

T H E
H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

Knights Hospitallers

O F

ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM;

Styled afterwards,

THE KNIGHTS OF RHODES,

And at present,

THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

Translated from the FRENCH of

MONS. L'ABBE DE VERTOT.

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MDCCLXX.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
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K N I G H T S O F M A L T A.

B O O K V I I.

BROTHER James de Milly, grand prior of Auvergne, succeeded the grand master De Lastic. He was then at his priory: They dispatched the chevalier de Boisfrond his nephew to him, to carry him the act of his election. In this dispatch the council represented to the new grand master, how important it was for the good of the order, that he should repair immediately to Rhodes. In the same letter they insinuated to him, that in order to get rid of the recommendations of princes in favour of some young knights, and not prejudice the rights of seniority, it would be proper for him to make an early declaration, that he would grant no favour before he had taken possession of his dignity in Rhodes, and taken likewise the oaths usually tendered to the grand masters at such solemnities.

JAMES DE
MILLY.

1454.
1. June.

The prince paid a just deference to this advice, set out immediately for Rhodes, and arrived there on Aug. 20. 1454. His presence was indeed very necessary. Mahomet, the haughtiest and proudest man breathing, enraged at the resolute answer that the knights made his ambassador, swore their ruin, and the destruction of Rhodes; and, out of his ea-

gerness to be revenged, had just sent thirty galleys, as the harbingers of his fury, who had by his command ravaged the coasts of the isles of the order.

Of all the neighbouring princes, whom his vast ambition made him look upon as his enemies, there was none more odious to him, or whom he suffered more impatiently in the midst of his territories, than the grand masters of Rhodes. He intended the year following to fall upon that isle, and extirpate the whole order of St. John: but he was obliged to defer that enterprise upon news of a powerful league that was formed against him for the defence of Hungary. Pope Calixtus III. was the head of it; and besides the king of Hungary, he had engaged in it successively one after another, Alphonfus king of Arragon, Philip duke of Burgundy, the republics of Venice and Genoa, the new grand master of Rhodes, and several princes of Italy.

Charles VII. king of France was strongly solicited by a legate, whom the pope had sent him on purpose, to join his forces with those of the allies. The pontiff too, upon that prince's appearing averse to leave his dominions, had wrote to him in imperious terms. But those times were now no more, when popes, either out of a true zeal for religion, or political views, could easily carry their point, under the specious pretext of crusades and holy wars, of banishing, as we may say, emperors and other sovereigns into the farthest parts of the east. The king of France slighted menaces that came disguised under the mask of pious exhortations. However, as he was a truly religious prince, though he was still on his guard against the English, whom he had driven out of France, and that the ambition of the dauphin his son gave great uneasiness, he nevertheless presented the commander d'Aubusson, whom the grand master had sent to desire succours from him, with considerable sums, which were employed

employed either in buying up arms, or finishing the new fortifications of the town of Rhodes.

Whilst all these allies were arming slowly, and bringing their forces but heavily to the rendezvous; Mahomet, after several feints, purposely to conceal his real design, fell at once on the town of Belgrade, that Amurath his father had formerly besieged to no purpose, which made this prince the more fond; out of an emulation of glory, of surprizing or carrying it by force. This important place is situated upon a point of land, in a sort of peninsula, formed by two rivers, by the Danube to the north, and the Save to the west. Huniades, one of the greatest captains of Christendom, and the only man of his time to be compared with Scander-Beg, lay during all the time of the siege, intrenched with a body of Hungarians on the north bank of the Danube. Mahomet, to make himself master of the river before Belgrade, and to cut off the communication of the christian camp with the place, had formed a sort of semicircle of saicks and brigantines fastened together, which took up all the space both above and below the city. Huniades, to break through this inclosure, and throw succours into the place, fitted out a great number of vessels of different bulks, and, putting his bravest and most resolute soldiers on board, goes himself at their head, falls down the stream, attacks the infidels fleet, leaps first into the admiral's galliot, takes it, and, followed by the Hungarian officers, who commanded the land forces, breaks the inclosure, disperses the little vessels that formed it, sinks part of them, seizes on others, puts the troops on board them to the sword, and enters into the port, dragging after him the shattered remains of the Turkish fleet. This lord by his presence raises the courage of the garrison and inhabitants, and making them a speech: "I am come, (says he) in company with these brave soldiers, resolved either to

“ live or die with you, and I will either save the
“ place, or bury myself in its ruins.”

This great man, during the whole siege, performed all the functions of a wise captain and a resolute soldier. He was general, governor, commander of the fleet and artillery at one and the same time ; the Turks met with him at all the posts they attacked ; they saw him in like manner at the head of all the sallies that were made. They say, that in one of these sallies he killed no less than twelve enemies with his own hand : but as these little advantages were not after all any ways decisive, and that Mahomet was still advancing his works, he saw plainly, that nothing but an engagement and a battle could save the place. He therefore caused the garrison, the troops that he brought with him, and the bravest of the inhabitants, to put themselves under arms ; then made choice of the bravest of them, and out of all these troops formed a considerable body, put himself at their head, and fell into the enemies trenches sword in hand. He at

first cut all those to pieces that stood in his
1456. way ; but at the noise of the attack, the

Turks soon rally and stand their ground. Never had the Christians and infidels fought with greater courage and obstinacy. Huniades, resolved either to vanquish or die, provoked at so long a resistance, throws himself into the thickest battalions of the enemies, forces his way, pushes and kills all before him, and obliges the infidels to retire in disorder. Mahomet himself runs to their succour, and at the head of those invincible legions of janizaries, which made all the force of his army and empire, charges the Christians, and kills one of the principal officers of the Hungarians with his own hand, but at the same time he himself receives a deep wound in the thigh which disables him : they carry him immediately to his tent, where he faints away with loss of blood.

The

The combat however still lasted with the same fury. Huniades makes new efforts, drives them from their batteries, and turns the cannon against the tents of the sultan. But the christian general, seeing a body of spahi advancing scymitar in hand to cut off his retreat, did not think it adviseable to drive the Turks by too obstinate an engagement to a despair that is frequently more formidable than their ordinary valour; but contenting himself with the advantages he had already gained, re-entered triumphantly into Belgrade, amidst the acclamations of his soldiers, who dragged after them a great number of prisoners.

The sultan, recovering from his swoon, was immediately informed of the issue of the combat. They could not conceal from him, that the first bashas of his court, the vizir, the aga of the janizaries, and the principal officers of that body of troops were killed: that the cannon was nailed up, and the baggage taken. It is said, that at this ill news, so contrary to his expectation, he called for poison to put an end to his life and vexation.

It is certain however, that he lost above 20,000 men of his best troops, and that he was obliged to raise the siege, and retire to Constantinople with precipitation. To increase his pain, he received advice, that the knights of Rhodes, in order to make a diversion during the campaign, had ravaged the coasts of his dominions, blocked up his ports, done infinite damage to the commerce of his subjects, and secured that of the Christians.

The sultan, to be revenged on the knights, put to sea a strong fleet, having 18,000 land-forces on board; ordering them to destroy all the isles of the order with fire and sword. The admiral landed first in the island of Coos or Lango. He there besieged a fortified castle called Landimachio. The Turks battered the place with a great train of cannon and mortars, and having made a breach, ad-

vanced in crowds to the assault. They flattered themselves, that they should carry the castle without much opposition, but they met with a good number of knights on the breach, who drove them back; and by rolling down great stones, and throwing boiling oil and melted lead upon the besiegers, laid the bravest of them dead at the foot of the walls. A seasonable sally, following this defence, put an end to the dispute, and caused so much trouble and disorder in the infidel troops, that they re-embarked with more precipitation and eagerness than they had run to the assault.

The general, not daunted with this ill success, fancied he should be more lucky against the inhabitants of the island Simia or of Apes. He invested the castle, and to save his men carried on the siege by way of sap, running his mines as far as the middle of the place. But his design being timely discovered, was prevented by the knights, who, making countermines, defeated his attempt, and advancing sword in hand, cut the miners and the troops that supported them to pieces, and forced the infidels to re-embark. From thence they stood for the isle of Rhodes, and landing some soldiers, the admiral ordered them to march up with all possible secrecy into the country, to see what guard they kept in the island, and whether there were any troops along the coast.

These spies went a good way up into the country without being discovered; every thing appeared buried in a profound calm, and without the least distrust; and likewise found, that a town at no great distance, called Archangel, very well peopled, and the richest of the island, was in a sorry condition for defence; thereupon they made the signals which the admiral had directed. The general, as soon as he saw them, put all his infantry into flat-bottomed vessels, and, landing them, the infidels marched straight to the town, surpris'd the inhabitants, slew all that made head against them, and made

made slaves of the rest ; but, fearing to be attacked by all the forces of the order, the Turkish admiral after ravaging the open country, re embarked in great haste. He did the like execution in the isles of Lerro, Calamo, Nissaro, Lango and Simia, which he visited again on his return from Rhodes; As those isles were most of them defenceless, he ravaged the country, rooted up the vines, cut down the fruit trees, carried off all the inhabitants that he could surprise, and after having left marks of his cruelty where ever he went, returned back to Constantinople. He presented Mahomet with a great number of slaves which he had made in his expedition : the sultan viewed them with a barbarous pleasure, as what gratified his rage against the knights : he left them only the choice of dying or abjuring their religion. Several were weak enough to do the latter, and these wretches turning Mahometans, served afterwards for guides to the corsairs that infested the several isles of the order.

Brother John de Chateneuf, of the language of Provence, commander of Ufèz in the priory of St. Giles, and bailiff of the isles of Lango, Lerro and Calamo, finding them desolate and in a miserable condition, surrendered the government of them to the order, who, in a general chapter, desired the grand master to undertake the re peopling of them. And to prevent the like surprises, the same chapter ordered, that fifty knights should reside constantly in the castle of St. Peter; that five and twenty should be kept in the isle of Lango, that forty other knights should be put on board the guard galley which was always kept in the port of Rhodes; and the grand master himself took care to have a fort built in the town of Archangel for the security of the inhabitants.

These precautions were the more necessary, inasmuch as besides the war which the order was engaged in against the Turks, they were on the point of coming to a rupture with the sultan of Egypt,

gypt, a neighbouring potentate, no less formidable than Mahomet. The grand master had just received a pressing letter from Louis of Savoy, king of the isle of Cyprus, in right of Queen Charlotte of Lusignan his wife, in which he begged the order's succour and protection against the enterprizes of a bastard of the house of Lusignan, who by help of the credit that he had at the sultan's court, pretended to make himself master of the kingdom.

It is well known, that the order possessed great estates, and even some towns and considerable fortresses in that place; so that nothing could pass in a civil war between the queen and the bastard, but the grand master must be obliged to concern himself in it.

In order to have a right notion of these reciprocal pretensions, we must observe, that John de Lusignan, the last king of Cyprus, left no heir to his dominions but a young princess called Charlotte, which he had by Helena Paleologus, his second wife. He was an effeminate prince, of a weak constitution, almost an idiot, incapable of governing, and the meanest man in the nation was better versed in the affairs of his kingdom than himself. The whole authority remained in the person of the queen, who herself was governed by her nurse's son, an absolute minister, that disposed of the government as he pleased, and made the most he could of all the posts, dignities, and revenues of the crown.

A period was put to this unjust administration by the princess's marriage with John of Portugal duke of Coimbra. This prince being, in right of his wife, presumptive heir of the crown, was for entering upon the exercise of the rights which the king his father-in-law had neglected. The imperious minister opposed it, but the prince's party got the better; and the minister, fearing his resentment, took refuge at Famagusta, which had been long in the possession of the Genoese. His
mother,

mother, to revenge the banishment of her son, got the Portuguese prince poisoned; and by his death the minister returned to court, and resumed his former authority in that place.

He resumed at the same time all his pride; and whether a thirst of revenge, or the haughtiness of his temper, was the motive, or else, as it generally happens to men of his stamp, his head was turned with the too exalted height of his fortune, he kept no measures with the widow of the duke of Coimbra. He even sought industriously all occasions of doing her ill offices with the queen her mother. The princess, enraged at his haughty and insolent conduct, complained of it to James de Lusignan, her bastard brother, who was nominated to the archbishoprick of Nicosia, the capital of the island, though not yet in holy orders. He was a man that had abandoned himself to ambition, one who never boggled at any crime to gain his ends, naturally close, cruel in cold blood, and, wherever his interest was concerned, capable of a premeditated assassination.

This bastard, during the life of the duke of Coimbra, whose courage and capacity he feared, never intermeddled in public affairs, confining himself entirely to the business of his character; but the death of the Portuguese prince gave new life to his ambition, and he fancied it not impossible for him to make his way to the throne, or at least to get into the ministry: in order to this it was necessary to remove the nurse's son from the direction of affairs.

James, under pretence of revenging the insults offered to the princess, stabbed him with his own hand. He was in hopes of succeeding him in his employment, but the queen's wrath would not allow him to appear at court. He fled privately to the house of a noble Venetian, his particular friend, called Mark Cornaro, a rich and powerful man,
who

who had considerable possessions in the island ; but not thinking himself safe enough in that place against the resentment of an offended queen, he went to Rhodes, and wrote from thence to the pope to desire a confirmation of his dignity of archbishop.

The queen, who was afraid of his subtle and crafty genius, traversed his designs at Rome. The bastard, incensed at her opposition, carried things to the utmost lengths, and laying aside all thoughts of the archbishoprick, got together a parcel of banditti, returned into the isle of Cyprus, arrived at Nicosia, formed a strong party, destroyed his enemies, and all that could pretend to the ministry and government, and seized, in spite of the queen, upon the forces and revenue of the kingdom. That princess prudently dissembled an usurpation which she was not at that time able to oppose : she had no remedy left but in a second marriage of her daughter : she contracted her to Lewis son to the Duke of Savoy, who arrived soon after in the isle of Cyprus with a fleet and a body of land forces on board : all the bastard had now to do was to make the best of his way out of the island, and he fled for refuge to Grand Cairo and the court of the soldan.

In the mean time the king and queen dying within a few days of one another, the prince of Savoy and the princess his wife were proclaimed king and queen of Cyprus, and as such were crowned with great solemnity. The bastard of Lusignan, as soon as he received the news, dispatched away one of his creatures to Constantinople, to desire Mahomet's interest with the soldan ; and as usurpers stick at nothing, his agent offered in his name to pay the grand seignior the same tribute that was paid the Egyptian prince out of Cyprus. The bastard found means at the same time by great presents to engage the soldan's son and three of his prin-

principal ministers in his interest, who did not fail representing to him, that if he would grant the investiture of the kingdom to the bastard, he would double the tribute which his father used to pay in his life-time.

This intrigue, of which king Lewis had notice from his ambassador at Grand Cairo, was the occasion of writing immediately to the grand master, to desire his advice and assistance in such an important juncture. The order had for a long time before been as a protector to all the princes of the house of Lusignan. The grand master, as soon as he received the king's letters, sent brother John Delphin, commander of Nisfara, to Grand Cairo, to traverse the bastard's pretensions and intrigues.

This ambassador having an audience of the sultan represented to him, that the isle of Cyprus being a feudatory of his crown, he was obliged in justice to support the lawful rights of the late king's heirs, against an ambitious man that was offering to invade them; that these heirs, as being his vassals, would be exact in paying the tribute laid upon the island, and observe an inviolable fidelity to him, for which the whole order would freely be responsible. The ambassador's dexterity, and some presents properly distributed among those barbarians, began to incline them to the juster side, when an ambassador arrived from Mahomet, who represented to the sultan, that it was the interest of all true Mussulmen to hinder the prince of Savoy, and any Latin prince whatever, from settling in the Levant. He urged further, that he should look upon all that favoured them as his enemies; that in case he granted the investiture of Cyprus to a Latin prince, he ought to be afraid of raising an insurrection in his own dominions; and if he was not strong enough to drive the duke of Savoy's son out of the island, he offered him the assistance of his own forces, and would even allow him with plea-

pleasure to make use of them to clear the isle of Rhodes of the knights, who were all Latins by extraction, and irreconcilable enemies to their prophet.

The Egyptian yielded to remonstrances, which had all the air of a threat, and came from a prince whose arms and resentment no body at that time dared to draw upon himself. The investiture was granted to the bastard of Lusignan, and the sultan, to settle him on the throne, sent him back with a strong army. With this succour he made himself in a little time master of the whole kingdom. The king and queen had now nothing left but the fortrefs of Cyrene, into which they threw themselves for refuge: the bastard immediately invested and formed the siege of the place. The Genoese in this revolution still kept the town of Famagusta, and the knights maintained themselves in the castle of Colos, a strong place which belonged to the order, and made part of the great commandry of Cyprus.

Queen Charlotte de Lusignan, not finding herself safe in Cyrene, quitted the isle of Cyprus, and retired to that of Rhodes, under the protection of the grand master. The illustrious family from whence that young princess was descended, her royal dignity, her misfortunes, and above all, that natural empire which beauty gives, made most of the knights become her zealous partizans; and it was likewise observed, that, either out of pure generosity, or secret inclination, the commander d'Aubusson was particularly devoted to her interests. The usurper on his side, in order to gain the support of the republic of Venice, married afterwards Catharine Cornaro, under the specious title of a daughter of St. Mark. Pursuant to this title, those subtle republicans, in order to create themselves a sort of right over the island, gave young Cornaro a portion of an hundred thousand ducats; and the republick engaged, by a solemn

treaty, to protect the new king against his enemies, meaning thereby the knights of Rhodes, who had taken Queen Charlotte under their protection. But the usurper was not long before he found by experience, that it is rare to find fidelity and honour in treaties that are founded on injustice. The uncles of the Venetian lady were suspected of having poisoned the new king, in order to get a share in the government of the kingdom. It is at least certain, as we shall see in the sequel, that the republic alone reaped all the benefit of these several usurpations.

The grand master in the mean time found himself in a very difficult situation between Mahomet and the sultan of Egypt, who alike threatened Rhodes with a siege. The sultan too, to have his revenge for the protection which the order gave the queen of Cyprus, had, contrary to the law of nations, seized on the ambassador Delphin, and all the merchant ships of Rhodes that were trading in Egypt. The wise grand master, in order to find how the Turks stood affected, sent a Greek prelate Demetrius Nomphilacus by name, to the port, to desire a safe conduct of Mahomet for the commander de Saconnay, who was empowered to make him proposals of peace: but he was not heard at that time. The knights were the more alarmed at it, inasmuch as at the same time that they were drained both of money and ammunition, they were yet to defend themselves not only against the Sarazens and Turks, but also the Venetians, who on some trifling pretence relating to trade, made a descent in the isle of Rhodes, and committed greater ravages and cruelties there than those barbarians had ever done. They returned thither again a little time afterwards with a fleet of 42 gallies, which blocked up the port of Rhodes, and threatened the town with a siege.

The occasion of this enterprize arose from the grand master's having by way of reprisal, and in or-

der to procure the liberty of his ambassador and subjects detained by the foldan, caused two Venetian gallies, laden with merchandize for the account of some Sarazen merchants, to be stopped, and had seized at the same time a good number of the foldan's subjects that were on board the gallies. The infidels were made galley-slaves; their merchandize was confiscated; and as for the gallies and the Venetian crew, they were dismissed, and allowed to pursue their course: all this was done agreeable to the ordinary rules of war, which authorise the confiscating of a friend's moveables that are found in the same bottom with those of an enemy. But the republic, which was in strict alliance with the Sarazens for the sake of its commerce, demanded in high terms the restitution of the effects that had been seized; most of the young knights, especially the Spanish, were for giving no other answer to such unreasonable and imperious propositions, but that of cannon shot. The grand master however was of a different opinion. He had received advice, that if the order did not readily release the Sarazen prisoners and their merchandize, the commander of the fleet had private orders to ravage all the isles belonging to the order, to carry off the peasants and inhabitants of the open country, and then deliver them up to the sultan as hostages for the Sarazens that had been seized at Rhodes. "I do not doubt, with the assistance of your valour," says the grand master in full council, "but that I shall be able to defend this place against all the forces of the republic, but I cannot prevent their gallees from surprizing our subjects in the open country; and I believe it is more adviseable to give up a few Sarazens, rather than expose whole families to the danger of being made slaves to the infidels, and perhaps of being forced by torments to change their religion." The whole council acquiesced to so prudent an opinion, the Saracens were delivered up to the Venetian admiral, and charity

rity prevailed over the just resentment of so crying an injustice.

The order, in the midst of so many enemies with which it was beset, to make its difficulties still greater, was unhappily distracted with divisions flowing from ambition and vanity. The procurators of the languages of Spain, Italy, England, and Germany, complained in a general chapter, that the principal dignities of the order, and particularly the post of captain-general of the island, was annexed to the languages of France, to the prejudice of the other nations; and they maintained, that in a well-regulated republic, and in a state composed of the nobility and gentry of all Europe, no distinction ought to be made but that of seniority and merit. The French in answer alledged, that the order owed its foundation entirely to their ancestors; that if in the series of time other nations had been admitted into it, still it was the French alone that adopted them; that the other languages ought always to consider them as their first parents, and that it would be a great injustice now to deprive their successors of those marks of honour which they had acquired or preserved at the expence of their blood, and as a just recompence of the services which they had done the order.

As to the post of captain general, the commander d'Aubuffon, who acted in that quality in the absence of the marshal of the order, replied, that that post belonged solely to the language of Auvergne, of which the marshal was the chief; that after all there was no language in the order but had some particular dignity annexed to it; and as the French did not intrude into the functions of the admiral, the great conservator, the turcopilier and the grand bailiff, dignities which had a seat in the council annexed to them, and were appropriated to the languages of Italy, Arragon, England, and Germany, it was very surprizing, that the knights

of those languages should envy those of Provence, Auvergne, and France, the posts of great commander, great marshal, and great hospitaller, which had been exercised by French knights ever since the foundation of the order. Notwithstanding this judicious and modest answer, the malecontents persisted in their pretensions: but as they were sensible that their party was not strong enough to carry their point, the procurator of the language of Arragon threw an appeal drawn up in form to the holy see before the grand master, and withdrew with the other procurators out of the chapter in a seditious manner, and also went out of the city. The council was of opinion that they should be prosecuted; but the grand master being of a mild temper let this first fire spend itself. Some of the old knights interposed for an accommodation, when the warmest of the discontented party came back to the city, without making the least innovation on this head at that time, and returned to their duty. But the grand master dying soon after of the gout in his stomach, they renewed their pretensions un-

PETER RAIMOND

ZACOSTA.

1461.

der the mastership of brother Peter Raimond Zacosta, castellan of Emposta, a Castilian by birth, and successor to Milly. It was impossible for them to terminate this great affair, but by creating a new language in favour of the Castilians and Portuguese, who were severed from the Arragonese, Navarrese, and Catalans. They annexed the dignity of great chancellor to this new language, so that by this augmentation there were afterwards eight languages in the order.

We have seen a little before, that Mahomet, impatient to fall upon the isle of Rhodes, had refused to grant a safe conduct to the commander de Saconny, who had a commission from the grand master de Milly to treat of a peace between the order and the port. We must observe further, that the cause of such

such an harsh refusal arose from the order's resolution not to hear the least mention of a tribute; other designs, and of a much greater importance, made Mahomet dissemble so resolute a refusal, so that they were not a little astonished to see the safe conduct brought to Rhodes at a time when they least expected it. The surprise of the knights was the greater, because that prince was then making extraordinary preparations by sea and land, which made them suspect that he talked to them of peace, only to lull them asleep and amuse them by means of a treaty which he was going to break.

The grand master, without discovering his just diffidence, and in order to pierce into the designs of the infidels, sent brother William Marschal, commander of Villefranche, to Constantinople, accompanied by two Greeks of the isle of Rhodes, the one Arrogentille, and the other Constance Collace. The negotiation was not spun out to any length; there was no mention made at all of tribute, or at least the ministers of the port did not much insist on that article. Mahomet, who did not care to be interrupted in his projects by the diversions usually made by the knights, signed a truce for two years, and the ambassador returned to Rhodes without being able to discover on what side the sultan would turn his arms. They were as ignorant of it at the porte, even the very favourites of that prince; and the cadilescher, or lord chief justice of Constantinople, seeing the campaign ready to open, and having had the boldness to ask him where the storm would fall, "If one hair of my beard, (says Mahomet to him in a passion), knew my secret, I would tear it out this moment and throw it in the fire:" an answer which that minister could not apply without putting himself into a terrible fright. At last the secret of this campaign, which kept Europe and Asia in suspense, declared itself; the Turks entered Penderacia, called anciently Paphlagonia, and seized on Sinople

and Castamone, two of the most considerable towns in the province, and which, though subject to a Mahometan prince, served for a barrier to the imperial city of Trebifond, subject to a christian prince. It was this capital that Mahomet aimed at. That prince, who ever weighed his affairs, always extended his conquests gradually, advancing from one territory to the next adjoining : and having secured himself on the side of the Persians by a treaty of peace with Usum Cassan, he marched straight to Trebifond, and invested it at the same time both by sea and land.

This city is situated upon the Black sea, and was formerly part of the ancient Colchis. In the revolution which happened at Constantinople, when the pseudo-emperor Alexis Comnenus lost his life, prince Isaac of the same house fled for refuge to Trebifond : he made it the capital of a new empire, or rather, according to the genius of the Greeks, who after gave pompous names to trifling places, he gave the shining title of empire to a state that consisted only of two or three little provinces. His successors maintained themselves with tranquillity enough in that place, till the reign of another Alexis, who lived in the time of Amurath II. The sons of that Greek prince, impatient of succeeding him, rebelled, took up arms against the emperor their father, and at last against one another ; and the old emperor lost his life in these civil wars. John, one of these unnatural princes, was at last left sole master of the empire, reaped the fruit of his numberless crimes, and was proclaimed emperor. But he did not long enjoy this dignity, for death bereaved him of the crown, the object of his ambition. David Comnenus, the youngest of his brothers, was appointed regent and tutor to a young prince whom he left an infant, scarce entered into the fourth year of his age. The tutor, who was as perfidious as his brothers, deprived his nephew and his pupil of his life and crown. He afterwards
married

married a princess of the house of the Cantacuzeni, called Helena, by whom he had eight sons and two daughters. He beheld these children with pleasure, as the support of the throne he had usurped; but the divine justice, which often in this life makes usurpers feel the weight of its avenging hand, raised up Mahomet, who, at the head of two formidable armies, came to besiege him in his capital both by sea and land. The siege lasted thirty days. The Greek prince, fearing the place would be taken by storm, entered into a negotiation, and consented to deliver up the empire and his capital to Mahomet, on condition of receiving another province in exchange. The sultan agreed to it; the gates of Trebisond were opened to him; he put a garrison in it, and in the other places that belonged to Comnenus. This prince followed him to Constantinople; but instead of executing the treaty, he left him only the choice of either dying or renouncing his religion. The Greek emperor, summoning up his old religious sentiments, which ambition had stifled in him, preferred death to apostacy: seven of his male children, in imitation of their father, chose rather to lose their lives than embrace the Mahometan religion. The infancy of the last, who was not three years old, exempted him from martyrdom. Happy if the bloody sultan had not made him afterwards a renegado!

Not that this prince was any way affected with the merit of making proselytes; his shameful indifference for all religions is well enough known; but having taken up the barbarous resolution to let no christian prince live, whose dominions he had conquered, he made use of that pretext to get rid of them; and if he found any of them weak enough to be overcome by his threats, he soon found another pretence to make them away: and besides, this change of religion made them so odious and contemptible to the Christians their old subjects, that they

they had much rather be subject to a natural musfulman, than to a deserter and an apostate.

Whilst the sultan was employed in these wars, the grand master, considering the great use that a new fort would be of for the defence of the city and port of Rhodes, caused one to be built during the truce, upon some rocks that ran out a good way into the sea, sparing for nothing to make the work substantial. Philip duke of Burgundy, whom he acquainted with his design, furnished him with 12,000 crowns of gold towards it. The knights, by way of acknowledgement, put his coat of arms on the sides of this fortress, which was called the tower of St. Nicholas, from a chapel dedicated to that saint, which was inclosed within the circuit of this fort.

Though there was at that time a sort of truce between the sultan and the knights, yet that prince's vessels and some Turkish corsairs, whenever they found a favourable opportunity, made descents upon the isles of the order, and carried off all the inhabitants of them that they could surprize. The grand master sent complaints of it to the grand seignior; but his embassador not being heard, the knights, by way of reprisal, fell upon the coasts of Turkey. Mahomet, the haughtiest prince on earth, could not bear that the knights should dare to treat with him on a foot of equality. He fell into a rage at the bare name of reprisals. To be reyenged, he resolved to drive the knights out of Rhodes and out of all Asia; but before he engaged in that war, he thought proper to begin with the conquest of Lesbos, and some other islands of the Archipelago, from whence the order might draw any succour.

Lesbos is an island situated in the eastern part of the Ægean sea; a Greek prince of the house of Gattilusio was then in possession, and claimed the sovereignty of it. Mahomet passed into the isle with the troops he had appointed for this conquest,
and

and immediately besieged Mitylene, the capital of the island. The pretext that he made use of for this war was, that the prince of Lesbos allowed the liberty of his ports to the knights of Rhodes, and to the Genoese and Catalan privateers that disturbed the navigation, and destroyed the commerce of the Turks.

The grand master, who was in a strict alliance with the prince of Lesbos, immediately sent him a considerable body of knights, who threw themselves into the place. He left the defence of it to them, and to the Genoese and Catalan privateers that were in the port. Lucio Gattilufio his cousin shared the government and defence of the place with the archbishop of Mitylene, whilst that petty sovereign, a prince of no very warlike constitution, and greatly averse to dangers, shut up, or rather hid himself in the castle, as in the strongest place, and that which was least exposed. The besiegers, as well as the besieged, in the attack and defence of the place, gave the most signal proofs of their courage. The Turks, who had been used to pass from one conquest to another, could not bear to have a petty prince presuming to stop the progress of the arms of their invincible emperor. They marched desperately on to all the attacks, and great numbers of them lost their lives. Mahomet here found by experience the difference there was between a knight of Rhodes and a Turkish soldier. The knights did not give him a moment's rest; and by the torrents of blood which they made stream down in all their sallies, they made the visier, who commanded at the siege under Mahomet, afraid, lest that prince, who was exceeding brave, and who often exposed his person, should lose his own life before the place. As nothing was dearer to the general than his master's preservation, the prudent minister engaged him, under colour of giving his orders for new succours, to pass back again to the continent, whether

ther he sent him every day an exact relation of what passed at the siege.

The vigorous resistance of the knights and the christian privateers not giving him room to flatter himself with a speedy success, he had recourse to bribery, in which he succeeded better than by his arms. He applied himself to the governor of the town, who was of the same name and family as the prince, and promised him, in Mahomet's name, to leave him the sovereignty of the island, if he would facilitate the taking of Mitylene, and engage never to suffer any knights or christian privateers in the ports of the island.

Lucio Gattilufio could not possibly be ignorant, that Mahomet owed most of his conquests entirely to the pledging of his faith, and that he scarce ever kept it; but the weak Greek, dazzled with the lustre of a crown, let himself be seduced by the visiter's specious promises. In consequence of which, the traitor opened to him a gate which he was appointed to defend; the Turks entered in at it in crowds, and massacred the knights, who, though deserted by the Greeks, died all with their weapons in their hands: several privateers met with a like fate; others, in hopes of life which was promised them, surrendered themselves prisoners. The traitor, in the midst of the tumult, ran to the castle, and, with an affected terror, represented to the prince, that he was going to be taken by storm, if he did not prevent it by a capitulation; and the weak prince of Lesbos committed the whole management of that affair into his hands. Mahomet, who was not far off, hastened upon the advice he received from the visiter to reap the glory and benefit of his negotiation: the treaty was agreed on; he promised the prince other lands in Greece in exchange for his island; and it was stipulated, that he should come to Constantinople to treat about this exchange.

The

The prince of Lesbos repaired thither with his kinsman, whose treachery he was not aware of.

Mahomet treated them exactly as he had done the emperor of Trebisond. As a preliminary to the negotiation, he left them only the choice of changing their religion, or of suffering immediate death. The two Gattilufios were base and cowardly enough to abjure the faith. They flattered themselves at least with the hopes of having preserved their lives by their apostacy; but Mahomet looked out for some other pretext to get rid of them. That prince, whose barbarous politics made him put every body to death that had any just claim to the countries he had conquered, took advantage of the two Gattilufio's walking abroad, charged it upon them as done with a design to make their escape, and get out of his dominions without his leave, and thereupon ordered them both to be beheaded. He was still more cruel in his treatment of the christian privateers that had defended Mitylene, and surrendered to the infidels upon the visier's assuring them that their lives should be saved. The sultan, notwithstanding his visier's promise, and to intimidate their companions, caused them to be seized, and afterwards sawed in two, and ordered their limbs to be exposed to dogs and other voracious animals.

The grand master looked upon these cruel executions as forerunners of a war which, Mahomet would carry on the next campaign in the isle of Rhodes. And in order to prepare himself for it, he sent a general summons into Europe, directed to all the knights, with particular orders to the receivers to repair to Rhodes to assist at a chapter which he had called, and to bring thither the annates and responsions, for which they were accountable to the common treasury.

Those officers, pursuant to these orders of their superior, pressed several commanders to satisfy and discharge what they owed; but the greatest part of them,

them, especially those of Italy and Arragon, endeavoured by various pretences to elude the payment of what was so justly required of them. Some pretended that they were taxed at an excessive rate; others complained of the grand master as an old man that was continually terrified at the least motions of Mahomet, and under the notion of an imaginary war, was always harassing them with long and tedious voyages, and inventing one pretence or other to drain them by exorbitant taxes which he laid upon them. These complaints were laid before pope Paul II. and seconded by the king of Naples and Arragon, and by the doge of Venice.

The king of Arragon in particular pressed the sovereign pontiff to summon him to Rome to answer for his conduct. Here follows the motive of that prince's animosity: the grand master still keeping in his hands the castellany of Emposta, which he enjoyed when he came to the mastership, had demanded of that prince to give back several manors which had belonged formerly to that great commandry, and which the king had seized on by a right of convenience. All these princes, actuated by different motives, prevailed with the pope to order the general chapter which was summoned to Rhodes to be held at Rome. This was a kind of surrendering up the grand master to his enemies; and what was worse, by this new citation and change in affairs, they exposed the isle of Rhodes to the enterprises of Mahomet. The grand master might have made use of so just a reason to excuse himself from the voyage, and could have alledged the necessity he was under of defending in person the dominions, the sovereignty of which the order had intrusted him with: but the venerable old man, eager to prove his innocence on so public a theatre as the court of Rome, repaired thither immediately, and the chapter was opened soon after. The grand master, who had the oldest commanders and

best good men of the order appearing in his favour, soon convinced the pope, that the complaints brought him had no manner of foundation, but were owing only to the libertinism of some profligate knights, who, though they had great estates, did not yet find them sufficient to support their excessive luxury: and to shew his disinterestedness, and take away from the king of Arragon all subject of complaint, he at the same time made a resignation of the castellany of Emposta to the order and chapter, having kept it in his hands after his election to the grand mastership, with the view only of enabling him to go on with building the fortrefs of St. Nicholas.

Such testimonies of his disinterestedness covered his enemies with confusion. The pope himself was ashamed of having listened to them, and suffering himself to be imposed upon by them; and in order to repair the injury he had done the grand master, gave him the highest testimonies of his esteem in private, and affected to distinguish him in public by all the marks of respect that were so justly due to his merit, and the rank he held among christian princes. The chapter made also several severe regulations against the disobedient, which were approved by the holy see. The grand master was preparing to carry them himself to Rhodes, when a pleurisy, that seized him at Rome, put an end to his life; the common opinion being, that the uneasiness and fatigues which the wicked religious occasioned him, had hastened his end. The pope caused him to be buried in the church of St. Peter, and omitted no kind of pious magnificence that was proper to adorn his funeral obsequies; and by a decree of the chapter they observed in the epitaph of this grand master, that he was equally distinguished by his piety, his charity, and his capacity for the arts of government.

The general chapter then proceeded to a new

election: the votes were divided between brother Raimond Ricard of the language of
JOHN BAPT. URSINI. Provence, grand prior of St. Giles, and brother John Baptista Ursini, prior of Rome, and of so illustrious a family, that his very name, abstracted from his personal merit and qualities, might alone serve for a title, and procure him a preference to any competitor. Yet he carried it by one voice only: a circumstance which may make one presume, that the plurality of votes would hardly have been on his side in any other place but Rome.

1467.

The new grand master, taking leave of the pope, made all the haste he could to Rhodes, where Mahomet's ambition and forces made them always apprehensive of some surprize. He sent a particular summons to the bravest and most experienced knights of each language to repair thither. Nor was it long before there arrived there brother Bertrand de Cluys, grand prior of France; brother John de Bourbon, commander of Boncourt; brother John de Saily, commander of Fieffes; brother John Wulner, commander of Oison; and brother Peter d'Aubuffon, one of the greatest captains of the order, and particularly versed in that branch of military skill that relates to fortifications, on which account the grand master made him surveyor of those of the island. It was by his advice and direction that they made the town ditches deeper and wider, and raised a wall six hundred foot long, thirty-six broad, and six thick, on that side that lay towards the sea.

This precaution was the more necessary, inasmuch as they were afterwards informed the sultan would have opened the campaign with the siege of Rhodes, if he had not been detained at Constantinople by a dangerous illness. And the plague breaking out at the same time in that capital of the Turkish empire, he was obliged to put off that enterprise

terprise for some time. However, not to allow the knights any respite, he put to sea thirty galleys with a body of foot on board, giving the commander orders to make descents in the weakest places of the island, to carry off the inhabitants, and destroy all before him with fire and sword. The grand master, having advice of this armament, defeated the design of it by his prudent conduct and the valour of the knights. There were then several castles in the island, situated at certain distances from one another, which in time of war served for a retreat to the inhabitants of the country. Among these strong places were the castles of Lindo, Feracle, Villeneuve, Catauda, Archangel, and Tiranda. The peasants had orders to retire thither with their cattle; and the knights, dividing themselves into different bodies of cavalry, and suffering the Turks to land, fell upon such as advanced into the country, killed a great number of them, took several prisoners, and forced the rest to fly for their lives and get on board their fleet.

Mahomet, whose whole life was a kind of continual campaign, provoked at this defeat, gave out strict orders immediately for the making a new armament by sea and land. They made no question but these extraordinary preparations were designed either against the isle of Rhodes or that of Negrepont, which was then subject to the Venetians. In this uncertainty, those politick republicans, in order to make their advantage of the assistance of the order, sent ambassadors to the grand master and council, to propose a league with them, both offensive and defensive, against their common enemy. Nothing in outward appearance could be more convenient for both; but when they came to examine into the conditions of the treaty, the knights were strangely surpris'd to find the Venetians demanded as a preliminary, that the order should put itself under the protection of their republic. and

submit to a dependence on it, and should for the future undertake nothing without their orders. The grand master rejected the project of a league with a just indignation, which, under the name of an alliance, would have reduced the order into a state of downright vassalage : and if this particular had not been expressly mentioned by some celebrated historians, one could hardly imagine, that so wise a body as the senate of Venice could have been capable of making so odious a proposal, to an order composed of the most illustrious and valiant nobility and gentry of Christendom, which by its single forces had so long made head against those of the Sarazens and Turks. But though this particular league proved ineffectual, yet as soon as they heard at Rhodes, that Mahomet's troops had invested the isle and town of Negrepont, the grand master, in a sense of what his profession obliged him to, viz. to defend all the dominions of christian princes, sent immediately a squadron of gallies well provided to the succour of the Venetians. The chevalier de Cardonne commanded this squadron, and the commander d'Aubuffon, greatly skilled in the attack and defence of any strong hold, was put at the head of a body of brave knights, who had orders to try to land in the island, and throw themselves into the town which was besieged.

The isle of Negrepont was anciently called Eubœa. It is about 360 miles in circumference ; its greatest breadth is forty, and its least twenty miles : and it has a communication with the main land of Bœotia by a bridge over the Euripus. The capital of it was called Calchis by the Athenians ; but it has since taken the general name of the island. John Bondumiero and Lewis Calbo his lieutenant, both noble Venetians, commanded in it for the republic ; and Paul Erizzo, another noble Venetian, who had just before exercised the office of proveditor there, seeing the enemy draw near to besiege it, generously

generously resolved to stay in the place, though the time of his service was expired. Mahomet, before he attacked the isle of Rhodes, resolved to reduce that of Negrepont from whence the knights might otherwise obtain succours.

This warlike prince, followed by an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, 1470. arrived on the bank of the Euripus, which he crossed on a bridge of boats that he caused to be built; at the same time that his fleet, consisting of 300 sail, and commanded by the visier Machmut, was advancing forwards. There were three principal attacks in the siege, in which the Turks at first lost a great number of men: but a traitor discovering a place of the walls which they had overlooked, the fortifications of which were old and ruinous, they played upon it with their artillery, and beat down a great pannel of the wall. The besieged sent advice of the danger they were in to general Canalé who commanded the fleet of the republic. The gallies of the order had joined it. The christian fleet came up immediately in sight of the enemy. They had the wind and current on their side, and had resolved in a council of war to attack the bridge over the Euripus, in order to cut off the communication which the Turks had with the main land, and thereby deprive them of the convoys which they received from thence. All the fleet was eager for an engagement, and demanded it with great shouts; and particularly the knights de Cardone and d'Aubuffon pressed Canalé to advance. But that admiral casting his eyes by chance on his only son, who looked frightened at the danger, after reflecting for some time whether he should engage the enemy or retreat, at last shamefully tacked about, tailed away from the infidels, and abandoned the besieged, who were then left without any hopes of succour.

The sultan took advantage of their consternation:

tion: his troops mounted the next day to the assault, and stormed that part of the wall that his artillery had beaten down. They did not enter however, till after a gallant defence had been made over the bodies of Bondumiero, Calbo, and the principal officers of the garrison, who died bravely on the breach.

The proveditor Erizzo disputed every inch of ground, making a stand at every intrenchment thrown up in the streets; but, seeing himself forced on all sides, he made his way to the castle, where he held out for some time with great bravery: but at last wanting provisions and ammunition, and most of his soldiers being wounded, he was forced to capitulate. He would not however deliver up the castle till he had the sultan's express word for the security of his life. That prince swore by his own head, that Erizzo's should not be touched; but when he had him in his power, he ordered him to be sawed in two, and mixing raillery with cruelty, and meanly playing with a deceitful and ambiguous oath, he said, that he had indeed given Erizzo assurance for his head, but that he had never meant to spare his sides.

That gallant venetian had with him Anne Erizzo his daughter, a young lady of surprising beauty. Her father, fearing she would be afterwards exposed to the brutish lust of the soldiers, begged of the executioners to put her to death before they dispatched him; but they replied, that she was reserved for the sultan's pleasures. They led her to that prince, who was charmed with her beauty, and offered her both his heart and his empire. The discreet lady answered, with a modest intrepidity, that she was a Christian and a virgin, and that she did not so much fear death as she abhorred the debauchery of his seraglio, and the poisonous flattery of his promises, Mahomet tried all ways to seduce her, but in vain. They presented her with fine
cloaths

cloaths and jewels in his name, but she refused them with a noble disdain. Mahomet, naturally more proud than sensual, enraged at her refusal, changed his love into hatred, and in one of his furious fits cut off her head with his scymetar at one blow; thus fulfilling the wishes of that heroine, who by the sacrifice of a short transitory life, and a frail beauty, acquired immortal glory and felicity.

It would be a difficult task to describe the cruelties exercised at the taking of Negrepoint. The island was soon covered over with slaughter and horror; the Turkish soldiers, following the example, and acting under the eyes of their sovereign, valued themselves for their fury and extravagance. They were particularly careful not to give any quarter to the Latin Christians; and the sultan, enraged that he had found the galleys of the order in the Venetian fleet, sent to Rhodes to denounce mortal war against them, swearing that he would kill the grand master with his own hand, and destroy all the knights that came within his power.

These menaces did not deter the order from continuing their generous succours to the Venetians. The fleet of that republic was at that time commanded by the famous Mocenigo, who was placed in the room of the cowardly Canalé. The galleys of the order having joined him, they sailed by concert to besiege Attalia, a famous town on the coast of Pamphilia, called at present Satalia. The proveditor Sorano was immediately ordered to break the chain that shut up the port, which he executed with great courage and success. The Christian fleet entered the harbour, and afterwards sacked the suburbs of the two inclosures with which the town was fortified. They carried the first; but the walls of the second being too high for the ladders which they had prepared to scale them, and the general of the galleys of the order with several brave knights being killed in the attack, the Venetian general gave

gave it over, notwithstanding the cries of an old christian woman, a slave in Satalia, who called out to the Christians from the wall, and told them the small number and weakness of the besieged. They say that she was seized with so much grief at hearing the retreat sounded, that she threw herself headlong from the top of the rampart into the ditch, whence the Venetians took her, bruised to pieces with her fall, and gave her decent interment.

The Christians after this repulse went to wreck their anger upon the open country; and after the usual waste and havock made in an enemy's territories, came to an anchor at Rhodes. There they found an ambassador of Utum-Cassan, king of Persia, called Azimamet. who, besides his servants, was accompanied with above an hundred Persian gentlemen.

In order to have a just notion of the negotiation on which he was sent to the grand master and other christian princes, who were enemies to Mahomet, we must observe, that after the loss of Negrepont, the Venetians had formed a strong league against the Turk, into which pope Paul II. had entered, together with the king of Arragon Ferdinand king of Naples, the order of St John of Jerusalem, and the republic of Florence. Besides these succours, the Venetians, in the view of raising up enemies against the sultan on every side, had sent an ambassador, Catherini Zeno by name, into Persia, to solicit Utum-Cassan to make a diversion that might be strong enough to stop the arms of an ambitious prince, who threatened to enslave all the east. There was no need of making that prince sensible of his own interests, and he had for a long time been uneasy at the conquests of Mahomet. We have said, that he had already made a league with several christian princes against the Turk; but the fatal discords of the confederates, and the impetuosity of Mahomet, had till then always defeated the
benefit

benefit of those pompous alliances, which were more shewy than solid. However, he readily hearkened to the proposals made him by the Venetian ambassador.

Affun Caffan, or Uzun-Haffan, i. e. Uzun the long, so called from his great stature, was the sixth prince of the Turcomans, of the dynasty of Ackonjonlu, or of the white sheep. He began his conquests with usurping the dominions of his brother Gehanghir whom he dispatched, and the same year seized upon those of Gehanschah, a prince of the dynasty of the black sheep, whom he put to death with all his family: nor did he give better quarter to Aboussaid, grandson to Tamerlane, from whom he took all Persia.

Though this prince was a professed Mussulman, yet whether he had discovered the imposture of that, or that the interest of his kingdom was his first principle of religion, he made no scruple to enter into an alliance with the princes of Christendom. He sent his minister only to view the forces of his allies. The ambassador was received by the grand master with all the honours and magnificence due to his character. They loaded him with civilities and presents. The Persian gentry that attended him, were every day entertained by the principal knights of the order; and to give him a good opinion of the forces of the league, they shewed him their naval and land forces one after another, drawn up in order of battle, and their manner of fighting in a real engagement.

Azimamet, in an audience which he had of the grand master and the principal captains of the league, told them, that the king his master had taken from Mahomet the strong place of Torata in the lesser Armenia; that he was preparing to carry on his conquests; that the Persians were indeed invincible by their cavalry, which were the best in the world; that he did not want either men, or
horses,

horses, or lances, or sabres; but that the use of fire-arms was altogether unknown in his country, and that the king his master had sent him with orders to desire the christian princes to send him some skilful founders and able gunners to serve him against the Turks. This was promised him: and the grand master sending a squadron of gallies to escort him, he was conducted to Venice, where the treaty was concluded; and at his return, the senate sent an hundred officers of artillery, as also several excellent founders and gunsmiths along with him, who afterwards supplied the Persian armies with a compleat train of artillery, and an infinite number of harquebusses or hand-guns.

'Twas scarce possible for so pompous an embassy to be concealed from Mahomet. This prince soon guessed at the motives of it; and in order to make the negotiation miscarry, he dispatched an ambassador to the king of Persia, who was ordered to represent to him what a blemish it would be to his honour, to make an alliance with infidels against a prince of his own religion. But the Persian, who was not to be caught with such scruples, paid but little regard to Mahomet's reproaches: but finding his interest in the league, persisted in it with vigour, nor could even ill success disengage him from it. Mahomet, exasperated at the fixed resolution of that prince, declared war against him, and went in person at the head of an army of 190,000 men to attack him in the heart of his dominions.

Before he set out from Constantinople he left prince Zizim, the youngest of his sons, in that city, with a good council, to take care of the government, but as he passed through Amasia, took Bajazet, a brother of that young prince, along with him; and Mustapha, the eldest of them all, who commanded on the frontiers of Caramania, came to join him with the troops of his government,

ment. This young prince had the year before routed an army of Uffun-Caffan in a pitched battle. Mahomet, to improve this victory, and take advantage of the consternation of the Persians, advanced as far as the banks of the Euphrates. His design was to pass that river, and advance forward into Persia; but he saw Uffun-Caffan on the other side, who, attended by the three princes his sons, and at the head of a great body of cavalry, consisting of 40,000 horse, was ready to dispute the passage of it. Never was a more glorious strife seen between two royal houses. The Euphrates, opposite to the place where the two armies were posted, divided itself into several branches; some of them were fordable. The Turks throw themselves into the river to get to them, but the continual march of horses putting the sand in motion, the ford is turned into a whirlpool that swallows up every thing. To make the misfortune still greater, such as can get near the banks of the river, find them cut steep and shelving by the precaution of the king of Persia; so that spent with fatigue, and finding no sure footing on the quicksands to fight on, they lie exposed as a mark to the Persian arrows, without being able to revenge their deaths. A great many are drowned, and others are carried away with the streams. Above 12000 men perished in this enterprize; and the furious Mahomet, raging at his ill success, is at last forced to sound a retreat.

As the Persians had carried off all the provisions and forage of those quarters, the Turks were obliged to make the best of their way to their own frontiers. The Persian had done enough for glory, and could he have been content with this advantage, nothing had been wanting to compleat it. But persuaded by the daring counsels of the young princes his sons, he passed the Euphrates, and pursued his enemy, whom he found strongly intrenched. They soon came to an engagement, both armies

mies close together, and the prince has as much his share in the battle as the soldier. Victory changed sides more than once; but Mustapha, Mahomet's eldest son, at last fixed it on that of the sultan. He routed a great body of Persians commanded by prince Zeinel, Uffun-Cassan's son, who was killed at the same time. Whilst Mustapha was pursuing the run-aways, he sent the Persian prince's head to Mahomet, as an earnest of the victory, which after the death of Zeinel, declared itself absolutely against the Persians: their whole army was dispersed, and fled for life to the neighbouring mountains. In the midst of Mahomet's joy for his glorious success, news was brought him that they did not know what was become of prince Mustapha. The sultan on this occasion felt all the tender emotions of a father, and was cursing the fatal victory, when the shouts of the soldiers gave him notice a little after of the young prince's return. In the first transports of his joy he runs with eagerness to meet him, and embraces him tenderly, covered over as he was with blood and dust. He would, even present him with a cup of sorbec with his own hand; but Mustapha found, by agreeable experience on this occasion, that of all refreshments, none is more proper to wipe off the sweat and fatigues of a battle than a victory just gained.

Yet this young prince, the partner of the fatigues and glory of his father, the support of the throne, and the hopes of his subjects, in the midst of all his triumphs, was within a year afterwards struck as it were with a clap of thunder. Achmet Geduc, one of the principal bashas of the porte, had a wife of extraordinary beauty. The young sultan had the misfortune to meet her as she was going to the bath; and notwithstanding the severe injunction laid on the women of that nation of never appearing in public but in veils, she yet could not resist the secret pleasure of letting him have a glimpse of her

face, in order to discover how amiable she was. She let fall a corner of her veil, but took it up again immediately; and shewed herself with that reserved air, only to make herself be viewed with more curiosity. The courtiers, a servile set of men, did not fail to applaud the criminal desires of the young prince, who fancied himself above all laws, after having performed so many great actions in war. He follows her to the bath, makes his way in spite of the guards into a place forbidden to men; surprizes her in a circumstance not over decent; and hurried away by his passion, obtains favours, in which perhaps he did not meet with much resistance. Achmet is soon informed of it, and enraged at the insult, runs to the seraglio, throws himself at Mahomet's feet, tears his beard, his vest and turbant, and by his cries and tears gives the sultan to understand his wife's, or rather his own misfortune. Mahomet began already to be uneasy at the proud and haughty temper of his son; however, not to degrade himself so much as to blame this outrage before one of his subjects, he dissembles his resentment, and looking upon the basha with an air of contempt, "Are not, says he to him, thy wife and thee, both my slaves, and too much honoured with contributing to the satisfaction of my children?" He dismissed him with this rough answer, but sent at the same time for Mustafa, and with that air, at which the greatest of his court would tremble, made him the most cruel reproaches, bid him be gone from his presence; and hearing that the young prince expressed the utmost indignation at his going out of the seraglio, and murmured at so harsh a treatment, he sent orders three days after to have him strangled. Notwithstanding there was an interval of two years between these several incidents, I have nevertheless related them together, by reason of the connection

there is between them, and for the convenience of the reader.

The order of the time should make us resume the narration in that part which relates to the league between the Persian monarch and the grand master, and the other Christian princes: but as that affair does not come directly within the subject of our history, we shall only observe, that the war between the two mighty princes, who disputed for the empire of Asia, lasted for several years, and suspended the enterprize that Mahomet had formed against Rhodes. The grand master, during this interval, renewed his precautions for the preservation of the place and the whole island. By his orders, with the concurrence of the council, some ancient knights were sent to visit all the places and isles that belonged to the order. It was at this time that he held a general chapter at Rhodes, which is the surest resource for the maintenance or re-establishment of the regular discipline. It was in these numerous assemblies that proper measures were taken, and that without distinction of persons, or deference to any body, for the reformation of manners; and we may affirm that had it not been for the frequent meetings of their chapters, the order could never, in the midst of the confusion and hurry of war, have so long preserved itself in the first spirit of piety and disinterestedness which distinguished it as much as its courage and extraordinary valour.

Though the power of so many sovereigns as had entered into the league, kept Mahomet in some awe, yet that prince had such numerous armies on foot, that the knights were continually on their guard for fear of being surprized. They added more new fortifications to the old ones, and built two towers close by the sea on that side that lies towards Limonia, and a third facing the village of St. Martha. The commander d'Auffon, made grand

grand prior of Auvergne after the death of the chevalier Cottet, carried on those works with an attention worthy of his zeal and capacity; nothing escaped his diligence. The grand master and the order were as attentive to his advices as if they had been so many laws. He was as it were, the soul and *primum mobile* of the council, and was generally the only person made use of to execute the projects he himself had formed. All affairs, whether relating to war, to the revenue, or to the fortifications, passed through his hands. He was continually surrounded with warriors, artificers and workmen, without being embarrassed either with the number or diversity of affairs. His zeal for the service of the order, and the extent and quickness of his genius, made him equal to all these different employments.

The grand master being very old, and always infirm, had great need of such an assistant: he had been in a languishing condition for near a year together, when a dropy at last carried him off. He died June 8. 1476, when they proceeded to the choice of a successor. Brother Raimond de Ricard, grand prior of St. Giles, who was in the precedent election a competitor with the last grand master, was chosen to preside at that of his successor; and it was he who, after the usual ceremonies, notified to the assembly; that all the votes of the electors centered unanimously in the person of brother *Peter d'Aubuffon*, PETER D'AUGRAND-prior of Auvergne, descended from the ancient viscounts

of la Marche, and of one of the most illustrious houses in France. It may be said, that even before his election to the grand mastership, he was already their chief in the good wishes of all the knights, as well as those of the people, who, upon the first news of it, made bonfires, and gave public testimonies of that unfeigned and sincere joy which

flows from the heart, and which politicks and slavery can never counterfeit. So happy a choice inspired the most timorous with bravery, and they were no longer afraid of Mahomet, when they saw d'Aubuffon at the head of affairs, with the reins of government in his hands.

His conduct fully answered the favourable opinion they had conceived of him, and he employed his authority for the execution of all those projects which he had before proposed only as a simple member of the council. By his orders they made a great iron chain that served to bar up the entrance of the port; and to prevent the descents and ravages of pirates in other places of the island, he increased the number of the towers and forts that had been built along the coast, and at certain distances from one another. He did not confine his views and cares to the preservation of the isle of Rhodes alone: he sent strong re-inforcements into the other isles belonging to the order; and from the same zeal and attention, he sent engineers to the castle of St. Peter, who, pursuant to the memoirs and plan that he delivered to them, hollowed the ditch to such a depth, that the sea-water flowed into it, and the feluccas and brigantines of the order entered there without difficulty, and lay secured from the Turks and Corsairs. Whilst this worthy sovereign of the isle of Rhodes was thus taken up entirely with its defence, Michael Salomon, envoy of Loredan, general of the Venetians, arrived in the island, with orders to reclaim a Cypriot, called Riccio Marini, one of the most zealous servants of Charlotte de Lusignan.

We have already taken notice, that the crown of Cyprus, after continuing near three hundred years in the house of Lusignan, was usurped from Charlotte de Lusignan by her bastard brother; that the usurper, to make sure of the protection of the Venetians, had used solicitations to get a daughter

daughter of the family of Cornaro in marriage; and that the senate, to create themselves a right, or rather some pretensions to the kingdom, had granted her to him, and had given her a portion as a daughter of St. Mark. It is said, that to come at this succession the sooner, the bastard was made away by poison: and a little child that he left sucking at the breast did not survive him long. The Venetians, under pretence of protectorship, sent powerful succours into the island, which they soon conquered in the name of the bastard's widow, to whom they left nothing of queen but the bare name, and some insignificant ornaments only.

Nevertheless, Charlotte de Lusignan, the only and rightful heiress of the crown, had always some secret adherents within the kingdom. Several schemes were formed to drive out the Venetians, but they miscarried by reason of the experience and forces of the captains of that republic. The chiefs of queen Charlotte's party were obliged to quit the isle. Every body fled for refuge where he thought he could find protection, and live in the greatest security. Riccio Marini, one of those chiefs, had retired to Rhodes. This was the occasion of Salomon's embassy; he came to demand him back of the grand master, as a seditious person and a rebel; presenting him at the same time, in the doge's name, a letter full of menaces: and Loredan's envoy, added with no little arrogance, that as the most serene republic had adopted Catharine Cornaro, it would consider all those as her enemies who should favour the partizans of Charlotte de Lusignan.

They were not used at Rhodes to hear ambassadors speak with so much arrogance. Besides the continual services which the order was doing to the republic, the knights of Rhodes did not think themselves inferior either in dignity or in forces to

the gentlemen of Venice; and some of the most high spirited of this noble body of knights were for sending back Loredan's agent without an answer.

If the grand master had given way to those first emotions of a secret inclination, which had attached him formerly to the person and interests of Charlotte de Lusignan, he would have answered the Venetian general's envoy with the same haughtiness, and with a courage which were both so natural to him. But what might in a private knight be considered as generosity, was not at all proper for a sovereign, who ought to shape his conduct entirely to the interest of his state: so that the grand master, in order not to bring new enemies upon his back, when he was expecting to have all the forces of Mahomet fall upon the isle of Rhodes, qualified his answer in such a manner, that without either granting any thing to the envoy of the Venetians, or incensing them by high words, he took care to maintain equally the rights of his dignity, and the liberty of his territories. He told him, that the order, pursuant to its statutes, never intermeddled in the differences and wars that arose between christian princes; that he required him to tell his general, that at Rhodes they neither received seditious persons or rebels: but, as was practised in every free and independent country, they likewise did not drive away such whose private misfortunes obliged them to take refuge there, and who behaved like men of honour and good Christians. With this answer he dismissed the minister.

Scarce was this envoy gone from Rhodes when another arrived, sent by the soubachi or lieutenant to the governor of Lycia, a province in the neighbourhood, as we have said, of the isle of Rhodes. That infidel commander, whose cruelty had no restraint but what arose from his natural avarice, had

had actually a great many Christians and subjects of the order in his prisons : and as he lost some or other of them every day by the severity and miseries of the slavery they endured, he resolved, contrary to the custom of his nation, to treat for their liberty. There were however suspicions, that this envoy's voyage was only a pretext invented by Mahomet to get an opportunity for a person to view the fortifications of Rhodes. Nevertheless, as the grand master had nothing more at heart than the liberty of his brother knights, he readily entered into a negotiation ; this was the occasion of several voyages that the envoy made to Rhodes.

The grand master, eager to recover those knights, and desirous at the same time to put an end to such voyages, smoothed every difficulty. Besides the sums necessary for the ransom of the slaves, which he furnished out of his own purse, he also sent noble presents to the soubachi ; and when the negotiator brought the knights back, his recompense was not forgot. The grand master embraced them one after another. Never did a tender mother, who after a long absence sees her only son in her arms again, discover more sensible demonstrations of joy. The knights on their side kissed his hands, bathed them with their tears, embraced his feet, and by those mute transports, which nevertheless affect the heart in the most sensible manner, endeavoured to express their acknowledgements. They called him their father and their saviour. The grand master declined these titles with great modesty. " It is to the order, my children, said he to them, that you owe these expressions of your acknowledgement ; and I hope you will make it an ample return, by exerting your ordinary valour against the enterprises of Mahomet, who daily threatens us with a siege."

He had received advices to this purpose from several quarters. The order never had before a grand
master

master who laid out such considerable sums, or employed them out so usefully in spies. He kept some even within the walls of the seraglio. By advices from them he learned, that the Venetians were, without the knowledge of their allies, negotiating secretly a separate peace with the porte. He knew likewise from public accounts, that the king of Persia, Uffan-Cassan, the most potent of Mahomet's enemies, being worn out with years and the fatigues of war, stood now only on the defensive, without enterprising any thing against the Turks. He saw that the christian princes, according to their constant custom, were tearing one another to pieces; and that Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary was making a bloody war against the emperor Frederic: from whence he concluded, that Mahomet would take advantage of these divisions, and infallibly turn his arms the next year against the isle of Rhodes.

The grand master, in order not to be taken unprepared, stored the magazines with ammunition and provisions; and the isle of Rhodes not having a sufficient number of knights for its defence, he called a general chapter, and in the summons directed to the grand priors, he ordered all the knights to repair immediately to Rhodes with their arms, and in an equipage suitable to their profession. We find a copy of this summons in Italian in Bosio's history; the original is still preserved in the archives of Malta; and we believe the reader will not be displeas'd to see an extract of it in this place.

MY DEAREST BRETHREN,

“ In the midst of the greatest dangers with which
 “ Rhodes is threatened, we have thought that no
 “ succour was more to be depended on than a ge-
 “ ral summons, and a speedy assembly of all our
 “ brethren. The enemy is at our gates; the proud
 “ Mahomet

" Mahomet sets no bounds to his ambitious pro-
 " jects ; his power becomes more formidable every
 " day : he has an innumerable multitude of sol-
 " diers, excellent captains, and immense treasures :
 " all this is designed against us ; he is bent upon
 " our destruction ; I have the most certain advices
 " of it. His troops are already in motion ; the
 " neighbouring provinces are filled with them ;
 " they are all filing down towards Caria and Ly-
 " cia : a prodigious number of vessels and gallees
 " wait only for the spring, and the return of fine
 " weather, to pass into our island. What do we
 " wait for ? Can you be insensible that foreign suc-
 " cours, which are generally very weak, and al-
 " ways uncertain, are at a distance from us ? We
 " have no resource but in our own valour, and we
 " are ruined if we do not save ourselves. The so-
 " lemn vows that ye have made, my brethren, ob-
 " lige you to quit all, to obey our orders. It is in
 " virtue of those holy promises, made to the God
 " of heaven before his altar, that I now summon
 " you. Return without losing a moment into our
 " dominions, or rather into your own ; hasten
 " with equal zeal and courage to the succour of
 " the order. It is your mother that calls to you ;
 " it is a tender mother that has nursed and brought
 " you up in her bosom that is now in danger. Is
 " it possible there should be found one single knight
 " unnatural enough to abandon her to the fury of
 " the barbarians ? No, my brethren, I have no ap-
 " prehensions of that kind. Sentiments so mean
 " and impious are not at all agreeable to the no-
 " bleness of your extraction, and are still more in-
 " consistent with the piety and valour that you pro-
 " fess."

This summons, dispersed over all Europe, raised
 the zeal and ardour of the knights. They all set
 eagerly about preparing their equipages. To raise
 money

money with the greater expedition, they sell their household goods; they let and farm out their commandries at low rates; every one takes measures for his setting out, and his passage: and the thing they all stand most in fear of is, of their not arriving soon enough at Rhodes. Some sovereigns, edified with their zeal, sent several kinds of succour thither. The most considerable came from France. Lewis XI. who was then on the throne, prevailed with pope Sixtus IV. to grant a jubilee and indulgences to all persons who should assist the knights. This jubilee raised considerable sums in a very short time, which were remitted immediately into the east, and were, by the grand master's orders, employed in raising some new fortifications which he thought proper to make about the castle and bulwarks of the city of Rhodes.

Mahomet heard with no little uneasiness, that they had penetrated into his designs; and to hinder this discovery from putting the christian princes in motion, and producing at last some formidable league against him, he tried, under colour of a negotiation of peace with the grand master, and by an embassy that should make a noise in the world, to cool the zeal of such as were preparing to take arms. But as he was the proudest of all men living, he would not expose himself to a refusal from the knights, and therefore gave that commission to prince Zem or Zizim one of his children, and Chelcby his nephew, whose governments lay near Rhodes, ordering them to employ in this negotiation a renegado Greek, Demetrius Sophian by name, being a person of whose address and capacity he was thoroughly satisfied.

The two Turkish princes, pursuant to the orders they had received from the grand seignior, sent d'Aubuffon a letter, full of expressions of esteem for his person, and for all the knights of his order. It was even stuffed with a set of flattering compliments,

ments, a stile very seldom used by those barbarians; and the princes concluded it with inviting him to make a solid peace with his highness, for which they offered their mediation and credit at the porte.

The renegado Greek was entrusted with this letter and the negotiation, the secret of which, as they pretend, was confided to him only, and that even the two young princes themselves knew nothing of it. He came to Rhodes, presented his credentials to the grand master, and, when they were entering upon the negotiation, he represented, that the only thing the grand seignior insisted on, in order to make a solid and lasting peace between them, was a small tribute. To engage him to come into it the more readily, he urged farther, that the senate of Venice, to obtain the like treaty, had made no difficulty to oblige themselves to send eight thousand ducats of gold every year to the porte; but that he should get off at a much cheaper rate, though, says he, there is no paying too dear for the friendship of so potent a prince that makes all others tremble.

The grand master had already received advice of the renegado's embassy from the spies that he kept in Constantinople, and also that the design of it was only to lull him into a security, and surprise him: so that to make his own advantage of it, and employ against Mahomet the very artifice he made use of to deceive him, he very prudently dissembled his knowledge of it. He even shewed an entire confidence in the ambassador's word, and told him, that he should be greatly pleased if he could come to a solid peace with the grand seignior; but added, that his order being under the particular protection of the sovereign pontiff of the Christians, and possessed of great estates in the dominions of most of the princes of Europe, he could conclude nothing without their participation: however, he did not believe that they would oppose a treaty which would establish a solid peace between the two powers; that

he was likewise persuaded the council of the order would readily come into it; but in order to obtain the consent of the knights, there must not be any mention made of a tribute, the very name of which was odious to them: that he was nevertheless going to write about it immediately to Rome, and to dispatch ambassadors into all the courts of Christendom, and desired only three months time to receive answers from thence.

The grand master, who was a person of excellent abilities, was desirous to obtain time enough, and a free passage for the knights, who were at a distance, to repair to Rhodes; and therefore added, with a specious sincerity, that in the favourable disposition in which the grand seignior seemed of treating in good earnest with the order, he fancied it would be for both their interests, and also prevent their exasperating one another by any new enterprises, to make a suspension of arms, and restore a liberty of commerce between their subjects, at least for the three months which he demanded for the obtaining of answers from Europe.

The grand master, after this conference, and not to keep a renegado, whom he looked upon as a spy, any longer in Rhodes, dismissed him, giving him a letter for the two young Ottoman princes, wherein, after answering their civilities with all the politeness that was proper for him to make use of, he added, agreeably to what he had told their ambassador, that he could not conclude a treaty of that importance without the participation of the pope, and most of the princes of Christendom.

The ambassador, upon his return, gave the two Ottoman princes an account of his negotiation. He told them, that he found the grand master would willingly treat of peace, but made them sensible withal, that that prince would never consent to the payment of any tribute, and that he would be disowned by his own order if he should consent to it.

The two princes, who thought they should make their court to Mahomet by forwarding the negotiation, and indeed acted in it *bona fide*, sent the ambassador back with orders to alter the name of tribute to that of a present, the worth and value of which should be settled by the knights themselves. They gave him commission at the same time to conclude a suspension of arms for the time that the grand master insisted on. D'Aubusson being well informed, that their only design was to amuse him by these different proposals, was very firm in rejecting the condition of a present, and of every thing that had the air of a tribute; and demanded only the necessary time to learn the intentions of the pope and the christian princes, in hopes of getting succours from Europe. The Greek, not able to get any more, concluded, in order to keep the negotiation still on foot, the suspension of arms and liberty of commerce with him, which was afterwards confirmed by a second ambassador sent to Rhodes by Mahomet himself.

Though this prince, presuming upon his forces, usually carried on his enterprises with an air of pomp and haughtiness, he nevertheless thought proper on this occasion to make use of such artifices, and this negotiation, in order that the news of it might pass over into Europe, and that the noise of an approaching peace, which his emissaries took care to spread abroad, might cool the zeal of the christian princes, and abate the eagerness of the knights: this was the end he proposed by all his insidious conduct. The grand master on his side appeared indeed ready to hear his proposals, but did it only with a view of facilitating the passage of the knights, and to gain time to carry on other treaties that were full as important, and more to be depended on, and which were at that time actually negotiating at Rhodes.

There was in this city an envoy of the sultan of
 VOL. III. E Egypt,

Egypt, Douan Diodar by name, and who at the same time was his favourite; he was come to renew the ancient treaties of peace with the knights. The reader may have observed in the course of this history, that the order of St. John, from its first foundation, had had two sorts of enemies to oppose, both of them Mahometans, and equally formidable. The first were the Arabians or Sarazens of Egypt, who had taken from the Christians, as has been seen, Palestine, Phœnicia, and part of Syria. The Turks of the Ottoman race, ever since the conquest of Rhodes by the knights, became likewise their professed enemies: and sometimes these two sorts of enemies, though jealous of one another, had joined their forces against a military order, which with its fleets and galleys disturbed the commerce of their merchants, and the enterprizes of their corsairs. But the forces of the order not being sufficient to resist both these potentates at the same time, the grand masters and the council had always carefully endeavoured to be at peace with one nation, whenever they were in war with the other; by this wise policy balancing their power and keeping their forces divided.

The report that Rhodes was threatened with a siege being carried into Egypt, made the soldan fear lest Mahomet should succeed in his enterprize. Were he to have chosen his neighbours, he had rather have the weaker; and therefore to leave the knights under no manner of apprehensions from his quarter, he had sent his favourite to Rhodes, in order to renew the last treaties of peace with them. The grand master received the first overtures thereof with the more pleasure, in that he plainly saw the soldan's own interest would be sufficient to make the new treaty lasting.

Thus they entered upon business with a mutual confidence; and, after some conferences, they agreed, that the vessels of the order should not for
the

the future molest those of Egypt in their commerce, and that the knights should not suffer their subjects to serve for soldiers, pilots, or guides, to the soldan's enemies. The soldan, by a reciprocal stipulation, engaged to undertake nothing contrary to the interests of the grand master, and promised, that the vessels of the order should be well received in his ports; that if they were pursued by their enemies, the Sarazens should be bound to defend them; that when the subjects of the grand master should pass through the soldan's territories in their way to the Holy Land, they should not exact any duty from them; that they should not detain any christian slave after he was set at liberty by his master or patron; and that with regard to other christian slaves, they should be exchanged for Sarazens who were in slavery at Rhodes, by a Sarazen for a Christian.

The grand master made a treaty with the king of Tunis, another Mahometan prince, almost on the same conditions, with this addition only, that the order might, whenever it had occasion, take up in his dominions 30,000 * hogheads of corn, without paying any duty of transportation or exportation.

During these several negotiations, a great number of knights from all parts of Christendom arrived at Rhodes; but as they were still expecting a greater number, the chapter was prorogued till the 28th of October, when the grand master opened it. "Generous knights," says he to them, "an occasion has at last presented itself for you to show your zeal and courage against the enemies of the faith. In this holy war, Jesus Christ himself will be your leader; he will never, my brethren, abandon such as fight in his service. In vain does Mahomet, that impious prince, who acknowledges no deity but his own power, brag that he

* The original is 30,000 muids, each of which is about five quarters, or a comb and a bushel.

“ will extirpate our order. If he hath more numerous troops than we, they are composed only of a vile set of slaves, whom they are forced to drag into dangers, and that expose themselves to death only to avoid a death which they are threatened with by their officers: whereas I see none in your illustrious body but gentlemen of noble birth, educated in virtue, resolute either to vanquish or die, and whose piety and valour are certain pledges of victory.”

The knights that composed the assembly, made no other answer to this moving discourse, than by declaring their resolution to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of the order; and that the service might not suffer, or be retarded through the diversity of the commanding officers, and the slowness of counsels, the whole chapter begged of the grand master to take upon himself alone the command of the forces, and administration of the revenue, and to exercise both with an absolute authority. This was a sort of dictatorship which they thought fit to invest him with, till such time as the storm which Mahomet threatened the order with was blown over. The grand master would fain have declined so vast and unusual a power out of modesty, and represented to them, that those different employments would be better filled, if divided between several knights: but the whole chapter had so entire a confidence in his capacity, and the zeal he had shewn for the good of the order, and made him such pressing instances to accept it, that he found himself unable to resist them.

The first use he made of it was, to name four general officers, whom they called at that time auxiliary captains, or adjutant-generals, who were each of them to command in the quarter assigned them. He chose for these several employments, the hospitaller, the admiral, the chancellor and the treasurer of the order: and the chevalier Rodolph de War-temburg,

temberg, grand prior of Brandenburg, was chose general of the horse : the grand master at the head of these prime officers was every day visiting the fortifications and outworks of the place.

By his orders they pulled down all the country-houses that stood too near it: they cut down the trees, and even demolished the churches of St. Anthony and Notre Dame of Philerme, which would have been serviceable to the enemy in the siege. The Rhodians could not see their country houses, and the delicious gardens that lay all round the town destroyed, without feeling a sensible concern; but the public safety prevailed over all other considerations, so that nothing was spared; but before they destroyed the church of our lady of Philerme, they removed thence an image of the virgin, which had been kept there from time immemorial, to whom they paid a religious worship, and carried it to the principal church of the city.

The grand-master, to leave no forage or pasture for the enemies cavalry, caused all the corn of the country to be cut down, and assigned the peasants of each quarter particular forts, to which, upon the arrival of the infidels, they might respectively retire. The same genius for providing against every thing that might happen made him, as he surveyed the sea-shore, examine together with his officers the places from whence they might best oppose the descents of the enemy; those where it would be most proper for them to entrench themselves, if they should happen to be too hard pressed; the cuts and entrenchments they might be obliged to make behind the walls, if they should be beaten down by the force of the artillery. His views were too extensive and too just to overlook any thing: the fortifications, artillery, arms, provisions and revenue, every thing passed under his inspection, and his care extended to the meanest of the inhabitants, to provide for their subsistence as well as for that of the knights and troops which composed the garrison.

Happily for his assistance in dispatching so great a variety of business, that besides a great number of knights of all nations already arrived at Rhodes, there also came thither Bertrand de Gluys grand prior of France, Charles de Montholon, and several other knights of the three languages of that kingdom. They were soon followed by brother John Diu great bailiff of Germany, who arrived at Rhodes with a good number of commanders and knights of his nation, and a body of troops, which was more considerable for the choice and valour of the soldiers of which it was composed, than their number. Some noblemen and gentlemen of France, upon the first news they had of Rhodes being threatened with a siege, hastened thither, out of a pure principle of generosity, with a train of attendants suitable to their quality: In the list of these noble warriors are reckoned Anthony d'Aubuffon, vicomte de Monteil, the grand master's elder brother. These lords descended by their father's side in the male line from Raimond, seignior of Monteil-aucicomte and la Feuillade, second son of Renaud the seventh of the name, vicomte d'Aubuffon, whose grandfather in the eighth degree of ascent was Renaud d'Aubuffon the first of that name, and elder brother of Turpin d'Aubuffon, who, in consideration of his piety and his noble extraction, was elected bishop of Limoges in the year 898, as Aimar de Chabanois relates in his chronicle. His mother was of the house of Combron, a most illustrious and very powerful family, and allied to several sovereign princes.

The vicomte d'Aubuffon was accompanied by Lewis de Craon, a nobleman of one of the first families of Anjou, and by Benedict Scaliger or della Scala, whose ancestors had been sovereigns of Verona: and this lord brought several companies of foot with him from Italy at his own expence to the assistance of the order. Among these brave adventurers were likewise Lewis Sanguin of Paris,

Claude

Claude Colomb of Bourdeaux, Matthew Brangelier of Perigord, and Charles le Roi of Dijon. The grand master, at the request of all the council, gave the general direction of military affairs to the viscount de Montiel, and assigned particular quarters for the other volunteers to defend. An heroic emulation soon rose up and prevailed between these secular knights, and the knights of the order; and the same emulation broke out between the Greek and Latin inhabitants, and passed afterwards to the very women and children, who vied with one another in working at the intrenchments which the grand master had ordered to be made.

These knights and gallant volunteers, inflamed with a desire of meeting with an opportunity to signalize themselves, expected the arrival of the infidels with impatience; but they did not wait for them long. Mahomet grew weary of dissembling and acting a part so contrary to his natural pride. He gave over feigning, and declared openly the design he had formed of attacking the isle of Rhodes, the conquest whereof he looked upon as a foundation for that of all Asia, which his ambition grasped after, as what would give the finishing stroke to his glory.

He was strongly confirmed in this design by the grand vizier, or first basha, as he was stiled at that time, called Misach Paleologus. This vizier was a Greek prince of the imperial family, born a Christian, but who, upon the taking of Constantinople, had turned Mahometan to prevent his being put to death, a punishment which Mahomet inflicted on all the heirs of the empire. His valour, his services, his address and his entire complaisance for all the sultan's inclinations and humours raised him afterwards to the dignity of vizier; and, that that prince might not have the least suspicion because of his having changed his religion, he affected to shew himself an implacable enemy to all christian princes,

princes, and especially to the grand master and the knights of Rhodes.

In order to facilitate his master's conquest of that island, he brought to his court three famous renegadoes who had drawn the plan of it. The first, Anthony Meligalle by name, was of the city of Rhodes itself, and of a noble family; but having spent his patrimony and the inheritance of his fathers in luxury and debauchery, he flattered himself, as his last shift, with the hopes of getting some advantages by the change of his religion. The second was Demetrius Sophian, the same that Mahomet employed to carry sultan Zizim's letters to Rhodes; a man of parts, and very fit for negotiations, but suspected of dealing in magick, and of applying himself to the search of those parts of knowledge which some whimsical people call the occult sciences. The third of these renegadoes was a German engineer, called George Frapan by name, but commonly called master George; a man of parts, a good geometrician, and particularly distinguished by his talents in the management of the artillery. Mahomet, who spared for nothing to engage such men in his service as might be useful to him, gave him a considerable pension. The German had by his order surveyed most of the christian strong places, upon which the sultan could have any design; had drawn plans of them; and among other things had brought him a very exact one of the city of Rhodes, and the adjacent parts.

The basha, to flatter the inclinations of the sultan, spake to him of these three renegadoes as of persons very proper to give success to his designs. Mahomet sent for them; when upon their being introduced into his presence, they, in order to make themselves more agreeable, in concert with the minister, told him, that the greatest part of the walls of Rhodes were falling down; that there was a great scarcity of ammunition in the place, and that the pretended succours from Europe, with

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the hopes of which the knights flattered themselves, were very uncertain, by reason of the continual wars between the Christian princes. Each of the three renegadoes presented him with a plan of the city of Rhodes: that of the German was found to be the most regular; and it was upon this plan that the sultan regulated the order of the attacks, and every thing that was to be executed in order to succeed in so important an enterprise.

The sultan, hurried away by his impatience, would needs have the basha set out, and without waiting for the great army, go in person to reconnoitre the place. Upon which he commanded him to embark forthwith aboard some light frigates and vessels of low decks, with some companies of janizaries and spahis. He was followed by the three renegadoes to whom that prince promised a noble reward, provided they could but contribute to make him master of Rhodes. In their passage the Rhodian Meligalle, who had been infirm for a long time, was seized with a loathsome illness: his flesh was covered all over with ulcers, and fell off piece-meal; and before he expired, he was in a manner buried in rottenness and corruption.

In the mean time the basha Paleologus was sailing on, and soon appeared in sight of the isle of Rhodes, and on the fourth of December came to an anchor off the fortress of Fano. He immediately landed some companies of spahi to reconnoitre, pursuant to his instructions, and see if he could make a descent in that place himself. The bailiff of Brandenburg who commanded the light horse of the order, suffered these scouts, who were very thirsty of plunder, to advance up into the country, where he fell upon them, killed part of them, drove the rest before him to the sea-side, and forced them to re-embark. The basha, after having taken them on board, put off to sea; and that he might not lie idle with his master's troops, whilst he

he waited for the coming up of the great fleet, he endeavoured at a descent on the isle of Tilo which belonged to the order. The inhabitants of the open country took refuge in the fortrefs, where there was a strong garrison, consisting chiefly of knights.

Paleologus battered the place with all his artillery for eight days together; the breach appearing practicable, he ordered the spahi to alight, and led them on himself to the assault. He flattered himself that he should carry the castle in a moment; but he had not yet tried the valour of the defendants. The knights that were in it made so vigorous a resistance, that the basha, after seeing the bravest of his men drop at the foot of the walls, was obliged to sound a retreat. He saw plainly, from the courage of the besieged, that if he should persist in his obstinacy of carrying on the siege, he would be obliged to begin it in form with opening trenches, and proceed in the ordinary rules of war. But not having a body of troops sufficient for such an enterprize, and the weather not being favourable, he raised the siege with greater shame than loss, re-imbarked a second time, and arrived at the port of Phisco in Lycia, situated twenty-two, others say eighteen miles from Rhodes. This was the rendezvous as well for the main fleet as for the land forces, which were quartered in that and the adjoining provinces till the return of the spring.

It was not till the latter end of April that the main fleet of the infidels set sail from Gallipoli, passed the Hellespont, entered the river of Lycia, and came in sight of the isle of Rhodes. The guard posted on the top of mount St. Stephen made the signal to give notice that it was in sight. The grand master hastened thither immediately with the principal sea officers, who judged by its working that it was going to the port of Phisco, there

there to take on board the troops that were in the adjacent parts. The event shewed that his conjecture was just and well founded, for it was in this port that the embarkation was made. They reckoned in this fleet an hundred and sixty vessels with high decks, besides feluccas, galiots, flat-bottomed vessels and transports: and spake of the land-forces as making at least an hundred thousand men. This formidable armado arrived at last before Rhodes, on May 23, 1480.

We have already taken notice of the situation of this island, on occasion of the conquest which the knights made of it under the mastership of Fulk de Villaret: so that to give a clear notion of what follows, we need only remark, that the capital of the isle, which bears the same name, is situated by the sea-side, upon the side of a hill, which at that time was planted with orange trees, pomegranates, excellent muscadine grapes, and vines of various sorts. The place had a double wall about it, and was fortified with great towers at proper distances. These walls and towers were sustained on the inside of the town by a rampart, and on the outside there was a very broad and deep ditch. There were two ports belonging to it, of which the first that we meet with in coming to land there, served to secure the gallies, and the mouth of it was defended by a platform, upon which there was a tower looking to the east, and called Fort St. Elme. The great ships lay in the other port, which was fortified with two towers; the one called the tower of St. John, and the other St. Michael's tower. They pretend, that the two feet of the famous Colossus of brass, of which we have already spoken, and which passed for one of the seven wonders of the world, were formerly placed on the very spot where these two towers stand, on two rocks that are over against one another. Near this port there are two little bays, one
of

of them looking to the north, and the other to the south : that which looks to the north had its entrance commanded by a mole, which ran out above three hundred paces into the sea ; it was at the further end of this mole that the grand master Zaccosta built the fortress which was called the tower of St. Nicholas, from a chapel dedicated to that saint, and inclosed within the walls of the fort. At the extremity of the other bay, towards the south, there is another tower, but not so considerable as the first : however, it served well enough on its side to defend the entrance of the port. This tower hindered any vessel from either going in or coming out of it. Two miles from the town was the mountain or hill of St. Stephen, and a little further, but on another side, was mount Philermé, famous for the devotion of the people of the island, and other christian people in the neighbourhood, who came in pilgrimage to visit the church that was built there in honour of the holy virgin. Such was the situation of the city of Rhodes, and the parts adjacent, when it was besieged by the basha Paleologus.

The sea near the shore was then covered with the fleet of the Turks, who made continual discharges of their artillery, in order to favour their descent. They were answered by the cannon of the city and the forts ; and the knights, pushed on by their valour, advanced sword in hand in the water up to the middle, to prevent and stop the Turks from landing. Much blood was spilt on this first occasion ; but in spite of all the efforts of the Christians, their bravery was forced to yield to the numberless multitudes of the infidels. Those barbarians divided their troops ; and whilst a part of them employed all the forces of the knights, the greater number landed in crowds in remote places, where there was less opposition. At length the whole army landed ; they advanced to the moun-

tain or hill of St. Stephen, where they immediately intrenched themselves; and after lauding their artillery sent to summon the place, using both threats and promises, which were slighted alike.

Several detachments of infidels appeared soon after in the plain: the principal commanders that were at their head, advanced to reconnoitre the fortifications of the place. There was no approaching them without danger, and the vigorous sallies that were made obliged them to take to their heels, and fly back to their camp. In one of these sallies, wherein the vicomte de Monteil, the grand master's brother, commanded, the renegado Demetrius lost his life. His horse was killed under him; he fell to the ground; and the weight of his armour hindering him from rising, some squadrons that were in pursuit of the enemy, rode over him and crushed him to death. The order also, on this occasion, lost the chevalier de Murat, of the language of Auvergne, and of the illustrious house of la Tour, who pushing the infidels with more eagerness than prudence, was surrounded by a squadron of spahi, who cut off his head.

From these light skirmishes which were of no great moment on either side, it was necessary to come to more regular attacks. The German engineer, after having viewed all the out works of the place, advised the basha to make his first attack on the tower of St. Nicholas, flattering him with the hopes of being soon master of the port and city, provided he could once take that fortress. Paleologus following his advice, planted immediately a battery of three large pieces of cannon near the church of St. Anthony, which began to batter the tower. The grand master on his side, ordered a counter-battery to be raised in the garden of the language of Auvergne, which made full as great a fire: and the gunners on both sides did all they could to dismount the cannon on the opposite bat-
teries.

series. This however was but a slight prelude to the terrible thunder that was heard, when the basha had erected all his batteries, and planted on them that prodigious number of cannon of all sizes, which he had ordered to be brought into his camp.

The German engineer, to join artifice to open force, and find means to reconnoitre the weak places of the town, concerting the matter first with the Turkish general, presented himself the next day as a deserter on the edge of the ditch, and in a suppliant posture, as if he was afraid of being taken, begged the guard to open him the wicket that moment *. The grand master having notice of it, ordered him to be let in, and he was conducted straight to his palace. He was a tall handsome man, had a good air, was subtle in his discourse, and concealed under an ingenuous outside all the address of a cunning and deceitful villain.

The grand master, who had the council of the order about him, asked him the reason why he had quitted the service of so potent a prince as Mahomet, especially when he exposed himself, if the place was taken, to the cruel tortures and executions with which they punished deserters. The perfidious German, without changing colour, and with that air of sincerity which peculiarly distinguishes his nation, dissembled his change of religion, and answered that he was a Christian; that greediness of gain and hope of reward had engaged him, as they had several other Christians, to follow the grand seignior's standard; but that ever since that prince's army was landed in the isle of Rhodes, he had felt such a terrible remorse of conscience, that he was not able to bear the reproaches of it any longer, and was therefore come cordially to of-

* Relation de Merry de Dupuy auteur contemporain. p. 17.

fer him his service, and to sacrifice his life in the defence of Rhodes and the order.

The grand master, though always on his guard against deserters, did not discover the least sign of diffidence; on the contrary, he extolled the pious motives that had brought him back into the service of christian princes: and then asked him with all the shew and air of confidence imaginable, what might be the designs, and also the number of the forces of the basha.

“ The basha, replied the German, hath but too
 “ plainly declared his own designs, and those of
 “ his master, by his attacks. As for his forces,
 “ you yourself may have seen how numerous and
 “ formidable his fleet is. The land forces consist
 “ of above an hundred thousand men, most of
 “ them old soldiers, who have followed Amurath
 “ and Mahomet his son in all their conquests. But
 “ his artillery is what a besieged town ought to
 “ dread the most. Never had any general so vast
 “ a number of cannon in his army, and at the
 “ same time so well managed: and besides his or-
 “ dinary cannon, he has, since his arrival in the
 “ island, caused sixteen great pieces of cannon to
 “ be cast, called Basilisks or double cannon, eigh-
 “ teen feet long, and carrying ball of two or three
 “ feet diameter.” He continued further to say,
 that his mortars were altogether as dreadful in their
 effects, and that they threw stones of a prodigious
 bigness; “ You will feel immediately, said he,
 “ the fury of those infernal machines, against
 “ which you cannot take your precautions too
 “ soon.” To gain the grand master’s confidence
 and make that confidence a step to the treason he
 designed, he gave him several advices of great im-
 portance for the defence of the place, and which in
 the event proved very useful.

Several lords of the council who heard him, thought the villain very sincere in all he said; others,

who remembered they had seen him formerly in that very city of Rhodes, told the master privately, that he had ever since that time been looked upon as an adventurer and a vagabond that had no religion, and was capable of doing and attempting any thing for money. This made an impression; but what complicated to make him suspected was, that they shot at the same time into the town billets fixed to arrows, which had only these words wrote in them, "Beware of master George." These were immediately carried to the grand master; and in the council, some in their plain way of thinking attributed these advices to the grand seignior's christian subjects, whom he forced to serve in his armies. Others maintained, that it might be an artifice of the basha's own, who affected to discredit his spy, in order to recommend him the more to the confidence of the knights. The grand master, that he might run no hazard, and at the same time make, if possible, an advantage of the talents of this engineer, ordered the officers of the artillery to get out of him whatever might be useful for the defence of the place, but at the same time to watch him as a spy. And in order to prevent his getting out of the city, or holding any correspondence with the Turks, he set six soldiers as a guard over him, who never lost sight of him where-ever he went. The German, pursuant to his orders, would fain have reconnoitred the weakest places of the town; but as soon as he came near a bulwark or a bastion, he was always accosted by some commander or other, who, with a cold and severe air, asked him what he wanted: so that fearing to make himself at last suspected, and to be treated as a spy, he kept himself retired in the lodging that was assigned him. The basha, whilst he was waiting the success of his treason, and their mutual intelligence *, conti-

* Cacarfin, p. 3. verso.

nued battering the tower of St. Nicholas with his biggest artillery: they fired above 300 cannon-shot against it; the side towards the sea, which was strengthened with a rampart, bore the brunt of the artillery very well; but that part of the wall, which was over against the town, was entirely beaten down. The stones and rubbish by a lucky accident stopped at the foot of the wall, heaped one upon another, but in the form of a slope, so that it served on the outside as a second wall.

The grand master however, knowing that the safety of the town depended on the preservation of this fort, sent the flower of his knights into it under the conduct of the commander Caretto, of the language of Italy, a knight of approved valour, and considered as one of the first of the order. These gallant knights worked night and day to intrench themselves, and raised batteries to defend the breach. The grand master, observing that in certain places the sea was sometimes so low, that the Turks might ford it and get upon the mole, caused tables and planks thick set with nails and iron-spikes to be thrown into the water to spoil the bottom. At the same time they fit out some fire ships at the foot of the rocks that lay about the tower, to set fire to the enemy's galleys if they should offer to approach too near. A body of French and Spanish knights post themselves by his order in the town ditch, in order to defend the approaches, or upon the least signal to throw themselves into the fort, and reinforce the garrison. After all these precautions, the grand master, not caring to leave the defence of so important a place to any body's care but his own, threw himself into it with the viscount de Monteil his brother, and other volunteers, who would needs share with him in the manifest danger to which he was exposing himself.

And indeed the basha orders the assault to be given the next day, which was the 9th of June; and

two hours before day-break his galleys and light vessels, with a body of infantry aboard, advance towards the tower with a favourable wind. They soon reach the mole, their soldiers leap ashore with great shouts, and advanced boldly to the assault in spite of all the fire made from several batteries that played upon them. The difficulty of mounting the breach obliged them to make use of ladders; they clapped them on with an air of intrepidity to that heap of stones which the cannon had beat down, and which served as a fore-wall to the place, and mounted to the storm sword in hand, with a resolution great enough to astonish any other men but the knights. The grand master was upon the breach, and performed the office of a captain and a soldier at one and the same time. His armour was pierced through in several places in this engagement, and a shard of stone having carried off his helmet without wounding him, he, without any concern at all, took off the hat of the first soldier that stood next him. The fear of other accidents still more fatal made the knights, who knew not what it was to tremble for themselves, to be under the greatest apprehensions for the safety of the grand master: and the commander Caretto begging him with great respect, in the name of the whole order, to retire, and leave the care of defending the breach to his knights, "This," says he to him, "is the post of honour that belongs to your grand master:" and turning himself towards Caretto, "And if I am killed there," added he, with an obliging smile, "you have more to hope than I have to fear:" giving him thereby to understand, that his great valour made him think he merited to be his successor.

The knights following the example, and fighting in the presence of the grand master, lined the breach; and, for want of a wall, made a rampart with their bodies. Some overturn the scaling-ladders;

ders; others, throw down masses of vast weight, that crush the besiegers to pieces in their fall; nor are there wanting some who throw fire works and boiling oil on the assailants: every one has a share in the attack, and all exert themselves in a resistance that seems to be superior to human strength. The Turks do not appear any way daunted; not one of them draws back from danger. If the knights strike any of them down from the ladders, their places are immediately supplied by others who press on to mount. Such as could not get to the posts of danger at the foot of the wall, fired upon the breach with their muskets, annoyed the knights with their arrows, or else tried to lay hold of them with cramp-irons fastened to cords, and so pull them down to the ground in order to cut them to pieces.

It would be impossible to relate all the actions of the most finished valour that were performed by private persons of each party: history has not preserved the particulars of them. At length fire, whose strength is greater and more terrible than that of men, determined the fate of this furious attack. The fireships of the order, fastening themselves to several of the Turkish galleys, set them on fire; the cannon of the city played upon the rest; and the knights, whose force and courage seemed to redouble with the heat of the attack, made such a dreadful fire with their small shot, that the infidels, after the loss of their principal leaders, took to their heels, and in their precipitate retreat, were drowned or killed in great numbers on the sea-shore, as they were crowding to get aboard their vessels.

This ill success, instead of daunting the basha, did but exasperate him the more against the knights. But, that he might not shew an unreasonable obstinacy in continuing the attack of a place whither the grand master seemed to have drawn all his forces, he turned all his efforts against the body of the place.

place. By his orders two attacks were carried on at the same time, one against the quarter of the Jews, and the other towards the post of the Italian inn. But the latter was only a false attack; the true one was against the Jews wall: the basha raised several batteries to beat it down; and though, as historians of that time relate, it was twenty eight feet thick, yet, being old, and not strengthened by a rampart, the force of the artillery soon put it in a tottering condition. The grand master, in order to be provided for the Turks if they should attempt a storm, ordered several houses to be pulled down, and dug a very broad and deep ditch on the spot where they stood, behind which they raised a new brick wall, sustained by a thick rampart, a work which seems incredible, considering the short time employed in finishing it. But as they all saw the necessity of it, and the danger the town was exposed to, every body worked at it with equal ardor. The grand master himself, and the most ancient commanders by his example, performed the office of workmen and pioneers. All the inhabitants, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, worked night and day: and the Greeks and Latins, who had such frequent disputes in time of peace, now laid all aside, except that of a generous emulation, in striving who should first finish the task they had taken upon themselves. The Jewish women, as well as the Christian, being threatened with an odious slavery, and dreading still more the indignities they should be exposed to, if the city should be taken by storm, drudged at the work as well as the men. The very nuns came out of their convents, and assisted the workmen with an incredible zeal. Every body was then a soldier or pioneer. Every one conspired and united in the defence of their common country; and it was owing to this general zeal, that the grand master was able in so short a time to finish such great works, which in any other juncture

uncture could not have been performed in several months.

In the mean time the artillery of the infidels was continually battering the wall ; nothing could resist their basilisks and great cannon : and the noise of them was heard from the isle of Lango, which is 100 miles west of Rhodes to the isle of Chateauroux, which is the same distance from it to the east. Their mortars at the same time threw stones of prodigious size, which, flying through the air by the force of powder, fell into the city, and, lighting upon houses, broke through the roofs, made their way through the several stories, and crushed to pieces all that they fell upon : no body was safe from them ; and it was this kind of attack that gave the greatest terror to the Rhodians.

The grand master, to lodge the women and children especially in a place of security, ordered them to retire into a quarter of the city that lay farthest distant from the batteries, and was to the west between the houses and ramparts. On this place they laid great beams by way of roof, and made it so substantial and thick, that there was no manner of danger from the great stones : and to pay the basha in his own coin, the grand master, with the help of the most skilful engineers, set the carpenters of the town at work to make a wooden engine that would also throw quarries of stone of a prodigious bulk : and these stones not only crushed all the soldiers to pieces that were within their reach, but their vast weight falling upon hollow ground, they broke through and killed the workmen in the bottom of their mines. The knights out of raillery called this machine **THE TRIESTE**, alluding to that which Mahomet * demanded of the order, and giving him withal to understand, that he was to expect no other kind of payment.

* Courtes, p. 7.

In the mean time the general of the infidels pushed on his approaches with vigour; and his artillery having made great breaches, he sent to reconnoitre them, in order to an assault. But he was strangely surpris'd to learn, that the knights had made a deep ditch, and rais'd a new wall behind the old one. He was likewise told by some deserters, that by the grand master's care and vigilance, the women and children especially had no occasion to dread the terrible effect of the stones, which now would only fall upon empty houses.

The basha, enraged to find in the grand master's single person continual obstacles to all his enterprises, resolv'd to get rid of him at any rate, and get him dispatched by dagger or poison. For the execution of this base design, he pitched upon two deserters of the garrison, who since their desertion had renounced the faith; the one a Dalmatian, and the other an Albanian. These two renegadoes, tempted by the alluring promises of the basha, and in concert with him, quitted his army, and got back into the town, as if they had made their escape out of the hands of the infidels after having been taken in a sally. They received them into the place with joy, and without the least diffidence. The villains were already beginning to rejoice for the success which they expected in their undertaking; the Dalmatian, as they pretend, had actually bribed an interior officer of his table, who only waited a favourable opportunity to execute the horrid conspiracy. The Albanian, who was acquainted with the grand master's secretary, finding him discontented with that prince, was imprudent enough to open himself to him; and shewing him letters sealed with the basha's seal, promised him the first dignities of the empire, and immense wealth, if he would execute what the Albanian propos'd to him in his name. The secretary, who was a man of great honour, discovered it immediately

ately to the grand master ; upon which the Albanian was seized, and being put to the torture discovered his accomplice ; but before they could be carried to the place of execution, they were both torn to pieces by the people.

The basha, not discouraged at the ill success of his shameful and abominable design, had again recourse to open force, and without quitting the attack of the Jews quarter, he, by the advice of the principal officers of his army, resumed the first project of the German, and resolved to carry the tower of St. Nicholas.

A canal, which indeed was pretty narrow, ran between this tower and the place where the infidels were encamped ; and in order to attack it, it was necessary to cross the canal, or that little arm of the sea which is formed by one of the bays before-mentioned. The general of the gallies, the commander of the troops of Anatolia, and Merla Bey, son in law to one of Mahomet's sons, all officers of great experience and valour, undertook to make the attack, and land the troops necessary for the execution of it upon the mole. For this purpose, they framed a bridge which was to reach from St. Anthony's church to the tower ; and for the guiding and placing one end of it upon the point of the mole of St. Nicholas, a Turkish engineer in the night-time carried an anchor to the place, and fixed it to the foot of a rock which was covered with the sea-water * ; putting through the ring of the anchor a great cable which was fixed to the head of the bridge, and was to make it go forwards by means of the capstan. But an English seaman, whose name history has not thought unworthy to be preserved, called Gervase Rogers, being accidentally on the place, and having observed all that the Turkish engineer did without discovering him-

* Dupuis, p. 47.

self, suffered him to go away at a distance, and then plunged into the sea, privately loos'd the cable which he left upon the strand, carried off the anchor, and brought it to the grand master, who gave him a very handsome reward. The Turks, when their bridge was got ready, endeavoured to make it go forwards by means of the cable, but soon found by the ease which they had in pulling it to them, that their stratagem was discovered and disappointed.

The basha, disappointed in this expedient, got together a great number of boats to sustain this floating bridge, and tow it in the night to the side of the mole where it was to be fastened. The soldiers got upon the mole, and were filing continually one after another over the bridge, whilst the galiots and other light vessels at the same time landed several companies of the bravest troops of the army on the other side. They all fed themselves with hopes of surprizing the Christians; but d'Aubuffon, who had foreseen this second attack, after having re-inforced the garrison and lined the wall with a body of intrepid mulqueeters and a good number of cannon, was expecting them resolutely on the breach. At the noise which the Turks made in getting upon the mole, they, by his orders, made in the dark two such furious discharges on all sides, that abundance of the infidels were killed.

The basha, who was in person at the head of this enterprise, not to expose his soldiers longer to the fire of the tortrels, made them advance to the foot of the fort, on that side where his artillery had made great breaches. They soon came to blows, and without any other light than what came from firepotes, granadoes and vollics of fire arms, a long and obstinate engagement ensued. The bridge and galiots supplied the Turks continually with fresh troops. Never did those infidels shew so much va-

lour

lour, and so absolute a courage. Some of them by the help of their ladders mounted to the top of the breach, and scorning to retire, chose rather to be killed, than ask quarter. Merla Bey stood his ground almost alone upon the ruins of the tower; and making himself a rampart with the corpse of dead soldiers, and covered all over with wounds, he killed several knights with his own hand, but at last striking a soldier who had just wounded him with his sabre, and whom he slew with the blow, he fell dead by his side. Nor was the combat upon the sea less furious. The fireships, which the grand master had prepared, grappled with the Turkish gallies that battered the fort, and set them on fire. The cries of those that crowded to get out of the fire that blazed about them; the smoke and roaring of the cannon; the groan, of wounded; the horror too of the darkness, all was not able to damp the courage of the combatants: they all seemed resolved either to vanquish or die. The same valour and resolution was conspicuous on both sides. How many heroick actions hath the darkness of the night concealed from our knowledge! In fine, the day appeared, and discovered the loss sustained by the infidels. The sea was covered with floating carcases; bows, arrows, turbans, and the hulk of their gallies still in a smoke. To make their calamities still greater, the gunners of the fort observing when day-light appeared, the enemies bridge thronged with soldiers that were coming to the succour of their comrades, levelled their cannon against it, and beat the bridge to pieces: others pretend that it was broke by the crowd of infidels that were flying over it. Those barbarians, not able any longer to bear up against the Christians gave over the attack, notwithstanding the prayers and threats of their officers, and fled for their lives to the vessels in which they first came.

Several knights at the head of the garrison pursued and cut a good number of them to pieces. Merry or Mederic du Puis, whom I have followed in several places of this relation, tells us, that a Franciscan friar, Anthony Fradin by name, was one of the hottest in this pursuit; that he ran with a sabre in his hand into the sea as high as his waist to hinder the infidels from re-imbarking; that he killed several of them, and cut off their heads, and that the infidels lost in this engagement above two thousand five hundred men: and we may reasonably conclude, especially in a combat that was chiefly fought during the darkness of the night, that this could not have happened without the order's likewise losing several of its knights. It is indeed generally allowed, that they were almost all wounded; but they do not reckon above twelve killed, and who, with the loss of their lives sealed the profession they made of defending the order to the last drop of their blood.

This ill success threw the Turks into a consternation, which was succeeded by a melancholy silence for three days together all over the camp; they sunk into a kind of indolence; the general himself was infected with it, and could not tell what resolution to take: but as he dreaded Mahomet's choler and indignation as much as he did the sword of the knights, he at last came out of this lethargy, and raising his spirits, applied himself again to the siege, and renewed his attacks with as much fury as ever. He had no encouragement to go on with that of the tower; he therefore returned to the posts of Italy and the Jews, which he battered again with all his artillery. But to conceal the place where he really designed his attack, he raised other batteries against different quarters of the walls. The relations of the siege tell us, that there were three thousand five hundred volleys made by these basilisks and great cannon, which quite

quite battered down a great part of the walls, towers and ravelins. These infernal machines had dreadful effects, but they were not his only way of attacking : he had soldiers and pioneers continually at work, some of which carried earth and fascines to fill up the ditch, whilst some were digging under ground, and others pushing on the galleries, and preparing mines to blow up the fortifications that were left. The town was open on all sides, but above all the place of the low town and the Jews quarter seemed the most ruined and in the greatest danger.

In this extremity the knights * that guarded the German engineer took him to the breach, shewed him the ruins of it, the works of the besiegers, the condition of the ditch which was in a manner filled up, and desired the assistance of his art against the danger they were in. At this sight, whatever dissimulation the traitor had practised since his being in the place, he yet could not help discovering an ill natured satisfaction, when immediately recollecting himself, he returned to the part he acted, and pretended to lament the misfortune of Rhodes and the knights : “ What succour, says he to them, “ can you hope for in a place that is open on all “ sides, surrounded with a hundred thousand men “ ready to storm it, and which must infallibly be “ carried at the first assault ?” However, to keep on playing his old game, he declared himself of opinion, that they should change the place of their batteries, and by a new piece of treachery, which he had undoubtedly concerted with the basha before they parted, he got them to raise batteries in the weakest places of the town, to signify to the Turks where they should direct their own ; and under pretence of making himself serviceable, he would needs point and fire the cannon himself : but they

* Dupuis, p. 60.

soon found that he not only shot at random, but occasioned likewise fresh canonadings to be made against the place that he fired from. These different observations made him to be the more suspected. He was brought before the council of war; and faltering several times in his answers to the questions which the judges put to him, he was, in order to have his contradictions laid open, put to the torture, when he at last owned that he was come into the place by the express order of Mahomet, and that for no other end but to deliver it up, if he could, to the infidels; that though he was watched by the guards whom the grand master set over him, he had nevertheless found means to convey very useful advices into their camp; that this was not the first place he had betrayed under pretence of a feigned repentance; and that he had himself been the sole occasion of the loss of an infinite number of Christians. His confession was brought to the grand master, who immediately ordered the infamous villain to be executed.

But some Italian and Spanish knights did not fail to reflect upon what he had said of the danger the city was in of being carried at the first assault, this was indeed but too visible: they communicated to each other their mutual fright: the cabal grew strong, and secret conferences were held; the result whereof was, that since there was no saving of Rhodes, it was not just to sacrifice what knights were still left to the desperate humour of the grand master, a man who did not care to survive the loss of his principality; but that they, whatever he had resolved to the contrary, ought to save the knights and inhabitants by an honourable composition. These murmurs and scandalous projects soon reached the palace. The grand master had notice of them: he sent for these knights, and as if he considered them no longer among the professed members of the order, "Gentlemen, says he to
" them,

“ them, if any of you think yourselves not safe in
 “ the place, the port is not yet so closely blocked
 “ up, but that you may find means to get out.”
 When assuming an air of majesty, indignation and
 wrath, he added. “ But if you think fit to stay
 “ with us, speak not a word more about a compo-
 “ sition, for if you do, your lives shall pay for
 “ it.”

These terrible words filled those knights with
 shame and confusion : and they had a very happy
 effect, for they immediately called up in their
 minds all their brave and heroick sentiments.
 They detested their own weakness, and all promis-
 ed to make atonement for it by the sacrifice of their
 own blood, or of that of the infidels : and they were
 afterwards always the first to expose themselves to
 the greatest dangers. Nor would it have been pos-
 sible for men of less resolution to have resisted the
 continual attacks of the Turks. The basha bat-
 tered the city night and day without giving the be-
 sieged the least intermission : but as his principal
 design was to make the assault on the side of the
 Jews wall, and the ditch was still of a considerable
 depth, his soldiers, by his orders, and under the
 fire of his cannon, worked with so much ardor
 and success, that they at last filled it up, so that a
 squadron of horse might easily march over it into
 the town.

Every thing was ready, for the assault. There
 were neither ditches, nor walls, nor towers, to hin-
 der the Turks in making it. But the basha, who
 dreaded the heroick valour of the knights, more
 than he did the fortifications of art, and was for
 saving his troops, sent to the grand master to pro-
 pose a conference, in hopes of prevailing with him
 to surrender rather than wait the last extremities.
 The grand master, in order to gain time to make
 new retrenchments, was not averse to the proposal.
 The conference was held the next day by the ditch

side. The basha was not there in person, but sent one of the principal officers of his army in his stead; and the grand master on his side * deputed brother Anthony Gaultier castellan of Rhodes for that purpose. The Turkish officer, laying aside that proud air and haughty way which Mahomet's formidable power generally inspired into his ministers, pressed the knights to prevent the calamities which usually attend a place taken by storm. He told the castellan, that a gallant defence justly deserved the esteem and praises even of the enemy, if they had any prospect of good success; but that valour ought to have its bounds, and that it was not so much courage as a rash madness to throw themselves into perils out of which there was no possibility of escaping; that it was likewise a sort of inhumanity to involve innocent people therein, under pretence of defending them; that the walls of the town were demolished, the towers beaten down, the ditches filled up; that Rhodes in fine was no more, or at least was only a confused mass of rubbish and heap of ashes, which the basha could make himself master of in an assault of two hours continuance only. When putting on a soft and insinuating air, he begged of him to prevail with the grand master and the council to come to a prudent composition, and prevent a general massacre of the knights and inhabitants, the dishonour of the women and maidens, and all the horrors that are inseparable always from a place taken by storm, and sword in hand.

Though the grand master † did not appear at this conference, he yet was not far off. He heard all the Turk's artful discourse; and by his orders the castellan of Rhodes answered, that the basha was very ill served by his spies, who had not given

* Dupu's p. 67.

† Caou sin, p. 20.

him a true account of the condition and forces of the place; that if the Turks durst make an assault, they would instead of a wall, find new ditches, works and intrenchments within, which would put them to the expence of a vast deal of blood before they could force them; but though they had not such obstacles to surmount, yet the city was strong enough as long as it was defended by the knights, who had all but one heart and one mind, and no view in nature but the defence of the faith, and the honour and glory of the order; and that men who were not afraid of death, were a much stronger fortification than walls and bastions. Thus ended the conference; the Turkish envoy retired, and gave the basha to understand, that there was no depending on a composition, and that nothing but the force of arms could determine the fate of Rhodes.

The basha, vexed and ashamed that he had made such a step to no purpose, swore in the transports of his passion, that he would put all to the sword. They likewise sharpened a great number of stakes by his order, for impalling the knights and inhabitants; he promised the plunder of the city to his soldiers, and commanded ladders and the necessary machines for an assault to be carried to several places in order to oblige the knights to divide their forces. But the true attack and main effort of his forces was directed against the Jews quarter, which was the most ruined. There were not the least footsteps of a wall to be seen in that place, as we have observed; the ditch was filled up, and to hinder the knights from making intrenchments, or even from appearing on the breaches, several batteries were kept firing a whole day and night without intermission, and carried off every thing that appeared upon them. In fine, the day following, July 27. a little after sun-rising, the Turks advance in good order, and with great silence, get without making

making any noise upon the ramparts, and make themselves masters of them, without finding the least resistance. The Christians who stood upon their guard, had, to avoid the fury of the cannon that played continually, posted themselves at the bottom of a slope which was made by the rubbish of the wall on their side, and most of them being worn out with watching and fatigues were unluckily asleep. The Turks proud of this beginning of success fix their colours, and fortify themselves in that post. The basha agreeably surpris'd with this happy beginning, orders new troops to advance, so that the rampart was soon covered with them.

Rhodes would have been lost without an immediate succour, but the grand master having notice of the danger the place was in, ordered the great standard of the order to be immediately displayed, and turning himself towards the knights that he had kept about him, in order to march to the places which should be most press'd, "Let us go, my brethren, says he to them with a noble fortitude, and fight for the faith and the defence of Rhodes, or bury ourselves in its ruins. *"

He advances immediately in great haste at the head of those knights, and sees with surprize five and twenty hundered Turks masters of the breach, the rampart and all the platform about it. As the houses and streets were much lower, there was no going to them, or getting upon the rampart, but by two stair cases, which had been made formerly, but which were then covered with the rubbish of the wall. The grand master takes a ladder, claps it himself to that heap of stones, and without regarding those that the enemies threw upon him, mounts first with an half-pike in his hand; the knights in imitation of his bravery, some with lad-

* Baptist Fulgosius de dictis factisque memorabilibus collectaneorum, l. 3. c. 2. particula penultima.

ders,

ders, and others climbing up the rubbish, exert themselves to the utmost in following him, and get to the top of the rampart.

There was seen on this occasion, contrary to what is generally practised in sieges, the besieged themselves mounting to the assault, and the besiegers standing on the defensive. The infidels repulse the Christians with their musket-shot and arrows, or else by rolling down great stones upon them. All the valour of these couragious knights could not force its way through so vigorous an opposition. Several were crushed to death by the weight of the stones rolled down upon them. The grand master himself was twice thrown down; but in spite of impending death, and which presented itself on all sides, and without regarding two wounds he had just received, he gets up and bravely mounts again through a continual fire of muskets, and showers of arrows and stones; and seconded by his gallant knights, leaps at last upon the rampart on which the Turks had posted themselves. The combat was then upon more equal terms; the knights fall sword in hand upon the infidels; they close on both sides in a moment, with a reciprocal fury; all are engaged, and seem resolved to vanquish. One side to maintain its first advantage, and the other to regain a post on which the safety of the place depended. The grand master distinguished himself more by his surprizing valour than by his dignity: he killed several officers of the Turks with his own hand, and threw others of them down from the walls.

Victory began to declare itself in his favour. The Turks give way; their battalions open; the basha, who perceived it, ordered a body of janizaries to advance immediately to their support; he himself advanced also by their side, with his sabre in hand, either to encourage them, or to kill such as should retire back. He soon discovered the

grand

grand master, not so much by his gilt arms, as by the deadly blows he gave. As he had not been able to destroy him by poison, as has been already seen, he engaged several janizaries, by the hopes of a great reward, to attack him particularly, and by his death revenge the blood of their companions. Twelve of the most resolute soldiers of that body devoted themselves, as it were to death, in order to dispatch him. They rush headlong into the midst of the engagement, charge the Christians with vigour, pierce their ranks, open a way to the grand master, and in spite of the knights that surrounded his person, attack him and give him five great wounds at once. The ardour with which he was inflamed in the heat of the combat, hindered him at first from feeling them: he fought on some time longer with his usual valour. The knights seeing the blood that flowed from his wounds, begged of him to retire; but that great man, instead of complying with their affectionate intreaties, cried out, "Let us die in this place, my dear brethren, rather than retire. Can we ever die more gloriously than in the defence of our faith and religion?"

These heroick sentiments, the wounds he had received, the blood that was streaming from them, and the desire of revenging him, animated the knights and christian soldiers in such a manner, that mad with vexation, and like men that were resolved not to survive their leaders, they throw themselves like furies into the thickest of the enemies, and make an horrible slaughter of them. The Turks daunted at their blows, which rage inspired with an uncommon force, take them for other men, or for something more than man. Terror seizes their spirits; they lose all sense and judgment with their courage; they all take to their heels, and in this disorder and confusion kill one another to make themselves way. The knights make advantage

age

age of this consternation, and not satisfied with having regained the breach, they fall out and pursue the Turks. In vain does the basha labour to make them take heart; in spite of his promises and threats the flight becomes general; they drag him along with them in the universal rout, and he was glad to get into his camp for refuge; he afterwards made the best of his way to his ships and galleys, and went on board with as much shame as vexation.

The grand master covered over with his own blood, and with that of his enemies, but more with glory, was carried into his palace, where by the care of his knights, and the good wishes of all his people, he recovered his health in a little time. As soon as he was able to walk, he went to the church of St. John to return thanks to the God of Hosts for the victory he had won: and in order to leave some lasting monuments of his acknowledgements and piety, he built three churches in honour of the blessed virgin and the patron-saints of the order. He made several foundations in these churches, to pray to God for ever for the souls of the knights that were killed in this bloody siege. The surviving knights that had signalized themselves most were distinguished by his favours, in which even the meanest soldiers had their share; and to give some relief to the peasants and inhabitants of the country, whose lands had been ravaged by the infidels, he distributed corn among them for their subsistence till the next harvest, and exempted them for some years from the taxes they used to pay before the siege.

If the grand master made all the inhabitants of Rhodes happy by his victory and liberality, Mahomet on the contrary, upon the first news he had of the raising of the siege, fell into a rage that made every body tremble; he was for strangling his general and the principal officers of his army; no body

dy durst appear in his presence. Paleologus thought himself happy with the loss only of his dignity: Mahomet banished him to Gallipoli. After the first violence of his passion was over, in order to console himself in some measure, he declared that his troops were never successful but when under his own conduct, and he resolved the next campaign to put himself at the head of his army.

The preparations which he made for that purpose were extraordinary: he mustered no less than 300,000 men, and the general rendezvous was in Bithynia, a province adjoining to Lycia, where they said he was to embark, in order to pass over to Rhodes. Others suspected that this great armament was designed against the foldan of Egypt, and they founded their conjecture upon prince Zizim, one of his sons, having already fallen into Syria by his orders. Be this as it will, Mahomet had passed the Hellespont, and was marching with great diligence through Anatolia; when a blow from heaven put a stop to his enterprizes. A violent fit of the cholic carried him off at a little town of Bithynia called Teggiar Tzair. He died on the third of May, A. D. 1481. They carried his body to Constantinople, to inter it in a mosque of his own foundation: and though that prince had conquered two empires, twelve kingdoms, and above three hundred towns, yet the epitaph put over him, which indeed they pretend he drew up himself, makes no mention at all of those great actions; as if he reckoned them for nothing in comparison of his last projects. All they put over his tomb was nine or ten Turkish words only, the purport of which is as follows;

I DESIGNED TO CONQUER RHODES,
AND SUBDUE PROUD ITALY.

Mahomet by his death left the princes Bajazet and
Zizim

Zizim his sons heirs to his vast empire. They found it however too narrow for their vast ambition; neither of them would hear a word of dividing it: both were for reigning alone. Caoursin, a contemporary historian, and vice-chancellor of the order of St. John, pretends that Bajazet was the elder. Jaligni, another historian of the same time, gives the right of eldership to Zizim, a question of no great consequence in a warlike nation, where arms had almost always decided the possession of the crown.

Bajazet loved study more than war, and he loved wine yet better than study. The Turks ascribe to him a translation into their language of the works of Averroes, the famous Arabian philosopher, the ornament of Cordova where he was born. Zizim, less voluptuous than his brother, had always shewn a great impatience of following the example of his father, and acquiring glory by war. They pretend, that these two brothers had never seen one another but once. Mahomet, who had an insatiable thirst after sovereign power, had always kept them asunder, for fear they should unite against him. At the time of that prince's death, Bajazet resided at Amasia, a city situated upon the Black sea, in the farthest part of Cappadocia, and Zizim's residence was at Magnesia, a city of Caria.

In this remote absence of the two brothers, the basha's and great officers of the crown were divided about the choice of an emperor. Every one espoused the side that best suited his interest or inclination. Mahomet, then grand vizir or first basha, who had succeeded Misach Paleologus in that dignity, had most inclination to Zizim. But the basha Chersec-Ogli, son-in-law to Bajazet, seizing on the treasures of Mahomet, made use of them to gain the janizaries of the porte. Achmet Geduc, another basha, and the greatest captain then among the Turks, being returned from Italy, where he

had taken the town of Otranto, got the army commanded to declare in favour of Bajazet.

They were surpris'd that this general, who was born a soldier and trained up in war, and who besides in Mahomet's lifetime had had very many quarrels with Bajazet, should prefer him to Zizim a prince of extraordinary valour. But he did this probably from a political view, with regard to his own private interest, fancying, that he should be more necessary and considerable under an unwarlike prince, given up entirely to libertinism, than under the dominion of a sultan who would command his troops in person. Whatever was his motive, Bajazet's party, by the dexterity and good conduct of those that had the management of it, got the better, and that prince was proclaimed grand seignior at Constantinople: and in order not to leave the throne empty in his absence, his partisans set up in it, in quality of his lieutenant, one of his sons, named Corcutus, a young prince, who though scarce eight years old, shewed a great unwillingness to quit it afterwards, when upon the arrival of the sultan his father he was forced to deliver it up to him.

Zizim, who was at a greater distance from Constantinople, was later in receiving advice of Mahomet's death. He set out immediately on his way thither, but being informed that his brother had got the start of him, and that the capital of the empire had declared in his favour, he returned back, put himself at the head of the army that he commanded in Syria, levied new troops, seized on Bursa and all Bithynia, and resolv'd to wait the coming up of his enemy in that place.

Bajazet, to hinder him from fortifying himself in Asia, ordered his best troops to march immediately against him. This army was compos'd chiefly of janizaries and spahis, i. e. the flower of the Turkish infantry and cavalry, which were reinforced with a good body of European troops, superior in force

and

and courage to the Asiatic, who were most of them effeminated by the pleasures and luxury of the country. What made this army still more formidable was, that the valiant Achmet, the darling of the soldiery, was general of it, and Bajazet, who was indebted to him for the favour of the troops, by committing the general command of them to him, made him again the sovereign disposer of his fortune and empire.

Achmet having passed the Bosphorus, entered Asia, and advanced towards Bursa. Zizim did not think it proper to shut himself up in that place and stand a siege. He therefore marched out, and advanced forward against his brother's forces. They soon came to an engagement: a great empire was to be the prize of the victorious. Zizim, in order to obtain it, was incredibly valiant: that prince with sabre in hand charged all that stood before him: the combat was bloody and obstinate on both sides: they took no prisoners, and gave no quarter on either side; and it was some time before it could be distinguished on what side the victory would fall. But Achmet, after letting the enemy spend all their fire, putting himself at the head of a body of reserve and fresh troops that had not yet fought, made so furious a charge on the Asiatics, that their troops, consisting most of new levies, could no longer sustain the shock of the Europeans. In vain did Zizim exert himself to renew and maintain the battle; rallying his cavalry several times, and returning to the charge. The bravest of them, who never quitted him in the battle, fell almost all by his side. Achmet met with very little opposition from the infantry: most of them were cut to pieces; such as escaped the sword of the victorious fled for their lives, and the fear of falling into Bajazet's power, forced Zizim at last to do the same.

The night coming on was favourable to his es-

cape. He threw himself into the midst of a forest. As the night concealed the greatness of his loss from him, he fed himself with the hopes of rallying his troops the next day, and trying again the fortune of war. But not being able to get above forty horsemen together, and all the rest being either killed or dispersed, he had no other course to take, but to get away as fast as possible from a place which had proved so unfortunate, and might very well be more fatal to him: he was however under a difficulty about resolving on a place to take refuge in. Among those that still continued about him, some of them proposed Egypt to him, where Cait-Bei reigned as soldan, whilst others were for his applying either to the prince of Caramania, or the grand master of Rhodes, all of them either open enemies of the Turks, or jealous of their power. Zizim determined in favour of the soldan, the strongest potentate of the three. Passing always through by-roads, he got safe with his little troop into Syria, went on into Palestine, came to Jerusalem, visited the mosque, which they called the temple of Salomon, where he paid his devotions, and crossing the deserts of Arabia, arrived at Grand Cairo. He was received as a sovereign prince, with all the honours and ceremonies due to his birth, but in reality with an indifference, such as princes usually discover for the unfortunate. Cait-Bei did not think proper to associate himself with his ill fortune; and all his good offices ended in offering Zizim his mediation with his brother. That prince accepted it, rather out of complaisance, and not to express a contempt of it, than out of any hopes of good success from it. The soldan immediately dispatched an emir to Constantinople. During his voyage Zizim out of devotion made that of Mecca, and at his return brought his wife and children to Cairo. The soldan received them with great civility, and promised them his constant protection.

The

The emir that Cait-Bei had sent to Constantinople, began his negotiation as soon as he arrived, Bajazet, by the advice of Achmet his first minister, and in order to amuse Zizim, proposed to the soldan to give his brother a province in Asia. Cait-Bei, to weaken the Turkish empire, could have wished there had been a little more proportion in the share allowed him; but as after all Bajazet was master of the whole empire, and pretended to prescribe the terms of the treaty, the soldan being, as most mediators are, indifferent with respect to the interest of Zizim, was of opinion, that he ought to accept his brother's proposal, and represented to him, that a great province, in which he was to reign as absolute sovereign, was preferable to a war, the success whereof was doubtful. Zizim, who aspired to the empire, and whose courage and ambition made him think himself more worthy of it than his brother, rejected his offers with disdain. He moreover saw plainly, that they only sought to involve him in a labyrinth of artifice, and an endless negotiation; so that he answered the soldan, that such great pretensions on both sides, and a dispute of such importance, were only to be determined by force of arms and sword in hand.

But not finding that prince disposed to take up arms in his favour, he only recommended his wife and children to him, and then retired to the Carmanian prince of Cilicia, in whom he fancied he should find more generosity and resolution, and who had indeed sent to him in Egypt to offer him the assistance of his arms, and propose the joining their forces against Bajazet. Mahomet had taken from that prince all Cappadocia, and that part of Cilicia which borders upon mount Taurus. Zizim coming to his court, promised him by the most solemn oaths to restore him those provinces, in case he should ever, by the assistance of his troops, recover his throne. The two princes, in an inter-

view, swore an inviolable fidelity to one another; the Caramanian immediately made preparations for war, and sent to his allies and neighbours to demand succours. The grand master of Rhodes, who was one of that number, sent him five galleys well equipped with soldiers and artillery, to keep the sea, and defend the coasts of his country; and the Caramanian at the same time had several re-inforcements sent him from some petty Mahometan princes, who entered into the league against a power that seemed ready to swallow up all the rest.

These princes, having joined their troops before Achmet had drawn his out of their winter quarters, advanced as far as the plains of Laranda in the farthest parts of Cappadocia. Bajazet was surprised to hear that his brother was returned out of Egypt to dispute the empire with him again. His crown, and even his life, were at stake, and depended upon opposing their measures. Achmet indeed was at the head of a great body of troops, able to fight the enemy; but a distrust, natural enough to weak men, made him apprehensive that that general might possibly be bribed to go over to his brother: besides, his ministers, who were jealous of the glory which the vizier had in this war, represented to that prince, that, in a quarrel which was personal in respect to him, and of such mighty importance, his soldiers would have an ill opinion of his valour, was he not to shew himself at the head of his army. These considerations determined him to pass the Bosphorus: he entered into Asia: his army consisted of an hundred thousand men: that of Achmet was near as numerous. After his having joined the sultan, that prince would needs make a review of all his troops; Achmet appeared at their head; but Bajazet, observing, instead of wearing his sword or scymetar by his side, that it was only tied to the pommel of his horse's saddle, cried out, "My protector, you have a great memory; for-
" get

“ get the faults of my youth, put your sword again
 “ by your side, and employ it with your accustom-
 “ ed valour against our enemies.”

In order to the right understanding of this passage, it is necessary to call to mind what has been already observed relating to Mahomet the second's war against Persia. Bajazet, who was then young, followed him in that expedition, and had likewise a particular command over a body of troops. The sultan his father, who had no great opinion either of his capacity or valour, some hours before the engagement began, ordered Achmet to visit the line where Bajazet commanded, and see if his troops were drawn up in order of battle. But that officer, finding them all in confusion, could not help reproaching him in pretty harsh terms, “ Is it in this
 “ manner, Sir,” says the old warrior to him, “ that
 “ a prince who has a mind to vanquish, should
 “ draw up his soldiers?” Bajazet, vexed at this reproach, told him, the time would come when he would make him repent his insolence. “ And what
 “ will you do?” replied the haughty Achmet, “ I
 “ swear by my father's soul, that if you ever come
 “ to the empire, “ I will never gird sword to my
 “ side for your service.”

Such was the occasion of Achmet's appearing at the review with his sword tied to the pommel of his horse's saddle. But Bajazet stood in too much need of his valour and experience, not to endeavour to make him forget that little quarrel. Peace was soon made between that prince and his general: they had now nothing more to think of but to go in quest of the enemy. They pretend, that Bajazet's general defeated Zizim in a second battle: other authors say, that the allies being too weak to keep the field, retired into the streights of mount Taurus upon the arrival of Bajazet.

Bajazet, vexed that his brother had escaped him, sent to make him other proposals, with a view of surprising

surprising him; and besides the offer he had before made him of the entire sovereignty of a province, he made him a new one of a pension of 200,000 crowns of gold, a prodigious sum at that time. "I want an empire," replied Zizim in an haughty manner to his brother's envoy, "and not money." Besides, this prince was not fool enough to be dazzled with these propositions, since he saw that, at the same time that he expressed a desire of adjusting things with him in an amicable manner, Achmet was insensibly seizing on all the streights of the mountains, and endeavouring to secure all the passes of them to prevent his escape. The Caramanian prince told him the danger to which they were going to be exposed, if they stayed any longer in that place; and both of them, not having forces sufficient to oppose those of Bajazet, they agreed to disperse them till such time as that prince should return to Constantinople, their troops being of no other use than to make them be pursued; and both of them to retire to places where they might be in security, either through the obscurity of them, or by the power of the prince to whose court they should retire.

Zizim's first scheme was to hide himself with a few persons in the remotest corner of the mountains. The Caramanian was of a different opinion: he told him, that he could never be safe enough in a cavern against the search his brother was making after him; that it was his interest to preserve his secret partisans, that they should believe him to be alive, and still in a disposition to return and dispute the empire: and that further, his sentiments were, that he should apply himself to the grand master of Rhodes, in whose dominions he might be more secure, and live with greater dignity; and also might, by means of the knights, who roved over all the Asiatic seas, be informed of every thing that passed at Constantinople, and over all the east.

Zizim

Zizim followed this advice, and dispatched one of the noblemen that adhered to his person and fortune to the grand master, to desire him to grant him protection in his territories. But this envoy was seized by one of Bajazet's party, who saw by his brother's letters the design he had formed of retiring among the Christians. Whereupon he immediately sent some detachments to force the prince his brother in the fastnesses he was retired to, and at the same time ordered others to secure all the passes that led to any port of Lycia; and flattered himself that he should shut him up so close, that it would be impossible for him to escape. Zizim, not seeing his first agent return, dispatched two others to Rhodes, with the same commission to the grand master, to desire of him a retreat in his dominions, together with a safe conduct, to assure him of a full liberty of coming in and going out of them at all times. The prince afterwards quitted mount Taurus; and the Caramanian serving him for a guide, he drew near the sea-coast to wait an answer from Rhodes. The grand master, in concert with the council, and after mature deliberations, thought it would be for the honour and even the interest of the order, not to refuse an asylum to so great a prince. Upon which a squadron of ships was immediately ordered to go to receive him, and Don Alvares de Zuniga, grand prior of Castile, was intrusted with this commission and the safe conduct, which was drawn up in the form that Zizim's ambassadors had desired it.

This commodore set sail about the same time that Zizim and the Caramanian prince, seeing themselves pursued by the spahis, resolved to part, after having first embraced each other tenderly, and swore an inviolable friendship. The Caramanian threw himself again into the mountains, from whence he made his way to some fortresses that were still left him. The Turkish prince waited by
the

the sea-side in expectation of news from Rhodes; but seeing a squadron of spahis coming up, he got into a bark, which the Caramanian prince, for fear of a surprize, had kept always in a readiness, and lay concealed behind a rock.

Scarce had Zizim put off from the shore when he saw the troop of spahis appear on the coast, who came but a few moments too late. The prince seeing himself out of danger, lay by with his bark, and taking his bow, let fly an arrow with a letter tied to it, directed to his brother, and expressed almost in these terms.

KING ZIZIM,

TO KING BAJAZET HIS INHUMAN BROTHER.

“ God and our great prophet are witnesses of
 “ the shameful necessity you reduce me to of tak-
 “ ing refuge among the Christians. After having
 “ deprived me of the just right I had to the empire,
 “ you pursue me still from one country to another,
 “ and have not rested till you have forced me, for
 “ the safety of my life, to seek an asylum with the
 “ knights of Rhodes, the irreconcilable enemies
 “ of our august house. If the sultan our father
 “ could have foreseen that you would have thus
 “ profaned the honourable name of the Ottomans,
 “ he would have strangled you with his own hands;
 “ but I hope that since he is gone, heaven will a-
 “ venge your cruelty, and I only wish to live to be
 “ a witness to your punishment.”

The commander of this troop of spahis took the letter, and vexed that he had missed his prey, carried it to Bajazet. It is said, that as he was reading it, he could not help shedding a few tears, which nature forced from him against his inclinations. Zizim at the same time stood off to sea, and sailed towards Rhodes, to see if he could have any

news

news of the ambassadors whom he had sent to the grand master. The unfortunate prince, uncertain of his fate, was wandering up and down those seas, as chance might direct his course, when he discovered a squadron that came full sail, bending their course towards the coast of Lycia. The fear he was in lest they should be some ships that his brother had sent to intercept his passage to Rhodes; made him order the pilot to get as fast as he could to land, and put him on shore again. But at a certain distance distinguishing the flag of Rhodes, and making the signals he had concerted with his ambassadors, they came up to him in a shallop with a knight, whom Don Alvarez de Zuniga sent in company with the ambassadors, to assure him in the grand master's name, that he should be very welcome in the isle of Rhodes. This knight told him, that the commodore of the squadron, who was lieutenant-general to the grand master, was sent on purpose to convoy him safe thither. Zuniga advanced afterwards to salute the prince, went into his bark, and presented him the grand master's letter, and safe conduct. After the usual compliments and ceremonies were over, he put him on board a great ship that was under his command, and sailed for Rhodes, where he soon arrived. The grand master had no sooner notice of it, but he sent the oldest commanders of the order to receive him, and went himself out of his palace to meet him almost as far as the harbour: they joined hands at meeting. The grand master, after having, by the assistance of an interpreter, repeated all the assurances that he had already given him by his safe conduct, waited upon him to the French inn, which was assigned for his lodging: in their way thither he gave him the right hand, which Zizim perceiving, was for giving it him, and told him, it did not become captives to take place of their patrons; " Sir, replied the grand master to
" him

“ him very obligingly, captives of your quality
 “ have the first rank every where, and would to
 “ God you had as much power in Constantinople
 “ as you have in Rhodes.”

The grand master, after having conducted him to his apartment, left him to the care of some commanders and officers of his household, who endeavoured, by their politeness and noble entertainments, to divert him from musing on his misfortunes, which seemed to employ all his thoughts. Matthew Bosio, a canon of Verona, who saw him some years afterwards, and observed him with great attention, represents him in one of his letters, which has been transmitted to us, as a man who had all the air of a barbarian, and of a savage and cruel prince. His stature, says he, is a little above the middle size; his body thick and well set; he has broad shoulders, a prominent belly, strong and nervous arms, a large head, squinting eyes, and a Roman nose, so hooked at the end that it almost touches his upper lip, which is covered with a large whisker. In a word, says this author, he is the exact picture of his father Mahomet; and such indeed as he is represented in several of his medals that have fallen into my hands.

The knights omitted nothing that might contribute to divert the prince. There were every day parties of hunting, tournaments, feasts, and concerts of musick; but this last kind of diversion did not much affect the sultan; and though they entertained him with excellent voices, he did not seem to take any pleasure in that agreeable musick. To please his goût, they resolved to send for a Turkish slave, who with an harsh and inharmonious voice, but accompanied at the same time with wry faces, and the most grotesque postures, was the only person that had the knack of pleasing him.

In the mean time the residence of a guest of such consequence gave no little uneasiness to the grand

master.

master. He did not question but that Bajazet, as soon as he knew the place where he had fled for shelter, would do his utmost to oblige the order to deliver him into his hands. This they could not refuse without bringing all the forces of the Ottoman empire a second time into the island; and the grand master's word, his safe conduct, and even his natural generosity, made him incapable of taking such a step, and delivering him up to his cruel enemy.

Whilst d'Aubuffon was in no little inquietude by reason of these various considerations, an envoy arrived from the governor of Lycia, a province, as we have observed, separated from Rhodes only by a canal of about eighteen miles broad. This envoy, under pretence of proposing a trading truce and liberty of commerce between the grand master's subjects and the people of his government, was come to see whether Zizim was retired to Rhodes, and in what manner the grand master treated him. The grand master received him handsomely, and did not seem at all averse to the proposals which they made him. But the envoy, who had other views, under pretence that he expected new orders from his master, spun out the negotiation; and they soon discovered the main design of his voyage. The grand master, in order to rid himself as soon as possible of a privileged spy, speedily put an end to his treaty, and sent him back to his master. But scarce had he parted with him when another arrived, who brought him a letter from the basha Achmet. The grand seignior, not caring to expose himself to a refusal, had enjoined him to set on foot a new negotiation with the grand master, as from himself. That minister, who, by the important services that he had lately done Bajazet, governed his empire at that time with an absolute authority, wrote to the grand master, exhorting him to make a solid and lasting treaty of peace

with the porte, for which he offered his credit and good offices, in case he would send embassadors to Constantinople.

The grand master saw plainly through the artifice, and that these several negotiators had no design but only to get into Rhodes, and find out some means to dispatch Zizim either by sword or poison. Though the prince of Rhodes looked upon them as assassins, yet as they were invested, or rather masked with a publick character, no notice was taken of their designs. All that the law of nations and prudence allowed to be done on this occasion, was to dismiss these envoys as soon as possible; and all the answer that the grand master gave the basha was, that provided they dropped all talk of tribute, he might possibly in some time send embassadors to the porte, to treat about a lasting peace. Several councils after this were held at Rhodes, to consider of the conduct the order ought to observe in so nice an affair.

In all these preliminaries the least mention was not made of Zizim, notwithstanding which, the grand master easily perceived that the design of the negotiation related always to the person of that prince, and that if his brother could not get him into his power by way of treaty, he would either take care to get him poisoned, or would attack him by open force, so that they might soon see all the forces of the Ottomans over-running the isle of Rhodes a second time. They held several councils on this subject, and in order not to let a pledge of such value go out of their hands, they resolved, both for the prince's own safety, and till such time as they might see how affairs would go in the east, to send him into France, to reside upon some commandry of the order.

The grand master, in order to reconcile him to this step, represented to him, that it was his interest to shelter himself for some time from his brother's

her's

ther's eager pursuits : that whatever precautions the order should take, his life could never be secure at Rhodes, where so many renegado Greeks could easily get in by means of their language, and find means to dispatch him by sword or poison, notwithstanding all the precautions that the order might take : whereas, whilst he was at a distance, the order, which was entering into a negotiation with the sultan, might find opportunities to take care of his interests, and that he himself would undertake to give him a full account of all that passed at the porte in relation to him.

The Turkish prince seeing no remedy, consented to every thing they proposed to him. He likewise, before his setting out, left a full power with the grand master to treat with Bajazet in his name, upon such terms as should be most for his advantage and security. This was not the only instrument he signed ; he executed another, wherein, after reciting all the obligations he had to the grand master and his order, he engaged himself, in case he ever recovered the empire, or any considerable part of it, to maintain a constant peace with the knights, would give their fleets free entrance into all his ports, would set three hundred christians of both sexes at liberty every year without ransom, and pay a hundred and fifty thousand crowns of gold into the treasury of the order, to reimburse them the expences they had been at on his account. This instrument, signed with his own hand, is still kept in the archives of Malta, and is dated the fifth day of the month of Regeb, in the 887th year of the Hegira, which answers, according to our way of computation, to the 31st of August A. D. 1482. 1482. The prince went afterwards on board, under the convoy of the chevalier de Blanchefort, the grand master's nephew, who employed all the care and complaisance imaginable, to divert the melancholy with which the prince was

seized at leaving his own country, and passing into a foreign land.

Whilst he was sailing towards France, the grand master, pursuant to the promise he had given Achmet, sent the knights Guy de Mont Arnaud and Duprat as his ambassadors to Constantinople. Bajazet, who saw that his brother's fortune was entirely in the grand master's power, was exceedingly pleased at their arrival. They were received with great honours, and he appointed commissioners to treat of a peace, naming for that purpose the vizier Achmet and Misach Paleologus, who, after Mahomet's death, having declared in favour of Bajazet, was on that account recalled to the porte. The negotiation had like to have miscarried at the very opening of the conference. Achmet insisted by way of preliminary, that the grand master should acknowledge himself for a vassal of the grand seignior, and as such should pay him an annual tribute. This proposition was rejected with a noble disdain by the two ambassadors. The vizier, the proudest man living, told them, that his master would go in person at the head of an hundred thousand men to levy the tribute himself; the ambassadors upon these menaces, were for breaking off the conference and retiring: but the basha Paleologus telling the vizier in the Turkish language, that he should consider that the sultan would have the treaty concluded at any rate, the negotiation was resumed, and the two knights shewed the greater constancy and resolution, because Duprat, who understood the Turkish language, was thereby made acquainted with the grand seignior's intentions. Achmet did not insist any longer on that demand; but as he thought his master would dishonour himself by such a treaty, he left the management of it to Paleologus.

They were next to come to the principal point which the sultan had most at heart. It related to the

the person of his brother, and his ministers demanded that he should be delivered up into his hands. The ambassadors knew that this would be delivering him up to be executed, and therefore rejected such an odious proposal with indignation. In fine, they agreed, that the grand master should engage to keep that prince always in his power under a good guard of knights, and should not deliver him to any prince whatever, either christian or infidel, that could make use of his name and pretensions to disturb the quiet of the empire; that for the maintenance and guard of the prince, the sultan should yearly remit thirty five thousand Venetian ducats to the order; and besides this sum, he should likewise pay the grand master ten thousand ducats more every year by way of satisfaction for the ravages that Mahomet's army had made in the isle of Rhodes. Peace being settled on these conditions, the treaty was signed by the sultan, who sent one of his principal ministers, called Captain, to Rhodes, to receive the grand master's ratification.

The vizier, who was naturally haughty, could not hear the least mention of the pensions which the sultan was obliged to pay every year, without the highest indignation. He complained publicly, that they had prostituted the honour of the empire by this scandalous treaty; and in his exclamations against it, he could not help dropping some sharp invectives against the person of his master himself. The sultan was soon informed of it: There are never wanting in all courts a set of men who make it their business to ruin their enemies, by giving the worst construction to their words, and misrepresenting them in the most artful manner. Achmet had a very dangerous one in the person of a basha, Isaac by name, whose daughter he had formerly married. She was the very Turkish lady that Mahomet's eldest son fell so desperately in love with, and to whom



her husband in the fury of his passion pretended he had offered violence. The reader may have observed in the beginning of this book, that Mahomet, who would allow no body to be a tyrant in his dominions but himself, had, under pretence of doing Achmet justice, put that young prince to death, fearing that his passion might put him upon some attempt against his own person. Achmet, as Cæsar had acted formerly, without caring to examine into his wife's conduct, had divorced her, which his father-in-law resented so heinously, that he resolved to be revenged. This basha did not let slip the occasion that Achmet's imprudence furnished him with: he informed the sultan of the vizier's murmurings and invectives, and aggravated them with all the ill-natured turns that courtiers are lavish enough in bestowing; and under a feigned zeal for his prince's service, he insinuated to him, that as the vizier was so very powerful, and in a manner adored by the soldiers, he could not have uttered such taunts and reflections without designing some insurrection.

In a case of this nature, especially in a despotick government like that of the Turks, bare suspicion is a crime. Bajazet, ever jealous and diffident, as all weak persons are, resolved to dispatch the vizier, in order to prevent the designs with which they charged him from taking effect: besides, the daily sight of a man, the greatness of whose services exceeded all the recompences he could make him, was offensive to his eyes. Orders were given to invite most of the grandees of the porte to a magnificent entertainment that Bajazet was to give them. They there drank very copiously of wine, notwithstanding the express prohibition of their law. The sultan, who had his private designs, and had a mind to make the vizier talk, brought up a discourse relating to the peace he had just concluded with the grand master; and added, that since he had no

more

more enemies to oppose, he thought to lessen the pay of the soldiery, and break some officers that were not well affected to the government. Achmet, the father of the soldiery, and naturally haughty and passionate, immediately took fire, and elevated with the fumes of wine, told him plainly, that the affection of the soldiery was the surest support of the throne, and that those who should advise a sultan, especially one who had a brother still living, to incense his troops, would be evil counsellors. They pretend, that as soon as he had spoke these words, a mute who was posted there on purpose, upon a sign that the sultan made him, stabbed him with a dagger to the heart. Other authors give a different account of what passed at the death of this minister, which they tell us was delayed for some time. According to these writers, Bajazet, before he dismissed the bashas, that he might end the magnificence of the feast with an act of liberality, presented every one of them with a brocade vest, and a cup filled with pieces of gold; but that they put only a black robe before the vizier, who looked upon it as an ill omen of the fate that attended him; and he was confirmed in his sentiments, when, as he was going out after the rest, the sultan ordered him to stay, pretending that he had an affair of importance to communicate to him. Achmet no longer doubting but he was going to be strangled, cried out in a rage, "Cruel tyrant, since you resolved to put me to death, why did you first force me to offend God by drinking a forbidden liquor?"

By Bajazet's order, they began to load him with stripes, after which the mutes prepared to strangle him. But the chief of the eunuchs, who was his particular friend, seeing his master drunk with wine and anger, threw himself at his feet. "Sir, said he to him, be not so hasty to put him to death: you know that he is the darling of the janizaries:

“ janizaries : wait only till to-morrow, to see how
 “ they will receive the news of his death, and
 “ then dispose of him as you please.”

Fear, the strongest principle of action in a weak and timorous prince, had its usual effect on Bajazet. He put off Achmet's death, and ordered him to be thrown half naked and loaden with irons into a dungeon. His son, who waited at the gate of the seraglio, not seeing him come out, enquired of the other bashas for him; but they were most of them so drunk, that all that he could get out of them was, that the grand-seignior seemed to be angry with him. The young lord trembling for his life, runs to the guard-house of the janizaries, and the vast pile of building where they are quartered when not upon duty, when bursting out into tears, and directing his discourse to the oldest of them,
 “ My dear companions, said he to them, the sultan
 “ has just now caused my father to be seized: will
 “ you, brave soldiers, suffer them to butcher your
 “ general, with whom you have eat bread and salt
 “ for so many years?”

At this news the janizaries run to arms, gather into a body, march straight to the seraglio, and with great cries demand the gates to be opened*: the noise of the tumult soon passes into Bajazet's apartment. The prince, after considering what measures he should take, fearing that the soldiers might dethrone him in their fury, appeared at a window with a bow in his hand, “ What do you
 “ require, my companions,” says he to them,
 “ and what is the occasion of this tumult?” “ You
 “ shall know immediately, cried they, You drunken sot, where is Achmet? we'll either see him,
 “ or find out a means of revenging his death.” The fearful sultan seeing all the soldiery enraged and incensed against him, “ Achmet, says he to

* Chalcondile vie de Bajazet II,

“ them,

“ them, is in my seraglio, and alive. I have only kept him with me to confer with him about some affairs of consequence.” The sultan was so terrified at the looks and threats of the janizaries, that he ordered him to be brought out to them immediately. He appeared at the gate of the seraglio bareheaded, his legs uncovered, and without any cloaths on but a waistcoat only, just like a man who was ordered for execution. The janizaries, provoked to see that great captain treated in so shameful a manner, snatched a turbant from one of the principal officers of the porte, and put it upon Achmer’s head. They commanded at the same time a vest to be brought him, and when he was drest they carried him to his palace with great acclamations, and as if they had gained some signal victory.

The vizier, either from a greatness of soul, or else out of apprehensions that this affection of the soldiers would be imputed to him as a fresh crime, desired them to use their advantages with more moderation. “ Bajazet, says he to them, “ is our sovereign: and who knows but I have merited his indignation by some fault I may have committed !” In fine, he at length by his intreaties prevailed to quiet the sedition; but his own experience taught him, that there is no getting an advantage over one’s own sovereign that does not prove fatal to its author in the end. Bajazet dissembled his resentment for some time. The vizier seemed to be restored to his favour; but in a journey which the court made to Adrianople, at a time when all his apprehensions seemed to be over, the sultan caused him to be strangled. Such was the fate of one of the greatest captains of the Ottoman empire, who, by being thought too necessary, became suspected to his master, and odious to the other bashas.

Whilst this tragical scene was acting at the porte,
Zizim

Zizim arrived safe on the coasts of Provence. The grand master had sent an ambassador before him to Lewis XI. who then sat on the throne of France to desire leave for the prince to come into his dominions, and reside there for some time. The king, who did not concern himself in the affairs of the east, readily consented to it. Zizim, according to Jaligni a contemporary historian, was first carried into the province of la Marche, to the castle of a lord of that province, called Boissami the grand master's brother-in-law, whose sister Souveraine d'Aubuffon he had married. The prince, after making some stay in this place, retired to the commandry of Bourgneuf; and the knights, who under pretence of keeping him company, were in reality his guards, lodged him in a tower, built on purpose to secure him against the enterprises of Bajazet, though perhaps it was designed likewise to prevent his getting out of their hands, and making his escape, as some time after they had reason to suspect.

In short, this unfortunate prince, instead of the good reception and succours which he had flattered himself he should receive from the king of France, was uneasy to find himself at a distance from his country and his friends, banished into a foreign land, and confined in a sort of prison: and how careful soever the knights who guarded him might be to divert him, yet he could not help looking upon them as his gaolers, and the mortal enemies of his house. These reflections threw him into a deep melancholy, which was soon followed by a dangerous illness, that made them fear his life was in danger.

One of the knights, whose business it was to guard him, being concerned for his misfortunes, and desirous to expel, if possible, the deep melancholy that had spread itself over his soul, advised him to desire an interview with the king of France, and

and encouraged him to hope that he might in a conference engage that prince to interest himself in his misfortunes, and obtain from him a sufficient number of forces that might enable him to try the fortune of war one more.

The prince, like all unfortunate persons, was overjoyed at the first glimpse of hope which they gave him, and signified to the king of France, that he desired a conference with him. The king, who was entirely taken up with what passed in his neighbours territories, especially among the English and at the duke of Burgundy's court, troubled himself very little about the affairs of the east. However, to maintain his character of the most Christian king, he answered the prince, that he would really have been very glad to see him, and to interest himself in his affairs as became a sovereign, did not religion put an invincible obstacle in the way; but that if he would turn Christian, and abjure the errors in which he had been unhappily educated, he would engage to send him back to his own dominions at the head of a mighty army, which should not be inferior either in excellent officers, or in number of troops, to all the forces of the Ottoman empire; and in case he did not think proper to try the fortune of war once more, France offered to give him lands and lordships within itself, sufficient to maintain him with a splendor and dignity suitable to his birth.

The Turkish prince soon discovered, that this proposal was no more than a polite pretence to excuse himself from agreeing to the interview he had desired, and granting the succours which he had flattered himself he should have. To omit the prejudices of education, was he only to consider his interest according to the maxims of human policy, he could not quit the sect of Mahomet, without being considered as a renegado among the Mahometans, and seeing himself abandoned by his best

best friends and all his partizans; so that the prince, laying aside all thoughts of succour from France, turned all his hopes towards the east, whence he expected news with the utmost impatience. He was not long without receiving some advices, but they were not very agreeable to him; for he heard with equal surprize and uneasiness, that the knights of Rhodes, the eternal enemies of the Ottomans, had, after several negotiations that had been treated at Constantinople and Rhodes, agreed at last on a treaty, the very basis and purchase of which, unhappily for him, was the loss of his liberty: that the grand master, forgetting his safe conduct and the promise he had solemnly given him, had engaged to keep him always at a distance, and under a guard of knights that should be answerable for him so long as the Turks should not violate the treaty; and that Bajazet on his side was obliged to pay 45,000 ducats yearly to the grand master and the order. The treaty was varnished over by those who drew it up, with all those specious pretences which princes are seldom at a loss to invent, but which after all did not screen the order from the reproach of having violated its safe conduct.

Bajazet payed this sum very exactly, and indeed before hand; and in hopes of gaining the grand master's friendship entirely, he sent him a little after the right hand of St. John the baptist, patron of the order, which had been brought formerly from Antioch to Constantinople.; upon the taking of which last city, Mahomet had ordered it to be put into his treasury, probably for the richness of the shrine, in order to sell the relic itself to some christian prince. Though the Turks look upon our veneration for the dead bodies of saints as idolatry, yet Bajazet sent it with great ceremony to Rhodes: a manifest instance, that religion hath

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much

much less the ascendant over most sovereigns, than interests of state.

However, as liberty is the first and most valuable blessing of mankind, it is no wonder that the unhappy Zizim should be struck with the most violent grief, when he found that his had been put to sale, and that they had meanly bartered it for gold. The treaty threw him into a rage that can hardly be expressed: he wished for death as the only period of so terrible a misfortune; and they were every moment afraid lest he should make away with himself in the fits of his passion. In vain did the knights, set over him for his guard, labour to comfort him, by representing, that whatever had been transacted at Constantinople and Rhodes, was meant purely for his safety, and to prevent his falling into the hands of an implacable enemy. They represented to him, that his confinement would not be near so long as he imagined; that he ought to hope for great matters from time, and that some conjuncture would infallibly present itself, when the grand master might be able to restore him to his dominions with as much glory as safety. The unfortunate prince was not in a temper to take up with such random and uncertain motives of consolation: the terrible idea of a perpetual imprisonment was ever presenting itself to his imagination, and all the arguments and civilities of his guards could not banish it a single moment from his mind.

The noise that his grief made soon passed beyond the bounds of his prison. Some persons, who were ill affected to the order, took occasion from thence of blaming the grand master's conduct. They said, it was inhumane to sell the liberty of a prince from whom at most they could have demanded but a ransom. Others went further, and said it was astonishing, that so noble an order, and a set of knights who were eternal enemies to the Mahometans, should, for the lucre of a sum of money, turn gaol-
 ers

ers under Bajazet, and let slip so favourable an opportunity of kindling a war among those infidels, which all the enemies of the Ottomans might have made their advantage of.

Caourfin, vice-chancellor of the order, a contemporary historian, and who was at Rhodes at this time, hath endeavoured to make an apology for the knights, by representing the advantages which (says he) the christian princes derived from the confinement of this Ottoman prince: and that author, who was in all likelihood no very scrupulous person, in order to justify the grand master's breach of faith, maintains, that it was a much less evil to act in that manner, than, by observing strictly the safe conduct, to bring the arms of Bajazet upon the isle of Rhodes, and the other states of Christendom. But if we follow Jaligni, another contemporary historian, the grand master never gave any safe conduct, nor so much as his bare word*. Zizim, as we may see in this historian, was a lawful prisoner, in consequence of which, the grand master might dispose of his liberty as he judged proper for the good of his order.

As these two contemporary historians, one of them the grandmaster's minister and confident, the other secretary to Peter de Bourbon, contradict one another in the same fact, we have not met with matter sufficient in either of the two writers to clear up the point, so that we might determine it on any side with certainty: but whether Zizim was a lawful prisoner of war, or whether the knights, under pretence of not incensing so formidable a prince as the sultan, broke their safe conduct, it cannot be denied, but that pope Sixtus IV. Ferdinand, king of Castile, Arragon, and Sicily, another Ferdinand of the same house, king of Naples, the Venetians, and above all the rest Matthias Corvin, son to Hu-

* Guillaume de Jaligni, p. 62, 63, 65. Edit. de Louvre.

niades, and at that time king of Hungary, a great captain, and, like his father, the terror of the Turks, used very pressing instances with the grand master, to put Zizim at the head of their forces, in hopes of making use of his name to raise up the secret partizans he had in the Ottoman empire. Indeed most of these princes were divided; some were actually making war upon one another; and we must do this justice to the grand master, who was as great a politician as he was a captain, that he was afraid lest, if the war against the Turk should not prove successful, some might be found perfidious, or at least weak enough to purchase their peace of Bajazet, by delivering up his brother and enemy to him. The grand master made a much more commendable use of the power he had over the person of Zizim: and merely by the fear in which he kept the grand seignior, lest he should set that prince at the head of all the forces of the order, and produce him to the malecontents that were very numerous in his dominions, he tied up the hands of that mighty prince, kept his forces as it were in chains, and by this means prevented him, during his brother's life, from falling upon Italy, and turning his arms against the christian princes.

The pope, impatient to see the christian princes unite their arms against the infidels, was persuaded, that, if he once had Zizim's person in his power, he might easily make all the powers of Europe join their forces against the Turks. This pontiff had just succeeded Sixtus IV. by the name of Innocent VIII. He was a Genoese by birth, 1484. of the illustrious house of Cibo, originally of the isle of Rhodes, where his father was born. As soon as ever he was placed in St. Peter's chair, he notified it to the knights, whom he considered as the sovereigns of his family, and sent a nuncio on purpose to Rhodes, to assure them of the esteem and affection he had for an order so illustrious,

and withal so serviceable to the christian world. But the nuncio declared at the same time to the grand master, that his holiness, for the good of Christendom, and to keep the Turk in awe, would be glad to have prince Zizim sent to Rome, or at least to some strong hold in Italy.

The grand master represented to the nuncio, that they had reason to fear such a step might give great jealousy to Bajazet; and that that prince, in order to revenge himself, and prevent the pope's designs, might fall with all his forces upon Italy. Besides, that by taking Zizim out of the hands of the knights, they might give the world occasion to suspect, that they did not behave themselves well towards him, which would be a great dishonour to his order. The nuncio transmitted these reasons to Rome; but the pope was inflexible, and made new instances, that they would send orders immediately to the chevalier de Blanchefort, then grand prior of Auvergne, to conduct the Turkish prince himself to Rome. The grand master, to shew his deference to the pope's orders, named two ambassadors to wait upon his holiness, and chose for that purpose Philip de Cluys, of the language of France, bailiff of Morea, and William Caourin, vice-chancellor of the order, the person who has left us an history of all that passed at Rhodes in relation to prince Zizim.

Were we to judge of their conduct in this negotiation by the advantages which they drew from thence, we must own that they were very able ministers; for in exchange for the person only of Zizim, which they promised to deliver into the pope's hands, they obtained very important privileges. Innocent engaged solemnly by this treaty, never to confer any commandries to the prejudice either of the several languages, or the right of seniority, even though they should fall vacant in the court of Rome: and by an express bull in the year 1489, he declared,

declared, that the effects and possessions of the order should not be comprehended in the list of benefices, that the popes had either reserved to themselves, or might afterwards reserve; and in case Bajazet should, out of resentment at this change, stop the payment of Zizim's pension, he, by another bull, to compensate the loss the knights of Rhodes would thereby sustain, suppressed the orders of the holy sepulchre, and St. Lazare, which he annexed to that of St. John, to prevent (as the pontiff says in his bull) a body of knights so necessary to Christendom, from being overpowered by the formidable power of the Turks. The grand master's own interests were not forgot in this treaty; and the pope engaged, as soon as prince Zizim should be delivered up to him, to send the grand master a cardinal's hat, a dignity of great eminence indeed, but not very proper for a warrior, and one especially that was at the same time a sovereign prince.

The treaty being concluded to the satisfaction both of the pope and the grand master, they, by concert, sent ambassadors to king Charles VIII. the son and successor of Lewis XI. to communicate it to him, and desire his consent. They met with no difficulty from that quarter; but whilst these ambassadors were still in France, there came another minister of the porte, dispatched by Bajazet to the king. That sultan, who was continually watching the behaviour of the knights with regard to his brother, was not long without having an account of the designs of the pope, and the negotiations of his ministers. He lost no time in dispatching one of his principal officers to traverse their negotiation. This ambassador, landing in Provence, notified his arrival immediately to the court, and set out on his road thither. But the king following his father's example, and scrupling to give audience to an infidel, that minister stopped at Riez, pursuant to an order he received by an express messenger,

and was obliged to transact the affair by writing, and sent the proposals which he was authorised to make up to court.

Bajazet in his letter desired the king, that sultan Zizim might be delivered into the hands of the minister he sent, or at least that he would not suffer him to go out of his dominions: and in order to engage him to comply with his request, by something more valuable than gold or precious stones, he offered him all the relics that the emperor Mahomet his father had found at the taking of Constantinople, and in the whole extent of his empire. He added further, that he was actually in war with the foldan of Egypt; that he hoped to drive him soon out of Syria, Palestine, and the kingdom of Jerusalem; and that if he succeeded in his attempt, he engaged to set the last of those crowns upon his head, as being the most potent prince that followed the law of the Messias.

Though the king was young, very courageous, and fond of glory, yet he did not suffer himself to be allured by this last proposal. Most of the christian princes had been long before that discouraged from making those tedious voyages and pious expeditions, which had cost their ancestors immense sums, and the purest blood of their nobility. They had scarce a better opinion of the relics that came from the east after the plundering of Constantinople; and the Greeks had brought such a vast number of spurious ones among the Latins *, that the most superstitious had quite lost all that eagerness and respect which is due to the true ones only; so that the minister of the porte was sent back, as Philip de Comines relates, without seeing the king, or being able to obtain any thing from him: but on the other side, he signified to the agents sent by the pope and the order, that they might go when

* Observations sur l'hist. de Charles VIII. p. 586. edit. du Louvre.
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they pleased ; that he gave his consent to their sending prince Zizim into Italy ; and should be exceedingly pleased if the holy father could reap any considerable advantages from thence for the good of religion.

This prince however, who had a secret design of carrying his arms one day into the east, and falling upon the Turks, did not give his consent, but upon condition that Zizim should be always kept under a guard of French knights, and that the pope should oblige himself never to deliver him up to any other sovereign, without his privity and consent under the forfeiture of ten thousand ducats.

The unfortunate Zizim, after having come from the east into Europe, and from Rhodes into the midst of Auvergne, was now delivered up to the pope's agents, who carried him into Italy, and arrived there without any obstacle : and the better to disguise this change of slavery, they received him with as much pomp and magnificence as they would have shewn at the entry of a christian king. The Cardinal of Angers, and Francisquin Cibo, the pope's natural son, but got before he entered into holy orders, went to meet him two miles from Rome, and complimented him in the pope's name. Doria, captain of the pope's guards, waited for him at the gate of the town, where the cavalcade began. Some Turks that were Zizim's servants, and never would quit him, were the first that appeared. Next came the pope's guards, his light horse, his gentlemen, with those of the cardinals and nobility of Rome. The seignior de Faucon, ambassador of France, heightened the splendour of the march by the pompousness of his equipage, and a numerous train of attendants in rich liveries: the vicomte de Monteil, the grand master's brother, who had acquired so much glory at the siege of Rhodes, marched immediately after, abreast with Francisquin Cibo ; next advanced the Turkish

ish prince, mounted on a prancing horse, and followed by the grand prior of Auvergne, and the other knights appointed for his guard. The march was closed by the master of the pope's chamber, and a croud of Italian prelates of the pope's court. The Turkish prince was conducted into an apartment of the Vatican prepared for him; and the next day the ambassador of France and the grand prior of Auvergne conducted him to an audience of the pope.

That prince, at his coming into the apartment where he was to have audience, saw the pope seated on his throne, attended by the cardinals and all his court. The prince saluted him after the Turkish manner; but all the entreaties the master of the ceremonies employed, could not prevail upon him to bow his knee, or embrace his feet, as christian princes do. The pope however did not receive him the less graciously on that account, Zizim besought his protection with as stately an air, as if the pontiff had stood in need of his. Innocent answered him with great mildness; and he was afterwards treated with abundance of respect, though still guarded by the knights. But as he saw a great deal of company, and could easier receive news out of Asia, he thought himself less unhappy at Rome, than in the tower of Bourgneuf.

The king of France, for certain private reasons, interested himself for the preservation of Zizim. That prince, who was young, powerful and ambitious, aspired to the title of emperor. He had a mind to make use one day of Zizim, to get Constantinople, Romania, and the Morea into his hands. Andrew Paleologus, nephew to the last emperor Constantine, had yielded up to him all his rights to that empire: and Albania, Greece, and Romania, which had been but lately conquered by Mahomet, and still peopled by Christians, begged and implored his assistance. The king, in order

to fall upon those great provinces, had need of some ports in Italy, and in the kingdoms of the two Sicilies. His council made him sensible of the right he had to the crown of Naples. This right was founded on the will of Charles IV. king of Sicily and Jerusalem, nephew to king René, of the house of Anjou, who had left his cousin Lewis XI. heir to all his dominions and rights; and after him the Dauphin his son, who was then upon the throne, and styled Charles VIII. Here was a right clear enough indeed, which wanted nothing but a sufficient force to render it valid. The king and his council resolved, before they made an expedition into Greece, to undertake first this enterprize. They were likewise encouraged to it by Lodowic Sforza, regent of the dutchy of Milan, and a secret enemy of the house of Arragon, a branch of which had reigned at Naples near sixty years.

The Italian war was resolved on before any thing was to be undertaken on the side of Greece. However, as the king of France foresaw, that Zizim's person would be very necessary to him in this last expedition, he sent embassadors to pope Innocent; and we find by their instructions, that they were ordered to put the pope in mind of the engagements he had entered into with him in relation to the grand seignior's brother, that is, of his never disposing of him without his privity and consent: but these negotiations were interrupted by the pope's death, and Zizim, who, during his pontificate, had found some alleviation of his ill fortune, was upon his death oppressed with a new series of calamities.

Cardinal Roderigo de Borgia succeeded Innocent, by the name of Alexander VI. a pope, if we may call him by that name, that bought the triple crown, and the votes of several of his colleagues with ready money; and who, in order to reimburse himself the sums he had laid out after his

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having got possession of it, bestowed no other reward upon those sinners than by dispatching them by sword and poison, or sending them into a tedious banishment. During his pontificate, bishopricks, benefices, ecclesiastical dignities, dispensations, the very administration of the sacraments, all was venal. He sold by retail what he had bought by the great, and employed the produce of it in keeping his mistresses: he was not ashamed to put the purple, so often dyed with the blood of martyrs, upon several of his bastards, that were polluted with all sorts of crimes, and whom he had promoted to the dignity of cardinal.

The unfortunate Zizim being, by the present situation of his circumstances, in his power; the tyrant, in order to enable himself to dispose of his liberty and life as he pleased, took him out of the hands of the knights, whom he dismissed, shut him up in the castle of St. Angelo, and then sent advice of it to the grand seignior, who, through fear lest he should set him at liberty, engaged to pay him forty thousand ducats annually: others say that Alexander got at least sixty thousand a year from him.

Mean time, the king of France, fond of his first designs of conquest, made extraordinary levies: his army consisted of 3600 men of arms, 6000 archers, 6000 croisbows, 8000 pikemen, and as many musqueteers, besides a prodigious train of artillery. All Italy trembled at the news of this formidable armament. The pope, whom the cardinals in general desired to have deposed, was in a fright at the bare noise of the march of the French: but as he was an able man, and a great politician, he turned his views towards Constantinople, and flattered himself, that if he was hard pressed by his enemies, he should be able, so long as he was master of Zizim's person, to get strong succours from

Bijazet,

Bajazet, both in money and troops, to sustain the war against the French.

It was with this view that he secretly dispatched a nuncio, to acquaint him with the designs and armament of Charles VIII. We see in the instructions given this nuncio, whose name 1494. was George Bozzarde, that he was directed to tell the grand seignior, that the king of France was advancing at the head of a formidable army to take sultan Gem or Zizim his brother out of his hands, in order to make use of his help to dethrone him; that as for himself, he was resolved, in conjunction with the king of Naples his ally, to oppose his enterprize, and hinder him particularly from advancing near Rome; but that he could not maintain war against so potent a prince without a speedy succour, and that therefore he would oblige him, if he would pay him immediately the forty thousand ducats that were due to him for the maintainance of the prince his brother. He adds, in this instruction to his embassador, that he should acquaint the grand seignior, that the soldan of Egypt, with whom his highness was in war, had sent an embassador to offer him immense sums if he would deliver Prince Zizim into his hands: but that he had rejected this proposal, and that nothing should be able to detach him from his interests.

The pope, by this subtle turn, and acquainting him with the soldan of Egypt's offers, insinuated to the grand seignior, that his brother was exposed to sale, that the highest bidder would carry it, and that it depended on himself only to obtain the preference. Bajazet understood his meaning well enough, and as he had no interest so pressing as that of getting rid of his brother, we see, by his letters to the pope, that he begs him to dispatch him out of hand, and by his death put an end to the un-
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easiness which would set upon his spirits as long as he should be living. "Holy father, says he to him, Zizim, as he is imprisoned, cannot be said to live; he does nothing but languish; he is already more than half dead. It would be doing him a good office to dispatch him outright, and send him to enjoy eternal rest in another world." Thus did that tyrant explain himself in writing to another tyrant; and to make him absolutely resolve upon the murder he proposed, he engages himself by his letter, that as soon as he should have made away with his enemy, to remit him three hundred thousand ducats, which, says he, he may employ in purchasing considerable manors and lordships for his children. The pope, who never valued the life of a man in any affair wherein his interest was concerned, readily agreed to the conditions of the treaty. But as he got a tribute of forty thousand ducats every year that Zizim lived, and also, by that means kept Bajazet in awe, he thought proper to defer the execution of this treaty till he saw the success of the enterprise of Charles VIII. and whether that prince would be powerful enough in Italy to take his prisoner from him.

But he was strangely surpris'd to hear, that that prince had already pass'd the Alps, and enter'd Italy without meeting with any obstacle or opposition. And indeed every thing submitted to him, so that there was no occasion for sieges or battles. Most of the towns sent at a great distance to meet him, to present him their keys; and it was commonly said, that he had less need of captains than harbingers for this great conquest, to go, as was usual in France, and mark out with their chalk the lodging he was to lie at. Thus that young prince, who was a conqueror before he so much as drew his sword, came on to Rome, and to compleat his good fortune, as if the gates of Rome were not

large enough to afford him a suitable admittance into the city, the very night of his arrival there tumbled down at least forty yards of the wall, which being very old fell of themselves.

The pope, afraid of falling into the hands of that prince, and of being prosecuted as the chief of the sacred college, solicited he might be shut up in the castle of St. Angelo. It was here that his past iniquities presented themselves to his imagination, with all their black train of horrors. His infamous debauches, his simony, his poisonings, his murders and his assassinations pierced him to the quick. The cardinals, who were witnesses as well as enemies of his vices, the citizens of Rome, and the French soldiers, all cried out aloud, that it was their duty to purge both the earth and the church of such a monster. Though he found himself in this terrible situation, and abandoned by every body, yet he did not abandon himself; and as he was immensely rich, and had as much dexterity as money, he opposed the storm; and whilst his enemies looked upon him as an undone man, he, by force of presents, and the promise of a cardinal's hat to Ericonnet the king's minister, gains him over to his interest, and by his credit, most of the young prince's favourites at the same time: so that this great affair was turned into a negotiation, and of a criminal was made a civil cause. No more mention was made of the crimes of Alexander; all that was now aimed at was to get him over from the party of the house of Arragon. He promised every thing they could desire of him, resolving to keep his promises no longer than a superior power should force him to it. Thus the treaty was soon concluded: he engaged to adhere inviolably for the future to the interests of France; and for a pledge of his word, gave his son the cardinal of Borgia or of Valence in hostage; the same who was afterwards called the duke of Valentinois, the

hero of Machiavel, and who was the most profligate man then living, had his father not been alive. By this treaty he was obliged to follow the king to the war for four months, in quality of an hostage. And in order not to sully the honour of the purple, his father invested him with the dignity of legate of the holy see: but what was still a greater mortification to him than to see his son follow the banner of France, was his being obliged to deliver Zizim up to the king. We see, by the treaty made on this occasion, that that prince, after the expedition of Naples, had bound himself to send him back to Rome to the pope; and in the mean time the king was to get him a discharge from the grand master and council of the order, in the same manner as he had given them, when he received Zizim from them; he was likewise, so long as the Turkish prince lived, to have the forty thousand ducats to himself, which the sultan paid for his subsistence; all of them conditions which he stipulated with so much care, with a view only of screening his wicked intentions. For this bloody wretch, in order to keep his promise to the Turk, and elude that which he had given to the king, caused Zizim * to be poisoned before he delivered him up; so that the unfortunate prince ended his days the moment he came up with the king at Terracina. The hasty flight of the pope's son by night, whom the darkness of it favoured to make his escape, pointed out the perfidious authors of this murder.

The fatal news soon came to Rhodes, and it struck the grand master with horror and astonishment. He reproached himself, and that perhaps justly too, for having delivered up to Innocent VIII. a prince that had put himself into the hands

* Perstringunt nonnulli Venetos Turcico corruptos auro operam dedisse, ut veneno Zizimus necaretur; alii autem Alexandrum pontificem carpunt, qui Zizimum lento tabo infectum, Gallo regi tradiderit. Rainaldi Annales Ecclesiast. anno, 1495.

of the order in confidence of their safe conduct, and who, though he had thrown himself as a captive into Rhodes, could never in that case have been treated otherways than as a prisoner of war. That which encreased the grand master's grief was, that he was obliged to dissemble it, and was not allowed to take the vengeance due to so horrible a crime. In this great perplexity, the grand prior of Auvergne his nephew brought him letters from the king of France, desiring him to come to him, that they might consult together about the design he had formed of invading Greece, and falling upon the dominions of the grand signior.

This young prince, whom fortune seemed to conduct by the hand, had just made himself master of the kingdom of Naples, which young Ferdinand had abandoned to him. The easiness he found in gaining conquests which nobody disputed with him, made him fancy he should have the same success against the Turks. This was the occasion of his letter to the grand master, which was wrote in terms equally civil and urgent. The king told him in a very obliging manner, that he had made choice of him, as one of the greatest captains of the age, to be his guide in that holy enterprize. But the grand master was not to be dazzled by these encomiums, much less by a project that was more pompous than solid. This venerable old man, though he resided in his palace, kept nevertheless secret intelligences in all the courts of the christian princes, and even in the seraglio of the grand signior. He was assured that this prince, now free from the uneasiness that his brother had occasioned him as long as he lived, was then making a powerful armament; and that it was by no means prudent for the grand master to leave Rhodes and the isles of the order in such a juncture. But what prevailed more than any thing else to prevent his going, was, that he had certain advices from several

ral places, that the king, far from being in a condition to pass into the Levant, would be very happy if he could get back into France; that the army which he had led into Italy was considerably lessened, by the garrisons he had been forced to put into different places, by sickness, and especially by the excesses which his soldiers had fallen into. That there was moreover a powerful league formed against that prince, the pope having been the principal instrument in promoting it; that Bajazet had, at the pontiff's solicitation, sent an ambassador to Venice, to threaten those republicans with a bloody war, if they did not declare themselves immediately against the king of France; that they had entered the more freely into the league, because they did not care to have so potent a prince for their neighbour: that there Bailo was the very person who had given the grand seignior the first account of the death of the unfortunate Zizim; and that in order to gratify the-Turks, they had caused the archbishop of Durazzo to be seized, who, in order to facilitate the conquests of Charles the eighth, had held secret intelligences with the Greeks of Illyria, a people that had but lately been brought under the subjection of the porte; and that those republican politicians had sent all the papers and writings of that prelate to the sultan.

These advices informed him farther, that the emperor Maximilian I. Ferdinand king of Spain, Ferdinand the dethroned king of Naples, Lodowic the duke or usurper of Milan, the marquis of Mantua, and several other petty princes of Italy, were actually treating at Venice, and they pretended that the league was signed the last day of March. The grand master sent the chevalier de Blanchefort back to the king, to communicate these advices to him, which the event shewed to be but too well founded. All these princes took up arms, and their army consisted of 20,000 foot and 34,000 horse.

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The king saw plainly, that he must be forced on this occasion to lay aside the enterprize of the Levant: all his thoughts were bent on going to raise new forces in France: he marched that way with the remains of the army that he brought from thence. The enemy, who made near sixty thousand men opposed his passage; they came to an engagement. The allies, though, superior in number, yet differing in opinion; and not being well united among themselves, advanced indeed bravely to the battle, but after the first charge, most of them wheeled about and retired. One would have thought, that they were come only to make a tournament; and the stradiots, a body of light horse in the Venetian service, falling upon the baggage, which was purposely left for them, as a bait to furnish them with some employment, the king, at the head of his gentry and men of arms, opened himself a passage sword in hand, and advanced forward with the loss only of thirty or forty of his soldiers, after killing three thousand five hundred of the enemy; in which number were Rodolph uncle to the marquis of Mantua, and three other princes of the name of Gonzaga, together with eighteen Italian lords.

Charles VIII. returned into his own dominions with more glory than advantage. He lost the kingdom of Naples by his retreat; and as the grand master had foreseen, there was no more talk in France of the voyage beyond sea, or of the conquest of Constantinople. The pope delivered from his fear of the king's forces, and being no longer under apprehensions of any prosecution from that prince, who was scandalized at his wicked life and infamous actions, kept no measures at all after the French army had repassed the mountains, but relapsed into his former disorders.

The knights of Rhodes were not safe from the oppression of his government. This pontiff, without any regard to the privileges of the order, and

though he could not but be sensible of the services that the knights were continually doing to Christendom, he yet pretended to be absolute master of all the dignities and commandries of the order; and the priory of Catalonia with the commandry of Nouvelles falling vacant, he bestowed them on Lewis Borgia his nephew, though the grand master had disposed of them before to brother Francis Boffolx, a Catalan by birth, and one of the most illustrious knights of the language of Arragon.

Such a notorious invasion of their privileges occasioned great complaints throughout the order. They wrote about it by their embassadors to Ferdinand, at that time king of Arragon and Castile. This prince, who in his wars against the Moors of Granada had found no succour so surely to be depended on as those of the Spanish knights, entered into their just resentment. He assured the grand master, that he would openly support the nomination he had made of the chevalier Boffolx, and that, so long as he lived, he would never suffer any commandry to be disposed of to his prejudice, and contrary to the rights of the order. This prince wrote at the same time to the pope, and represented to him, that there was no state in all Christendom but had the institution and bravery of that noble order in singular veneration; that those illustrious knights were the standing protectors of all the christian nations that sailed in the Mediterranean; that ever since the foundation of the order, they had always served as a convoy to pilgrims that went out of devotion to visit the holy land and the sepulchre of the Saviour of mankind; that since the increase of their power by the conquest of the isle of Rhodes, they made no use of their forces, as his holiness well knew, but only to succour christian princes against the infidels; that they spent their revenues, their blood, and their lives, in that service; that the order was daily losing some of its bravest knights in those holy wars, and that very

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few of them came off without wounds; that it was in consideration, and by way of acknowledgement for these important services, that most of the sovereigns of Christendom had given so useful an order to the estates of which the commandries were composed, and that there was not one of them but beheld with concern the attempts that were making to alter this disposition; that they themselves would not sit tamely down, whilst the possessions which their predecessors had acquired so justly, and by so many dangers and fatigues, were alienating from them, and were giving away to strangers; and that, after all, there was no depriving them of their right, without damping their zeal, lessening the forces that they kept at sea, and abandoning all the Christians that should undertake any voyages by sea, as a prey to barbarians and infidels.

The pope submitted to the arguments, or rather authority of the king of Arragon and Castile. That pontiff was very sensible, that, amidst the complaints of the Spanish knights, some invectives had been dropped against his intimacy and his correspondence with the great Turk. He was obliged in honour to wipe off the stains that the poisoning of Zizim had thrown upon him. In order therefore to silence reports so very prejudicial to his reputation, he proposed, by his nuncios to most of the christian princes, the forming a powerful league against the infidels. He declared publicly, that he himself would be the head of it; and, to impose on such as might call in question the sincerity of his intentions, he named the grand master of Rhodes for generalissimo of the christian army. Such a choice determined most of the sovereigns of Europe to take up arms. The emperor Maximilian, Lewis XII. king of France, those of Castile, Portugal, and Hungary, the Venetians, and most of the Italian princes, entered into the league. The pope sent the news of it to Rhodes: he required the order

order to maintain four galleys and four other vessels well equipped for its quota during the war, promising at the same time to furnish fifteen for his part, and took notice, in a particular letter which he sent to the grand master, that the bishop of Trivoli, his nuncio, was actually fitting them out in the port of Venice.

However positive this promise might be, the grand master, who knew the pope's deceitful mind, was very loath to depend upon it, and was so thoroughly persuaded of the certainty of his conjectures on this head, that he would have refused the post of general, if the council of the order had not represented to him, that there were certain conjunctures in which something must necessarily be left to chance; that they had indeed but too much reason to apprehend, that the pope, notwithstanding this great ostentation of zeal which he affected to shew, still kept up secret intelligences with the porte; but that in a crusade and a general war undertaken against the infidels, the order was not at liberty to lie by in a state of indolence, which would cast a stain on the bravery of the knights; and that they ought always to be the first to take up arms, and the last to lay them down.

The grand master was very sensible, that on such occasions there is no keeping exactly to the rules and dictates of prudence: and a very obliging letter, which he received at the same time from Lewis XII. king of France, determined him entirely. This prince, who was an excellent judge of merit, after giving just eulogiums to the valour and experience of the grand master, told him, that he was sending several vessels well equipped, and provided with land-forces on board, into the Mediterranean; that Philip de Cleves-Ravestein commanded this little fleet, and was expressly enjoined by his instructions to obey him, and do nothing without his orders. The grand master and the council, in order to an-
swer

swer in a suitable manner to the great expectations all Christendom had from the order, made extraordinary efforts, and put to sea a considerable fleet, composed of vessels with high decks, gallies, galiots, and barks, well provided. All these vessels lay at anchor, and waited for the coming of the pope's gallies and French vessels under Ravestein's command. But this officer, far from observing the king his master's instructions, and in hopes of getting the whole honour of the campaign to himself, went first, without consulting the grand master, and besieged the capital of the isle of Mitylene.

The Venetians were at sea with thirty gallies. They were continually expecting those of the pope; and Ravestein flattered himself, that with that succour he should have the glory of this conquest. But it was not long before he found that the enterprise exceeded his strength. The place was fortified with strong bastions, and was defended by a numerous garrison, consisting chiefly of janizaries. Moreover, the French general had not troops to invest it round, and the Turks were every moment throwing new succours into it. Ravestein, after losing abundance of men in several attacks, was obliged to raise the siege; and, pretending that the season was too far advanced, he returned directly for the coasts of France. The Venetian general wrote the grand master word, that the French had attempted and afterwards raised the siege of Mitylene without his privity and consent; adding, that there was no depending on the fifteen gallies of the pope, that were so many castles in the air; that he knew only of two, which the duke of Valentinois his son was employing at that time against the prince of Piombino, and that they had no notion at all in Italy of the pontiff's taking up arms against the Turks. Nevertheless the league subsisted some time longer, during which the Christians took the islands of St. Maure from the infidels, which was the only benefit they

they reaped from this union of the christian princes. The war that broke out between the French and Spaniards in the kingdom of Naples destroyed it entirely; and the pope, instead of intervening to reconcile those two powers, did all he could to foment their divisions. The Venetians, deserted by the principal of their allies, made a separate peace with the Turk. Ladislaus, king of Hungary, entered into a like treaty with Bajazet, and none stood out but the knights of Rhodes, who, without having the least succour from the pope and the other princes of Europe, continued the war against the Turks with the single forces of the order.

Their gallies were then at sea, and met off the coasts of Syria and Egypt a fleet of Turkish and Sarazen ships, bound from Alexandria, where they had been richly laden with merchandize, to Constantinople. The chevalier de Villaragut, castellan of Emposta, commanded this squadron: he attacked and beat the convoy of this rich fleet, which he seized on, and brought into the port of Rhodes. The prize indeed was considerable, but not sufficient to remove the grand master's concern for the indifference and negligence of his allies. He employed every method, and used the most pressing instances, but to no purpose, in order to give new life to the league, and engage the pope to keep his word the following campaign. That pontiff, who had sufficiently re-established his reputation in having formed a league, employed his thoughts only on the making a great provision for Cæsar Borgia his favourite son. He was for making that bastard a sovereign prince, and raising his fortune upon the ruins of the first houses of Italy.

The other princes of the alliance were in like manner entirely taken up with their own private interests. The grand master seeing no room to expect any thing for the advantage of Christendom under such a pontificate, waited for a change, and
in

in the mean time turned all his care to regulate the constitution of his state, and the manners of his knights and people.

By an edict of the council he banished the Jews out of the isle of Rhodes, and all the territories of the order in which they had been settled for several ages. The hereditary aversion of that people for the adorable person of Jesus Christ, made them odious to the grand master. Besides, they ruined the subjects of the order by their excessive usury, and were accused likewise of a certain kind of traffick that was still more base and infamous.

From the same motive of piety, and the same spirit of religion, the grand master made severe ordinances against blasphemers, and extended them afterwards against the luxury of some knights that went too fine and gaudy in their apparel. This worthy head of an order, holy in its institution, being as regular a religious as he was a great captain, ordered all his knights, agreeable to what had always been practised in the order, to wear no clothes but what were plain, uniform, of one colour, and without any of those vain embellishments, the result of pride and ambition: and if any one dared to infringe that statute, he was condemned to undergo the discipline for two days, and fast for seven, and his cloaths were confiscated for the benefit of the poor. All the old commanders and the most zealous among the knights highly commended the grand master for this wise regulation. From that moment there were no more to be seen any stuffs of different colours, embrideries, rich furs, or any sort of vain equipage unsuitable to a set of religious persons who had made the solemn vow of poverty at the altar. Indeed what could one think to see these religious dressed up like so many women, and perhaps with a view only of seducing them, and to have nothing of their profession about them but a bare cross, which they would not have worn neither, had

it not served for a title to the claim they laid to the revenues of the order? It was a happy circumstance indeed, that at the same time that they resumed the modest habit of their profession, they resumed likewise the spirit of it; and the order again found a set of holy religious in the person of its brave knights.

Whilst the grand master was employing himself so worthily in maintaining a regular discipline in his order, one would have thought that the pope had conspired its ruin. That pontiff, ever greedy of wealth, and above all things fond of despotick power, bestowed the richest dignities of the order upon his relations and secular persons; and disposed of them without the privity of the grand master, without the least regard for the nature of the possessions which belonged to an independent and sovereign body, and in violation of all the rights and privileges of the order. This unjust and violent proceeding afflicted the grand master in a very sensible manner. He wrote about it to the pope in very strong terms, such as a true zeal is apt to inspire; but all the answer he had was a continuation of the same injustice; and he had an account, that even after his remonstrances, Alexander had promised the grand priory of Castile to Don Henry de Toledo. This news threw the grand master into a melancholy which ended at last in a sickness that proved mortal to him. The generous old man, a sincere lover of his order, of whose merit and usefulness he was thoroughly persuaded, could not get the better of his grief. His indisposition became insensibly too strong for all the remedies of physic. He sunk under it without losing any thing of his ordinary resolution, and saw death steal upon his bed with the same intrepidity that he had so often stared it in the face in war amidst the most terrible dangers. Thus died, at above eighty years of age, Peter d'Aubusson, grand master of the order

der of St. John of Jerusalem, one of the greatest captains of his age: a man revered by all the princes that lived in his time, the darling and delight of his knights, the father of the poor, the redeemer of Rhodes, the sword and buckler of Christendom, and as eminently distinguished by his unfeigned piety as by his singular valour.

His birth was illustrious; he was sprung of one of the most noble and most ancient houses of France, the original of which is not to be traced in the obscurity of the first ages of that monarchy. About the year 887 as Aimar de Chabanois relates, a nobleman of the name of Aubuffon was made a viscount in the province of Limousin by king Eudes. The same historian, who lived in 1029, in order to set off the birth of Turpin bishop of Limoges, says, that he was uncle to Robert Viscount d'Aubuffon. But how illustrious soever the grand master's ancestors were, he gloried chiefly in such of them as had signalized themselves in the wars of the Holy Land. It was to copy after their example that he devoted himself to the defence of Christians, by entering into the order, and fighting under the banner of St. John; we have now seen in the history of his life that he was as serviceable to them, as he was terrible to the infidels. The order, after his death, inherited his estate; but we may say with justice, that the most valuable treasure he left was the remembrance of his glory and the example of his virtues.

B O O K VIII.

THOUGH all grand masters are mortal, we may say that the order of St. John is immortal, and that such a kind of republican government, founded upon invariable laws, and always actuated by a wise council, may lose its head, or some of its members, without losing any thing of its solidity. Let whatever will happen, it is always the same spirit that reigns in it : the history of the grand master d'Aubuffon furnishes us a
1503, great example of it. The order was not sensible of his loss, by reason of the wisdom

and zeal of his successor. This successor was brother Emeri d'Amboise,
EMERI **D'AMBOISE.** of an ancient and very noble house, which was at that time particularly famous by the famous George d'Amboise, brother to the grand master, archbishop of Rouen, cardinal and legate of the holy see, and first minister of France.

The new grand master was in that kingdom, when the chevalier de Gaverston, by order of the council, brought him the instrument of his election. This knight was ordered to represent to him what need the order had of the king of France's good offices with the pope, who continued, contrary to their rights and privileges, to put his creatures into all the commandries that fell vacant in the language of Italy. They complained likewise, that by his grant of expectative favours, he anticipated upon the vacant ones ; and that for an inconsiderable sum of money, he not only exempted the knights from their residence at Rhodes, which was so necessary at that time in order to acquire and preserve a right of seniority ; but also dispensed with several from taking on them the vows of the
order

order, a practice which was entirely unprecedented. Every thing was venal in the court of this avaricious pope; no body, even in his own territories, could be rich with safety; and when he wanted pretences to seize on other people's estates, he kept a set of poisoners in his pay, who by their abominable art, made the richest commandries and the first dignities of the church vacant whenever he pleased.

It seemed strange that in so holy a post God should so long suffer a monster that dishonoured it: but if his justice was slow, it was not the less severe upon that account: and this pontiff perished by the ordinary instrument of his cruelties: for his last crime proved fatal to himself.

The pope and his son had long hankered after, and grasped already in their hopes, the inheritance of the great estate of cardinal Adrian Cornetto, who passed for the richest of all the cardinals in ready money: but as the old man lived too long for their wishes, they resolved to poison him. The pope invited him to an entertainment in a country house near Rome: the poison was prepared in a bottle of wine, which was to be filled out to no body but the cardinal. But the pope and the duke of Valentinois coming to the garden before him, and finding themselves thirsty, called for drink, and the butler, who was let into the secret of the bottle, happening not to be there at that moment, another servant filled them wine out of the poisoned bottle, which they drank off. Alexander being old, could not resist the violence of the poison, what remedies soever they applied*. Thus died pope Alexander VI. " whose public debaucheries, says P. Daniel " in his history of France, treacheries, boundless " ambition, insatiable avarice, cruelty and irreligi- " on, made him the odium of all Europe, in a " post to which none ought to be raised but by the

* 1 Edit. t. 2. p. 1721.

“ practice of virtues, the very opposite of his abominable vices *.

The duke of Valentinois being of a stronger constitution; escaped indeed by the help of various remedies, from dying outright; but ever after this terrible accident, he lived but in a state of languishment; and afterwards lost his life in attempting to reconnoitre a small place that he had besieged.

Thus were the church in general, and the order of St. John in particular, delivered from two tyrants, who by their wicked example, and their unjust government, seemed to have conspired their ruin. The grand master hearing of their death, and thinking himself no longer necessary in the court of France, prepared to set out for Rhodes, whereupon he took leave of the king. That prince gave him the utmost demonstrations of kindness, made him a present of a piece of the true cross and gave him at the same time, as a testimony of the esteem he had of his valour, the sword that king St. Lewis wore in his wars beyond sea; a present very suitable to the head of an order who was animated with the same spirit as that holy king. The grand master, before his setting out, went to the parliament. The courts were then assembled in order to verify the bulls relating to the legatine faculties of cardinal d'Amboise his brother. He told that august assembly, that he would not set out for his own territories without taking leave of that court, to which he assured in general, as likewise to every particular member of it, that he would do them all the good offices that lay in his power.

The grand master had a prosperous voyage, and arrived without any obstacle at Rhodes, and came to an anchor by the mole of St. Nicholas. He

* *Historia arcaña; sive de vita Alexandri VI. papæ; seu excerpta ex diario Johannis Burchardi Argentinenfis capellæ Alexandri VI. papæ clerici ceremoniarum magistri. Edita a Godefr. Guilelm. Cabizio.*

was received with all the usual ceremonies on such occasions; and in order to get a true information of the condition of the whole body of the order, he called a general chapter. Several regulations were made in it, for the supporting of discipline, and for settling a good order in the administration of the revenue; and it was highly necessary to take proper measures to prevent the ill designs of the Turks and Sarazens. Bajazet and the soldan of Egypt being exasperated against the knights, who were masters of the sea, in all parts of the Levant, had secretly made a league together to destroy a power which ruined the commerce of their subjects. The grand seignior being now freed from the inquietude that his brother's life had before given him, could not forgive the knights for receiving a son of that unfortunate prince into their island. He was called Amurath, who not fancying himself safe in the soldan's dominions, had taken refuge at Rhodes. Bajazet, by way of revenge, had given orders to all the corsairs that sailed under his banner, to make descents in all the isles that owned the grand master as their sovereign. The soldan too had agreed to raise a strong army to lay siege to Rhodes: but as there was no wood in his dominions to build ships, the grand seignior lent him four gallies well equipped, and allowed that prince's ambassador to purchase several merchant ships in the port of Constantinople: these the ambassador laded with timber, iron, sails, and all other necessary rigging, besides this succour, that minister obtained leave of the grand seignior for the soldan his master to cut down timber in the forests about mount Negro, and along the gulph of Ajazzo; this gulph is well known to Cilicia and Syria together. These preparations were not intended only for the war of Rhodes. The soldan, whose name was Campton Gauri, designed part of them against the Portuguese, who were grown formidable along

the coasts of the Red-sea, and over all the east. They were to carry this timber all ready framed to the port of Alexandria, from when they transported it upon camels to Suez, a small town 1505. seated on the edge of the Red-sea, * near the place where the Israelites had formerly crossed as on dry land, under the conduct of Moses.

Emanuel, king of Portugal, one of the greatest kings of that nation, was then making war upon Naubeadarin king of Calecut: the spice trade had drawn the Portuguese into his territories, which lie along the coast of Malabar, in the peninsula on this side Ganges. This was the place where the Portuguese landed when they discovered the East-Indies. They were at first received by the people with great humanity; but afterwards abusing their good nature, and attempting to make themselves masters of the country, they were driven out of it. The Portuguese returned thither with powerful fleets. The king of the country, not having forces enough to make head against these foreigners, applied to the sultan of Egypt for succour: and in order to engage him in his defence, represented to him by his ambassador, that the Portuguese seemed to have a design to conquer the east, and destroy the holy law of the prophet; and that those Europeans were likely to extend their conquests as far as the places which true Mussulmen have in the greatest veneration. And the better to excite the zeal and indignation of that prince, he engaged the king of Aden, who having the honour to be of the race of Mahomet, bears, on that account, a distinguished rank among the kings of Arabia, to dispatch likewise an ambassador to him to make the same remonstrances.

Campson, who, among other titles, assumed that of protector of Mecca, assured them of strong succours; and was likewise solicited to it under
hand

hand by the Venetians, who were jealous of the commerce carried on by the Portuguese in the east, and had sent an embassador to the soldan. This embassador brought several workmen along with him, some to cast artillery, others to work in the building of vessels; but who were particularly to be employed in building gallies, vessels absolutely necessary in the port of Suez, which had not a bottom safe enough for great vessels to ride in.

This was the occasion of Campson's desiring leave of Bajazet to supply himself with timber out of the forests of Cicilia. Whilst his artificers were employed in these kinds of work, the grand Seignior put to sea a fleet consisting of a great number of galiots, flutes, and other sorts of vessels, with a body of land forces on board, under the command of a famous corsair called Camali, to whom the rest of the corsairs had joined themselves in this expedition, and who had all of them orders, as we have said, to make descents on the isles belonging to the knights, and destroy all with fire and sword. But they were prevented by the care and vigilance of the grand master: several detachments of cavalry, with the bravest knights at their head, were posted along the coast of the isle of Rhodes to guard it; so that the corsairs attempting to make a descent, the troops which they put on shore were surrounded by the Rhodians as soon as they advanced into the country. The greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and Camali gathering together as many as he could of those that escaped the sword of the knights, set sail again, and fell upon the isles of Simia, Tilo, and Nissaro, but with no better success than he had at Rhodes. He was in hopes however of repairing these miscarriages by the conquest of the isle of Lango; in this view he stood away for that coast, and was not far from it when he was informed that the grand master

ster had put a considerable body of knights in it, under the command of brother Raimond de Balagner, an old knight, dreaded over all those seas for his valour and experience.

All this expedition ended in a descent on the isle of Lero, which does not so much deserve the name of an island, as of a rock or shelf; Camali landed 500 Turks, that began to batter the castle with all the cannon of their vessels.

The governor of this little place was an old knight, of the language of Italy, who being extremely ill at that time, left the care of defending it to a young knight of Piedmont, scarce eighteen years old, Paul Simeoni by name. This young knight having no garrison nor soldiers, but only some poor inhabitants that cultivated the least rocky places of the isle, put a good face upon the matter, and fired briskly on the infidels that battered the place; but as their artillery had beat down a great pannel of the wall of his castle, he, to intimidate the enemy, and prevent their making an assault, dressed the inhabitants of the island, and also their wives, in the habit of knights, with the white cross: this new militia, by his orders, lined the breach in great numbers. The Turks taking them to be really knights, and imagining that they were a re-inforcement which had been sent on the noise of their cannon, and landed in the isle by night, raised the siege with precipitation, for fear of being surpris'd by the gallies of the order, which owed the preservation of this fort to the resolution and address of young Simeoni.

The foldan of Egypt, pursuant to the treaty which he had made with Bajazet, had sent seven flutes into those seas; which are a sort of long vessels with a low deck, and provided with oars as well as sails. These flutes had land forces on board, and the commodore's design was to make an

an attempt on the isle of Lango. Two of these vessels, that were a sort of van to the rest, advancing a good way before them in order to reconnoitre, were discovered by the centinels of the castle. The governor immediately ordered two gallees to sail out of the port, whd, after having put out to sea, turned back upon the flutes, and cut off their retreat. The Saracens not thinking themselves strong enough to fight them, and not able to get back to their Squadron, made for the coast of Lango, ran their ships aground, got on shore, fled and hid themselves in the island. The knights knowing they could not escape being taken, lost no time in pursuing them, but towed off the two flutes, put christian soldiers and seamen on board them, with two knights, that got into the same course which the infidels had held before. The other five flutes that came quietly on, seeing the two others that preceded them, came up with them without mistrusting any thing; but they were strangely surprised to see themselves attacked: they were still more so, when they saw the two gallees of the order appear from behind a cape of the island, and lay them aboard. The infidels, after a smart attack, were forced to strike, and were all made slaves in the gallees, as well as those that had fled to the island, where they were soon discovered and taken prisoners.

This little advantage was succeeded by an enterprize much more considerable, that was executed by one of the vessels of the order. 1507. There went every year from Alexandria a great carack laden with silks, spices, and all sorts of merchandize, which the soldan's subjects brought from the Indies by the way of the Red-sea, and were carried in this vessel from Egypt into Africa, and to Tunis, and up as far as Constantinople. This ship was of so extraordinary a bulk, that they say the top of the highest mast of the largest gallees

was

was not near the height of the prow of this prodigious machine. Six men were scarce able to clasp the mast about. This vessel had seven stories, two of which were lower than the surface of the water: it was able to carry, besides its freight, and the merchants and seamen necessary for the working and sailing of it, a thousand soldiers for its defence; it was a sort of floating castle, mounted with above an hundred pieces of cannon: the Sarazens called this carack the queen of the sea: the knights, during the government of Aubuffon, had attempted several times to come up with it and attack it, but never could carry their point. The order was more lucky under his successor. Advice being brought that it was at sea, the grand master ordered the chevalier de Gastineau, commander of Limoges, to go on board the admiral galley of the order, and endeavour to meet the carack and engage it, but to make use of artifice rather than force in the taking of it, and to be particularly careful neither to burn nor sink it. The commander, pursuant to his orders, set sail, steering his course for Candia, and cruised a little beyond that island to wait the coming up of the prize. The carack soon appeared and discovered the christian caper; but the Sarazens presuming on their own force, and the superiority of their fire and artillery, would not change their course; so far from that, they looked on their enemy with contempt, and thought it a rashness in the Christian to put himself in their way, as if he had a mind to be taken, and surrender himself up into his hands.

The knight however still kept on his course, and seeing himself within cannon shot, sent one of his officers in his long-boat to summon the captain of the carack to deliver up his ship. The Sarazen replied, that the ship belonged to the soldan his master; that he had by his orders commanded her several years, without having met with any enemy in
those

hose seas daring enough to attack him, and required him to tell his commander, that he had a number of brave Mussulmen on board, who would lose their lives rather than lose their honour and their liberty. The knight, upon receiving this answer, and as if he had a mind to make up this affair by way of treaty, sent his officer back to the Sarazen, to represent to him that his superiors had given him express orders to attack him whether strong or weak: that he could not help obeying them, and therefore could only offer them, if they would surrender, to give them good quarter; but that in case they would not, he would either burn or sink them. By means of these purlies, the time which was spent in dispatching the christian officer backwards and forwards, the commander, who had no design but to amuse them, was still advancing forwards, and was come almost insensibly up close to the carack; so that the Sarazens having threatened the envoy to throw him into the sea if he returned any more with such proposals, he was no sooner got on board the galley of the order, but the commander let fly a broadside of his cannon loaden with cartridges, which killed the Sarazen captain, with most of the officers, as well as soldiers and seamen that were upon the deck. The merchants, soldiers and seamen that were left in the carack, frightened at the terrible havock made by this volley, and seeing them preparing to fire a second broadside, struck and offered to yield. The commander obliged the principal of them to come on board his galley, and at the same time sent a party of his own officers and seamen on board their vessel, to take the management of it. It would be impossible to relate the immense wealth that was found in this prize, besides vast sums of money and precious stones belonging to the merchants.

The soldan sent several bales of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, and a great quantity of rich tapestry,

pestry, camlets, and various sorts of commodities of great value for the ransom of the merchants and his other subjects. The vessels of the order took likewise, a few days after, near the coast of Cyprus, three ships of the Sarazens, and sent the merchandise on board them to be sold in France, the produce of the sale being laid out in cannon, arms, and ammunition, which the agents of the order sent to Rhodes.

The foldan, incensed at these losses, resolved to augment his naval force, and to have always a certain number of gallies in the Mediterranean 1510. and Red-sea. That prince sent five and twenty vessels of different bulk into the gulph of Ajazzo, to transport the timber which he had caused to be cut and ready framed there, and designed to make use of for the building of new vessels.

The grand master having certain advice of the arrival of this Egyptian fleet in the gulph, and that this new armament was designed against a christian prince, resolved to oppose it. He proposed the matter to the council. Several of the grand crosses thought the enterprise dangerous by reason of the forces of the foldan: but as the order was stronger at sea than that prince, and besides, the council was persuaded of the wisdom and prudence of the grand master, his opinion prevailed, and they allowed him to draw out of the treasury the money necessary for this expedition. He gave orders for equipping the great carack, and they fitted out at the same time four gallies of the order, and eighteen vessels of several sizes. As the king of Portugal's interest was chiefly concerned in this war, the grand master gave the command of the gallies to Andrew d'Amaral a Portuguese, of the language of Castile, commander of Vera Cruz, a brave knight, and well skilled in naval affairs, but proud, conceited, and

and too much prepossessed in favour of his own valour and capacity.

The ships were under the command of the chevalier de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam: the grand master chose him for this employment, on account of the esteem and reputation he had in the order, which he had merited by his valour and wise conduct in commanding.

The galleys, sailing out of the port of Rhodes, came up to the isle of Cyprus, and went coasting up and down the island. But the commander de l'Isle Adam, to avoid being becalmed, kept out to sea; and both, according to appointment, came by different ways to capè St. André, which is on the east of the kingdom of Cyprus. When the whole fleet of the order was joined, they held a council of war upon the manner of their attacking the infidels. The two chieftains, I mean d'Amaral and l'Isle Adam, were of different opinions. The Frenchman proposed to wait, and surprize the ships when they should be at sea with the timber on board; d'Amaral was for going to attack them in the bottom of the gulph, without considering that they might be defended by batteries erected on the shore; and pretended to make his opinion pass for a law, at the same time that he rejected that of l'Isle-Adam with contempt. The debate grew very hot; the two generals were on the point of fighting; but the Frenchman, having more moderation, and fearing that the quarrel might cause the enterprise to miscarry, sacrificed his resentment to the common good of the order, and submitted to d'Amaral's opinion. The whole fleet then discovered itself, and entered full sail into the gulph. The commodore of the Sarazens was the soldan's nephew: the young prince, who wanted no courage, seeing the Rhodian fleet, put what land-forces he had on board his ship, weighed anchor, advanced to meet the knights, and offered them battle.

There were in the christian fleet excellent pilots used to those seas, who, by working their ships, got the wind of the enemy; the infidels however were not daunted at it, but fought on with the same courage. The artillery was played equally well on both sides, and the generals fought themselves, and obliged their soldiers to fight like men that would not outlive their defeat. The continual fire of the cannon and small arms, the crash and havock of the shipping, the shooting down the masts, and sinking of several vessels, all this lost abundance of men on both sides; and after an obstinate engagement for three hours together, it was scarce discernible on what side the victory inclined: and in all probability, if they had continued firing and cannonading only at a distance, the battle would not have been so soon ended; but the knights, by order of their generals, endeavoured to board them, and, following their example, leaped most of them sword in hand into the enemies vessels. This soon changed the face of the combat; and as, when they come to grapple, a knight had a great advantage over a Sarazen soldier both in courage and address, the Egyptians lost several ships. Most of the infidels got into their long-boats, whilst others threw themselves into the sea to swim to the shore. Such as were lucky enough to get thither, fled into the woods and mountains; only their general chose rather to die honourably fighting, than either abandon his ship or surrender.

The knights in this engagement took eleven ships and four gallies, and sunk the rest. They afterwards landed some troops that pursued the fugitives, and took most of them, and made them slaves; and after setting fire to the timber, which the Egyptians had framed, they returned to Rhodes, and came back into the port with the ships and gallies they had taken from the enemy, and a great number

ber of prisoners that they had taken in this expedition.

These prizes made the treasury ample amends for the expences it had been obliged to make for this armament ; especially at a time when the knights, out of a spirit of a disapprobation, devoted not only their prizes to the common good of the order, but also all the money they could lay by out of the revenues of their several commandries. We have a remarkable instance of this at that time in brother Charles l'Aleman de la Roche-Chinard, of the language of Provence, grand prior of St. Giles, who, reserving only to himself out of his income a small sum for his maintenance, employed as long as he lived the profits of his priory, either in the beautifying of their altars, or in the defence and service of the order : and they have particularly observed, that, during the mastership of the grand master d'Aubuffon, he sent to Rhodes the statues of the twelve apostles, which he had caused to be made of gilt plate, and which weighed 200 merks of silver ; that he afterwards sent thither a gold ring representing the Saviour of mankind, the statues of the holy virgin, and St. John Baptist, both likewise of massy gold, and weighing fourscore merks, a chalice, and several rich ornaments 1511. for the altar : and this year he made the prioral church a present of fifteen pictures which cost him a thousand crowns, having each of them a cross of fine gold, fashioned after the same manner as those which were worn by the knights, and weighing thirty merks. In fine, this very knight built, at his own expence, a noble palace to serve as an inn to the knights of the language of Provence, to whom he sent likewise four cannons with their carriages, to serve for the defence of the place. He left himself, before he died, no more than 10,000 crowns, which he deposited in the bank of St. George at Genoa, for the benefit of the bo-

dy of the order, with the view, that if Rhodes should chance to be besieged, the knights might find that supply ready for the purchasing arms and ammunition: all of them dispositions so truly christian and religious, that we thought ourselves obliged to transmit the remembrance of them to posterity, and to propose them for an example to the commanders, who, under that honourable title, are really no more than the administrators of the revenues that belong to the body of the order, and the common treasury. It was from the same spirit, that the grand master d'Amboise employed the revenues annexed to his dignity, either in relieving the poor, who looked upon him as their father, or in making fortifications at Rhodes; but 1512. death surpris'd him in the midst of such laudable employments, in the 78th year of his age, the greatest part of which he had spent in the practice of christian virtues. He was a wise prince, skilful in the arts of government, successful in all his enterprises, and one who enriched his order with the spoils of the infidels, without increasing his own wealth; for he died poor, at the same time that he left not one poor man in his dominions.

We may justly apply to the grand master d'Aubuffon what is said of Raimond Dupuy of blessed memory, the first military grand master of the order, viz. that most of his pupils proved his successors. Indeed, upon the loss that the order had just sustained by the death of the grand master Amboise, they thought they could not repair it better than by making choice of brother GUY DE de Blanchefort, grand prior of AUBUFFON-VERGNE, nephew to the grand master d'Aubuffon, during whose mastership he had a considerable share in the government of the order, and particularly in the guard and care of prince Zizim.

Whilst

Whilst messengers were gone from Rhodes to France, to carry the prior de Blanchefort news of his election, the council of the order received a brief from Julius II. who was then on the throne of St. Peter, inviting the principal knights to repair immediately to the council of Lateran, which that pontiff had called, in order to balance the authority of the assembly called at Pisa against him, at the request of the emperor Maximilian the first, of Lewis XII. king of France, and five cardinals. The pope in his brief told the council of the order, that he designed to intrust the knights of St. John with the guard of the council. The design of this war-like pope was to get a considerable body of those knights into his party, and engage them to serve in his troops. But the council being well informed, that the business of that council was not so much to take care of the interests of religion, as to support the ambitious project of Julius, who had put all Christendom in a flame, did not think proper to intermeddle in affairs that bore so little conformity to their institution. They excused themselves on account of the absence and distance of the new grand master, from making any considerable detachment on that account. To shew some deference however to the orders of the pope, the first spiritual superior of the order, they ordered the chevalier Fabricio Caretto, admiral of the order, who was then residing at the court of Rome, in quality of their procurator-general, to raise in Italy and in the pope's territories a number of knights, and to go at the head of them to offer their service to that pontiff.

The desire of husbanding the christian princes was not the only motive which made the council take such a prudent resolution. They had received at Rhodes an account of mighty preparations which the Turks were making in all their ports; and this made the lieutenant of the mastership, and all the council, resolve not to let any knight go out

of the island. They dispatched at the same time the chevalier John de Fournon to the grand master, to press him to come thither as soon as possible. The commander Caretto, who had acquired so much glory at the siege of Rhodes, had orders likewise sent him to repair thither with the pope's permission, and bring with him two ships laden with corn; recruits and supplies of several sorts for the garrisons of fort St. Peter, and the isles of the order; and they sent at the same time detachments of knights thither to provide for the defence and preservation of those places.

The news of the Turks armament spreading itself over all Europe, made the grand master hurry away; and though he found himself dangerously ill, nothing could stop him. He embarked at Villa Franca near Nice; but the sea made his illness much worse. The knights that attended him seeing themselves off of Trapani, a town of Sicily, would fain have persuaded him to put in there, and be carried ashore: but the grand master, who had more regard to the interests of his order than to his own life, fearing that if he should die in that place, the pope would hear of his death before his successor was elected, and take upon him to dispose of the grand mastership, ordered that they should keep on their course for Rhodes. After some days sail, as they were off of the isle of Zante, he felt the approaches of death. He faced it with the same intrepidity as he had so often shewed in the many engagements he had been in; and after discharging all the duties of a Christian and a true religious, he devoted his last moments to the preservation of the sovereignty and temporal independence of the order. To prevent any attempt from the court of Rome against the freedom of election, he ordered the knights that attended him, as soon as the breath was out of his body, and before the news of his death could reach Italy, to dispatch a caravel, well provided with excellent rowers, to carry

ty the news of his death to Rhodes with all possible expedition. His last orders were punctually executed; the caraval arrived at Rhodes December 13th. The day following the chapter met, and chose admiral CARETTO for grand master, a dignity that had been foretold him by the grand master d'Aubuffon, as has been already mentioned in the seventh book of this history, and which he deserved not only from a series of gallant actions, but also by the several negotiations that he had carried on at the courts of christian princes with great wisdom and dexterity.

1513.

Nov. 24.

FABRICIO

CARETTO.

As soon as he had taken possession of this eminent post, he called a general chapter. As they expected they were going to be besieged, most of the regulations made in it related either to warlike stores, or the subsistence of the knights that were necessary for the defence of Rhodes. The grand master undertook to provide for every thing, and engaged to maintain five hundred and fifty knights that actually resided in the convent for the sum of forty thousand crowns which was to be paid him annually out of the treasury. They assigned him likewise a farther sum of twenty three thousand crowns for the extraordinary charges of the artillery, and the maintenance of sultan Amurath, Zizim's son, who had turned Christian, and had the castle of Feracle in the isle of Rhodes given him by the order for his residence, where he led a very exemplary life. The grand master, by means of a rich merchant of Lions, Laurenfin by name, got a large train of artillery from France, and sent thither at the same time to reside in quality of ambassador of the order, brother Philip de Villiers de Pisse-Adam, whom we have already mentioned, hospitaller and grand prior of France, in which kingdom he likewise acted as visitor and lieutenant to the grand master.

The

The war which they were apprehensive of against Rhodes from the Turks, was suspended by some domestick diffensions that broke out at the porte in the Ottoman house. Bajazet was still upon the throne, a gouty and infirm prince, that delighted only in eating and drinking, or in searching after some of the secrets of nature, a lazy and voluptuous philosopher but a very weak prince.

This prince had three sons, Achomat, Corcut, and Selim: the first, either from a political view or from his natural inclination, passed his life in luxury and a shameful indolence. Corcut, who has been already mentioned, and whom the janizaries, after the death of Mahomet II. his grandfather, had seated on the throne, in order to secure the possession of it to his father, affected a great air of devotion, and was never seen without the Alcoran in his hand. Selim, the youngest of the three, loved war, and omitted nothing that might gain him a reputation in it. Among three princes of such different characters, Bajazet was for declaring Achomat his successor; the similitude and conformity of their taste for pleasures occasioned this distinguishing affection in his favour. Selim being informed of his intentions, employed every artifice in order to traverse them. He found means to get the janizaries into his interest; and those troops being gained by Selim's money, waited only for an opportunity of declaring in his favour.

The grand seignior and the king of Persia, being both too powerful and too near neighbours to live in good understanding for any time together, declared war against each other. The janizaries, a body of troops always terrible to such of their sovereigns as do not make themselves dreaded by them, before they marched into the field, demanded openly a prince to command them, and Selim must be that prince in spite of Bajazet, who had named

named them his eldest son for their general. They carried their insolence still higher : they required of weak Bajazet, as a security of their pay, as they said, to deliver up the keys of the treasury to their new general. The unhappy old man understood the meaning of this well enough : he came down from the throne and quitted Constantinople to retire to Demotica, a country house which he had built by the side of the Euxine sea. But Selim, who was dissident of his inclination for Achomat, got him poisoned by his physician : he afterwards caused his two brothers with their wives and children to be strangled. Such were the steps by which he mounted to sovereign power : in other respects he was a great captain, always on horseback, indefatigable, sober, not given to any pleasure, nor affected with any thing but glory, which he sought after all his life-time in the dangers of war.

This prince's ambition, his courage, his power, the forces of his empire, all contributed to alarm his neighbours. Imael king of Persia was the first that he fell upon. Selim invaded his dominions, passed the Euphrates, gave him battle, routed him, and took the famous city of Faurus. The Persian to make head against so formidable an enemy, endeavoured to form alliances with the princes his neighbours. He sent an ambassador to the grand master, who in the habit of a merchant, and by the assistance of a Turk, who was an inhabitant of Tarsus in Cilicia, and had a pension from the order, got safe through Selim's territories, and came to Rhodes. He was received in that place with all the regard due to the greatness of his master, and the importance of the affair he was come to negotiate. This minister treated with the council and concluded a league against the common enemy. Campion Gauri soldan of Egypt, who was as much afraid of Selim as the rest, entered likewise

wife into the treaty. The grand seignior having advice of these various negotiations, sent ambassadors to Cairo, to disengage the soldan from the league; but not succeeding in his design, he turned his arms against that prince, and in less than four years time reduced Syria, Palestine, the maritime places of the Red Sea, a great part of Arabia, and all Egypt: and having entirely destroyed the empire of the Mamelukes, he left the government of Egypt to Cair-beg, and that of Syria to Gazelles, two lords who had been principal officers among the Mamelukes, but who, in breach of the fidelity which they owed to their sovereigns, had deserted them, and gone over to the Turks. Selim returned to Constantinople covered with glory after these great exploits; and immediately set to work in fitting out two hundred galleys, which he designed for the conquest of the isle of Rhodes.

The precaution so necessary for a conqueror of being informed of the fortifications of a place which he intends to besiege, made him send a Jewish physician to Rhodes as a spy. This traitor, in order to be the less suspected, got himself baptized: his skill, and the want they were in of such a man of his character, soon introduced him into the principal houses of the city: and when he had discovered the weak places of the fortifications, he gave an exact account of them to the ministers of the porte. Whilst they were continually at work in the arsenals upon the preparations necessary for this enterprize, Selim fell ill of the stone, others say of a cancer in the reins, of which he died at the age of forty years, after having destroyed the empire of the Mamelukes, subdued Syria and Palestine, triumphed over all the forces of Persia, taken the maritime towns of the Red Sea, and great part of Arabia, and reduced all Egypt into one province only of his empire: all which conquests he finished in a reign of less than eight years.

Solyman

Solyman II. his only son succeeded him in the government of this vast empire, who took possession of it almost at the same time that Charles V. was elected emperor of Germany. Solyman was scarce twenty years old: Gazelles governor of Syria had been faithful to his father, whom he stood in fear of, and whose power kept him in awe: but thinking himself freed from his engagements by the death of that prince, as soon as he heard the news of it, he thought of raising up the empire of the Mamelukes again, and was not without hopes of getting into the throne himself. He wanted neither courage nor capacity for the carrying on of so mighty a design, but as he had not forces sufficient singly to oppose the formidable power of the Turks, he secretly dispatched one of his confidants to Cair beg governor of Egypt, in order to endeavour to engage him in his intended revolt. His agent represented to him in his behalf, that under the reign of a young prince, whom he looked upon as a child, nothing could be more easy or more glorious for both of them, than to unite their forces, and employ them to deliver their nation from the tyranny of the Turks.

But Cair beg preferred a fortune already made to his hands, which was as great as a private man could enjoy, to the uncertain success of an enterprise of so delicate a nature, which, though it should chance to succeed, Gazelles nevertheless would probably reap all the benefit of it. To clear himself therefore of all manner of suspicion of infidelity, he put the envoy of Gazelles to death, dispatching at the same time an express to the porte, in order to acquaint the grand seignior and his ministers with the dangerous projects of the governor of Syria.

Solyman sent immediately a strong army against him, under the command of Ferhat basha, one of the ablest generals of the emperor his father. Ga-

zelles,

zelles, not seeing his agent return, began to be apprehensive, that he was betrayed by the governor of Egypt. As he was engaged too far to retreat, and the bare debating whether one shall continue faithful to one's sovereign; is a breach of faith that merits chastisement, he summoned about him all the surviving Mamelukes that were dispersed up and down in different places. All Syria by his orders took up arms; and he sent embassadors at the same time to Rhod's to desire a train of artillery of the grand master, which he wanted, in order to make head against their common enemy.

The grand master, overjoyed to see war breaking out again between the infidels, immediately sent him cannon, powder, and other ammunition, with several excellent officers of artillery. Gazelles employed them to his advantage; and though he was every moment expecting the Turkish army, which was on its march, he yet besieged Tripoli, Baruth, and several other places of Phœnicia, which he took. His conquests were interrupted by the arrival of Ferhat basha. Though the Egyptian had fewer troops, he saw plainly, that he had no resource but in a victory: he marched straight against the Turks: the two armies soon came to an engagement; and the victory was disputed a long time. Gazelles, at the head of his Mamelukes, sustained all the efforts of the Turkish army for six hours together: he rallied his troops several times, charged always at their head, and killed several officers of the janizaries with his own hand: in fine, after losing the best part of his men, oppressed with numbers, and surrounded on all sides, he chose to die fighting, rather than take quarter. He fell covered over with wounds, upon an heap of Mamelukes that had met with the same fate; and his death put an end to the war, and utterly destroyed that nation, or rather that body of soldiers, which had

disposed

disposed of the throne of Egypt at their pleasure, for upwards of 200 years.

The grand seignior was not long before he was informed of the leagues which the knights of Rhodes had entered into against sultan Selim his father. His ministers represented to him, that those knights by their fleets and armaments were masters of the sea; that they had several times intercepted the convoys that they were sending to Syria and Egypt; that they kept several Turkish officers in chains, whom they had taken prisoners; that corsairs were continually putting to sea from Rhodes and the other isles of the order, to disturb the commerce of his subjects; and, to raise his resentment to the height, they put him in mind of the succours which they sent to Gazelles to support him in his rebellion. Solyman resolved to invade that island, and was particularly confirmed in that design by some memorials that sultan Selim had left wherein was this observation, that, to secure the frontiers of his empire, it was necessary to take the town of Belgrade in Europe, and the island of Rhodes in Asia.

But Solyman, before he engaged in two such difficult enterprises, seeing himself in possession of such a vast empire, was desirous of establishing his authority upon certain principles and maxims of a very different nature from those which his predecessors had followed. Before Solyman's reign, force alone, with respect to the neighbouring princes, determined both of peace and war, and was the sovereign rule of the enterprises of his predecessors; at the same time that a barbarous despotic power was the only law that prevailed within the kingdom. The bashas plundered the people with impunity; and the prince in his turn squeezed these sponges, and frequently put the greatest of them to death; under such a government no rich man could be innocent. Solyman's conduct was entirely opposite:

he never made war without declaring it, and he never declared it without having a plausible pretence for doing so, which, after all, politick princes are seldom wanting in. His subjects under his reign saw perhaps for the first time justice and equity reign together. This prince, the greatest monarch that ever sat upon the Turkish throne, issued out a proclamation throughout all his dominions, the purport of which was, that all such as had been unjustly deprived of their estates by his father and his ancestors, by applying themselves only to him, would have justice done them. The unjust possessors of those estates, which were appointed for the keeping up of temples and mosques, were severely punished: he restored the authority of the courts of judicature, which had been laughed at in the precedent reigns. Several cadis or judges, that had prevaricated in their posts, were condemned to death: and as to the grandecs and bashas, he never put any of them to death for the sake of their riches, but only punished such as grew so by extortions, and abusing their power; in a word, he declared war against vice, injustice, and violence, before he carried his arms against the enemies of his law.

Such was Solyman, when he resolved to make war upon the Christians. This prince, being told that Amurath II. and Mahomet II. had miscarried at the sieges of Belgrade and Rhodes, fancied that such an enterprize would be an honour to his first attempt in war. He resolved to begin with the siege of Belgrade; but, to hinder the Hungarians from making timely preparations for their defence, his ministers, by his orders, gave out, that his designs were directly levelled against the isle of Rhodes.

But the grand master, to prevent them, built new walls in such places of the city as seemed most to want them. They augmented the fortifications of the place, and filled the magazines with corn,

an mu-

ammunition, and provisions. The pope, at the request of this vigilant grand master, sent three galleons well provided to the 'succour of the order'; and Francis I. king of France, furnished at the same time nine gallies, four brigantines, and four barks, well equipped. This little fleet arrived safe at Rhodes, under the command of the baron de St. Blancard.

But Solyman had no sooner made his real designs public by the siege of Belgrade, but those foreign ships returned homewards. Hungary was at that time under a young prince who was still a minor, whose name was Lewis, and son of Ladislaus; or rather, there were as many princes as great men in the kingdom, who tore it to pieces by their domestic dissensions, arising from a reciprocal emulation, and were greater enemies to one another than to the very infidels. The grand seignior, the better to conceal his designs, had sent an ambassador to the young king, to notify to him his accession to the empire: but, instead of receiving that minister with the respect due to his character, the lords of the council had treated him as a spy, and hindered him from returning to his master.

This was the occasion of the war. Solyman, resenting this shameful violation of the law of nations, after having demanded satisfaction for it, but to no purpose, sent Pyrrhus basha, at the head of a great body of horse, to invest the town of Belgrade, anciently the capital of the country called Racia. This place, which was built on the edge of an hill at the confluence of the Save and Danube, was, besides the fortification which nature had bestowed upon it, surrounded with a double wall, flanked at proper distances with great towers well provided with artillery; and, on an eminence which commanded the town, there was a castle called anciently Taurunum. It was strengthened with all the fortifications that art could in-

vent, and was then looked upon as impregnable.

Solyman followed the basha close, and soon appeared at the head of a formidable army. The trenches were opened, batteries of cannon were raised, and the Turks carried on their works with the utmost diligence. All Europe fixed their eyes on the siege of a place which they considered as one of the bulwarks of Christendom. The knights of Rhodes especially interested themselves in it, and the rather, because they judged if the Turk should carry Belgrade without any opposition from the christian princes, that success would probably determine him to undertake the siege of Rhodes next.

Whilst they were under this uneasiness, the grand master fell ill, and was carried off pretty suddenly. He was a liberal prince, was magnificent, charitable, a lover of his people, and desirous to be beloved by them; and what was very rare in that age, he was learned in the dead languages, and spoke most of the living ones with great facility. His death was so much the more considerable loss to the order at this juncture, in that the knights who were going to have a war with the porte, could the easier have obtained succours from most of the christian princes, he being highly in their esteem, and having often negotiated with them during his embassy at Rome.

The order not being able to continue without an head, as soon as the funeral was solemnized, they assembled to chuse him a successor. Brother Andrew d'Amaral chancellor of the order, and grand prior of Castile; whom we have already mentioned on occasion of his dispute with the chevalier de l'Isle-Adam, demanded that eminent dignity with as much arrogance and presumption, as if he thought he should thereby do a favour to the order by condescending to accept it. He had not indeed been thought unworthy of it, had he not been

been the first to do himself that justice: His presumption, and the contempt he discovered for his rivals, occasioned all unanimously to declare against him, so that all the votes were divided only between Sir Thomas Docray, grand prior of England, and brother *Philip de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam*, hospitaller and grand prior of France. The Englishman was distinguished by sublimity of genius, and his great skill in treating with princes, at whose courts he had been employed on important embassies: and in a juncture when Rhodes was threatened with a siege, some regard was also had to the great riches which that knight possessed. L'Isle-Adam for his part had acquired a great consideration and general esteem in the order, by his wise conduct in all his employments, and by his open and candid behaviour, full of frankness and integrity, and which was too natural for ambition and hypocrisy to counterfeit for a long time together.

PHILIP DE
VILLIERS
DE L'ISLE
ADAM.

This lord was then absent; he had no partisans in the assembly but the remembrance of his services, and the knowledge of his virtues. It was owing only to a reputation so well established, that he had a plurality of voices in his favour, so that he was declared grand master. All the knights applauded the choice which the electors had made, and there was an universal joy over all the island. D'Amaral alone was mad with vexation; and in the first transports of his passion could not help saying to a Spanish commander who was his friend, that l'Isle-Adam should be the last grand master that reigned at Rhodes.

Time, instead of mollifying the violence of his resentment, served only to increase it. It is said, that his private animosity against the person of the grand master, grew up to a violent hatred against

the order in general, and that being perpetually restless and tormented with rage, he took up a resolution to extirpate the order itself, and destroy the mother that nursed him. Full of these deadly designs, it is thus that Bosio relates he carried them on; he unbosomed himself to a Turkish slave, whom he had taken in war, a man of parts, and one whom he had found very capable of carrying on an intrigue. The slave, who saw a prospect of recovering his liberty by this negotiation, readily entered into his measures; and under pretence of going into his own country to procure money for his ransom, went privately to Constantinople. He was entrusted with a letter from the chancellor d'Amaral to the grand seignior. In his letter he pressed that prince to besiege Rhodes; and in order to convince him of the facility with which he might succeed in that enterprize, he had annexed an ample memorial to this letter, containing an account of the present state of the city, the weakest parts of the place, the number of knights and troops provided for its defence, and what provisions and ammunition it had to sustain a siege. He added, that the council had just demolished part of the bastion of Auvergne, in order to rebuild it on a more solid foundation, and that if his highness would lose no time in making his army advance, he would find the place all open on that side, and in a defenceless condition. Solyman was still in Hungary: D'Amaral's slave in his absence delivered his packet to the ministers, whom he had left at Constantinople, which they sent by an express to the grand seignior. That prince was delighted to find in the person of the chancellor a privileged spy, who having by his dignity admittance into all the councils, could send certain and exact advices. They sent the slave back to him with promises of a vast recompense if he could contribute to the success of his highness's designs. The chancellor, as Bosio says,

says,

says, still full of rage, and infatuated by his passion, was pleased to see a way open to his vengeance; and for fear they should be alarmed at his slave's return, he gave out that he was only come back to bring him his ransom. Such an excess however of confidence for a slave whom he had suffered to go upon his parole, his return, and the great civilities that the chancellor shewed him, appeared a little extraordinary; but that lord's authority, and the fear they were under of making a proud haughty man their enemy, who was known to be implacable in his hatred, stifled these suspicions, or at least prevented their breaking out.

In the mean time the new grand master, having received an account of his election, prepared to set out. As he was well informed that Rhodes was threatened with a siege, he signified it to all his order, by a general summons, which he sent into all the states of Christendom. He collected all the the responses which he could, and laid them out on warlike stores; and after taking leave of the king of Burgundy, came to Marseilles where he embarked. He went on board the great carrack, and the rest of his train and equipage, with the stores that he was carrying to Rhodes, followed in four feluccas. Unluckily, as he was off of Nice, a fire broke out in the carrack, by the carelessness of an officer of his table: the flame spread itself in a moment into different parts of the ship; the sails and cordage were burnt to ashes in an instant, and flakes of flame and smoke made the terror still greater, and likewise hindered the seamen in the service they were for doing. In this disorder and confusion, usual in such accidents, every body was for throwing themselves into the sea to swim ashore, or shelter themselves in the feluccas, which were not far off; but the grand master forbade any body to stir out of the ship on pain of death. A new fear, and the respect for his orders, served instead

stead of resolution ; the most timorous returned to their posts, and all laboured in concert to extinguish the fire, which they at last effected : and the carrack was saved by the very persons that would have abandoned it.

Scarce had the grand master escaped the danger of the fire, when another element, no less formidable, threw him into fresh dangers. There arose a furious tempest : the sea was all in motion ; the winds blew with violence, and raised the billows to a dreadful height ; the pilot could no longer manage the helm ; and as if heaven had been resolved, in concert with the sea, upon the destruction of the carrack, the thunder, after having roared for a long time together, fell upon the ship, broke into the stern room, killed nine men, and broke the grand master's sword to pieces, without hurting the scabbard. The seamen did not fail to make dismal presages from these various accidents : and I cannot say whether the knights that were with the grand master were altogether free from the like fancies, especially at a time when the Turks threatened the isle of Rhodes, and that men had a great deal of faith in omens. But the grand master, without regarding any of these vain prognostics : put into the port of Syracuse, got his ships refitted, and was preparing to keep on his voyage, when they brought him advice, that Curtogli, a famous corsair, and a favourite of the grand seignior, was waiting for him as he passed with a strong squadron of galleys and ships, much superior to his escort *. The corsair, besides the hopes of booty, had formed this enterprize with the design of revenging the death of two of his brothers, who had been killed in engagements against the knights ; and designed also, if he could make a prize of some selucca, or take any knight prisoner,

* Bosio, t. 2. l. 13. p. 625.

to make an exchange for his third brother, who was at that time a slave at Rhodes.

The principal citizens of Syracuse endeavoured to persuade the grand master to avoid meeting with the corsair, who was formidable in those seas both for his forces and valour: but that great man, who never knew what danger meant, went out of the harbour, crouded all the sail he could make, made Capo Malio, called also St. Angelo, where the infidels waited for him, passed it in the night, and arrived safe at Rhodes, where he was received with the usual ceremonies, and with the joy and respect due to his dignity and merit. His presence heightened, as it were, the courage and confidence of the knights: it looked as if he seemed to have brought an army in his single person: no man dreaded any longer a siege; several even wished it, in order to have frequent opportunities of signaling their valour: and Solyman, who was so much dreaded in Hungary, scarce raised the least apprehensions at Rhodes.

That young prince had just made himself master of Belgrade. The happy success of that siege made him expect the like against the city of Rhodes; and besides the desire of acquiring glory by such an important conquest, he was also induced to it by the continual complaints of his trading subjects, who were often taken by the knights; and especially by the remonstrances of the mutti, who was continually representing to him, that those christian capers disturbed the pilgrimages to Mecca, and that he was obliged in conscience to put a stop to their cruisions. Solyman was very zealous for his religion, and well enough disposed to turn his arms that way; but as he was a wise prince, and never engaged in any enterprize without communicating it to his council, he laid the matter before them in order to its being debated.

Some bashas represented to him all the difficulties

ties of it, the fortifications of the place, the valour of the knights as well as of the inhabitants, being most of them corsairs; the mighty succours that the grand master would infallibly draw from Christendom: that this spark might raise a great flame and produce a league and crusade of all the sovereigns of Europe; and that his illustrious ancestors and the soldans of Egypt, having in different ages attempted this conquest, had been always baffled and lost abundance of men without being able to carry their point.

Mustapha, on the contrary, who had married Solyman's sister, and was a very brave general guessing at the sultan's secret inclination, represented to him like a true courtier, that all the valour of the knights could never resist his victorious arms; that he had such a great number of troops, which were all such good soldiers, that he could cover the whole island with his numerous armies; whereas the grand master had only an handful of men to his defence; that they had nothing to fear from the christian princes who were actually in war, and so incensed against one another, that the emperor Charles V. chose rather to suffer the taking of Belgrade, though the taking of it opened a passage into the hereditary dominions of his family, than make peace with the king of France, or draw any detachment from the armies he had in the field against that prince, to send to the succour of the king of Hungary his ally; that after all, it was a sort of dishonour to the Ottoman house, considering the high pitch of grandeur to which it was arrived, to suffer any longer in the very heart of their empire a republick of corsairs that roved over the seas at pleasure, disturbed the commerce of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and were daily fixing a price on the liberty of his subjects; that Rhodes, and the other isles of the order served for an asylum to fugitive slaves, malecontents and rebels; and what

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was most to be considered, that they could not be ignorant, that in times of peace between the several princes of Christendom, the grand masters were always taking that opportunity of proposing the conquest of the kingdom of Jerusalem; that in order to engage them to such an enterprize, which was what they had always most at heart, they had offered all the forces of their order, and that so long as the knights should be possessed of the port of Rhodes in the east, a port capable of receiving the christian fleets, there would always be reason to fear some *crusade* from the princes of the west.

Solyman preferred this last opinion, as being most agreeable to that ambition which is inseparable from so vast a power: Pyrrhus, and the other bashas, though of a different sentiment, came over with great submission to that of their sovereign: a war against the knights, and the siege of Rhodes were therefore resolved upon. The sultan named Mustapha basha, his favourite and brother-in-law, to be general of the land army, Curtogli to be great admiral, and Achmet basha, an able engineer, to have the direction of the works at the siege; and appointed Pyrrhus basha his old governor, a man in whom he entirely confided, to go along with Mustapha, as a counsellor to that young general, whose capacity and prudence might not perhaps be equal to his courage and valour. The sultan, after the distribution of these several employments, in order to find how the grand master stood effected, wrote to him by an ambassador, whom he sent on purpose to congratulate him, as it were, on his promotion to the dignity of grand master. He proposed to him the keeping of peace, and maintaining a good correspondence together; but he concluded his letter by telling him that he had taken Belgrade, as if he were minded to intimidate him with the fear of meeting with the same fate as that unhappy city had undergone. As the stile of these kind of letters gives a better idea of the characters

rafter of princes, and the manners of the age they live in, than meer extracts, we have thought the reader would not be displeas'd to meet with that of Solyman, and the grand master's answer, in this place. Solyman's letter was wrote in Greek, and drawn up almost in these terms. *

“ Sultan Solyman, by the grace of God, king
 “ of kings, sovereign of sovereigns, most high em-
 “ peror of Bizantium and Trebizond, most mighty
 “ king of Persia, Arabia, Syria and Egypt, su-
 “ preme lord of Europe and Asia, prince of Mec-
 “ ca and Aleppo, possessor of Jerusalem, and lord
 “ of the universal sea.

TO PHILIP VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM, GRAND
 MASTER OF THE ISLE OF RHODES, GREETING.

“ I congratulate thee on thy new dignity, and
 “ thy arrival in thy dominions: I wish that thou
 “ mayst reign there happily, and with more glory
 “ than thy predecessors. It shall be in thy power
 “ to have a share in our good will. Enjoy then
 “ our friendship, and as our friend, be not the last
 “ to congratulate us on the conquests we have just
 “ made in Hungary, where we have reduced the
 “ important fortres of Belgrade, after having de-
 “ stroyed all that durst resist us with our dreadful
 “ sword. Adieu. From our camp the
 “ and of the hegira the”

This letter was read in full council; and they were surpris'd, that whilst Solyman was offering, as it were, peace with one hand, he should make an ostentation of his formidable power with the other, and that his vessels should insult those of the order, or such as sail'd under its banner. The

* Bosio. t. 2. l. 18. p. 627.

grand master did not neglect to answer that prince, but in such terms, as the reader will observe, that might give him to understand that they were equally disposed at Rhodes either to conclude a peace, or continue the war.

F. PHILIP VILLIERS DE LISLE ADAM, GRAND MASTER OF RHODES,

TO SOLYMAN, SULTAN OF THE TURKS.

“ I understand very well the meaning of thy letter, which thy embassador has brought me : thy proposals of a peace between us, are as agreeable to me as they will be displeasing to Curtogli. That corsair at my passage from France, did all he could to surprize me, but not succeeding in his project, and not caring to go out of these seas without having done us some damage, he entered the river of Lycia, and attempted to carry off two merchant ships belonging to our ports. He had likewise attacked a bark belonging to some Candiots, but the gallies of the order, which I sent out of the port of Rhodes, forced him to let go his hold, and make off as fast as he could for fear of falling into our power. Adieu from Rhodes the”

As the Turks were not very scrupulous with regard to the law of nations, the grand master did not think fit, without a pass, to send his letter by a knight whom they might probably detain. They gave it to a Greek, a private man of the city of Rhodes. Solyman and his ministers found, by reading this letter, that they had to deal with a prince of a firm and intrepid character, one who was not easily terrified. Pyrrhus basha, an old man, as great a politician as a soldier, proposed in the council, that they should write again to the

grand master in order to make a new overture of peace; that they should tell him that they durst not present his letter to the grand seignior by reason of the mean character of the bearer; but that if he would send one of his principal knights to the porte, there was room to hope that his negotiation might end in a solid peace. The design of this minister was to draw one of the first of the order to Constantinople, then to seize his person, and force him by torture to give them an account of the state of the place, and the forces of the order; which might make one doubt of the intelligence which, it is pretended, d'Amaral held with the grand seignior, notwithstanding its being positively asserted by contemporary historians: not but Solyman had likewise the same advices from the Jewish physician: that perfidious wretch was continually urging him by his letters, to hasten his armament; but as traitors, in order to make themselves better listened to, always lessen the difficulties of an enterprize which they themselves propose, the grand seignior and his council, perhaps from the fear of a double treachery, would have been very glad, before they engaged in the siege, to know from some knight, whether the advices that they received from their spies were true, and whether there was no exaggeration in their relations.

The grand seignior entered into the views of his minister; and in order to endeavour, under the specious pretence of a negotiation, to get some knight sent to Constantinople, he ordered them to dispatch a new express to Rhodes in Pyrrhus's name. That basha wrote to the grand master to assure him, that the sultan was very well disposed to treat of peace in good earnest, but that out of fear of affronting the majesty of so great a prince, they did not dare to present his letter to him, because of the mean character of his agent; but that if he would send any lord of his council with another

other letter, and furnish him with full powers, he would readily introduce him to the porte. He added, that the grand seignior, being surprized that he had no answer to his first letter, had given a second to the messenger, which he did not question but he would answer in a manner suitable to the majesty and formidable power of so great an emperor. The express indeed had a letter from Solymán to the grand master, wherein that prince, as we shall find, in order to oblige him to sue for peace, makes a great ostentation of his designs and forces.

“ We have been assured, says he to him, that the letter which our highness wrote to thee, has been delivered into thy hands, and that it gave thee more astonishment than pleasure. Be assured, that I shall not be satisfied with the conquest of Belgrade, but propose to myself another of as great importance in a little time, of which thou shalt soon have notice; thou and thy knights being scarce ever out of my memory.”

As this second letter had more the air of a challenge, or a declaration of war, than of a preliminary of peace, the grand master thought himself obliged to answer it in as lofty terms.

“ I am not sorry, says he to him in his answer, that thou rememberest me and the knights of my order: thou speakest to me of the conquest thou hast made in Hungary, and the design thou hast, as thou informest me, of undertaking another enterprise which thou hopest will have the same success; but consider, that of all the projects that are formed by man, none are more uncertain than those that depend upon the fortune of war. Adieu.”

The grand master having thought himself obliged to answer the sultan's indirect menaces with so much resolution, wrote likewise to Pyrrhus, telling him, that if the sultan his master desired a peace with greater sincerity than appeared by his letters, he needed only send him some hostages, or else a pass sealed with the great seal of the empire, and that as soon as it was come to hand, he would send one of the most considerable knights of the order to Constantinople to hear what proposals they would make him. But a brigantine of the order, commanded by a serving brother, being taken by the Turks near Rhodes, that act of hostility was taken for a declaration of war.

The grand master prepared for it with all the courage and precaution of an old captain, who had passed his whole life in war: he enlarged the ditch, and sunk it deeper; he repaired the fortifications, and added several new ones to the place.

To deprive the Turks of forage, they, by his orders, cut down the corn, though it was not yet ripe: some country houses, as well as churches, situated without the town, were demolished, and the materials carried into the town, for fear the enemy should make use of their ruins to raise platforms, and plant their artillery on them. From another precaution, and in order to be well supplied with pioneers, they obliged all the peasants of the country to retire into the town, and recalled at the same time all the adventurers and privateers that were cruising against the infidels under the banner of the order, whose protection they had, as well as free admittance and full security upon occasion in the port of Rhodes.

But it was necessary to provide for the subsistence of these people as well as for that of the knights, the citizens, and the garrison. This was the first care of the grand master: he appointed three commissioners for that purpose; and, to give them the greater

greater credit in the execution of their office, he chose them out of the grand crosses. The first was Gabriel de Pommerols, great commander and lieutenant general to the grand master; John Buck Turcopilier, of the language of England, was the second; and chancellor d'Amaral was named for the third. These three noblemen visited all the magazines carefully; and though they found most of them full, yet the grand master, from an opinion that what on such occasions is called sufficient, does not always prove so, proposed in the council to send immediately to Naples, Sicily, and Candia, for a greater quantity of wheat, wine, powder, and arms; and to endeavour likewise to get 500 archers and bowmen from Candia, the Candiots in all ages excelling even the most warlike nations in the managing of those instruments. The chancellor, who, as they pretend, had sold his religion to the infidels, in order to prevent the effects of the grand master's precautions, represented, that by news just arrived from the christian isles of the Archipelago, they were informed, that the Turkish armament, was not so much designed against the isles of the order, as against that of Cyprus, and perhaps Italy itself; that for near forty years, in which he had been in the order, he had frequently observed, that the Turks had occasioned it more expence by the jealousy that their armaments gave them, than if they had actually attacked Rhodes; that indeed the care and precautions that the grand master took could never be sufficiently applauded; but they might defer the execution of them for some time longer, for fear of draining the treasury of the order in making preparations to guard against a storm that would probably fall on some other place.

The grand master, who was ignorant of the motives of this perfidious advice, imputed it only to an injudicious spirit of parsimony; but he declared, that he had letters from a faithful spy that he could

depend on, whom he kept at Constantinople, and who assured him, that the grand seignior's armament was designed only for the siege of Rhodes; that he had given orders to let no ship go out of his ports that was bound towards Rhodes; that they were labouring hard in preparing a train of large artillery, which is never used but in sieges; that the sultan had caused a great quantity of tools to be made proper for pioneering, and that most of the troops were filing towards Lycia, where they were to embark in order to be transported into the isle of Rhodes. The grand master added, that, in an affair of such importance, it was dangerous to give way to a too timorous policy, and that it was much better to hazard some expence, than see the island covered with enemies before they had provided for its defence.

The grand master's advice prevailed: they got wheat from Naples and Sicily, so that there was no want of any thing during the whole course of the siege, but powder, which happened, by the treachery of the chancellor, who made a false report of the quantity in the magazines. They had also like to have wanted wine through the same perfidibusiness, the chancellor having, under a pretence of thriftiness, rejected the proposals of three merchants of Rhodes, that offered to supply the city with it at a reasonable price. But the grand master, whose views extended on all sides, sent a serving brother into Candia, Anthony Bosio by name, uncle to the author of the annals of the order, with orders to provide great store of wine, and to procure leave also from the governor of the island to levy 500 foot. Bosio, arriving in Candia, had no difficulty in getting the wine, which he shipped off in fifteen brigantines; he was even cunning enough to engage a young Venetian gentleman, whose name was Bonaldi, and who had at that time, in the port of Rhodes, a ship freighted with wine, and bound
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for Constantinople, to alter his course and carry it to Rhodes.

But the serving brother did not find it so easy a matter to levy soldiers. The governor not only denied him leave, but, as if he dreaded Solyman's resentment, forbid, by sound of trumpet, all persons whatsoever, under pain of corporal punishment, to list themselves with the grand master's agent, or quit the island. Notwithstanding which, the dextrous Rhodian made a shift to get his recruit, and above 500 men, disguised like merchants and seamen, got on board the brigantines, either unknown to the governor, or without his being willing to take notice of it. This cunning negotiator did another piece of service to the order before he set sail. There was at that time in the isle of Candia an excellent engineer, Gabriel Martinengo by name, a gentleman of Brescia, a subject of the republic, and of an ancient and illustrious family: the senate had given him a pension of 1200 crowns to superintend over all the fortifications of that island. Bofio, who foresaw how useful a man of his abilities would be in a place that was besieged, proposed to him to go to Rhodes, and to share with the knights in the glory which they hoped to acquire in the defence of it. Martinengo, a man of true valour, and who was both a brave soldier and a great engineer, offered cheerfully to accept his invitation, provided he could procure a discharge from the governor.

Bofio parted for Rhodes with his soldiers and provisions of wine. He arrived safe in that place; and, having given the grand master an account of his voyage, he discoursed with him about the negotiation he had entered into with Martinengo. The grand master immediately saw the advantage that a man of his abilities would be to them in the present juncture: he sent Bofio immediately back to Candia, with a letter to the governor, wherein he intreated

treated him in the most pressing terms, to give that officer leave to come and defend a place which served for a bulwark to the very islands of the republic. But the governor flatly refused to grant it him, and went so far as to send for Martinengo, and give him express orders not to stir out of the island. But that officer, not troubling himself about the consequences, put on a disguise, and, in concert with Bosio, came to the sea-side, and got on board a felucca that waited for him in a bye-creek of the isle.

The governor, having notice that an engineer had disappeared, caused a strict search to be made after him in the principal houses. He sent to his own, where he confiscated all his effects, and not questioning but he was embarked in some passage-ship, he sent two galleys to pursue him, with orders to bring him back dead or alive. Martinengo and Bosio, seeing themselves pursued, took down the mast of the felucca, drew their oars into their vessel, brought it close under a rock of the island, covering it with sails made of whitish linen, almost of the same colour as the rock that the felucca lay under. By this artifice, and perhaps by the secret orders of the governor, they escaped the galleys, which returning back into the port, they set sail, passed in the night time through some Turkish vessels, which, by means of Bosio's speaking the Greek language, took the brigantine to belong to their own squadron, and arrived safe at Rhodes. Martinengo was mighty well received by the grand master, who knew his birth and his talents. The principal commanders, following his example, shewed him the utmost respect: every body was striving to shew him how sensible they were of his merit. Martinengo also was delighted to see himself esteemed by that noble body of knights, the best judges of valour, and which was composed of the most illustrious persons in all the states of Christendom.

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From these sentiments, that favoured perhaps too much of human nature, he passed to those of a particular veneration, when he saw these knights and warriors preparing themselves, like Christians and true religious, for the defence of religion. Under a soldier's habit, and with a military equipage, he admired their contempt of the world, their lively faith, and sincere disengagement from the things of this life : he was particularly edified to see most of them preparing themselves for a bloody siege, by a frequent receiving of the sacraments.

These reflections gave rise to his vocation : he saw himself exposed to the same dangers, without the same holy preparation : God touched his heart ; he ran to the grand master's palace, threw himself at his feet, and, inflamed with zeal to sacrifice his life for the defence of the faith, entreated that prince to honour him with his cross. The grand master took him up and embraced him tenderly, assuring him, that he would go immediately and propose his request to the council, and acquaint them with his pious dispositions. The votes were unanimous in his favour : the whole order was delighted to associate so excellent a man in it ; the grand master gave him the habit, and administered the vows to him in a full assembly ; and to acknowledge the generosity wherewith he had abandoned his patrimony, and the great pensions he had from the republic of Venice, the order assigned him a pension of 1200 crowns, till such time as he might have some commandry or priory of the like value given him. As a farther favour to the new knight, the grand master made him the next day a grand cross, and gave him at the same time the general inspection over all the fortifications : and the grand marshal, who is standing general of all the troops of the order, divided as it were his authority with him : he admitted him, out of the high regard he had to his great capacity, into the command and authority

authority which his post gave him over all the forces in the island.

It was by the advice and directions of Martinego, that they repaired the walls and towers; he caused them to raise the ramparts higher: they built ravelins before the gates of the city; made casemates in the flanks of the bastions, and in the counterescarp of the ditch-mines filled with powder, to which they might set fire by the help of a train laid under ground: within the place, he caused them to build new forts, cuts, ditches, intrenchments, barricades, and all kinds of necessary defences that a person of his capacity, and who foresaw every thing that might happen, could oppose against the attacks of the besiegers.

Whilst the order was receiving such advantages from his skill and his great talents, particularly at a time when they were going to be besieged, there happened a kind of desertion among the knights of the language of Italy. The principal of that nation complained to the grand master and the council, that pope Adrian VI. who had just succeeded Leo X. disposed in an absolute manner, and contrary to their rights, of all the commandries of Italy, and thereupon asked leave to go to Rome to complain of it. The grand master did not think fit in the present juncture to grant them the leave that they desired: his refusal exasperated them; and d'Amaral, who lost no opportunity of weakening the order, insinuated to them, that they themselves ought to take a permission which he denied them; that l'Isle-Adam, who was a Frenchman by birth, did not love the language of Italy; that, in order to keep them low, he was not perhaps concerned at the pope's taking from them the commandries annexed to their language; that the grand master spread and encouraged the reports of an approaching siege, with the view only of having a pretence to dispose the more freely of the fund
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that were in the treasury of the order; and that after all, it would be a dishonour to them, if after shedding their blood so often in the defence of the order, they should, by an odious distinction, be the only persons deprived of the recompense so justly due to their services.

The Italian knights, seduced by this perfidious device, left Rhodes without leave, and retired into the isle of Candia. The grand master, justly provoked at so scandalous a disobedience, ordered them to be prosecuted as rebels and deserters; and the council deprived them of the habit by an express sentence to this purpose: however just this sentence might be, the order nevertheless lost in them a considerable number of valiant knights. Some of their friends, better affected than the chancellor, went over to Candia with the grand master's private consent; and after having dextrously entered into their complaints and resentments, they represented to them, that there was no longer any doubt to be made of the siege of Rhodes; that they would see the island immediately covered over with the Turks, and that though the motive of their journey to Rome was never so just, they yet could not prevent their enemies spreading a report that they had made it at such a juncture, with a view only of getting out of the way of those dangers to which their brethren were going to be exposed.

The certainty of the siege of Rhodes, and the fear they were under of being suspected to have withdrawn themselves from so cowardly a motive, prevailed over their resentment. They returned to Rhodes to throw themselves at the grand master's feet; and that they might obtain pardon for their fault, they protested that they would wash it out with their blood, and with that of the infidels. The grand master received them like a tender father; and after having given them a wise reproof

reproof for their disobedience, the generous old man embraced them with great tenderness, gave them the habit again, and promised them, that as soon as they should be free from the war, with which they were threatened, the whole order should interest itself in their affair; that he would make it his own, and that as their complaints were just and reasonable, he was in hopes, that the several princes of Christendom would not refuse him their good offices with the pope.

This storm being happily calmed, the grand master immediately dispatched knights to all the courts of Europe, who were to solicit the pope and the other princes of Christendom to send him speedy succours; but the event shewed that the order could depend on nothing but its own strength. Most of the princes, engaged in war with one another, and minding only their private interests, neglected those of religion; and the pope himself, though a virtuous pontiff, yet as he owed his dignity to the credit and recommendation of the emperor Charles V. whose preceptor he had been, he durst not dispose of the troops and money of the holy see without his privity and consent.

Brother James de Bourbon, commander of Oisemont, and natural son to Lewis de Bourbon, elected bishop of Liege, a prince of the house of France, tells us in his relation of the siege of Rhodes, that upon the request made in the grand master's name by the chevalier d'Ansoyville to the king of France, this religious prince who had a great affection for the order, gave him a power to fit out all the vessels that he should find in the ports of Provence, and carry them to Rhodes. But the commanders in that province, fearing to be attacked by the emperor, delayed executing his orders: so that he was forced to go back to court to solicit for new ones that might be more particular: and these voyages took up so much time, that winter
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came

came on, and the proper season for putting to sea was over.

It was probably from the same misfortune, that a strong carrack, which the chevalier Hyserant of the language of Auvergne had fitted out at Genoa, and freighted with ammunition and provisions, ran aground near Monega: though they suspected at that time, that the winds and the sea, had not so much contributed to that accident, as the policy of the Genoese, who were afraid of incurring the resentment of the Turks. Nor is it less difficult to discover the motive of the inactivity of Fabricio Pignatelli prior of Barletta, of Charles Quesvalle, of Lully de St. Stephen, and John Baptist Carassa bailiff of Naples, who having by the grand master's directions, purchased with the order's money, a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, never sent any of it to the succour of Rhodes.

The grand master being in no certainty of these remote succours, placed all his confidence in the protection of heaven, and in the valour of his knights. Like a man of war and a great captain, he neglected no precaution necessary to prevent being surpris'd by the infidels. One of the first of his many cares, so worthy of his zeal and courage, was a general review of all the knights and regular troops; which amounted in all to about six hundred knights, and four thousand five hundred soldiers; and with this handful of men, he undertook to defend the place against the inundations of those formidable armies that Solymán brought into the field in all his enterprizes. The townsmen indeed of Rhodes took up arms, and some companies were formed out of them: they also recalled the Rhodian privateers that were out at sea; these were posted in the town, and were charged with the defence of the port. The country peasants were designed to serve as pioneers; but they could not afterwards make any use at all of the common people of

the town, who were insensible to any passion but that of fear, and could never be brought to look danger in the face. The grand master gave brother Didier Tholon of St. Jaille bailiff of Manosque the direction of the artillery, and the chevaliers de Nuères and Britto were entrusted with the carrying on of the works under the orders of the bailiff de Matinengo. The slaves of Rhodes, and such as belonged to the private persons, were employed in hollowing the ditches, and in the fortifications which they added to the bastion of Auvergne; they repaired the mills: they built new ovens: the port was shut up with a double chain, one before its mouth, the other within it, from the tower of St. Nicholas to the tower of the mills; and to prevent the infidels from seizing on the mole, as they had attempted in the former siege, and advancing by means of that bank as far as the gate of St. Catharine, they sunk at the entrance of the bay, where the Tunny fishery was, several ships loaden with stones: the walls were at the same time lined with artillery; they carried arms, granadoes, fire-pots, and large stones upon the ramparts and bastions; there never had been seen a greater diligence or a more compleat order.

The knights and the Greek gentlemen, the townsmen as well as officers, the soldier and mariner, the very priests and monks, each of these employed himself readily and without confusion upon whatever was prescribed him. The grand master was present in all places, he alone inspected the carrying on of these several works; his presence and capacity advanced them still more than the many hands employed about them; and few princes and governors ever gave such manifest proofs in a besieged place of so perfect an understanding of the art of war, joined to a calm valour, incapable of being discomposed either by the greatness or
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the variety of the dangers with which he was afterwards surrounded.

But for the better understanding of the importance and usefulness of the precautions which he took, though we have in the former book taken some notice of the situation of this place, it may nevertheless perhaps be proper to give a fuller account of it, and take notice likewise of the additional fortifications that had been made since the last siege.

The city of Rhodes, as we have already observed, is situated by the sea-side, on an hill which terminates with a gentle descent into a plain, thereby making the circumvallation of it easy. It is divided into the high and low town; the grand master's palace was in the high town, and served as a castle and a citadel to it at the same time. All the knights were lodged near the grand master's palace in the same quarter; and all the secular and married persons, as well townsmen as artificers, dwelt in the lower town. The place on the side towards the country seems to be of a round figure, but when seen from the sea, represents a perfect crescent. There are two ports belonging to it; the larger is square and spacious, but not very safe when certain winds blow. At the entrance of this port on the right stands the tower of St. Nicholas, a monument of the liberality of Philip the good duke of Burgundy. This tower, well provided with artillery, was joined to a bastion that lay behind it, and had a curtain which ran up to the walls of the town, and made one of the sides of the port. On the other side, over against this tower, stood an old castle, to which the knights gave the name of the castle of St. Angelo. This castle and the tower, which were somewhat more than an hundred yards distant from one another, were built upon the two rock, upon which it is pretended, that the feet of the great brazen Colossus stood.

stood in former times, and which was of so prodigious a bulk, that the greatest vessels, as we are told, might pass with all their sails spread between its legs. The bastion adjoining to the tower of St. Nicholas, was by the sea-side, provided with nine great pieces of cannon, which commanded the entry of the port so entirely, that no ship could enter in on any side. The little port, or port of the galleys, was covered towards the sea with a narrow neck of rock, that ran out from the firm land, and had a castle upon it, called by the knights the castle of St. Elme or St. Erme. This port is more secure than large, and may hold several galleys; but the mouth of it is so narrow, that there cannot above one enter at a time. They shut it up every evening with a chain that was fastened to a little tower at the farther end of a mole which runs about twenty five or thirty paces out into the sea; the other end of the chain was fastened to a piece of rock that jutted out from the land seven or eight paces from the castle. Near the port of the galleys stood the arsenal where they used to be built, and over against the bastion which is between the two ports, there is a large tower with a ditch, and three great pieces of cannon, which defended the entrance of this last port. Above the prince's palace, and the inns of the languages, were a great number of churches, among which that of St. John, the patron of the order, was remarkable for the greatness of the edifice, and the height and fine workmanship of its steeple. All these noble buildings, together with the fortifications both ancient and modern, made Rhodes one of the finest cities of the east. It was surrounded by a double, others say with a triple enclosure of walls, fortified with thirteen large towers, built after the antique fashion, five of which lay within a sort of ravelin and bastion, which the historians of the time call bulwarks: and these bulwarks were covered by barbicans or fausse-

fausse-brayes, and other advanced works. The ditch was large and deep: the counter-scarp well faced and palisado'd: all that lay open in the parts adjacent to the place, was exposed to an infinite number of batteries, composed of cannon of different bores, according to the nearness, or distance of the places in view. Rhodes seemed to defy an attack on all sides; and from the glacis to the body of the place, there was nothing but fortifications heaped one upon another, and batteries that suffered no approaches to be made without danger and loss of men.

We have said, upon the credit of the historians of that age, that there were five bulwarks or bastions:

The grand master committed the defence of them to five old knights that had given signal proofs of their capacity and courage on many occasions. The chevalier de Metnil had the care of defending the bastion of Auvergne; brother Francis de Carrieres was posted in that of Spain; Nicholas Hufsey was to command in that of England; Berenger de Lioncel in that of Provence; and Andelot Gentili undertook to defend the bastion of Italy. The grand master distributed at the same time the best part of his troops upon the ramparts, and divided them according to their quarters. Brother Raimond de Ricard, the oldest commander of the language of Provence, was at the head of a brigade to take care of a post that bore the same name. Raimond Roger of the language of Auvergne was pitched upon for the quarter of his language; Joachim de St. Aubin with the French knights was to defend the wall from the Franque tower, as far as the gate of St. Ambrose, and from that gate as far as that of St. George. The Germans were posted under the conduct of the commander Valdners: William Ouzon commanded in the quarter of the English; George Emar in that of Italy; John de Barbarar

and Ernard Sollier were to defend the posts of Castile and Arragon, where the ditches were neither broad nor deep enough. The quarter called St. Mary de la Victoire was still weaker: the grand master undertook the defence of it himself, quitted his palace, and lodged at the foot of the wall with some knights that he had reserved to fight under his own command, and near his person.

Besides this distribution, the grand master chose likewise four lords, all of them grand crosses, to whom they gave the title of ADJUTANT CAPTAINS or GENERALS, who, with the companies under their command, were a sort of corps de reserve, and were to march to such places as were most pressed. The first of these captains was d'Amaral, whose fidelity they did not as yet suspect. His business was to sustain those that defended the posts of Auvergne and Germany; brother John Buck, Turcopilier of the order, and a knight of the language of England, was appointed for the quarter of Spain and England; brother Peter de Cluys, grand prior of France, was to sustain those of his own nation, and the posts of Castile and Portugal; and brother Gregory de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, was assigned to march to the succour of the posts of Provence and Italy. The grand master added to these four lords, brother Gabriel de Pommerols his lieutenant-general, who, without having any settled post and quarter, was to go to all places where there should be need; and the grand master, at the head of his guards, commanded by the chevalier de Bonneval, of the language of Auvergne, reserved the same function to himself.

We have already observed, that, before the first siege, they carried into the city a statue of the holy virgin, which was revered in a church dedicated to her, and built upon Mont-Philèrme. They took the same precaution before this second siege, and all

all the clergy and people went in procession to the church to take it, and brought it into the city, whereof she was considered as the protectress, and deposited it in the church of St. Mark.

The tower of St. Nicholas being looked upon as the most important post, and as the key of Rhodes, the grand master intrusted the defence of it to brother Guyot de Castlane, of the language of Provence, an old knight, who had distinguished himself by a great number of brave actions. Twenty knights and 300 foot entered into the fortress under his command; they gave 600 men to the knights Claude de St. Prix and John Boniface, both Frenchmen, and to Lopez d'Aiala and Hugh Capon, Spaniards, to patrol round the city night and day in their turn, and to maintain good order in it, with power to judge and condemn malefactors to death, reserving however a liberty of appealing to the grand master. This prince, fearing that the four grand crosses, whom he had chose for adjutant-captains, would not, during the course of the siege, be sufficient to carry relief to all places that should be attacked, added four others to them, viz. Anastasius de sainte Camelle, Guyot Dazas, French knights, Marin Furlan and Raimond Marquet, Spaniards, and gave each of them a company of 150 men. The grand marshal, according to the rights of his office, gave the great standard of the order, to Anthony de Grolce of the province of Dauphine, a knight of distinguished valour, and well worthy of so honourable a trust. The chevalier de Tinteville, a relation of the grand master's, was appointed to carry the standard of the holy crucifix, and the chevalier Henri de Mauselle, one of the officers of the grand master's household, carried his particular standard.

Whilst the grand master was employed in assigning the knights their several employments, and the quarters which they were to defend, they saw that the

the Turks were in the night making signals of fire upon that part of the coast of Lycia, that lies opposite to the isle of Rhodes.

The grand master, that he might not neglect any thing, ordered a French knight *, whose name was Mennetou, to take his pink, and go with a Rhodian named Jaxi, who spoke the Turkish language, to find out the meaning of those fires. The French knight, pursuant to his orders, put to sea, and, coming pretty near the coast, he perceived several Turkish soldiers, disguised like merchants, standing by the side of a fountain. Jaxi asked them the reason of their signals, and enquired at the same time for a Turkish merchant of his acquaintance, who had formerly traded at Rhodes. They answered him, that that merchant was not far off; that he was coming thither; and that he might see him if he would come ashore. The Rhodian excused himself, unless they would send an hostage to his commander: the Turks agreed to it; the exchange was made; but, as soon as Jaxi was ashore, these perfidious wretches, contrary to the law of nations, bound him, hurried him away in all haste to Constantinople, and delivered him to Pyrrhus basha, the author and director of this piece of treachery. Mennetou thought to take his revenge on the Turkish hostage; but, when he came back to Rhodes, they found that he was only a sorry peasant, whom they had dressed in a silk vest, and from whom the grand master and council could get no manner of information.

In the mean time Pyrrhus having the Rhodian in his power, endeavoured to get an account from him of the state of the city of Rhodes; and not being able to gain upon him by civilities and hopes of great reward, he put him to such violent torture for several days together, that the Greek, no lon-

* Relation du commandeur de Bourbon. p. 13,

ger able to bear it, answered to the interrogatories that were put to him, and died soon after. Pyrrhus acquainted the grand seignior with the Rhodian's deposition, and assured his master, that there were not above five or six thousand men in arms at Rhodes. Solyman resolved immediately to begin the siege; but as it was a rule with him never to begin any war without a previous declaration of it, he sent one by an express who went into Lycia, and according to custom made the usual signals with fires, as had been done by those who carried off Jaxi.

The grand master, who did not know of his death, fancied immediately that the Turks had sent him back. The knight Boniface d'Aluys went by his orders with a galley to receive him. When he arrived near the coast, he saw some turks on horseback, who without saying any thing of Jaxi, told him they were come with letters from the grand seignior to the grand master, and that if they would wait a little while, they would go fetch them, inviting at the same time the Trucheman or interpreter of the galley to come ashore to receive them.

But the chevalier d'Aluys, fearing another trick like that which was played the chevalier de Menetou, would not suffer him to go. Being likewise apprehensive of another ambuscade, and of there being some vessels in a readyness to surprize and seize on his galley, he told them, that he was going away that very moment, and that if they had any letters to send to the grand master, they might deliver them to him. The Turks seeing him ready to sail off, tied the packet of letters to a stone, and threw it on ship board. He carried the packet to the grand master: it was opened in full council: they found in it a letter of Solyman in the form of a declaration of war, directed to the grand master, to the knights in general, and to the citizens
and

and inhabitants of Rhodes. This letter of defiance was drawn up pretty near in these terms.

“ The continual robberies with which you infest our faithful subjects, and the insult you offer to our Imperial majesty, oblige us to require you to deliver up to us immediately the island and fortress of Rhodes. If you do it readily, we swear, by the God who made heaven and earth, by the six and twenty thousand prophets, and the four musaphi that fell from heaven, and by our great prophet Mahomet, that you shall have free liberty to go out of the island, and the inhabitants to stay there, without the least injury being done to you : but if you do not submit immediately to our orders, you shall be all cut to pieces with our terrible sword, and the towers, bastions and walls of Rhodes shall be laid level with the grass that grows at the foot of all those fortifications.”

This letter was no great surprize to the council; and they resolved, that if the grand signior should attack the island, to answer him only with their cannon. But before the enemy appeared, and that they were obliged to enter upon action; the grand master ordered them to prepare themselves for it by fasting and prayer: he himself first set them the example of it, and the moments which he could spare from the toils of government, he spent in devotion before the altar. Fontanus, a contemporary historian, and eye-witness of what passed at the siege, in the relation which he has left us of it, observes, that the knights and citizens of Rhodes had as much confidence in his prayers as in his valour; and it was a common saying among them, that under so pious a prince, heaven would interpose for the preservation of his dominions.

As the isle of Rhodes was inhabited by two different

ferent nations, each of them had their own metropolitan, both in the nomination of the grand master. Leonard Balestein then enjoyed that dignity with regard to the Latins, and a caloyer or monk of St. Basil, called Clement, was archbishop of the Greeks. These two prelates lived in a perfect harmony, and made it their whole business to maintain peace between their diocesans. The Latin archbishop was a very fine speaker: he was one of the most eloquent preachers of his age. However, as the Turks always treated their Greek subjects more favourably than the Latins, the grand master was not without apprehensions that the Greek inhabitants of the isles of the order might possibly be seduced by this distinction in their favour, and therefore engaged the two metropolitans in their sermons to exhort their diocesans to fight courageously against the enemies of the faith.

Both the prelates acquitted themselves in this point with zeal, and succeeded in it without difficulty. The fidelity of the Rhodians to the order was not to be shaken: not only from the inviolable attachment which they discovered for the true religion, but likewise because the knights had always governed with great justice and moderation; the surest bond in nature between a sovereign and his subjects.

In the mean time the Turkish fleet set sail; thirty gallies advanced before it. The commander, as he passed along the coasts of the isle of Lango, or Coos, landed some troops to ravage it: but these plunderers were so vigorously charged upon their landing by Prejan de Bidoux, great prior of St. Giles, governor of the island, that they were forced to reimbark with some loss. This commander being informed by the prisoners that he took, that those gallies, and the main body of the fleet which followed them, was steering directly for Rhodes, sent, after they were gone by, to ask the grand

master

master leave to come to him, and serve the order in the siege. The grand master, who knew his capacity and long experience in war, was equally affected with his zeal and courage. He readily sent him the orders that he asked and the brave knight, upon the receipt of them, went on board a brigantine, and in the night time got into the port of Rhodes, without being discovered by the Turks that lay off it at sea. The grand master embraced him tenderly, commended him highly, and not to leave his talents, and particularly his vigilance unemployed, he gave him the commission of visiting the several posts of the place, and of commanding at all the batteries jointly with the bailiff of Manosque.

They likewise brought over at the same time from the other isles of the order, and particularly from Nizzaro, the greatest part of its inhabitants, a brave set of men, used to cruize at sea, and combat against the infidels. The grand master took this resolution, because the only thing they had to do in this war was to save the capital; and if the order could but maintain its ground there, the other islands would be either preserved, or at least be more easily recovered.

When these inhabitants were landed, they put them with provisions into the castles of Lindo, Feracle, and the other fortresses of the island: some gallant knights were likewise put into those places to command them: their orders were, that if they should be besieged, to hold out as long as possible, to gain time and put off the siege of the capital; and if the infidels did not attack them, to go often out on parties, and try to surprize the stragglers from the main army.

The Turkish fleet, after making the coast of Lycia, appeared at last within sight of Rhodes, and stopped in a shallow water about eight miles or three leagues from thence: but not finding a good

bottom, and the place being likewise at that season exposed to the westerly winds, Curtogli weighed anchor, set sail, and went to land on the other side, in a lee-shore, where there was good anchoring, called Parambolin, six miles from the city. There afterwards came thither from the ports of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, a great number of vessels and galleys laden with troops and ammunition; so that when the Turks had got all their forces together, they computed no less than four hundred sail in their fleet; and the land army consisted of a hundred and forty thousand men, without reckoning sixty thousand pioneers, which Solyman had drawn out of the frontiers of Hungary, and the mountains of Servia, Bosnia and Walachia, where most of them had been bred to digging under ground and working in mines.

The grand master, upon the enemies approach, quitted his palace, and posted himself near the church of St. Marie de la Victoire, to be the more within reach of succouring the posts that should be attacked. During the first thirteen days, the infidels made no motion at all: their galleys, flat-bottomed vessels and barks were continually transporting their troops from the ports of Fisco and Macry into the isle of Rhodes, and they worked at the same time in landing the heavy artillery, provisions and ammunition. When all was landed, they held a council of war about the different operations of the army. Some officers were of opinion, that they should begin with the attacking the castle of Lindo, and the other fortresses of the island, which the knights had built to hinder the making of descents; and they represented, that the troops which were in those places might surprize and interrupt their convoys, and cut those troopers to pieces that might straggle abroad for forage; but Peri or Pyrrhus basha, the son of a renegado Epitor, was against this sentiment, and

represented, that they should lose time, which was too precious to be thrown away, in reducing these little places; that they ought to advance directly to the capital, the taking of which would make all those castles fall of course; and with regard to the parties which might disturb their convoys and foragers, they might easily secure themselves from any apprehensions of that nature, by sending such strong escorts that the Christians durst not attack them.

The general declared himself for this latter opinion: Rhodes was invested; they began to open the trenches out of the reach of cannon shot, and when they were nearer the town, the infidels raised a battery, which was immediately dismounted by the artillery of the place. Nothing could appear in the plain, but it was immediately battered, and felt the fury of the cannon; and the knights making frequent sallies, killed a great number of the Turks, cleared the trenches, and filled up their first works. The Turks began them again, and raised new batteries; but notwithstanding their being covered with sheds, gabions and shoulder works, nevertheless the knights, with their continual fire, ruined all their works, and destroyed such as managed the artillery of the infidels. The sword made a great havock of what the cannon had spared: there was every day some skirmish or other, and no sallies were made, but all the Turks in the trenches were cut to pieces.

The Turkish souldiers, who were used to make prognosticks from the first skirmishes, presaged no good to themselves with regard to the success of the siege: the janizaries, and even their very officers, found the valour of the knights so much superior to the great character that had been given them of it, that they complained of being led to the slaughter. Besides, through the grand master's wise precaution, the island was a kind of desert,

no inhabitants, no provisions nor forage; neither could the soldiers straggle abroad in quest of any, but they were presently snapped up by parties that sallied out of the castles of the island; and these parties, that were always lying in one ambuscade or other, killed all that fell into their hands, without giving quarter. A war so toilsome and bloody, the extraordinary fortifications of Rhodes, the continual fire of the artillery, the frequent sallies, the scarcity of provisions, which they were forced to be very careful of, because they could get none but from beyond sea, the little, or rather no hopes of booty, and yet less of recompence, in the absence of their sovereign, their small confidence in a young general that had been brought up in the pleasures of the seraglio; all this contributed to the distaste, and even the murmurings of the officer as well as the soldier. A spirit of mutiny, under a general that had not credit enough with them, soon succeeded to these murmurs; and if an attack was to be made, or a sally to be repulsed, the troops could not be brought to advance but with reluctance, and like men that did not believe they could vanquish or help being vanquished. In fine, the fear of danger made obedience languish, and all respect for command was lost.

Peri basha, to whom Solyman had given particular orders to send him an exact account of every thing that passed at the siege, thought himself obliged to let him know the discouragement and despondency of his army: and he observed in his letter, that nothing but his presence could root out the seeds of rebellion, and reanimate the courage of his soldiers. The bashas that were left about the sultan, and composed his council, were against his committing himself to the hazards of the sea; but the prince, jealous of his glory, and having the example of his father Selim, and the sultans his ancestors before his eyes: and being likewise persua-

ded, that the single presence of a sovereign surmounts the greatest difficulties, resolved to put himself at the head of his army, and accordingly set out for Lycia with a body of 15000 men.

Whilst this prince was on his march, a Turkish woman, who was slave to a townsman of Rhodes, either from a zeal for her false religion, or in hopes of recovering her liberty, formed alone an enterprise that an hundred thousand Turks could not bring about. As the knights and the infidels were fighting together every day, she, in order to make a diversion that might facilitate the attacks of the Turks, resolved to set fire to the principal places of the city; but as it was impossible for her to execute this project alone, she communicated it to some other slaves of her own country and religion. These slaves, influenced by the same motives, and by her persuasion, entered into the plot. The woman found a way to give the Turkish generals notice of her design; and, in concert with them, she fixed the conspirators a day for this conflagration, and the quarter wherein they were to light it. These measures were so well taken, that Rhodes must have fallen by the enterprise of this woman, had not one of the slaves accidentally dropped a word that discovered the secret of the conspiracy. They were immediately seized, and all of them, when put to the rack, owned their plot; the woman was the only person that did not submit to the force of pain, but endured the most violent tortures, without making the least confession. But her accomplices being confronted with her, and maintaining that she was the only person that engaged them in this conspiracy, the judges ordered her to be hanged. They quartered all the other conspirators, and their limbs were fixed up in several places of the city, in order to intimidate the rest of the slaves, and all that might afterwards be tempted to form a like enterprise.

The

The sultan in the mean time passing through Caria and Lycia, arrived at Portofischo. His vessels came thither to take him on board with the troops that served for his escorte; and he came into the isle of Rhodes to his camp, where he was received with the salvos of artillery, and the sound of drums, trumpets and other warlike instruments. His presence put a stop to the murmurs of the soldiery, and made them dread a chastisement. He declared that the only design of his coming was to punish a rebellious army, and decimate or put to death, every tenth soldier, calling them cowards at the same time: but Peribasha, who had a great influence over him, represented to him that the janizaries, and even the bravest of that body of troops, were the very men that had appeared most mutinous; that he could not punish them without discouraging the rest, and that therefore, in a siege of such difficulty and importance, it were better to overlook their faults, or else to make them sensible of it by such reproaches as should reinspire them with their wonted bravery.

This prince, after having concerted with his minister what behaviour he should put on with regard to his troops, ordered them to appear before him without their arms, and caused them to be surrounded by the 15000 men that he had brought with him to the siege. They had erected an high and magnificent throne for him. The prince, armed with majesty, ascended it with a fierce and stately air, and sat there for some time without once opening his lips, casting dreadful looks on every side, which the trembling soldier considered as the forerunners of death. At last, breaking this dismal silence, "Was I, says he, to have addressed myself to soldiers, I would have allowed you to appear before me with your arms; but since I am forced to direct my discourse to wretched slaves, weaker and more faint-hearted

" than women, and who cannot stand the bare
 " shout of their enemies, it is not fitting that such
 " cowards should dishonour our arms, and the
 " characteristicks of valour. I would gladly know,
 " if, whether upon landing in this island, you flat-
 " tered yourselves that the knights would prove
 " greater cowards than yourselves, and in a dread
 " of your arms should bring you their own, and
 " come in a servile manner to offer their hands and
 " feet to the irons with which you should be pleas-
 " ed to load them. In order to undeceive and cure
 " you of such a ridiculous mistake, know, that in
 " the person of these knights, we are to fight with
 " the flower of the Christian world, with brave
 " men, trained up from their infancy in the pro-
 " fession of arms; we are to fight with cruel and
 " fierce lions, greedy of the blood of Mussulmen,
 " and who will not quit their haunt but to a supe-
 " rior force. It is their courage which has excit-
 " ed our own. I imagined that in attacking them
 " I should meet with an enterprize and dangers
 " that were worthy of my valour. And is it from
 " you, base and effeminate soldiers, that I am to
 " expect a conquest; you that are flying from the
 " enemy before you have looked him in the face,
 " and would have deserted, had it not been for
 " the sea that encompasses you? but before such a
 " disgrace shall happen to me, I am resolv'd to ex-
 " ercise such exemplary justice on the cowards, that
 " the severity of their punishment shall keep such
 " in their duty as might be tempted to imitate
 " them."

Scarce had the sultan ended these words, when,
 upon a signal given to the armed soldiers that sur-
 rounded the others, they drew their swords as if
 they were going to massacre their comrades. Those
 wretches, at the sight of the drawn swords, whose
 points were turned against them, fell upon their
 knees, and cried aloud to the sultan for mercy.
 Then

Then Peri, and the other generals, in concert with the prince, drew near his throne with the most profound reverence, and besought him, in the most submissive expressions, to pardon those soldiers, who, as Peri said, had behaved manfully on other occasions, but who in this had been unhappily misled by an evil genius and a panick terror. The basha added, that they were ready to wash out their faults with their blood, and his head should answer to his highness for their hearty sorrow and repentance. Though Solyman's design was only to reclaim his troops, and bring them back to their duty, yet in order to keep up before them to the character of an incensed prince, and engage the soldiers to blot out the remembrance of their cowardice by some daring action of extraordinary valour, "I suspend, says he to Peri, at your request, the punishment of the guilty: but let them go seek their pardon in the bastions and upon the bulwarks of our enemies." With these words he dismissed the assembly.

This prince's discourse, so seasonably mixed with severity and clemency, inspired the troops with their wonted boldness and ancient valour. The officers especially, to wipe off the ill opinion the sultan had entertained of their courage, demanded eagerly to be placed in the most dangerous posts. Those very persons, who, before Solyman's arrival, had blamed this enterprize, found it then easy and glorious; one would not have taken them for the same men: they were all on fire to signalize their courage, and, to speak properly, it is only from this day that we are to date the commencement of the siege.

The soldiers and pioneers carried on the trenches without intermission. They worked at them in the day time as well as in the night, and they were relieved in their turns by various detachments of troops that succeeded one another. The grand master

ster seeing them sustained by strong brigades, did not think fit to continue his sallies, in which the loss of one single knight was of greater consequence to him than fifty soldiers to Solyman; so that the infidels having nothing to fear but the fire of the place, laboured with so much vigour, that they carried on their works as far the counterescarp: and in order to make their lines the stronger, they faced them on the outside with beams of timber and planks tied together. They next augmented their batteries; from which they, for several days together, fired continually upon the city. The Turks flattered themselves that they should ruin the fortifications in a little time, but had notice sent them by the Jew who served them as a spy in Rhodes, that their cannon had scarce so much as grazed upon the battlements of the wall, whether their batteries were ill placed or the cannon was not well pointed. He added, that the knights, from the top of St. John's steeple, saw every thing that passed in their camp, and the parts adjacent; and that if the Christians should happen to plant some piece of artillery on the top of that steeple, they might either kill the sultan as he was visiting the works, or such as carried his orders. These advices determined the besiegers to change the situation of their batteries: they pointed one among the rest against St. John's steeple, which was demolished by the first cannon-shot that they fired,

These barbarians finding Rhodes covered and buried, as it were, under its fortifications, resolved to raise two cavaliers that should be higher than those works, and command the city and bulwarks. The soldiers and pioneers, by the general's orders, fetched earth and stones for several days together, which they placed between the posts of Spain and Auvergne, over against the bastion of Italy. As these two places lay open and exposed to the cannon of the place, it would be impossible to express what

what a prodigious number of Turkish soldiers and pioneers perished in this work: but Mustapha, in order to advance it, made no scruple of throwing away the lives of those poor wretches: the work at last appeared like two little hills, which were ten or twelve foot higher than the wall, and commanded it absolutely.

The general, and the other bashas then made a distribution of the several attacks. Mustapha took upon himself that of the bulwark of England; Péri that of the post of Italy; Achmet basha, a great engineer, undertook the attack of the bastions of Spain and Auvergne; but as they seemed to be defended by a numerous artillery, and a great number of knights, the sultan would have this last basha sustained by the Aga of the janizaries, The begler-bei of Anatolia commanded in the trenches opposite to the post of Provence, and the begler-bei of Romania was to attack the tower of St. Nicholas; all these generals caused a continual fire to be made.

The post of Germany was the first attacked: the Turks planted several batteries against the wall: they did not think it could long resist the violence of the cannon, because it had no platform of earth: but the grand master repaired thither immediately himself, and caused it to be supported on the inside by earth, beams of timber, and fascines: and as the artillery, which was placed on the gate of his palace in a place of great height, looked over and commanded the batteries of the infidels, the Christian cannoneers demolished them, and broke to pieces their gabions, sheds and parapets. The only remedy was to make new ones, which, however, did not last longer than the first; the cannon of the town did sure execution, and beat down all it was levelled at, whereas that of the infidels, on the contrary, being ill managed, and pointed against a place of such height, and always keeping the same line.



line and point of elevation, passed above the wall and shot at random: we may suppose, that their gunners were as yet wholly ignorant of the method of lowering their cannon, and making it bear downwards, and against the foot of the wall.

The basha, discouraged at the little service his batteries had performed, removed, and planted them against the tower of St. Nicholas. We have observed in the former book, and during the mastership of the grand master d'Aubuffon, the ill success of the attacks of the basha Paleologus; nor was that of the begler-bei of Romania more successful. The basha battered the tower with twelve great brass guns, but had the mortification to see his cannon dismounted, and his batteries ruined by those of the tower. To prevent this effect, that was owing to the skill of the christian gunners, he resolved to fire only by night, and buried his cannon and gabions in the sand all the day-time: as soon as night came, they planted them again on the platform; and above 500 cannon shot striking on the part of the wall that looked towards the west, it was shaken down into the ditch.

The basha was in high delight at the effect of his nightly battery, and fed himself with vain hopes of carrying that work at the first assault: but he was strangely surpris'd to see a new wall appear behind the ruins of the first, strengthened with a rampart and parapet; and lined with artillery to keep off all approaches to it. He was now forced to take a resolution of beginning anew to batter this second wall.

Solyman, being advertis'd of it, sent to reconnoitre it: they gave him an account, that this tower was the strongest part of the place; not only by its situation on a rock, which was proof against the sap, and could have no mine cut in it, but likewise by the different works added to it since the last siege; and that, under the reign of Mahomet II. his grandfather, the basha Paleologus had been ob-

liged

liged to give over this attack. These considerations determined the sultan to remove his batteries to another place. Mustapha, by his orders, directed his attack against the principal bastions of the place; a prodigious train of artillery battered them night and day for a month together. The chevalier de Barbaran, who commanded at that of Spain, was killed by a cannon-ball. He was succeeded in his command by the chevalier John d'Omedes, afterwards grand master, of the language of Arragon, who, in defending that post, lost an eye a few days after by a musket-ball. The Turks battered all these bastions at the same time; that of England was greatly damaged. A new wall, which they had made there, was entirely ruined by the cannon of the infidels, but the old one stood firm against all the fury of the artillery: the grand master ran thither; and, finding the Turks obstinately bent upon that attack, he lodged himself at the foot of the wall, and, for fear of an assault, caused a reinforcement of fifty knights to enter into the bastion.

That of Italy was in a still worse condition: seventeen pieces of cannon, firing on it day and night, had almost demolished the whole wall. The grand master, by Martinengo's advice, in order to get time to make cuts and intrenchments behind the breach, before the infidels could mount to the assault, ordered 200 men to sally out under the command of a serving brother, called Bartholomew, and Benedict Scaramose, an engineer, who had been brought up under Martinengo: they threw themselves into the trenches sword in hand, surprised the Turks, killed or put to flight all that they met, and, before they made their retreat, filled up a great many yards of the trenches. The Turks did not fail, as that expert engineer had foreseen, to hasten to drive them back: but, as they were forced to pass by a place that lay open and exposed, the artillery of the place, which they had pointed on that side, killed a great number of them,

and, by the help of a continual fire, the Christians who had made the fall) got back into the city without any considerable loss.

Whilst this skirmish lasted, part of the knights were busy in digging ditches, and making cross-cuts and intrenchments, to hinder the enemy from making a lodgement upon the breach, whilst others of them, with musket-shot, killed all that durst advance near it. The cannon of the place played upon, and reached such as were at a greater distance, and nothing appeared but was struck down immediately. Most of the batteries of the infidels were ruined; their gabions and sheds were beat to pieces: and their shoulder-works could not save those that were employed about the artillery from being taken off by that of the town.

A renegade Soliman's general of the ordnance, a man well skilled in his profession, had both his legs carried off by a cannon shot, which also killed five men with the splinters of the planks that it broke to pieces. The Turks, without being disheartened, repaired their batteries, kept firing continually, and they had so great a number of cannon, and such a great quantity of powder, that they often demolished in an hour's time, what the Christians could hardly repair in several days. The knights began even to want powder already. D'Amiral, one of the commissioners appointed before the siege to visit the magazines, had, in order to favour the Turks, and disable the knights from continuing their defence, made a false report to the council, and declared that he had found more powder in the place than would serve to sustain the siege, even though it should last a whole year. But they were not long before they found to the contrary: the powder they had was diminished so considerably, that they would soon have had none left, had it not been the grand master's having made provision of salt petre, who set all the horses of his stable to work, to beat it small by help of the mills

that were in the place: the bailiff de Manofque and the chevalier Parisot were appointed to superintend over this affair. However, as they had not so much salt-petre as they would have occasion for, the officers of the artillery were obliged to fire less frequently, to husband their powder, and reserve it for the assaults which they foresaw the Turks would make on the place, whenever the breaches should be made larger.

This misfortune, owing, as it is pretended, to the treachery of the Portuguese knight, was attended by another, occasioned by some young knights, whilst the Turks were giving a false alarm to the post of Auvergne. The guards were bringing from work a company of slaves, about 120 in number, who were ordinarily employed in digging the ground, or in drawing stones and beams to make intrenchments. These young knights, meeting them, struck some of them for diversion's sake, just as a body of old knights were passing by, and who were marching in haste to the post of Auvergne upon the signals made on occasion of the false alarm that was given by the Turks. They, seeing it, immediately imagined that those slaves, from an impatient desire of liberty, were risen, and that the young knights attacked them in earnest. Possessed with this notion, they fell upon those poor wretches sword in hand, and cut them to pieces: by this unhappy mistake killing a company of innocent men, and depriving themselves of the assistance they received from these slaves, who would have served to supply the places of the christian pioneers, who fell daily in great numbers, either by the enemies cannon, or by musket shot fired out of fuses of a large bore, that carried as far as the breaches, and into the very city.

The Turkish general, discovering that these peasants, without minding how they exposed their lives, were by Martinengo's directions making bar-

ricadoes, cuts, and intrenchments, along the breaches, had chosen out of his army a good number of fowlers that were excellent marksmen. He had placed them upon emigences that were nearest the place, and upon cavaliers that commanded it, from whence they fetched down with their harquebuffs all that appeared upon the ramparts. Martinengo, seeing his workmen killed without his being able to secure them from the enemies fire, made them, by way of a counter-battery, plant some small field-pieces on the roofs of the highest houses. These on their side killed abundance of the fowlers, but the killing or disabling ten of those workmen did not make the order amends for the death of one christian soldier or pioneer: the town, being reduced to a small number of defendants, could not lose one of them without drawing nearer its ruin: and the grand master, in order to protract it, had no resource, but either in a speedy succour, or by prolonging the siege, and holding out till the coming of winter and bad weather, when he imagined the Turkish fleet would not be able to keep the sea.

The war had hitherto been carried on between the besiegers and the besieged, by firing at one another: and though that of the Turks, by reason of the multitude of their cannon, and the great quantity of their powder, was vastly superior, yet they were not masters of one inch of ground in the bastions and advanced works of the place. The barricadoes and intrenchments served instead of the walls that were beaten down: there was no carrying these new works but by an assault; and, in order to make it, it was necessary to try the descent of the ditch, or fill it up. Solyman, who had a prodigious number of pioneers in his army, made various detachments of them, some to throw earth and stones into the ditch; but the knights, by help of their casemates, carried off by night what they had thrown in by day: other pioneers were employ-
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ed in digging mines in five different places, in each of which they were carried on towards the bastion over against it. Some of them were countermined by the vigilance of Martinengo, to whom we are indebted for the invention of discovering the place where they were carrying on, by drums and skins hard braced and stretched.

The Turks had worked with so much skill, that the several branches of these mines had all a communication with one another; and all of them, in order to do the greater execution, centered at last in one place. Martinengo discovered one in the middle of the ditch of Provence, that began at St. John's church. De la Fontaine, an engineer, had it broke open immediately, drove the miners out of it with granadoes, and threw in barrels of powder, which burnt and smothered the Turks that were in those subterraneous passages. But whatever pains he took, he could not prevent the infidels from springing two mines, one after another, under the bastion of England, the force of which was so violent, that they blew up twelve yards of the wall, and the ruins of it filled up the ditch.

The breach appeared so large and so easy to mount, that several battalions of the infidels, that waited the success of the mine, ran immediately to the assault with great shouts, and sabre in hand. They got in a moment to the top of the bastion, and planted seven ensigns upon it, and would have made themselves masters of it, had they not met a cross cut or intrenchment behind it that stopped them. The knights, recovering from the confusion at the terrible noise of the mine had thrown them to, ran to the bastion, and charged the Turks with musket-shot, granadoes, and stones. The grand master was, at the very time that the mine sprung, in a church not far off, where he was before the altar imploring from heaven the succour which the princes of the earth refused him. He judged, by the

the dreadful crash he heard, that the noise which the mine made would be soon followed with an assault; he rose up immediately, and it happened to be at that very instant when the priests of the church were beginning divine service, and were chanting this preliminary prayer, *Deus in adjutorium meum intende, O God, make haste to deliver me.* "I accept the omen," cried the pious grand master, and turning about to some old knights that were with him, "Let us go, my brethren," says he to them, "to change the sacrifice of our praises into that of our lives, and die, if it must be so, for the defence of our holy law."

He advances immediately with his half-pike in his hand, mounts upon the bastion, comes up to the Turks, breaks, overturns, and kills all that dares oppose him: he pulls down the enemies ensigns, and recovers the bastion with an irresistible impetuosity. General Mustapha, who saw from the trenches the consternation and flight of his soldiers, sallies out of them sabre in hand, kills the first of the fugitives that he meets, and shews the rest, that they would find less safety near their general, than they would upon the breach. He advances on boldly himself; his reproaches, and the shame of deserving them, make the run-a-ways rally about him; the engagement begins afresh; the dispute grows bloody; fire and sword are equally employed on both sides; they kill one another both at a distance and near with musket-shot and the sword; they grapple with one another, and the strongest or the most dextrous dispatches his enemy with a stroke of his poinard. The Turks, lying exposed to musket-shot, stones, granadoes, and fire pots, at length abandon the breach, and turn their backs; in vain does their general strive by threats and promises to bring them back to the charge; they all break and take to their heels; but in their flight find a death they were afraid of meet-
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ing in the action ; and they made such a continual fire of the artillery from different parts of the town, upon the foot of the breach, that they pretend that the Turks lost on this occasion three thousand men, and three sangiacks or governors of places.

The order lost by this great advantage the great master of the artillery, the chevalier d'Argillemont captain or general of the galleys, the chevalier de Mauselle, who carried the grand master's standard, and several other knights that were killed in fighting valiantly.

Scarce a day passed but was signalized by some new attack. Every general officer, to please the grand seignior, endeavoured at the expence of the soldiers lives, to push on the works committed to his care. Peri basha, an old captain, notwithstanding his advanced age distinguished himself by continual enterprises : he was posted against the bastion of Italy, and never gave the besieged a moment's repose either day or night. The hopes he had of carrying that work, made him plant a good body of infantry so as to be concealed behind a cavalier which they had raised on the ditch-side, and on the thirteenth of September, at day break, when the besieged, quite spent with fatigue and continual watching, were overtaken with sleep, he ordered his troops to make the assault: they first dispatched the centinels, passed the breach, and were ready to seize the entrenchments ; when the Italians, amazed to see the enemy so near them, rushed with fury upon the infidels, who opposed them with as much courage and resolution.

The fight was maintained by the valour of both for a long time. The basha stood exposed by the ditch side, from whence he sent them continually new re-inforcements : but whilst he was exhorting them to merit the recompence which the grand seignior promised to such as should distinguish themselves

themselves by their bravery, the governor of the isle of Negrepont, a young lord of singular valour, and Solyman's favourite, was killed by his side, with a ball shot from a musket. Peri, either fearing that the grand seignior would impute his favourite's death to him, or else desiring to revenge it, redoubled his efforts. The grand master, whose valour and love for his order multiplied him, as we may say, on this occasion, ran to the succour with a particular body of knights that adhered to his person: "Let us go, says he to those about him, and repulse the Turks: we should not be afraid of men whom we daily throw into a panic fear." At the same time, he charges the infidels with his half-pike in his hand. The knights of the language of Italy under his eye, and in imitation of so great an example, perform the most glorious actions: they all expose themselves to the greatest dangers. A good number of them were killed on this occasion; and we must do them this justice, that next to the grand master, the saving of Rhodes was that day owing to their courage and intrepidity.

Peri judiciously concluding, that it would be in vain for him to persist in an attack which the grand master himself defended, contented himself with keeping on the fight; and drawing his body of foot from behind the cavalier that served to cover them, he put himself at their head, and went to attack a new bastion, built in the grand master Caretto's time, imagining it not to be so well provided with defendants, and that he should be able to surprise it. His troops advanced to the assault with great resolution, but were repulsed with equal vigour by the chevalier d'Andelot who commanded at that work. The citizens and inhabitants ran to his succour: the Turks were soon overwhelmed with showers of granadoes, stones, bitumen and boiling oil; and the artillery, planted upon the
flanks

flanks of the adjoining bastions, scouring the ditch, made an horrible slaughter of them. Peri, after losing abundance of men in these two attacks, was forced against his will to sound a retreat.

The janizaries, disheartened at so many unsuccessful attacks, murmured aloud against an enterprise, wherein one or other of their bravest comrades daily lost their lives. The vizier Mustapha hearing lest these complaints should reach the ears of Solyman, and that that prince, like most of his predecessors, should make him responsible for the ill success, resolved to make a new assault on the bastion of England, and either carry the place, though he lost never so many soldiers, or die himself at the foot of the entrenchments. He communicated his design to Achmet basha, who was encamped, and commanded in the quarter opposite to the posts of Spain and Auvergne. These two generals agreed, that whilst the vizier attacked the English bastion, Achmet, in order to divide the forces of the besieged, should spring his mines, and mount over the ruins they would make upon the breaches, and make a lodgement there. This enterprise was put in execution on the 17th of September. Mustapha sallied out of the trenches at the head of five battalions: the troops sustained by his presence, climbed up the rubbish and ruins of the wall, mounted boldly to the assault, got upon the breach, and in spite of all the fire of the besieged, made their way as far as the entrenchments, and planted some ensigns upon them. But they did not keep this first advantage long. A swarm of English knights, led on by a commander of that nation, whose name was John Buck, sallied out from behind the intrenchments, and being sustained by Prejan grand Prior of St. Giles, and the commander Christopher Valdner of the language of Germany, made so furious a charge, that the infidels were forced to give back. They retired in good

good order however, and still fighting. Mustapha, a much braver soldier than an able general, led on himself a re-inforcement to their succour: the engagement begins again with equal fury; the Turkish general throws himself into the midst of the knights, kills some of them with his own hand, and had he been as well followed by his soldiers, Rhodes would have been in great danger. But the artillery of the place, the little pieces especially, that played upon the breach, and a great number of musqueteers that galled them from behind the intrenchments, made so terrible a fire, that the infidels, no longer regarding the menaces of Mustapha, abandoned the breach, and dragged him along with them in their flight. How glorious soever this success might be to the order, nevertheless the knights paid very dear for it; they lost on this occasion the commanders Buck and Valdner, several English and German knights, and the greatest part of their principal officers.

Achmet basha was as unfortunate as general Mustapha in his attack: he sprung his mines as had been agreed between them; but that which was under the post of Auvergne took vent and did no execution. The mine which played under the post of Spain, threw down about four yards of an advanced work, which served for a sort of fore-wall. The Turks advanced immediately to seize it, but met a body of Spanish knights upon the ruins of it, that made head against them, and kept them from approaching; they fought for some time at a distance with musquet-shot, but as the Turks advanced in close and good order to break through the besieged, the chevalier de Mesnil, captain of the bulwark or bastion of Auvergne, and the chevalier de Grimereaux, made the artillery of their posts play so a-propos and continually upon the thickest of the battalions of the janizaries, that those troops, though brave in their persons, and the

the very flower of the army, could stand the fury of it no longer, but dispersed of themselves, and made the best of their way to the trenches.

Solyman lost that day three thousand men, and in the order, besides the chieftains abovementioned, had likewise several knights killed on these two occasions; and among the rest Philip de Arcil-an, of Spanish extraction, whose great valour justly merited him the honour of having his name recorded. Prejan de Bidoux, grand prior of St. Giles, who made all the posts that were attacked his own, was shot through the neck with a musket-ball, but was happily cured of his wound.

About this time they* discovered the treason of the Jewish physician, who Sept. 20. by order of Selim I. had formerly settled at Rhodes, where he served as a spy to the Turks. They caught him shooting an arrow with a letter tied to it into their camp; upon which he was immediately seized, and being on such strong presumptions put to the torture, he owned that he had given the infidels continual advice of the weak parts of the place, and of every thing that passed in it; and that when he was seized, it was the sixth letter that he had conveyed to them in the same way. His judges condemned him to be quartered, and it is pretended, that he died a Christian. His confession of Christianity was very much suspected: but if he made it only to save his life it stood him in no stead, for he suffered the punishment he had so justly deserved.

Solyman in the mean time, enraged at the little progress of his arms, held a great council of war, to which he summoned his principal officers. Various opinions were proposed in it. Mustapha, who before the siege, out of pure complaisance had represented the enterprize as easy, now dreading

* Bourbon, p. 32.

his passion and resentment, proposed the giving a general assault, and attacking the town in four different places at the same time. " One would imagine, says he, that we were making war in concert with our enemies, and that from a romantick point of generosity we would not fight them but upon equal terms. We never attack but one post at a time, and as the knights draw all their forces thither, we need not think it strange to find a set of brave men, the very flower of Christendom, maintain their ground against our soldiers. But if the whole army was to surround the place, and that detachments were to be drawn out to assault all the places where there are breaches, and also new supplies sent continually to reinforce those that should make the attack, the Rhodians would be obliged to divide their forces, and could never be able to stand before us."

The grand seignior approved of this advice: the general assault was fixed for the 24th of September; and Solyman, to inspire new ardor into his soldiers, gave out, that he would give them the plundering of Rhodes, provided they could take it sword in hand. The Turks, before they gave this assault, made a continual fire with their cannon; and in order to enlarge the breaches, battered the bastions of England and Spain, the post of Provence, and the platform of Italy for two days together. The evening before the assault, the grandmaster suspected, by the motions he perceived in the enemies camp, that they were going to attack him: He gave out his orders, and the knights following his example redoubled their care; but though they had just reason to fear, that the enemy would take their advantage of opening to themselves a passage through the ruins of those strongholds that had been battered down in the vast circuit of the walls, they yet were forced to regulate their

their measures by the few troops they had left, and to distribute the old commanders and principal officers into such posts as the violence of the attacks, the wideness of the breaches, and the defect in the fortifications exposed to the greatest dangers.

The grand master taking up his weapons, visited all the quarters to see the disposition of his troops, and exhort them to a noble defence; and addressing himself to the knights whom he found in their respective posts; "I should offer violence to your courage, said he to them, should I pretend to invigorate it by a harangue; and it would be throwing away time, to tell you, what your valour has so often inspired into you on the like occasions. Consider only, my dear brethren, that we are going to fight for our order, and for the defence of our religion, and that a glorious victory must be the reward of our valour, or else Rhodes, the strongest rampart of Christendom, must serve us for a grave." Whenever he met any of the townsmen and inhabitants, "Think, said he to them, that besides the defence of the faith, you have taken up arms for your country, for your wives, your maidens, and your children: fight gallantly, my friends, in order to rescue them from the intamy that the barbarians threaten them with: their liberty and your own, your blood, your honour, and your fortunes are all in your hands, and depend upon your bravery."

These few words, pronounced with an heroick ardor; had such an effect on all, that the townsmen as well as the knights, and the Greeks no less than the Latins, made publick protestations, that nothing but death should make them abandon their posts; and embracing one another in a most tender and affectionate manner, their eyes streaming with

with tears, they bid as it were a last adieu to each other, resolutely bent either to conquer or die.

The Turks at day break made a furious fire from all their batteries, especially against the posts which they designed to attack, not only in order to widen the breaches, but also to be less exposed to view, as they marched through the smoke of the artillery. They mounted boldly to the assault in four different places: they had never discovered so much resolution ever since the beginning of the siege, especially the janizaries, who fought under the young sultan's eye.

That prince, in order to animate them by his presence, had placed himself on a rising ground near adjoining, where a scaffold was erected for him, whence he, as from an amphitheatre, was able to distinguish and judge of the valour of those brave fellows, without any danger to himself. The cannon of the place begins to play: this is succeeded by showers of arrows and musket-shot. The knights in all quarters shew their intrepidity, and the soldiers their obedience and courage; some of them burn the assailants with boiling oil and fire-works, whilst others roll stones of a vast size upon them, or pierce them through with their pikes. The English bastion was the place where there was the greatest bloodshed: it was the weakest part of the place, the warmest attacked, and withal the best defended. The grand master runs thither himself: his presence on the one side inspires the knights with fresh ardor; hope of booty on the other encourages the Turkish soldier. Never did the infidels discover so much eagerness in battle; they mount upon the ruins of the wall through a storm of bullets, javelins and stones: nothing stops them, and several of them leaped like so many desperados from the machines which they had brought near the walls upon the ramparts, where they were soon cut to pieces. The knights throw the Turks

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from the top of the breach headlong into the ditch: they overturn the ladders, and the cannon of the place makes so terrible a slaughter, that the Turks give way, retire back, and are ready to give over the assault. But the general's lieutenant, who commanded at that attack, an officer highly respected among the soldiers for his rare valour, rallies, and leads them on to the attack: he himself mounts first upon the breach and plants an ensign on it. Happily for the besieged, a cannon ball, fired from the post of Spain, carries him off, and throws him in the ditch. One would have thought, that his death would naturally have cooled the ardor of his soldiers: but thirst of revenge inspired them that instant with a contrary sentiment, and filled their hearts with a sort of rage and fury; they rush on headlong into danger, pleased to die themselves, provided they could kill a Christian. But all their impetuosity could not make the knights retire one single step. The priests, the religious, the old men, and the very children resolve to have their share of the danger, and repulse the enemy with stones, boiling oil, and combustible matter.

Neither did the women yield in assiduity to the pioneers, nor was their bravery inferior to that of the soldiers: several lost their lives in defending their husbands and children. Historians make mention of a Greek * woman of exquisite beauty,

* Mulier una græcanici sanguinis, quæ cum arcis præfecto consuetudinem habebat, ut cum agnovit fortiter dimicando occisum, impleta duæ venusto corpore & amabili indole pueros quos de uncto genuerat, postquam moribus pietatis & secula extrema iussisset, & notam crucis Christi lacrymantium, perituro unque frontibus impressisset ferro atrox semina jugulavit, & trementes adhuc ex unte simul sanguine & spiritu artus cum cæteris quæ cara habebat, in ardentissimum rogum conjecit, ne hostis (dicebat) vilius visis sur mortuis gemina nobilitate corporibus potiretur. Et cum dicto indens cari amatois palamentum, madidum multo, adhuc sanguine, accepta fra-mea in nosse tendit; ibi egregia bellatrix et omni in seculorum memoria dignissima virgo, inter confertas hostium phalanges, more virtutum fortiter bellando occubuit. Jacobi Fontani de bello Rhodio l. 2. t. p. 159. Francofurti ad Moenum.

that was mistress to an officer who had a command in that bastion, and had been just killed. Upon which, distracted at the death of her lover, and resolving not to survive him, after kissing the two children she had by him, and making the sign of the cross on their foreheads, "It is better for you, my dear children, says she to them, with tears in her eyes, to die by my hands than by those of our merciless enemies, or to be reserved for infamous pleasures, more odious than death itself." Then, inspired with fury, she takes up a knife, cuts their throats, throws their bodies into the fire, puts on the officers cloaths that were still dyed with his blood, snatches up his sabre, runs to the breach, kills the first Turk she meets, wounds several others, and dies fighting with a bravery equal to the most courageous officer, or the most resolute soldier.

The engagement was carried on with equal fury and obstinacy at the other attacks. The greatest danger was at the post of Spain. The aga of the janizaries, who commanded on that side, led on his soldiers to the assault: the artillery of the place killed a great number of them before they could get to the foot of the breach. Such of the Turks as are able to cross the ditch, go to undermine the wall, and are frequently buried under its ruins, whilst others of them make use of ladders to mount up: some of them heap the dead bodies of their comrades on one another, get to the top of the wall in spite of all the opposition of the besieged, and penetrate as far as the intrenchments, on which, it is said, they planted no less than thirty ensigns. Unhappily for the knights, such of them as had the guard of the bastion of Spain had like to have been surpris'd by not standing on their guard. The Turks having shewed no signs of any design to attack them, those knights reproaching themselves for being idle in their post, and seeing the

bastion

Bastion of Italy hard pressed by the Turks, ran to their succour, and left only a few centinels upon the bastion of Spain. These soldiers likewise, contrary to all the rules of war, quitted their post to help the gunners in transporting some pieces of cannon which they had a mind to point against the post that the aga of the janizaries was attacking. Some Turks that lay concealed behind a heap of ruins, seeing the bastion abandoned, mount without being discovered, get to the top of the work, make themselves masters of it, cut the gunners to pieces, pull down the ensigns of the order, and plant those of Solyman in their stead; and proclaiming victory, invite their comrades to join them: upon which the aga sent immediately a detachment of his janizaries to that place.

The grand master having notice of this surprise, runs thither in an instant, makes them point the artillery of the bastion of Auvergne against a breach which the enemies cannon had made in that of Spain, keeps the Turks from approaching it; and from another battery which faced the bastion, he makes them fire upon those that were in possession of it, and who were endeavouring to make a lodgment there. On another side, the commander of Bourbon, by his orders, at the head of a troop of brave soldiers, enters by the casemate into the bastion; mounts up to the top upon the platform sword in hand, in order to drive out the infidels; where he finds part of them killed by the cannon; he cuts the rest in pieces, again sets up the ensigns of the order, pulls down those of the Turks, and turns the artillery of the bastion upon such as were mounting up a breach that had been made in that part of the wall which was called the post of Spain. The aga maintained his ground in that place in spite of the gallant resistance of the knights. The grand master comes back thither at the head of his guards, and throws himself into

the midst of the infidels, with an ardour which made his knights tremble as much as his enemies, but from a different motive. The engagement begins again with fresh fury, the soldiers, as yet unhurt, the wounded and the dying all blended together, after a combat of six hours, want rather strength than courage to continue it. The grand master, fearing that his men, who were quite spent with such a long resistance, should at last be bore down by the multitude of their enemies, drew a reinforcement of two hundred men, with some knights at their head, out of the tower of St. Nicholas. These troops, who were fresh, and had suffered no fatigue, soon changed the face of the engagement: the janizaries began to give back; and finding themselves pressed by these brave soldiers, abandon the breach and fly to recover their trenches. Solyman, to cover the shame of their flight, and save the honour of his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, after having left upon the breach, and at the foot of the wall, upwards of fifteen thousand men, and several captains of great reputation, that lost their lives in these different attacks.

The Rhodians sustained as considerable a loss as they did in proportion: and besides the soldiers and inhabitants, they had a great number of knights killed in these assaults, among which was the chevalier du Fresnoi, commander of Romagna, the commander of St. Camelle of the language of Provence, Oliver de Treffac of the language of Auvergne, and brother Peter Philips the grand master's receiver. The chevalier John le Roux, surnamed Parnides, had his hand, with which he had slain seven Turks, carried off that day by a cannon ball; there were few knights but what were wounded, and there scarce remained sufficient enough unhurt to continue the service.

The sultan, furious at the ill success of this enterprise,

terprise, fell upon his general Mustapha; who out of complaisance had advised him to it, and gave orders for his being shot to death with arrows; a sad recompence for all his services, but such an one as slaves and servile courtiers are frequently exposed to under the government of the infidels. The army was drawn up in battle array in order to be spectators of the death of their general, and the unhappy man, was already tied to the fatal stake, when Peri basha, provoked at the punishment they were going to inflict on his friend, made them defer the execution, as he was persuaded that Solyman, when the heat of his passion was over, would not be concerned that they had prevented such a stain to his glory. As he had educated that young prince from his infancy, and had still a great ascendant over him, he went and threw himself at his feet, and begged him to pardon Mustapha. But he found by his own experience that lions are not to be tamed: Solyman, still in the first transports of his wrath, jealous of his authority, and enraged to see there was a man in his empire daring enough to suspend the execution of his orders, condemned him at the same time to undergo the same punishment. The other bashas were in a terrible consternation, and threw themselves all at his feet in order to mollify him; when the sultan coming to himself, was moved at their tears: he pardoned Mustapha and Peri, but would never see Mustapha more, and sent him afterwards at a distance from court, under pretence of another employment.

This prince, despairing to carry the place, seemed resolved to raise the siege; and it is said, that whole companies and the heavy baggage began to file off towards the sea in order to re-embark; when an Albanian soldier, getting out of the town, came into the Turkish camp, and assured them that most of the knights were either killed or wounded at the assault, and that those who were left were not able

to sustain another. They pretend, that this deserter's report was confirmed by a letter from d'Amaral, who told the grand seignior that the besieged were reduced to the last extremity.

These several advices determined him to continue the siege; and in order to shew his troops and the besieged that he was resolved to pass the winter before the place, he ordered an house to be built on mount Philerme for himself to lodge in; giving, at the same time, the command of the army to Achmet basha, an able engineer, who changed the method of carrying on the siege. He resolved to be as sparing as possible of his soldiers blood; and before he led them to an assault, to prepare for it by new cannonadings, and particularly by sapping and mining, and other subterraneous works, in which he was particularly skilled.

This new general made his first efforts against the bastion of Spain, the ditch whereof was narrower, and not so deep as in other places: and in order to facilitate the descent of it, his artillery played for several days together so furiously upon that work, that he ruined all the defences of it; there was nothing left but the barbican or fausse-braye, which lay so low, that the cannon could not hurt it. The Turkish general resolved to run his trenches as far as this work, which covered the foot of the wall; but these trenches being seen from the bastion of Auvergne, the cannon of the knights played upon them. The Turks, in order to shelter themselves from it, raised a thick wall before the trenches; but they could not bring these several works to perfection without the loss of an infinite number of soldiers and pioneers: no one could shew himself but he was immediately exposed to the fire of the artillery, and a shower of musket shot; and the knights at the same time were continually throwing granadoes and fire-pots into their works. The Turkish general, to guard against them,

hem, raised along the curtain a gallery with planks, which he covered with raw hides, which the fire could not take hold of. Under shelter of this new work he undermined the wall, whilst other companies of pioneers and miners were continually at work to penetrate under the bastions of the place, and run mines through that place.

These mines having thrown down a great many yards of the wall of the post of Spain, the barbarians advanced to the assault; but coming up to the breach, they found themselves stopped by new intrenchments, lined with artillery, the continual fire whereof, after killing a great many of their bravest officers, and a prodigious number of soldiers, forced the rest to run back to their trenches for shelter.

The bailiff Martinengo, who was always in action, had, in order to hinder the infidels from coming to reconnoitre the works he was making within the place, made them cut loop-holes for the cannon in the wall of the counterescarp on the side of the town, from whence the knights killed with musket ball all that durst advance near it. The Turks, after his example, did the like on their side, and a continual fire was kept on both sides. Unhappily a random shot from the trenches struck Martinengo in the eye, just as he was looking thro' one of those loop-holes to examine the enemies works; he fell upon receiving the shot, and they thought him mortally wounded. The order could not have had a greater loss at such a juncture; for he was in a manner the only person that directed all operations, and determined the time and places where the knights should exert their valour.

The grand master, upon the news of his wound, ran immediately to the place, and caused him to be carried into his own palace: by his care he was afterwards cured of his wound, the knights and all the people offering up their prayers for his recovery.

17.

ry. The grand master filled up his post in his absence, and undertook himself to defend the bastion of Spain. The chevalier de Cluys grand prior of France, the commander of St. Jaille bailiff of Manosque, the bailiff of the Morea, and the oldest knights of the order staid about the grand master's person, in order to share with him in the perils and glory of this defence. Actions of extraordinary valour were performed on both sides; there were new engagements every day. It would appear very surprising, that so small a number of Christians, who had nothing to cover them but some barricadoes and weak intrenchments, should be able to hold out so long against such a prodigious number of assailants, if this handful of men had not been composed of old knights, whose valour had been experienced on a thousand other occasions, and who on this were unanimously resolved to sacrifice their lives for the defence of their religion. Men are very strong and very formidable when they are not afraid of death.

Historians, speaking of their zeal and courage, use but one sort of eulogium for all these noble soldiers of Jesus Christ. Not but there were among these warriors different talents, and more or less capacity in the arts of war; and we should justly deserve to be censured, if we did not do justice to the memory of the grand master, who, for four and thirty days that the bailiff de Martinengo's wound and illness lasted, never stirred from the intrenchment made on the Spanish bastion, nor ever took any rest either day or night, excepting only for some moments on a mattress, which they laid for him at the foot of the intrenchment; officiating sometimes in the quality of a soldier, and sometimes in that of pioneer, but always in that of general, if we except that ardor which made him fight like a young knight, and rush into perils with less precaution than became a sovereign.

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The example of the grand master, who was so very careless of his own life, made the knights, left in the principal posts of the place, expose daily their own lives, sometimes in defending the breaches and intrenchments, and often in engagements under ground, when they were to countermine and meet with the enemies miners; there scarce passed a day without an engagement in some place or other. Besides the bastion of Spain, which was almost entirely ruined, the Turks directed their principal attacks against the posts of England, Provence, and Italy. The prodigious number of troops, of which their army consisted, easily supplied them with men for all these attacks: the walls were quite demolished in several places, and the breaches were so large, that the Turks could mount in formed battalions to the assault of the bastion of England. The knights, that had undertaken the defence of it, lined the ramparts sword in hand, and with their bodies made a new parapet for its defence. They were seconded by the artillery of the city, which played from several places upon the foot of the breach. The Turks, without being daunted at the number of their slain, rush on with fury to attack the knights, come up with them, grapple with them, and by their multitudes as much as by their courage, force them to give back. These noble defendants saw themselves on the point of being overwhelmed by the croud of their enemies, when the chevalier de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, and one of the adjutant captains, as they were then called, ran with his company to their succour, restored the battle, forced the infidels in their turn to retire, and with new efforts obliged them at last, after the loss of above 600 men, to sound a retreat, and give over the attack.

But if the order had such brave defendants in the person of her knights, she likewise nourished in her bosom, and even among her principal chiefs, a
 traitor;

traitor, who omitted nothing to forward the loss of Rhodes, and the ruin of the whole order. The reader may easily perceive, that I mean the chancellor d'Amaral. The commander de Bourbon, in his account of the siege of Rhodes, relates this tragical event as follows.

D'Amaral, says this author, ever tormented with rage, and without being moved at seeing
 Oct. 30. the blood of his brethren shed every day, still kept on his criminal intelligence with the Turks. One of his valets de chambre, Blaise Diez by name, in whom he entirely confided, used to come with a bow in his hand at unseasonable hours to the post of Auvergne, whence, whenever he fancied himself not to be perceived, he shot an arrow with a letter fixed to it into the enemies camp. His frequent resort to the same place, especially in a besieged city, immediately gave some suspicion; but, as they had not seen him shoot any of his letters, and besides that he belonged to a person of great authority, such as had observed his stolen visits thither durst not mention it at first, for fear of drawing upon themselves the resentment of a powerful and revengeful man. There was only one knight, who, stifling all considerations, and seeing the servant return often to the same place, gave private notice thereof to the grand master, who immediately gave orders for the seizing of this servant: he was afterwards examined by the judges of the castellany, who, not being satisfied with his equivocal answers to their interrogatories, ordered him to be put to the torture. He owned, upon the very first twitches of it, that he had, by his master's command, thrown down several letters into the Turkish camp, to point out to them the weakest places of the city. He added, that he had likewise acquainted them, that the order had lost the greatest part of its knights in the last assaults; and besides, that the city was in want of wine, powder, ammu-

ammunition, and provisions ; but that, though the grand master was reduced to extremity, the grand seignior ought not yet to flatter himself with the thought of being master of the place any other way than by force of arms.

This deposition was laid before the council, who gave orders for seizing the chancellor, whom they carried to the tower of St. Nicholas. Two commanders, grand crosses, repaired thither with the magistrates of the city to examine and try him : they read to him the deposition of his servant, who was afterwards confronted with him, and maintained to his face, that it was by his orders only that he frequently had gone to the bastion of Auvergne, and had thrown letters from thence into the camp of the infidels. This deposition was confirmed by that of a Greek priest, chaplain to the order, who declared before the judges, that, passing one day by the fausse-braye of the bastion of Auvergne, in order to observe the enemies works, he found the chancellor in a bye corner with this very servant, who had a cross-bow, with a quarrel or square-arrow in his hand, to which he perceived there was a paper tied ; that the chancellor, who was then looking through a loop-hole for the cannon, returning back, seemed surprised to see him so near him, and demanded of him roughly, and in an angry manner, what he wanted : and that, finding his presence in that place was disagreeable to him, he had made off as fast as possible.

Diez agreed to the Greek priest's deposition in all its circumstances. This servant, who might perhaps flatter himself with the hopes of escaping punishment by accusing his master, added farther, that the chancellor was the person that had persuaded the grand seignior to invade the island, by the advices he sent him of the condition of the place, and dispatching the slave before mentioned to Constantinople, the whole negotiation passing through his hands. They put the chancellor at the

same time in mind, that, on the day of the grand master's election, he could not help saying, that he would be the last grand master of Rhodes. D'Amaral, no ways confused, being confronted a second time with his servant and the Greek priest, affirmed, that Diez was a villain and an impostor, whose deposition, he said, was nothing else but the effect of the resentment he had entertained on account of punishments that his ill conduct had occasioned him. He stoutly denied all the facts advanced by the Greek priest, with an intrepidity that ought only to attend on innocence: they were forced in fine to have recourse to the rack; but, before they put him to it, the judges, who were his brother knights, in order to save him from the torture of it, as also to get from him an account of his accomplices, conjured him, in the most pressing terms, to encourage them to save his life by an ingenuous confession of his faults; but the chancellor rejected their offices with indignation, and demanded of them haughtily, if they thought him base enough, after having served the order for above forty years, to dishonour himself at the end of his life by the confession of a crime that he was incapable of committing. He bore the torture with the same intrepidity; and owned only, that at the time of the grand master's election, at a time when the Turks were threatening Rhodes with a siege, having no great opinion, as he said, of the courage and abilities of H'fle-Adam, he had dropped a word or two, and said, that he would perhaps be the last grand master of Rhodes; when, turning towards his judges, he asked them, if a word, that emulation and a rivalry for the same dignity had extorted from him, deserved to have the great chancellor of the order put into the hands of executioners. But the judges, being persuaded of his criminal correspondence with the Turks, were not dazzled by his protestations: no body took his recriminations against Diez for proofs of his innocence: the ma-
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ster and servant were both condemned to death. The chancellor was sentenced to be beheaded, and Diez to be hanged; their bodies were afterwards quartered, and exposed to the view of the Turks upon the principal bastions of the place. The valet was executed first: he was born a Jew, but had been converted, and declared at his execution, that he died a good Christian. Before d'Amaral was put to death, an assembly was held in the great church of St. John, in which the bailiff de Manosque presided. The criminal was brought thither; they read him his sentence, which ordered him to be degraded, and stripped of the habit of the order; which was done with all the ceremonies prescribed by the statutes. They delivered him over afterwards to the secular arm, who carried him to prison, and the next day he was carried in a chair to the public place where he was to be executed. He looked upon all the preparatives to his execution, and the approaches of death, with a resolution worthy of a better cause; but his refusing in that extremity to recommend himself to the protection of the blessed virgin, whose image the priest that assisted him presented to him, gave them no advantageous opinion of his piety. Fontanus, a contemporary historian, and an eye-witness of what passed, speaking of the very different deaths of two grand crosses, who were appointed in the beginning of the siege, in joint commission with d'Amaral, to visit and take care of the ammunition and provisions, and who were both killed in assaults, adds, with regard to the chancellor whom he speaks of but does not name. "God," says this author, "had reserved the last of the three for a shameful death, which he richly deserved." However, the services he had done the order for so many years, his intrepidity under the most exquisite torments of the rack, the ancient and valuable fidelity of the Portuguese gentry to their sovereigns, of

which there are so many illustrious examples in history; all this might serve to balance the deposition of a servant: and perhaps the chancellor would not have been treated so very rigorously, if, when the public safety is at stake, bare suspicion were not, as we may say, a crime that state-policy seldom pardons.

But be that as it will: to resume the relation of this famous siege, Solyman, tired out with its continuance, and the little success of his miners, ordered Achmet to begin his batteries again, and dispose his soldiers for a general assault. The eyes of all the universe were then fixed upon Rhodes. The Turks flattered themselves with hopes of carrying it by storm; and the knights, who were reduced to a small number, and were rather hid and buried than fortified in the little ground that was left them, waited with impatience for the succours which the christian princes had so long fed them with the vain hopes of sending them, in order to raise the siege. But the emperor Charles V. and Francis I. king of France, were so obstinately animated against one another, that they durst not send away their troops or divide them: and the other European princes, most of which were engaged on the side of one of those two princes, and were afraid lest their own territories should be invaded, kept their forces about them for fear of a surprise. The pope himself, Adrian VI. by name, a pious and indeed learned pontiff, but of no great capacity, and entirely devoted to the emperor, being pressed by cardinal Julian de Medecis, an old knight of the order, to send his galleys to Rhodes with a body of infantry which then lay about Rome, the new pontiff excused himself from so doing, under pretence, that, as he was not skilled in the arts of government, he could not send away his troops whilst all Italy was up in arms; though it is very probable, that he durst not dispose of them without the privacy and consent of the emperor his benefactor:

and

and that out of complaisance to that prince, instead of sending them to Rhodes, he ordered them to march into the Milanese and Lombardy, where they were employed against the French.

Thus were the grand master and his knights, after putting their whole confidence in God, left without any hopes of succour but what they could draw from the order itself: they were besides so unfortunate as not to receive a considerable convoy which the French knights sent in two ships from the port of Marseilles. One of these ships, after a storm of several days, was cast away, and lost off Monaco, and the other losing her masts in the same storm, was stranded on the coast of Sardinia, and disabled from putting to sea. Nor were the English less unfortunate. Sir Thomas de Newport embarking with several knights of that nation, and a good quantity of provisions as well as money on board, was caught in the same storm, which drove him upon a desert country where he stranded. The chevalier Aulamo of the language of Arragon, and prior of St. Martin, was in hopes of getting into the port of Rhodes. But he was met in the Archipelago by some Turkish gallies, and after a long engagement got out of their hands with great difficulty. The grand master, though abandoned as we may say by all human succour, did not yet abandon himself or despond. This great man discovered in so sad an extremity the same courage which had carried him so often upon the breach, and into the midst of his enemies. By his orders the knights that resided in the adjoining isles that depended on Rhodes, and in the castle of St. Peter, quitted them in order to preserve the capital of the order, and transported thither, on board some light barks and little brigantines, all the soldiers, arms and provisions they were masters of. The grand master, in the extremity to which he was reduced, took this step, in hopes of one

day recovering those islands, if he could but maintain his ground in Rhodes. But as they had drawn the like succours from these several places before, this last, the only hopes the knights had left, betrayed their weakness more than it augmented their forces. The grand master dispatched at the same time the chevalier Farfan of the language of England into Candia, to endeavour to get provisions from thence; and sent another knight called des Reaux to Naples, to hasten the succours, which were retarded by the rigour of the season; but all his endeavours were fruitless; and one would have thought, that the winds and the sea had conspired the loss of the isle of Rhodes, and of this armament, the last supply that the besieged had any hopes of.

The Turks, to whom some deserters had represented these succours as much stronger and nearer at hand than they were in reality, used their endeavours to prevent them. Achmet, who under Solyman's orders had the whole direction of the siege, planted a battery of seventeen cannon against the bastion of Italy, and completed the ruin of all the fortifications. He afterwards ran his trenches to the foot of the wall; and to secure his men from being galled by the artillery of the place, he covered these new works with thick planks and great beams of timber. His pioneers pierced afterwards through the wall, and ran their mines as far as the outrenchments, and then digging away the earth that supported them, they made them sink, so that the knights were forced to retire farther within the town: and the grand master, who never stirred from the attacks, seeing the infidels masters of the best part of the platform of the bastion, was forced to demolish the church of St. Pantaleon, and the chapel of Notre Dame de la Victoire, to hinder the Turks from making lodgements there, and he employed the materials of those two churches in making new barricadoes and intrenchments

intrenchments to hinder the enemy from penetrating farther into the place.

The Turkish general had the same success at the bastion of England. After his artillery had played upon it for several days, and that he had demolished the walls and ruined the fortifications, several knights proposed to abandon it, but that they should first fill the mines that were under it with powder, in order to blow up the infidels that should throw themselves into it. But it was remonstrated in the council of war, held on this subject, that in the extremity to which they were reduced, the saving of the place depended entirely on prolonging the siege, so as to allow time for the succours they expected to arrive; and that therefore there was not a foot of ground, but what was to be disputed with the enemy as long as possible. This last opinion prevailed; and though the bastion was entirely ruined by mines, and the fire of the artillery, nevertheless the chevalier Bin de Malicome, offered himself generously to defend it; and in spite of the continual attacks of the Turks, he maintained it with great glory to the very end of the siege.

The Turks did not allow any more rest to the knights that defended the posts of Italy and Spain. They attacked the first on the 22d of November. They, as has been already observed, had seized on the best part of the platform of Italy: the knights had scarce a third of it left, and both of them were buried as it were in subterraneous works, and divided only by planks and beams from one another. The Turks seeing themselves in possession of the greatest part of this platform, undertook to drive the knights entirely out of it. A battalion of the infidels on the side next the sea mounted to the assault, whilst another body attacked their intrenchments sword in hand. But they met with the same valour and resistance in all places; and though the knights had lost abundance of men in these bloody

attacks, they yet repulsed the infidels, and obliged them to retire.

It was however only to return a few days afterwards in much greater numbers. The attack was preceded by a mine, which they sprung under the bastion of Spain. It made a great pannel of the wall fall down: and in order to hinder the knights from making new intrenchments behind this breach, a battery of their largest cannon played for a whole night and day without intermission upon this place. The Turks, upon the thirtieth of November, returned at day break to the assault, whilst Peri Basha at the same time attacked the Italian platform again. But the main effort of the infidels was made against the bastion of Spain; the Turks in great numbers, and sustained by the bravest troops of their army, advanced boldly up to the breach, notwithstanding all the fire of the artillery, and small shot of the besieged; their great numbers prevailed over all the courage of the Rhodians, and they penetrated as far as the intrenchments, which the bailiff Martinengo had made before he was wounded: but at the sound of the bells which proclaimed the danger that the city was in, the grand master, the prior of St. Giles, the bailiff Martinengo, who was not yet quite cured of his wound, ran from different places, with the greatest part of the knights and inhabitants; none of them observing any order but what his courage and perhaps his despair dictated; and all of them, regardless how they exposed their lives, rushed with a kind of fury upon the Turks. The infidels did not shew less courage; they grappled with one another with equal advantage, and without being able to discover what the success of this terrible engagement would be. Happily for Rhodes there fell a prodigious rain; floods of water fell from the skies, and washed away the earth that served as a shoulder-work to the trenches of the infidels. This
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laying them open to the artillery of the post of Auvergne, it played furiously, and killed a great number of them; and the other batteries, which they had placed upon the mills of Cosquin, and the musketeers of the knights firing continually upon the breach, and in the midst of the enemy that was lodged there, made so horrible a slaughter of them that such as could escape the fury of the cannon ran as fast as possible to their camp and trenches, notwithstanding all the menaces of their officers.

The Turks were not more successful in their attack of the platform of Italy: Peri basha, who commanded at it, after losing his bravest men, and hearing of the ill success of the attack on the Spanish bastion, seeing likewise his troops almost drowned with rain, ordered the retreat to be sounded. Such was the success of a day, which would have been the last for the liberty of Rhodes, had not the grand master and his knights preserved it by neglecting their own preservation, and bravely exposing their lives without the least reserve.

Solyman could not see his troops coming back in disorder, and in a downright flight, without falling into a passion: he had been almost six months with 200,000 men before the place, without being able to take it: the vexation he felt, and his apprehensions that the Christian princes might at last unite their forces in order to oblige him to raise the siege, made him shut himself up some days in his tent, without suffering any of his captains to come near him. No one durst offer to come into his presence: no body but Peri basha his old governor, who had a particular privilege to enter, durst venture to speak to him. That subtle minister, in order to bring him to a better temper, represented to him, that the troops were lodged upon the principal bastions; that he was in possession of part of the place; that another assault would carry it: that they had indeed to deal with a set of desperate men,

men, who would suffer themselves to be all killed to a man rather than surrender; but that the knights were reduced to a small number; that the inhabitants, who were most of them Greeks, had not the same courage, nor indeed the same interest to be obstinate in the defence of the place, and that he was persuaded they would not reject a composition which offered them security for their lives and fortunes: the sultan approved this advice, and ordered him to put it in execution.

Peri ordered several letters in the grand seignior's name to be thrown into the place, exhorting the inhabitants to submit to his empire, and threatening them at the same time with the most cruel treatment, themselves, their wives and their children, if they should be taken by storm. The basha afterwards employed a Genoese that happened to be in Solyman's camp, who advancing near the bastion of Auvergne, desired leave to speak. This Genoese, whose name was Hieronymo Monilio, affecting a feigned compassion, said, that as he was a Christian, he could not bear to see the approaching loss and massacre of so many Christians his brethren, who would be overwhelmed with the formidable power of Solyman; that their fortifications were destroyed, their intrenchments ruined, and the enemy already lodged within the place; that they ought in prudence to prevent the dismal consequences of a town's being carried by storm, and that it would not perhaps be impossible to obtain a sure and even an honourable composition from Solyman. The commander of the bastion, by the grand master's order, answered him, that the knights of St. John never treated with the infidels but sword in hand; and for fear lest his artful discourse should make any impression upon the minds of the inhabitants, he ordered him to retire. This cunning agent of the basha, far from being discouraged, returned two days afterwards to the same

same place, under pretence of having letters to deliver to a Genoese that was in the place. But the commandant ordering him to retire, he declared that he brought a packet from Solyman to the grand master: this was a new pretext for entering into a negotiation; but the grand master eluded it, by refusing to receive it, from the apprehensions he was under, that the bare appearances of a treaty would enervate the courage of the soldiers and inhabitants; and in order to oblige this negotiator to go off, they fired some musket shot at him. An Albanian deserter from the city, who had entered afterwards into Solyman's service, was the next to act his part, and after the usual signals, desired admittance into the place, in order to present the grand master with a letter which he was to deliver to him from the sultan; but he was not better received than the Genoese. The grand master, for fear of discouraging his troops, refused to give him audience, and declared to him, that they would for the future, without any regard to signals of parley, or the character of envoys, fire upon all that should offer to come near the place.

Nevertheless the frequent arrival of these agents, and the grand seignior's letters, which the bastia had taken care to throw into the city, did not fail to produce the desired effect. The greatest part of the inhabitants being of the Greek religion begin to hold private meetings between themselves; the most mutinous, or rather the most timorous and cowardly, represented, that most of them had lost their relations and friends in the many assaults that had been given; that they themselves were on the brink of ruin; that the enemy was intrenched within the place, and that at the very first attack they should see themselves overwhelmed with the formidable multitude of the infidels; that they had for a long time been resolved to sacrifice their own lives, but could not see the dishonour and slavery

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very of their wives and children without the most piercing affliction ; that they might prevent such a terrible calamity by surrendering upon good terms; and after all, that whatever the knights might alledge, the example of so many christian states, that lived peaceably under the dominion of the Turks, was a plain proof, that they might do the same, and that they, by paying a small tribute, might also save both their religion and their fortunes.

Such discourses as these, repeated at different meetings, determined the most considerable of the inhabitants to apply to their metropolitan : they begged him to take pity on his people, and to represent to the grand master, that if he did not immediately treat with the grand seignior, they must necessarily be the first victims of the fury of the victorious soldiers, and that he himself would see the churches profaned, the precious relicks of the saints trampled under foot, and the women and virgins exposed to the brutality of the infidels. The prelate entered into these just considerations, and laid the remonstrances and request of his people before the grand master. The grand master at first rejected the propositions of the metropolitan with a noble disdain, and declared to him, that himself and his knights had, when they shut up themselves in Rhodes, resolved to be buried upon the breach, and in the last intrenchments of the place, and that he hoped the inhabitants would follow their example, and shew the same courage.

But the metropolitan found them in a very different disposition. Fear on the one side, and a desire of peace on the other, had got an ascendant over them : new deputies were sent back the day following, and applied directly to the grand master : they declared to him, that unless he took some care to preserve the inhabitants, they themselves could not help taking the most proper measures to secure the lives and honour of their wives and children.

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The grand master, justly fearing that despair might occasion a fatal division that would hasten the loss of the place, referred them to the council. Whilst they were deliberating about this important matter, three merchants knocked at the door of the council-house : they were let in, and presented a petition signed by the principal inhabitants, in which they besought the order to make some provision for the safety of their wives and children; insinuating at the end of the petition, that if they should have no regard thereto, they should think themselves obliged by all laws, both divine and human, not to abandon them to the fury and brutality of the infidels. The grand master, before any answer was given them, ordered the knights that commanded at the several posts to be called in, in order to learn from them a true and exact account of the state and forces of the place. He addressed himself particularly to the grand prior of St. Giles, and the bailiff Martinengo, who had a few days before taken arms again, and resumed the defence of the place. These two great men, who had so many times exposed their lives on the most dangerous occasions, declared one after the other, that they thought themselves obliged, both in conscience and honour, to represent to the assembly, that the place was not any longer tenable ; that the Turks had advanced their works above forty paces forwards, and above thirty cross-ways into the city ; that they were fortified there in such a manner, that they could no longer feed themselves with the hopes of driving them out, or that they themselves could retire farther back, in order to make new intrenchments ; that all the pioneers and the best of the soldiers were killed ; that they themselves could not be ignorant how many knights the order had lost ; that the town was equally in want of ammunition and provisions, and that without a speedy and powerful succour, they could see no resource, and had

had even reason to fear, that at the first attack the Christians would be bore down by the formidable power and vast numbers of the infidels.

All the council, upon the report of two captains so brave in their persons, and so greatly skilled in the arts of war, were of opinion, that they should enter into a treaty with Solyman. The grand master was the only person that differed from them in that respect, who, without abating any thing of his usual constancy and magnanimity, represented to them, that in the whole course of so many ages, as the order had been making war upon the Infidels, the knights had, in the most perilous occasions, always preferred an holy and glorious death before a frail and precarious life; that he was ready to set them an example, and begged of them, before they took so grievous a step, to reflect once more upon it in the most serious manner.

The principal persons of the council replied, that if their own particular lives were concerned in the case, they would all follow his example and freely die by his side; that they were ready to sacrifice their lives; that they had devoted them to God when they took the habit; but that the safety of the inhabitants was the business in question: that if the Infidels should carry the place by storm, and enter it sword in hand, they would force the women and children, and all weak persons to renounce the faith; that they would make the most of the inhabitants either slaves or renegadoes; and that the churches, and particularly the relicks, which had so long been the object of their veneration at Rhodes, would be prophaned by the Infidels, and be made the subject of their contempt and railery. The grand master yielded at length to these pious considerations, and they resolved at the first overtures of peace that the sultan should
make,

make, to give an answer, and enter upon a negotiation.

The grand seignior, uneasy at the thoughts of succours, a report of which the knights had taken care to spread abroad, and unable either to take the place, or on the other hand to raise the siege consistent with his honour, endeavoured by new propositions to shake the resolution and constancy of the knights: they planted, by his orders, a flag on the top of the church of St. Mary, and in a quarter called the *Lymnitros*.

The grand master thereupon ordered another to be fixed upon a mill that was at the gate of *Cosquin*. Upon this signal two Turks, who by their dress seemed to be considerable officers, came out of the trenches, and advanced towards the gate; they were met there by the prior of St. Giles and the bailiff *Martinengo*, to whom they delivered only a letter from *Solyman* to the grand master, without speaking a word. The letter contained a summons to surrender the place, with advantageous offers, provided they should deliver it up immediately, and threats of putting all to the sword if they delayed it any longer. The common council of the order and the great council were for hearing the conditions which the sultan offered: they agreed to give hostages on both sides. The order sent as deputies to *Solyman* Sir Anthony *Grolée* called *Passim*, and Robert *Perrucey* judge of *Rhodes*, who both spoke the vulgar Greek with facility. The Turks on their side sent into *Rhodes*, a nephew of the general *Achmet's*, and one of *Solyman's* interpreters in whom that prince put an entire confidence. The chevalier de *Grolée* and his brother deputy were admitted to an audience of the grand seignior, who told them, that he was disposed to let them go quietly out of the island and the cast, provided they would immediately surrender up to him *Rhodes*, *Fort St. Peter*, *Lango*

and the other little islands of the order ; but that if from a resolution of making a rash defence, they should be obstinate in attempting to hold out any longer against his formidable power, he would destroy all before him with fire and sword. The two deputies desired to return into the place to communicate his intentions to the grand master and the council ; but the Turks sent back Perrucey only, with orders to bring a decisive answer immediately ; and general Achmet kept the chevalier de Grolée in his tent, whom he treated very honourably, and owned to him at table in the heat of the entertainment, that the sultan his master had lost at that siege 44000 men that had fallen by the arms of the knights, besides almost as considerable a number that had died of sickness and cold since the beginning of the winter.

During these preliminaries of the negotiation, a company of young fellows, who were some of the most inconsiderable of the townsmen, and who had not been consulted in the petition which the principal inhabitants had presented to the grand master, ran in a tumultuous manner to the palace, to complain that they were treating with the enemy without their consent, and that would be delivering them up to a perfidious nation, that gloried in breaking their faith with Christians, and that they all chose to die with their weapons in their hands, rather than be cut to pieces after the capitulation, as the inhabitants of Belgrade had been. The grand master, who was used to the bravadoes and vanity of the Greeks, answered them with great moderation, that prudence did not allow him to publish the motives of the negotiation, for fear the grand seignior should be informed of the ill condition of the place, and break it, and his troops make another assault, which he was afraid they wanted forces sufficient to sustain ; but that he was exceedingly pleased to find them so well disposed to defend

defend their country; that they should see him always at their head, and ready to shed the last drop of his blood for the preservation of the place: he desired them only to remember to bring thither on the first occasion that might offer itself the same courage, and all the resolution that they boasted of in their discourse, and in the presence of their sovereign.

As no great account was made of the idle talk of a troop of braggadocios, the grand master and the council being informed by one of their deputies of the sultan's disposition, thought fit to dispatch two other embassadors to him, and chose for that employment don Raimond Marquet, and don Lopes Cepas, both Spaniards, who, in the audience they had of the grand seignior, demanded of him a truce for three days, in order to regulate the capitulation, and adjust the several interests of the inhabitants, who were partly Latins and partly Greeks.

But that prince, being always uneasy at the reports spread in his army of an approaching succour, rejected the proposition of a truce; and in order to determine the grand master to treat immediately, he commanded his officers to begin firing again, and prepare every thing for a general assault. He sent back at the same time one of the new envoys, but kept the other, with a design no doubt of resuming the negotiation if he did not succeed immediately in the attack.

The batteries began to fire on both sides, but not so furiously on that of the knights, who reserved the little powder left them for the assaults they were unavoidably to stand. The grand master, seeing the attack begin again, sent for the inhabitants who had spoke to him with so much ostentation of their courage; he told them that now was the time of their giving him proofs of it: and an order was issued out in his name, and published

with sound of trumpet, to all the citizens to repair immediately to the advanced posts, with a strict injunction not to quit them either day or night under pain of death. The townsmen obeyed this order for some days; but a certain young man, terrified at the danger to which he was exposed from the enemies artillery, stealing home in the night, the grand master sent to take him, and the council of war condemned him to be hanged, as an example to the rest, and in order to keep up discipline.

Though all the fortifications of Rhodes were ruined, and that the city was in a manner no more than an heap of stones and rubbish, yet the knights still kept their ground in the barbican or fausse-braye of the bastion of Spain, where the grand master himself lodged, in order to take the better care of its defence; the Turks attacked it on the 17th of December.

The engagement was very bloody and obstinate; they fought almost the whole day on both sides with equal animosity; the grand master, and the few knights he had left, ran, as we may say, to meet their wounds, and rather than survive the loss of the place, went in quest of death, that seemed to fly from them. In fine, they exerted themselves so nobly, that after making a terrible slaughter of the enemy, they forced them to retire. But the infidels, animated by the reproaches of the sultan, returned the next day to the assault, and came on in such vast numbers, that the knights, bore down by their multitude, were forced to abandon the work, and threw themselves into the city to defend it to the utmost extremity, and bury themselves in its ruins.

The townsmen, terrified at the approaching danger, abandoned their posts, and retired one after another. The grand master and his knights were forced to make alone the ordinary guard of the place,

place, and if those noble soldiers of Jesus Christ had not kept upon the breach, it would have been surpris'd, and carried by assault. In fine, all the inhabitants came in a body to beseech the grand master to resume the negotiation, and entreated him to give them leave to send along with his embassadors to the camp, two deputies of their own, to take care of their interests in the capitulation: the grand master consented to it: the body of the townsmen named Peter Singlifco and Nicholas Vergati, when the chevalier de Grolée, who had renewed the negotiation with general Achmet, conducted them to the camp, and desired him to present them to the grand seignior. But before they were admitted to his audience, the grand master, in some hopes, though they were very uncertain, of a succour, and with design to spin out the negotiation, had directed him to shew Achmet an old treaty which sultan Bijazet had made with the grand master d'Aubuffon; in which he lays his curse upon any of his successors that should break the peace he had concluded with the knights of St. John. The grand master gave this instrument to his embassador, that he might feel if Solyman, who was a zealous observer of his law, could be prevail'd with, in consideration of a considerable sum of money, to raise the siege. But Achmet, as soon as he cast his eyes on the paper, tore it to pieces, trod it under his feet, and drove the embassador and deputies of the people from his presence: in fine, having no succour to hope for, nor forces enough to defend the city, the grand master sent the embassador and deputies to the camp, who, after making their compliments to the grand seignior, set themselves with Achmet to draw up the capitulation, the principal articles whereof contained, that the churches should not be profaned, nor the inhabitants oblig'd to deliver up their children to be made janizaries; that they

should be allowed the free exercise of the christian religion; that the people should be exempt from taxes for five years; that all who would go out of the island should have leave to do so; that if the grand master and the knights should not have vessels enough to transport them to Candia, they should be furnished with them by the Turks; that they should be allowed twelve days time, reckoning from that of signing the treaty, to put their effects on board; that they might carry away the relicks of the saints, the consecrated vessels of the church of St. John, the ornaments, their moveables, their records and writings, and all the cannon that they used to employ on board their galleys: that all the forts of the isle of Rhodes, and the other isles belonging to the order, and that of the castle of St. Peter should be delivered up to the Turks; that in order to facilitate the execution of this treaty, the Turkish army should remove to some miles distance; that whilst it lay at that distance, the sultan should send four thousand janizaries, under the command of their aga, to take possession of the place; and that the grand master, as a security of his word, should give twenty-five knights in hostage, among which were to be two grand crosses, with twenty five of the principal burgeses of the town. This treaty being signed by the embassador and deputies on one side, and by general Achmet in the sultan's name, and ratified by the grand master, and the lords of the council, the hostages agreed on repaired to the camp, and the aga of the janizaries entered at the same time into the town with a company of his soldiers, and took possession of it.

Whilst they were employed on both sides in executing the treaty, they saw a numerous fleet off at sea, standing in for the island full sail, and with a favourable wind. The Turks, who were always uneasy on account of the succours that the Christians

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ans had so long expected, made no question but they were ships of the princes of the west coming to raise the siege. They immediately run to arms. Solyman and his generals were in great pain; but the fleet drawing near the coast, they discovered the crescent in their flags; and, after the troops on board the fleet were landed, they found that they came from the frontiers of Persia, and that Solyman, seeing his soldiers disheartened by so many unsuccessful attacks, had, in hopes that fresh troops might behave themselves with more ardor in the assaults, sent orders to Ferhat, basha, to bring them with the utmost diligence he could. It is to be presumed, that, if these fresh troops had landed sooner, the knights would not have made so honourable a composition with the sultan; but, as they had begun to execute the capitulation, Solyman would not make any advantage of this succour, nor fail in the performance of his word.

Two days after the treaty was signed, general Achmet had a conference with the grand master in the ditch of the post of Spain; and, after several discourses had passed between them in relation to the attack and defence of Rhodes, he told him, that the grand seignior was desirous to see him, and insinuated to him, that he ought not to think of going away without taking leave of his conqueror, for fear he should provoke his anger. The grand master, being apprehensive that he would be incensed at the long resistance he had made to all his power, as well as on account of the prodigious number of soldiers which that prince had lost at the siege, was not very willing to deliver himself up into his hands; but as, on the other side, he was afraid of furnishing him, by a refusal, with a pretence, which perhaps he wished to find, of not keeping his word; this great man, who had during the siege exposed himself to the greatest dangers, got over all considerations, and resolved to sacrifice himself

himself once more for the safety of his brethren. He came early the next morning into the quarters to the entrance of the sultan's tent. The Turks, out of pride, and a barbarous kind of grandeur, suffered him to wait there almost all the whole day, without offering him to eat or drink, exposed to a severe cold, to snow and hail which fell in abundance. When the evening was drawing on, he was called in, and, cloathing him and the knights that attended him with magnificent vests, they introduced him to an audience of the sultan. That prince was struck with the majesty that appeared in all the air, and over the whole person of the grand master, and told him by his interpreter, by way of consolation, "That the conquest or loss of empires
" were the ordinary sports of fortune." He added, in order to engage so great a captain in his service, that he had just seen by a woful experience the little stress that was to be laid on the amity and alliance of the christian princes, who had so scandalously abandoned him; and that, if he was willing to embrace his law, there was no post or dignity in the whole extent of his empire but he was ready to gratify him with. The grand master, who was as zealous a Christian as he was a great captain. after thanking him for the good will he expressed towards him, replied, that he should be very unworthy of his favours, if he were capable of accepting them; that so great a prince as he would be dishonoured by the services of a traitor and a renegado; and that all he requested of Solyman was, that he would be pleased to order his officers not to give him any disturbance in his going off and imbarkation. Solyman signified to him, that he might go on with it quietly; that his word was inviolable; and, as a token of friendship, though perhaps out of ostentation of his grandeur, he gave him his hand to kiss.

In breach however of the treaty, and the positive
promises

promises of the grand seignior, five days after the capitulation was signed, some janizaries, under presence of visiting their comrades, who with their aga had taken possession of the place, dispersed themselves over it, plundered the first houses they came to near the gate of Cosquin, broke into the churches which they profaned, and ransacked the very tombs of the grand masters, where their avarice made them fancy they should find treasure: from thence they ran, like so many furies, to the infirmary, that celebrated monument of the charity of the knights, drove out the sick, and carried off the plate, in which they were served, and would have carried their violence still farther, if, upon the grand master's complaints, general Achmet, who knew the grand seignior's intention, had not sent word to the aga, that his head should answer for the plunder and extravagance of his soldiers. Indeed the grand seignior, who was fond of glory, and jealous of his reputation, was desirous that the knights, when they retired into the various states of Christendom, should, with the news of the conquest of Rhodes, carry likewise with them the reputation of his clemency and his inviolable observance of his word: and this perhaps might be the motive that engaged him, when he visited his new conquest, to enter into the grand master's palace.

This prince received him with all the marks of respect due to so potent a monarch. Solyman in this visit, so very extraordinary in a grand seignior, accosted him in an affable manner, exhorted him to bear courageously this change of fortune, and signified to him, by Achmet who attended him, that he might take his own time to embark his effects, and that, if the time stipulated was not sufficient, he would readily prolong it. He retired upon this, after repeating his assurances to the grand master of an inviolable fidelity in the execution of the capitulation; and, turning towards his general-

as he went out of the palace, " I cannot help being concerned, says he to him, that I force this Christian at his age to go out of his house."

The grand master was obliged to quit it even before the term agreed on was expired; for being informed, that the sultan was preparing to set out in two days for Constantinople; he did not think it proper to stay in the island, exposed to the mercy of the officers that were to command there, who might perhaps, in the grand seignior's absence, value themselves on giving such explications to the treaty as suited their hatred and animosity against the knights. So that not thinking it safe to stay any longer among barbarians that were not over scrupulous with regard to the law of nations, he ordered the knights, and such as would follow the fortune of the order, to carry immediately their most valuable effects on board the vessels of the order.

This dismal embarkation was made in the night, with a precipitation and disorder that can hardly be described. Nothing could be more moving, than to see the poor citizens loaded with their goods, and followed by their families, abandoning their country. There was heard on all sides a confused noise of children crying, of women bemoaning themselves, of men cursing their ill fortune; and of seamen calling out after them all. The grand master alone wisely dissembled his grief; the sentiments of his heart were not betrayed by his looks; and in this confusion he gave his orders with the same tranquillity, as if he had been only to send away a squadron of the order to cruize.

The grand master, besides the knights, put on board above four thousand inhabitants of the island men, women, and children, who not caring to stay under the dominion of the infidels, resolved to follow the fortune of the order, and abandon their country.

Prince Amurath, son to the unfortunate Zizim, would

would gladly have followed the grand master, and had agreed with him to come on board with all his family ; but Solyman resolving to get him into his power, caused him to be watched so narrowly, that in spite of all the disguises he put on, he could never get near the fleet, but was forced to hide himself in the ruins of some houses which the Turkish cannon had demolished. The grand master not being able to save him, took leave of the grand seignior, and was the last man that went on board his vessel. The first day of January A. D. 1523, all the fleet, after his example, made ready for sailing ; and the few knights that survived this long and bloody siege, were reduced to the dismal necessity of quitting the isle of Rhodes, and the places and other islands that depended on the order, and in which the knights of St. John of Jerusalem had maintained themselves with so much glory for near two hundred and twenty years.

B O O K IX.

WHILST the happy Solyman was triumphing in the calamity of the knights of Rhodes, and that prince, who never valued the loss of his soldiers, was rejoicing for a conquest that contributed so much to the glory of his arms, the grand master, before he sailed out of the port of Rhodes, pursuant to the treaty which he had just made with the sultan, dispatched some brigantines, feluccas, and transports to the commander d'Airasque, governor of the castle of St. Peter, and to Perin du Pont, bailiff of Lango, with orders to abandon the several places where they commanded, and make an immediate embarkation of all the knights that were in their governments, and
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of all such of the inhabitants subject to the order as should be willing to follow them, and to repair with all possible expedition to the isle of Candia, where he proposed to stop for some time to wait their coming up, and receive Prince Amurath, son to Zizim, if he should be able to make his escape, with such inhabitants of the isle of Rhodes, as could not, by reason of his precipitate departure, embark at the same time with him. That prince, after this set sail, attended by all his knights, and followed by a great number of Rhodian families. His fleet made up fifty sail, consisting of galleys, galliots, brigantines, and feluccas of different bulk: He himself went on board the great carrack, taking with him the principal commanders, and particularly those knights who were sick and wounded; and it may be said, that this great vessel, by carrying them, carried the whole fortune of the order.

It would be difficult to draw in proper colours the affliction of the inhabitants of the isle of Rhodes, when they saw themselves forced to abandon their estates, their houses, and their country. As long as this little fleet kept within a sufficient distance, they had all of them their eyes fixed upon the island; but as soon as they lost sight of it, their grief burst out in cries and tears; which however was but the beginning of their sorrows.

After some days sailing, they were surprized by a violent storm, which dispersed this little fleet among the islands of the Archipelago. The galleys especially were in great distress for want of a sufficient number of slaves and rowers. Solyman had, before the grand master's departure, taken from thence all the slaves who were either his subjects or of his religion; and the Christians, who had voluntarily supplied their places, being very unequal to that employment, were rather an incumbrance to the service than of any advantage to it. Several

ships lost their masts, by the violence of the storm, and others that were overladen foundered. The poor Rhodians, to guard against such like accidents, threw their bales and effects over board; at last, after struggling against the fury of the storm for three days and nights together, the wind fell, the waves subsided, hope began to revive in their hearts, and the ships that were scattered, arrived one after another in different ports or bays of the island of Candia.

The grand master, who was on board the great carrack, stopped in sight, and came to an anchor in the road of the town of Setia; others put at first into the ports of Spina Longa. As there were not any two vessels of the fleet that kept together, they arrived one after another. They owed indeed their preservation to this dispersion, and if they had not been separated by the violence of the winds, they would infallibly have fallen foul upon one another, and the bulging of a ship would have been as fatal as the striking against a rock.

All the little vessels, from the several places where they had put in for shelter, came up at last and joined the grand master. There arrived too about the same time the commander d'Airasque, the bailiff of Lango, all the knights under their command, and the greatest part of the inhabitants of the islands and fortresses of the order, who chose to follow the fortune of their sovereigns, rather than stay behind under the government of the Turks. When all this multitude was landed, the grand master made a general review, and the total amount of all, including men, women, and children, came to near five thousand. But having so lately undergone the fatigue of a terrible storm, they were most of them sick, faint and low spirited; all of them were unprovided either of provisions or means of subsistence; and some, whose baggage

gage had been thrown over-board, were left half naked, and utterly destitute of linen.

The grand master, who had supported the loss of his dominions with so much resolution, could not refrain from tears at the sight of so forlorn a people. He was at the expence of procuring from the neighbouring towns, provisions, stuffs, and even linen, to new clothe such as wanted them. And at the same time enforcing these real and substantial supplies with discourses full of a spirit of charity, he assured them, that the order would always give them a share in their possessions and estates, to which, he told them, the poor had always the first claim. The people, in the fulness of their heart, made no other reply to such tender and moving sentiments, than by offering up their vows for the long continuance of so beneficent a life: Every one ran to kiss his hand; they all called him their father, and a name so dear to generous souls gave this great man a more sensible pleasure, than the title of lord and prince that was due to his dignity.

He was no sooner landed near Setia, but he sent advice of it to the governor and regency of the island. The governor immediately dispatched the noble Pauli Justiniani, to offer him all manner of succours that he might stand in need of, and invite him to come with all his people to the capital city, where they would find great plenty of provisions. The grand master, though no way pleased with these republicans, made no scruple to go thither. The governor, attended by the noble Dominico Trevisano, general of the galleys of the republic, the magistrates and principal persons of the island, came to receive him at his landing; they saluted, with great demonstrations of their concern at the loss of Rhodes; but so very unseasonably, that the grand master, in a private conversation which he had afterwards with the general of the galleys, could

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not forbear reflecting on the timorous policy of the senate, who, though they had above sixty gallies in the port of Candia, had yet stood still as mere lookers on, whilst Rhodes was falling into the hands of the infidels, without vouchsafing to throw the least succour into the place.

The Venetian general could make no other reply to complaints that were so well founded, but by receiving them with a silence full of confusion; but to wave all explications on so disagreeable a subject, he invited him to stay in the island, till the winter and the severity of the season should be over. But the grand master, full of the highest resentment at the insensibility which the Venetians had shewed in standing as bare spectators whilst Rhodes was lost, told him, that as soon as he could refit his ships, which had suffered in the storm, he should continue his course; and that his design was to go immediately into Italy, to consult with the pope about a place where it should be proper to fix the great convent, and settle the residence of the order.

Whilst he was labouring with the utmost application to repair his ships, Leonard Balestrin, the Latin metropolitan of Rhodes, arrived in Candia with his clergy, and several of the inhabitants. Solyman had obliged them to leave the place, under pretence that they were neither Rhodians nor Greeks, and that he would not suffer any Latins within his dominions. The grand master, who had the highest esteem for the virtue of that prelate, received him very courteously, assigned him a pension upon the treasury of the order; and the archbishop afterwards taking the habit of the order, he named him prior of the church, which was at that time the first ecclesiastical dignity of the order, and indeed the very next post after the grand master; and which, therefore, had a right of sitting in the council annexed to it.

Among the various events that happened after the grand master's departure, the archbishop told him, that the grand seignior had given such strict orders to search for the son of Zizim, that the unfortunate prince was soon discovered and brought before Solyman, with his four children, two boys, and as many girls; that the sultan, whose interest urged him in the strongest manner to destroy this family, and who yet carefully avoided the character of a cruel prince, in order to have a plausible pretence to get rid of him, asked him, as if he had known nothing of the matter, what religion he was of? that the prince answered him with great intrepidity, that he and his children were Christians; that Solyman, under pretence of punishing him for a pretended apostacy, had ordered him to be strangled with his two sons, and had caused them to be executed at the head of his army, in order to prevent any future malecontent or impostor from making use of their name, and raising an insurrection; and that after this cruel execution, the sultan had sent the two young princeesses to Constantinople, to be shut up in the old seraglio.

The ships of the order being refitted, the grand master set sail about the beginning of March, and dispatched at the same time a light brigantine to carry the several embassadors which he sent to the pope and to most of the princes of Christendom, to acquaint them with the loss of Rhodes, and to complain of their having so universally abandoned him. This complaint was still more justly levelled against the pope than the other christian potentates: But that pontiff was entirely taken up with the affairs and interest of the emperor, and managed them with as much application as if he had still been that prince's minister. 'T would be impossible to relate all the reflections with which the world arraigned his conduct on this occasion: They publickly exclaimed against the little zeal he had shewn for

for the relief of Rhodes: And the very day that the city was surrendered to Solyman, part of the architrave of that pope's chapel falling down the very moment that he was going into it, and that piece of marble dashing out the brains of one of his guards that went before him, the people, who are very ready to interpret the intentions of heaven, did not fail upon this accident to look upon it as a judgment for his remissness, and a plain indication of the wrath of God.

The grand master was very sensible of the great weight and influence that this pontiff's recommendation, and especially his example, would have had for the saving of Rhodes; but as he saw plainly, that he should have occasion for the pope's authority to support his own, he ordered his ambassador to explain himself in modest terms upon the want of such military succours, in order to engage him the more readily to grant him one of another nature, which was no less necessary for him in the present juncture. This prince, in losing Rhodes, had thereby lost, not only a powerful and sovereign dominion, but likewise the fixed and independent residence of the order, the great convent of it, the centre and bond as it were which united so considerable a number of knights of different nations in the same place, and in an immediate subjection to his authority. The fear of a general dispersion gave him a secret anxiety. He was not without apprehensions lest upon his arrival in Italy, most of the knights, finding themselves without any fixed and settled convent, should retire into their own countries. He was in the dark even as to a place where he might settle with his council, and the body of people that followed his fortune; and what made his uneasiness still greater was the want he stood in of a port for the exercise of his profession, and for the sending out his vessels to cruise. He was afraid he should scarce find any christian prince who

would give him a place or port within his territories in absolute property and dominion: And supposing there should be found one generous enough to afford him a place of refuge, he was still as uneasy for fear he should afterwards pretend to dispose of the forces of the order for his private interests, or if the order wanted a retreat, and was left without that common band of concord, that the knights should disperse and retire into their several countries, which would exceedingly weaken the discipline of the order, and end at last in its destruction and ruin. Full of these melancholy considerations, he wrote about it to the pope; and ordered his ambassador to get a bull from him, directed to all the knights of the order, enjoining them, under pain of excommunication, and being degraded of their knighthood, to submit to the orders of the grand master and the council, in what place soever he should think proper to fix his own residence, and that of the council.

The ambassador upon his arrival at Rome gave the pope an account of all that had passed in the defence of Rhodes: And pursuant to his instructions represented to him the melancholy situation of the order, and the just apprehensions which the grand master had of a dispersion, which would be still of more fatal consequence than even the loss of Rhodes. The pope complied with the grand master's request; and in order to retain all the knights under his obedience, granted him a bull, wherein after extolling with just eulogiums the zeal and valour which the knights had shewn against the infidels, he commanded them, in virtue of their holy obedience, to continue in a body under the grand master's authority, and threatened such as should prove refractory with all the censures of the church. The bull being issued out, the ambassador sent it to the prior of Messina, to deliver it to the grand master,

ster, who, pursuant to his scheme, was to arrive soon in the port of that city.

He had indeed set sail from the port of Candia; but he had only been a few days at sea, when contrary winds obliged him to put in at Fraski, another port in the same island: from thence he went to that of Cérigo, formerly called Cytherea, and consecrated to Venus, which is not above five miles from the main land of the Morea. The wind appearing favourable, the two carracks and the large ships, sailed before by his orders, under the conduct of Auston, commander of the language of England, kept out to sea, and arrived happily in the port of Messina. But the grand master, resolving not to quit the people of Rhodes, who were most of them sick, set out a long time afterwards, went on board a galley, and with a galliot, the brigantines, feluccas, and smaller vessels, with all that crowd of people on board, coasted it, as being less dangerous, along the shore, with extreme difficulties, entered the Adriatick gulf, and arrived at last at the port of Gallipoli, a town of the kingdom of Naples, in the gulph of Otranto.

The great number of sick that were on board the fleet obliged him to stop for some time at this place. Whilst he was taken up with providing for their relief, the knights, who were gone before him in the great ships of the order, arrived at Messina, where they found a great number of knights of different nations, who had rendezvouzed there with the succours which they were in hopes of carrying to Rhodes. All these knights were under great uneasiness upon their receiving no manner of news of the grand master: Some were afraid, that the gallies and small vessels were lost in the stormy weather that had happened, and the bad season which they put to sea in; others were apprehensive, that the corsairs of Barbary, which roved over those seas, might have had advice of the grand master's departure,

ture, and the riches which he carried with him, and might have joined together to attack him; and that that little fleet, which was but ill provided, might have fallen into the hands of those barbarians. Their apprehensions were the better grounded, in that Solyman having obliged the grand master before his departure to release all the slaves that were either born his subjects or professed his religion, there was not a galley that had half the crew necessary to row it. It was indeed this want of men as much as the severity of the season, which had occasioned the grand master's wandering so long in those seas. In fine, he came about the beginning of May with his little fleet into the port of Messina. Instead of the usual flag of the order, he hoisted on the top of the mast of the vessel that he was on board of, a standard or sort of banner, on which was represented the image of the blessed virgin, holding her dead son in her arms, with this motto, *In the extremity of my affliction, he is my only hope*: AFFLICTIS SPES MEA REBUS. Pignatelli count of Monteleone, viceroy of Sicily, the archbishop of Messina, Fabritio Pignatelli brother to the viceroy, and prior of Barletto, Charles Jesvatre, prior of St. Stephens, the prior of Messina, the commanders and whole body of the knights, the nobility, gentry, people, and all the city in a manner came out, and were present at the grand master's landing. The whole multitude had their eyes fixed on the venerable old man, whose constancy and resolution made him as illustrious under his misfortunes, as his bravery in the defence of Rhodes had made him glorious.

After the viceroy had made him his compliment, and offered him in the emperor's name the town of Messina to serve him for a retreat, and for a place of refreshment to his fleet, the archbishop and all the grandees of the kingdom, the gentry and people, by a solemn silence, very suitable to his ill fortune, expressed

expressed how much they sympathized with him in it. But who could express the real grief which all the knights felt for the loss of Rhodes, the remembrance of which was renewed by his arrival? Such as were standing upon the port, as well as those that landed, unable to speak a word, could only communicate their common affliction by tender embraces: Some tears stole from those that had the most resolution, notwithstanding all their endeavours not to shed one. L'Isle Adam alone, always superior to his calamity, discovered plainly by his resolution, that he was worthy of a better fortune. He walked towards the prior's palace, preceded by all the knights, bare-headed, who kept a mournful silence, and discovered by these demonstrations of their respect, that though he had lost his territories, he yet had not lost anything of his authority over a body of nobility and gentry, who in happier times would be able to conquer a new island of Rhodes.

The grand master's first care after his landing, was to provide lodgings in his own palace, and the houses adjoining, for the knights that were sick and wounded: He waited on them himself, assisted by the knights that were left unhurt. It was indeed a very moving sight, to see these men, who used to appear so terrible with their weapons in their hands, now animated only by a spirit of charity, devote themselves to the meanest services, carry broth to the sick, make their beds, and shew a disregard to every thing but what might contribute to their relief and recovery.

From these charitable offices, so agreeable to the first institution of the order the grand master, still inconsolable for the loss of Rhodes, passed to a severe inquisition and enquiry against those who were employed to carry succours thither: He ordered them to be cited before a full council, to give an account of their delay, and protested publickly,

that

that he would without respect of persons, punish according to law, as traitors and deserters, all such as should be convicted of remissness and negligence in the execution of those orders which had been prescribed them.

All those that were cited, and particularly pointed at by these menaces, presented themselves before that tribunal with a confidence which truth and innocence alone can inspire. The priors of Barletto and St. Stephens were the first that appeared, who represented, that besides a prodigious quantity of ammunition and provisions which they had prepared, pursuant to the grand master's orders, they had likewise voluntarily, and at their own expence listed two thousand old soldiers, and engaged a considerable body of volunteers and young noblemen to go to Rhodes; but that for the two last months the winds had held so perpetually contrary, and the weather had been so tempestuous, that nobody had been imprudently bold enough to put to sea; and that it was well enough known, that the chevalier de Nieuport, of the language of England, an old sea-captain, who buoyed himself up with the hopes of mastering the waves by his skill, going on board at that time, was driven back by the violence of the wind against the point of a desert promontory, where his ship with all his crew were lost.

Antonio di San Martino, prior of Catalonia, represented on his side to the council, that at the first news of the siege, he had fitted out a gallion at his own expence, and went on board it at the head of the knights of Arragon, Navarre, Valentia and Majorica, to go to the relief of Rhodes; that they were attacked near the island of Corsica, by a squadron of the grand seignior's galleys, which plyed him with their cannon shot, and coming up close with him, threw showers of grenadoes and fire-pots without ceasing into his ship; that they made several attempts to board him, and were as often repulied;

repulsed; but that after an engagement of six hours, they prepared to burn him with a fire-ship; but a fresh gale of wind springing up in the night, he made a shift to save his vessel, which was terribly torn with the cannon shot, and got to the port of San Bonifacio in the isle of Sardinia, from whence with great difficulty and danger he had made his way to Messina.

The chevalier d'Albi, son to the duke of that name, setting sail from Carthagena with the knights of Castile and Portugal, had much the same fate. He was invested by a squadron of Algerine corsairs, who poured in their broad-sides upon him from every quarter. His main-mast was shot by the board, his sails and tackling torn to pieces, he received several shot between wind and water, without being brought to strike, and was resolved to blow up the ship, rather than let the flag of the order fall into the hands of the infidels. By good fortune he with his last broad-side sunk the admiral of the corsairs: And the barbarians launching out all their long boats to save their general and the soldiers that were aboard him, the Spanish captain improving the little interval which that advantage afforded him, made off, and got to the isle of Busa or Ivica, one of the Balears, where he mended his sail and tackling, but could not get from thence to the port of Messina till the beginning of December. The knights of Tuscany and Lombardy represented in their turn, that they were to have embarked in some ships which the commander de Tournebon, prior of Pisa, and of an illustrious family in Florence, had hired upon his own credit; but that knight, who was to fit them out at his own expence, happening to die suddenly, they were left unprovided of the necessary funds to go on with that armament; that indeed they had applied to the receivers of Pisa, Venice, and Lombardy, but they were so long in raising the money

necessary

necessary to defray the charges of this equipment, that they could not help being the last who arrived in the port of Messina.

In fine, the chevalier d'Auffonville, or de Villiers, who had been sent embassador to the kings of France and England, declared, that upon his arrival at the court of Francis I. he had represented to him in the warmest manner the pressing need that Rhodes had of his succour; to which that gallant prince replied, that though he was attacked on all sides by the sea and land forces of the emperor and the king of England, he yet would send orders forthwith to Andrew Doria, then general of his galleys, to supply him with three of those that were the best provided, and also that he might take up in his dominions what provisions and ammunition he had occasion for: That continuing his road afterwards towards London, to wait upon Henry VIII. he had met that prince at Calais, who received him coldly, and that he could not get from him the least encouragement that might give him room to hope for succours: That he returned thereupon to Marseilles; and Doria pursuant to the king's orders, delivered him three galleys, viz. the Ferrara, la Trimouille and the Doria, upon which above 300 knights of the three languages of France embarked, carrying with them eight hundred men, all gallant soldiers and warriors: That he had, with the money of the order, freighted three merchant ships which he found in the port of Marseilles; and after loading them with ammunition and provisions, set sail for Messina, the place of rendezvous; but a terrible storm, which had been at the same time so fatal to other vessels of the order, had dispersed this little fleet: That in all likelihood the transport vessels had foundered; that the Ferrara galley was likewise lost; that the Doria had stranded on the coast of Sardinia; and that

none

none but the Trimouille had arrived safe in the port of Messina.

All these facts being clearly proved by the concurrent testimony and oaths of the knights, as well as of the crew of those vessels, "God be for ever praised," cried the grand master, "who in our common misfortune has given me the satisfaction of knowing that no one can ascribe the cause of it to the negligence of any of my brethren of the order." Then calling about him the priors and grand crosses, who had been brought before the council of war, he embraced them in a very affectionate manner. "It was necessary," said he to them, "for the honour of the order, as well as for your own, that I should make this examination, which will justify to all princes living, as well as to the latest posterity, that if Rhodes could have been saved by the single forces of the order, that bulwark of Christendom had not now been in the hands of the infidels."

However just these reasons might be, they yet did not allay the secret resentment of the knights, on account of the informations and criminal prosecution carried on against them by the grand master. Most of them designed to retire immediately to their priories and commandries; and several private knights, after their example, who had nothing to live upon, resolved to return into their respective countries, and try to mend their circumstances at the courts of their sovereigns.

The grand master, getting notice of this kind of conspiracy, called a general assembly of all the knights that were at Messina, in which he caused the pope's brief to be read, which had been delivered to him by the prior of Messina, and contained a prohibition to all the knights, under grievous penalties, to leave the grand master without his express leave first obtained. He told them afterwards, that, since the loss of Rhodes, they alone might be

said to form the representative body of the order; and, if they did not keep together in this melancholy juncture, the order would dwindle insensibly, and perhaps be at last slighted by the sovereign princes of Christendom. He added, that, after having exposed their lives so often on various occasions against the infidels, particularly in the defence of Rhodes, he might justly expect, from the obedience they had vowed at the altar, that they would practise the patience necessary to procure them, before their separation a settlement that might repair their loss; and which might be declared the head convent of the order, and the residence of all the knights.

He insinuated very moving exhortations in this discourse, which, with his representation of the pope's orders, and the influence of his own authority, brought them to temper, and appeased the discontented. All their thoughts were now taken up in finding out a port where the order, agreeable to its institution, might continue the succours it had given for so many ages to the Christians that failed in those seas.

The grand master's design was to go himself immediately to Rome to confer about it with the pope; but this great man was not yet at the end of his troubles and fatigues. A dreadful plague broke out at Messina; when he, in order to avoid the contagion, caused his knights, the wounded as well as the sound, and all the Rhodians that had followed him, to re-embark. This new embarkation was made with as much precipitation as that from Rhodes: they were to avoid an enemy much more terrible than the Turks; but, in spite of this precaution, the plague got into the vessels of the order: several knights * died of it, and amongst others, Gregory de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, who had signalized himself at the siege of Rhodes, and the chevaliers de St. Martin Grimault,

* Bosio, t. 3. l. 1.

and Avogadre. The grand master, alike unfortunate by sea and land, and carrying, as it were, his enemy about him in his bosom, resolved, in order to the recovery of the sick, to go in quest of a more healthy air; and, with leave from the viceroy of Naples, he landed his colony in the gulph of Baiæ. After taking † a view of the country, he marked out a camp near the ruins of the old town of Cumæ; here they built cabins and barracks by his orders for lodging the knights and Rhodians: and, for fear of being surpris'd by the corsairs of Barbary, who roved all along those coasts, he made broad ditches and intrenchments about his little camp, fortifying them with pallisadoes and artillery, which he took out of his ships. This change of air was followed with immediate success; most of the sick recovered; and, after a month's stay in that mild and temperate climate, the grand master, being impatient to confer with the pope about a proper place for the settlement of his order, after giving him advice of his setting out, reembarked with his colony; and arrived a few days afterwards at Civita-Vecchia. He immediately dispatched the chevalier de Cheviere for Rome to compliment the pope in his name, and at the same time to desire an audience of him concerning the dismal revolution which had just happened in his order. The holy father dispatched the bishop of Cuença, a Spanish prelate, of his own family, to congratulate him upon his safe arrival in his territories. But, instead of gratifying his eagerness, he let him know by the bishop, that he could not advise him by any means to go upon his journey so soon, especially in the dog-days: that he should have patience to continue with his colony at Civita-Vecchia, and that, after some time, he would acquaint him with the day when he could give him audience: a pretence, which the pontiff

† Bosio, t. 3. p. 16.

made use of to prevent the grand master's being witness of a declaration of war, which he was going to publish in great form against France.

To understand rightly this point of history, we must observe, that Adrian, as soon as he was seated in St. Peter's chair, had, agreeably to the example of his predecessors, notified it to the grand master, and declared expressly in the same brief, that nothing made that new dignity agreeable to him, but the desire he had of employing all the credit it gave him with the christian princes, to unite them in an holy league against the infidels: a protestation which he afterwards renewed in all his letters. But as if this declaration had been but a mere apostolical form of words, he, instead of forming a crusade against the Turks, had just concluded a league between himself, the emperor, the king of England, and the duke of Milan, by which they were to attack the dominions of his most christian majesty, whilst the constable de Bourbon, under pretence of a private grievance, was to raise an insurrection within the kingdom. The league being signed, the pope went to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore the day of the assumption; he there said mass pontifically, assisted by all the sacred college, and afterwards published, with great solemnity, a declaration of war against France. Most of the cardinals were of opinion, that the pope ought not to quit the character of the common father of the faithful; and several of them represented to him, that he ought to reserve to himself the acting the part of a mediator between the emperor and the king of France; but his passion for the house of Austria made him deaf to such reasonable advice; and the pope, though otherwise a very good and disinterested man, devoted himself blindly to the ambition of a prince who was minded to invade France. A passage which plainly shews, that private virtues do not sufficiently qualify a man for government, and that

that great places must be filled up with great qualities and great talents. But whether God had a mind to punish the pontiff in this world for that spirit of party which prevailed in him, or, which is more probable, that the length of the ceremony had fatigued him too much, he was not able to go to a great entertainment which cardinal Pompeo Colonna gave, when church was over, to all the sacred college, and the ambassadors of the princes that had engaged in the league. An ague seized him as he came back to his palace; he was afflicted with it above a fortnight, so that it was only about the twenty-fifth of the same month, during an interval which his distemper gave him, that he notified to the grand master his being ready to receive him at Rome, and give him audience.

The grand master set out immediately, attended by all his knights. Anne de Montmorency, marshal of France; his great nephew, was 1523^d then at Rome. The king his master * had sent him thither, either because he was not yet acquainted with the step the pope had made, or else in order to engage him to quit the league. This French nobleman came to meet his uncle with a magnificent train, and went a considerable distance from Rome to receive him; and, when the grand master drew near that capital of the christian world; he was met by the auditor of the pope's chamber, the steward of his household, and the first prelates of his family, who came to compliment him in his name. They were followed by the light horse and Swiss guards of the pontiff, and these by the families and equipages of the cardinals; the duke of Sessa, the emperor's ambassador, met him at the field of Flora, and accompanied him to the palace. The grand master, as he passed over the bridge of St. Angelo, and in the piazza di San Pietro, was

* Bosio, l. 2.

saluted several times by all the artillery of the city and castle. The nobility, gentry, and people in general, crouded to see this great man, who had filled not only Rome, but also the whole world with his reputation, and the valour he had shewn in the defence of Rhodes. With this numerous and magnificent retinue, he entered the pope's palace and apartment. The pontiff, though much weakened by his illness, when he saw him enter his chamber, rose from his chair, advanced several steps to meet him; when, the grand master prostrating himself to kiss his feet, he embraced him with great tenderness. He made him afterwards sit down in the midst of the cardinals who were present at the audience: and, after having said several obliging things about the greatness of his courage, and the valour of his knights, he assured him, that he would not omit any thing that could be done to preserve an order so useful to all Christendom. He then took leave of him, calling him the hero * of the christian religion, and the brave defender of the faith; titles which he justly deserved, but which put the pope to much less expence than the succours would have done, for which they had so often applied to him, though always to no purpose.

The grand master never saw him after, the pope relapted; and the fever was so violent, that perceiving himself near his end, he sent for the holy viaticum: And calling all the cardinals into his chamber, he exhorted them in the most moving terms, and with great humility, to chuse one for his successor, who would redress the faults he might have committed in the government of the church. He died on the 14th of September, being sixty-four years of age. As soon as his funeral was over, the cardinals, who were thirty-six in number, shut themselves up in the con-

* Magnus Christi athleta, et fidei catholicæ acerrimus propugnator. Bossi, 4. 2. p. 20.

slave, and were soon after encreased to thirty-nine. The grand master and his knights were entrusted with the guard of the conclave. Among the several aspirers to the papacy, Pompeo Colonna and Julio de Medicis seemed to have the fairest pretensions. The illustrious birth and riches of Colonna, his splendid and expensive way of living, his great liberalities, and his genius, so proper for the managing an intrigue, had procured him a great number of partisans among the cardinals; and he had been subtle enough to persuade them, that they would all make their private fortunes by contributing to his promotion. Moreover, his strict attachment to the emperor, an attachment that was hereditary in his family, secured him the cardinals of that prince's faction. It is said, that when he entered the conclave, he wanted only two votes to ratify his election; and he flattered himself, that he should gain them by his intrigues among the contrary party. Medicis however balanced these advantages by the remembrance of the late pope Leo X. his cousin-german, whose memory was still recent, and very dear to most of the cardinals, and those especially of his creation.

Julio de Medicis had always passed for the natural son of Julian de Medicis, till the pontificate of Leo X. That pope, who had nothing so much at heart as the grandeur of his family, declared him to be legitimate, upon the deposition of his mother's brother, and the information of some monks, who certified, that there was a promise of marriage between his father and mother: a testimony that looks a little suspicious in so delicate an affair. He entered at first into the order of the knights of Rhodes, and by the pope's credit he soon obtained rich commanderies, and rose to the first dignities of it: But finding that nature had formed him better for court intrigues than for war, he took holy orders, and Leo X. created him cardinal

dinal in 1513. He afterwards made him legate of Bologna, and collated him to the archbishopricks of Florence, Ambrun, and Narbonne, and the bishoprick of Marseilles. That pontiff, who was desirous of making him the support of his family, loaded him with riches and preferments; but notwithstanding the supreme power he had in the church, his ambition was still unsatisfied. During his pontificate, Medicis, in quality of cardinal nephew, had a great share in the government; and whilst Leo seemed entirely taken up with his pleasures, he seemed to support the whole weight of affairs on his own shoulders. It is however certain that the pope had much greater views than his nephew, a better knowledge of his true interests, and a much greater constancy and resolution. It was he alone who formed in secret the schemes of all his enterprises; but in order to give the greater credit to the cardinal nephew, and probably out of laziness, he left the execution of them to him.

The cardinal disposed of the posts and dignities of the court; no promotion was made, but by his advice, and at his recommendation: He was a sort of a second pope; and after Adrian's death, he entered the conclave, followed by sixteen cardinals, all of them his uncle's creatures, who, before they went to a scrutiny, always received his orders how they should give their votes. Their design was to raise him to the pontificate: but the faction of Colonna threw an invincible obstacle in the way. The two competitors, in order to know what they had to rely upon, and to make trial of their strength, proposed each of them several cardinals of their party. Colonna put up Jacobaccio, a cardinal of shallow parts, but one who was closely attached to him. The party of Medicis immediately threw him out, and Colonna played the same game with regard to those that were named by Medicis. This dispute lasted several days before either
of

of them would yield to the other. The two parties, animated by their principals, pretended equally to have the glory of creating them popes, or at least to have the sovereign pontiff taken only out of their faction. Notwithstanding the seeming calm, secret negotiations were carried on with vigour: Colonna and Medicis, either by themselves or by their emissaries, were continually busy in getting over some votes, and making conquests in the opposite party; but the cardinals of each faction were so faithful to their principals, that there were no deserters on either side.

Cardinal de Medicis, as if he was out of hopes of being pope himself, and in order to overreach Colonna, brought cardinal Ursini upon the stage, a person fitly qualified for the papacy, by reason of his great age, his learning, and especially his capacity in affairs of government; but he was of a family that bore an hereditary hatred to that of Colonna, as himself was a declared enemy to cardinal Colonna. All the cardinals of the faction of Medicis by his direction gave him one day their votes; upon this, Colonna was as one who had been thunder-struck; he was sensible, that Ursini, besides the creatures of Medicis, had even some particular friends in his own faction, who might perhaps quit his party to raise Ursini * to the popedom. He was frightened, and dreaded seeing the papal diadem on the head of a man of his capacity, who would probably employ all the authority of it to ruin his family. In the fear therefore of falling under his subjection, and in order to secure his being set aside, he, after having tried several expedients to no purpose, was at last forced to declare in favour of the election of his rival; he offered to give him his own vote, and all the rest that were at his disposal. The two heads of the parties † had a con-

* Hist. des Conclaves, t. 1. p. 168.

† Guicciardin, l. 15.
ference

ference together, and entered into several negotiations, in which Colonna did not neglect his own interest. Medicis gave him a promise in writing of the post of vice-chancellor of the church, and a grant of his own palace, which was one of the noblest buildings in Rome. Colonna, after taking all the security that could be given him, at the next scrutiny gave him his own vote, and procured him all the suffrages of his faction. By the union of these two parties, an end was put to
 1523. all disputes; and after the conclave had
 Nov. 19. held two months and four days, cardinal de Medicis was unanimously elected, and took the name of Clement VII.

Such cardinals as were the creatures of Leo X. and the people especially, who remembered with pleasure the grandeur and magnificence with which that pope had lived, made great rejoicings at the first news of his nephew's election. They said, that Rome must needs be happy under the pontificate of a prince, who had himself been witness to his uncle's great qualities, and also formed by him for government. But no body was more pleased with his promotion than the grand master and his knights: he was the first religious of the order that had been raised to the papacy, and in the unhappy condition the order was in, wandering about without a convent or fixed habitation, or without any port for their fleet to put in at, they looked upon the election of one of their knights as a particular act of providence, which, by so distinguishing a favour, was pleased to lessen the anguish of their calamities. The loss of Rhodes began to sit lighter on the grand master, who imagined, that under the pontificate of a knight of his order, and by the assistance of his protection, he should soon find a proper place of retreat, and even a new territory, where, agreeable to their inclination, and for the common advantage of the christian

Christian princes, the order might continue to send out their fleets as usual, against the infidels.

Nor was he deceived of his just expectation; for there never had been, since the foundation of the order, a pope that expressed so high an esteem, or shewed so tender an affection to the knights of St. John. The grand master, after a cardinal had proclaimed the election of Clement VII. opened the conclave, and was the first that made his compliments to that pontiff, who made him publick acknowledgements for the good order and exactness he had kept with regard to the conclave; and the clergy of St. Peter de Lateran coming in to carry the new pope to the church, whither he went, attended by all the cardinals, Sir Julian Ridolfi, prior of Capua, and ambassador of the order, went immediately before him, completely armed, and finely mounted, carrying the great standard of the order; a function which this very pontiff had formerly exercised in quality of knight of St. John, at the election of Leo X. his cousin.

No sooner was the pope rid of that numberless multitude of ceremonies, which are inseparable from an accession to the papacy, but he, at the grand master's request, gave him audience in a full consistory. That prince had desired it, in order to lay before him an account of the siege of Rhodes, and set furth in the first city of the christian world all that had passed in the defence of that place. The vice-chancellor of the order, who was the speaker on this occasion, related to them how six hundred knights that were shut up in Rhodes, had defended it for six months completely against two hundred thousand Turks that attacked it. He went on representing the thunder and continual fire of the artillery, the ruin of the fortifications, the lodgement of the enemy under the walls, the frequent assaults, the continual engagements which the knights had day and night with the infidels; notwithstanding

withstanding all which, they did not abandon the place till after they had lost almost all their brother companions, their soldiers, the bravest of the inhabitants, and till such time as the enemy had carried on their works to the very heart of the place, and that they had no ground left to intrench themselves and fight upon.

This relation excited at once the admiration and compassion of all the sacred college; several cardinals, at the relation of the death 1524. of so many knights as had sacrificed their lives in the defence of Rhodes, could not refrain from tears; and the pope, in concert with all the consistory, in order to preserve an order and body of illustrious warriors, who were all of such eminent service to Christendom, and provide for them till such time as they should meet with a island or port for continuing their military functions, assigned them Viterbo for their residence; a town seated about forty miles from Rome, in the patrimony of St. Peter; and permitted their ships and galleys to stay in the port of Civita-Vecchia*.

To this favour, the holy father added another, which indeed was very honourable both for the order and its head; and by a particular act, Jan. 15, 1524, ordered, that when he should go to chapel, the grand master should have the first place on the right hand of the throne, and that in all cavalcades he should march alone, immediately before his holiness †: The pope would have this regulation inserted in the registers of the master of the ceremonies. The grand master, sensibly affected with these testimonies of his good will, went, before he set out for Viterbo, to the palace to return him thanks for them, and had afterwards several audiences of him, wherein he acquainted him with the various proposals made him in relation to a fixed settlement

* Bosio, l. 2.

† Bosio, l. 2. p. 24.

for his order, which might compensate for the loss of the isle of Rhodes. He told him, that during the vacancy of the holy see, various places on the continent had been mentioned to him, which he might have treated about; but that he had rejected the proposal, because the situation did not suit their institution, whose profession was to serve as convoys to those pilgrims who should embark out of devotion to visit the holy places, and for a guard at the same time to all such Christians as should go by sea: That Andrea Vendramino, an old religious of the order, and Archbishop of Corfu, had advised him to cast his eyes upon the port of Suda in Candia, or upon the isle of Cerigo, which belonged to the republic of Venice: but that his holiness could not but be sensible how that commonwealth, like some women who are used to bear with every thing flowing from the violence and extravagance of their lovers, frequently dissembled the insults of the Turk, and through a fear of incurring his resentment, did not dare receive into their dominions a military order, which the grand seignior looked upon as his eternal enemy: That he had been likewise spoke to about the isle of Elba, on the coast of Tuscany; but the king of Spain and the prince of Piombino being masters of the principal places of the island, it did not suit either the dignity of the order, or the common good of Christendom, to have the grand master and supreme council of the order dependant on any particular prince. He added, that some Spanish knights, who were of the greatest quality of that nation, probably in concert with the ministers that the emperor had in Italy, had proposed to him the islands of Malta and Goza, with the town of Tripoli on the coast of Africa, which belonged to that prince, in quality of king of Sicily. That this last proposal, on account of the various ports that were in the isle of Malta, was not disagreeable to him; but then the emperor

had such subtle and secret views, that he was afraid lest this project, which seemed to be only owing to a pious motive, might at last produce some sort of subjection; and though they were to suppose that the emperor would make them an absolute conveyance, and grant them the isles of Malta and Goza in fee simple, yet they could not, without great reluctance, take into their hands the administration of so weak a place as Tripoli, which was surrounded on all sides with barbarians and infidels, so that the putting knights there in garrison, would be no other than sending them to the slaughter.

However, notwithstanding these considerations, which were not altogether without some foundation, the pope, after having maturely weighed these different proposals, resolved upon the last. But as he knew very well, that the emperor was no slave to his word, he, without explaining himself further to the grand master, advised him to take his measures in such a manner as not to be caught by any secret designs of his ministers, who might perhaps have no other view but to increase his master's subjects in the persons of the knights. L'Isle Adam, upon his arrival at Viterbo, sent an embassy to that prince. The ambassadors were, the prior of Castile, the chevalier de Martinengo, that excellent engineer, who had acquired so much glory at the siege of Rhodes, and the commander Bosio, chaplain of the order, one who had distinguished himself by his skill in negotiations. These ambassadors upon their arrival at Madrid, where the emperor then was, applied to him in the name of the whole order, and desired him to be pleased to grant them the isles of Malta and Goza by an absolute feoffment, free from all manner of subjection and dependence; and they made this proposal without mentioning Tripoli, pursuant to their instructions. The ambassadors did not fail to represent to him, that he, by a grant so suitable to the generosity of
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a great prince, would be the restorer, and as it were the second founder of an order, which had for many ages been dedicated to the defence of the Christians; and that the knights, by their settlement in those islands, would put a stop to the ravages of the corsairs of Barbary, and secure the isles of Sicily and Sardinia the kingdom of Naples, and all the coasts of Italy, from their incursions.

This was just what the emperor had in view; and his communicating this project to the grand master did not perhaps flow so much from a motive of generosity as from self-interest. Besides, the considerable expences he was forced to be at in maintaining garrisons in those islands, and in Tripoli, which he, by that means would be eased of, he was of opinion, that the knights, who were the terror of the infidels, would keep them in awe by their valour; and that the squadrons of the order would serve for an invincible rampart against the enterprises of the grand seignior, who, after the conquest of the isle of Rhodes, might perhaps be tempted to attack Sicily.

These several motives were more than sufficient to determine him to conclude the treaty: but this prince, who was the greatest politician of his age, and who frequently reaped greater advantages by his negotiations than he did even by his arms, told the embassadors, that he was no way averse to the propositions which they were come to make him; but that he yet could not resolve to alienate Malta and Goza, unless Tripoli was also comprehended in the same treaty. That he insisted likewise, that the body of the order should take an oath of fidelity to him in quality of its sovereign; that a new creation should be made of a second bailiff of the language of Castile; that, in the admiral's absence, none but a knight of the language of Italy should command the galleys: and, as he very much doubted whether the order would ever submit to take an oath of

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fealty.

fealty to him, he added, that he had no intention of engaging himself to supply Malta with corn for the future. By this reservation he secured 1524. to himself an absolute dominion over the knights, who could never subsist without such a supply.

The prior of Castile and Martinengo stayed at the emperor's court, and Bosio, by agreement with them *, returned to Italy, and came to Viterbo to the grand master, to whom he gave an account of the emperor's intentions. Had they come from any other sovereign, they would not have been so much as heard; but most of the commandries of the order lying within the vast extent of that prince's dominions, they resolved to wait, and see if time would afford them any relief, and if the pope's good offices could produce any moderation of such hard conditions; and in the mean while, to keep the negotiation still on foot, they prevailed with the emperor, before they gave him a decisive answer, to allow the order to send eight commissaries to Malta, Goza, and Tripoli, viz. one of each language, to visit those places, and afterwards make their report of them to the council.

The grand master was the less eager to conclude the treaty, because he had a new project at that time on foot, which was much more glorious and advantageous for the order; and this was to recover Rhodes, and drive out the Turks. The proposer of this enterprize was Achmet Bassa, the very same that had contributed most to the taking of the place. The reader may have observed in the foregoing book, that Solyman, being displeased with Mustapha, who commanded under him at the siege of Rhodes, had turned him out of his post, and given it to Achmet: but, at the request of his sister, whom Mustapha had married, that prince had sent him into Egypt to command there in quality

* Bosio, l. 2. p. 267.

of Begler-bey. He had no better success in that government than he had at the siege of Rhodes: whether it was owing to his unskilfulness in the arts of government, or to his avarice, or that he tyrannized over that people, who had been lately brought into subjection to the Turkish empire, a general insurrection arose in the provinces, and a prodigious army of Arabians and Egyptians came to besiege him in Grand Cairo itself, whose inhabitants, from the same motive, held secret correspondence with the rebels.

Mustapha's wife, alarmed at the dangers to which both herself and her husband were exposed, had recourse to the grand seignor her brother. That prince, whose interest engaged him to stifle this rebellion immediately, sent Achmet into Egypt at the head of a mighty army, to bring off his brother-in-law, and take the government of those great provinces in his stead.

The new general, in a little time, beat the rebels on several occasions. * But after he had established the reputation of his valour, and the terror of his arms, he set himself to gain the malecontents by a conduct that was entirely the reverse of that of Mustapha. The taxes were, by his order, considerably diminished; and as he secretly aspired to make himself independent, and absolute master of the kingdom, he removed the Turkish officers who were odious to the Egyptians, filling their posts at the same time with noblemen of that nation; and, in order to engage a body of troops in his interest, that should be independent on any one but himself, he got together all the Mamelukes that were left in Egypt, and who, ever since the Turks subdued the country, had been dispersed up and down in the remotest provinces. He made them his guards, increased their usual pay; and then, be-

* Hist. de Chalcondile. Tom. 1. l. 14. p. 49.

ing imposed on by their expressions of affection and attachment to him, which was not so much the result of his merit as his fortune, and fancying himself master of their hearts, because he was so of the country by his dignity, he was daring enough to assume openly the name and ornaments of a sovereign. As he did not question but Solyman, who was infinitely jealous of his authority, would send an army against him, he endeavoured to get himself a support, and an alliance with the princes of Christendom. Accordingly he sent one of his partizans to the pope and the grand master, to propose to them a joint league against Solyman. This agent waited on them both, and presented his master's letters, wherein he assured them, that if the knights came before Rhodes with a body of troops, they might depend, by the help of the intelligence which he had within the place, upon making themselves masters of it; or at least that one of his creatures, who commanded in the two towers of the port, should receive them there, upon the first sight of any order from him.

The grand master heard these proposals with more joy than he was willing to discover. He answered the envoy, that he could not engage in this enterprize without first communicating it to most of the princes of Christendom, but that the Begler-bey, his master, should soon hear from him; and then making him a considerable present, he dismissed him, and found a way to send him back safe into Egypt. While the grand master's thoughts were entirely taken up with this important project, the commander de la Roche Aimon was just landed, bringing at the same time some Rhodians along with him, who determined him entirely to attempt that enterprize.

In order to form a just idea of this point of history, we are to observe, that the grand master, notwithstanding all the misfortunes that had happened

pened to his order, frequently sent vessels out a cruising, to keep the arms of the knights continually employed against the corsairs. One of these vessels commanded by la Roche-Almon, was met by some Rhodian merchants, who were sailing in the Mediterranean. They knew the flag of the order, and longing to pay their respects once again to one of their old masters, they came up with him, and went aboard the knights vessel, who received them with reciprocal joy, and entertained them in a splendid manner. In the midst of the entertainment, the Rhodians being in a place of freedom and security, made grievous complaints against the tyranny of the Turks, and regreted the loss of the equitable government of the knights; these expressions of their regret soon grew up to earnest wishes for the restoration of the order, and its recovering possession of their island. As these merchants were some of the principal inhabitants of Rhodes, he began to consult with them about the various methods that might be made use of in order to drive out the Turks, and found so much facility in it, that he engaged them to come with him into Italy; and landing at Civita Vecchi, he brought them to Viterbo, and presented them privately to the grand master, who received them with the utmost candour and civility.

These merchants, whom la Roche-Almon had taken care to disguise, had a secret conference with the grand master, and represented to him, that the walls and fortifications of Rhodes were not yet repaired; that there was but a weak garrison in the place; and that the aga before mentioned, who commanded in the two towers of the port, had been a Christian, but had turned renegado purely out of weakness, and for fear of torments, who still retained a secret inclination for the religion of his ancestors; that he was, as far as his abilities would allow him, without prejudicing himself,

self, a protector to all the Christians of the island, and that the people, as soon as they should see the standards of the order, would, provided they brought them arms, turn them with pleasure against their tyrants, and those who were enemies to their religion.

The grand master, like an able politician, was delighted to think, that for the better succeeding in his designs, he should have more than one intelligence within the place. He exhorted the merchants to persevere in their good intentions for the order; and after bestowing the greatest civilities upon them, and loading them with presents, he caused them to be conducted back with the same secrecy that they came, to the place where their ship waited for them.

That prince, in concert with the pope, sent afterwards the commander Bosio, who was very skilful in negotiations, over to Rhodes. He got into the city disguised like a merchant, and was an eye witness to the condition of the place, the strength of the garrison, and the disposition, as well as the number of Greek inhabitants that were left. He made a still greater progress in his negotiation, and talked with the aga, by the assistance of the Greek metropolitan, who was that officer's friend. Before he came to this interview, he had taken the precaution to fill one of the blank signatures, which the grand master had confided to him, with a letter for the aga, in which he offered him great rewards, provided he would make good what Achmet had promised in his name; and at the same time shewed him the letter which the Begler-bey had written concerning him, and the two towers of Rhodes. The aga, after having stood some time without returning Bosio any answer, made a resolution at once, and told him, that he had been long wishing for an opportunity of returning into the bosom of the church, and gave his word to the grand-master's agent, that he would receive the
knights

knights into the towers where he commanded, provided that besides the troops necessary to defend them, and form the siege of the city, they would immediately send a quantity of victuals, provisions and ammunition, with arms for the inhabitants of the island. Every thing seemed to bid fair for the success of this enterprize, when news came, that the grand seignior had defeated Achmet's designs, and got him dispatched. That prince, upon advice of his rebellion, had sent a mighty army against him, under the conduct of his favourite Ibrahim, a native of Albania, and who was both a skilful general and an artful courtier.

Achmet had flattered himself, that the enterprize of Rhodes would cause a powerful diversion in his favour; but the unhappy revolution that happened in the affair of the knights, prevented their making any attempts, so that Ibrahim's entering Egypt caused a general consternation among the partisans of Achmet. Nevertheless he, like a man of courage, began to make preparations to carry on the war. He sent orders into all parts for the troops to march out of the most distant provinces to join him: But little deference was paid to his orders: An usurper's authority is never fixed with any solidity in the beginning of a change of government: Several of his principal commanders, under different pretences, kept off declaring openly against their lawful sovereign. Ibrahim hearing that things were in this disposition, promised them a full and general pardon, and even rewards, provided they would dispatch the rebel. These traitors stifled him in the bath, opened the gates of Grand Cairo to Ibrahim, and made their submission to him. That general sent Achmet's head immediately to the grand seignior, who, by this quick dispatch, was eased of the trouble of maintaining a war in a distant country, and in a nation too that had ever been at enmity with the Turks,
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and in which his power was not as yet well settled upon any solid foundation.

This rebel's death frightened the aga of Rhodes; the fear of being discovered, and of meeting with the like fate, made him press the execution of the enterprise, in which he had engaged himself; and the very same motive made the grand master, who had no hopes left of any succour or diversion from Egypt, resolve, before he engaged further in it, to see how the christian princes stood affected, and what forces he could obtain from them.

Whilst these revolutions happened in Egypt, the commissaries which the grand master and council had sent to visit Malta, Goza and Tripoli, being returned back, made their report of the condition in which they found those islands, and the town of Tripoli. They said, that the isle of Malta was only one continued rock of sandy stone, and might be about six or seven leagues long, three or four broad at most, and about twenty in circumference; that upon the surface of this rock, there was not at most above three or four feet of earth, and that too all stoney, a soil altogether unfit to produce wheat and other corn; but that it abounded in figs, melons, and other fruits; which were very plenty there, and that the principal commerce of the island consisted in honey, cotton and cummin, which the inhabitants bartered for corn: That if they excepted a few springs, which they met with in the farther part of the island, there was no such thing as spring water, nor indeed any well, so that the inhabitants were forced to supply that defect by cisterns: That there was the like scarcity of wood; that they sold it by the pound; and that the inhabitants were forced to make use of cowdung dried in the sun, or else of wild thistles, to dress their meat: That the capital city of the island, called *the * notable city*, was seated upon a hill in

* Or considerable city.

the midst of the island, and was of difficult access, by reason of the rocks which covered all the plain about it; that the place was only walled about without any other fortifications, except some towers which were erected over the gates of the city: That upon the south side of the island, there were neither ports, nor bays, nor roads, and that all the shore in that part was lined with vast rocks, against which ships, when caught in a storm, were often drove by the violence of the wind, and dashed to pieces; but that they discovered several points or capes on the opposite side, and places that formed a sort of bays and roads very proper to anchor in. They continued to relate that they had put in at the great port, which was defended by a fort called the castle of St. Angelo; and that below it there was a little town, commonly called la Cita del Borgo: That this port was divided from another called the Porto di Musetto, only by a narrow slip or point of rock: That besides the capital, the castle and the town, there were about forty hamlets or villages, consisting of several dwellings; scattered up and down the country, and about 12000 inhabitants, including the men, women and children, who were most of them poor and miserable, by reason of the barrenness of the soil.

The commissaries presented likewise to the grand master and council a plan of the island, in which they had taken care to describe with great exactness several little bays and roads which served as a shelter to fishermen, and where the corsairs sometimes put into. They added, that the convenience of so many ports, so convenient for the armadoes of the order, made them be of opinion, that the emperor's proposals ought not to be rejected, provided he did not by his grant pretend to oblige them to turn their arms against his particular enemies.

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As for the isle of Goza, called by the inhabitants Gaudisch, they said it was separated from that of Malta only by a narrow channel, which went by the name of Freo, of a league and a half, or two leagues in breadth, in the middle of which lay the little isles or rocks called Comin and Cominot: That Goza was about eight leagues in circumference, three long, and one and a half broad; that they could not find any port in it; that it was all surrounded with craggy rocks and shelves, so that there was no landing but with great difficulty: That however, the soil seemed to be very fruitful; that there were about five thousand persons in it, including men, women and children, who were dispersed up and down in different villages; who, for their security against the corsairs, had built a castle situated on a hill; but that in their opinion it was ill fortified, and of very little consequence: that notwithstanding its being so weak, they did not think the council would act prudently were they to accept the offer which was made them of the isle of Malta, separately from that of Goza, which lay too near it, and which might some time or other serve for a retreat to their enemies.

The commissaries did not form the same judgement with respect to the town and castle of Tripoli. They represented to the council, that the place, which was seated on the coast of Barbary, near eighty leagues from Malta, had no fortifications about it, and that it was almost impossible to raise any there in a sandy soil, and bottom full of water; that the ditches were neither broad nor deep enough; the port and castle being commanded by a hill adjoining; and in a word, that the place was surrounded by the territories of the king of Tunis, who would not suffer the Christians to continue there long; and that the great distance of it from Malta would not allow them, in case it was

attacked, to throw in seasonable succours; that corn was still scarcer at Tripoli than at Malta, by reason of the barrenness of its soil, which bore nothing but dates. From all which they concluded, that if they undertook the defence of the place, they should be exposed to lose all the knights they might afterwards put in garrison there.

The grand master acquainted the pope with this relation; and desired him to use his good offices with the emperor, to engage him to excuse the order from the defence of Tripoli, and remit the other heavy conditions he was for annexing to the feofment of Malta: but, at 1524. that juncture, it would have been impos- August. sible for him to have pitched on a mediator with Charles V. * who was less agreeable to that monarch, or more suspected by him than Clement VII. There was actually at that time a league on foot between that pontiff, the king of England, and the Venetians, in order to maintain the liberty of Italy, which was threatened with an entire subversion, since the loss of 1525. the battle of Pavia, in which Francis I. Feb. 24. king of France had been taken prisoner by the emperor's generals.

That prince, whose personal qualities merited a better fortune, had invaded the dutchy of Milan, which he pretended belonged to him and queen Claude his wife, in right of Valentia Visconti, wife to Lewis duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI. The Sforzas had seized on it in prejudice of the princes of the house of Orleans. Francis Sforza was actually in possession of it. The emperor, under pretence of supporting him as his vassal, had sent a strong army into the Milanese, and, after the battle of Pavia, his generals behaved more like conquerors than protectors and com-

* Bosio, l. 2. p 32.

manders of auxiliary troops. They put garrisons, in the emperor's name, into the principal towns of the dutchy, under pretence that the new duke had not yet received the investiture of it. The pope and Italian princes, who, in the beginning of the war, were equally afraid of the neighbourhood of two such powerful princes, could have wished, that the French had not disturbed Sforza in the possession of the Milanese.

The king's being taken prisoner, brought not only the Italian princes, but also the king of England over to the party of France. Sforza himself, who had now no reason of being under any further apprehensions from a prince, who was both a prisoner and oppressed by the imperialists, who continued to plunder him of his dominions, negotiated a league against a potentate who was for swallowing up all Europe, and aspired to an universal monarchy.

Such was the situation of affairs, and the occasion or pretence of a war, which in reality had no other source than the ambition of Charles V. After the death of the emperor Maximilian, that prince and Francis I. were rivals in the election for the empire. This rivalry of rights and pretensions, which monarchs are scarce ever at a loss for, when they do not want forces, and their personal qualities, which were excellent indeed, but directly opposite in both; all these circumstances, I say, inspired those two great princes with an emulation of glory, which, after the election of Charles V. was succeeded by an animosity, that was not to be appeased by the blood of so many thousands of their subjects. All mankind beheld with admiration in the person of Francis I. a courage that was proof against the greatest dangers of war, a noble frankness worthy of a better age, an inviolable faith in his treaties, and goodness and clemency towards his subjects: but it would have

been happy had this prince been less devoted to pleasures, had been more secret in his affairs, had used a closer attention and pursuit in the execution of his designs, and had never employed his favourites as his ministers and generals. Charles V. on the contrary, had all the qualities of a great politician, but few of those virtues which have their seat in the heart, and that shine with lustre in a private man. He was puffed up with an insatiable ambition, interest was the sole motive of all his actions, was impenetrable in his designs, always attentive to the different dispositions of all the princes of Europe, had a superior capacity to all his ministers, was happy in the choice of his generals, had no relish for the pomp and luxury of entertainments, and if he was not so chaste as the precepts of Christianity might require, he yet, at least, in order to avoid scandal, was as careful to conceal his gallantries from the penetrating eye of the courtier, as other princes of his time were to publish theirs. In a word he was in reality without faith, probity, honour, or even gratitude; and he yet used his utmost endeavours, by his behaviour, to persuade the world that he possessed all those virtues.

It was scarce possible for two princes, endowed with such great qualities, both of them ambitious, brave, powerful, and neighbours to one another, to remain long in peace, or leave the rest of Europe so. From the pictures of these two monarchs, of which we have only given the reader a sketch, he will easily judge, that fortune must be obliged to declare for the abler of the two: and indeed Francis I. became the prey of his enemy, so that the business at that time was to negotiate a peace, and the recovery of his liberty. Charles V. rated them both at so high a price, that the king, greatly disgusted at the hardness of the conditions, pro-

tested openly, that he would sooner resign the crown to the dauphin his son, than tear off one of its finest flowers.

But the regent his mother, not minding a design which the uneasiness of his imprisonment had occasioned, resolved to send the dutchess of Alençon her daughter and the king's sister, into Spain; she was a princess adorned with all the graces of nature, brought up in the intrigues of a court, and of as complying a temper as if she had not been born with that pride and empire, which are almost inseparable from a multitude of charms, especially when supported by so illustrious a birth. The regent was in hopes, that she would prevail with the emperor to set the king her brother at liberty, upon less hateful conditions. To assist her in this important negotiation, she named the archbishop of Ambrun, known afterwards by the title of the cardinal de Lournon, the bishop of Tarbes, afterwards cardinal de Grammont, and de Seluë first president of the parliament of Paris. The writer of the annals of the order of St. John of Jerusalem relates, that the regent, thoroughly persuaded of the grand master's affection for the person and service of the king her son, sent him an express to desire him to convey the princess her daughter to Spain, on board the galleys of the order: that the marshal de Montmorency his great nephew wrote to him about it, by the regent's order, in the most pressing terms, and that nobleman, in order to determine him by motives, drawn from his own interest, to undertake the voyage, represented to him, that as his order stood in need of a sure and fixed settlement, he, by his presence, and treating in person with the emperor, would be able to get over that infinite number of difficulties, * which that prince's ministers in Italy started, with regard to

† Bosio, t. 3. l. 2. p. 38.

the feofment of the ifles of Malta and Goza, and the town of Tripoli.

The grand mafter acquainted the pope with thefe difpatches of the regent: Clement, who was actually engaged in meafures with that prince's, highly approved the voyage; he was defirous of the king's liberty, perhaps not fo much out of regard for him, as for fear of the formidable power of his enemy; he flattered himfelf, that if they could once get Francis I. out of prifon, that prince, to revenge the feverity of this treatment, would not fail to open a new war, which, fhould it but once break out between two fuch implacable enemies, would be the fecurity of the other fovereigns, and maintain a peace in the reft of Europe. The grand mafter, upon his holinefs's answer, embarked on board the gallies of the order at Civita-Vecchia, and went to Marseilles, where he waited upon the regent, and had feveral conferences with her, during the time he waited for the dutchefs of Alençon.

The emperor's minifters, alarmed and jealous of this voyage, the motive of which they were utter ftrangers to, feized immediately on all the revenues of the order in Italy: the emperor did not fail to approve their conduct; that prince was difpleafed with the grand mafter and council on other accounts. We have already obferved, that he offered them the ifles of Malta and Goza, and the town of Tripoli, for their refidence; the order's retarding to give him a pofitive answer, made him refolve to write in particular to the languages of Caftile and Arragon, the knights whereof were born his fubjects; and he difpatched away a Spanifh knight to the council, Peter Fernandez Heredia, or Errera by name, who, upon his arrival at Viterbo, prefented, in the emperor's name, to the lords of the council, that from a perfuafion that the order

would accept of so considerable a settlement with great satisfaction, as well as acknowledgement, he had for eighteen months past delayed providing for the fortification of those islands, and desired, that the council would tell him their sentiments plainly upon those points. The envoy added, in a very arrogant manner, that if there was any language who should oppose them, the emperor his master would take his measures accordingly.

That prince, dazzled by a constant series of prosperity, and grown more haughty by the king's imprisonment, imagined himself able to give laws to all the powers of Europe; and this domineering spirit had diffused itself into the languages of those who were born in his dominions. The Spanish knights were for governing in the council, and would have the emperor's offers accepted immediately, and the dependence and subjection he annexed to them submitted to: nay, some of them went so far as to insinuate, that if the French would not comply with their sentiments, they would divide from them; that they would settle themselves at Malta, independent even on the grand master, and that they were in hopes of prevailing with the emperor to unite the order of Monteza, a Spanish foundation, to their particular congregation that they might indemnify the order for what they might lose in France, by the withdrawing of the French knights and commanders.

But the council, as well as discreetest of the Spanish knights, who abhorred a schism, answered the envoy, that the whole order was very sensible of the generous offers of his imperial majesty; but that, in an affair of such importance, they could not take any decisive resolution without the grand master's presence, and the pope's express consent; that they would write immediately to them both; that they understood the grand master was gone to the emperor's court, in order to learn from his own
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mouth what were his intentions with respect to the isle of Malta, and that they were in hopes, that that great prince would, for the general good and honour of the order, moderate some of the conditions which he was for annexing to that fiefment.

The council immediately dispatched away the commander Bosio for France, to give the grand master advice of the sequestration which the emperor's ministers had made of the estates which belonged to the order in Italy, and the proposals which the chevalier Errera had made before all the council. The grand master deferred answering the council, till he had seen the emperor; he ordered Bosio to follow him, and set out for Spain with the duchess of Alençon, for whom the king of England had got a safe conduct.

As soon as this princess was arrived at Madrid, and that the emperor had discharged the ceremonial, and paid the first honours that were due to her quality, he gave a private audience to the grand master, who first gave him an account of all that had passed at the siege * and surrender of Rhodes. That great man afterwards represented to him the losses which the order had sustained in that place, and the deplorable condition the whole body was in at that time; and finding the emperor was moved and affected with such a number of calamities, he complained in the softest terms of the seizure which his ministers had made of the estates or the Italian commanderies, under pretence, that in his way to Spain, he had passed through France, before he came to his court. To prevent the designs which the emperor, in granting the isle of Malta to the knights, might have of making them his vassals, he wittingly insinuated to him, that though they were all born sub-

† Guicciardin, l. 16.

jects of different sovereigns, yet the order in general by its profession, was independent from any of them; that a knight who was a Frenchman by nation, was no more devoted to the king of France, than he was to his imperial majesty; that the only view of their institution was to defend all Christians alike against the incursions of the infidels; that for so many ages as the order had existed with some kind of glory, it had never been yet known to engage against any christian prince in favour of another. He entered afterwards into the affair of Malta, and omitting the hard conditions which the emperor was for tying them down to, he told him in general, that the order would have long before reaped the advantages of his imperial majesty's beneficence, if they had not been withheld by hopes of recovering Rhodes; that there was a party formed for the execution of that enterprise; upon which he, with the emperor's leave, brought the commander Bosio into his chamber, who gave him a very particular account of all the measures he had taken on that account with the principal inhabitants. He added, that the order wanted nothing but a sum of money necessary to raise three or four thousand men, and carry at the same time arms for the inhabitants whom the Turks had disarmed with the utmost strictness.

The emperor entered into the grand master's views: however, before he engaged further in the project, he advised him to confer with the duke of Alva, his ablest general, about it. He added further, that in case that nobleman should find the execution of it practicable, he himself would freely give 25000 crowns to facilitate its success; that he wished the other potentates of Christendom would likewise contribute to it; but that if, after all, the project should not happen to succeed, the order might nevertheless depend upon having the isle of Malta for their settlement; and, as an earnest

earnest of his friendship, he immediately ordered a full and entire restitution to be made of all the revenues which his ministers had sequestrated in Italy. The grand master, who was very sensible that monarchs will never own themselves to be in the wrong, thanked him for that act of his justice, in as handsome and grateful a manner, as if he had received a favour from him. He begged leave, before he left him, to wait upon the king of France; which the emperor readily granted him, in hopes that the grand master might contribute to the negotiation of a peace.

An officer of his guards, by his order, conducted him to the apartment of Francis I. That prince was not guarded like a prisoner of war, but rather like a state-criminal. Charles V. although the king's vassal, in order to extort an immense ransom, and the exorbitant conditions from his lord, did his utmost to make his imprisonment insupportable to him. Such harsh and unworthy usage threw Francis I. into a deep melancholy, which was succeeded by a violent fever. The arrival of the princess his sister, who was very dear to him, gave him the first emotions of joy ever since his misfortune. His health grew better, and the grand master being introduced into his room at this juncture, he embraced him very affectionately, extolled the brave defence he had made at Rhodes, and ordered the ministers who accompanied the princess his sister, not to treat of any article in their negotiation with the emperor's ministers, without first communicating it to the grand master. He was admitted into all their conferences, where he acted as a mediator. His dignity and great reputation, his prudence and excellent capacity, greatly enforced his remonstrances: and he left no expedient untried in order to reconcile the interests of those two princes, and engage them, by a solid peace, to unite their arms against the common enemy

nemy of the Christians. The duchess of Alençon, on her side, employed all the charms of her wit, in order to conquer the emperor's harshness and obstinacy; but that prince, who was regardless of every thing but his interest, and who fancied, that as the king was his prisoner, he might soon make himself master of a part of France; besides the renunciations which the king offered to make of his rights to the Milanese and kingdom of Naples, as well as to the homage of the counties of Flanders and Artois, and also an immense sum of money, insisted likewise on the duchy of Burgundy, in order to enable himself, in case the war should break out again, to fall with his troops into France, and march up to the gates of Paris. The king, who was highly sensible of the importance of this alienation, rejected the proposition with great resolution; and to shew the emperor that he would rather renounce his liberty than so considerable a branch of his crown, he resolved to part with the princess his sister, and deprive himself of her company, though it was the only comfort he had left. He made her set out on her return for France, and she was likewise obliged to it upon some private advices which she received, that the emperor sought nothing but a pretence to give orders for her being arrested.

Charles V. the most artful prince of his time, had purposely spun out the negotiations, in order that the safe conduct which he had granted her might be expired. He was surprised at the princess's departure, and he sent orders to the frontiers of Spain to stop her the very day that the term of her safe conduct should be at an end; but the princess being well informed of this trick which he designed to play her, travelled as many miles in one day upon the same road in her return, as she had done in four at her coming into Spain. This expedition, and Clermont de Lodeve's arrival on the

the frontier, with a large convoy, on the last day of the safe conduct, hindered the emperor's officers from making any attempt to seize her person; so that the emperor could not gain any advantage by his artifice.

The departure of the princeis did not any way cool the grand master's zeal and good offices in promoting a peace. He frequently represented the necessity of it to the emperor 1525. and his ministers; declaring, that whilst that prince's arms were employed against France, Solyman was pushing his conquests in Hungary, and opening himself a way to penetrate into Austria and the hereditary countries. On the other side, when he was got with the king, he made him sensible how necessary his presence was in his kingdom, but proved to him at the same time, that the emperor would never give him his liberty, unless he made a resignation of the duchy of Burgundy. In fine, he managed both those princes so successfully, that he brought them to agree to a treaty of peace. Francis I. persuaded that he could not alienate the demesne of his crown, and that conditions extorted during a severe captivity were never valid, made a secret protest against the violence offered him by his vassal, and signed every thing they presented to him. It was agreed, that the king should be conducted back into his kingdom on the tenth of February, and that for a sure guaranty of the treaty, he should give the two princes his sons in hostage; and also several other articles which are foreign to this work. The grand master, who was ever vigilant to promote the interests of religion, got an article inserted in it, which was, that the emperor, and king of France, should join in soliciting the pope to set on foot a crusade against

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the infidels, and should themselves contribute to it to the utmost of their power.

After the treaty was signed, the emperor and the king had several interviews; but their visits
1526. were like those of reconciled enemies, and were made with more politeness than sincerity. The first time that the emperor went to see the king, he would needs take the grand master, whom he called his father, along with him. We meet with a remarkable circumstance, viz. that those two great princes being out together, the emperor, as they were to pass through a door, offered the king the precedence, which that prince refused; whereupon they called the grand master to decide it. "I pray God, said the venerable old man, that there may never be any difference of great-
" or consequence between your Majesties:" and then directing his discourse to the king of France, "No body *, says he to him, Sir, disputes but that the emperor is the first prince in Christen-
" dom; but as you are in his dominions, and in his palace, you ought not, in my opinion, decline the honours which he thinks himself obliged to shew to the greatest monarch in Europe." This answer, which was as subtle as it was judicious, satisfied both parties; the emperor especially was exceedingly pleased with it: He honoured him afterwards with several marks of distinction, and whenever he was giving audiences from his throne, he would make the grand master sit under the same canopy with himself. In fine, when the grand master, after the king's departure, took leave of him to return into Italy to Viterbo, he made him fresh promises of the island of Malta, and likewise assured him, that he would leave that affair to the pope, who should be arbitrator of the conditions and terms of the fiefment.

* Bosio, t. 3. l. 3. p. 42.

But before the grand master left Spain, he, by his prudence, put an end to a dispute that was risen in Portugal, relating to the great priory of Crato. Since the loss of Rhodes, and retreat of the convent to Viterbo, several European princes, not well affected to the order, and under pretence that it did not send any more squadrons out, as its institution required, against the infidels, seized on the revenues of the commanderies; or else, in violation of the statutes of the order, and the rights of seniority, disposed of them in favour of such knights as were most agreeable to them. The priory of Crato falling vacant by the death of John de Meneses, the king of Portugal, in prejudice of the chevalier Gonfalvo de Piementel, bestowed it upon prince Lewis his brother; and to make Piementel some amends, offered him a yearly pension of 9000 livres. The Portuguese knights, unwilling to bear with such an infringement of their rights, refused to own Don Lewis; the king, incensed at their opposition, threatened to seize all the estates belonging to the order within his dominions: and, pretending that they staid at Viterbo in a state of inactivity, contrary to what their statutes obliged them to, he declared that he would employ the revenues in a holy war against the moors of Barbary.

The grand master judiciously supposing, that such a procedure, though very unjust, might yet be a dangerous precedent with respect to other princes, made up the affair. He thought that it was best, at such an unhappy juncture, to dissemble an injustice which he had not the power to redress: He consented that Don Lewis should keep the administration of the priory, by way of commendam; but he, in exchange, obtained of the king an authentic confirmation of all the rights and privileges of his order. That prince engaged solemnly that he would never trouble the knights again in the enjoyment of the commanderies, which

should



should fall to every one according to his rank of seniority. And as the enterprize of Rhodes was the only end and view in which all the grand master's designs centered, it was stipulated in the same treaty, that, for carrying on that holy war, the king should furnish the order with fifteen thousand crusados, a sort of silver money, worth at that time about four livres and an half.

Scarce was the grand master returned into France, when news came that Henry VIII. king of England, on the very same pretence that the king of Portugal had made use of, and as if the order had been entirely extirpated by the loss of Rhodes, had prevented the commander Weston from taking possession of the grand priory of that kingdom; and even pretended to unite the revenues of all the commanderies to the crown, or oblige all the English knights to serve as a garrison to Calais. These odious pretensions were a sensible affliction to the grand master; he saw, with grief, that the estates of his order, notwithstanding his indefatigable endeavours to the contrary, were going insensibly to be made a prey to princes and their courtiers. The popes, under colour of being its sovereigns, had some time before assumed to themselves the power of nominating to the grand priory of Rome, and to the commanderies that fell vacant within the patrimony of St. Peter, and their other territories: and on the other side, the emperor's ministers in Italy seized on the richest benefices, without any manner of scruple; and fancied they did a favour to the order, by putting on its cross, as a mark that they enjoyed them only by virtue of the title of knights. In this general pillage and desolation, the grand master applied himself to the king of France, the only prince of Christendom, as we may say, who, amidst all the misfortunes that had happened to the order of St. John, treated it with the same esteem
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and affection with which he had always distinguished it.

The grand master, when he sent the prior of St. Giles, and the commander de Bourbon, obliged them to take the French court in their way. These deputies, or, if you please, embassadors, besought that prince, in his name, to employ his interest with Henry VIII. in behalf of the order. Accordingly the king wrote to him in the most pressing terms, and observed, in his letter, that the reason why the order had not, since the loss of Rhodes, been able to continue making war upon the infidels, was only for want of ports to fit out their ships; that they were actually treating for the isle of Malta, and he intreated him, in the most pressing terms, to contribute to their settlement in that place; that as soon as the head convent and place of arms for the order should be fixed there, the knights would immediately be out at sea according to their profession; and that the English merchants, his subjects, might perhaps be the first who would experience how useful that military body was to all Christendom in general, though independent on any particular christian prince.

But these considerations, which were so very reasonable in themselves, and all the offices of that great prince, had little influence on the king of England: he had no manner of regard to the memorials which the two embassadors presented to him; nay, he proceeded further, and forbid them to carry either money or effects, arising from the estates of the order, out of his dominions; and dismissed the envoys pretty abruptly, without any great regard to their character. These ministers, upon their return, giving the grand master an account of the ill success of their negotiation, told him, they fancied they had discovered the true source of this shameful injustice, and that it arose from the resentment of that prince, the proudest monarch of

his age, who was offended that the grand master had visited the emperor, and the king of France without paying him the same compliment; nor was this conjecture altogether groundless. Though the dominions of Henry VIII. were not so large as those of Charles V. and Francis I. he was not less formidable to those two princes upon that account, whose power he balanced by turns, always falling in with that party, which his interest led him to take in their disputes. This subtle conduct was the reason of his being courted by both those princes, who were very careful to treat him with great respect. The important part he acted in the affairs of Europe, the absolute authority he had acquired in his own dominions, though the laws are more respected there than the sovereign, and his skill in always bringing the parliaments into his measures, all this, I say, made him consider himself, and expect to be considered by others, as the arbiter of Christendom. The grand master could hardly at first persuade himself, that the omission of a formality, and of a ceremony which he was not obliged to, could possibly raise that prince's resentment, and put him upon treating the order in so harsh a manner. But, after all, as the most powerful princes, especially such as reign with despotic sway, are bred up in flattery, and seldom breathe any air but what is swelled with pride and vanity, the grand master thought he should come off at an easy rate enough, provided he could but get, by so slight a condescension, the estates of his order restored. The venerable old man therefore, without regarding either his age, or the severity of the season, set out for England, sending the commander Bosio before, the ablest negotiator at that time in the order, and perhaps in all Christendom. The commander applied himself first to Cardinal Wolsey, the king of England's first minister, to whom he delivered a letter from the grand master, intreating him

him to present Bosio to the king, and use his credit with that prince to promote the interests of the order. The cardinal procured him an audience; Bosio presented the grand master's letter to Henry VIII. telling him, at the same time, that he was coming on purpose from Italy to pay his respects to him, but thought it his duty not to enter his dominions, without first knowing whether it would be agreeable to him. Henry, pacified by this step, answered, that he had the ut-
 1524.
 most veneration for the grand master's Jan. 1.
 person; that he should be delighted to see so great a captain, but that he was sorry he had set out in so sharp a season; that however, he should at all times be received in his dominions with all the respect that was due to his dignity and merit. The king sent Bosio back to the grand master, whom he found at the court of France, and delivered him two letters, one from the king, the other from his minister, dated Feb. 25th, both of them in very obliging terms, and inviting him to come as soon as possible into England. He immediately went thither, and after having rested himself for some days in the commandery or priory of St. John, he set out for the court, attended by the great crosses, commanders, and knights of England and Scotland, who were come from different places to wait upon him.

This retinue was numerous and magnificent, and to make its splendor still greater, the king sent some of the most considerable lords of his court a great way before to meet him on the way. With this noble convoy he was introduced into the palace: Henry gave him a very gracious reception, and the spectators observed that he beheld him with an earnestness and attention, which the sight of a prince, whose valour and conduct had made him equally famous in Europe and Asia, may naturally inspire. The grand master paid him all the civili-

ties which he thought due to so powerful a monarch, but did not think it proper to enter into any detail of the affairs which had brought him into England; he went no further than to desire of that prince in general terms his protection for the order. All that the king said, consisted only in eulogiums on the defence of Rhodes, which, he said, was more glorious than the conquest of an entire province; and when the grand master was for withdrawing, the king ordered his officers to lodge him in his palace, where he was served with a magnificence suitable to his rank, and the esteem the king had for so illustrious a guest.

They afterwards had several private conferences together, concerning the siege of Rhodes, and a proper place for fixing the convent. The grand master declared to him, that, notwithstanding the formidable power of Solyman, the order would have been still mistress of Rhodes, had the christian princes vouchsafed to send the least succour thither. He continued to relate how, being in want of provisions and ammunition, particularly of powder, and after having seen the greatest part of his knights, and also of the inhabitants, fall in the defence of the place, and that the Turks had pushed their works to the very middle of the city, he had found himself reduced to the last extremity, and was forced to abandon them the little ground that was left him; how he had embarked with the poor remains of his fortune, and had been attacked with terrible storms in his voyage: how, thinking to find a place of refuge in the port of Messina, he had been driven thence by the plague; how Pope Clement had allowed him to retire to Viterbo, till he might meet with a fixed and secure place for his residence; how the plague had driven them thence a second time; how part of the knights of the convent had been received in the town of Nice, by the duke of Savoy's consent, and the

the vessels and galleys of the order put into the port of Villa Franca; how the rest of the knights were, by his permission, dispersed over the several provinces of Christendom, where the order had any commanderies; how the plague being abated at Viterbo, they had assembled there again, under the protection of the holy see; and how, in this uncertain and deplorable situation, the emperor made him a generous offer of the islands of Malta and Goza; but that his ministers were clogging this donation with conditions that were incompatible with the independence so necessary to be preserved in his order; for the knights could not own any one particular prince for their sovereign, without rendering themselves suspected to the rest. He moreover added, that he had not lost all hopes of recovering Rhodes; that a party was actually formed there for driving out the Turks; that the principal inhabitants of the island, as well as some officers of the garrison, were engaged in the conspiracy; that the order wanted nothing to make the attempt, but the necessary funds for levying troops, and fitting out the ships of the order; that in case the project should not succeed, he would accept of Malta, and that he hoped the emperor's generosity would extend so far, as not to insist upon a subjection from the order, which would give a fatal stroke to their liberty, and that spirit of neutrality which the knights professed.

The king of England thought the design of reconquering Rhodes, was a project highly worthy of the grand master's courage and valour; and he, in order to have some share in so noble an enterprise, promised him 20,000 crowns, the value of which he paid afterwards in artillery and fire-arms. They no longer talked of seizing or sequestering the estates of the order, much less of disposing of the priories and commanderies; all that the king desired of the grand master was, to confer the
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grand priory of Ireland upon the Turcopilier brother, John Ranson by name, who had been very serviceable to that prince in the government of that island, whose gentle administration had been very instrumental in polishing and civilizing its inhabitants, who were at that time not many degrees above savages.

The grand master, in order to shew his complaisance to a king, with whom the order was so much obliged, for interest sake, to keep due measures, engaged the chevalier Babington to resign the priory of Ireland to Ranson, who, by way of exchange, made a resignation to him of the commandry of Dinemor, and the dignity of Turcopilier. The grand master brought them likewise to a further agreement, viz. that if Babington should come to be grand prior of England, he should be obliged to pay Ranson a pension of 1800 livres. The king seemed extremely pleased at the grand master's readiness and exactness in executing what he had required of him: he returned him thanks for it, confirmed all the privileges of his order, and when that prince took leave of him, to return into Italy, he sent him, in his own and the queen's name, a bason and cup of massy gold, set with precious stones, which the grand master afterwards lodged in the treasury of the order.

The grand master returned into Italy, with the satisfaction of having maintained the rights and privileges of his order in France, Spain, Portugal, and England; and in hopes of getting from the respective sovereigns of those countries, particularly from the pope, a body of troops sufficient to carry his point in the enterprize of Rhodes. But whilst the illustrious old man was passing through the principal courts of Europe, various revolutions happened at Rome, which would not allow him to depend any longer on the succours which the pope had promised him. We have before observed that
Clement

Clement, in order to balance the power of Charles V. who was grown formidable since his gaining the battle of Pavia, had made a league with the kings of France and England, the Venetians, Sforza duke of Milan, and the Florentines, for the security and liberty of Italy. They called it *the holy league*, because the pope was at the head of it. That pontiff, like most of his predecessors, was afraid of nothing so much as of the re-establishment of the imperial authority in Italy. But the exploits of this league, through the different interests of the allies, were noways answerable to the ardor with which it was formed.

The emperor, by the assistance of the Colonna's, his partisans, raised a civil war in the pope's territories; and that pontiff, who was afraid of the expence which it would necessarily put him to, suffering himself to be amused by a treaty which he made with the emperor's ministers and the Colonna's, disbanded the troops which he had in Romagna. His enemies seeing him disarmed, not having the least regard to their faith, or the treaty they had just signed, entered Rome in an hostile manner. Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, the most inveterate of all the pope's enemies, was at the head of the rebels: some have pretended that his design was against the pontiff's life, * flattering himself that, by his death, and by force of arms, he should get himself placed in the pontifical chair. The pope had only just time enough to fly to the castle of St. Angelo: but as there were 1526. not provisions within the place sufficient to hold out for any considerable time, he was forced to submit to his enemies terms. They obliged him to sign a truce for four months with the emperor, to pardon the Colonna's, and to give hostages for the performance of his promise. But he was no

* Guicciardin l, 17,

slave to it; and, as soon as he had received a supply from the king of England, he took up arms again: he broke the truce, under pretence that they had made him sign it, with a dagger as it were at his throat; and that the Colonna's in particular, who were vassals of the holy see, could not oblige their sovereign to capitulate. To revenge the insult which they had offered him, he began to shew his resentment by a solemn deprivation of Pompeo Colonna from the dignity of cardinal, and caused likewise the troops, which he had just levied for his security, to march against the lords of that family. Vitelli his general ravaged their lands, plundered the towns and castles belonging to that house, demolished their walls, and left the most dreadful marks of their master's resentment wherever they came.

All Italy was a prey to the several armies of the emperor and the confederates: it would be impossible to describe the plunderings, the violences, and the inhumanities, which such a multitude of soldiers, of different nations, exercised in those provinces, where each party was the strongest. The soldiers frequently had nothing but licentiousness and impunity for their pay; and the generals did not so much consult the orders they received from their respective sovereigns, as they did the several methods of procuring subsistence for their troops.

The constable of Bourbon, a prince of the blood of France, who, enraged at finding himself persecuted by the mother of Francis I. had gone over to the emperor's party, not being in a condition to pay the body of troops which he commanded; he, in order to put a stop to the clamours of his soldiers, promised them the plunder of one of the richest cities in Italy, without making any further declaration of the enterprize he had in view. We have heard but of few generals who, like him gained the entire confidence, and an absolute authority over

over their soldiers, without having any money to pay them; but a certain air of grandeur, which flows from an illustrious birth, and which never fails to command respect; his surprizing valour; his skill in the art of war; and his easy and familiar behaviour, which yet was never derogatory to his dignity, had gained him the affection of his soldiers, who loved him even to adoration: so that they all swore, says Brantome, to follow him wherever he should lead the way, *though it were to the devil.*

The march of this army, which advanced with great diligence towards Tuscany, terrified the pope, and he relapsed into his usual uncertainties. The emperor's ministers made their advantage of it, and endeavoured to persuade him that he would find no solid advantages, nor indeed any kind of security, but in a strict alliance with their master.

Clement, though he had been already tricked by those very ministers, as was just now seen, was nevertheless very fond of believing them, and glad to disburden his mind of those irresolutions which shewed him the danger he was in, without shewing him, at the same time, March 15. how he should prevent it; he signed a new truce. Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, whom he treated with, assured him that he had no occasion to be under any further apprehensions from Bourbon and the rest of the emperor's generals. He flattered himself with this hope, and looked upon this treaty as an invincible barrier, which the imperial troops could never break through, in order to fall upon the lands of the church. But Bourbon, whether in concert with Lannoy, or contrary to the sentiments of that minister, is uncertain, continued his march, and appeared soon at the gates of Rome. He began by a scalado, and as he himself was clapping a ladder to the wall, he was shot by a musket.

musket-ball, and died two hours after. His soldiers, enraged at the death of their general, forced the defendants to quit the wall, threw themselves into the city sword in hand, and killed all that came in their way. They then dispersed themselves into the several quarters of it, broke into the houses, and without regarding either dignity, age or sex, they committed such cruelties and outrages as the most barbarous nations could hardly have been thought to perpetrate. What is still more deplorable, is, that this dreadful scene lasted not only twenty four hours, as usually happens to places taken by storm, but the imperialists daily repeated the same violences for upwards of two months afterwards, and did not stick to committ sacrilege, rapes, nor murders in cold blood, in order to gratify their avarice and sensuality.

The pope with thirteen cardinals took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, but was soon invested; he held out however a month with 1527. the troops he had, but afterwards provisions failing him, he was obliged to Octob. 30. capitulate a second time with his enemies.

The conditions of this new treaty would have been scandalous, had they not been necessary: the imperialists insisted that he should engage to pay the sum of 400,000 ducats, in order to pay the army; requiring moreover, that he should continue a prisoner, till he had paid the third part of the sum; that he should afterwards be carried to the castle of Naples, to wait till the emperor's pleasure was known, with relation to the disposing of his person; and that he should deliver up the castles of St. Angelo, Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Castelana, and the towns of Parma, Placencia and Modena.

Charles V. was greatly delighted to see one of his greatest enemies fall a second time into his hands; but he, far from discovering any thing that might

might betray the real sentiments of his mind, did, from a regard to religion, conceal them under the specious appearances of a sensible affliction: so that at the first news he had of the pope's imprisonment, he, as if he had been taken captive by the Turks or Corsairs, put on mourning in a public manner, and ordered solemn processions to be made over all Spain, to pray to God for his liberty: an affectation which he carried to too great lengths; and which imposed on nobody, even among his own subjects, unless it were the common people.

Whilst this comedy was acting in Spain, in a manner so unbecoming the character of a great emperor, he, for fear his prisoner should make his escape, sent orders to Rome, to have him put under the guard of an old Spanish officer, Alarçon, by name, who had been entrusted with that of Francis I. at Madrid. This officer behaved himself in as surly a manner towards the pope, as he had done towards the king of France; and carried himself towards a prisoner of his consequence, not like a soldier or an officer, but rather like a gaoler of criminals, or a commander of galley-slaves. But what gave the pontiff still more concern than the plundering of Rome, and his imprisonment, was the news he heard, that the Florentines, upon the first account of what passed at Rome, had just before drove all the house of Medicis, not only out of the the city, but also out of the whole state of Florence, under pretence that it had too unlimited a power and authority in that place.

Nay, to such lengths did the spirit of party proceed, as to tear down the arms of this family, in all places where they had been set up: all which was done at the instigation of the emperor's ministers. The pope also was afraid lest his gaoler should have had private orders to dispatch him; but we must do him justice to say, that he was not capable of committing so great a crime, and that

though he kept the pope very closely shut up, without allowing him the least indulgence in his imprisonment, yet that this was no more than the result of his own rough and distrustful temper. An historian has indeed told us, that cardinal Colonna pressed him several times to make away with the pontiff; that cardinal, who was all on fire for revenge, had also another motive for it, by hoping to make that act of vengeance a step towards his own promotion. But whether this officer might have been justly shocked at the dreadful villainy of the proposal, or that he was afraid, that by the pope's death he should lose his part of his ransom; be that, I say, as it will, it is certain that he always rejected that bloody cardinal's infamous solicitations with an invincible constancy and resolution, and that all the time the pope remained in his custody, he was as careful of preserving his life, as he was to prevent his making an escape.

The grand master, who was the pope's particular friend, and had both a great affection for his person, and the warmest for his interest, was sensibly concerned at his misfortunes: Moreover the open enmity between him and the emperor, his imprisonment, the breaking out of the war in all the provinces of Italy, the share that most of the sovereigns of Europe had in it, the leagues and treaties which were negotiating at the same time on all sides, scarce left the knights of St. John any room to hope that the emperor would, in the hurry of these affairs and the tumults of war, suffer the affair of Malta to come upon the carpet; or particularly, that a prince of his ambition, and insatiably thirsting after dominion, could be prevailed with to give up any thing of that kind of vassalship, which he was for annexing to the fiefdom of the island. The greatest part of the knights, especially the French, for fear of falling under the
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power of Charles V. shewed as much aversion for Malta as the Spaniards did eagerness for their settling there. The grand master justly considered that no body was able but the pope, by his good offices, to obtain a pure and absolute grant of it from the emperor; but then, so long as that pontiff should be at variance with the emperor, he either would not intermeddle with it at all, or if he did, it would be to no manner of purpose. It was resolved therefore in the council of the order, to wait and see what time might produce in their favour, in what manner the affairs of Europe would clear up, what fate would attend the pope, and what resolution would be proper for them finally to take with respect to Rhodes or Malta.

Not to mention the great disparity there was between these two islands with respect to largeness, the extent of their dominion, and intrinsic riches, the grand master, uneasy at being a melancholy witness of the continual wars that raged between the christian princes, wished himself far removed into the farthest parts of Asia, and his heart was entirely fixed upon the affair of Rhodes; nor was it long before he had news of it.

Eutimius the Greek metropolitan of the island, the *primum mobile* of the enterprize, was as uneasy as any head of a party could possibly be, at the dilatoriness of the affair; and fearing to be discovered, had sent express after express to the grand master, in order to procure intelligence, and hasten the execution of it. The grand master wrote back to him, that the order not being able of itself to defray the expence of so great an armament as was necessary for such an attempt, he himself had been obliged to go into France, Spain and England to solicit succours; that they were actually fitting out the two great carracks of the order; that they had likewise three gallies upon the stocks; that France had supplied him with galley-slaves, and

England with cannon and artillery; that he was obliged to be present at a general chapter of his order which he had called at Viterbo, but that he hoped to be soon able to appear before Rhodes with a fleet and body of troops strong enough to drive out the infidels. He sent this letter by the commander Bosio, embassador and negotiator general of all the affairs of the order, and ordered him to go a second time into the east, to learn the disposition of the people, and also to take, in concert with the principal inhabitants of the island, the last measures for the execution of that impoꝛproject. The continual wars that infested all Europe prevented the knights that lay at the greatest distance from Italy, from coming to the chapter. The grand master opened it with a discourse which was equally solemn and pathetic. He put the assembly in mind of the loss of Rhodes, and took notice of the disposition of most of the knights, the storms they had passed through, the plague and sickness that had harassed the convent, the greediness of the seculars, to grasp at, and seize on the estates of the order; and the fear of worse evils for the future, if they did not prevent them by a fixed residence in some sea-port, by the convenience of which the knights might again carry on war against the infidels, and thereby take away from all those princes, who were ill affected to their body, all manner of pretence to seize on their revenues. He next took occasion to mention his old age, the cruising and voyages he had made, the long and tedious fatigues and labours that he had undergone, the calamities of the time, and the public miseries: "Must I, cried this great man, survive
" the loss of Rhodes, for no other end than to be
" a witness, and that at the period of my life, of
" the scattering and perhaps the utter ruin of an
" order, whose institution is of so sacred a nature,
" and whose government is confided to me?"
And

And at last, directing his discourse to all the knights, he besought them in the most pressing terms, in the name of their predecessors, the founders, of the order, and by the blood which they themselves and their brethren had so lately shed in the defence of Rhodes, to put an end to their divisions, which could not but be very fatal to the order; and to be unanimous in their choice of a spot for the future residence of the convent.

This moving discourse, his hair grown white in war, his perfect disinterestedness, his unbounded zeal and affection for the preservation of the order, melted the hearts of the whole assembly; and as the affair of Rhodes had been communicated only to two or three of the principal of the council, all the voices of the several nations united for applying to the emperor for a grant of the isle of Malta, free from all subjection, and on condition only of having a solemn mass said every year in memory of that benefaction on the day that the donation should be made, and of sending a falcon to the viceroy of Sicily, but without any deputation, and by any messenger they should think proper.

Upon this, deputies were immediately dispatched to the court of Madrid, with orders to treat with the emperor's ministers on these conditions: but they found them much colder and stiffer than they had been told they would be. Whatever inclination the emperor had at first shewed to establish the order of St. John in the isle of Malta, to make use of it as a bulwark to secure Sicily and the sea-coast of the kingdom of Naples from the incursions of the infidels; they had since filled him with apprehensions, that as in the present juncture, he was at war with France, the grand master being a Frenchman born, would receive the fleets of Francis I. and his confederates, into his ports, and favour their enterprizes. Besides, the emperor had as strong suspicions of the attachment of the

knights to the interest of the holy see. On the other side, the principal deputy of the order, who was entrusted with the secret of the affair, and who knew that the grand master was still in hopes of recovering Rhodes, was not very pressing in the negotiation; so that by the different views of those that managed it, it was spun out a great while longer, and every body saw plainly, that this great affair would not be adjusted till such time as a general peace should be concluded, or at least till the pope should have recovered his liberty, and made a pretended or real reconciliation with the emperor. This however was thought as yet to be at a very great distance; but the French army commanded by the marshal de Lautrec, which was advancing towards Rome, hastened the conclusion of it. This army consisted of 26000 foot, and 1000 men of arms, without including the light-horse. On the other side, there was at Rome no more than the dregs of the Spanish and German troops that had sacked that great city: the plunder and booty which the soldiers had got there made a great number of them desert; nor had they lost a less number by excessive drinking, debauchery, and the contagious distempers, which infecting various quarters of Italy at that time, completed the ruin of this army.

The emperor therefore, seeing that he could not hinder the French from setting the pope at liberty, was desirous of having the honour of doing it himself. But as his interest was far superior to any private views of generosity, he ordered his ministers in their treating with him about it, to get all the advantages from him that they could. Hugo de Moncada, who was pitched upon for this negotiation, told him, that he had orders from the emperor to set him at liberty; and to give him some little earnest of it, his confinement was less strict. The first thing he insisted on, was, that he should

should disengage himself from the league, and act, as became him, the part of the common father of all Christians. There was little difficulty on this article: the pope, who was not very scrupulous as to his word, would, to extricate himself out of those difficulties under which he laboured, have signed new treaties every day of his life. But they likewise demanded Hyppolito and Alesandro de Medicis as hostages, by way of surety for his execution of the treaty. The imperial minister went further, and declared, that it was impossible for him to compleat his liberty, though his Master was so very much desirous of it, till he had paid down the 400.000 ducats stipulated in the former treaty; and that without this previous condition he was afraid lest the emperor's soldiers, who were most of them Lutherans, and a set of ungovernable fellows, should make an attempt on his holiness's person.

That pontiff understood his meaning very well; but he was more arraid of Moncada himself, than of his soldiers. He therefore, in order to get as soon as possible out of their hands, promised to pay 95000 ducats down, to give the like sum a fortnight after his leaving Rome, and the rest in three months afterwards. Guicciardin tells us, that he, in order to raise this sum, was forced, before he went out of the castle of St. Angelo, to alienate the goods of the church; to sell, as it were by auction, three cardinal's hats to persons unworthy of such an honour; and all this, says the historian, in order to furnish pay to hereticks*, at the expence and with the consent of the vicar of Jesus Christ, who was likewise obliged to give not only his nephews as hostages, but also several cardinals who were the most devoted to him, as a pledge for the performance of his promise.

December the ninth was the day fixed for setting

* Guicciardin, l. 18,

him

him at liberty; but as there was still, notwithstanding all their treaties, a mutual diffidence on both sides, the pope fearing lest Moncada should not be so good as his word, took his opportunity, whilst he was more negligently guarded, and got the night before out of the castle, disguised like a merchant; and mounting on a Spanish horse, made the best of his way to the castle of Orvieto, where he chose to retreat.

The pope, entirely persuaded that his liberty was altogether owing to the weakness of the emperor's troops, and the approach of the French army, wrote a very obliging letter on that subject to the marshal de Lautrec †: and as if he had tully answered his first engagements by that slight complement, observed a kind of neutrality ever afterwards; which it were to have been wished, for the edification of the church, he had never departed from. The war however between the emperor and confederates, lasted near two years more with various success; but with the same fury and animosity.

During that interval, the commander Bosio, who (as we have observed) had been sent by the grand master to Rhodes, returned thence with very ill news. The grand master's project had been communicated to too many persons, and the execution of it delayed too long, to be still kept a secret. The Turks had some suspicion of it; the grand seignior immediately changed the garrison, and put several Christians of the Greek religion to death, and also some Mahometans; and it was with infinite difficulties, and through a thousand dangers, that the commander Bosio found means to escape the strict search which had been made by order of the governor of Rhodes. As a consolation for this ill success, that knight, who had a very

† Guicciardin. l. 18.

penetrating genius, ever fruitful of new resources, proposed to the grand master a project for seizing on the town of Modon, and making it the seat and residence of the order.

This city, which is situated in the Morea, fell into the hands of the Venetians A. D. 1124 †. Bajazet the second took it in 1498. A Rhodian named Lomelino Del Campo, who after the loss of Rhodes had retired to Messina, shewed Bosio in his passage to that island, that it would be a matter of no great difficulty for the order to take Modon by the assistance of Two Turks, originally Christians, and Greeks by birth, with whom he kept a constant correspondence relating to commerce, and who had confided to him their remorse for having renounced the faith, and their sincere desire of returning into the bosom of the church, as soon as a favourable occasion should offer itself, that one of these renegadoes, Calojan by name, had the command of the port; and that the other, whose name was Scandali, was, by his post of supreme director of the customs, master of the gate of the mole; and that they would both of them be glad to favour an enterprize, that should put so important a place into the hands of the Christians. Bosio, who was ever warm and enterprising in those things in which the interests of his order were concerned, was resolved to go and view the place in person; and discourse, if possible, with the two Turks. With this design he got letters from Lomelino for them both, and as he passed near the island of Sapienza, which lies off the southern coast of Morea, over against Modon, he put into a bay where he lay snug, and sent a Rhodian that attended him, named Stefi Marquet, in a fisherman's bark, to Modon, to deliver the letters to the two Turks. They both came on board him in the night; he found them thoroughly penitent for their fault, and

* Bosio, t. 3. l. 5 et 6.

resolved

resolved to atone for it, though at the expence of their lives. The commander confirmed them in this noble resolution, and after having consulted together about the several methods of putting their project in execution, the result of it was, that they, by the help of this intelligence, should conceal a certain number of knights in some merchant vessels; that part of those knights should in the night be let into the tower which commanded the port, and that the rest should seize on the gate of the mole; that thereupon a cannon-shot should be fired for a signal, and that the christian fleet, which was to lie concealed behind the island of Sapienza, should advance, and land the troops on board it; which should afterwards enter by the gate of the mole, throw themselves into the place, and carry it.

Borio finding this enterprize might be very easily effected, highly commended the two renegadoes; exhorted them to persevere with constancy and resolution in the design with which heaven had inspired them for their salvation; moreover, promising them great rewards, if they should contribute to the conquest of Modon. He, after this, kept on his voyage, and at his return into Italy gave the grand master an account of this new negotiation; represented to him that Modon was situated in a fruitful and plentiful country, where they might extend their conquest, if the enterprize should meet with success; that there was no rising ground near enough the place that might command it; that it was surrounded by the sea on two sides, and was divided from the main land by a ditch, which they might make broader if they thought proper; that the port was spacious and secure, by means of a great mole, and several rocks that defended the entrance of it; and that as the island of Sapienza lay off it, they might build a citadel in that place, which might serve as an advanced fortification to the town of Modon.

The

The grand master did not reject the proposal; but being a man of solid judgment, and seeing that the affair of Rhodes had absolutely miscarried, he preferred a certain settlement at Malta, before the uncertain hopes of the conquest of Modon. However, as he saw no great difficulty in this last project, he put off the execution of it, till after he had taken possession of the isles of Malta and Goza, and he sent Bosio to the pope, to solicit him, in his and the order's name, to use his mediation in the treaty proposed about Malta, and employ his credit to get the rigour of the conditions moderated.

The pope being kept away from Rome, bare of money, and disheartened by the misfortunes of the war, was then endeavouring to repair his losses by a new treaty with the emperor; and that prince, if he could have depended on his word, would not have been averse to it; nay, he would have been glad of a public reconciliation, to blot out from the minds of Christians the scandal which he had given, by the imprisonment of that pontiff, and the horrible sacking of the city of Rome.

There was but one consideration only, that could affect Clement's heart, and that was the restoring of his family in Florence. Charles V. plied him on that side: he offered him Margaret of Austria, * his natural daughter, for Alexander de Medicis, that pontiff's great nephew, or, as others say his son. † The managers of the negotiation said further, that the emperor would engage himself to make him sovereign of the city and state of Florence, and that he should, after the ceremony of his coronation, and before the year 1530 was expired, see a mighty army before Florence, under the command of his ablest generals, in order to oblige them to take the oaths of allegiance to young Alexander, his nephew. These advantageous pro-

† Guicciardin, l. 19.

- † Pauli Jovio, l. 27.

posals, such, indeed; as the pope could never have expected, though the league had been victorious, made him forget his own disasters, and the emperor's insults; and in order to contribute to a conquest of such importance to him, he thereupon engaged to maintain 8000 men, for this enterprise, at his own expense. - He promised, at the same time, to give the emperor the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, without any other annual acknowledgement but a white genet; and agreed with the emperor's agents to be at Bologna the next January at farthest, in order to perform the ceremony of that prince's coronation. This treaty was signed June 29th, 1529. The Duchess Luisa of Savoy, the king's mother, and Margaret of Austria, the emperor's aunt, governess of the low countries, signed likewise another at Cambray, in the king's and emperor's names, to which they gave the name of the Ladies treaty.

Such was the situation of affairs in Europe, when Bosio arrived at the pope's court: and though the affair of Rhodes had not succeeded, the pontiff was yet so well satisfied with the manner in which he gave him an account of his negotiation, and of that which he had begun at Modon, that, as he himself, was very skilful at negotiations; or, to speak more properly, had a taste for them, though, at the same time, without having any talents or capacity requisite for that purpose, he would needs keep him near his person, in quality of his privy chamberlain; and ordered him to write to the grand master, to tell him, that he was in hopes of prevailing with the emperor, at their interview at Bologna, to make a grant of the isle of Malta to the order, with an entire exemption from all the burthensome conditions which his ministers were for clogging it with. About the latter end of the year, the emperor went from Spain into Italy, and came to Bologna, where the pope performed the ceremo-

my of his coronation: and, in their interview, they adjusted matters for establishing young Medicis as sovereign in Florence.

The pope, seeing this happy prospect for the restoration of his family, recommended the interests of the order of St. John to the emperor in the most pressing terms; the pope having been bred up in it, and considering it, in a manner, as his second family. Though the emperor was not easily caught with solicitations, in which his interest was not concerned, yet, in this juncture of his reconciliation with the pope, it was impossible for him to refuse him any thing: and we may affirm, that the house of Medicis, and the order of St. John, owe their re-establishment to that pontiff. The treaty concerning the knights was signed on March 24th, at Castel-Franco, a little town in the territory of Bologna; by which, the emperor declares, that in consideration of the particular affection which he had always bore to the order, and the important services which it had done for many ages to the christian world, and to enable it to continue the same against the enemies of the faith, he had given and granted for ever, as well in his own name, as for his heirs and successors, to the most reverend the grand master of the said order, and to the said order of St. John, as a fief-noble, free and franc, the castles, places, and isles of Tripoli, Malta, and Goza, with all their territories and jurisdictions, authority of judging in all pleas whatever, and power of life and death, with all other houses, appurtenances, exemptions, privileges, rents, and other rights and immunities; provided, that, for the future, the grand master and the knights should hold those places of him and his successors in the kingdom of Sicily, as noble, free and franc-fiefs, without being obliged to any service, or acknowledgement, but that of a falcon every year on All-saints day; and that in the va-

cancy of the bishoprick of Malta, the grand master, and the convent should be obliged to present to him and his successors, three learned and pious persons, in order for his making choice of one of them to succeed to that dignity; and that the person so promoted, shall be honoured with the grand cross of the order; and in that quality, should have the privilege of sitting in the council.

When he had signed this deed, the emperor delivered it to the commander Bosio, to carry it to the grand master. That zealous minister set out immediately: but as the coachman, to satisfy his impatience, and make the greater haste, drove very hard, the coach overturned, and the ambassador was considerably hurt. What aggravated the misfortune, was, that an unskilful surgeon being sent for to bleed him, instead of opening a vein, ignorantly pricked him in an artery; when the blood extravasating cross the flesh and muscles of the arm, caused a swelling, which was soon followed by a gangrene that put a period to this excellent man's life. But before he expired, he gave the emperor's packet to a Rhodian gentleman, Stigogulo by name, his intimate friend and companion, to deliver into the grand master's hands; and charged him likewise from him, to urge him to keep up the correspondence of Modon, from which, he said, he was persuaded the order would, some time or other, reap great advantages. The Rhodian discharged his commission with great exactness. The grand master was sensibly afflicted at the news of Bosio's death. However, in order to pursue his schemes, he sent afterwards the same Rhodian to Modon, with rich presents to the two renegadoes. He was ordered to inquire into their character, the disposition they were in, and whether they had not changed their mind; and in case he found them resolved and qualified to go through with the enterprize for the service

vice

vice of the order, he was then to draw a plan of the city, and the parts adjacent, that so they might be able to concert before hand the order of the attacks.

This gentleman landed at Modon, disguised like a Greek merchant, and found the two Turks firm and unshaken in their resolution. They shewed him the facility of the enterprize, by means of the authority which one of them had in the tower of the port, and the other by the keys of the gate of the mole, which were in their disposal. They told him, that the enterprize could not fail of success, provided the knights would but come with a body of troops, sufficient to beat the garrison and the inhabitants. When, after several conferences, they agreed to put off the execution of the project till the latter end of the next summer; in order that, if it should meet with favourable success, as they had all the reason in the world to hope it would, the news of it might not reach Constantinople till autumn; and the Turks, not being able to put to sea in the winter, the knights might, by that means, have time sufficient to fortify themselves in their new conquest.

The grand-master and council, as soon as they had received and examined the deed containing the donation of Malta, dispatched two of the principal commanders to thank the emperor, in the name of the whole order. They also sent, at the same time, an authentic copy of that important instrument to the prior Silviati, their embassador at Rome, and nephew to the pope, in order that he might obtain a confirmation of it from the sovereign pontiff, who was the first superior of the order. Clement, with the greatest joy imaginable, granted it in a full consistory; and to make this deed still more binding and solemn, he caused a bull to be drawn up to that purpose, and published April 25th. Not long after this, the grand-master sent, as from the or-

der, into Sicily, Hugh de Copones, general of its galleys, and John Boniface bailiff of Manosque, of the language of Provence, in quality of ambassador, to take an oath of fidelity, in presence of Hector Pignatelli, duke of Montaleon, and viceroy of Sicily. The ambassadors acquitted themselves of this duty in the church of Palermo; when, the ceremonies being performed as usual in those cases, he received the deed of investiture, which the viceroy gave up into their hands, in the name of the emperor. This nobleman named afterwards six commissioners, who went on board the same galleys of the order as had brought the ambassadors to Sicily; after which, they, in concert, went together to Malta, Goza and Tripoli, of which they were put in possession by those commissioners. These, by virtue of the power which they had received from the grand master and council, took an oath, in their name, to maintain the inhabitants and people of those islands in their rights, customs, and privileges; and left, by the grand master's order, the commander Aurelio Botigella, as governor and captain of arms of Malta, and the chevalier Augustine Vintioville as his lieutenant.

A Spanish officer, Alvarez de Nava by name, who commanded in the castle of St. Angelo, having delivered up that fort to them, they delivered it up to the commander Peter Piton, who accordingly took possession of it, at the head of a company of foot. Not long after this, the grand master sent two galleys and a galion, with a considerable number of knights on board, to Tripoli, whereof he named governor, Gaspar of Sanguessia, commander of Aliagne. The commissioners, after having provided for the defence of these several places, returned on board, and arrived at Saragossa or Syracuse in Sicily, where the council, for the better convenience of their passage to Malta, had been already assembled for some time.

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The grand master, before his setting out, sent a great number of workmen and materials to Malta, to rebuild the lodgement of the castle of St Angelo, which was entirely ruined, and shipped off powder and ammunition in the same vessels. But when he was for shipping off corn, the viceroy of Sicily insisted upon the duties of exportation; and the master of the mint acquainted the council that the emperor would not suffer any money but what bore his impress to be coined at Malta, and that by his officers only. These difficulties, thus started, retarded the departure of all the knights. The grand master and council were very sensible, that Malta could not possibly subsist without receiving corn from Sicily; and they looked upon these duties of exportation, from which the inhabitants of Malta, as denizens of Sicily, had been always exempted, as an indirect duty and tribute, to which the order was going to be subjected.

Nor did they less relent their pretending to deprive an order that was sovereign and independent, of the right of coining money. These several circumstances made them apprehensive, lest the emperor, a prince who was ever to be guarded against in his treaties, and whose words, though in outward appearance clear and free from ambiguity, nevertheless concealed equivocal meanings, should one day make use of these pretensions as a right, and employ them in keeping the order in an absolute dependence. Reflections of this nature alarmed the greatest part of the knights: There were many of them who maintained, that it would be impossible for the order to preserve its liberty in the neighbourhood of so powerful and ambitious a prince; others of a warmer temper, and who were for straining of every thing, insisted openly that they must absolutely break the treaty; that Malta was a barren island, or rather rock where the inhabitants would die of hunger; that the two ele-

ments of man's food, viz bread and water, were wanting in it; and that the present which Charles V. had made them, was not worth the parchment they had employed in writing the deed of gift. But the grand master and council, more prudent and circumspect in their views as well as words, thought proper to inform themselves of the emperor's real inclinations from himself only; for which purpose they dispatched two embassadors to him, with orders to represent, that his imperial majesty was very sensible, that so far from drawing any advantage from the isles of Malta and Goza, and the city of Tripoli, he was at the yearly expence of 340 000 livres for the maintaining the garrisons in the several strong holds and castles; that it would have been impossible for the inhabitants to subsist in them; had they not ever been considered as denizens of Sicily, and as such, had not enjoyed the privilege of receiving corn from thence, free from any duty of exportation; that the order had been surpris'd he should be for rendering their condition worse than that of the present inhabitants; nor were they less surpris'd that, by the deed of gift, though they were to be acknowledged as sovereign and independent, yet, nevertheless, they should be debarred from coining money, and by that means be deprived of one of the choicest of his royal prerogatives, and which the grand prior of Germany enjoyed, in all his latitude, in the empire. The embassadors were ordered not to abate a title in these articles; and, at the same time, by a particular one, were expressly commanded, in case the emperor should absolutely insist upon the pretensions of his ministers, to give him back immediately his deed of gift, to take their leave of him, and to return back forthwith.

These two ministers were no sooner arriv'd at his court, and admitted to an audience, but they, instead of opening with the design for which they had

had chiefly been sent, told him, that their superiors had sent them to thank his imperial majesty for the great exactness, as well as little trouble, which his commissioners had given the order, in putting them in possession of the islands and strong holds, of which he had been so gracious as to make a cession in their favour; and that the grand master was just upon the point of transporting himself thither, and all the convent. They added, that he should even have been set out by this time for that purpose, had not some difficulties arose, which the viceroy of Sicily had started, only from the great zeal he had for his service; but that the whole order hoped, that his majesty, out of his wonted goodness, would come to a resolution, and determine that affair. After having told him, in a few words, what the viceroy's pretensions were, as if the emperor had known nothing of the matter, they artfully insinuated to him, that although the grand master and council were highly sensible of the importance and value of the gift which he had made them of Malta, that nevertheless, it had not yet been accepted by the unanimous consent of all the knights; that the French in particular, who had been brought up at Rhodes, and in an independence that naturally results from an unlimited sovereignty, appeared to be least satisfied with it; that they had just reasons to apprehend, they should make the several pretensions of the viceroy serve as a handle to oppose the translation of the council; that his imperial majesty knew very well, that the superiors of a free republic, composed of knights of various nations, and educated in a certain pomp of courage were not to exert their authority, but with the utmost circumspection, and particularly in an affair, wherein each private man imagined he had as great an interest as his superiors; for which reason, the grand master and council conjured him to finish this work of his own creation himself, and to employ

employ his sovereign authority for the removing of the obstacles which his ministers formed. They concluded with assuring him, that the free and voluntary acknowledgments and gratitude of the knights, and their zeal in defending his territories against the infidels, would greatly compensate all the viceroy's pretensions.

Notwithstanding that the emperor's design in making over Malta to the order of St. John, was to make it serve as a bulwark to cover his kingdoms of Sicily and Naples; nevertheless this monarch never gave up the most inconsiderable of his interests, but in the view of gaining a more considerable one by such a cession. He insisted strongly on the viceroy's pretensions, imagining that the order, after having brought matters thus far, would not break the treaty for the sake of those two articles. In order therefore to increase the duties of exportation, he declared that he could not consent to allow the order to fetch corn from Sicily, unless they would agree to pay a certain sum *per tun*, as should afterwards be agreed upon; and to procure to himself a kind of right of sovereignty over the order, he added, that he absolutely would not allow the order to coin money, or any other to be current all the island over, but what was coined in his own mints.

If these two ministers had acted directly as they were ordered by their instructions, all the treaty would have been at an end; but they thought it important enough to merit their sending for new orders from the council how to act. Accordingly they wrote with the utmost expedition to the grand master, who immediately sent advice of it to the pope, the protector of the order. The pontiff dispatched to the emperor the prior Salviati his nephew, who was at his holiness's court in quality of resident of the grand master and the whole order; and this minister made to good an advantage of

of the credit which the pope had then with the emperor, that he obtained from him a new treaty, in which the two articles relating to the exportation of corn, and the coining of money, were inserted in favour of the order.

Nothing was now wanting for the entire establishment of the knights at Malta, but the transportation of the grand master, of the council, and all the knights into that island. They first put on board five galleys, two great carracks, and several transport ships, the inhabitants of Rhodes, who being resolved to share the fortune of the order, had continued with the knights ever since they had quitted that island. They also shipped on board these vessels the effects and records of the order, as likewise various moveables, together with ammunition and provisions. A great number of knights and soldiers in their pay, went over in this little fleet, which, before its arrival, met with a dreadful storm, in which one of their galleys was dashed to pieces against a rock; one of the carracks had also like to have been lost; she was already got into the port at Malta, when immediately there arose such mighty winds, that notwithstanding her being fastened with three anchors, she broke all her cables, and after twice running a ground, at last sunk in the sand. They thought her lost, when a contrary wind springing up, raised her: after which they set her afloat, and found that her hull had received no manner of damage. Such as are for drawing predictions from every thing, did not fail to give out, that heaven seemed by that incident to point out the fate of the order, which, after having suffered so great a variety of dangers and storms, should at last fix itself happily in Malta.

This island is situated in the 46th degree of longitude, and the 35th degree 10 minutes of northern latitude; it has the Mediterranean to the East; looking towards Candia; to the north Sicily, which

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is but fifteen leagues distant from it, Tripoli in Barbary to the south, and the islands of Pantalarea, Linosa, and Lampadusa to the west, and that part of the sea which separates that island from Sicily, generally goes by the name of the channel of Malta. This country, according to a tradition of its inhabitants, had been anciently governed by an African prince called Battus. It was since in the hands of the Carthaginians; and at the time that the knights of St. John took possession of it, they met with several inscriptions in the Punic tongue, engraved on pieces of marble and broken pillars. The Romans, during the wars of Sicily, drove the Carthaginians from thence; and the Arabians, about the 9th century, and after the ruin of the empire, made themselves masters of it. About anno 1190. Roger, the Norman count of Sicily, won this island from the Barbarians; since which time, it has been always annexed to the kingdom of Sicily, whose fortune it had ever followed.

The grand master, the council, and chief commanders got into the great port on the 26. Oct. 26th of October; and, as soon as they 1530. were landed, they went directly to the parochial church of St. Lawrence, where, having paid their first homage to him whom the order acknowledge for its only sovereign, they went to the town, which is situated at the foot of the castle of St. Angelo. The grand master could hardly meet with a house for himself to lodge in, they being no more than so many fishermen's huts, in which the commanders and knights dispersed themselves. The grand master took up his quarters in the castle; and some days after his entry, he went and took possession of the capital, that lay further up the country, and about the middle of the island. It is called by Ptolemy *Melita*, after the name of the whole island; others give it the name of the *notable city*. We are told that it was not then

then 1300 paces in circumference : it was the usual residence of the bishop. The grand master, after his authority had been acknowledged by all the inhabitants, went through the whole island to find out a place that might be safe, as well as commodious, for the settling of the council and the whole body of knights.

We have already observed, that the two greatest ports were separated from one another by a neck of land or rock, called *Mount Sceberras*, which commanded them both. This place appeared to him to be very commodiously situated for the raising of a new city. The grand master would have been very desirous, in case the order could subsist in the island, to settle the convent in that place ; but as the circumstances of the order at that time would not allow them to execute such a design, though judged to be so very useful, the grand master and council were obliged, in that infancy of things, to settle themselves in the castle of St. Angelo, the only place of defence that was in the island, and the knights dispersed themselves up and down the town, which is situated at the foot of the fort : this was their first residence. This town had no fortifications, and was commanded on all sides. The grand master built a wall round it, to prevent his being surprised by the corsairs : they have since added flanks to it, with recesses at certain distances, agreeable to the unevenness and declivity of the ground. The grand master did not intend to continue long in that place, but was resolved, before he settled himself entirely there, to make an attempt upon Modon, a rich and populous city ; and a circumstance which gave him the greatest satisfaction, was its little distance from Rhodes, which the order might be able to surprise, in case a civil war should break out among the Turks, or even attack openly in other conjunctures. He designed, in case the affair of Modon should miscarry, and that the order should be obliged to

continued at Malta, to build a new city upon that point of rock above-mentioned, which went by the name of *Mount Scceberras*. But the immense sums the order had spent for eight years together, for the subsistence of the knights and Rhodians in Italy; the different translations from Candia to Messina, from Messina to Civita-Vecchia, from thence to Viterbo, from Viterbo to Nice, to Villa Franca, and other places in Italy; and even Sicily, where the knights, for their easier subsistence, were dispersed up and down, with the grand master's leave; so many cruifings, voyages, journeys, transmigrations of a whole body of people, of which that colony was composed, had quite drained the treasury of the order, and would not allow the grand master to execute so great a project. He was even distasted with every thing he saw in Malta; the barrenness of the soil; their bread, which they were obliged to seek, as it were, as far as Sicily; the poverty of the inhabitants; their rustic and savage behaviour; no place of defence in case of an attack: such gloomy reflections as these afflicted him very sensibly, and awaked, with the utmost grief in his mind, the remembrance of Rhodes, so fruitful in corn, so rich by its fleets and armaments; and moreover, the capital of five or six other islands or strong holds, the most inconsiderable of which was much better fortified than Malta. But as l'Isle Adam was informed with a spirit of bravery and a greatness of soul, superior even to the most unhappy accidents of life, he generously took his resolutions at once; and without forgetting the enterprize of Modon, devoted all his cares to the building some houses for the knights to dwell in, in order to make their residence in the island more supportable. It was from this last establishment that they borrowed the name of Malta, instead of that of the knights of Rhodes, which they had made illustrious by a continual series of great actions during upwards of 200 years.

END of the THIRD VOLUME.