. R. Cotoner . . . + 1663
61. Nicolas Cotoner . . + 1680
62. Caraffa . . . + 1690
63. Wignacourt . . . + 1697
64. Perellos . . . + 1720
65. Zondadari . . . + 1722
66. Emanuel de Vilhena . + 1742
67. Emanuel de Pinto Fonseca + 1773
68. Ximenes . . . + 1775
69. Rohan . . . . + 1797
70. Hompesch . . . + 1798

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ASSOCIATION.

Seeing it undertakes to merit its restoration by doing that which none can do half as well (nor at all)—modifying itself to the time—(again in advance of its age, as almost always),—practically useful to mankind and civilization, in the words of its princely Norman founder, *pro utilitate hominum*, true and primitive scope of its institution, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem is restored thus:—

1. That it be divided into two distinct classes, *Knights profest* and *Knights free*; equally honourable, since of two brothers the elder will frequently be of the second, the younger of the first, as often happens actually—though by favour and not by law. Let only all favour then be annihilated, and law take its place.

2. *Knights profest* to remain as of yore, with this difference—necessary result of exempting it from all favour—rendering the few still fewer (as they ought), recognizing the Pope only in his spiritual capacity strictly, like other Roman Catholics; and not in the least otherwise more than any other temporal sovereign. This class will then subside into a kind of senate, or select chapter general, from whom are to be elected, and they alone elect, the Grand Master; and to them belong the six highest posts of the Order after the Grand Master. Indeed, it is chiefly from the lustre of the past, like a fine monument of antiquity, that this class is preserved pretty much in

statu quo, though never to be permitted to take their vows until forty years old, as who should be dispassionate to discuss, decide, govern; of whom the six eldest necessarily, and six more at the Grand Master's choice, shall form his privy council.

3. The Commander-in-Chief of the troops in the Order's pay is to obey the Grand Master alone.

4. Pardon, and nominations, and graces of every description, are to come from the Grand Master in council or chapter general; except that he can in no way facilitate the profession, which must preserve its ancient rigid form —the protecting powers neither intermeddling with it themselves, nor allowing it in others.

5. *Knights free* form the substantial, powerful, and active—the real and superior, though in name the second class,—and their exemption from celibacy and strict genealogical proofs is no more than a change of words; since such exemptions are in full use already, but by favour, and nearly the same as to religion—at least every form of Christianity.

6. Here too let all such favours, not be abrogated, but simply become law. And let the Grand Master (now at Rome) be authorized to issue a proclamation that this class is open to all Christians and Mahometans (since the Order has no longer Mahometans to make war with, but to be their cordial friends), on their producing three short documents. 1. That the candidate is of no disreputable parentage. 2. Himself of honest conduct. 3. That he has the means and the will to submit to the Order's pecuniary regulations. Whoever has had its

cross from any royal hands already, is recognized as already member of this class; but after the date of such proclamation similar distinctions can be conferred by none but the Grand Master, or his deputy, with the legal formalities. (1)

7. This class, with the representatives of the land, is to form a sort of House of Commons. But the Order never having been nor caring to degenerate into a speaking society, they are neither to speak, vote, or even meet; but to be merely and individually consultive—and each of them separately when, where, and if they like, transmit their written opinions to the senate. (2)

8. Every power can become protecting by simply permitting its subjects to enter the Order and found Commendaries or those called *jus patronatus*—and paying now 16 per cent., and devolving entirely to the Order, when the line for whom the foundation was made falls extinct.

What is to merit restoration, and which only the Order by its permanent and military residence can do, and is to undertake, is to render the passage by the Euphrates to India and towards Mecca safe and excellent for the subjects of all the protecting powers—quite *gratis* as to protection and escort.—There shall be no more the division of Languages; and there shall be only two tables, quite equal

(1) This is no windy crotchet, but the matured proposal of a dignitary of the Order itself, and quite conformable to the actual state of things and the unsettled condition of a crowd of youths in every country.

(2.) If this be a poor House of Commons, is it not better than none? Look at Syria, and would it not better its condition?

and each presided by one of the six, or his locum tenens, who must always be a knight profest. Equally among this second class, and the rest of the knights profest; all the other posts, military and civil (except the six first), shall be in common. (3)

9. The Turks are besought to reflect, and that vast changes have visited both them and us; and that our Order offers them as warm a friendship as its former enmity; and therefore the Sultan is requested not only to become one of the protecting powers, but likewise, seeing that to him belongs the only country which supplies a short passage from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates—not indeed to decrease his territories, but rather increase them, is besought to confer on himself a new dignity—perfectly imperial—by occupyng the glorious post of the Emperor Charles V., and as he erected Malta into an independent Sovereign fief in favour of the Order, so the Sultan also as to a part of Syria; we covet neither Damascus nor Jerusalem, but only a slip of sufficient width to form a small Monarchy—from the sea a little south of St. Jean d'Acre, in a slanting line over the hills on the east of the lake of Galilee to Zebdeni and thence to Anah on the Euphrates—and northward directly from Scanderoon through Aleppo to Bir.

It would be certainly a new glory to the Porte to have

(3.) The Russian and Prussian Knights would be thus amalgamated with us. Nor that King or Emperor with so many Orders of their own already, will probably object to this. Said knights would be at no expense; for they will be held to have entered long ago.

an independent Christian Sovereign for one of its dignitaries reigning over a distinguished collection from all Europe with the guarantee of every European nation.

None of the knights can take any part in the traffic which they protect.

10. So the investiture and an annual falcon should be established as under Charles V.; nor is it more than of a piece with all the Order's history that it who mostly went before its age, should now too be the first to invite Mahometans to their intimacy and partnership.

11. Within that restricted domain the Order should reign with all its ancient liberties—more developed A judicature apart for the inhabitants, with their own laws and a jury of their own language and religion—judicium parium. The mouth of the Orontes, cleansed, steamers and shipping might ascend to Antioch, and thence boats to within 50 miles of El-Bir—across which plain a road, railroad, or canal, would easily be constructed; thence by Euphrates, or by the ancient (if re-opened) canal round by Bagdad to Bassora, escorted by the Order's steamers of war both in going and coming, once a month or oftener.

12. From the Mediterranean to El-Bir, there shall be a continuous line of cottages, like the walk in a garden, small proprietors—all European. No duties whatever, the Order's whole territory shall be a free port, religious liberty on the most complete scale, as in the best parts of America—a place of universal refuge. (4) No taxes whatever,

4. Nothing of the magnificent scenery and historical recollections. Nor to oppose by the Nile, but assist it. Why not both? Any disasters or eventuality, the Red Sea closed, here is

direct or indirect, on the poorer people; and on the rich a single one only, the income tax, on a plan to be determined from 5 to 20 per cent., or more, on every kind of income. The Order's history enables one to promise that there shall not be a beggar; no more than there is in parts of Turkey, to whose honour be it observed. Not to nourish war but to prevent it—which that universality of arming is more likely to produce, than vain projects of disarming—the entire little state shall form one little military school to furnish all the protecting powers with excellent young officers; not precisely a college, but something between that and the army, from Cadets up to Captains; and every expense shall be incurred to secure it at once; the name of affording the best and most illustrious military education in the world, without one single exception, and worthy of the Order's ancient fame—as if it had been asleep until now—being a difficult acquisition—but to be acquired at any price. With its characteristic simultaneousness, all the Order's outlays must be simultaneous and as it were extravagant. The time for economy may come; but hereafter. (5)

another passage. Not either, but both. Why should commerce and the world rely on one alone? Commerce and civilization are now the same under different names. How necessary is a place of refuge for all unhappy men of all opinions, our own times fully prove. America is too far off; England too dear.

(5) The attention of all men must be turned to our glorious past, and then they will not attend to some present defects. This, at whatever cost, from the very beginning, and the laughers will be put down for ever. We must render it the fashion for all the distinguished military and naval men in Europe to speak well of us. Our repute once settled, and praise will be universal.

13. To prevent the least fear of its becoming a nest of pirates, smugglers, and conspirators, strangers are to be turned out on the slightest suspicion without why or wherefore. And a stern trial in case of natives; nor shall these be tried for any minor offence; but for high treason, by putting their country in danger of losing its Charter, which is this.

14. To face the immense expenses of such a restoration there are, 1st. The actual possessions of the Order, which, however small, are far greater than at the downfalls of Jerusalem, Acre, Rhodes, Malta. As we rose from the three first, why not as well from the last? Harder then than now! 2nd. The passage money of £300 each new knight, which may be calculated at a great sum, and the 16 per cent. on the *jus patronatus*, Commanderies, presents, and sundry other items. But if all these be insufficient at the beginning, when so many houses are to be erected, the huge cost of steamers and of an army however small, when paid so generously and splendidly to have choice soldiers, and the military educated on a magnificent scale, and roads and conveyances of all sorts, and so many other unforeseen expenses; then a little loan must be contracted and guaranteed to be paid off in a given number of years, as it will certainly soon be, by the increase of the country's revenue. The knights were always capital financiers as even Malta proves, which they received a poor naked rock and left it an island of palaces. (6)

(6) And it were bare justice; for this restoration, as much for the future as the present, why should not generations to come pay their part as well as ourselves?

15. As the Order never was dependent on the Emperor, notwithstanding the investiture and falcons, so neither will it be on the Sultan, although he will be its supreme lord, and the knights will hold it as a part of his dominions. For the Order would be another Order if it lost any one of its three essential epithets; *Sovereign* as the sole Order that has its Grand Master within itself, *independent* from the day of its creation to this hour, *neutral* between Christians without exception through all its long annals; for never did it take any part in the sanguinary religious wars of Christian against Christian in any of the bygone centuries; which long past is the best security man can give, that as they were neutral all that long and most difficult time between Christians, so they will be for the future between Mussulmen too. It ever was Sovereign, independent, and neutral, and is again recognized as such.

16. All the protecting powers bind themselves to receive into their armies those of their born subjects, who return with favourable testimonials of their having served the Order in Syria,—that is, receive them in the same rank as high as Captain inclusive. (7)

(7) It is to be expected that all the protecting powers will keep up diplomatic relations with the Order, and take part in its restoration; and certainly such favours will be more than compensated by the obligations to which it will have subjected itself. It would be still more useful to the Turkish pilgrims and the commercial caravans of Turkey than to Christendom. This, and the evident utility to the Sultan's Rajah populations might perhaps be sufficient; even if he did not choose to avail himself of the invitation for Mahometans to enter the Order. At all events it becomes the charity and high-mindedness of the Knights of Malta to make the offer.

17. The hired troops shall be paid with the utmost generosity, to have them all picked men; and as to the Commander-in-Chief, and Generals, and Admirals, if recommended warmly by France, England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, they shall have *carte blanche* for their pay and outfit.

18. The free knights even when embodied in the above corps, shall never receive pay or more than forage, board, and lodging; but must find their own horses, tents, dress, equipments.

19. This offer (though this paper by a Knight Commander of that very second class, to wit without profession, is undoubtedly a *prima facie* evidence that it will be accepted) must be made to the whole Order and ratified by it or refused. The honour of the idea of this reform, and now proposing it on his own individual responsibility, appears to the writer quite too dear and unique a distinction not to appropriate it entirely to himself, as he does in the most total sense by signing it with his name, John Taaffe (8)

20. Italian, as most universally known in the Levant, is to be its diplomatic language.

21. If Normandy be a part of France now, yet it was being held in fief by England, when the Norman on the English throne was a near relation of the Order's founder; so perhaps France and England should take the lead in this restoration with a brotherly feeling.

(8) In every other sense he cannot but lose by it, as he is fully aware; for what he now shares with a few of the most select in Europe would be rendered less rare and exclusive, almost quite common.

FINALE.