

THE OLD FRENCH TRANSLATION OF WILLIAM OF TYRE

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## Summary

While the Latin version of William of Tyre's chronicle of the Latin East, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, is a valuable tool for modern historians, it was not particularly well-known during the medieval period with only nine copies surviving. However, William's history did become extremely popular through a translation of the original into Old French, the so-called *L'Estoire de Eracles*, with fifty-one surviving manuscripts. The *Eracles* text has been overlooked by scholars who have assumed that it is a simple translation of William's text, and there has also been little work in to establishing a provenance for the translation or determining the translator's motives.

This thesis seeks to identify the extent to which the *Eracles* is a simple translation and assess its importance to historians. While, for the most part, the translator is faithful to William's text, he made alterations throughout. Many are of a stylistic nature, and the translator did not simply abridge William's text for a new audience. He made several additions that serve to identify him and his audience. In particular, he regularly added background material on French crusaders, and on events in France, including additional information not found in any other source. On occasion the translator alters William's criticism of certain individuals and gives a very different version of events that may be more accurate.

The major difficulty with studying the *Eracles* text is the fact that the nineteenth-century editions were reliant upon a limited number of manuscripts. There has been little work on these manuscripts and no clear understanding of the relationships between these manuscripts. This thesis also seeks to tackle this problem by presenting a critical edition of six sample chapters that takes into account all the surviving manuscripts and by establishing the relationships between these manuscripts.

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Any mistakes are, of course, my own.

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## Abbreviations

BL – British Library

BN – Bibliothèque National de France

*ODS* – *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, ed. D. H. Farmer, Fifth Edition (Oxford, 2004).

F01-78 – ‘F’ numbers refer to the listing of manuscripts in J. Folda, ‘Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: A Handlist’, *Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits / International Review of Manuscript Studies*, 27:1 (1973), pp. 92-5.

Paris – *Guillaume de Tyre et ses Continuateurs*, ed. P. Paris, 2 Vols. (Paris, 1879-80).

*RHC* – Willermo Tyrensi. ‘Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum’, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1844).

*RHC Occ.* – *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 Vols. (Paris, 1844-95).

WT – Willelmi Tyrensis. *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens 2 vols. (Turnholt, 1986).

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## Introduction

William of Tyre's history, generally known as the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (*Historia*), has been extensively used by historians studying the crusades and the Latin East. The title is not William's since it only appears in two of the Latin manuscripts which form a subgroup removed from the rest of the stemma. Instead it appears that it was added to the text in the West since the phrasing of the title implies a western viewpoint of the Latin East.<sup>1</sup> Since William himself does not appear to have included a title for this work, the title found in these manuscripts has come to be used for the work as a whole. William's Latin has been rightly praised for displaying a complex and elegant style beyond that which was found in many contemporary Latin works and older histories of the First Crusade<sup>2</sup> while Runciman labelled William 'one of the greatest of medieval historians.'<sup>3</sup>

However, it is not simply William's style of writing which gives his *Historia* its revered place in the study of the Crusades. The text can roughly be divided into two different parts, in the first of which William was reliant upon previous works and oral traditions. He appears to have used several different works, including Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Aguilers and Baldric of Dol. He also made extensive use of Albert of Aix up until just before the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, but then ceases to use this text. It is unknown whether this was because the manuscript, to which William had access, stopped at this point or whether it was because he disagreed with Albert's more favourable view of Arnulf, who would shortly be elected patriarch of Jerusalem, and Albert's hostile treatment of the papal legate Daibert of Pisa. By switching to Raymond of Aguilers he removed Arnulf's role in preaching to the crusader army prior to the final capture of Jerusalem and avoided praising the actions of

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<sup>1</sup> R. B. C. Huygens, 'La Tradition Manuscrite de Guillaume de Tyr', *Studi Medievali*, 5 (1964), p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> D. W. T. C. Vessey, 'William of Tyre and the Art of Historiography', *Mediaeval Studies*, 35 (1973), p. 434.

<sup>3</sup> S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1952), p. 477.

Arnulf. William may also have used the *Gesta Francorum*, or another text derived from it, as well as other works no longer extant.<sup>4</sup> The second part of William's text, on the other hand, fell within William's lifetime and he was able to introduce his own experiences to the narrative as well as those of the prominent figures whom he knew, and he was also able to supplement the narrative with his access to the official records of the Kingdom of Jerusalem through his roles as tutor to the future Baldwin IV, chancellor, and then archbishop of Tyre. As a result, William's work can be considered to be particularly well informed and useful for the study of the Latin East.

Of the twenty-three books which comprise the work, the first eight recount the story of the First Crusade beginning with a reference to the reign of the emperor Heraclius in the seventh century and concluding with the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. The rest of the work is dedicated to a history of the Latin East. Book 9 is assigned to the reign of Duke Godfrey while, in general, most of the kings of Jerusalem each receive two books for their reigns. The exceptions are Baldwin III, who receives three books, and Baldwin IV who has two books plus the single chapter of Book 23. William returned to the East in 1165 following the completion of his education in France and Italy, two years after Amaury came to the throne. It is at this point that William become personally involved in the narrative despite the fact that in the prologue to Book 16, the beginning of the reign of Baldwin III, William notes that he is switching from using written historical accounts to information that he had obtained from those involved and from various records.<sup>5</sup> Book 23 comprises a prologue and a single chapter which relates events in early 1184 at which point Raymond, count of Tripoli, was appointed regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem for the leper king, Baldwin IV. It is possible that William died shortly after writing this last chapter but there is no evidence for a new chancellor until the 10 May 1185 and the next archbishop of Tyre is first mentioned on 21

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<sup>4</sup> P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 45-6.

<sup>5</sup> WT, 16 Prologue lines 1-18

October 1186. While William certainly died before a new archbishop was installed, a new chancellor may have been installed during his lifetime.<sup>6</sup> As a result William may therefore have survived until 1186 but there is no definite evidence for his death except for an obit identified by Hiestand that notes that William died on 29 September but does not give the year.<sup>7</sup>

While the *Historia* is of great importance and is a great source of information for the Latin East, particularly during William's ecclesiastical career in the Levant from 1165 until his death, it is also important to remember that William was actively involved in the politics of the period and his work contains many biases. William's views shaped his work and he, as Vessey put it, 'has done more than any other historian to mould and to influence the attitude of his many successors towards the early history of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem.'<sup>8</sup> However, his *Historia*, written in Latin, does not seem to have been widely disseminated following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and the few surviving copies of his Latin work are of either a French or English provenance, mostly dated to the decade around the year 1200, and generally include various errors or lack parts of sentences from the text.<sup>9</sup> As such, it appears to be the case that William's *Historia* was widely distributed shortly after his death but interest in copying this text waned shortly afterwards, perhaps due to the loss of Jerusalem. This could be explained by the fact that, since William's text ends in 1184, three years before the battle of Hattin, the narrative would seem to be incomplete to those reading the text after 1187. However, interest in the Latin East did not diminish. At some point within the first quarter of the thirteenth-century, William's *Historia* was translated into Old French, a work that is commonly called *L'estoire de Eracles (Eracles)*, and this version of William's text is represented by a large number of surviving manuscripts. The reason for this title is that

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<sup>6</sup> Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> R. Hiestand, 'Zum Leben und zur Laufbahn Wilhems von Tyrus', *Deutsches Archiv*, 34 (1978), p. 351.

<sup>8</sup> Vessey, p. 433.

<sup>9</sup> R. B. C. Huygens, WT, 'Les Manuscrits', pp. 3-32.

William opens his account of the history of the First Crusade with a reference to the Byzantine emperor Heraclius who ruled from 610 to 641, during which time Islam burst on to the scene. The translator starts from the same point as William and as a result the name 'Eracles' appears on the first page of all of the manuscripts.

It is clear that William's history of the Latin East was popular from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries but not in its original Latin form. The Old French translation was far more successful as the number of surviving manuscripts shows: there are fifty-one surviving, pre-1500, French manuscripts compared to nine Latin manuscripts. This does not mean that all connection with the original text was lost since, as the translator noted, he was not writing a new history of the crusades. Instead he made it clear at several points that it was William of Tyre who originally wrote the text in Latin and the anonymous translator stays, in general, fairly faithful to William's text. However, the act of translation rarely occurs without some alteration to the text. Whether these are simple variances in the language which result in different meanings or a conscious effort on the part of the translator to alter the text, there will necessarily be differences between the original and the translation. These alterations, though slight, should be of interest to historians of the Crusades.

The translator did not make any large additions to William's text that would indicate that he was making use of another source or deviating significantly from William's text. Instead he made numerous small additions, generally consisting of short phrases, which seem either to serve as a gloss to William's text or to add background information which the translator was aware of but was not in the *Historia*. The translator also makes other alterations which alter the portrayal of events given by William, in either a positive or negative light. While not specifically adding any further information, the translator seems to give a different viewpoint which may cause historians to rethink previously held ideas. A good example of this is the case of Renaud de Châtillon to whom the translator regularly

added significant phrases, such as ‘qui un bon chevalier,’ that are lacking in William’s text. Also the consistent criticism of Renaud by William is reduced, though not completely removed. The translator also omits material from William’s text. These omissions generally include large sections of ecclesiastical interest, as well as biblical and classical quotations. The omission of these sections can provide indications regarding the intended audience of the translation and insight into the reason the translation was made.

The research for this thesis has consisted of two significant parts. The first was to identify the various differences between the Latin and the French texts. The second was to develop a manuscript stemma for the *Eracles* text and to establish which manuscripts come closest to preserving the original text of translation. It is hoped, through this process, to establish which alterations to William’s Latin text were introduced by the translator and which only appear later in the manuscript tradition. The first part of this thesis will identify the major differences between the Latin and French texts that appear to go back to the original translation. The second part will, using sample chapters, investigate the relationships between the various *Eracles* manuscripts and provide a stemma for the text.

The overall aim of this project is to answer several questions about the translation. In particular it sets out to establish what modifications were made. Using these changes, the thesis will also seek to establish a provenance for the translation, to identify the translator, to identify attitudes towards the crusades at the time of translation and to determine the historical and cultural importance of the Old French translation of William of Tyre. While historians will, in the first instance, turn to William’s original Latin for the period from 1165 to 1184 as the primary source, the *Eracles* should not be overlooked. At several points it includes information about events in the Latin East which are not found in the *Historia*. In addition it also contains information about the West, France in particular, not found in any other source. While the majority of additions made by the translator do not necessarily

provide new information, where this information can be corroborated, it suggests that the new information not found elsewhere may also be accurate. As such, it is quite clear that the *Eracles* text is worth consulting by historians of both the Crusades and of Western Europe. In addition, a study of the textual tradition of the *Eracles* will reveal which alterations were made by the translator and which were introduced later in the manuscript transmission. Establishing the relationships between these manuscripts should enhance understanding of how and where they were produced and identify significant differences between manuscripts produced in the West and those copied in the Latin East.

## Historiography

The *Eracles* text has received little consideration from historians. This is mainly due to the fact that, on the whole, the translation is close to William's Latin and historians will generally consult the original Latin text rather than to use the French translation. There are two editions of the French text: the first is in the first volume of *Receuil des Historiens des Croisades (RHC)*,<sup>1</sup> published in 1844, in which the French text is set alongside the Latin, while the second was published by Paulin Paris in 1879-80.<sup>2</sup> The merits of these two editions will be discussed later, but all modern scholarship on the Old French William of Tyre has been based upon one or other of these two editions. The editors of the *RHC* edition did not discuss the translation at length, but throughout their edition they inserted brackets around portions of the French text. In general this appears to refer to material that is not present in the Latin text but this practice is not always consistent. Paris also adopts the *RHC*'s method of brackets which he seems to have simply copied from the previous edition. However he does include various notes to the text identifying several additions and other variations from the original Latin but this is far from complete. In the introduction to his edition, Paris gives a brief introduction to the text in which he details the timescale which the work covers and includes the general theory, which is clearly incorrect, that the translation was made by Bernard, the treasurer of the abbey of La Corbie.<sup>3</sup> The general reason for this association appears to be that it was assumed that the translation was done at the same time as a continuation, linked with Bernard, was added to the text. However, it is clear that the

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<sup>1</sup> *Receuil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1844).

<sup>2</sup> P. Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continueurs*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1879-80). It should be noted that, despite the title, Paris's edition does not include the continuations to William of Tyre.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, I. p. IX.

translation circulated independently prior to the continuation being added to the text.<sup>4</sup> As a result there is nothing to link Bernard with the translator.

The first significant study of the additions found in the Old French translation was made by Franz Ost and published in 1899. Ost's work is mainly focused upon the philology of the translation but he does include a listing of significant additions made by the translator. The list is by no means complete but does note many of the more significant changes. In his work, Ost primarily used the *RHC* edition of the text, and while he did note one variant reading in the Paris edition,<sup>5</sup> he did not note other differences between the editions. He also included a discussion in which he concluded that the translator was a Frenchman writing in France<sup>6</sup> and that the translation was made shortly after 1190.<sup>7</sup>

Margaret Ruth Morgan discussed the merits of the translation at length in her work on the Continuations of William of Tyre. She was quite clear that, due to the translation's distance in space and time from the events, the *Eracles* cannot be considered to be more accurate than William's original, and that anything additional in the text must be used carefully.<sup>8</sup> In particular she is suspicious that the frequent glosses and additions which the translator makes are simply 'supplementing a deficiency of knowledge from his fertile imagination, and producing a more colourful version than his dignified original had been.'<sup>9</sup> In short, the translator had a very different viewpoint to William in that he is more concerned with the literary aspects of the text rather than showing the same concern for factual information that William had. Although Morgan was more concerned with the continuations to William of Tyre, she did include a summary of Ost's findings. She also noted that a certain

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<sup>4</sup> P. Edbury, 'The French Translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*: The Manuscript Tradition', *Crusades*, 6 (2007), pp. 73-4.

<sup>5</sup> F. Ost, *Die altfranzösische Übersetzung der Geschichte de Kreuzzüge Wilhelms v. Tyrus* (Halle, 1899), p. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Ost, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Ost, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> M. R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973), p.178.

<sup>9</sup> Morgan, p. 186.

O. G. Goulden was working on a study of the translation. While, as far as I am aware, Goulden's work was never completed, Morgan mentions that she communicated with him about his work, particularly in regard to dating the translation, which he attributed to the end of the reign of Philip II of France.<sup>10</sup>

In 1987 a symposium was organised at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem whose aim was to investigate the relationship between William's *Historia* and the *Eracles*. The result of this was two papers. The first, written by John Pryor, is a summary of the findings of the symposium.<sup>11</sup> The second article, by Bernard Hamilton, is an in depth analysis of the portion of the text covering the reign of Baldwin IV, which Hamilton prepared as his contribution for the symposium.<sup>12</sup> While Pryor's article came out shortly after the symposium in 1992, Hamilton's paper was not published until 2003. Their general conclusions are that the translator was working in France and that the translation was made after the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Hamilton includes a listing of additions made by the translator which contain information not found in William's original Latin. More importantly, Hamilton goes on to say that 'the additional information contained in the *Eracles* account of Baldwin IV's reign does not, so far as I have been able to establish, derive from any written sources which are now extant.'<sup>13</sup> This could simply mean that the translator was in possession of a work that has not survived and which he used to enhance William's *Historia*, but there is no specific evidence that he did; certainly there are no additions to the text that foreshadow the events of 1187. In addition to providing new information, Hamilton also pointed out that the tone of the translation could be very different to William's. For instance, he cited the passage describing Baldwin IV's decision not to give Guy de Lusignan the regency of the kingdom in 22.29 as

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<sup>10</sup> Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. 39 n. 56 and p. 119.

<sup>11</sup> J. Pryor, 'The *Eracles* and William of Tyre: An interim report' *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), p. 271.

<sup>12</sup> B. Hamilton, 'The Old French Translation of William of Tyre as an Historical Source', *The Experience of Crusading*, 2 ed. P. Edbury and J. Phillips (Cambridge, 2003), pp 93-112.

<sup>13</sup> Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', p. 110.

an example.<sup>14</sup> Here William was very critical of Guy and it is likely that this is an instance in which William's view is influenced by his own involvement in the politics between Guy and Raymond of Tripoli. The translator changes William's depiction of Guy being wholly unsuited to holding the regency, so that the French text suggests that Guy's inability to govern the kingdom properly, as given by William, was simply 'what Guy's enemies wanted the king to believe.'<sup>15</sup> The Old French translation of William of Tyre may therefore provide a different viewpoint to events. This may help historians interpret William's descriptions of events that may have been influenced by his partisanship. No-one, however, has subjected the first twenty books of the text to the same scholarly analysis, and in any case, as Pryor pointed out, it is not certain whether either of the two editions represent a good reading of the original *Eracles* translation. The general aim of this thesis is to attempt to address these two problems.

Recently Peter Edbury has been working on the continuations of the Old French William of Tyre. Of particular importance to the study of the translation is his work on the manuscript tradition of the *Eracles* text.<sup>16</sup> While this will be discussed in more detail in the section discussing the manuscripts, it is important to note that he found some distinct differences within the manuscript tradition. Following on from the concerns of the symposium in 1987 that the modern editions may be unreliable, Edbury has identified several manuscripts which he believes to contain a text closest to the original translation. This is based upon his examination of the chapter divisions in each of the manuscripts, recording the first and last six words of every chapter, and comparing them with the chapter divisions of the Latin text.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', p. 108.

<sup>15</sup> Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', p. 108.

<sup>16</sup> Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 69-105.

<sup>17</sup> Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 73-5.

Pierre-Vincent Claverie has made a study of the differences in the portrayal of Islam in the Latin text of William of Tyre and the translations of his work.<sup>18</sup> He is particularly interested in how the view of Islam developed in Western chronicles and poetry, following on from the work of Margaret Jubb on Saladin's portrayal in the *Historia* and *Eracles*.<sup>19</sup> He found that on a number of different points the translator has altered the tone of William's text and that in general he sought to enhance the prestige of the First Crusade.<sup>20</sup> Claverie also argues that the translator was likely to have been influenced by other works and particularly mentions the possible influence of Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* for the depiction of the piety of Baldwin I and the reduction in the prevalence of divine will.<sup>21</sup>

There have also been some recent philological studies of the Old French translation of William of Tyre. Edouard Langille gives a short comparison between the styles of the two texts using Huygens's edition of the Latin and Paris's edition of the French. In general he argues that in contrast to William's grandiose style, the translator, whom Langille follows Paris in identifying as Bernard the Treasurer, instead used a far more simplistic style in which set words and phrases were often repeated so that the work would be more accessible to a lay audience rather than the world of the high clergy for whom William was writing.<sup>22</sup> Langille also points out that the translator in some cases inserts a moral tone into the text through criticism of worldly luxury and taking care to give correct statements of the Christian faith.<sup>23</sup> It is this didactic nature of the *Eracles* text which is Langille's main point, arguing that the

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<sup>18</sup> P.-V. Claverie, 'L'Image de l'Islam dans les Traductions Vernaculaires de Guillaume de Tyr', *Continuity and Change in the Realms of Islam*, eds. K. D'Hulster and J. van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2008), pp. 117-34.

<sup>19</sup> M. Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin in Western Literature and Historiography*, (Lewiston, 2000) and 'Saladin vu par Guillaume de Tyr et par l'*Eracles*: Changement de Perspectives', *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. M. Balard (Paris, 2003), pp. 443-51

<sup>20</sup> Claverie, p. 123.

<sup>21</sup> Claverie, p. 126.

<sup>22</sup> E. Langille, 'Traduire *La Chronique* de Guillaume de Tyr', *Traduction, Dérivation, Compilation : La Phraséologie. Actes du Colloque International*, eds. G. Di Stefano et R. M. Bidler (Montreal, 2002-2003), pp. 387-90.

<sup>23</sup> Langille, p. 391.

translator included many proverbial sayings within the text in an attempt to instruct his readers, as well as retelling the narrative from William's *Historia*.<sup>24</sup>

Margarida Madureira has recently studied the different viewpoints of the Latin East between William of Tyre, as a native of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and his translator, a native of Western Europe.<sup>25</sup> Again using the Huygens and Paris editions, she found that French politics and culture had shaped the viewpoint of the translator, particularly in relation to the disputes in northern France and Flanders between Philip II of France and the nobility in that region. She argues that a study of the French translation of William of Tyre might shed light on the history of France at this time, particularly in the northern regions where the majority of the manuscripts of the *Eracles* text were produced.<sup>26</sup> She also argues that, whereas William viewed the Latin East as being separate from Europe, as it was his 'patria,' the translator viewed Christian world as unified. She states that the often repeated term 'crestienté' seems to 'évoque à l'esprit cette communauté sans frontières que lient une même foi dans le Christ et une même obéissance à Rome.'<sup>27</sup> While this statement is qualified by the fact that this *chrétien monde* did not include the Byzantine Empire, it is seen as unifying French and Norman lands with the Western Empire.

A final major scholarly work on the *Historia* and *Eracles* texts was recently published by Mireille Issa. The major focus of Issa's study is the linguistic differences in books 11-18 between the *Historia* and the *Eracles* primarily using the *RHC* edition for both texts.<sup>28</sup> However, she does note that she also consulted the Huygens and Paris editions and noted cases in which the *RHC* text for the *Eracles* appears to contain variations from the Latin not

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<sup>24</sup> Langille, pp. 392-3.

<sup>25</sup> M. Madureira, 'Le Chroniquer et son Public: Les Versions Latine et Française de la *Chronique* de Guillaume de Tyr', *Medieval Chronicle*, 5 (2008), pp. 161-74.

<sup>26</sup> Madureira, p. 168.

<sup>27</sup> Madureira, p. 170.

<sup>28</sup> M. Issa, *La Version Latine et l'Adaption Française de l'Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum de Guillaume de Tyr Livres XI-XVIII* (Turnhout, 2010).

found in the Paris edition. She also notes that she consulted the manuscript Bibliothèque National fr. 9081 (F05) and found that it matched the Paris edition and not the *RHC* edition.<sup>29</sup> However, this is the only point in which she notes using this manuscript and does not mention that it contained any further readings variant to the editions. She did not consult any of the other French manuscripts due to the number of manuscripts and their wide dispersion in various libraries, despite a large number of them being located in Paris.<sup>30</sup> Issa also includes a section which looks at some of the material which was either added or removed by the translator. Her general findings are that the translator has altered the style of the text in order to remove all trace of William's personality and the classical Latin style which he employed.<sup>31</sup> However, she also found that the various additions made by the translator fulfil two different functions. They are either made to fill out the text or to provide an explanation of William's text.<sup>32</sup>

Through these various alterations, it is possible to see the presence of the translator and to be able to identify his interests. Issa cites in particular the large addition made to 12.1 in which a comparison is made between Baldwin II and Xerxes of Persia as a place at which the translator left his own mark on the text. She argues that, while the translator has been generally faithful to William's text, this is the one point in which he has deviated and introduced a large section of material which presents a positive portrayal of Baldwin, as opposed to that of Xerxes, that appears to have been added by the translator.<sup>33</sup> While William was also positive in his description of Baldwin, it appears that he was also still highly regarded at the time of the translation to such an extent that the translator felt encouraged to insert this literary device to enhance Baldwin's standing. Issa also looked at the portrayal of

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<sup>29</sup> Issa, p. 12.

<sup>30</sup> Issa, p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> Issa, p. 54.

<sup>32</sup> Issa, p. 58.

<sup>33</sup> Issa, pp. 64-6.

different groups within the texts, be they crusaders, Muslims, Oriental Christians, Greeks, Germans, or Franks, as well as the vocabularies used by William and his translator.<sup>34</sup> Despite the translator regularly omitting biblical passages, Issa also identifies evidence for religious fervour on the part of the translator. This is characterised by the translator expanding upon ceremonial scenes, sermons and instances of omens or instances of foreboding in the text, such as in the extended description of a comet in 11.5.<sup>35</sup>

In all these different scholarly works there is a constant theme that the translator has generally stayed faithful to William's work but regularly makes alterations to the text by removing parts of it, altering the style or sense of the work and adding new information. However, so far historians have only made preliminary comparative studies between William and the Old French translation of his work, and none goes into detail throughout the entire text. More importantly, while the miniatures have been studied by art historians, no-one has yet consulted the texts of the *Eracles* manuscripts systematically, and historians are instead reliant upon the nineteenth-century editions. Since it is not known to what extent these editions accurately represent the original translation, any analysis based on the editions cannot be deemed to be reliable as any apparent variations between the Latin and French texts may be the result of later developments in the manuscript tradition rather than the input of the original translator.

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<sup>34</sup> Issa, pp. 137-266.

<sup>35</sup> Issa, pp. 267-71.

## Medieval Translation

During the early part of the medieval period, Latin, both in scripture and in classical writings, was considered to be superior to the various vulgar tongues and it was held that gaining an understanding of the Latin language signified the status and privilege of the individual. Histories tended to be in Latin, as, for example, in accounts of the First Crusade, such as Albert of Aachen and the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, as well as William's *Historia*. However, various reforms, beginning with the Gregorian movement in the eleventh century, and continuing to the early thirteenth, changed this view of Latin so that increasing importance was being placed upon the vernacular languages.<sup>1</sup> In general the Old French translator of William of Tyre's *Historia* is faithful to the original text and follows William's narrative closely. This is not to say; however, that the translator has given a literal translation of the Latin. Instead he provided a looser rendering in which, in general, he is able to transfer the meaning of William's Latin into the vernacular whilst maintaining the content of the original text. In this, the style of the translation is comparable to that in the translations of other secular Latin texts.<sup>2</sup> However, this is not to say that he was always successful. A good example occurs towards the end of 18.29 during the description of the baptism of the future Baldwin IV. William describes this scene with:

Per illud tempus natus est domino Amalrico Ioppensium comiti ex Agnete, filia comitis Edessani, filius, quem patris rogatu rex de sacro fonte suscipiens suum ei nomen imposuit. Cumque ab eo iocose quereretur quidnam nepoti et filio de

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<sup>1</sup> C. F. Briggs, 'Translation as Pedagogy : Academic Discourse and Changing Attitudes Toward Latin in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *Frontiers in the Middle Ages*, eds. O. Merisalo and P. Pahta (Jyväskylä, 2006), pp. 497-8.

<sup>2</sup> R. Hanna, T. Hunt, R. G. Keightly, A. Minnis, N. F. Palmer, 'Latin Commentary Tradition and Vernacular Literature', *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, 2 eds. A. Minnis and I. Johnson (Cambridge, 2005) p. 363.

sacro fonte suscepto donaret, respondit, sicuti homo iocundi et urbani sermonis erat: “regnum Ierosolimorum.”<sup>3</sup>

The importance here lies in the emphasis on the jocular nature, ‘iocose,’ of Baldwin III’s statement that he was going to give the kingdom to his nephew Baldwin. Baldwin IV was born in 1161 and Baldwin III cannot have known that he would die suddenly, and childless, in February of 1163 at the age of thirty-three. Clearly, the statement about giving the kingdom to his nephew was not made in earnest but in the jocular manner described by William. In the translation, however, the explicitly informal tone of this statement is lost. It reads:

En cele seison, li cuens Amauris de Japhe ot un fil de Agnés sa femme, qui fu fille le conte de Rohés. Li Cuens pria le roi qu’il fust ses comperes; li rois le fist volentiers et tint son fil aus fonz. Si ot non Baudoins. Aucuns li demanda après que il donroit a son filluel qui estoit ses niés; et il respondi, com cil qui mout estoit cortois et de beles paroles, que il li donroit le roiaume de Jherusalem.<sup>4</sup>

The translator generally reproduces William’s text word for word at this point, but the term ‘iocose’ is lost. While the translator may not have been attempting to remove the jocular nature of this statement, and the phrase ‘qui mout estoit cortois et de beles paroles’ would seem to suggest this, there can be no doubt that at least some of the translator’s readers took this passage as a statement that Baldwin III had in fact named his nephew Baldwin as heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. This is shown in the Old French Continuations to William of Tyre where this episode is referred to during the discussion of Baldwin IV making his own nephew, Baldwin V, co-ruler and heir. The continuation reads:

En ce que li rois Bauduins estoit en son lit mortel, il fist venir devant soi toz sez homes liges dou roiaume de Jerusalem, et lor comanda que il fussent tenuz par seirement au conte Reymont de Triple, et que il le receussent a bail dou roiaume de Jerusalem, tant que son nevo Bauduin fust d’aage. Icelui il avoit fait coroner

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<sup>3</sup> WT, 18.29 lines 47-52.

<sup>4</sup> Paris, 18.29 ll. pp. 242-3.

a roi, en son vivant, et en avoit fait de lui son heir, en la manière come son oncle le roi Bauduin le tiers avoit fait de lui; et par tel manière que, se il mesavenoit de son nevo Bauduin, le petit roi qui fu fiz de sa seror Sebile et dou marquis Guillaume, et que il morust sanz heir, et il vosissent faire roi de nului qui fust dou roiaume de Jerusalem, que il le feissent dou conte de Triple Reymont; et se il vosissent eslire a roi nul estrange home d'Outre mer, que il le feissent par la conseil et par la volenté dou devant dit conte.<sup>5</sup>

Baldwin IV was aware that he would not leave an heir, due to his leprosy. As a result of this he made his nephew Baldwin his heir and appointed Raymond of Tripoli regent since Baldwin V was not yet of age, being only six years old. This is clearly a very different scenario to that of Baldwin III. The fact that the continuator believed that Baldwin III had in reality nominated his nephew as heir shows that the translator failed to convey the jocular nature of the passage found in William's text. This raises a couple of interesting points. The continuator has clearly read the translation of William's text and is making some attempt to give a cohesive narrative rather than just attaching two very different texts together. It also shows that the continuator believed that the incident with Baldwin III had set a precedent of how the succession to the Kingdom of Jerusalem should be settled if the king did not have a male heir.

However, the translator does not include all of William's text and omits significant amount of the biblical and ecclesiastical material found in the original Latin. This is also a common feature of works being transcribed into the vernacular languages. In general, Latin was considered to be the high-status language in which complicated matters such as theology and law were discussed. When works containing such topics were translated it seems to have been common for such discussions to be dropped from the text since the audience of the translation would be a lay audience which had little interest in these topics and generally did

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<sup>5</sup> *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1859), p. 4.

not have enough education to be able to follow such discussions.<sup>6</sup> In this way the translation appears to have been a part of a wider literary development in which Latin was simplified and texts were popularised for a larger audience which was particularly noticeable in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The translation of William of Tyre was not simply the act of a single scribe deciding to translate William's classical style of Latin, but was part of a general movement to make texts easier to understand for readers, whether in Latin or a vernacular language such as French, a movement which was ongoing at the time of the translation but reached its highest point fifty years or so after it was made. As a part of this movement, the translator was more concerned with accurately translating the meaning of William's work than just giving a literal translation. Hence, he actively sought to make William's text more accessible for his audience, particularly the laity. Accordingly he regularly removed the classical styling of William's work along with many of the classical quotations found in the Latin text. In this way the translator fits into a wider movement within medieval translation. This is not to say that the translator was simply translating William's text objectively for use in educating the laity: as will be discussed in detail later, the translator took a great deal of interest in the Latin East and the crusades and appears to have been writing to exhort his lay audience to take up the defence of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. As a result the translator also alters some of William's text in order to further this aim.

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<sup>6</sup> C. Boucher, 'De la *Subtilité* en Français: Vulgarisation et Savoir dans les Traductions d'*Auctoritates* des XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècles', *The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, eds. R. Voden, R. Tixier, T. Sanchez Roura and J. R. Rytting (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 92-5.

<sup>7</sup> Briggs, p. 501.

## Part I: Comparison of the Editions

This section of the thesis will compare the published editions of William's *Historia* and the *Eracles* text. For the Latin I have used Robert Huygens's edition from 1986. This modern critical edition is based on the nine surviving manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> For the French text I have used Paulin Paris' edition from 1879-80. Paris states in his introduction that his edition was based upon two manuscripts. These manuscripts were then in the possession of Ambroise Firmin-Didot, but are now housed in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland. He also made use of the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* edition from 1844.<sup>2</sup> The two manuscripts used by Paris are F31 – Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 137 (Paris: ca. 1295-1300) and F52 – Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 142 (Paris: ca. 1300 for the translation and ca. 1340 for the continuation). Paris also makes references to variants in F58 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2825 (Paris: early 14<sup>th</sup> century). (The 'F' number refers to a listing of the manuscripts made by Jaroslav Folda while the rest of the appellation is the classmark for the manuscript along with an attributed provenance of the manuscript.<sup>3</sup> A full listing of all of the manuscripts will be given later during the discussion of the manuscripts.)

The *RHC* edition was based upon a few more manuscripts that were located in Paris. The editors state that they used several manuscripts which include; F02 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2627 (N. France: 15<sup>th</sup> century), F58 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2825 (Paris: early 14<sup>th</sup> century), F48 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2827 (N. France: ca. 1250-75) and F77 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9082 (Rome: 1295).<sup>4</sup> However, I am convinced that they also used other manuscripts. In particular they

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<sup>1</sup> Huygens, 'Les Manuscrits', WT, pp. 3-32.

<sup>2</sup> P. Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continueurs*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1879), p. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> J. Folda, 'Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: A Handlist', *Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits / International Review of Manuscript Studies*, 27:1 (1973), pp. 92-5.

<sup>4</sup> *RHC Oc.*, 1 p. xxvi ; Cf. P. Riant, 'Inventaire Sommaire des Manuscrits de l'*Eracles*' *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, 1 (1881), pp. 247-52.

appear to have made extensive use of F45 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2630 (N. France: ca. 1250-75). While this will be discussed in more detail later, the *RHC* edition contains various readings, throughout the sample chapters, that are unique to F45 and that are either not present in, or contradict, the other manuscripts.

I have primarily used the Paulin Paris edition as it is generally considered to be the better of the two editions, and I have used that edition to make a comparison with Huygens's edition of the Latin text.<sup>5</sup> Because the editor relied upon a limited number of the fifty-one surviving manuscripts and failed to understand the manuscript stemma, various concerns can be raised over how accurately a comparison can be made between the Latin text and the French as presented in this edition. In order to address these problems I consulted the manuscripts in order to determine whether the differences identified in the editions are also to be found in a selection of manuscripts that appear to preserve an early form of the text.

I began by checking F05 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9081 (Paris: ca. 1245-48) for two main reasons: it is an early manuscript and it does not contain a continuation which means that it may contain a reading closer to the original translation than those manuscripts that do. I then chose F06 – Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Pal. lat. 1963 (Antioch: ca. 1260-68) since, like F05, F06 is also a fairly early manuscript, dated to the third quarter of the thirteenth century and again with no continuation. I also hoped that, since F06 had been attributed an eastern provenance, it would contain variant readings that represented divisions in the manuscript stemma. A more detailed discussion of the provenances will follow in the section on the sample chapters studied from all of the manuscripts. However, it should be noted here that, while I generally accept Folda's dating of the manuscripts, after studying F06 it became clear that, although this is an unusual manuscript, its eastern provenance is questionable. I also chose F72 – Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 828 (Acre: ca. 1280) – as

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<sup>5</sup> Pryor, p. 271 n. 2; Edbury, 'Translation', p. 72.

an example of a manuscript which contains a continuation. From a comparison of these three manuscripts with the printed text it became fairly clear that the majority of the alterations that I noted between the Latin and French texts appear in these early manuscripts, despite differences in provenance and the presence or absence of a continuation. Some differences are noted in the French edition, but these appear to be mistakes found in the manuscripts used by Paris, since all of these early manuscripts have readings that match the Latin, not the printed edition of the French text. These will be discussed in the following discussion.

There are certain places in which the manuscripts that I had looked at had distinctly different readings. These differences occur in 7.22, 11.14, 12.1, 15.22, 20.11, and 22.6, and I have taken these chapters to serve as my sample chapters. For these I have checked every manuscript, and they will be discussed in detail in the section on the manuscripts. In transcribing the chosen sample chapters it became clear that F38 – London, BL, Henry Yates Thompson ms. 12 (England: mid-13<sup>th</sup> century) – appears to provide a text that is closest to the Latin and is therefore, presumably, a version of the text closest to the original translation. Neither the *RHC* editors nor Paulin Paris used this manuscript when preparing their editions and my discussion will show that this manuscript should form the basis of any future new edition of the *Eracles* text. As a result, I have also checked the various alterations with this manuscript as well.

The rest of the first part of the thesis will discuss the differences between the Latin and French texts, alterations that are present in most manuscripts and appear to have been introduced by the translator.

## The First Person

One thing which the translator needed to alter was William's habitual use of personal statements and the first-person point of view. Throughout his text William regularly refers to the kingdom of Jerusalem as 'our' (nostrum) and to those living in the Latin East as 'us' (nos). A good example occurs in 18.10 where it is mentioned that Cyprus regularly provided food and supplies to those living in the East. This is recorded in the Latin with 'Cyprum insulam nobis vicinam, populis refertam fidelibus, regno nostro utilem et amicam semper.'<sup>1</sup> This is altered in the translation to read 'Chipre qui est une isle de quoi maint bien sont venu a la terre de Surie; car est bone terre et plenteive.'<sup>2</sup> The translator here has removed the first person and has instead identified the land of Syria as being the place to which the goods were sent. Another example occurs during the discussion of the marriage between Baldwin I and Adelaide. William of Tyre refers to Adelaide arriving in the Latin East with 'in nostram ... regionem'<sup>3</sup> and the translator renders this as 'en la terre de Surie.'<sup>4</sup>

The insertion of place-names within the text in order to replace the term 'nos,' frequently used by William, was fairly straightforward for the translator. However, the prologues included in the Latin text could not be replaced in such a simple manner. William had included three separate prologues, one at the beginning of the work and another at the beginning of Book 16, and a final one at the start of Book 23. In the first prologue, William set out his reasons for writing the text, and gives the usual statements about his sources and his attempts to be accurate. He inserted a prologue before Book 16 as it is from this point that William, during the reign of Baldwin III, becomes personally involved in the affairs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, following his return to the East in 1165 after being educated in the

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<sup>1</sup> WT, 18.10 lines 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 18.10 ll. p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> WT, 11.21 lines 32-33.

<sup>4</sup> Paris, 11.21 l. p. 414.

France and Italy, and is able to use eye witness accounts rather than being reliant upon other accounts, such as he was for the First Crusade. The third prologue appears at the beginning to Book 23, which comprises a single chapter and describes how in 1184 William had stopped writing his history due to the continuous misfortunes which befell the kingdom of Jerusalem but that he had been persuaded to continue his narrative.<sup>5</sup> Such prologues, found in many medieval prose writings, serve various functions that are intended to guide the thoughts of the reader prior to reading the text itself. In this way the author hopes the reader will have a favourable view of the text. In this, William adheres to the traditional forms of prose writing. He defends himself against various criticisms of the text, apologises for any imperfections, establishes the provenance of the text, supports the need for the text, and dedicates the work to a patron.<sup>6</sup> Throughout the *Historia* there is a consistent adherence to established norms of prose writing that William uses both to showcase his learning and also to establish the authority of his text. By adhering to the classical models of writing William evidently hoped to make his new text accepted and read by the church leaders for whom he was writing. In the translation, this need to establish the authority of the text is not necessary as William's text has become authoritative, with the translator holding William in high regard. However, it is still interesting that the translator has chosen to omit all three prologues. Many of the works revising the *Gesta Francorum*, such as Guibert of Nogent<sup>7</sup> or Robert the Monk<sup>8</sup> include prologues which serve a similar function to William's prologues. Both of these works include a prologue in which they criticise the *Gesta Francorum* for its style, because they felt that the text needed to be improved. However, it is important to note that both of these works are in Latin and, as they state in their prologues, are intended to improve upon the previous text. The *Eracles*, on the other hand, is clearly not seeking to improve upon William's text as it

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<sup>5</sup> WT, 23 Prologue lines 1-53.

<sup>6</sup> Vessey, pp. 435-6.

<sup>7</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Gestorum Dei per Francos et Cinq Autres Textes*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnholt, 1996), pp. 119-21.

<sup>8</sup> Robertus Monachus, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', *RHC Occ.* Vol. III (Paris, 1866), pp. 721-2.

follows it very closely and the praise shown to William likely also applies to his work. Instead the purpose of the translation appears to have been to bring William's work to a non-Latin speaking audience.

At the time that William wrote his prologue to Book 23, probably in 1184, the kingdom of Jerusalem had been suffering various setbacks as Saladin had risen to prominence while the king, Baldwin IV, was dying from leprosy. As a result this can be seen as a time of turmoil for the Latin East which people in the West may have viewed as divine punishment.<sup>9</sup> While William reflects upon these difficulties, he is also optimistic for the future as he portrays Raymond of Tripoli as being capable of leading the kingdom as regent for Baldwin IV and he tries to persuade his readers, both in the East and the West, that there was still hope for the future and that the kingdom still received the favour of God.<sup>10</sup> However, by the time the translation was made, Jerusalem had been lost and successive crusades had failed to recover it, so different goals were needed. It seems that William's prologues were no longer relevant to the political situation in the East and that the translator may not have included them for this reason. However, this still does not explain why the translator did not include a prologue. It is possible, but unlikely, that there was originally a prologue in the translation but none of the fifty-one surviving manuscripts includes any hint that such a prologue existed and it would have to have been lost from the manuscript tradition very early not to have survived in any of the manuscripts. It therefore seems more likely that a prologue was never included in the translation. While there is no definite date for the translation, there are certain indications, which will be discussed in detail later, that it was made towards the end of the reign of Philip II of France, around the time of the Fifth Crusade when other crusade texts were also being produced. It is certainly possible that the translation was made at this point of increased interest in the crusades when the kingdom of Jerusalem was

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<sup>9</sup> Edbury and Rowe, pp. 151-3.

<sup>10</sup> Edbury and Rowe, pp. 163-6.

struggling and needed aid. Because of this, William's use of the prologue as a call for aid would certainly have still been valid. As such, there must have been another reason for the lack of a prologue. William's prologues include a number of quotations from ancient authors which, as will be discussed in detail below, were regularly omitted by the translator, while the whole format of the prologue in general conformed to a general classical style that William favoured but is almost entirely lacking in the French translation. It is likely that the lack of a prologue coincides with the very different styles of the Latin and French texts. William's use of the prologue served to give his work an authoritative classical style as well as allowing him to state his reasons for writing and to clearly present his message to his readers. The French translation did not follow the same classical style and as a result a prologue was not necessary. The *Eracles* therefore does not contain a prologue since, as a piece of vernacular literature, it did not strive to meet the standards of Latin literature, and the less rigorous style of the text was more suited to a lay audience who did not wish to be told at which points William was changing his sources and is in keeping with the regular omission of quotations throughout the text. The translator might have added a prologue if he had desired to state what he hoped his translation would achieve, such as encouraging those in the West to support the cause of the Latin East. However, it seems clear from the alterations that he has made to the text, which will be discussed below, that the translator expected his audience already to have a basic understanding of the history of the crusades. Instead he lay the stress within the text that it was the 'gent de France,' the forefathers of his audience, who had won the victories of the First Crusade, in order to encourage his readers to live up to those ideals, and in this way puts forward the message of bringing aid to the 'terre sancte' which William had put into his prologue.

The alteration of the first person is also apparent where William himself enters the narrative. In 19.3 William discusses the appearance of King Amaury but the majority of the

chapter is dedicated to William's response to a request from the king to prove the existence of an afterlife. William states, 'Memini me semel, ab eo familiariter evocatum dum in castello Tyrensi febricula lenta non multum periculose laboret'.<sup>11</sup> The French text reads 'demoroit au chastel de Sur. Au jor qu'elle ne li tint mie, il fist venir devant soi Guillaume qui arcevesques de Sur et ceste estoit mist en Latin et bien s'entendoit en clergie'.<sup>12</sup> A similar alteration occurs when William's election as archbishop of Tyre is described in 21.8. The Latin text, 'conviente assensu, dei pacientia potius quam meritis nostris ad regimen illius ecclesie vocati sumus et infra decem dies in ecclesia Dominici Sepulchri per manus domini Amalrici Ierosolimitani patriarche munus consecrationis VI Idus Iuniauctore domino suscepimus licet indigni,'<sup>13</sup> is replaced with 'fu esleuz a arcevesque Guillaumes li arcediacres, cil qui ce livre mist en Latin.'<sup>14</sup> Again in 22.3, in which William is part of an embassy sent to the court of Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, and also attends the Third Lateran Council in Rome, the *Eracles* replaces William's use of 'us and our church'<sup>15</sup> with 'William archbishop of Tyre' and also adds 'who wrote this history in Latin' later in the chapter.<sup>16</sup> It seems quite clear from this that the translator was aware of William's identity and place within the church and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Another oblique reference to William is made in 19.17. The Latin text reads:

'Et quoniam singularem et seculis nostris incognitam habet illa principis domus consuetudinem, libet diligenter adnotare que fida relatione eorum, qui ad illum tantum principem sunt ingress, de statu et magnificentia et immensitate divitiarum et glorie multiplicitate comperimus: non enim erit minimum profecisse, hec intellexisse diligentius.'<sup>17</sup>

The French reads:

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<sup>11</sup> WT, 19.3 lines 10-12

<sup>12</sup> Paris, 19.3 II p. 255.

<sup>13</sup> WT, 21.8 lines 77-81

<sup>14</sup> Paris, 21.8 II p. 376.

<sup>15</sup> WT, 22.4 line 3.

<sup>16</sup> Paris, 22.3 II p. 412.

<sup>17</sup> WT, 19.18 lines 1-6.

‘Porce que les genz des autres terres ne cognoissent mie la contenance ne la manière des herberjages ne de la mesniée a ce haut prince que l’on apele calife cil qui ceste estoire mist en latin demanda mout ententivement a noz messages qui la furent envoié les noveles de son estre et des genz qui entor lui estoient et coment il avoient este conduit jusqu’a lui.’<sup>18</sup>

While in this case the translator has not specifically named William, he has clearly altered the text in removing the first person during William’s statement that he had taken due care when relating the embassy sent to Egypt by King Amaury to see the sultan in Cairo.

Similar alterations are also made in 21.1 during the discussion of the coronation of Baldwin IV. The Latin ‘dum nos archidiaconatum administraremus Tyrensem’<sup>19</sup> is replaced with ‘l’arcediacre de Sur qui avoit non Guillaumes et avoit esté en France a escole ; bons clers estoit et preudom’.<sup>20</sup> In addition to removing the first person, the translator has again added praise to William and appears to do so regularly. The other interesting point in this addition is the statement that William had been to school in France, which the translator presumably felt was relevant because of the statement that William was the tutor to Baldwin. This may be a reference to William’s autobiographical chapter, 19.12 which is only found in one of the surviving Latin manuscripts, Bibliothèque du Vatican, *lat.* 2002 (labelled V by Huygens) where William states that he studied ‘in Francia et Italia’.<sup>21</sup> However, it is unlikely that the translator was working from a manuscript which contained this chapter. William goes on during 19.12 to state the names of the masters that he studied under in Paris, Orleans and Bologna but does not explicitly state this again elsewhere in the text. While the translator does omit a good portion of William’s side notes and background material, he also goes out of his way to praise William as well as showing an interest in church affairs in France. It seems unlikely that the translator would omit the names of leading clerics in Paris and it is

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<sup>18</sup> Paris, 19.17 ll pp. 276-7

<sup>19</sup> WT, 21.1 line 13

<sup>20</sup> Paris, 21.1 ll p. 363.

<sup>21</sup> WT, 19.12 lines 4-5.

therefore more likely that this chapter was not present in his Latin exemplar. However, even if this chapter was lacking, there seems to be a strong interest in William and with connecting him to France. It is certainly possible that he was well known in the West and that it was remembered that he had been educated there. William, however, had earlier mentioned his studies while discussing King Amaury's first marriage to Agnes de Courtenay, which was annulled upon his ascension to the throne due to consanguinity, where he notes that he had been overseas at the time:

Quesivimus sane nos postea diligenter, tanquam circa talia curiosi, quoto consanguinitatis gradu se contingerent, quia nondum *de scolis redieramus*, sed trans mare adhuc circa liberalium artium detinebamur studia quando Ierosolimis hec facta sunt, et tandem invenimus per dominam Stephaniam, abbatissam ecclesie Sancte Marie Maioris, que Ierosolimis ante Sepulchrum Domini sita est, que domini Ioscelini senioris comitis Edessani filia fuit ex sorore domini Rogerii, filii Ricardi, Antiochenorum principis, religiosam et nobilem carne et moribus feminam, iam natu grandevam sed memoriter hec retinentem, quod eorum generatio sic erat.<sup>22</sup>

The translator does not keep any of the first-person reference to William nor the statement that William had sought information on the matter from the abbess Stephanie. This is unusual because the translator has elsewhere highlighted William but this is probably because William was not present at the events described. It is unlikely that the exemplar that the translator was using lacked this passage because he includes the rest of the detail including giving William's source:

Une preundefemme estoit abaesse de l'eglise Sainte-Marie-la-Majeur, qui est en Jherusalem devant le Sepuchre Nostre Seigneur; cele avoit non Tiefaine et fu fille le viez conte Jocelin de Rohés, de la sereur Rogier le fil Richard, qui fu princes d'Antioche. Ele estoit jà de grant aage, mès bien sot conter coment li rois Amauris et cele Agnés s'entrapartenoient.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> WT, 19.4 lines 21-31.

<sup>23</sup> Paris, 19.4 ll. p. 258.

The translator must have been aware that William had studied in the West from this passage and, while he may have had some further knowledge of William's time in the West, it is more likely that the translator has replaced William's phrase 'trans mare', referring to Western Europe in general, with 'en France' because of his own viewpoint. This is one of many examples which will be discussed in which the translator replaces general statements referring to the West with a specific mention of France. The loss of the first-person, therefore, is evidence of a shift between William's Eastern viewpoint and the Western view of the translator as well as showing the change in style between the Latin and French texts. While the translator is keen to remind his audience that he was not the original author of the text and regularly highlights William's authorship of the text and prominent role in the events described, their different world-views are evident throughout the text.

## Classical and Biblical Allusions

William of Tyre included many quotations and references to the Bible and to various ancient authors, such as Virgil, Juvenal and Josephus. His style of writing also implies knowledge of authoritative texts. A particular example of this is his treatment of the kings of Jerusalem, which is comparable to Einhard's *Vita Caroli*. While William may not have had a direct knowledge of all of the classical authors – a quotation from Cicero is also found in Einhard – he was clearly aware of the historical texts that were popular in the medieval period.<sup>1</sup>

A good example of the translator dropping the classical material which was included by William of Tyre occurs in 4.10. This chapter consists of a physical description of Antioch and the surrounding region. During this chapter William mentions a mount near to Antioch called 'mons parlier' which he states many believe to be Mt. Parnassus, famous for the Oracle of Delphi. In total William devotes fifty-five lines of his text to a discussion of the various myths and legends, including prophesies comprised of quotations from various authors relating to the Oracle, such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Solinus' *Polyhistor*, Theodoricus' *Historia Tripartita*, and Rufinus' *Ecclesiastical History*, as well as a description of the streams surrounding Mt. Parnassus<sup>2</sup>. The translator chooses to omit most of this material:

Une partie de ce mont s'en vet a la mer et est mout haut ilec; si que il a son non par soi, car l'en le clame Montparlier. Aucune gent cuident que ce soit Parnasus, uns mons dont les escriptures parolent mout, por une fontaine qui siet au pié, eu lieu que l'en clame l'eschiele-Buiemont; mes sanz faille, ne

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<sup>1</sup> Edbury and Rowe, pp. 32-5.

<sup>2</sup> WT, 4.10 lines 18-73.

ce n'est li monz, ne ce n'est la fontaine dont li auteur parolent tant; car icil monz Parnassus siet en la terre qui a non Thessalie.<sup>3</sup>

The translator may have realised that conflating 'mons parlier' with Mt. Parnassus was incorrect and removed the background material relating to Mt. Parnassus in an attempt to avoid confusing his readers. However, these types of references to classical authors are regularly dropped. In general all quotations and proverbs taken from classical authors are dropped by the translator. The translator did not remove everything and kept some classical material. This included references to Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, with the reference to Alexander being expanded from *Alexandri Macedonis*<sup>4</sup> to 'Alixandres li Grans, rois de Macedoine.'<sup>5</sup> The translator also adds classical references contrasting Baldwin II with Xerxes in 12.1 as well as adding a reference to Dido being born in Sidon in 11.14, both of which will be discussed later as these are found within the sample chapters used in studying the manuscripts. William also mentions Dido in 13.1 when discussing Tyre and the translator also keeps this reference.<sup>6</sup>

Much of the biblical background for the various cities mentioned in the text is omitted. An example of this occurs with the city of Sidon. William makes several references to 1 Kings, in relation to the discourse between King Solomon and Hiram of Tyre relating to the building of the Temple, when he is giving the background to various cities near Tyre. For example, when mentioning where the city of Sidon may be found in scripture, William quotes 1 Kings 5:6, where Solomon asks Hiram for the use of the skilled Sidonian carpenters:

Est autem Sydon civitas maritime inter Beritum et Tyrensem metropolim sita, provicie Phenicis portio non modica, comodissimum habens situm, cuius tam Veteris quam Novi textus Instrumenti frequentem habet memoriam. De ea quippe in secundo Regum libro ita Salomon ad Hyram

<sup>3</sup> Paris, 4.10 l. pp. 134-5.

<sup>4</sup> WT, 4.9 lines 8-9.

<sup>5</sup> Paris, 4.9 l. p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> WT, 13.1 lines 28-34; Paris, 13.1 l. p. 476.

Tyrionum regem: *Precipe igitur ut precidant michi cedros de Libano, et servi mei sint cum tuis. Mercedem autem servorum tuorum dabo tibi quamcumque petieris: scis enim quoniam non est in populo meo qui noverit ligna cedere sicut Sydonii.*<sup>7</sup>

William regularly includes this type of reference within his text. However, these references are lacking in the translation.

The translator also omits other biblical passages and quotations, including paraphrasing much of the speech attributed to Urban II by William at Clermont, which mainly comprises various biblical quotations.<sup>8</sup> This speech will be dealt with in depth in the chapter on ecclesiastical material. In general, many of the biblical references and quotations inserted by William are lacking in the translation. However this does not mean that the translator shows no interest in biblical material since references to Noah and the prophets are kept and expanded upon.<sup>9</sup> The translator also names specific books which William references and adds a few references to the Bible. These additions show a very good understanding of scripture and highlight passages relevant to the topic under discussion which indicates that the translator was likely to have been a cleric.

In particular the translator makes a couple of additional references to the Bible in 4.2 during the discussion of the background to the city of Edessa. William makes a reference to Tobit 4:21-8:24, which is a book in the Apocrypha, with ‘Hec est civitas, ad quam Tobias senior iuniorem Tobiam, filium suum, misit ut a Gabelo, consanguineo suo, decem talenta argenti reposceret, que ei, dum adhuc esset infantulus, commodaverat.’<sup>10</sup> The translator keeps this reference with ‘en ceste cite qui a non Rohez, si com l’en treuve en la Bible, envoia Tobies li peres son filz Tobie, por demander l’argent que Gabellus, ses cosins li devoit’ but

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<sup>7</sup> WT, 11.14 lines 28-38.

<sup>8</sup> WT, 1.15 lines 1-133.

<sup>9</sup> Paris, 7.14 l p. 244 and 11.9 l p. 393.

<sup>10</sup> WT, 4.2 lines 12-15.

then adds ‘et cil li rendi et dona sa fille a femme.’<sup>11</sup> The translator is here is expanding the reference and is perhaps mentioning a portion of the story that may have been more well known. Sarah, the younger Tobit’s wife had previously been married seven times but all of her husbands had been killed by a devil due to their lack of fear of God. Tobit survives because he and Sarah spend three days in prayer as well as burning the liver and heart of a fish in order to drive away the demon. William also states that St. Thaddeus had first brought Christianity to Edessa, to which the translator adds that he was ‘le frère saint Symon.’<sup>12</sup> Although Jude was the brother of James, not Simon, they preached together in Persia and share the same feast day.<sup>13</sup> In addition the translator also keeps the specific reference that the preaching of Jude in Edessa was found in the first book of Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Ecclesiastical History*. However the translator does drop the reference to the letter written to king Abgarus, ‘digni inventi per omnia et tanti predicatione apostoli et epistola Salvatoris, quam ad Abgarum regem eorum rescribens misit,’<sup>14</sup> which is included by Eusebius.<sup>15</sup>

The translator also adds the names of specific books in which a reference, alluded to by William, can be found. An example occurs in 4.9 during the discussion of the background of the city of Antioch. William makes a reference to 2 Kings 25:1-7 with:

Hec priscis temporibus dicta est Reblata, ad quam Sedechias rex Iuda cum filiis ante Nabuchodonosor Babilionorum regem deductus est, ubi in patris presentia filios eius occidi precepit et ipsum consequenter oculis privari.<sup>16</sup>

The translation reads:

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<sup>11</sup> Paris, 4.2 l. p. 123.

<sup>12</sup> Paris, 4.2 l. p. 123.

<sup>13</sup> Acts 1.13, ‘Jude’, *ODS*, p. 291; ‘Simon’, *ODS*, pp. 479-80; Cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, LXI Octobris T. XII (Brussels, 1884), p. 421 and pp. 450-8.

<sup>14</sup> WT, 4.2 lines 17-19.

<sup>15</sup> Eusebius Pamphili, ‘Ecclesiastical History’, Books 1-5 *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, Vol. 19, tr. R. J. Deferrari (New, York, 1953), Book 1.13 pp. 78-82.

<sup>16</sup> WT, 4.9 lines 5-8.

Ceste ot non ez ancienes escriptures Reblata. Iluec mena Nabugodonosor, li rois de Babiloine, le roi de Jherusalem qui ot non Sedechias, quant il le prist, et li ocist touz ses fiz devant lui; apres li creva les euz si com l'en trueve eu quart livre des Rois.<sup>17</sup>

The translator keeps Williams text intact, only replacing 'Iuda' with 'Jherusalem' and adding a reference to scripture where the story could be found. He appears to have a good knowledge of Biblical literature and is keen to instruct his audience as to where certain important passages may be found.

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<sup>17</sup> Paris, 4.9 l. p. 133.

## Terminology

One of the most regular alterations made by the translator concerns the system of dating used by William. For some dates William specifies the day on which an event occurred by stating on which day of the month it occurred. For example he gives the date which the First Crusaders capture Jerusalem as ‘anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo nonagesimo nono, mense Iulio, quinta decima die mensis.’<sup>1</sup> The translator gives this as ‘en l’an de l’Incarnacion Jhesucrist .m. et .iiii.<sup>xx</sup> et .xix., eu mois de juingnet, le quinziesme jour du mois.’<sup>2</sup> In this case the translator is simply able to use the same format as William. However, in a large number of cases William uses the classical system of dating in which he refers to the Kalends, Nones or Ides of the month. For example William identifies the date of Duke Godfrey’s death as ‘quinto decimo Kalendas Augusti, anno ab incarnation domini millesimo centesimo.’<sup>3</sup> The translator renders this as ‘le dis-uitieme jor de juingnet, l’an de l’Incarnacion .m. et .c.’<sup>4</sup> He has changed the system of dating to one with which his audience would have been more familiar. However, while the translator always changes the classical dating system, the previous example is unusual because the translator does not usually provide the day and the month in this format..

In general the translator replaces the classical system of dating with references to saints’ days and the system used for dating the death of Godfrey may be explained by the fact that it did not occur near a major saint’s day. For the date until which the army of the First Crusade delayed at Antioch, prior to resuming the march towards Jerusalem, the Latin gives ‘Kalendis Octobris’<sup>5</sup> while the French reads ‘la feste saint Remi,’<sup>6</sup> both giving a date of 1

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<sup>1</sup> WT, 8.24 lines 51-53.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 8.24 l. p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> WT, 9.23 lines 7-8.

<sup>4</sup> Paris, 9.23 l. p. 330.

<sup>5</sup> WT, 7.2 lines 13-14.

October. In another example William gives the date of the coronation of Emperor Frederick I as ‘sexto Kalendas Iulias’<sup>7</sup> while the translator gives ‘le jor de la feste aus dues martirs saint Jehan et saint Pol,’<sup>8</sup> both giving 26 June. A final example of the use of saints’ days occurs with the date given for Amaury’s expedition into Egypt in 1165. The Latin reads ‘quarto Idus Augusti’<sup>9</sup> which is given as ‘le jor de la feste saint Lorent’ in the French;<sup>10</sup> again they agree with 10 August.

On one occasion the translator fails to give a specific date when it was given by William. Here the translator replaces ‘sexto decimo Kalendas Iulii,’<sup>11</sup> (16 June) for the death of Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem, in Messina with ‘emmi le mois de juing.’<sup>12</sup> Huygens does not state that there is any variation in the Latin manuscripts for this date and the alteration appears to have been introduced by the translator. The term ‘emmi’ if used vaguely could possibly encompass 16 June but it more likely refers to the fifteenth. Despite the vagueness of this specific example, the translator appears to have been accurate when changing the system of dating. Another alteration occurs during the description of Tyre in 1124 where William notes that the city was taken on ‘tercio Kalendas Iulii,’<sup>13</sup> while the French has ‘la darrenier jour de juing fors un.’<sup>14</sup> Both correspond to 29 June. In a final example, William gives ‘tercio Kalendas Iulii,’<sup>15</sup> for the date of the battle of Dorylaeum in 1097, while the French has ‘le tierz jor devant l’entrée de juignet.’<sup>16</sup> Again the two texts agree on the twenty-ninth of June. It is interesting here that, while William has used the same

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<sup>6</sup> Paris, 7.2 l. p. 228.

<sup>7</sup> WT, 18.2 line 27.

<sup>8</sup> Paris, 18.2 ll. p. 193.

<sup>9</sup> WT, 19.9 line 57.

<sup>10</sup> Paris, 19.8 ll. p. 265.

<sup>11</sup> WT, 11.4 line 12.

<sup>12</sup> Paris, 11.4 l. p. 383.

<sup>13</sup> WT, 13.14 lines 25-26.

<sup>14</sup> Paris, 13.14 l. p. 494.

<sup>15</sup> WT, 3.14 (13) lines 2-3.

<sup>16</sup> Paris, 3.14 l. p. 102.

terminology for the same day of the year, the translator has varied his style of dating, at times giving a direct translation while at other points he used an alternative dating system.

In general William's preference for classical nomenclature and terminology does not provide the translator with much of a problem and he is able to understand William's text. However, the translator regularly has to translate the Latin forms into the vernacular, particularly in regards to place-names. Most names, such as 'Antiochena' or 'Ierosolima' have an equivalent in the French and are easily recognisable, with 'Antioche' and 'Jherusalem.' Some places were regularly known under a different name in French and the translator regularly alters these. 'Edessa' is always rendered as 'Rohes' for instance, while 'Tyrensis' became 'Sur.' Certain bodies of water also have different names with 'Ellespontana' becoming 'le Bras de Saint George,' while 'Orontes' is always given as 'flum de Fer.' In many case, as is the case with the Orontes, William gives both the classical and vernacular terms and the translator in general drops the classical term and retains the vernacular throughout. As a result the translator is fairly accurate throughout the text and rarely gets confused. There is even an instance, which will be discussed later, in which the translator adds a gloss to the text to ensure that his audience does not confuse two cities with very similar place-names. However, there are a few instances in which the translator does appear to be unsure of William's meaning.

The major instance in which the translator is confused by William's terminology, and in fact gives an incorrect translation refers to the city of Barcelona, which William says is 'de Citeriore ... Hispania,'<sup>17</sup> this side of Spain; but the translator replaces this with 'en Navarre.'<sup>18</sup> William is clearly referring to the eastern side of Spain, which comprised the old Roman province. This will be discussed in more detail in the section on the translator but this shows

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<sup>17</sup> WT, 16.17 line 45.

<sup>18</sup> Paris, 16.17 ll. p. 116.

the translator's unfamiliarity with the terminology used by William. The translator also appears to have trouble with William's reference to the 'Longobardi'<sup>19</sup> in a list of homelands of Italian merchants which includes the Pisans, Genoese and Venetians. The translator gives the name of these latter three but then adds 'li autre de autre mer'<sup>20</sup> in place of the Longobards. This particular alteration was highlighted by Bernard Hamilton.<sup>21</sup> On the whole the translator seems to have a very good understanding of William's text and these are the very few places in which the translator seems to have had trouble with William's terminology. There are a couple of further points in which, on the surface at least there appears to have been further confusion with the text. However, these appear to be more concerned with manuscript variants in the Latin manuscripts than to have been alterations made by the translator.

One such problem occurs in 3.18 in which William describes the journey of the First Crusade eastwards across Anatolia. He lists them as passing three cities, 'urbes Finiminis, Yconium et Heracleam pretergressi.'<sup>22</sup> The translator renders this as 'passerent delez .ii. citez: l'une avoit non Licoine et l'autre Eraclée.'<sup>23</sup> The city of Philomelium has been lost from the list. Philomelium is mentioned again by William in 4.20<sup>24</sup> and this time the translator gives 'Finemine.'<sup>25</sup> It initially seems strange that the translator would omit the first mention of the city but include it in the following book. Interestingly, Huygens notes that, while the majority of the Latin manuscripts read 'Finiminis', two of them have alternative readings. One manuscript, Bibliothèque du Vatican, *lat.* 2002 (V), reads 'finitimis' while

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<sup>19</sup> WT, 22.28 (27) line 11.

<sup>20</sup> Paris, 22.26 ll. p. 458.

<sup>21</sup> Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', p. 99.

<sup>22</sup> WT, 3.18 (17) lines 15-6.

<sup>23</sup> Paris, 3.18 l. p. 109.

<sup>24</sup> WT, 4.20 line 17.

<sup>25</sup> Paris, 4.20 l. p. 148.

another, Bibliothèque du Nationale, Paris, *lat.* 6066 (P), reads ‘finitimas.’<sup>26</sup> This variant reading may have, and seems likely to have been, in the exemplar used to make the translation. This may give the impression that the translator may have used a manuscript related to these two manuscripts. However, the translation does not contain the autobiographical chapter of William of Tyre, which is only found in the Vatican manuscript. While the translator does take an interest in William, as discussed above, and states that he studied in France this is not conclusive that the translator had the extra chapter to hand.

In 12.4 William discusses Gabriel, the father-in-law of Baldwin II. In this chapter of the Latin he is described as ‘nobilis Greci Gabrielis nomine.’<sup>27</sup> This is clearly an error as Gabriel was an Armenian and is clearly identified as such by William elsewhere in the text. In the French this is given as ‘un haut home ermin qui ot non Gabriel,’<sup>28</sup> and this reading is clearly more accurate. Again Huygens notes a variant in which ‘nobilis’ is replaced by ‘hominis’ in two related manuscripts, British Museum, Royal 14 C. X (B) and Magdalene College, Cambridge, F. 4. 22 (W). While this variant does not correct the obvious mistake it is interesting that both words from the different Latin texts are present in the French. It seems likely that the French text at this point preserves the correct form of the text which has been lost during copying errors from the Latin text. While the translation does appear to contain some errors that have crept into the Latin manuscripts it generally seems to have been made from a good early copy which, at least at one point, contained a reading that is not present in any of the surviving Latin manuscripts.

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<sup>26</sup> Huygens, WT, 3.18 (17) line 15 note.

<sup>27</sup> WT, 12.4 line 19.

<sup>28</sup> Paris, 12.4 l. 439.

## Lay Interest

The fact that William of Tyre's *Historia* was translated from its original Latin into the vernacular French would have made it more accessible for the laity, but this does not necessarily mean that the *Eracles* was meant solely for a lay audience. However, many of the alterations to the text do indicate that a lay audience was envisaged. William had written specifically for an ecclesiastical audience, and a particularly learned one, and filled his text with numerous references to scripture and the classics. He also included a large amount of material regarding church law and the precedence of various sees. In general the translator has omitted nearly all of this material and it will be discussed in detail in the sections dedicated to Biblical and classical allusions and to ecclesiastical material. This present chapter will look at material added by the translator that would have appealed specifically to a lay audience.

The one place in which the translator appears to have retained a legal discussion from William's work occurs in 17.14 and would have been particularly relevant for a lay audience as it concerns the procedure for settling a dispute over land in the kingdom of Jerusalem. During Baldwin III's minority his mother, Queen Melisend, had acted as regent with Humphrey de Toron as her advisor. Disputes arose when Baldwin came of age with Melisend attempting to retain control of the kingdom. In the end they reached an agreement by which Melisend would abandon Jerusalem and instead would retain Nablus. The procedure for sealing the agreement is described by William with: 'interpositis ex parte domini regis et prestitis corporaliter iuramentis.'<sup>1</sup> The translator replaces this with: 'Li rois fist jurer dues barons en s'ame.'<sup>2</sup> This alteration has been highlighted by Hans Mayer who points out that in

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<sup>1</sup> WT, 17.14 lines 61-62.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 17.14 ll. 161.

the Latin text, the emphasis is laid upon Baldwin III personally taking an oath not to dispute Melisend's control over Nablus while the French text has two barons acting in place of the king. This apparent alteration to the portrayal of the procedure by which Baldwin makes his promise shows two things about the translator and his audience. Firstly, the fact that the translator has kept this legal description shows that his audience took an interest in disputes between the lay nobility. Secondly, the translator is aware, not only of the procedure as given by William, but also of the way such an oath was sworn in France and has for this reason altered the text so that the legality and importance of the oath would be more immediately comprehensible to his audience.<sup>3</sup>

The translator also regularly adds various embellishments and set phrases to various scenes, particularly in regards to battles and depictions of wealth and opulence. These types of additions are generally stylistic in nature and do not add any information to the text. However, they do serve to increase the imagery of the scenes of battle and to alter William's text for an audience with a more direct knowledge of warfare. A particular example occurs in 7.3, describing the siege of Asaz (Hasart) by Ridwan of Aleppo, during which Duke Godfrey sent a letter to the lord of Asaz stating that he was coming to his aid. At which point William states that the citizens attacked the besiegers, 'eodem sponte lacesere non vereretur.'<sup>4</sup> The translator renders this as: 'Grant joie en ot, et en prist si grant hardement que il meismes issi fors aus portes et mena de sa gent assez, si que il assailli ceus de l'ost qu'il doutoit mout, n'avoit gueres de tans.'<sup>5</sup> While William does not specifically mention the citizens leaving through the gate, that would have been necessary for them to attack Ridwan's army.

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<sup>3</sup> H. E. Mayer, 'Eid und Handschlag bei den Kreuzfahrerkönigen von Jerusalem', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 118 (2010), p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> WT, 7.3 lines 39-40.

<sup>5</sup> Paris, 7.3 l. p. 230.

The translator has not added anything that could not be gleaned from the Latin but has altered the style of the narrative so as to give a more vivid portrayal of the citizens charging through the gates to attack their besiegers. The translator adds a further comment on the city of Hasart which was definitely of lay interest. Following the naming of the city he adds; ‘Et sachiez que la fu trovez et de la vint li jeus de dez, qui einsint a non.’<sup>6</sup> This statement was generally held to be correct with the name of the fortress, Hasart, being a homophone to ‘hasard’ in French and ‘azzardo’ in Italian. (A further example of this word being used to refer to the game of dice occurs in Dante’s *Purgatorio*. However, Dante uses the spelling ‘gioco de la zara’ rather than ‘gioco de la azara’ in his poem.<sup>7</sup>)

Another stylistic addition relating to the emotions felt by those who were under siege occurs in 14.25. This chapter relates the siege of Mont Ferrand by Zengi in 1137 in which Zengi was able to maintain the siege whilst defeating a relief force. William relates the suffering of those within the fortress, and the translator keeps this general discussion. At the end of the chapter, however, the translator adds: ‘ce meismes que cil dehors dotoient que l’en les levast du siege, les fesoit plus angoisseusement entreprendre la besoigne.’<sup>8</sup> Again the translator has added no new information regarding the siege, and the Latin text makes it quite clear that Zengi’s forces were superior to those of the kingdom of Jerusalem and that the outcome of the siege was already obvious. The translator adds this in order to make the point clear in order to enhance the valour of those fighting a lost cause on Christ’s behalf.

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<sup>6</sup> Paris, 7.3 I. p. 229.

<sup>7</sup> Dante Alighieri, ‘Purgatorio’, *Comedia*, ed. F. Sanguineti (Tavarnuzze, 2001), Canso VI line 1, p. 216.

<sup>8</sup> Paris, 14.25 II. p. 39.

## Ecclesiastical Material

In light of what has been discussed so far – the reduction of biblical and classical material and an increased interest in lay affairs – it seems at first glance that the translator would have little interest in ecclesiastical affairs. That the *Historia* was translated from Latin into French at all would generally imply that it was written for a lay audience. This is also borne out by the fact that some of the material of a more ecclesiastical nature was omitted. However, this does not mean that he has removed all ecclesiastical material nor does it mean that the translator himself shows no interest in such matters.

The translator frequently chose to omit material that related to legal disputes within the church over the questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and other material that would generally be of little interest to a lay audience. For instance in 4.9, the example just mentioned which discusses the background the city of Antioch, William is very explicit in stating the esteem in which the church of Antioch was held and cites specific examples of its prominence. He opens the chapter with:

Est autem Antiochia civitas gloriosa et nobilis, tertium vel potius secundum – nam de hoc maxima question est – post urbem Romam dignitatis gradum sortita, omnium provinciarum, quas tractus continet Orientalis, princeps et moderatrix.<sup>1</sup>

In the translation this reads: ‘Antioche est une mout noble citéz qui a le tierz leu entre les patriarches, après l’eglise de Rome.’<sup>2</sup> While the translator has kept the statement that Antioch was second only to Rome in prestige, he drops the repeated mention of this and also the assertion that Antioch was the leading church of the East. In addition William also adds a

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<sup>1</sup> WT, 4.9 lines 1-5.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 4.9 l. p. 133.

reference to Canon II of the Council of Constantinople and Canon VI of the Council of Nicaea which expressly state Antioch's primacy:

Que omnes uno nomine, *Oriens* videlicet, nuncupantur, sicut ex synodo Constantinopolitana collogitur, que sic habet: *Orientis autem episcopi solius Orientis curam gerant, servato honore primatus ecclesie Antiochene, qui in regulis Nicene synodi continetur.*<sup>3</sup>

While the translator does not alter William's general sentiments regarding the prestige of Antioch, he clearly feels that an extended discussion, including quotations from synodal decrees, on the rights of Antioch was not necessary for the audience of his text. While a learned ecclesiastical audience, such as the one for which William was writing, would find this legal discussion of interest, a lay audience would not necessarily be as interested in the reasons why the church of Antioch was held in such esteem.

While the translator regularly drops detailed discussion of ecclesiastical disputes and background, he adds a reference to the ecumenical councils at Nicaea and keeps the entirety of William's detailed discussion. In 3.1 the city of Nicaea is described but much of the chapter is devoted to the two ecumenical councils held at Nicaea in 325 and 787. William lists the rulers at the time for each council and is very specific about the reasons for the councils. For the first council he states:

In hac enim, temporibus domini Silvestri pape et viri venerabilis Alexandri Constantinopolitani patriarche et predicti Constantini Augusti, sancta synodus trecentorum decem et octo patrum adversus impietates Arrii et sequacium suorum congregata est, que, eorum pernicioso langore dampnato et sanctorum testimoniis veritate declarata, universe ecclesie dei fidei formam intemeratam prebuit.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> WT, 4.9 lines 40-44.

<sup>4</sup> WT, 3.1 lines 5-12.

This council is particularly famous for establishing the first form of the Nicene Creed, which established the divinity of Christ in contrast to the Arian view that Christ was simply made by God and not himself divine, and for establishing the date for Easter. For the second council of Nicaea William states:

In hac eadem postmodum tempore domini Constantini Augusti piissimi, Yrene filii, iterum convenit septima synodus generalis adversus iconomachos, id est impugnatores sanctarum imaginum, sub domino Adriano Romano pontifice et viro venerabili Tharasio Constantinopolitano patriarcha, in qua predicti heretici dignam pro meritis ab orthodoxa ecclesia contra suam perfidiam dampnationis tulerunt sententiam.<sup>5</sup>

The translator keeps the entirety of this discussion:

Car eu tens saint Silvestre l'apostoile estoit patriarches de Costantinoble Alixandres, empereres Constantins. Arrius estoit uns mescréanz qui mesprenoit ez poinz de la foi, et mainte gent le suivoient en ce. Por ce s'assemblerent en la cité de Nique au concile .iii.<sup>c</sup> et .xviii. prelaz, et fu iluec desputé contre ces popelicans. Par les tesmoins des Escriptions et par l'acort des sainz homes qui la estoient, fu dampnez Arrius et sa mescréance. Puis apres, eu tens a un autre Constantin empereur qui fu filz Yrene, se rasebla un autre concile iluec meismes, qui fu setiesmes : lors estoit Adriens apostoiles de Rome, Tareses patriarches de Costantinoble. La furent dampné une manière de mescréanz qui disoient que toutes les images que l'en fet en Sainte église estoient contre foi, et cil estoient desloial et faus crestien qui les i soufroient.<sup>6</sup>

Not only has the translator kept everything from the Latin text but he also adds in the additional information that Pope Sylvester I had been canonized. The translator is also particularly damning in his treatment of heretics with the additional phrase that the iconoclasts were 'desloial et faus crestiens'. The translator here clearly believes that the criticism of heresy was a topic that should be retained in his work. He also makes another addition in 16.19, during the background to Chalcedon, which relates to the heresy of

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<sup>5</sup> WT, 3.1 lines 12-18.

<sup>6</sup> Paris, 3.1 l. p. 88.

Eutyches and the Council of Chalcedon in 451. William gives a brief mention of the heresy and its beliefs:

Hec est Calcedon urbs antiqua, ubi quarta sexcentorum triginta sex patrum convenit sancta synodus tempore domini Marciani Augusti et domini Leonis Romani pontificis, contra Euticetem monachum et abbatem, qui unam tantum in domino Iesu Christo asserebat naturam.<sup>7</sup>

The translator expands upon this with:

Calcedoine: c'est une mout ancienne citez ou jadis sist un des quatre granz conciles; la furent assemble .vi.<sup>c</sup>. et .xxxvi. prelat au tens Marcien l'empereur et Leon l'apostoile de Rome. lors fu iluec damnée l'erisie d'un abé qui avoit non Eutices; car il disoit que Jhesucriz n'avoit eue que une seule nature; mais la foi crestienne est ceste, que il fu vraiment deus et hom.<sup>8</sup>

The translator is far more vehement with his language against Eutyches and also adds an explicit statement concerning the correct Christian view regarding the nature of Christ. The translator has again shown a strong interest in attempting to combat heresy. He also makes another addition prior to the reference to the Arian heresy when he states the First Council of Nicaea was 'li primerains des quatre granz conciles avoit iluec sis.'<sup>9</sup> This is similar to the earlier statement about the Council of Chalcedon in referring to 'quatre granz conciles.' While the translator did remove much of the ecclesiastical material, he evidentially has an understanding of the early church councils and an interest in the teachings of the Church.

In 11.12 William includes a transcription of a charter which grants the church at Bethlehem the status of a cathedral and was issued by Baldwin I. This elevation was granted to the church at Bethlehem since it was believed that Bethlehem, as the birth-place of Christ,

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<sup>7</sup> WT, 16.19 lines 30-34.

<sup>8</sup> Paris, 16.19 II. p 119.

<sup>9</sup> Paris, 3.1 I. p. 88.

could not be allowed to remain as a priory.<sup>10</sup> This was clearly a highly symbolic move, though also a practical one since Bethlehem was historically subject to the bishop of Ascalon but Ascalon was in Muslim control (and would remain so until 1153).<sup>11</sup> This matter received a lot of attention, with William devoting eighty lines of his text to reproducing the charter.<sup>12</sup> In the translation, however, this chapter is much shorter. The translator has completely removed William's transcript of the charter. Instead, he provides a summary of the major points of the charter since the topic was clearly still of importance, but drops the legal terminology as it breaks the rhythm of the narrative. The translation lacks the names of the western crusaders who wanted to elevate the church in Bethlehem, such as Robert of Flanders, Tancred and Robert of Normandy, and simply relates 'par le conseil des barons et du clergié de la terre.'<sup>13</sup> The translator does keep the reference to two of the Eastern prelates, Arnulf, the archdeacon, and Aichardus, the dean of the Holy Sepulchre, who travelled to Rome to seek confirmation for the elevation of the church. The translation also includes the list of properties belonging to the church in Bethlehem.

It is clear from this that the translator has maintained William's view that the raising of the church at Bethlehem to the position of a cathedral was something that was worthy of being repeated and something that his audience should know. However, he greatly reduces the passages and rewrites it so that it is contained within the flow of the narrative, unlike in the Latin text where it is obvious that William is directly quoting the charter and it is distinct from the surrounding text. The rights of the church at Bethlehem again become an issue following the capture of Ascalon by Baldwin III in 1153. After the siege it was proposed to elect a bishop of Ascalon, and a canon of the Holy Sepulchre named Absalom was elected.

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<sup>10</sup> *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, vol. 1 eds. H. E. Mayer and J. Richard (Hannover, 2010), no. 40 pp. 159-64.

<sup>11</sup> B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London, 1980), p. 59.

<sup>12</sup> WT, 11.12 lines 10-90.

<sup>13</sup> Paris, 11.12 l. p. 398.

However, Gerard, the bishop of Bethlehem, protested that the church at Ascalon belonged to the diocese of Bethlehem. The dispute was taken to Rome where the pope confirmed the right of the bishop of Bethlehem over the church of Ascalon.<sup>14</sup> This passage is present in both the Latin and French texts and the translator has made no alteration to the passage. Unlike the previous example in which the rights of the church of Bethlehem are described, this is a short narrative passage that does not contain a long and detailed discussion or transcribing of a document that was unnecessary for the narrative. It is clear from this that the translator is not removing all ecclesiastical material from the text but is simply streamlining the narrative for a different audience.

The practice of rewriting the large passages of charters and letters inserted by William is consistently followed by the translator so that he generally provides a summary of the document but incorporates it into the narrative of his text so that it takes up much less space in the manuscript and becomes a part of the general narrative. Another good example of this occurs in 11.28. This chapter discusses the request by Baldwin I that the pope, Paschal II, grant the church of Jerusalem supremacy over all of the lands in the East that would be conquered by the Christians.<sup>15</sup> In the Latin text this is a particularly large chapter, containing 160 lines of text, of which 130 lines comprise the transcriptions of the papal letters regarding this matter.<sup>16</sup> This granting of jurisdiction to the church in Jerusalem caused much controversy because jurisdiction over many of these dioceses had previously belonged to the church of Antioch, and the patriarch of Antioch, Bernard, was very vocal in his complaint because he felt that he was being deprived of his rights. The result of this was that the church of Antioch was granted those lands that had formerly been under its control in ancient times, but the episode was clearly divisive for the clergy in the East and, because of the implications

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<sup>14</sup> WT, 17.30 lines 37-55; Paris, 17.30 ll. p. 189.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Y. Katzir, 'The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Primate of the Latin Kingdom', *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 169-75.

<sup>16</sup> WT, 11.28 lines 1-160.

for his province of Tyre, caused William to devote a great deal of attention to it. The fact that he includes the papal letters shows that this was a major dispute with a number of legal ramifications. In the French translation, however, the translator has clearly felt that, while the general topic is of interest, the detailed discussion and use of the letters to show the legal basis for the dispute between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch are of no particular importance in the West to a lay audience. In the Paris edition this chapter comprises a mere fourteen lines, a great contrast with William's 160. It contains the salient points of the chapter, the request of Baldwin, the complaint by the church of Antioch and the subsequent decision that Antioch should retain control over its former territories, but removes the format of the letters entirely and instead gives a summary of the events.<sup>17</sup> As in the charter concerning the church of Bethlehem, the translator has removed the transcribed documents that relate to the rights of major Eastern churches. While a general summary of the events is kept, the translator has clearly softened the emphasis, placed by William, upon the jurisdiction of the churches in the East and shows little interest in keeping lengthy passages of such legal disputes though he does keep brief statements of such disputes, throughout the text.

Another area in which the translator has shortened a major section of text that is strongly ecclesiastical in nature is the speech of Urban II at Clermont prior to the First Crusade in 1099. While the speech of Urban has received much attention from historians, it is still unclear whether any of the accounts give a sufficient summary of it. The five versions reputedly based upon the accounts of those who claimed to have been present at the council, or to have obtained accounts from others who were there, differ from one another. William gives an account that is markedly different from these earlier sources, and it is more likely that he was embarking upon a literary exercise in which he wrote an appropriate speech for

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<sup>17</sup> Paris, 11.28 l. p. 427.

Urban at Clermont that had more to do with his own views upon the subject than anything that Urban actually said. William put into Urban's mouth a speech that covered the general themes discussed in Clermont with his own examples and, as he does throughout his text, numerous references to the Old Testament. Again this is a particularly long chapter in the Latin text covering 133 lines.<sup>18</sup> In the French text, the speech is considerably shortened with the verbosity and Biblical quotations being removed so that the passage takes up 19 lines.<sup>19</sup> While William spends a great deal of time discussing the sorrows of Jerusalem and including relevant scripture, the translation simply states the pope 'fist un mout bel sermon a tout le concile, et leur mostra que grans hontes estoit a touz crestiens.'<sup>20</sup> The translator then proceeds with listing the various benefits which the crusaders would receive, such as remission of sin, and brings the chapter to a close.

The lack of detail in this sermon indicates that the translator's audience may not have been as interested in the finer points of a sermon as William clearly was. Instead he again provides a succinct account that would have provided a lay audience with the particulars of the reason for the crusade without an extended eulogy on the topic that is in some ways repetitive and an exercise in extolling William's prowess on writing a lament on Jerusalem. This could indicate that interest in Urban's speech at Clermont was not particularly strong at the time of the translation and that there was more of a focus upon the specific reasons for the crusade and upon the crusaders themselves. In general, the extended lamentation over the plight of Jerusalem employed by William is lacking in the French text. Instead the translator focuses upon the East, being the homeland of Christ and the location of the holy sites, and on the difficulties faced by those who undertook to go there on crusade. This is exemplified by a

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<sup>18</sup> WT, 1.15 lines 1-133.

<sup>19</sup> Paris, 1.14 & 15 l. pp. 28-9.

<sup>20</sup> Paris, 1.14 & 15 l. pp. 28.

large addition made in the following chapter in which preparations are made for the First Crusade after the Council at Clermont. It reads:

Bien savez que fort chose est et griez a lessier son pais, sa femme et ses enfans et son lignage, et a guerpier ce que l'en aime par nature ; més quant l'en s'apense quel gerredon l'en attend de ce fere, et Nostre Sires met une amor et une tendreur de soi en cuer du pecheur, n'a point de pooir natureus amors contré la charité Dame Dieu, ne la char contre l'ame. En cele chose le pot-l'en apercevoir certainement; car la gent du regne de France et li grant baron et li mendres pueples qui estoient si acostumé a pechiez et desacostumé de bien fere, si com je vos ai dit desus, puis que il oient cele parole, empristrent si viguerusement la besoigne Dame Dieu et se voérent a ce pelerinage com vous orrez. Car il sembloit que chascuns déüst su soi prendre tous seus a vengier le tort et la honte que li Mescréant fesoient a Nostre Seigneur et a son pueple en sa terre de Jherusalem.<sup>21</sup>

Unlike William's *Historia*, which was intended exclusively for an ecclesiastical audience, the *Eracles* was clearly intended for a more mixed audience. It appealed more to the laity, in particular those who were descended from participants of the First Crusade with the focus of the narrative shifted so that it was focused upon the deeds of the participants of the First Crusade and the defence of the heritage of Christ. But the translator retained enough of the ecclesiastical material, and added some of his own, to make the text appealing to a clerical audience. Furthermore, the clergy cannot be completely separated from the laity and doubtless many, especially those in the lower orders and those with less competence in Latin, found the translation appealing.

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<sup>21</sup> Paris, 1.16 l. pp. 29-30.

## Background to French Crusaders and France

Much of the material added by the translator relates either to French crusaders or to places or events in France. Most of this can be regarded as adding information about those who went on either the First or Second Crusades or about where they came from. In a few cases information has been added to events in France which William mentions in passing. However these additions are not extensive and generally comprise short statements of information. There are a couple of more extensive additions which appear to cover topics of interest to the translator, and these will be discussed later. Most of the changes seem to indicate that the translator was working in the Île de France, Champagne or elsewhere in northern France. One of the most common additions that the translator makes is identifying those who undertook the crusade as coming from the kingdom of France. For example the translator changes the narrative of Peter the Hermit returning from Jerusalem to request the launching of a crusade from Pope Urban II. Following his appeal to the pope, William then relates that Peter crossed the Alps in order to request aid from the western princes stating: ‘*Petrus autem, omnem transcurrens Italiam, zelo divino succensus, Alpes transiens, Occidentales principes omnes il circuit, instat sollicitus, increpat, arguit.*’<sup>1</sup> The translator has altered this to read that he went to the barons of the kingdom of France: ‘*Pierres fu moût liez du bon respons l’Apostoile. Si passa Lombardie et les monz et vint en France. Si commença à cerchier les Barons et à requerre-les touz ausi com s’il fust envoieez nomeément à chascun*’<sup>2</sup> This type of alteration is seen throughout the text: another example occurs after the capture of Jerusalem where William gives a quick summary that people from the West came and conquered the East: ‘*Audierat enim multorum relatione de populi huius viribus et gloria, qui ab Occidente descendens per tot terrarum spacia et tantam laborum multipliciter*

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<sup>1</sup> WT, 1.13 lines 45-47.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1.13 l. p. 27.

universum sibi Orientem subiecerat.’<sup>3</sup> The translator replaces ‘ab Occidente’ with ‘de France’.<sup>4</sup> Following the capture of Antioch, the translator adds that the subsequent victory over Kerbogha on the 28 June 1098 brought honour to all of Christianity, but particularly to the kingdom of France: ‘Ceste bone aventure qui ennora toute Crestienté, nomeement le roiaume de France.’<sup>5</sup> In general the translator has not made any major changes to the attitude of William in depicting various prominent figures in the history of the crusades and the Latin East. However, there are a few places in which the translator and William hold conflicting opinions. A good example of this is the portrayal of Renaud de Châtillon which will be discussed below.

The *Eracles* text gives additional background information for a number of the prominent participants in the First Crusade. Of particular interest are the additions relating to Godfrey de Boulogne. Chapter 9.5 discusses the background of Godfrey following his election to rule Jerusalem. In this chapter is discussed Godfrey’s valour as well as his family history and his place of origin. William described the latter with. ‘Oriundus vero fuit de regno Francorum, de Remensi provincia, civitate Boloniensi, que est secus Mare Anglicum sita,’<sup>6</sup> while the French has ‘Il fu nez eu regne de France, a Boloigne seur la mer qui fu jadis citez; or est chastiaus en l’eveschié de Terouenne’.<sup>7</sup> This alteration shows some of the common changes that the translator has made to the text. In particular is the tendency to switch from a more classical system of using provinces to identifying place based upon its local bishopric. In this case the translator shows that he is aware of which particular bishopric Boulogne was a part, but may also show that he was aware of the local politics and events. The addition to the text indicates that the translator believed that Boulogne had become a *château* in the

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<sup>3</sup> WT, 9.22 lines 17-19.

<sup>4</sup> Paris, 9.22 l. p. 329.

<sup>5</sup> Paris, 6.22 l. p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> WT, 9.5 lines 8-10.

<sup>7</sup> Paris, 9.5 l. p. 303.

bishopric and was no longer an independent city.<sup>8</sup> This particular addition may shed some light upon the translator's allegiances and possibly the dating of the translation.

The county of Boulogne, like Normandy and Flanders, had considered itself to be generally independent from the Capetian monarchs.<sup>9</sup> In 1191 Renaud, the son of Alberic III count of Dammartin, acquired the county of Boulogne following his father's abduction of, and marriage to Ida de Lorraine, the heiress to the county of Boulogne. Philip II of France confirmed this marriage in 1192, but Renaud entered into an alliance with Richard I of England in 1197 and renewed it with John in 1199. Philip II had recently been expanding his control over what is now northern France through the conquest of Normandy as well as inheriting portions of Valois and Vermandois. Renaud's alliances with Richard and John threatened Philip's positions and, as a result, he attempted to regain the loyalty of the county of Boulogne by offering to marry his son, Philip Hurepel, to Renaud's daughter and heir as well as offering Renaud land in Normandy in exchange for the strategically important castle of Mortemer. Renaud also received support from Philip in his own campaigns in Guines and became a royal counsellor. However, Renaud maintained his connections with the Angevin court and around 1210 Philip was required to force Renaud, along with other northern counts to swear an oath to break off all contact with John's court and reconfirm all of his earlier promises to Philip under the threat of losing his fiefs. A dispute arose between the bishop of Beauvais, Philip de Dreux, whose family were related to Philip II, and the countess of Clermont who was Renaud's cousin.<sup>10</sup>

Renaud requested aid from Philip, who ignored the plea, and began to fortify Mortain in Normandy. Philip took this as an act of defiance and demanded that Mortain should be

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<sup>8</sup> Paris, 'La château différait de la cite en ce que, dans celle-ci, le pouvoir public était aux bourgeois, tandis que le chateau, consistant en forteresse et faubourgs, dépendait du seigneur' I. p. 303 n 2.

<sup>9</sup> J. W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986), p. 200.

<sup>10</sup> J. Bradbury, *Philip Augustus: King of France 1180-1223* (London, 1998) pp. 290-1.

surrendered to him by 8 September 1211 as a gesture of Renaud's loyalty. Renaud refused and Philip took Mortain after a siege of four days. Philip declared Renaud to be in default and began to claim his lands as well as demanding oaths from other northern lords that they would not aid Renaud. However, Renaud continued his alliances with John of England and with the emperor Otto of Brunswick and was on their side against Philip at the battle of Bovines in 1214.<sup>11</sup> The county passed in 1216 to Renaud's daughter Matilda who married Philip's son, Philip Hurepel in 1218. In this way Boulogne came under the control of the French monarchy and lost the semi-independent status that it had previously enjoyed.<sup>12</sup> It seems likely that the addition that Boulogne was a 'château' and no longer a 'cité' reflects these events which brought Boulogne under the control of the French crown. The additional note that Boulogne was under bishopric of Thérouanne further diminishes that status of Boulogne. The translator's reference to this change of status may have significance in regards to the dating of the translation. If this is indicative of the new status of Boulogne under Philip Hurepel, the translation would not have been made prior to Philip acquiring the county in 1218. However the reference may refer to the construction of a castle at Boulogne by Philip when he acquired control of the area. This was one of several fortifications that he built during his conflict with Blanche of Castille and the minor Louis IX, which began with the death of his brother Louis VIII in 1226.<sup>13</sup>

At no point in the text does the translator add additional material from the legends in the *Chansons de Geste* that developed around Godfrey de Bouillon, such as *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, or portray him as one of the nine worthies. This indicates that the translator does not have any particular interest in Godfrey beyond his role in the First Crusade. The translator does not appear to have any tie to Godfrey's family or to the region of Boulogne in general.

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<sup>11</sup> Guillaume le Breton, 'Vie de Philippe Auguste' *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H. F. Delaborde vol. 1 (Paris, 1882), pp. 242-320.

<sup>12</sup> Baldwin, pp. 200-2.

<sup>13</sup> J. Richard, *Saint Louis: roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte* (Paris, 1983) pp. 42-4.

Instead the additions made to Godfrey's background are a part of the translator's general pattern of adding bits of information about crusaders from throughout France.

In the list of nobles from France who undertook the crusade William includes Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois, and mentions he was the father of Count Thibaut IV of Blois and II of Champagne.<sup>14</sup> To this the translator adds 'qui gist à Leigny.'<sup>15</sup> When it was described in the seventeenth century by Dom Chagny, Thibaut's tomb was still in the Benedictine abbey of St. Pierre in Lagny-sur-Marne, possibly above the tomb of St Thibaut de Provins who died in 1066.<sup>16</sup> Count Thibaut seems to have had a particularly close relationship with this abbey, likely due it being the burial place of St. Thibaut, and visited it frequently.<sup>17</sup> The translator has again added to William's text information about central France that can be verified and indicates that he had associations with the Île de France. While this statement may appear to link the translator with the counts of Blois and Champagne, it is just as likely that the translator had either visited the abbey or had heard the information from another source.

Several additional pieces of information are given concerning some of the crusaders who died at the siege of Nicaea in 1097. The first of these is Baldwin Chauderon, about whom the translator adds that he was a 'riches hom et bons chevaliers, nez de Berri.' The second is Baldwin de Ghent, who is identified as 'de Flandres ... preuz et hardiz.' and the third Guy de Possesse, who died from an illness, and is described as 'uns bers de Champaigne.'<sup>18</sup> While none of these three are prominent in William's text, all of them are given a stronger presence by *La Chanson d'Antioche*. The deaths of these three crusaders

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<sup>14</sup> WT, 1.17 lines 5-7.

<sup>15</sup> Paris, I. 1.17 p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> D. Chagny, 'L'abbaye royale de Saint-Pierre de Lagny', *Revue de Champagne et de Brie* 1 (1876), pp. 246-50 ; I am deeply indebted to Prof. T. Evergates for this reference.

<sup>17</sup> J. Benton and M. Bur *Recueil des Actes d'Henri le Liberal* (Paris, 2009), pp. 21-2, no. 15.

<sup>18</sup> Paris, 3.6 I. p. 93

received a great deal of attention in *La Chanson* with a stanza and a half devoted to them. It reads:

De Guion de Processe vous voel dire la vie.  
 Li ber se fist sainnier, çou fu grand folie  
 quar, si con Dex le vot, mors fu de la sainie.  
 Bauduïns Cauderons cel jor perdi la vie;  
 li ber fu mout malades, ne pooit garir mie;  
 en sa tente gisoit, ki toute estoit delie,  
 Turc gietent la perriere quant la tente ont coisie,  
 dans Bauduïns de Gant ot la teste froisie  
 ...  
 Or vous dirai après no baron,  
 iluec, defors la vile a .i. marbrin perron,  
 la ont fait .i. moustier el non Saint Simïon,  
 la porterent le cors par grant devotïon.  
 La nuit les ont gaitiés Flamenc et Borgignon,  
 .xxx. lams ardans esprendent environ  
 desi a l'endemain, c'ont oï la sermon.  
 Puis ont le cors porté en l'autre saint Simon.  
 Une fose orent faite, s'i misent ens Guion,  
 et en une autre misent Bauduïn Cauderon  
 et Bauduïn de Gant en la terre selon.<sup>19</sup>

Instead of this detailed description of the funeral William gives 'Guido quoque de Porsessa, vir nobilis de regno Francorum, valida ibidem correptus egritudine, carne solutus est,'<sup>20</sup> while the translation has 'En ce tens meismes fu morz en l'ost de sa maladie Guis de Possesse, uns ber de Champaigne, larges mout et bons chevaliers.'<sup>21</sup>

While some of the phrasing of the translator is similar to that of other Old French vernacular texts, such as *La Chanson d'Antioche* and other *Chansons de Geste*, he does not

<sup>19</sup> *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. J. Nelson (Tuscaloosa, 2003), lines 2161-91, pp. 109-10.

<sup>20</sup> WT, 3.6 (5) lines 35-37.

<sup>21</sup> Paris, 3.6 l. p. 94.

add in material from these sources. In fact most of the information added was generally common knowledge and would have been known to any educated cleric working at the end of Philip II's reign. For instance, in 9.13 William relates how Robert, duke of Normandy, returned home with the count of Flanders and fought against his brother, Henry I of England, over his right to the Norman lands.<sup>22</sup> The translator keeps this account but adds the location of the battle 'a Tenechbrai.'<sup>23</sup> This battle in 1106 ended with the capture of Robert by Henry, and his subsequent imprisonment, with the result that Henry ruled the kingdom of England as well as the duchy of Normandy. The outcome of this battle which strengthened the kings of England and deprived the kings of France of territory which they thought owed them allegiance would have been well known to those associated in some way with the Capetian monarchs. This would have been especially true at the time of Philip II and his regular conflicts with Richard I and John of England.

Another crusader in whom the translator may have taken an interest in is Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres. Stephen's abandonment of the First Crusade at Antioch earned him a great deal of criticism from Christian writers, particularly the criticism of *La Chanson d'Antioche*.<sup>24</sup> If the translator was using this text to add to William's original Latin text, it may be expected that he would add to the negative commentary of Stephen. However he does not, and keeps William's description of Stephen in 10.11:

Stephanus Carnotensium et Blesensium comes, vir prudens et magni consilii, qui capta Antiochia futurum prelium reformidans cum probro et ignominia consortes deseruit et turpi fuga perpetuam emit infamiam: hic priorem querens defectum redimere et abolere meritam prius infamiam ad iter se preparat, honestum sibi asciscens comitatum.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> WT, 9.13 lines 23-31.

<sup>23</sup> Paris, 9.13 l. p. 315.

<sup>24</sup> 'Il vosist mout mius estre a Blois en se maison' *Chanson d'Antioche* line 1788 p. 99 ; Cf. J. Brundage 'An Errant Crusader: Stephen of Blois', *Traditio*, 16 (1960), pp. 380-95.

<sup>25</sup> WT, 10.11 (12) lines 15-20.

The French reads:

li cuens Estienes de Chartres et de Blois, sages hom et de grant conseil. Icist, si com vos oistes desus, s'em parti honteusement d'Antioche por peor de batailles que il doutoit; or s'estoit porpensés que il n'avoit mie fete s'enneur, por ce s'efforcoit mout de retourner, a grant plenté d'avoir et a bele compaignie de gent.<sup>26</sup>

The only real addition made by the translator concerning Stephen occurs in at his death at the Second Battle of Ramla in 1102, described in 10.19. At this point the translator recalls the criticism that he had received for his earlier actions by adding 'dont lede parole avoit esté sur lui deca et dela.'<sup>27</sup> Paris notes that he believes that the translator had *La Chanson d'Antioche* in his mind with this addition.<sup>28</sup> While this may be true, the translator certainly does not add any further negative comment upon the count of Blois and maintains William's stance that Stephen was able to redeem himself through his martyrdom.<sup>29</sup> In terms of the informational content of the text, the translator stays fairly close to William's narrative and does not seem to enhance the prominence of particular crusaders from Champagne and northern France in the *Eracles* text by introducing material from other crusade texts. While he seems to have an interest in the crusades and seems knowledgeable about French history, he does not appear to be adding material to William's text directly from another source. Instead the translator appears to be adding bits of information that he knew regarding whichever person or place was being discussed and does not show a particular bias towards any particular members of the First Crusade.

At times the translator does not necessarily add material that is wholly absent from William's work but shows a knowledge of later material by repeating it earlier in the text. For

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<sup>26</sup> Paris, 10.11 l. pp. 346-7.

<sup>27</sup> Paris, 10.19 . p. 360.

<sup>28</sup> Paris, l. p. 360 n. 1.

<sup>29</sup> WT, 10.19 (20) lines 37-49; Paris, 10.19 l. pp. 360-1.

example, William does not include Godfrey de Esch-sur-Sêre in his initial list of nobles embarking upon the Crusade, though his brother Henry is included.<sup>30</sup> Alan Murray suggests that the prominence given to Henry in the sources may indicate that Henry was the older brother.<sup>31</sup> William only mentions Godfrey twice in his text. The first occasion is in 2.1 when he is included with the group travelling with Godfrey de Boulogne with the phrase ‘dominus Henricus de Ascha et Godefridus, frater eius.’<sup>32</sup> The French text uses the same phrase in 2.1, ‘Henris de Hasque et Godefroiz ses freres,’<sup>33</sup> but also has the same phrase earlier in 1.17.<sup>34</sup> Godfrey also appears in 2.2 as a messenger sent to the king of Hungary by Godfrey de Boulogne. Both the Latin and the French include this episode. There does not appear to be enhancement of Godfrey’s role on the Crusade and the additional mention of him is more likely due to the translator having an understanding and knowledge of the entire text and simply adding in the name of Godfrey as he would have likely been with his brother when the Crusade departed. For instance there is no reference to Godfrey being with the army at Constantinople and Antioch in the *Eracles* text despite such a reference being found in Albert of Aachen.<sup>35</sup> It seems clear that the translator knew William’s text well but was not using another source to expand upon his narrative.

Throughout the *Eracles* text the translator consistently lays an emphasis upon the ‘gent de France’ as being those who had carried out the First Crusade. An example of this occurs in 4.20 which describes the arrival of Sven, son of Sven II king of Denmark, in 1097.<sup>36</sup> The translator adds that he ‘avoit oi dire en sa terre que li baron du roiaume de France et li autre vaillant home de la terre estoient alé en pelerinage outré mer por guerrier

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<sup>30</sup> WT, 1.17 line 20.

<sup>31</sup> A. Murray *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a Dynastic History 1099-1125* (Oxford, 2000) pp. 205 and 209.

<sup>32</sup> WT, 2.1 lines 16-17.

<sup>33</sup> Paris, 2.1 p. 55.

<sup>34</sup> Paris, 1.17 l. p. 32.

<sup>35</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and tr. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), pp. 76 and 200.

<sup>36</sup> J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders: 1095-1131*, (Cambridge, 2004), p. 95

Sarrazins.’<sup>37</sup> Throughout the text, the translator is consistent in these references to the ‘gent de France’ and it is clear that he is writing for an audience who would identify themselves, and their ancestors, with this term. The translator also appears to have been writing towards the end of the reign of Philip II, under whom the French monarchy had steadily gained wealth and power. While the dating of the translation will be discussed in detail in a later chapter, there are several instances in which alterations to the text reflect an interest in the French monarchy. If the translator was working within the sphere of the French monarchy, it might be expected that he would try to enhance the prestige of the members of the French royal family who participated in the crusades. He certainly appears to have done this regarding Philip II because in 22.3 the translator adds to the mention of Philip ascending the throne ‘de cui bontez se sent toute la Crestientez.’ The interest of the translator in the French monarchy, and Philip II in particular, occurs at several points throughout the text. While these will be discussed in more detail below, the translator’s consistent use of the phrase ‘le gent de France’ when discussing the participants of the First Crusade, including those who came from territories that came under French control at the time of Philip II, such as Normandy and Boulogne, can be seen as an attempt to portray these lands as unified under the French monarchy.

Another member of the French royal family, Hugh *le Maine*, count of Vermandois, brother of Philip I, and a member of the First Crusade, does not receive particularly warm treatment in William’s text. This is mainly due to the fact that Hugh left the crusade after taking a letter to the emperor Alexius at Constantinople. Hugh’s role in the crusade is enhanced in texts such as *Le Chanson d’Antioche* and it might be expected that his role would be similarly enhanced in the *Eracles*. There are in fact several places in which the translator gives Hugh a prominence which is lacking in William’s text. For instance in 4.18 Bohemond

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<sup>37</sup> Paris, 4.20 ll. pp. 147-8.

and Robert of Flanders leave Antioch in order to find supplies for the crusader army besieging the city. William states that Raymond of Toulouse and Adhemar, the bishop of Le Puy, were left behind in order to guard the city: ‘domino comite Tolosano et episcopo Podiense ad castrorum custodiam derelictis.’<sup>38</sup> The translator instead states that ‘li oz fu bailliez a garder au conte de Toulouse et a Huon le maine.’<sup>39</sup> Hugh is here more clearly portrayed as being one of the commanders of the crusade. While this may have been a simple copying error by the translator, a similar instance occurs in 5.16. During this chapter Bohemond discusses with the other nobles ways of defending Antioch from the approach of Kerbogha’s army. William lists the nobles present as: ‘dominus Boamundus maiores principes, dominum ducem Godefridum et dominum Robertum Flandrensiu comitem, dominum item Robertum comitem Normannorum, dominum quoque Raimundum Tolosanum comitem.’<sup>40</sup> The translator gives this list as: ‘Buiemonz ... le duc Godefroi, le conte de Flandres, Huon le Maine, le duc de Normendie, le conte de Toulouse.’<sup>41</sup> Another example occurs in 6.4 where Hugh is added to Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy as one of those who aided Bohemond in building a fort to protect the army, within the city, from being attacked by the Muslims who still held the citadel.<sup>42</sup> It is clear from this that the translator has regularly added Hugh’s name to lists of the prominent leaders of the crusade and this would seem to indicate that he took some interest in Hugh and was attempting to highlight his role in the crusade.

In addition to adding Hugh’s name to significant actions of the First Crusade, the translator also makes several additional comments on the valour of Hugh *le Maine* and also comments on his abandonment of the crusade, for which he was highly criticised. The first of

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<sup>38</sup> WT, 4.18 lines 12-3.

<sup>39</sup> Paris, 4.18 l. p. 145.

<sup>40</sup> WT, 5.16 lines 16-19.

<sup>41</sup> Paris, 5.16 l. p. 176.

<sup>42</sup> WT, 6.4 lines 33-4; Paris, 6.4 l. p. 195.

these occurs in 2.4 when Hugh, and other nobles, are released by the emperor Alexius at the request of Duke Godfrey. This group of crusaders had been taken prisoner by the Greeks after landing at Durazzo, modern Durrës, after sailing from Apulia. William discusses the envoys sent by Godfrey to the emperor in order to obtain the release of Hugh and the other nobles in 2.5 and the translator keeps this part of William's account. However, the translator also adds a large passage to the end of 2.4:

Quant li dux Godefroiz et li autre prince orient nouveles de cele prison, il pristrent bons messages et les envoierent a toutes leur letres a l'Empereur, et li manderent, en priant et en amonestant, que il, sanz delai, leur envoiast ce haut home Huon le maine et toute sa compaignie; car il le tenoient a seigneur et a frère et a compaignon de ce pelerinage: et de ce avoit-il plus fet sa volenté et sa force que droiture, quant il, si gentil home qui rien n'avoit forfeit, avoit pris et retenu.<sup>43</sup>

The first part of this passage simply recounts the fact that Godfrey sent messengers and desired the release of Hugh and his compatriots and does not add any information that was not originally in William's text. However, the translator seems to be drawing the reader's attention to Hugh. The second part of the passage stresses Hugh's innocence and the fact that he had been wrongly imprisoned by the emperor.

The translator also uses this passage to stress Hugh's inclusion amongst those leading the crusade by having Godfrey refer to him as 'seigneur et frère et compaignon de ce pelerinage.' In 5.6 William praises the valour of various nobles during the fighting at Antioch. He includes Hugh with: 'Hugo etiam Magnus, regii memor sanguinis et a tante dignitatis culmine non recedens.'<sup>44</sup> The translator keeps the sentiments of this passage with 'Hues li maines n'avoit pas oublié de quell lignage il estoit de quel terre' but also adds

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<sup>43</sup> Paris, 2.4 l. p. 62.

<sup>44</sup> WT, 5.6 lines 23-24.

‘aincois sembloit aus Tors que il fesoit sur ses anemis que toute la besoigne fust seue.’<sup>45</sup>

While there is no new information being added by the translator, he is again reinforcing the valour of Hugh and his worth to the crusade. He also highlights the hardship suffered by Hugh during the crusade. The translator also works to try to restore Hugh’s reputation following his failure to return to the crusade after taking messages to Constantinople, which led to general criticism of him by William. William criticises Hugh at length and also includes a reference in his text to Juvenal’s *Satires*:

Nam cum in expeditione multa gessisset egregie, unde sibi famam pepererat inmortalem, in ea legatione meritum denigravit, dum expleto negocio ad eos qui eum miserant nec response detulit nec curavit redire, fuitque in eo delictum hoc tanto notabilius, quanto ipse genere erat preclarior, nam iuxta verbum nostri Iuvenalis *omne animi vicium tanto conspectius in se crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.*<sup>46</sup>

While the translator would be expected to drop such a classical quotation, as he does throughout the text, he also greatly reduces the criticism of Hugh by replacing the entire passage with ‘plus en fu blasmez que n’eust été uns moiens hom.’<sup>47</sup>

The translator also adds that after leaving Constantinople Hugh ‘s’en parti de l’Empereur et tout droit ala en France.’<sup>48</sup> Later in 10.11, during a reference to the return of Hugh *le Maine* during the crusade of 1101, William adds another reference to his failure to return to the First Crusade from Constantinople noting:

dominus quoque Hugo Magnus, Philippi regis Francorum frater, comes Viromandensium, qui primam expeditionem sequutus, capta Antiochia inopia rei familiaris tractus in patriam redierat.<sup>49</sup>

The translator here retains William’s text:

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<sup>45</sup> Paris, 5.6 l. p. 162.

<sup>46</sup> WT, 7.1 lines 17-24.

<sup>47</sup> Paris, 7.1 l. p. 226.

<sup>48</sup> Paris, 7.1 l. p. 226.

<sup>49</sup> WT, 10.11 (12) lines 11-14

Hues li Maines, freres le roi Phelipe de France, et cuens de Vermandois: il avoit esté en la premiere muete jusque Antioche fu prise; apres ala en Costantinoble en message, puis s'en retorna en son pais, car il avoit despendu son avoir et assez acreu de l'autrui.<sup>50</sup>

It is possible that the translator did not alter this part of the text, if he was in fact actively trying to rehabilitate Hugh's reputation, because it is not overly critical of Hugh and he was mainly striving to alter the strongly negative passages regarding Hugh that were found in William's Latin text. Despite these few additional references to Hugh *le Maine*, the translator does not greatly emphasise his role in the crusade and does not include any additional passages from other vernacular texts, such as *La Chanson d'Antioche*. While he may show some interest in Hugh, he does not give him the kind of extra attention that would indicate that he was working under the patronage of the French monarchy. There are a couple of additional references to Hugh but no more so than other members of the First Crusade. The references to Hugh seem to be more in keeping with the translator's general interest in France and habit of adding information about French crusaders in general.

As well as to these numerous additions relating to the participants of the First Crusade, the translator has also made a number of changes to William's text regarding the Second Crusade. If, as seems to be the case, the translator was working in the Île de France towards the end of the reign of Philip II, it seems reasonable for him to have taken an interest in this particular expedition to the East. The Second Crusade, from 1145 to 1149, was conducted by the emperor Conrad III and Louis VII of France, the father of Philip. While there would have been no survivors of the crusade still living at the time that the translation was made, it is likely that there would have been a recollection of a crusading tradition associated with the French monarchy, particularly because of the presence of leading monarchs from the West.

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<sup>50</sup> Paris, 10.11 l. p. 346.

In particular, there are a number of additions made by the translator concerning Louis VII and his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine, as well as the constant disputes that surrounded their time in the East. At no point does William specifically name Eleanor in his text, simply referring to her as ‘the queen’<sup>51</sup> when her uncle, Raymond prince of Antioch, requested that Louis should assist him in attacking Muslim cities and castles around the principality of Antioch. The translator, on the other hand, specifically names her, ‘Alienors.’<sup>52</sup> The translator includes William’s statement that Louis desired to go on to Jerusalem and did not have the resources to assist any campaigns until he had completed his pilgrimage, but then adds a reference to the *travaux* his army had encountered on their journey, ‘puis qu’il estoit meuz de son pais, en avoit euz mainz destorbiers.’<sup>53</sup> While the translator does not add any new information, he is reinforcing the idea that Louis was justified in not aiding the prince of Antioch and in completing his crusading vow to go to Jerusalem instead. Eleanor, who had tried to persuade Louis to help Raymond, is heavily criticised by William:

*uxorem enim eius in idipsum consentientem, que una erat de fatuis mulieribus, aut violenter aut occultis machinationibus ab eo rapere proposuit. Erat, ut premisimus, sicut et prius et postmodum manifestis edocuit indiciis, mulier imprudens et contra regiam dignitatem legem negligens maritalem, thori coniugalis fide oblita.*<sup>54</sup>

The translator expands upon this with:

*De lui corocier se pena entoutes manieres, si neis que la roine sa femme mist-il a ce, qu’ele le vout lessier et partir de lui; car ele n’estoit mie lors sage femme, aincois fu mout blasmée en la terre, ne ne regarda mie, si com l’en dit, a la hautesce de sa coronne, ne a la foi du mariage. Li Rois le li mostra bien, quant il fu retornez en France; car il se dese vra de lui.*<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> WT, 16.27 line 12.

<sup>52</sup> Paris, 16.27 ll. p. 133.

<sup>53</sup> Paris, 16.27 ll. p. 134.

<sup>54</sup> WT, 16.27 lines 35-40.

<sup>55</sup> Paris, 16.27 ll. p. 134.

While the translator has only specifically added that the marriage of Louis and Eleanor ended after they returned to France, he has not seen fit to lessen the criticism of Eleanor in any way, such as he did with Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres, mentioned above.

The translator also makes a number of additions to the description of the failed siege of Damascus during the Second Crusade. He expands upon William's statement that Louis VII's forces were following those of Baldwin, ('*Quo cognito ira succensus, per medias regis Francorum acies usque ad conflictum eorum, qui pro flumine contendebant, cum suis principibus celer pervenit,*'<sup>56</sup> with '*li rois de France qui chevauchoit après a toute sa bataille, se tint et atendoit por secorre aus premerains quant mestiers fust et il fussent lassé.*'<sup>57</sup> The translator then adds a negative comment upon valour of the forces which had accompanied Emperor Conrad III, stating that before fleeing the battle they '*sevent pou de touz atiremenz d'armes, et sont une gent qui rien ne pueent sofrir.*'<sup>58</sup> This is simply a stylistic addition but is representative of the translator's generally negative attitude towards those from Germany.

Finally the translator enhances the criticism of those who were accused of being bribed to move the army away from the orchard towards the Eastern wall of the city of Damascus. William is also critical of these leaders, likening them to Judas, but refers to them simply as '*principibus nostris,*'<sup>59</sup> a term that could refer to the leaders of the Christian army in general, since he regularly refers to crusaders as a whole in similar terms, but it seems likely that he is referring specifically to the Eastern barons since he states that they persuaded the leaders of the crusading army, '*regibus et peregrinis principibus,*' to follow the advice.<sup>60</sup> William again uses the phrase '*peregrini principes*'<sup>61</sup> in the following chapter which the

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<sup>56</sup> WT, 17.4 lines 25-28.

<sup>57</sup> Paris, 17.4 ll. p. 143.

<sup>58</sup> Paris, 17.4 ll. p. 143.

<sup>59</sup> WT, 17.5 line 24.

<sup>60</sup> WT, 17.5 lines 28-9.

<sup>61</sup> WT, 17.6 line 19.

translator renders as ‘l’empereres de Alemaigne et li rois de France.’<sup>62</sup> However, the translator is far more specific in his accusation: ‘Bien est voirs que cil baron furent de la terre de Surie, mes leur nons ne leur lignages ne les terres qu’il tenoient ne nome pas l’estoire; espoir, porce qu’il i a encore vis de leur oirs qui ne le soferroient mie empais.’<sup>63</sup> While no specific names are mentioned, the translator is clearly placing the blame for the failure of the Second Crusade upon those who had settled in the Latin East and is accusing them of sabotaging the crusade for their own personal gain, a sentiment that had gained some momentum in the West.<sup>64</sup>

In the end the translator also expands upon the apathy shown by those in the West following the failure of the Second Crusade by stating: ‘La menue gent de France disoient tout en apert aus Suriens que ne seroit pas bone chose de conquerre les citez a leur oés, car li Tur i valoient mieuz que il ne fesoient.’<sup>65</sup> While the translator does not necessarily add any informational content to the depiction of the Second Crusade, there are a large number of stylistic additions at this point in the text. In addition, the translator seems keen to highlight the activity of Louis and seems to be aware of the general feeling in the West, particularly in France, to the outcome of this crusade. While William does criticise the eastern barons, the translator is far more forceful in his criticism. He is also aware of a feeling that the cause of the crusade was hopeless and that many in the West no longer felt the obligation to journey to the East to try to aid the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

During the description of the Second Crusade the translator also makes various other additions to participants of the crusade, much as he had done for those who had gone on the First Crusade. In 16.28 William discusses the arrival of Conrad III in Jerusalem but a large

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<sup>62</sup> Paris, 17.6 ll. p. 146.

<sup>63</sup> Paris, 17.5 ll. p. 145.

<sup>64</sup> J. Phillips *The Second Crusade: Expanding the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, 2007) pp. 222-3.

<sup>65</sup> Paris, 17.6 ll. p. 147.

part of the chapter is devoted to the death of Alphonse the count of Toulouse, son of the Raymond prominent in the First Crusade. Upon his arrival at Acre William introduces him as: ‘vir magnificus et illustris comes Tolosanus Amfossus nomine.’<sup>66</sup> The translator keeps this introduction but adds the reminder that he was ‘du royaume de France.’<sup>67</sup> We have here another instance in which the translator appears keen to remind his readers of the prominence of those from France in the crusading movement. While William notes that Alphonse was intending to continue on to Jerusalem the translator adds that he wanted ‘a veoir le Sepuchre et les autres sainz leus.’<sup>68</sup> Again the translator has not added any new information and what is added can be considered to be a generic statement of what any pilgrim going to Jerusalem would generally want to see. However, this is a reminder that the translator was aware of the reasons why pilgrims went to Jerusalem and shows his interest in the East. The translator is not simply translating William’s text word for word but is willing to take a certain amount of literary licence and shows a good understanding of the events he is describing. However, Alphonse did not make it to Jerusalem. He journeyed down the coast from Acre to Caesarea where he died. William states that there were rumours that Alphonse had been poisoned: ‘porrecto ut dicitur veneno sed auctore tanti sceleris incerto.’<sup>69</sup> The translator, on the other hand, is far more certain with his accusation: ‘Iluec uns filz de deable, l’en ne sot qui fut ne pour quoi li fist, mes il l’enpoisona de venin que il mist en sa viande.’<sup>70</sup> While there does not seem to be any proof that Alphonse was poisoned, the translator’s very definite stance upon the matter is interesting. The rumour of poison amongst the Frankish crusaders may have been widespread and may have influenced his thoughts upon the subject.

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<sup>66</sup> WT, 16.28 lines 11-12.

<sup>67</sup> Paris, 16.28 ll. p. 135.

<sup>68</sup> Paris, 16.28 ll. p. 135.

<sup>69</sup> WT, 16.28 lines 17-18.

<sup>70</sup> Paris, 16.28 ll. p. 135.

In general the translator adds little to the discussion of the military orders. While there are a few additional, mostly negative, comments upon the conduct of the Templars, which will be discussed later, there are a couple of alterations regarding specific Templars from France. The first occurs in 12.7 during the discussion of the foundation of the Order of the Temple and adds that Hugh de Payns came ‘delez Troies.’<sup>71</sup> This statement is correct, Payns is near to Troyes, and is a similar type of additional statement made to many of the participants in the First Crusade. The second Templar who is the subject of an alteration by the translator is Geoffrey Fulcher, and this is of far more interest. In the Latin text of 19.18 Geoffrey, along with Hugh of Caesarea, is sent as an envoy by King Amalric to the Fatimid caliph in Cairo, al-Adid, to conclude a treaty that had been agreed with the vizier Shawar in 1167. William describes Geoffrey as ‘frater militie Templi.’<sup>72</sup> The translator, on the other hand, identifies him with ‘qui estoit mestres du Temple.’<sup>73</sup> There is here a clear difference in Geoffrey’s title since he has been promoted from being a simple brother of the order to ‘master of the Temple.’ However, the question is how inaccurate is the title given to Geoffrey by the translator? While Geoffrey never held the position of master of the Order of the Temple, he is identified as the ‘procurator’ and ‘preceptor’ in the 1160s and as ‘commander of the Order overseas’ in the 1170s.<sup>74</sup>

He was apparently also close to Louis VII of France since in 1164 he wrote a letter to him in which he stated that he had carried a ring belonging to Louis to the various holy sites and said prayers for him.<sup>75</sup> It seems clear that while William refers to Geoffrey as a ‘frater,’ he was clearly more than this and was a person of some importance, particularly so in France.

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<sup>71</sup> Paris, 12.7 I. p. 442.

<sup>72</sup> WT, 19.18 line 7.

<sup>73</sup> Paris, 19.17 II. p. 277.

<sup>74</sup> H. J. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History*, (Stroud, 2001), p. 117; M. Barber *The New Knighthood*, (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 189-90; E. Rey ‘Geoffrey Foucher: Grand-commandeur du Temple, 1157-70’, *Revue de Champagne et de Brie*, 30 (1894), pp. 259-69.

<sup>75</sup> J. Burgtorf, *Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120-1310)* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 532-4.

However, the statement that he was the ‘mestres’ is still incorrect. It should be noted that there are other instances in which a local Templar commander is also referred to as ‘master’ and this may indicate a common practice that the commander within a local area was simply called the ‘master.’ A good example is William Cadel who, like Geoffrey, eventually became the preceptor of the Order in 1222-3. William is referred to as ‘magistro domus milicie Templi in Provincia’ in various charters from 1206 to 1237.<sup>76</sup> With his role as ‘commander of the Order Overseas’ this terminology would also have been true for Geoffrey. Given the fact that the holder of the title ‘master of the Order’ spent most of their time in the East it would be very easy to attribute such a title to the person who effectively controlled the order in France and had such a close relationship with the monarch.

One area of France that the translator did not seem to have a connection with is Aquitaine. William describes a group of pilgrims travelling towards Antioch and identifies the prominent nobles: ‘nobiles de partibus Aquitanicis, Gaufridus videlicet qui cognominatus est Martel, domini comitis Engolismensis frater, et Hugo de Liziniaco senior qui cogonminatus est Brunus.’<sup>77</sup> Hugh VIII, lord of Lusignan, had departed for the Latin East in 1163 and was captured by the Muslims at the battle of Harim in 1164, eventually dying in captivity.<sup>78</sup> This is presumably the Hugh mentioned by William, but he did not go by the cognomen of ‘Brunus.’ Hugh’s son did go by the name ‘Hugo Brunus’ but had remained in Lusignan to look after his father’s lands while he was on crusade. Hugh Brunus died in 1169 and is unlikely to have been able to make a journey to the East. It is also uncertain if he ever in fact became lord of Lusignan, as the date of his father’s death is unknown, and he is not counted as one of the lords, despite using the title in a charter.<sup>79</sup> It is possible that William has here confused the father and son. While the name ‘Brunus’ was also used by Hugh IV de

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<sup>76</sup> Burgtorf, pp. 672-5.

<sup>77</sup> WT, 19.8 lines 4-7.

<sup>78</sup> Riley Smith *First Crusaders* p. 191.

<sup>79</sup> S. Painter, ‘The Lords of Lusignan’, *Speculum*, 32 (1958), p. 41.

Lusignan and may have been seen as a family name it is not used by any other members of the family, including Hugh VIII and Hugh IX, the son of Hugh Brunus.<sup>80</sup> William's use of 'senior' may serve to indicate that Hugh VIII was the person he was referring to and not Hugh Brunus. However, this qualifier is lacking in the French which simply gives 'Hugo de Lezignan, en surnon estoit apelez li Bruns.'<sup>81</sup> Huygens does not mention that any of the Latin manuscripts lack this word, and it is not present in any of the manuscripts which, in general, appear to contain a reading close to the original translation. As a result it seems that the translator may have omitted this word. It is possible the translator simply forgot to include it, but there are no other places in the text where the translator has made a similar omission. Elsewhere the translator has been very careful in correctly identifying participants on the crusade, and it is unusual that he should create ambiguity surrounding Hugh VIII de Lusignan. Even if Hugh VIII did in fact use the surname of 'Brunus' it is strange that the translator should omit 'senior' if he was knowledgeable about the family. The most likely explanation is that the translator was not familiar with the Poitevin nobility in general and the Lusignans in particular, despite their prominence in the Latin East, when Guy de Lusignan, a younger son of Hugh VIII and brother of Hugh Brunus, became king of Jerusalem in 1186.

Since several of the *Eracles* manuscripts were produced in Flanders, it is tempting to assume that the popularity of the text in that region may indicate a connection between Flanders and the translator of William of Tyre, despite the fact that all these manuscripts have been dated to the fifteenth century.<sup>82</sup> Pryor has pointed out that there is some evidence for this theory, arguing that the translator elevated Robert of Flanders to be on a par with Bohemond of Taranto and omitting criticism of Philip of Flanders. Yet he also notes that the

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<sup>80</sup> Painter, pp. 27-47.

<sup>81</sup> Paris 19.7 II. p. 263.

<sup>82</sup> Folda, 'Handlist', pp. 94-5.

translator maintains William's general negative view of Philip.<sup>83</sup> The omission of criticism of Philip of Flanders regarding his failure to take up the regency of the kingdom and the failed siege of Harim at this point is interesting:

‘Admirari non sufficimus – esse enim videtur amplius opinione hominum – quod tantis principibus tantam induxit dominus mentis caliginem et ita in indignatione sua cecitate eos percussit, quod nemine compellente castrum iam pene expugnatum, sola stimulante invidia et negligentia revocante, hostibus dimitterent,’<sup>84</sup>

However, William had also included a similar criticism of Philip, as well as Bohemond III of Antioch and Raymond of Tripoli, at the end of the previous chapter in which he depicts them as very hubristic following the defeat of Saladin at the battle of Montgisart in 1177:

et qui solet in prosperis irrepere fastus, etsi non verbo, saltem cogitatione non vererentur dicere: *manus nostra excelsa, et non dominus fecit haec omnia*. At nunc iuxta verbum suum, quod scriptum est: *ego gloriam meam alteri non dabo* reservata sibi penitus auctoritate et gloria, non in multitudine, sed paucorum usus ministerio et Gedeonis innovans clementer miracula, innumeram stravit multitudinem, significans quod ipse sit, et non alius, cujus beneficio unus persequitur mille, et duo fugant decem millia. Ei ergo ascribatur, a quo est omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum, quia non est in hoc praesenti articulo, quod operibus suis imputare possit homo. Divinae enim gratiae munus est et non meritis exhibitum: tuum est opus, Domine, extendisti enim manum tuam, et devoravit eos terra; in multitudine gloriae tuae deposuisti omnes adversarios meos.<sup>85</sup>

While the various biblical quotations and references in this passage, as elsewhere, are removed by the translator, the criticism of Philip and the other leaders is maintained with ‘qui estoient avec eus eussent esté a ceste besoigne l’en poist cuidier que force d’omes et chevalerie eussent gaaignée ceste victoire; mes Nostre Sires vout cele chose acomplir par un

<sup>83</sup> Pryor, pp. 278-9; ‘In nullo relinquens post se in benedictione memoriam’ WT, 21.24 (25) lines 42-43 and ‘Ne leissa gueres bone remembrance de ses fez en la terre d’outre mer.’ Paris, 21.23 ll. p. 399.

<sup>84</sup> WT, 21.24 (25) lines 29-34.

<sup>85</sup> WT, 21.23 (24) lines 42-56.

petit de gent por mostrer que devant touz en doit-il avoir les grez et les graces.’<sup>86</sup> This consideration would argue against the translator having any connection with Flanders or showing any favouritism towards Philip of Flanders.

However, this is not to say that he did not take any interest in Philip. In 14.1 William notes that Philip had taken over control of the county of Flanders: ‘qui hodie Flandrensiū procurat comitatum.’<sup>87</sup> Philip of Flanders joined the Third Crusade but died from an illness at the siege of Acre on 1 June 1191.<sup>88</sup> This information is reflected in the translation, which replaces William’s statement with ‘qui mout tint bien et viguerement la conté de Flandres.’<sup>89</sup> The translator was aware of the circumstances of Philip of Flanders’s death, adding ‘puis fu morz outré mer, quant li rois Phelippes i ala.’<sup>90</sup> This, however, does not indicate a close link with the county of Flanders as the death of such a well known noble would have been general knowledge, especially so because he had died on the Third Crusade.

A further instance in which the translator appears to lessen the criticism of Philip of Flanders occurs during the description of Philip’s departure from the East in 1178. William criticises Philip’s impact in the kingdom, of which he had been offered the regency since he was the cousin of Baldwin IV, with: ‘in nullo relinquit post se in benedictione memoriam.’<sup>91</sup> The translator replaces this with; ‘Ne leissa guères bone remembrance de ses fez en la terre d’outre mer.’<sup>92</sup> While the translator did not remove the criticism, the statement that Philip’s deeds were not well remembered in the Latin East leaves open the possibility that he was well remembered elsewhere. The amount of praise that is given to Philip, even when placed alongside the omission of William’s criticism of him elsewhere, is not enough to

<sup>86</sup> Paris, 21.22 ll. p. 398.

<sup>87</sup> WT, 14.1 lines 76-77.

<sup>88</sup> ‘Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi’, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs, 1, Rolls Series 38 (London, 1864), p. 217.

<sup>89</sup> Paris, 14.1 ll. p. 3.

<sup>90</sup> Paris, 14.1 ll. pp. 3-4.

<sup>91</sup> WT, 21.24 (25) lines 42-43.

<sup>92</sup> Paris, 21.23 ll. p. 399.

indicate a close relationship, though it may reflect the continued importance of Philip's family at the time of the translation.<sup>93</sup>

Finally we shall look at the portrayal of Renaud de Châtillon and see how different the portrayal of him is in the translation. Renaud came from northern France and in 1153 married Constance, the cousin of Baldwin III and princess of Antioch who had recently become widowed on the death of her husband Raymond of Poitiers. Renaud appears to have remained in the East after his arrival, presumably with the Second Crusade in 1147, until his death following the Battle of Hattin in 1187, and became actively involved in life in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Through his marriage to Constance he was the prince of Antioch until she died in 1163, while Renaud was in a Muslim prison, and her son Bohemond III came of age. Following his release from prison in 1176 Renaud married Stephanie, widow of both Humphrey II of Toron and Miles de Plancy, through whom he acquired the lordship of Oultrejourdain.<sup>94</sup> William's general view of Renaud is that of a self-serving prince whose influence was disastrous to the Christian cause. This view of Renaud is particularly well known due to the value placed on William of Tyre's text and the stories about him in the *Old French Continuation*. However, there is some evidence that other contemporaries did not hold him in such low esteem and that William's portrayal of him was coloured by political rivalry.<sup>95</sup>

Upon Renaud's marriage to Constance, William comments that the nobility were astounded that Constance, who had previously refused to remarry, had married someone like Renaud de Châtillon who was simply a mercenary in the pay of the king and not a great baron.

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<sup>93</sup> Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', p. 98.

<sup>94</sup> B. Hamilton, 'The Elephant of Christ: Reynald of Châtillon', *Studies in Church History*, 15 (London, 1978), pp. 97-8.

<sup>95</sup> Hamilton, 'Elephant', p. 101.

Dumque hec circa Ascalonam in castris geruntur, domina Constantia, domini Raimundi Antiocheni principis vidua, licet multos inclitos et nobiles viros, eius matrimonium appetentes, more femineo repulisset, Rainaldum de Castellione, quendam stipendiarium militem, sibi occulte in maritum elegit; noluit autem verbum publicari quoadusque domini regis, cuius erat consobrina et sub cuius protectione principatus videbatur consistere, interveniret auctoritas et consensus. Festinavit ergo predictus Rainaldus ad exercitum et verbum domino regi communicans, sumpta eius coniventia Antiochiam rediens predictam duxit in uxorem principissam, non sine multorum admiratione quod tam preclara, potens et illustris femina et tam excellentis uxor viri militi quasi gregario nubere dignaretur.<sup>96</sup>

This is replaced in the French with:

Si com les choses alooient einsi entor le siege d'Escalone, madame Constance, la princesse d'Antioche, qui mainz hauz barons de grant afere avoit refusez, s'acorda en son cuer a un bacheler de France qui n'estoit pas mout riches hom; mes sages estoit, cortois et de bon afere; biaux bachelers et chevaliers bons, Renauz de Chasteillon estoit apelez. Mes ele ne vout mie fere le mariage jusqu'ele en eust le congié et la volenté le Roi, qui estoit ses cousins germains et qui avoit en sa garde la princé d'Antioche en que cil Renauz demoroit soudoiers, par le commandement le Roi. Quant il sot que la Princesse s'acordoit a lui, mes la chose ne pooit estre parfete se par le Roi non, il ne fu mie pareceus de si grant besoigne porchacier ; ainçois se mist a la voie hastivement, et vint au siege d'Escalone ou li Rois estoit. A conseil le treist et li mostra que il estoit veniz querre; aus piez li chéi et li pria mout humblement que ne li destorbast mie si grant enneur; car a l'aide de Dieu et au conseil le Roi meismes, il maintendroit bien la terre et touzjorz seroit a son comandement. Quant li Rois oi ce, bien le vout et en fu touz liez ; car il pensa que cil feroit bien, et volentiers se décharja de garder la terre qui estoit loing. Cil s'en retorna a grant joie, qui emporta letres le Roi a la Princesse, qui disoient que li Rois le voloit bien et l'en prioit. En Antioche s'en revint, tantost espousa la dame qui mout le desirroit. Maintes gent s'en

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<sup>96</sup> WT, 17.26 lines 1-13.

merveillierent et granz paroles en firent au pais ; mes toutes voies fu Renauz  
de Chasteillon princes d'Antioche.<sup>97</sup>

The translator drops the accusation against Constance that she was motivated by 'more femineo' and, while he does mention the general gossip which surrounded the marriage, he drops the statement that many felt Renaud to have been below her station, 'potens et illustris femina et tam excellentis uxor viri militi quasi gregario nubere dignaretur.' The translator also drops the suggestive word 'occulte' when detailing the circumstances of the marriage. In fact, rather than adding negative comments about Renaud or maintaining William's view of him, the translator appears to add praise to Renaud by adding that he was 'un bacheler de France qui n'estoit pas mout riches hom; mes sages estoit, cortois et de bon afere; biaux bachelers et chevaliers bons.' The translator is not excessive with his praise; these types of comments are added to other French crusaders and are also used for those whom William himself praises, but the translator consistently adds such phrases whenever Renaud is mentioned, and this type of comment is completely lacking from Renaud in William's text. In 17.21 the first mention is made of Renaud during Baldwin III's siege of Ascalon where he is noted, along with Walter de St. Omer, as being in the pay of the king: 'Rainaldus de Castellione, Galterus de Sancto Aldemaro, qui duo stipendia apud dominum regem merebant.'<sup>98</sup> The translator keeps this description of them but adds that they were 'dui haut home du roiaume de France.'<sup>99</sup> It is quite clear that the translator has an interest in Renaud and describes him in similar terms to other notable French crusaders and seems to be lessening some of the direct criticism of Renaud found in William's text.

One of the crimes for which Renaud was criticised was his treatment of the patriarch of Antioch in 1156, following a dispute in which the patriarch refused to finance Renaud's

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<sup>97</sup> Paris, 17.26 ll. pp. 179-80.

<sup>98</sup> WT, 17.21 lines 43-44.

<sup>99</sup> Paris, 17.21 ll. p. 173.

invasion of Cyprus. Renaud imprisoned the patriarch in the citadel of Antioch and left him for a day in the heat with honey on his head to attract flies until he agreed to fund the expedition.

William is very critical of this action stating:

‘unde motus in indignationem et iram inexorabilem princeps domino patriarche violentas iniecit manus et ausu diabolico captum in castellum, quod civitati Antiochene supereminet, ignominiose deduci fecit, quodque satis videtur abhominabile, sacerdotum longevum, Petri apostolorum principis successorem, virum egrotativum, pene perpetuo infirmantem, nudo capite et melle delibuto per diem estivum in sole ferventissimo compulit sedere, nemine contra solis importunitatem prebente remedium vel gratia pietatis muscas abigente.’<sup>100</sup>

In this case, the translator does not alter William’s criticism. Instead he retains all of this text:

‘car il fist prendre la Patriarche et mener honteusement au donjon d’Antioche. Apres fist-il encor greigneur deable; car il qui estoit prestres et evesques sacrez au leu monseigneur saint Père, qui vieus hom estoit et maladis, fist lier au somet de la tor, et le chief tout oindre de miel; et fu iluec au soleil ardant en un jor d’esté, touz seus soffri le chaut et les mouches a grant torment.’<sup>101</sup>

Had the translator wanted to suppress this story he would have been unable to do so as it would have been too well known. Also, as the translator was likely to have been a cleric, he would have found it hard to condone such treatment of a prelate. However, he does add a preface to this passage in which he states ‘li Princes qui estoit noviaus hom en fu trop corociez et mout troublez.’<sup>102</sup> While this does not attempt to hide any of Renaud’s actions or condone them, it does highlight his inexperience in governing a principality and dealing properly with the stresses that he faced.

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<sup>100</sup> WT, 18.1 lines 10-18

<sup>101</sup> Paris, 18.1 ll. p. 191.

<sup>102</sup> Paris, 18.1 ll. p. 191.

The major episode for which Renaud is criticised by William is his attack on Byzantine Cyprus in 1156. The reason for this centres upon the Armenian named Toros who had formerly been allied with the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos but had broken the alliance and had sought refuge in Cilicia where he was able to conduct raids on Byzantine territory. The emperor was unable to remove Toros from Cilicia and as a result asked Renaud to attack Toros's fortresses in return for payment. Renaud moved into Cilicia with his forces and drove Toros from the region. However, he did not receive his payment immediately. At this point William notes: 'Expectans ergo honestam pro tanto facto retributionem, videbatur ei differri plurimum: unde more inpatiens ad predictum maleficium convolvit.'<sup>103</sup> William's tone here is quite clear and, while he acknowledges that Renaud had performed a service for the emperor, he also criticises Renaud's impatience and blames him for an unprovoked attack upon Cyprus. The translation has a slightly different reading:

'Après envoia a l'Empereur et li manda la verité. Grand guerredon en atendoit; mais cil, quant sa besoigne fu fete, ne li envoia rien. Li Princes qui fu endetez vout prendre de l'Empereur; por ce, s'en entra par force en Chipre qui estoit seue.'<sup>104</sup>

There are several points here in which the translator has varied from William's Latin. In particular though is the translator's switch of emphasis away from Renaud so that he does not mention impatience. Instead he focuses the costly endeavour which Renaud had performed for the emperor and highlights the fact that Renaud had not been repaid for his losses. As a result the account is much more favourable towards Renaud. The translator also adds the phrase 'li Princes qui estoit preuz et chevalereus vout bien servir l'empereur'<sup>105</sup> which is lacking in William's text but is consistent of the translator's treatment of Renaud elsewhere.

Upon Renaud's arrival in Cyprus William spells out all of his atrocities:

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<sup>103</sup> WT, 18.10 lines 23-25.

<sup>104</sup> Paris, 18.10 ll. p. 209.

<sup>105</sup> Paris, 18.10 ll. p. 209.

monasteria tam virorum quam feminarum impudenter confregit, expositis ludibrio sanctimonialibus et virginibus tenellis. Nam auri et argenti et vestium preciosarum non erat numerus neque finis, sed amittenti hec populo comparatione lese pudicitie quasi stercorea reputabantur. Sic ergo per dies aliquot per totam debacantes regionem dum non esset qui resisteret, etati non parcunt vel sexui, conditionum quoque nullam habentes differentiam.<sup>106</sup>

This statement is particularly damning towards Renaud due to the specific accusations regarding the pillaging of churches and the treatment of nuns and women. The translator on the other hand greatly reduces this to ‘bien puet estre que mainz outrages fist l’en aus puceles et aus femmes mariees car l’en ne puet tout garder ne garantir en tele aventure.’<sup>107</sup> The translator admits generally that Renaud had allowed some outrages but greatly reduces the passages and removes all mention of him sacking monasteries and tones down William’s condemnation. The abridgement of this passage is unusual since elsewhere, as in the case with the patriarch of Antioch, the translator generally tends to add a comment that changes the emphasis of the text rather than removing text completely. It seems unlikely that the translator would have reduced such criticism, if he was not showing some sort of favourable interest in Renaud. This type of reduction of criticism was also seen with Hugh *le Maine* regarding his failure to return to the first Crusade after taking a message from the Crusaders at Antioch to the Emperor of Constantinople.

It has been noted that William of Tyre used the ‘weapon of silence’ in order to criticise certain persons, notably Renaud de Châtillon.<sup>108</sup> A particular example of this occurs in regards to the battle of Montgisart in 1177. In this battle a small force from the Kingdom of Jerusalem was able to defeat the army of Saladin. While William does mention that Renaud was present at this battle he portrays Baldwin IV as the commander of the army.

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<sup>106</sup> WT, 18.10 lines 32-39.

<sup>107</sup> Paris, 18.10 ll. p. 209.

<sup>108</sup> Pryor, p. 279.

However, according to Baha' al-Din it was Renaud who was in command of the army.<sup>109</sup>

This Muslim writer would have had little reason to enhance Renaud's position in this battle and to place him above the king. As a result it seems very likely that Renaud did in fact play an active and leading role in defending the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Following the battle of Hattin in 1187 Renaud was viewed positively as a martyr in certain areas of the West, such as in the writings of Peter of Blois, and that is in stark contrast to the negative portrayal of him given earlier by William.<sup>110</sup> At no point in the text does the translator add any additional detail regarding Renaud's role at Montgisart nor is he given any special praise for his piety or given any honorific, such as the term *martyr*. However, the translator has regularly added praise to Renaud concerning his general valour as a knight. This is particularly the case when he first comes into the narrative, but the translator also inserts comments throughout the text which are favourable. This type of comment about Renaud is entirely absent in William's Latin.

The translator does not completely remove William's criticism of Renaud but always adds a comment or makes a change that shifts the emphasis away from his actions. In the case of the patriarch of Antioch Renaud's inexperience was highlighted whilst Manuel I's failure to compensate Renaud for services provided was given as the cause for the attack on Cyprus. The events on Cyprus are abridged and the translator appears to separate Renaud from the actions of his men whom he could not always control. At no point does the translator go out of his way to praise Renaud. At those points in which the translator adds praise it is always in the same terms as other crusaders and also church leaders. The translator does not add any extra information into the text that would indicate that he was close to Renaud's circle or that he had any information on Renaud's career beyond what he found in William's text.

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<sup>109</sup> Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, tr. D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2002), p. 54; Cf. Hamilton, 'Elephant', p. 100 n. 24,

<sup>110</sup> M. Markowski, 'Peter of Blois and the Conception of the Third Crusade', *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 263-5.

However, it is clear that the translator has taken a very different viewpoint to William in regards to Renaud de Châtillon, likely due to his overall trend in praising French crusaders, and has sought to improve Renaud's image in the text. This is particularly interesting because it seems to imply that there was a favourable attitude towards Renaud in France beyond the writings of Peter of Blois.

## Italy and Greece

At several points in the text the translator adds additional information regarding cities in Italy and background material on Constantinople. Although there are very few of these instances in this text, these additions are all the more interesting because they seem to be removed from the generally Franco-centric viewpoint of the translator. They may indicate that the translator had a basic understanding of the geography of these areas and possibly indicate that he had travelled in them, even to the point of having gone to the East. However, whereas some of the additions relating to France are very specific and do not appear in other sources, the references to Italy and Greece generally refer to well known locations or events of which the translator could have acquired knowledge while remaining in France.

In 2.4 William describes the people of the regions surrounding the Byzantine Empire attacking Greek territory, such as Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, because it was very fertile. He describes the incursions with:

Conciere est ex his locis, que aliquando uberiores et omnimodis  
commodiatibus referte fuerent provincie, quanta sit Grecorum miseria et  
eorum debilitas imperii. Nam postquam, deficientibus apud  
Constantinopolim Latinis principibus, in eorum Potestatem sub primo  
Nichefero, peccatis exigentibus, descendit imperium, statim barbare nationes,  
de Grecorum inbecillitate confise, in eorum provincias irruentes pro arbitrio  
suo regionis ceperunt tractare habitatores. Inter quas Bulgarorum gens  
inculta, a tractu septentrionali egressa, a Danubio usque ad urbem regiam et  
iterum ab eodem flumine ad Mare Adriaticum, universas occupaverat  
regiones.<sup>1</sup>

In this passage William only refers to the Bulgars specifically from amongst the ‘barbarous nations.’ In the French, the translator has added to this so that it reads:

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<sup>1</sup> WT, 2.4 lines 1-11.

Ici puet l'en conoistre la lascheté et la mauvestié de la gent de Grece. Car puis que li empereur latin faillirent en Costantinoble et li empires vint aus Greus dont fu li premiers empereres Nicefores, tantost li Barbarin qui estoient entour eus, li Blac, li Coman, cil de Bougrie qui leur sont devers bise, seurpristrent ces terres qui estoient merveilles plentéives et delitables, si que tout conquistrent, des la Dunoe jusque pres de Constantinoble; et de l'autre part, jusqu'a la mer Adriane.<sup>2</sup>

This reference to Vlachs and Cumans is not found in the Latin text. In addition, 'les Blas' is added to another mention of the Bulgars later in the chapter.<sup>3</sup> The Cumans were a nomadic originally from the Asian steppes, while the term 'Vlachs' refers to a group of Latinized people from the Balkans, including Thracians and Dacians. Both these groups sided with the Bulgars in a rebellion against Byzantine rule in 1186 which resulted in the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Empire.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, unlikely that the addition of the names of these two groups reflects a knowledge of this war; it is far more plausible that the references to them indicate that the translation was made after the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the establishment of the Latin Empire in Constantinople when they again feature prominently as opponents of the new regime.

In this same chapter the translator also adds background to the name of the Adriatic Sea. He adds:

'Il a une cité en Lombardie, pres de la terre le marquis de Est, qui a non Adre, et est assez petite citéz, mais por ce qu'ele est pres de la mer de Venise et de Ancone, a non cele mers Adriane en escripture. Icele mers si va assez pres de Constantinoble, a trente milles.'<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Paris, 2.4 l. p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, 2.4 l. p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> W. Miller, 'The Balkan States: 1. The Zenith of Bulgaria and Serbia (1186-1355), *The Cambridge Medieval History: Volume 4 The Eastern Roman Empire 717-1453* eds. J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton and Z. N. Brooke (Cambridge, 1923) pp. 518-9

<sup>5</sup> Paris, 2.4 l. pp. 60-61.

This passage is unusual because it is one of the few in which the translator has added background material. The majority of background to the names of cities, particularly those in the Levant, is left out by the translator. The translator here appears to be mistakenly merging the Adriatic and the Bosphorus to bring Constantinople within thirty miles of the Adriatic but the extra information may reflect that the translation was made after the formation of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. Perhaps the translator had travelled through the area; if he did, he would likely have boarded a ship in Italy. It must be remembered though, that the problems with the geography and the reference to writings mean that it is possible that the translator obtained his information at second hand. However, the reference to a sequence of ports along the eastern coast of Italy, along with a sequence of references in France leading south along the Rhône<sup>6</sup> make it seem possible that the translator was adding details of information that he had learned on his travels and that he may have travelled through Italy. The lack of any addition referring to any western city, Rome in particular, would indicate that the translator, if he embarked on a pilgrimage, likely travelled down the eastern coast by land. He may have passed by Adria<sup>7</sup> and then possibly continued down the coast to Bari, where he may have boarded a ship heading for the Latin East. A final addition relating to Italy occurs in 2.16. Robert, the count of Flanders, took ship at Bari in order to sail for Durazzo. The translator adds that Bari was ‘ou li cors monseigneur Saint Nicolas gist.’<sup>8</sup> The body of St. Nicholas was translated from Myra to Italy in 1087 and became a popular place of pilgrimage.<sup>9</sup> The translator’s inclusion of this addition may simply reflect the renown of the pilgrimage site rather than the fact that the translator had in fact travelled there. While a subsequent chapter will discuss whether or not the translator had undertaken a pilgrimage in

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<sup>6</sup> Paris, 15.15 ll. p. 69; 18.2 ll. p. 193; 19.23 ll. p. 289.

<sup>7</sup> Paris, 2.4 l. p. 60.

<sup>8</sup> Paris, 2.16 l. p. 76.

<sup>9</sup> ‘Nicholas’, *ODS*, p. 385.

more detail, it is possible that these additions reflect the translator's personal knowledge and that he visited Bari en route for the East.

Later in 2.7 during the description of Constantinople the translator alters William's description of the geography of the area. The Latin reads:

'Mare Ponticum, quod ab adiacente regione nomen accepit, predictae civitati a parte septentrionali positum est, ab eadem triginta distans miliaribus. A quo in modum fluminis per quasdam angustias in austrum descendit quedam eius portio, que, spacio ducentorum triginta miliarium decurrens in directum, inter Sexton et Abidon urbes antiquissimas, quarum altera in Europa est, altera in Asia, in nostrum Mare labitur Mediterraneum.'<sup>10</sup>

The French has:

'La mer qui est en Venise vient pres de Costantinoble a .xxx. milles; d'iluec s'en part un braz ausi come une eaue douce, et s'estent vers midi en lonc .cc. et .xxx. miles ; et il n'est mie oniz, car en tel leu i a qu'il n'a de lé que une mille, en autre leu en a bien .xxx. de lez, ou plus, selonc ce que il treuve les leus par ou il cort plus estroit ou plus large. Il cort entre des deux anciennes citéz Sexton et Abidon, de quoi l'une est en Aise et l'autre est en Europe ; car cil braz est la devise de ces deus terres. Costantinoble est en Europe, de l'autre part est Nique qui est Aise.'<sup>11</sup>

At this point the translator may have shifted the focus away from the Black Sea and instead focused upon what he terms 'the Sea of Venice' and includes the Adriatic, Aegean and Bosphorus as a sea that is distinct from what he calls the 'mer d'Acre' which comprises the Eastern part of the Mediterranean, and this may indicate a post 1204 date for the translation.<sup>12</sup> However, it seems more likely that this is an erroneous reading in which 'Mare Ponticum' has been replaced with 'Mare Veneticum.'

<sup>10</sup> WT, 2.7 lines 1-8.

<sup>11</sup> Paris, 2.7 l. pp. 64-5.

<sup>12</sup> Paris, 2.7 l. p. 65; 11.14 l. p. 402.

A final addition made regarding this area occurs in 16.19. This chapter discusses the journey of the participants of the Second Crusade over the Danube and towards Constantinople. Amongst a list of the various places which the crusaders pass William notes that they passed through the province of Pannonia prior to arriving in Bulgaria. The translator not only includes the classical name of the province but also adds ‘ou messire sainz Martins fu nez.’<sup>13</sup> This addition shows an interest in a saint who was particularly popular in France; he was bishop of Tours and his tomb was a popular site of pilgrimage.<sup>14</sup> It seems likely that this addition does not indicate any particular interest in Pannonia, or the Balkans in general. Instead it is another instance that seems to indicate that the translator was working in France and seems generally supportive of the French monarchy. The translator does not appear to have extensive knowledge of either Italy or Greece, but these few references seem to come from personal knowledge acquired while travelling through the region, likely on a pilgrimage to the East.

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<sup>13</sup> Paris, 16.19 ll. p. 119.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Martin of Tours’, *ODS*, pp. 350-2.

## The Translator

One of the aims of my research has been to try and locate within the *Eracles* some information that can help to shed some more light on the identity of the translator. It was the general consensus of the nineteenth-century editors that the translation of William of Tyre was made by Bernard, the treasurer of the Abbey of Corbie, who was believed to have produced some of the continuations of the text up to 1190.<sup>1</sup> However, this is very unlikely and it is now argued that the translation of William of Tyre was made independently of the continuations.<sup>2</sup> However, it is clear that the translator was most likely a cleric, but one who left very few indications as to his identity in the text. This section will attempt to analyse what can be known of translator by examining some of the additions he made that might shed light on his attitudes and general station in life.

The passage that has in the past been regularly used to date and identify the translator occurs in 20.11. This chapter relates that, after gaining power in Egypt, King Amaury sent messengers to the West to request aid. One of these messengers, John, bishop of Banyas, died in Paris shortly after their arrival: ‘nam predictus episcopus postquam in Franciam pervenit, statim apud Parisius ultimum clausit diem.’<sup>3</sup> The *RHC* edition reads ‘Jehan l’evesque de Belinas et Huitace li deans de Charmentré morurent a Paris.’<sup>4</sup> It is this addition of Huitace which has caused much comment by historians. Ost and Pryor identified this figure as being closely associated with the translator due to the fact that he is the subject of two additions to the text.<sup>5</sup> However Huitace does not appear in the Paris edition for this chapter though Paris

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<sup>1</sup> Paris, I. pp ix-x; *RHC Occ* 1, p. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> P. Edbury, ‘The Old French Continuations of William of Tyre’, *Crusades*, 9 (2010), p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> WT, 20.12 lines 35-37.

<sup>4</sup> *RHC*, 20.12 p. 961.

<sup>5</sup> Ost, p. 14; Pryor, p. 280.

does note that the *RHC* edition had included this reading.<sup>6</sup> Pryor also noted this and commented that ‘it would appear that the scribes of the MSS used by Paulin Paris had dropped the mention of this dean of Charmentré from E.20,12 because they realized that he was reported as still alive in 1180-81.’<sup>7</sup> However this reference to Huitace only occurs in a single manuscript, F45, which contains a number of other variant readings which means that it is unlikely that this manuscript alone has preserved the two mentions of Huitace. It is fairly certain that these additions were not made by the translator but by a later copyist.

In short, I do not think that this addition can be attributed to the translator of the *Eracles* text. Despite Pryor’s comment that the scribes had omitted Huitace’s name from this chapter as he also occurred later on in the text, Huitace does not appear in either location in the two texts that Paris stated that he used, F31 and F52, nor does he appear in F58, the only other manuscript which Paris mentions that had a variant reading.<sup>8</sup> Pryor also states that ‘the important point is that various MSS add his name to the chronicle on two different occasions and some of them give precise details of his burial place.’ In this statement Pryor was reliant upon Ost’s work and does concede that more work needed to be done upon the manuscript tradition. What these references to Huitace do indicate is that the *RHC* editors used F45 to an appreciable extent. Ost’s statement ‘dass dieser Huitace, dessen Name, wie aus der zweimaligen unvermittelten Einfügung hervorzugehen scheint, unserm Übersetzer sehr gelaufig gewesen sein muss, sein vorgesetzter oder freund gewesen ist, dem er durch erwahung in diesem Werke eine Ehre erweisen wollte’ cannot be applied to the translator. However it is likely that the scribe of this particular manuscript, or its antecedent, had some knowledge of this Huitace and added his name as a mark of respect. What is uncertain is how far this information can be shown to be historically accurate as the Augustinian abbey of St.

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<sup>6</sup> Paris, II. 20.11 p. 327 n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Pryor, p.281.

<sup>8</sup> Paris, I. 1.27 p. 49 n.2; 3.19 p. 111 n. 3.

Victor in Paris, and subsequently the tomb, no longer exists and I have found no other historical references to this Huitace.

While the addition of Huitace is only found in a single manuscript, F45, the addition of the burial place of John, the bishop of Banyas is found in nearly all of the manuscripts. While William simply reported that John died in Paris,<sup>9</sup> the French text adds that he was ‘enterrez en l’eglise Saint Victor a senestre si come l’en entre vers le cuer.’<sup>10</sup> Though the translator did not add the reference to Huitace, it appears likely that he was familiar with the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris and was able to provide additional detail that specified the location of the bishop of Banyas’ grave inside the abbey. This might indicate that the translator can be connected with Paris or the Île de France in general.

Another addition which is present in the manuscripts and can presumably be tied to the translator relates to the additional material regarding Pope Adrian IV and the Augustinian abbey of St. Ruf outside Avignon. William had provided a general background to Adrian upon his election as pope, relating: ‘hic Anglicus natione, de castello Sancti Albani, apud Avinionem civitatem Provincie in Arelatensi diocesi abbas fuit canonicorum regularium in ecclesia Sancti Rufi’.<sup>11</sup> The translator gives a bit of additional detail in stating that Adrian ‘vint a ecole en la cite d’Avignon’<sup>12</sup> prior to becoming abbot. In addition, following Adrian’s election the translator adds

ne demora gueres, por ce qu’il cognoissoit bien la malice et la mescreandise de ceus d’Avignon, le siege de l’abaie don’t il avoit esté abés osta d’iluec, et la mist dehors la cite de Valence. Lors fist du suen mout bele eglise qui encor i est, et mout riches edifices. Du leu ou l’abaie fu fist prioré, et establi

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<sup>9</sup> WT, 20.12 lines 35-37.

<sup>10</sup> Paris, 20.11 ll. p. 327.

<sup>11</sup> WT, 18.2 lines 3-5.

<sup>12</sup> Paris, 18.2 ll. p. 192

que la nouvelle abaie qui est pres de Valence obéiroit a l'evesque d'Avignon.<sup>13</sup>

This rather long addition is interesting for a number of reasons. It appears to confirm the general tension between the canons of St. Ruf and those of the cathedral of Avignon regarding the independence of the abbey<sup>14</sup> and, contrary to the general tendency to suppress ecclesiastical material, this is a very rare instance in which the translator has added ecclesiastical material, as is discussed in the section above concerning ecclesiastical material in the text. It may be that the translator had an association with this abbey. Alternatively he may also have simply travelled through the area, visiting the abbey and noting it in his translation, as he also does with the southern Italian city of Bari where he notes the tomb of St. Nicholas. It may be significant that both St. Rufus near Valence and St. Victor in Paris were communities of regular canons who followed the Augustinian Rule.

Another area of ecclesiastical interest is the translator's interest in Thomas Becket. The translator has added information about his activities in France. William simply relates that Becket spent seven years in exile: 'eundem regem persequutorem fugiens exilium compulsus est subire, quod in Francia septennio continuo mirabilis et predicanda tulit pacientia.'<sup>15</sup> The translator, however, is more specific in relating: 'li preudom s'en vint com essilliez eu roiaume de France qui maintes foiz a securu au besoigneus; .vii. anz demora en cel essil, pres que touzjorz fu enla cite de Senz et a Potegni.'<sup>16</sup> Further passages have been added relating how Becket suffered grievous wrongs for the rights of the church ('il qui en mout grant pacience avoit sofferz les torz et les grevemenz que l'eu li avoit fet, porce qu'il deffendoit la droiture de seinte eglise')<sup>17</sup> and refers to the exact location in the cathedral at

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<sup>13</sup> Paris, 18.2 ll. pp. 193

<sup>14</sup> C. Egger, 'The Canon Regular: Saint-Ruf in Context', *Adrian IV: The English Pope*, eds. B. Bolton and A. J. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003), pp 27-8.

<sup>15</sup> WT, 20.21 lines 34-36.

<sup>16</sup> Paris, 20.20 ll. p. 342.

<sup>17</sup> Paris, 20.20 ll. p. 342.

Canterbury where Becket was killed ('devant un autel qui est si come l'en vet des cloistre vers le cuer').<sup>18</sup> This last passage in particular is striking because of the similarity with the additional passage in 20.11 which related the location of the grave of the bishop of Banyas. While the translator may have visited Canterbury, it may be significant in this connection that many of the leading scholars in Paris were sympathetic to Becket after his death.<sup>19</sup> In addition, Becket preached in the chapter house of the abbey of St. Victor on 4 September 1170.<sup>20</sup>

A final ecclesiastical addition made by the translator concerns the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. 11.15 discusses the death of Gibelin of Arles, the patriarch of Jerusalem and the election of Arnulf of Chocques, who was archdeacon at the time. William is very critical of Arnulf throughout his text referencing Job 34:30 'sed propter peccata populi patitur deus regnare hypocritam,'<sup>21</sup> at Arnulf's election. The translator maintains this negative view of Arnulf with 'bien cuit que ce fu por le pechie du clergie et du pueple qui par haine Nostre Seigneur avoient deservi tel prelat sur eus'.<sup>22</sup> The translator is also critical of the canons who were installed in the Holy Sepulchre by Arnulf and who replacing those installed by Godfrey de Boulogne and the other leaders on the First Crusade as penitence for the damages caused during the capture of Jerusalem. William simply gives 'ordinem, quem primi principes studiose et cum multa deliberatione in ecclesia Ierosolimitana instituerant, regulares canonicos introducendo commutavit'.<sup>23</sup> The French text adds to this by reading:

Pource que il poïst mieuz fere sa volenté des choses de l'eglise, il porçaça tant par sa malice, que li establissement fu despeciez que li dux Godefroiz et

<sup>18</sup> Paris, 20.20 ll. p. 342.

<sup>19</sup> F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, (London, 1986), p. 20.

<sup>20</sup> Barlow, p. 214.

<sup>21</sup> WT, 11.15 lines 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> Paris, 11.15 l. p. 405.

<sup>23</sup> WT, 11.15 lines 15-17.

li autre baron avoient establi en l'eglise du Sepuchre, quant la cité fu conquise; car il i mistrent clers qui avoient riches provendes, et par eus et par leur compaignies servoient mout hautement l'eglise; cil ne fina onques jusque il i ot mis chanoines rieulez, qui estoient menue genz, ne riens ne li osoient contredire qu'il vousist fere.<sup>24</sup>

The translator here described the canons, placed in the Sepulchre by Arnulf, as being 'lesser men.'

These are the only instances in which ecclesiastical material has been added to the text by the translator. The fact that all of these additions refer to Augustinian canons, or to churches under their control, suggest that this was a particular interest of the translator and may indicate that he himself was a canon, possibly at the abbey of St. Victor in Paris. That the translator was a cleric can generally be seen to be beyond doubt. Throughout the translation, despite omitting much biblical material, the translator does appear to show a good knowledge of scripture that a layman may not ordinarily possess. In addition to an interest in the Augustinian canons, and being competent enough with Latin to be able to translate William's text, he is able to name books from which William took some of his quotes and is able to provide some references of his own. In addition the translator also sets himself apart from the lay community in 8.3. At this point in the description of Jerusalem the translator alters William's mention of 'Templum Domini'<sup>25</sup> to read 'li Temples que la laie gent apelent le Temple Dominus.'<sup>26</sup> It is clear from this that the translator is distinguishing the language of the laity, and their illiteracy, from the language of the clerics, of which he is one.

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<sup>24</sup> Paris, 11.15 l. pp. 405-6.

<sup>25</sup> WT, 8.3 line 36.

<sup>26</sup> Paris, 8.3 l. p. 267.

## The Translator as a Pilgrim

Is it possible to say that the translator had visited the East as suggested by Pryor?<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to answer this question because the translator's voice is not prominent in the text, and at no point does he say that he had been to the East. As a result it is necessary to rely upon the various alterations to William of Tyre's text to establish if the translator inserted anything which would indicate that he had travelled. The problem with this is that this assumes that any additional information is solely the influence of the translator. It is entirely possible that he was working in an ecclesiastical environment, and colleagues may have travelled and provided information upon their return. However, as will be discussed shortly, there are very few additional references to the East and at no point has a large portion of another text been added to William's *Historia*. In addition, the translator is very careful to name William as the author of the text and does not identify any other source of information.

The majority of the additions in the *Eracles* text generally serve as glosses to the text, which provide additional information or explain a part of William's text. For example, William mentions that Bohemond and Baldwin were marching to Jerusalem during the month of December.<sup>2</sup> To this the translator adds that December 'sieut estre mout pluieus en cele terre.'<sup>3</sup> This passage may have been added in order to attempt to further portray and explain the difficulties faced by the First Crusaders as they struggled to find food on the march during which many died from disease. However, it also appears to show first-hand experience of the East. A similar instance has also been pointed out by Bernard Hamilton near the end of the text.<sup>4</sup> In this case Saladin is depicted crossing the desert between Egypt and the Kingdom of Jerusalem. William relates, 'Porro Salahadinus, transcura cum suis expeditionibus solitudine,

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<sup>1</sup> Pryor, pp. 284-8.

<sup>2</sup> WT, 9.14 line 41.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, 9.14 l. p. 318.

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', pp. 99-100

quod iter cum multa difficultate vix diebus viginti confecerat, iamque terram habitabilem ...'<sup>5</sup>

The *Eracles* reads 'Salehadins ot pasée la voie des deserz ou il et sa gent orent soffertes mout granz peines, porce que ausi sordent tempestes és sablons com en la mer'.<sup>6</sup> This is another instance in which the translator has been able to add local information that explains the general difficulties alluded to in William's text.

During King Amaury's siege of Damietta in 1169 William relates that the Greek forces with the army began to run short of food and sought food from the nearby palm trees:

Cedebatur ad usus varios silva palmarum castris contermina deictisque ad terram certatim arboribus, in summo earum, unde rami habent originem, Greci fame laborantes querebant multo studio quandam teneritudinem, unde ramis humor vitalis ministratur, esui quodammodo habilem, unde suam, licet misere, consolabantur esuriam: querendi victus artem fames auxerat et ventris appetites rugientis sollertiam induxerat amplioem. Hoc sane per dies aliquot edulio vitam misere protrahantes famem laborabant depellere.<sup>7</sup>

The French renders this as:

Lors veissiez que il abatoient les paumiers qui entor la ville estoient ausi espesement com une grant forest ; au sommet queroient un tendron que l'en apele le fromage qui assez est de bone saveur, et en ce est la vie de tout l'arbre. Cil qui mouroient de faim le menjoient mout volentiers, et de ce vesquirent ne sai quanz jorz.<sup>8</sup>

In naming the 'fromage' that the Greek used to put off starvation the translator appears to be adding local knowledge to the text while describing the palm trees as 'une grant forest' may be from personal experience or simply a stylistic addition. However, William does also name the foods, 'hazelnuts and chestnuts'<sup>9</sup> which some of the other Greeks had which is also in the

<sup>5</sup> WT, 22.15 (14) lines 38-40; In Huygens' edition the verb is lacking from the end of this sentence but he notes that two manuscripts read 'iam terram habitabilem attigit' WT, 22.15(14) line 40 n.

<sup>6</sup> Paris, 22.13 II p. 432.

<sup>7</sup> WT, 20.16 lines 4-11.

<sup>8</sup> Paris, 20.15 II. p. 332.

<sup>9</sup> WT, 20.16 line 14

French, ‘avelannes et chasteignes seches.’<sup>10</sup> It may be the case that the addition of ‘fromage’ reflects a Latin manuscript which named these foods but has not survived in any form, but based upon the current evidence it appears that ‘fromage’ was introduced by the translator.

While the translator does not state that he has been to Damietta it is interesting to note that some of the glosses that William added to his text are lacking in the French text. This occurs when the city of Damietta, in Egypt, is mentioned in William’s text. When relating that several Greek ships were wrecked near the city during a storm the phrase ‘in finibus Egypti’<sup>11</sup> is dropped from the text. Damietta is also added to Saladin gathering troops from Alexandria and all of Egypt, ‘ab Alexandri et universa Aegypto’<sup>12</sup> being replaced with ‘en Alixandre a Damietta et par toute Egypte.’<sup>13</sup> The first example is similar to the translator’s treatment of Canterbury during the discussion of Thomas Becket where the phrase ‘in anglia apud’<sup>14</sup> is dropped from the text. It seems probable that William’s glosses have been dropped in the French translation because the information that they contained was common knowledge. Thus Becket’s fame, and subsequent elevation as a saint and the position of Canterbury as his shrine, meant that it was not necessary to state that Canterbury was in England. Likewise this may indicate that Damietta’s fame meant that it was not necessary to say that it was in Egypt and this may be a consequence of the events of the Fifth Crusade. The translator’s apparent knowledge of the difficulties of the landscape of Egypt and knowledge of the food available for scavenging in the vicinity of Damietta may indicate that he had been there. However, this cannot be said with any certainty.

The translator also provides a number of other glosses. Some of these simply provide a definition for a word or term that may be unfamiliar to a western audience, such as when

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<sup>10</sup> Paris, 20.15 ll. p. 332.

<sup>11</sup> WT, 22.15 (14) line 2.

<sup>12</sup> WT, 22.18 (17) line 10.

<sup>13</sup> Paris, 22.16 ll. p. 439.

<sup>14</sup> WT, 20.21 line 22.

Alexius the *Protosebastos* of the emperor Alexius II, is mentioned the *Eracles* text adds ‘qui estoit seneschaus de la terre, et por ce estoit apelez en leur langage Protosevasto’.<sup>15</sup> There are other instances in which the translator appears to show knowledge of Eastern affairs. In particular the translator, as Hamilton also points out,<sup>16</sup> adds to the discussion of Saladin agreeing peace with Raymond, count of Tripoli, the statement that this truce did not apply to the kingdom of Jerusalem, ‘qui n’avoit mie esté és trives le Roi.’<sup>17</sup> It seems that the translator is pointing out that the county of Tripoli was independent from the kingdom of Jerusalem, which may have been assumed in the West to be the case. Though, he may also be remarking that the count of Tripoli did not have the authority to make a treaty on behalf of the kingdom. There are also a couple of instances in which the translator adds the phrase ‘que l’en apele Bedoins’ to the forces gathered by Shirkuh and Saladin from Arabia. In 19.25 William simply refers to these troops as coming from Arabia, ‘preterea Arabum aut decem aut undecim milia lanceis.’<sup>18</sup> The translator gives: ‘De l’autre part avec lui estoient plus de .x.<sup>m</sup> Tur d’Arabe que l’en apele Bedoins qui tuit avoient bons glaives.’<sup>19</sup> In this case the Bedouin are clearly identified as a different group from the rest of Shirkuh’s forces. In the omission of ‘aut undecim’ the translator is fairly consistent in replacing an instance in which William was not sure about numbers of troops, and so giving two different numbers, with a single number with an adverb. This seems to simply be a stylistic alteration. A similar addition is made to the flight of the Bedouin forces, following Baldwin IV’s victory over Saladin at the battle of Montgisart in 1177, and their raid on Saladin’s baggage train. Again, William simply refers

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<sup>15</sup> Paris, 22.9 ll. p. 423.

<sup>16</sup> Hamilton, ‘Old French Translation’, p. 98.

<sup>17</sup> Paris, 22.2 ll. p. 411.

<sup>18</sup> WT, 19.25 lines 8-9.

<sup>19</sup> Paris, 19.26 ll. p. 293.

to these troops as ‘Arabes’<sup>20</sup> while the translator calls them, as in the previous example, ‘Li Tur d’Arabe que l’en apele Bedoins.’<sup>21</sup>

A final instance occurs in the same chapter during the discussion that it was the custom of the Bedouin to await the outcome of the battle and then join the victorious side. William refers to them as ‘the people from Arabia’<sup>22</sup> while the translation again names them as Bedouin.<sup>23</sup> Though this group is only mentioned a few times in the text, the translator consistently alters their name in this manner. The constant repetition of naming the Bedouin would seem to indicate a familiarity with Eastern affairs. While William is fairly clear in differentiating the Bedouin from the rest of the Muslim forces, he always refers to them as Arabs. The terminology of Bedouin is something that the translator has added independently, which may indicate that he had been in the East and had learned the local name for this group. Again it is possible that the translator found this information elsewhere, but he does not appear to have used any other crusade source in his translation and the repetitive nature of the addition seems to suggest that the translator is trying to stress this point.

A gloss that may be of particular importance occurs in 4.7. This relates to the fortress of Marese, besieged by duke Godfrey and the crusader army, of which the translator notes ‘ce n’est mie cele dont je ai parlé desus, car ele a non Marase.’<sup>24</sup> The latter of these two, modern Kahramanmaraş in eastern Turkey, was in Cilicia, north of Tarsus, and a long way from Marese which is near to Antioch. William identifies Kahramanmaraş with ‘Marasiam’<sup>25</sup> and Marese with ‘Maresiam.’<sup>26</sup> The translator followed William’s text but has highlighted the difference between these two cities which could easily be confused due to the similar

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<sup>20</sup> WT, 21.23 (24) line 15.

<sup>21</sup> Paris, 21.22 ll. p. 397.

<sup>22</sup> WT, 21.23 (24) line 23.

<sup>23</sup> Paris, 21.22 ll. p. 397.

<sup>24</sup> Paris, 4.7 l. p. 129.

<sup>25</sup> WT, 3.19 (18) line 27.

<sup>26</sup> WT, 4.7 line 3.

spellings of their names. The translator stays with William's text but appears to have a good understanding of the geography of the Latin East. While this information could be found in William's text, it should be noted that the translator is not always correct regarding his geography, particular with William's reference to Peter, elected archbishop of Tyre in 1151<sup>27</sup>, being born in Barcelona where the translator replaces 'de Citeriore ... Hispania'<sup>28</sup> with 'en Navarre.'<sup>29</sup>

William's use of the classical term 'Citerior Hispania' refers to the North Eastern side of Spain and the kingdom of Aragon, where Barcelona is located. The fact that the translator replaces this with 'Navarre', which is in the north of Spain, west of Aragon, indicates that he was not familiar with the geography of Spain. It is also further evidence that the translator was working in France. The reference to 'this side of Spain' seems to have the translator to name Navarre because it bordered France Aragon also bordered France, but he seems to be in error regarding this issue. This seems to indicate that he had not been to Navarre and was not aware that Barcelona was not in Navarre. This is one of the few places in which the translator appears to have been confused by William's Latin, particularly by his fondness for classical terms. While the translator was aware of the fact that William was writing in the East, his lack of knowledge about Spain has clearly let him down. This indicates that the translator took a great interest in the Levant, even if he never travelled there, since he is aware of the general geography of the Latin East and is not easily confused by similar place-names and terminology used by William in the same way that he is clearly confused by William's reference to 'Citerior Hispania.'

The translator also makes several additions to the description of Jerusalem. While most of these are minor changes they do tend to be concentrated on those places which may

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<sup>27</sup> B. Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 73.

<sup>28</sup> WT, 16.17 line 45.

<sup>29</sup> Paris, 16.17 ll. p. 116.

be visited by a pilgrim. One particular example concerns the minarets at the corners of the Haram al-Sharif to which the translator adds ‘ou li Sarrazin fesoient leur oroisons.’<sup>30</sup> This may indicate knowledge of Jerusalem but may simply indicate knowledge of Islamic customs which may still imply that the translator had travelled to the East, though not specifically to Jerusalem. It does show, on the other hand, that the translator had at least a general understanding of Islam.<sup>31</sup> He again shows this in 20.29 where William mentions that the Nizārī Ismaʿīli sect were allowed to eat pork and drink wine;<sup>32</sup> the translator adds that this was done ‘en despit de Mahomet et de sa loi.’<sup>33</sup>

The translator has made a couple of interesting additions regarding the geography of the Levant in 16.29. This chapter discusses the arrival of Louis VII in Jerusalem and also includes a discussion of the Latin East. William states: ‘Orientalis enim Latinorum tota regio quattor principibus erat distincta.’<sup>34</sup> The translator alters this to read: ‘La terre qui estoit aus Crestiens a ce jor outré mer, estoit toute partie en quatre granz baronies.’<sup>35</sup> The French version has a decidedly western viewpoint and notes that the four divisions still existed at the time of writing. However, the translator’s use of the word ‘baronies’ has clearly been used specifically because he adds ‘je ai apelé le roiaume baronie, porce qu’il estoit si petiz.’<sup>36</sup> While the rest of the description of the geography of the Latin East matches William’s this mention that the kingdom of Jerusalem was small, especially when compared with the western kingdoms of France and England, shows that the translator was acutely aware of the geography of the East and is able to compare it with western kingdoms. It is also interesting to note that the translator does not appear to have any kind of reverence for the kingdom of

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<sup>30</sup> Paris, 8.3 I. p. 268.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*, tr. P. Cobb (London, 2008), p. 147.

<sup>32</sup> WT, 20.29 lines 36-7.

<sup>33</sup> Paris, 20.28 II. p. 358.

<sup>34</sup> WT, 16.29 lines 8-9.

<sup>35</sup> Paris, 16.29 II. p. 136.

<sup>36</sup> Paris, 16.29 II. p. 136.

Jerusalem that would prohibit him from demoting it in such a way from a kingdom to a barony.

Another addition that may show a knowledge of the Latin East relates to the area around Bethlehem. 11.12 discusses the raising of the church at Bethlehem to a cathedral. This chapter is heavily modified since, as mentioned earlier, a large part of William's text consists of the quotation of the charter granting the honour to the church, much of which has been omitted in the translation. One of the portions of the charter kept refers to 'villam etiam Bethlehem ... et unum casale quod est in territorio Accon, nomine Bedar.'<sup>37</sup> The translator keeps this reference to Bethlehem and its dependent lands but adds a gloss to the term 'casale,' which reads: 'un caseau, einsi claime-l' en la villes champestres.'<sup>38</sup> While this may be simply a case in which the translator has explained a term which may have been unfamiliar to his audience it is interesting that he has not simply translated the term into the vernacular. Instead he has given a vernacular form of 'casale' and then explained the term. This seems to indicate that the term 'caseau' was not in common use in France at the time of the translation. The term appears in Godefroy's *Dictionnaire* under 'casale' where he defines it as 'les villes entor les citéz que l'en claimé "caseaus" en la terre' and refers the reader back to the passage in the *Eracles* text.<sup>39</sup> In light of this, it is possible that the translator had only encountered the term 'casale' in the East and, as in the other cases of eastern terminology, he has provided a gloss for his western audience.

In addition to the additions relating to the East there are also a few additions made that concern southern France and Italy, areas generally outside of the translator's interest. These may indicate the route taken from central France towards the South that the translator may have taken if he was to embark upon a ship in Italy to make his pilgrimage. The first of

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<sup>37</sup> WT, 11.12 lines 56-60.

<sup>38</sup> Paris, 11.12 l. p. 398.

<sup>39</sup> F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1880), p. 325.

these is the rather large addition in 11.14 made by the translator discussing the moving of the abbey of St. Ruf from Avignon to Valence by Pope Adrian IV. This is discussed above, but it seems almost certain that the translator visited this abbey due to his remark ‘lors fist du suen mout bele eglise qui encor i est, et mout riches edifices.’<sup>40</sup> This statement about the beauty of the church and the general interest in its history is unlikely to have come from another source since this particular abbey was not well known; the passage must have been added by the translator. It is interesting to note that this abbey had been moved further up the Rhône River from Avignon to Valence as there are a couple of further references to locations on the Rhône. In 15.15 the translator adds that the city of Lyon is ‘sur le Rosne’.<sup>41</sup> Later in 19.23 there is a discussion of Egypt in which the martyrdoms of Sts. Maurice and Augano who had been born in Thebes is mentioned. To this the translator adds the place where they had been martyred: ‘oultre le lai de Losane sur le Rodne, au leu que l’en apele Chabloi.’<sup>42</sup> This phrase is interesting because the wording ‘oultre le lai’ would imply that the translator was based somewhere on the opposite side of the Lac de Lausanne, now named Lake Geneva, from Chablais. This city is located south of Lake Geneva and indicates that the translator was observing from the north. As a result of this it seems likely that the translator may have journeyed to Lake Geneva before following the course of the Rhône down to the southern coast of France. The mention of Chablais in connection with the two saints is similar to the references to sites in Italy that were also sites of pilgrimage and seems to indicate places that the translator visited on his journey.

In general it seems probable that the translator did in fact travel to the East either on a pilgrimage or on a crusade. The fact that there are few additions, given the length of the text, would seem to indicate that the translator is not inserting material from another source but is

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<sup>40</sup> Paris, 18.2 ll. p. 193.

<sup>41</sup> Paris, 15.15 ll. p. 69.

<sup>42</sup> Paris, 19.23 ll. p. 289.

in fact inserting his own personal knowledge. Because these additions are nearly all glosses to William's text, it seems to indicate that the translator has come across a point which he felt that his Western audience would not have the background knowledge to understand fully. The addition of 'fromage', the name of the food scavenged by Greek troops in the vicinity of Damietta, as well the reference to the amount of rainfall in December being a hindrance to an army on the march, would generally not be the kinds of additional material that could be gleaned from pilgrimage accounts but must surely indicate firsthand knowledge of either the translator or someone who had travelled to the East. It seems more likely that this information was inserted by the translator from his own experience because at no point does he credit another source, he regularly attributes authorship to William, and the glosses generally are very short and have the appearance of being personal experience. The additional information added about the East is inserted in a similar manner to information that is added about France and the background of the First Crusaders. They are short snippets of information that could be generally considered to be common knowledge in thirteenth-century France or specific information known to the translator.

## Views on the Military Orders

The majority of additions made by the translator concern the kingdom of France or French crusaders and the overall emphasis of the *Eracles* is to extol the deeds of ‘le gent de France,’ particularly those who participated in the First Crusade. Many of the additions made by the translator which include additional information also relate to France. However, there are several additions made by the translator that do not relate to the areas that were under the control of Philip II by the end of his reign. Most of these have been discussed in more detail in other sections of this thesis. In particular there are numerous additions relating to Thomas Becket, in whom the translator appears to have had a keen interest. As we have seen, there are also a series of additions relating to Italy, Greece and the Latin East which may indicate the fact that the translator had been on a pilgrimage to the East and was adding his own first-hand knowledge to the narrative. Moreover, there are a few other instances in which the translator has made alterations to William’s text which shed light on the translator’s views of the Military Orders.

The most common type of informational addition made by the translator consists of adding a piece of information to a crusader regarding their place of birth or the general region which they were from. The translator does this for several of the French crusaders<sup>1</sup> and also does it for one other knight, Gilbert de Lacy. In 1163 a group of French pilgrims, identified by William as Geoffrey Martel and Hugh ‘Le Brun’ de Lusignan, were travelling towards Antioch escorted by a group of Templars under the command of Gilbert de Lacy whom William describes as ‘vir nobilis et in armis exercitatus, preceptor fratrum militie Templi in partibus illis.’<sup>2</sup> The translator keeps this description, ‘chevetaine de cele chevauchée li

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<sup>1</sup> Paris, 9.5 l. p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> WT, 19.8 lines 19-21.

comanderes du Temple en ces parties,’ but then adds ‘nez d’Angleterre.’<sup>3</sup> It is interesting that the translator has added information about de Lacy. In general, he seems to be removed from the circle of those whom the translator normally adds information about. De Lacy and the Templars were able to defend the pilgrim party from an attack by Nur al-Din and so he may have been remembered by the pilgrims after they returned to the West. However, it seems more likely that the translator was aware that the de Lacy family was powerful in England and made the logical conclusion that Gilbert was a member of that family and so must have been English. This reference to Gilbert de Lacy by William, and subsequently by the translator, is the only place where he appears in the documentary record.

The translator made several other additions relating to the Templar Order. As well as the references to Hugh de Payns and Geoffrey Fulcher, discussed above, the translator also expands upon William’s description of the foundation of the order. William wrote that the Templars were given a rule similar to that of the Augustinian canons: ‘in manu domini patriarce ... more canonicorum regularium in castitate et obedientia et sine proprio velle perpetuo vivere professi sunt.’<sup>4</sup> The translator keeps this but added a further emphasis upon the communal life of the order: ‘proposement de remanoir a touzjors eu servise Nostre Seigneur et avoir commune vie, si come chanoine riglé. En la main au Patriarce voerent chastée et obedience, et renocierent a toute propriété.’<sup>5</sup> The translator shows some interest in the Templars but also shows a clear understanding of the rule and lifestyle of the Augustinians.

Later in 18.9 the translator makes another addition regarding the Templars. This chapter recounts the death of the caliph Zafir, killed by the sultan Habeys, the latter’s subsequent death and how his son sought refuge in the kingdom of Jerusalem. This son was

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<sup>3</sup> Paris, 19.7 ll. p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> WT, 12.7 lines 2-5.

<sup>5</sup> Paris, 12.7 l. pp. 441-2.

held prisoner by the Templars, but William stated that he wished to be baptised: ‘in Christo regenerari.’<sup>6</sup> However, William goes on to relate that Habey’s son was returned to the Egyptians in exchange for sixty thousand besants, and he was executed upon his return. While William is critical here of the Templars, the translator goes even further with his criticism by adding ‘li Templier n’en orent cure, aincois en firent une mout grant cruauté sauves leur graces.’<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that, while the translation was likely to have been made nearly ninety years before the arrest of the Templars by Philip IV in 1307, this addition may reflect the ongoing criticism of the order in the West. While the translator does not insert critical comments about the order throughout the text, this mention of their conduct in this affair has given him an opportunity to make a general comment about the order.

William is again critical of the Templars in 20.30 regarding their conduct towards the ambassadors from the Nizārī Isma’īli (Assassin) sect. Like in the previous example William speaks highly of the Muslims and stresses the possibility of their conversion, but the ambassadors were killed by brothers of the order amid accusations that the Templars did not want to lose a rent owed to them.<sup>8</sup> William criticises their conduct with ‘nam in eo et auctoritas regia videbatur deperire et christiani nominis fides et constantia inmeritam contrahere infamiam et Orientalis ecclesia deo placitum et iam paratum incrementum amittere.’<sup>9</sup> The translator alters this slightly to ‘et grant honte avoit l’en fet a Dame Dieu et a toute Crestienté et nomeement au Roi.’<sup>10</sup> While the translator rewords portions of this section he keeps all of William’s criticism of the Templars and does not attempt to show favour towards the order. It is interesting that while this story is well known from William’s account there appears to be very little corroboration of it elsewhere. Walter Map includes a version

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<sup>6</sup> WT, 18.9 lines 57-8.

<sup>7</sup> Paris, 18.9 ll. p. 208.

<sup>8</sup> WT, 20.30 lines 1-14.

<sup>9</sup> WT, 20.30 lines 19-22.

<sup>10</sup> Paris, 20.29 ll. p. 359.

but in his text the envoys come before the patriarch of Jerusalem and not the king. He also ends the passage with a short comment that he did not know if the story was true but that the Templars performed good deeds in the West and instead criticises the Hospitallers. Jacques de Vitry, while including the general story lacks the statement that the Templars were responsible for killing the envoys.<sup>11</sup>

At no other point does the translator appear to show any great interest in the Templars as a whole since the only other additions, relating to Hugh de Payns and Gilbert de Lacy, are geographical additions similar to those made to other western knights and do not concern the order itself. The addition concerning the communal life of the Templars is also made in the context of their rule being similar to the Augustinian canons, in whom the translator takes a great deal of interest. While showing little interest in the Templars, it is also clear that the translator does not hold them in high regard. The translator does not alter the negative view of the Templars given by William. In fact he seems, if only slightly, to be enhancing the criticism of the Order. While the translator generally tends to maintain William's views, he does, at times, particularly in regard to Hugh *le Maine* and other French crusaders soften the criticism, given by William.

There is one other additional reference which includes the Templars but, like the earlier one, is also a joint mention with another order, this time the Hospitallers. 20.5 discusses a proposed collaborative attack on Egypt by King Amaury and Emperor Manuel in 1168. William relates that the Hospitallers, under Gilbert d'Assailly, were urging Amaury to undertake the campaign while the Templars, led by Master Bertrand de Blanquefort, were

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<sup>11</sup> P. Edbury, 'The Old French William of Tyre, the Templars and the Assassin Envoy', *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, eds. K. Borchartd, N. Jaspert and H. J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 26-7; B. Hamilton 'The Templars, the Syrian Assassins and King Amalric of Jerusalem', *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, eds. K. Borchartd, N. Jaspert and H. J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 2007), p. 21.

against the proposal due to the agreed truce between Egypt and the kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup> The translator adds an explanation for the dispute between the two orders, ‘car touzjorz a envie entre ces deus meisons.’<sup>13</sup> The translator here shows an understanding of, and interest in, the history between the two major military orders. As discussed above the translator is generally negative towards the Templars and does not take the trouble to add anything of note to the order. The opposite appears to be the case regarding the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. During the discussion of the Christians under Fatimid Jerusalem in 1.10 the translator adds ‘et mout estoit la meson de grant charité’<sup>14</sup> to the mention of the church of St. Mary of the Latins taking in poor pilgrims which, according to William, was the foundation of the Hospitaller order.<sup>15</sup>

The translator made a number of alterations to 18.3 which depicts the dispute which arose between the Hospitallers, under Raymond du Puy, and Fulk de Angoulême, the patriarch of Jerusalem. This chapter is particularly damaging for the order as it is accused of subverting the rights of the Holy Sepulchre, in particular giving religious sacraments and burial to those under excommunication and taking tithes and other fees which otherwise would have gone to the church. This well-known dispute resulted in William accusing the order of shooting arrows into the Sepulchre and ringing their bells whenever the patriarch was attempting to preach. Eventually an appeal was made by the patriarch to Pope Adrian IV in Rome in order to settle the dispute.<sup>16</sup> William is very critical of the Hospitallers in this chapter, and though he admits that in other respects Raymond was a religious and God-fearing man,<sup>17</sup> the general tone is condemning of the Hospitallers. While there are a few instances of rewording which eliminate the Eastern viewpoint of William’s text, such as

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<sup>12</sup> WT, 20.5 lines 1-39.

<sup>13</sup> Paris, 20.4 ll. p. 317.

<sup>14</sup> Paris, 1.10 l. p. 20.

<sup>15</sup> WT, 18.4-5.

<sup>16</sup> WT, 18.3 lines 3-72.

<sup>17</sup> WT, 18.3 line 8.

replacing ‘tractus Orientalis noster’<sup>18</sup> with ‘es partes d’Orient,’<sup>19</sup> the translator keeps all of the material in this chapter, including the criticism regarding the Hospitallers’ action. However, he makes three additions which seem to emphasise the fact that, while in this particular episode they were in the wrong, the Hospitallers were in general a noble and worthy order. The first is a simple and short addition of ‘li deables qui touzjorz aime contenz i sema une noise tele come je vos dirai.’<sup>20</sup> While the translator does not regularly add in references to divine, or in this case diabolical, intervention, this insertion serves to deflect some of the blame from the Order. The second addition, ‘les esmut li aticemenz du deable,’<sup>21</sup> to the specific action of breaking into the Holy Sepulchre and shooting arrows again serves to deflect blame from the Order and is unusual in that it is rare for the translator to make such additions, but he has here made two within a single chapter.

The third addition is much longer and follows the description of the dispute:

Ne mie por ce, la verité ne doit-on pas celer. Cil orders a grant mestier eu, puis par maintes fois en la terre d’outre mer, aus povres crestiens hebergier, pestre et sostenir, ensevelir et enterrer ennoréement ceus qui mouroient, et en faire maintes autres oevres de charité. Les anemis de la foi ont, li frere de l’Ospital, guerroiez vigureusement et grevez en maintes manieres ; assez i a puis entré de pseudomes qui, par l’aide Nostre Seigneur, ont leur ames sauvées en cel ordre, et qui ne s’acordoient mie aus orgueus ne aus outraiges, quant il les veoient fere aus autres.<sup>22</sup>

This passage serves as a defence of the order and, to an extent, is a direct reply to the charges against the Hospitallers given by William, the burial of excommunicates in particular. It is quite clear from this that the translator has a strong interest in the Hospitallers. At no point does he add any new information about the order or its members and is clearly not associated

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<sup>18</sup> WT, 18.3 line 2.

<sup>19</sup> Paris, 18.3 ll. p. 194.

<sup>20</sup> Paris, 18.3 ll. p. 194.

<sup>21</sup> Paris, 18.3 ll. p. 196.

<sup>22</sup> Paris, 18.3 ll. p. 196.

with them in any way. However, he clearly has a favourable view of them and is prepared to make statements in their defence, something he does not do for the Templars.

A few chapters later, in 18.6, the translator makes an addition regarding the Hospital. At the beginning of the chapter William comments on the rise from a small humble of the Hospitaller order: ‘Sic ergo de tam modico incrementum habentes, predicte Domus fratres.’<sup>23</sup> The translator expands upon this slightly with ‘De si petit commencement sont venu li Ospitalier au grant pooir que il ont.’<sup>24</sup> Shortly after this the translator replaces ‘multiplicatis in immensum divitiis’<sup>25</sup> with ‘l’en leur comença a doner de granz aumones por les povres sostenir.’<sup>26</sup> Again the translator is laying an emphasis upon the good works and charity of the Hospitallers as well as the prestige of the order. Returning to the dispute between the Hospitallers and the patriarch of Jerusalem, the translator also made several alterations to 18.8 which describes the audience of the patriarch before Adrian IV in order to settle the dispute. In general the additions in this chapter do not add any new information and generally serve to recall previous events such as a restatement of the patriarch’s purpose for wishing to see the pope, ‘maintes foiz requistrent que l’en les oist contre les Ospitaliers et feist l’en droit’, or a restatement of the dispute, ‘car fust il touz certains que li Ospitalier feroient contre lui et contre les eglises ce qu’il voudroient.’<sup>27</sup> There is also a stylistic change, in which the translator replaces ‘per dies multos,’<sup>28</sup> regarding the time the patriarch had to wait for an audience, with ‘apres ce jor orent un autre puis le tierz, le quart et le quint qui mout estoient loing a loing.’<sup>29</sup> None of the alterations in this chapter gives any specific information or serve, like the previous additions, as a defence against the order. However, the frequent

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<sup>23</sup> WT, 18.6 lines 1-2.

<sup>24</sup> Paris, 18.6 ll. p. 201.

<sup>25</sup> WT, 18.6 line 3.

<sup>26</sup> Paris, 18.6 ll. p. 201.

<sup>27</sup> Paris, 18.8 ll. p. 204.

<sup>28</sup> WT, 18.8 line 11.

<sup>29</sup> Paris, 18.8 ll. p. 204.

recalling of information serves to ensure that the text is understood clearly and shows the translator's interest in the Hospitallers in general and this dispute in particular. It is clear that the translator has a favourable view of the Hospitallers.

## Mistakes in the Editions

Within both the editions of the *Eracles* text there are several instances in which the readings of both of the editions do not match what appears to be the reading of the text that is closest to the original translation. The most significant of these differences form the basis for choosing sample chapters from the text in order to establish a stemma for the manuscripts. These particular different readings involve the addition of new material to the text and will be discussed in detail in the following section of this thesis. While the Paulin Paris edition was the preferred edition of the text used for a comparison with the Latin text, the *RHC* edition has also been checked to see if it contains the same mistakes as the Paris edition.

The most striking mistake that occurs in the Paris edition is found in 1.17 during the listing of the lesser nobles who participated in the First Crusade. William gives the list as:

Henricus de Ascha, Radulfus de Balgentiaco, Ebrardus de Pusato, Centonius de Bear, Willelmus Amaneus, Gaustus de Bederz, Willelmus de Monte Pessulano, Girardus de Rossellun, Gerardus de Ceresiaco, Rogerus de Barnavilla, Guido de Porsessa et Guido de Garlanda, Francorum regis dapifer, Thomas de Feria, Galo de Calvo Monte.<sup>1</sup>

Paris gives this list as:

Raous de Baujenci, Everarz du Puisat, Guy de Garlande seneschaus le roi de France, Thomas de la Fere, Guiz de Possesse, Gales de Chaumont, Giraz de Cherisi, Rogiers de Barneville, Henris de Asque et Godefrois ses freres, Centons de Montpellier, Girarz de Rousillon.<sup>2</sup>

Geoffrey de Asche, brother of Henry, has been added to the list but he is mentioned later by William. It should be noted that, while this particular addition is included in Paris's edition, it is not to be found in F52, the base manuscript for his edition, nor is it in F38 or F06. The only

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<sup>1</sup> WT, 1.17 lines 20-25.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1.17 l. pp. 31-2.

manuscript that I found which contained this addition is F05. While F05 is an early manuscript, dated ca. 1245-8, F38 and F06 are also from the mid-thirteenth century. While Geoffrey may have been dropped from the tradition, the fact that his name is not present in the Latin or any early French manuscript, except for F05, means that it is far more likely that Geoffrey de Ashe's name was added shortly after the original translation to F05, or one of its antecedents.

The major difference, with this list however, is that the Paris edition lacks '... de Bear, Willelmus Amaneus, Gaustus de Bederz, Willelmus ... .' A comparison with the *RHC* edition shows that it contains a complete list that matches the Latin: 'Raoul de Baujenci, Esvrart del Puisat, Gui de Garlande seneschal le roi de France, Thomas de Fere, Gui de Possesse, Gales de Chaumont, Girard de Cherisi, Rogiers de Barneville, Henris de Asque, Centons de Bearz, Guillaumes Amanez, Gasces de Bediers, Guillaumes de Montpellier, Girart de Rousillon.'<sup>3</sup> The *RHC* does not include the addition of Geoffrey de Ache. Paris does make a note in his edition of the existence of a variant reading containing the complete list in a manuscript which he labels 'Msc. 2836. B. N.'<sup>4</sup> It is not clear which manuscript this is as it is not one of the known manuscripts which contains a copy of the *Eracles* text. It is possible that Paris has copied the classmark incorrectly and may be thinking of Bibliothèque National fr. 2826 (F04) which Paul Riant notes was used by the editors of the *RHC* and, like the other manuscripts, contains a reading which matches the list from the Latin text.<sup>5</sup> However the *RHC* editors do not note that any manuscript lacks the part of the list missing from Paris's edition nor did any of the manuscripts which I looked at lack any part of the list. This may indicate that Paris was using another, unknown, manuscript, but it is more likely that a mistake has been made during the transcription of manuscripts.

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<sup>3</sup> *RHC*, 1.17 pp. 45-6.

<sup>4</sup> Paris, I. p. 32 n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Riant, p. 248.

In general the *RHC* edition appears to have a more accurate reading of the manuscript used to make the edition and does not appear to contain any major loss of information, as has occurred in the previous example in the Paulin Paris edition. However, the Paris edition seems to contain, in general, a reading of the text that is closer to the Latin text and may also reflect more accurately the text of the original translation. Part two of the thesis will discuss in more detail what appear to be the major deviations between the two editions, and sample sections of the text from those chapters containing these divisions will be used to establish a manuscript stemma for the *Eracles* text. At this point, however, it will be useful to enumerate a selection of the minor variations between the two editions.

One particular example occurs in 4.21 which describes Tatikios, the Greek guide of the army of the First Crusade, leaving the crusaders at Antioch. Tatikios is described as fleeing from the city out of fear of the approaching Turkish army, as well as those in the citadel, whom William described as ‘enemies.’<sup>6</sup> In the Paris edition this is rendered as ‘Turs de par la terre et de ceus de la ville,’<sup>7</sup> while the *RHC* reads ‘ceus de la cité et par ceus de la vile.’<sup>8</sup> Of the manuscripts originally consulted, all of them, namely F05, F06, F38, F52 and F72, matched the Paris edition. While neither reading can be said to be closer to the Latin, the reading found in the Paris edition matches the early manuscripts and would appear to be the reading closest to the original translation. The *RHC* reading is a variant of the original reading that was introduced later in the tradition and is representative of numerous variant readings found in their base manuscript, F45.<sup>9</sup> It also appears to be an erroneous reading of the original text.

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<sup>6</sup> WT, 4.21 line 7.

<sup>7</sup> Paris, 4.21 l. p. 148.

<sup>8</sup> *RHC*, 4.21 p. 186.

<sup>9</sup> F45, fo. 37rb.

A further variant occurs in 12.8 which discusses the exile of pope Gelasius II in 1118 due to the dispute with the emperor Henry V and the antipope Gregory VIII. While detailing the history of the conflict William describes Gelasius II going to Cluny ‘in regnum Francorum.’<sup>10</sup> The Paris edition renders this as: ‘en la terre qui est si douce et si piteuse, qu’ele recoit touz les essilliez, ce cest li roiaumes de France.’<sup>11</sup> However the *RHC* edition reads; ‘la terre qui est si douce, c’est France.’<sup>12</sup> The *RHC* is again following variants found in F45.<sup>13</sup> F05, F38, F52 and F72 all agree with the reading found in the Paris edition. Since the majority of the manuscripts contain the addition expressing the sorrow in France during this schism, it seems likely that it was present in the original translation. All of the variations to this consist in portions of the text being omitted since, in addition to the *RHC* variant, F06 reads ‘en la terre de France.’ While F06 is closer to the Latin, the fact that a variant mentioning ‘douce’ was found in all the other manuscripts checked indicates that the addition was likely to have been made by the translator but subsequently dropped by a later scribe.

In 12.12 there appears to be a phrase which is lacking from both of the editions. This occurs in a large addition made by the translator regarding the valour of the army under Baldwin II at the fortress of Cerep in 1120. The Paris edition adds:

‘Li nostre qui estoient ensemble as premereines batailles, avoient mout longuement soufert et enduré la charge de ces granz genz qui leur coroient sus; si estoient tuit las et failloient presque tuit; més quant il revirent leur genz si bien contenir, si pristrent cuer et rafreschirent tuit. Lors corurent sus aus Turs plus fierement qu’il n’avoient avant fet. En ce point dura la bataille longuement.’<sup>14</sup>

The *RHC* contains the same addition in almost identical wording:

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<sup>10</sup> WT, 12.8 line 5.

<sup>11</sup> Paris, 12.8 l. p. 444.

<sup>12</sup> *RHC*, 12.8 p. 522.

<sup>13</sup> F45, fo. 104vb.

<sup>14</sup> Paris, 12.12 l. p. 451.

‘Li nostre qui estoient ensemble as premereignes batailles, avoient mout longuement sofert et enduré la charge de ces granz genz qui leur coroient sus si estoient tuit las et failloient presque tuit, més quant il vindrent leur genz si bien contenir, si pristrent cuer et se rafreschirent tuit. Lors corurent sus as Turs plus fierement qu’il n’avoient avant fet en cel point dura la bataille longuement.’<sup>15</sup>

All the manuscripts checked contain this addition but they all also contain an additional phrase at the end of this passage: ‘que li nostre grevoient leur anemis molt durement.’<sup>16</sup> The purpose of this addition is purely stylistic; it is meant to enhance the prowess of the Christian soldiers, and it contains nothing new regarding informational content. However, the fact that the addition as a whole is found in all of the initial manuscripts checked, including F05, F06, F38 and F72, indicates that it was most likely a part of the original translation. The additional phrase not in either of the editions was also a part of the original translation but was subsequently dropped by some scribes. The fact that this additional phrase was a part of a manuscript used by Paris as a base for his edition seems to indicate that he did not use it very carefully. The phrase occurs in the middle of the chapter and was unlikely to have been lost through being omitted at the end of a chapter. However, the ending ‘-ment’ in ‘longuement’ and ‘durement’ may indicate that this is a form of haplography that has resulted in the loss of this line from a later stage of the manuscript tradition.

There are several places in which both of the editions include a numerical reading that is at variance with the Latin text. For example 13.16 William describes Bursequins attacking a Christian force near to the Euphrates in 1125 in which he reports that ‘vigniti quattuor’<sup>17</sup> of the Christians were killed. In both of the editions the number becomes ‘vint trois.’<sup>18</sup> All the initial manuscripts consulted, including F72, contain the reading of ‘.xxiiii.’ While this type

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<sup>15</sup> *RHC*, 12.12 p. 530.

<sup>16</sup> F38, fo. 51ra.

<sup>17</sup> WT, 13.16 line 64.

<sup>18</sup> Paris, 13.16 l. p. 499; *RHC*, 13.16 p. 580.

of error regularly appears in manuscripts and is quite easy to make by simply losing a minim, it seems quite clear that the original translation included the correct number of twenty four and matched the Latin text. The loss of a minim also occurs in 21.8 where William notes the distance between Damascus and Bedegne, at the foot of Mt. Lebanon, as ‘miliaribus quattuor.’<sup>19</sup> The Paris edition instead reads: ‘.iii. miles’<sup>20</sup> while the *RHC* edition reads ‘trois-milles.’<sup>21</sup> The initial manuscripts all read ‘.iiii. miles’ which matches the Latin. A similar error occurs in 19.20 where William states that ‘.cc. .lxxx. .vi.’<sup>22</sup> years had passed since the reign of Muhammad to the rise of the Fatimid caliphate. The *RHC* edition<sup>23</sup> contains the correct numbering but the Paris edition reads ‘.cc. et .iiii.xx. et .viii. anz.’<sup>24</sup> Again all the early manuscripts contain a reading that matches the Latin. It is clear that the translator was accurate in regard to reproducing the numbers used by William but natural variants in the copying of the text have resulted in various erroneous readings finding their way into later manuscripts and subsequently into the printed editions.

It seems fairly clear that neither of the two editions of the *Eracles* text represents a reading that can be said to be close to the original translation. Both contain numerous instances in which the French text differs from the Latin despite the fact that several manuscripts contain readings identical with the Latin. Both of the editions also contain rubrics for all of the chapters. Again, rubrics are not found in the early manuscripts and were not likely to have been in the original translation. In fact the presence of rubrics is rare, with only a few manuscripts containing any at all. Those that do contain them do not have a complete set but rather contain rubrics for only a few chapters. It is clear that Paulin Paris copied the rubrics from the *RHC* edition as the manuscripts which he was using did not

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<sup>19</sup> WT, 21.9 (10) line 15.

<sup>20</sup> Paris, 21.8 ll. p. 376.

<sup>21</sup> *RHC*, 21.10 p. 1021.

<sup>22</sup> WT, 19.21 line 28.

<sup>23</sup> *RHC*, 19.21 p. 916.

<sup>24</sup> Paris, 19.20 ll. p. 282.

contain any. A full discussion of the rubrics will follow during the discussion of the sample chapters. Paris's edition contains fewer divergences from the Latin than does the *RHC* edition, and this seems to indicate that the manuscripts which he was using contain readings closer to the original translation. However, the edition does contain some errors and further instances in which he appears to have deviated from his base manuscript and introduced readings from the *RHC* not found in his manuscript. A few of these will be discussed further in the following section of the thesis on the sample chapters.

## Dating the Translation

The major problem faced when attempting to establish a date for the translation of William of Tyre's *Historia* is that there is no direct evidence which would point to a specific date. At no point does the translator state when he made the translation. This is in keeping with the general attitude of the translator to remain in the background. The translation was clearly made after William stopped writing in 1184 but, since it is clear that none of the surviving manuscripts is the original translation, it was made prior to the oldest surviving manuscripts. Of these, F05 has been dated by Folda to 1240-50 and F38 is likewise attributed to the mid thirteenth century, while F03 and F04 are also believed to have been produced in the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> As a result the translation must have been made before the middle of the thirteenth century. It is certain that the translation was made in France since the majority of informational additions made by the translator relate to France and several points, such as the references to Barcelona and Chablais discussed above, indicate that the translation was made in the Île de France in particular. As a result William's text must have travelled to the West before it could be translated but, even allowing a few years for the *Historia* to make this journey, we are still left with a large period of time in which the translation could have been made.

Franz Ost argued that the translation was made shortly after 1190.<sup>2</sup> In this he follows Paris who argues that, assuming that Bernard the Treasurer was the translator, he would have made the translation prior to taking up his narrative as a continuation.<sup>3</sup> This attribution to Bernard as translator and composer of the continuations developed in the eighteenth century

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<sup>1</sup> Folda, 'Handlist', pp. 92-3.

<sup>2</sup> Ost, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, I. p. vii.

and was widely held amongst scholars.<sup>4</sup> However, the role of Bernard the Treasurer in the Continuation is questionable and it is highly unlikely that the translator and the continuator were one and the same person since the translation circulated and the manuscript tradition developed prior to the continuation being added to the text. This will be discussed in detail in the following section which looks at the manuscript tradition. The view that the translation was made shortly after 1190 seems to be the result of general uncertainty over when it was made. A date after 1190 is suggested in 14.1 where William notes regarding Philip of Flanders ‘qui hodie Flandrensi procurat comitatum.’<sup>5</sup> Philip was governing the county of Flanders at the time William was writing and, as a result, he naturally uses the present tense. However, Philip died from an illness at the siege of Acre on 1 June 1191 during the Third Crusade.<sup>6</sup> This is reflected in the translation by altering William’s statement to the past tense, ‘qui mout tint bien et vigueresement la conté de Flandres puis fu morz outré mer, quant li rois Phelippes i ala.’<sup>7</sup> This further addition regarding the death of Philip of Flanders shows that the translation was certainly made after the Third Crusade. However, there are several further indications that the translation was made significantly later than 1191.

The currently accepted consensus, as given by John Pryor, is that the translation was made after the Fourth Crusade at a date sometime between 1204 and 1234, with a more likely terminus date of 1223 or a few years afterwards. Pryor suggests that a *terminus post quem* of the Fourth Crusade’s sack of Constantinople in 1204 is likely, because of a change of emphasis introduced by the translator concerning the military might of the Byzantine Empire. He points out that during the discussion of an agreement between the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Byzantine Empire to invade Egypt in 1177 those in the Latin East were hesitant to break negotiations with the emperor as they feared the military power of the Empire. William

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<sup>4</sup> Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. 23-4.

<sup>5</sup> WT, 14.1 lines 76-77.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Itinerarium Peregrinorum’, p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> Paris, 14.1 ll. pp. 3-4.

describes them as, ‘timentes idignationem eius, que nobis poterat esse nimis periculosa.’<sup>8</sup>

Pryor also argues that this phrase is lacking in the *Eracles* text.<sup>9</sup> While the French text does not specifically state that those in the Kingdom of Jerusalem feared the Byzantine emperor, it does say that the barons

orent conseil entre’eus devant le Roi et penserent que grief chose seroit et domageuse de refuser cele grant aide l’Empereur, qui estoit toute preste et apareillie. Por ce fu de touz acordé que il atorneroient leur aferes et movroient por aler en Egypte, si com il avoient, grant piece avant, promis et afermé par les messages a l’Empereur.<sup>10</sup>

This passage clearly implies that the king and barons of the kingdom feared the consequences should they break an oath with the Byzantine emperor who was already prepared for a military campaign. As a result this does not necessarily mean that the translator no longer viewed the Byzantine Empire as a military power. It does not necessarily follow, therefore, that the translation was made after the Fourth Crusade.

Pryor also bases the *terminus post quem* upon the alteration of ‘Balduinus de Ramis et Balianus, frater eius’<sup>11</sup> to ‘Baudoin d’Athenes et Balian son fere.’<sup>12</sup> It must be noted here that this variant reading is found in the *RHC* edition and that the Paris edition gives a reading which matches the Latin; ‘Baudoins de Rames et Baliens ses frères.’<sup>13</sup> These names occur in a list of nobles present at the battle of Montgisart in 1177. While Pryor is careful to point out that this variation appears to be a mistake and that more research on the manuscript tradition is needed, he also notes that this variant could only have been made following the establishment of the Duchy of Athens by Othon de la Roche in 1205.<sup>14</sup> Examination of the

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<sup>8</sup> WT, 21.16 (17) lines 10-11.

<sup>9</sup> Pryor, p. 289.

<sup>10</sup> Paris, 21.15 ll. p. 386.

<sup>11</sup> WT, 21.21 (22) lines 25-26.

<sup>12</sup> *RHC*, 21.22 p. 1042.

<sup>13</sup> Paris, 21.20 ll. p. 394.

<sup>14</sup> Pryor, p. 288.

various manuscripts which preserve the readings closest to the Latin reveals that all contain a reading which matches the Latin text. The only manuscript which contains ‘d’Athenes’ is F45.<sup>15</sup> While a detailed discussion will follow regarding the manuscript tradition and which manuscripts the nineteenth-century editors used, F45, as noted previously, contains a number of errors and additional readings that are not found in any of the other manuscripts but do appear in the *RHC* edition. These variants would seem to have been introduced by a later scribe and were not a part of the original translation. As a result it is fairly clear that the variant under discussion cannot be attributed to the translator of William’s text and is instead an error made by a later copyist. In the light of this, it cannot be said, so far, that the translation was definitely made after the Fourth Crusade since the ‘d’Athenes’ variant is found only in a single manuscript.

However, there are also some other indications that the translation was made after 1204. In particular there is the translator’s interest in the Egyptian city of Damietta and apparent knowledge of the area. As discussed earlier the translator is able to provide examples of the hardships faced by an army in the deserts of Egypt that were not discussed by William. The main example here is the replacement of ‘porro Salahadinus, transcursa cum suis expeditionibus solitudine, quod iter cum multa difficultate vix diebus viginti confecerat’<sup>16</sup> with ‘Salehadins ot pasée la voie des deserz ou il et sa gent orent soffertes mout granz peines, porce que ausi sordent tempestes és sablons com en la mer.’<sup>17</sup> In addition to this, the translator is able to identify a food found by troops in the palm trees near Damietta by adding: ‘un tendron que l’en apele le fromage qui assez est de bone saveur, et en ce est la vie de tout l’arbre.’<sup>18</sup> These additions seem to indicate knowledge of Egyptian topography and may be the result of the personal experience of the translator. Whether or not the

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<sup>15</sup> F45, fo. 206v.

<sup>16</sup> WT, 22.15 (14) lines 38-40.

<sup>17</sup> Paris, 22.13 ll. p. 432.

<sup>18</sup> Paris, 20.15 ll. p. 332.

translator had been to the East these additions represent knowledge of the East, and particularly the area around Damietta, that is not found in William's text.

Another interesting point concerning Damietta is that some of the glosses that William included in his text are not to be found in the French text. This generally occurs when Damietta is mentioned in William's text, particularly when it is associated with the phrase 'in finibus Egypti.' An example occurs in 22.15 where it is related that several Greek ships had been wrecked near Damietta during a storm. The phrase 'in finibus Egypti'<sup>19</sup> is dropped from the French text. This is similar to his treatment of Canterbury during the discussion of Thomas Becket where the phrase 'in anglia apud'<sup>20</sup> is dropped from the text. Damietta is also added when the translator is trying to discuss Egypt as a whole. For instance when William relates that Saladin is gathering troops from Alexandria and all of Egypt in 1182, the translator replaces 'ab Alexandri et universa Aegypto'<sup>21</sup> with 'en Alixandre a Damietta et par toute Egypte.'<sup>22</sup> It is likely that William's glosses have been omitted in the *Eracles* text because the translator assumed such information was public knowledge and would be known to his audience. As such Becket's fame, and the interest shown in him, discussed earlier, meant that it was not necessary to state that Canterbury was in England. This would coincide with the general simplification of the text carried out by the translator. The question though remains of why the translator would expect his audience to already have a basic understanding of the location of Damietta.

Damietta had previously been attacked by a joint Latin and Byzantine force in 1169 which was repulsed by Saladin. Its position on the eastern Nile delta meant that any crusading force would have to pass by it if it wanted to attack Cairo, and Damietta could thus be seen as

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<sup>19</sup> WT, 22.15 (14) line 2.

<sup>20</sup> WT, 20.21 line 22.

<sup>21</sup> WT, 22.18 (17) line 10

<sup>22</sup> Paris, 22.16 ll. p. 439.

the gateway to Egypt. However, for those in the West with little knowledge of events in the East this would not have been enough to bring Damietta to such widespread attention. It was only with the Fifth Crusade, 1217-21, that Damietta would really have come to the attention of those in Western Europe. The preparations for the Fifth Crusade began in 1215 with Innocent III seeking to organise a crusade that was essentially a church-led affair but the various forces were not expected to muster together in Italy until 1217 from where they would embark upon ships for the East. While Emperor Frederick II had taken the cross in 1215 he would ultimately not become personally involved in the crusade. In addition Philip II of France was involved in war with England as well as in the Albigensian Crusade. As a result no major western ruler was present to lead the crusade. This is not to say that no major nobles accompanied the expedition. Its leaders included John of Brienne, the king of Jerusalem, and the masters of the Military Orders. However, none was in sole command and, arguably, constant disputes between the leaders, and also Innocent's legate, Pelagius of Albano, eventually brought about the failure of the crusade. Acting upon the advice of the barons from the Latin East it was decided to attack Damietta in an attempt to remove the Ayyubid centre of power before recapturing Jerusalem.

This plan of action had long been favoured by those in the Latin East with the city also being besieged in 1169 by both Greek and Latin forces. Jacques de Vitry, bishop of Acre and a prominent member of the crusade, wrote to the pope that the leaders of the crusade felt that the flat, fertile terrain of Egypt and the presence of only three cities, Damietta, Cairo and Alexandria, made it desirable, and easier, to conquer than Jerusalem itself would be.<sup>23</sup> The crusade reached Damietta in May 1218 and began to besiege the city. The army suffered difficulties before the city, particularly from disease, but in August 1218 the Ayyubid sultan, al-Malik al-'Adil, died and an attempt was made by various emirs to depose his son, al-Malik

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<sup>23</sup> Jacques de Vitry, IV.31-43 *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), p. 102.

al-Kamil. This resulted in the latter abandoning the defence of Damietta in order to secure his position. Following this the crusading army was only opposed by the citizens within Damietta. The city was finally captured in November 1219. However, Frankish control over Damietta was to be short-lived. In February 1221 al-Kamil returned to Egypt, having consolidated his control. The crusaders were eventually forced to surrender Damietta in September 1221. This completed the failure of the Fifth Crusade which had appeared promising after the capture of Damietta and the proposed peace terms in which the crusaders were offered Jerusalem and most of the territories lost to Saladin in return for the city of Damietta.<sup>24</sup> In the end they refused to accept this offer and eventually their enterprise ended in failure. Due to the translator's apparent interest in Damietta it seems probable that the translation was made after the Fifth Crusade, when Damietta came to prominence. This would certainly place the translation, at least its completion, after the initial capture of Damietta in 1219 but there is no evidence as to whether Damietta was still in Christian hands at the time of the translation.

The proposal of a likely *terminus ante quem* of around 1223, as given by Pryor, is implied by the addition of the phrase 'de cui bontez se sent toute la Crestientez'<sup>25</sup> to the succession of Philip II Augustus of France after the death of his father Louis VII in 1180. This phrase, in the present tense, as well as the general praise of Philip throughout the text, would seem to indicate that the translation was made during Philip II's lifetime. This addition is present in all of the *Eracles* manuscripts and can be safely attributed to the translator. As has already been discussed, the translator is favourable towards Hugh *le Maine*, count of Vermandois, and it seems likely that he was working close to the Île de France. Since the translator has recorded the death of other French nobles, such as Philip of Flanders, it would

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<sup>24</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from 'al-Kamil fi'l-ta'rikh'*, vol. 3, tr. D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 175-82.

<sup>25</sup> Paris, 22.3 ll. pp. 413-4.

seem likely that the translator would have included an allusion to the death of Philip II, if indeed he was dead at the time the translator was working. The translator also showed an interest in Philip II specifically when recording that Philip of Flanders had died while on crusade 'quant li rois Phelippes i ala' as well as the French monarchy in general. As a result there is a strong suggestion that the translator was working during the lifetime of Philip II. It is certainly possible that Philip had died and that the translator was unaware of the fact, but this does not seem credible given the amount of knowledge of events in France he shows. Philip II came to the throne in 1180 and died 14 July 1223. Accordingly, I would agree with Pryor that Philip was alive when the translation was being made, although, as it is likely to have taken some time, it could have been finished slightly later.

This evidence, along with the interest shown in Damietta, leaves a much briefer window of time in which the translation was most likely made, 1219-23. This places the translation in the last few years of Philip II's reign. Following the events of the Fifth Crusade it is likely that there was a great deal of interest in lending support to the Latin East, particularly amongst crusade supporters in France who felt that the French nobility, and particularly a king who had previously been on crusade, had been neglecting affairs in the East. If the translation was made prior to the final failure of the Fifth Crusade the translation can be seen as encouraging support for the crusade which was in progress in Egypt. If the translation was made after 1221 it would seem to be a direct response to the failure of the crusade. While the translation was certainly made during a period of increased interest in the Latin East throughout Europe, it is also likely that the translation was made in order to encourage the French nobility, and Philip II, to return to the East and to recapture Jerusalem. The translator may be using the continued emphasis upon the role of 'le gent de France' in the formation of the crusader states to play upon Philip's departure from the East, prior to fulfilling his vow of capturing Jerusalem, and is perhaps encouraging a new crusade to fulfil

this vow. This dating of the translation of William of Tyre occurring in the last few years of the reign of Philip II coincides with the date proposed by Margaret Ruth Morgan, albeit without clear justification, based on unpublished work by Goulden.<sup>26</sup> It is clear from this, that while the translation cannot be precisely pinned down; it seems it was made in response to the Fifth Crusade and was a part of a larger upsurge in interest in the crusades and the Latin East which is shown by the production of other crusading literature, such as the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, at about the same time.<sup>27</sup> While it is difficult to establish precisely the translator's reason for producing this text, the timing of the translation, along with the continued emphasis upon the role of knights from either the Île de France or other areas, such as Boulogne, that had recently come more firmly under control of the French monarchy, served as propaganda for unifying these lands under Philip II, while at the same time fulfilling a demand for continued interest in crusading.

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<sup>26</sup> Morgan, *Chronicle* p. 119.

<sup>27</sup> Mayer, H. E. *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. H. E. Mayer (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 105-6; Nicholson, H. J. 'Introduction', *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, tr. H. J. Nicolson (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 10-2.

## Summary of the Alterations

In conclusion there are certain things that we can say about the translator of William of Tyre's Latin *Historia* into French. His omission of many passages relating to ecclesiastical and classical material would also seem to suggest that he was writing primarily for a lay audience. The translator himself, however, is likely to have been a cleric. Aside from his ability to make the translation from Latin he seems to have had an interest in information relating to the Augustinian canons. The translator would appear, at least from the published editions, to have been located in France, most likely the Île de France or in the surrounding area. This seems to be clear from the continued insistence upon the identity of those undertaking the crusade as being from the kingdom of France, rather than the more general terms used by William. This French bias may also be seen in instances, such as Renaud de Châtillon, in which William's attitude to certain prominent figures has been altered in the translation. It also seems that the translation was made during the reign of Philip Augustus, though it may have been completed shortly after his death, and in response to the Fifth Crusade. The alterations that have been discussed previously are found in all of the early manuscripts that are closest to the Latin and, as a result, appear to have been introduced by the translator. However, there are several significant variations that occur later after the original translation. The remainder of this thesis will explore the development of the manuscript tradition for the *Eracles* text.

## Part II: The Manuscripts

The initial problem that one faces when confronting the *Eracles* text is the large number of manuscripts that have survived. Of the fifty-one extant manuscripts, most contain the complete text of the translation of William of Tyre. Ideally, transcripts would have been made of all the manuscripts in their entirety in order to fashion a stemma for the manuscripts and to determine a base manuscript that would contain the best possible reading of the text. However, this has not proved feasible and I have instead utilised several sample chapters in order to establish a stemma for the manuscripts in addition to comparing the readings of both the *RHC* and Paris editions. This section will deal with the methodology of selecting which manuscripts to study more in depth as well as selecting the sample chapters.

In order to proceed further it is first necessary to discuss the extant manuscripts of the *Eracles* text. There are two major lists of all the manuscripts in print. The first was based on the work of Mas Latrie and the editors of the *RHC* edition, was compiled by Paul Riant in 1881.<sup>1</sup> The second was produced by Jaroslav Folda in 1973 and sought to bring the previous lists up to date.<sup>2</sup> The sorting of the manuscripts into categories was based on the date at which the text, in its current form, ends. The difference in ending date arises because of differing versions of the continuations which were added to the translation of William of Tyre text. This format is, up to a point, useful when studying the continuations, but is not particularly useful when studying the translation. The major drawback of this system is that it does not take into account the fact that several of the manuscripts seem to be placed in the wrong groups if they are organised in this fashion. While a more detailed discussion of the manuscripts containing continuations and implications for the manuscript stemma for the

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<sup>1</sup> Riant, pp. 247-52, 716-7

<sup>2</sup> Folda, 'Handlist', pp. 90-5

translation will be discussed later, a good example of a manuscript that appears to be misplaced is F01. It has been placed in the first group of manuscripts because, in its current form, it does not contain a continuation; however, it appears that the latter part of the text is missing and that the manuscript likely did once include a continuation. This manuscript was probably bound in two volumes, the second one subsequently being lost. Another example is F50 which appears to switch between versions of the continuations. Despite the problems with the format, there would be no benefits to rearranging the order of the listing so the format will be maintained for ease of reference. Some of the manuscripts have been moved since Riant's earlier work, notably the Didot manuscripts which have gone to the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore Maryland. As a result I shall follow Peter Edbury's<sup>3</sup> lead in using the list provided by Folda, with an 'F' before each numbered manuscript, in which the classmarks have been brought up to date but the general format is still based upon Riant's work. The following, based upon these previous lists, sets out those *Eracles* manuscripts which contain the Old French translation of William of Tyre. Manuscripts in square brackets have not been considered in this study:

#### Section I: No Continuation

F01 – Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, ms. 93 (England: late 13<sup>th</sup> century)

F02 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2627 (N. France: 15<sup>th</sup> Century)

F03 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2632 (Latin East or France: 1<sup>st</sup> half of 13<sup>th</sup> century)

F04 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2826 (Latin East or France: 1<sup>st</sup> half of 13<sup>th</sup> century)

F05 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9081 (Paris: ca. 1245-48)

F06 – Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Pal. lat. 1963 (Antioch: ca. 1260-68)

[F07 to F15 contain fragments of the translation and have not been considered for this study]

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<sup>3</sup> Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 69-105.

## Section II: Abbreviated Chronicles to 1232

[F16 to F29 do not contain the translation and instead consists of other material, such as *La Chronique d'Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier*, which formed the basis for the continuations added to William of Tyre's text.]

## Section III: Continuations to 1232

- F30 – Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 651 (N. France: early 14<sup>th</sup> century)
- F31 – Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 137 (Paris: ca. 1295-1300)
- F32 – Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, ms. 112 (N. France: ca. 1270)
- F33 – Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, ms. 163 (N. France: 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of 13<sup>th</sup> century)
- F34 – Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 856 (N. France: ca. 1300)
- F35 – Epinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 45 (Paris: ca. 1295-1300)
- F36 – Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, ms. 85 (Artois: 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of 15<sup>th</sup> Century)
- F37 – London, BL, Royal ms. 15 E. 1 (Flanders: late 15<sup>th</sup> Century)
- F38 – London, BL, Henry Yates Thompson ms. 12 (England: mid-13<sup>th</sup> century)
- F39 – Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5220 (N. France: 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of 13<sup>th</sup> century)
- F40 – Paris, Bibliothèque du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Memoires et Documents 230bis (S. France: 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of 13<sup>th</sup> century)
- F41 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 67 (N. France: 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 13<sup>th</sup> century)
- F42 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 68 (Flanders: ca. 1450)
- F43 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 779 (N. France: ca. 1275)
- F44 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2629 (Flanders: ca. 1460)
- F45 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2630 (N. France: ca. 1250-75)
- F46 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2754 (N. France: ca. 1300)
- F47 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2824 (N. France: ca. 1300)

F48 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2827 (N. France: ca. 1250-75)

F49 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9085 (Acre: ca. 1277-80)

F50 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9086 (Acre: ca. 1255-60)

F51 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 24208 (N. France: ca. 1250-75)

#### Section IV: The *Rothelin* Continuation to 1261

F52 – Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 142 (Paris: ca. 1300 and ca. 1340)

F53 – Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9045 (Flanders: ca. 1462)

F54 – Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9492-3 (Paris: ca. 1291-95)

F55 – Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. Palais des Arts 29 (Paris: ca. 1295-96)

[F56 is an abbreviated version of the French William of Tyre]

F57 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2634 (Île de France: 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of 14<sup>th</sup> century)

F58 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2825 (Paris: early 14<sup>th</sup> Century)

[F59 is an eighteenth-century copy of F60]

F60 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9083 (Île de France: 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of 14<sup>th</sup> century)

F61 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 22495 (Paris: 1337)

F62 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 22496-7 (Paris: ca. 1350)

F63 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 24209 (Île de France: 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of 14<sup>th</sup> century)

F64 – Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Reg. Suec. lat. 737 (Paris: early 14<sup>th</sup> century)

F65 – Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. L. I. 5 (N. France: 15<sup>th</sup> century)

F66 – Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. L. II. 17 (Île de France: 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of 14<sup>th</sup> Century)

#### Section V: The *Acre* Continuation, beyond 1232

F67 – Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 483 (Flanders: mid-15<sup>th</sup> century)

F68 – Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, ms. 25 (N. France: 1<sup>st</sup> half of 15<sup>th</sup> century)

- F69 – Boulougne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 142 (Acre: ca. 1287)
- F70 – Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, ms. Plu. LXI. 10 (Acre: ca. 1290, and Italy: 1<sup>st</sup> half of 14<sup>th</sup> century)
- F71 – St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia / Российская Национальная Библиотека (formerly M. E. Saltykov-Schedrin State Public Library), ms. fr. fo v. IV.5 (Acre: ca. 1280)
- F72 – Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 828 (Acre: ca. 1280)
- F73 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2628 (Acre: late 1250's/early 1260's and late 1270's)
- F74 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2631 (Lombardy: ca. 1291-95)
- [F75 is an eighteenth-century copy of F77]
- [F76 is an eighteenth-century copy of the continuation as published in 1729]
- F77 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9082 (Rome: 1295)
- F78 – Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9084 (Acre: ca. 1286)

In the absence of the text of the original translation it is necessary to try and establish which of the surviving manuscripts are potentially the closest to the original. One way to attempt to achieve this goal is to work on the assumption that those manuscripts which have readings closer to the Latin William of Tyre are more likely to be closer to the original French translation. This is of course assuming that later scribes did not alter the French text, either purposefully or accidentally, to bring it into line with the Latin. As a starting point I began by building upon Edbury's work on the French translation<sup>4</sup>.

Edbury's article compared the first and last six words of every chapter in the translation in an attempt to identify the chapter divisions within the manuscripts and to use this information to establish a stemma for the manuscripts. In doing so he was able to break the manuscripts into two major groups, these are  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . Group  $\alpha$  includes most of the

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<sup>4</sup> Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 69-105

manuscripts that only contain the translation, the one exception being F06, as well as some of the other early manuscripts. The manuscripts included in this group are: F01, F02, F03, F04, F05, F31, F35, F38, F41, F49, F50, F52, F57, F67, F68, F69, F70, F71, F72, F73, F74, F77 and F78. Of these, several were found to contain readings that were closer to the Latin text, notably F05 and F38.<sup>5</sup> As a result I began by looking at F05 as it appeared to contain possibly early readings and did not include any continuations to the text. It is also a fairly early manuscript being dated to 1245-48. I have also looked in depth at F38 as, like F05, it seems to have early readings and a mid-thirteenth-century date. Another manuscript to be studied closely from this group is F02. Despite being a fifteenth-century manuscript, this manuscript also contains similar readings to F05 and F38 and thus appears to represent an early version of the text. The final Group  $\alpha$  manuscript that I studied in depth was F72 as it was used by the editors of the *RHC* edition and is one of the earlier Acre manuscripts. I have also examined closely the only Group  $\beta$  manuscript that does not contain a continuation. This manuscript is also fairly early, being dated to 1260-68. In addition I have also looked closely at F58 as it is one of the manuscripts, formerly in the possession of Didot, on which Paris based his edition.

The procedure to study these manuscripts has been to use microfilms of the manuscripts and to compare them line by line with the Paulin Paris edition of the French text. I have been able to use microfilms of the manuscripts which were in the possession of Peter Edbury as a part of his earlier research on the *Eracles* text, which contained both the translation and continuations. This has allowed study of all but four of the manuscripts. One exception is F50 which is rather large with tight binding and narrow gutters of which the Bibliothèque National de France declined to provide a reproduction on microfilm. For this manuscript I am grateful to the Bibliothèque National for allowing me to view the manuscript and to take pictures of the relevant folios. F50 is therefore included in this study. One

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<sup>5</sup> Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 71-80.

manuscript that will not be considered is F66 which is housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin. This manuscript has been damaged by fire and the Biblioteca Nazionale declined to microfilm the manuscript. Morgan studied this fourteenth-century manuscript and tentatively linked it to F60, F61 and F63 based upon its continuation.<sup>6</sup> The second Turin manuscript, F65, has been included because, though it has also shows suffered fire damage and lacks part of the text due to this, the folios which contain the portion of text sampled in this study are still legible. The final two manuscripts that have not been considered are F67 and F68. These have not been included because it has already been shown that these two fifteenth-century manuscripts were directly derived from F69.<sup>7</sup>

Select passages from all of the manuscripts under consideration have been transcribed. I have chosen five passages to transcribe. These have been chosen because, at least when I started, there appeared to be clear differences between various groups of manuscripts and also between the published editions and those manuscripts that were deemed to be closest to the original Latin. In each case these differences referred to material that was not present in the original Latin. The sample chapters chosen for this research may not always be indicative of the entire text. However, I have attempted to pick chapters that will provide as good a view of the overall text as possible and will allow for a provisional stemma to be constructed.

In selecting sample chapters I have tried to select chapters that would be helpful for constructing a stemma and would provide textual clues to the relationships between the manuscripts rather than simply choosing passages at random. I have selected chapters from different points in the text and have based my choice upon comparisons of the published editions with the sample manuscripts that I looked at in their entirety. In the end I chose five

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<sup>6</sup> M. R. Morgan 'The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre', *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, eds. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), p. 246.

<sup>7</sup> Edbury, 'Translation', p. 93.

chapters that showed significant variations within the manuscript tradition and would allow the best possible analysis of the text based upon the sampling. In general nearly all the alterations found in the translation appear to be present in the earliest manuscripts with readings that are closest to William's Latin. However, there are a few cases in which the readings in the modern editions do not match these 'better' texts.

The first sample that I have chosen comes from Book 7 Chapter 22. This chapter chronicles the arrival of the First Crusade at Sidon and the crusaders' skirmishes with the citizens before proceeding to Sarepta; it then gives a short description of gardens of Tyre before describing the crusaders journeying on to Acre and Ramlah. This chapter was chosen primarily because of a reference made to the Prophet Elijah in relation to Sarepta. William comments as the army passes the city 'viri dei Helye nutricia.'<sup>8</sup> In Paris' edition the French text reads 'ou Elyes li profetes fu'<sup>9</sup> whereas the *RHC* edition reads 'où Ehelyes li profetes fu nez.'<sup>10</sup> William's comment refers to 1 Kings 17:9-10 in which Elijah is provided with food and water by a widow in Sarepta after being commanded to go to the city. Despite the two different readings in the French neither accurately translates the Latin since neither William nor the Bible indicates that Elijah had been born in Sarepta and both were clearly erroneous readings. The first few manuscripts that I had compared with the editions matched the reading in Paris's edition in reading 'ou Elyes li profetes fu'. I chose this chapter as it was clear that there were various readings in the manuscript tradition that could potentially be useful in analysing the relationships between the manuscripts. It was also hoped that it may be possible that there may be manuscripts that contained a reading closer to the Latin 'nutricia'.

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<sup>8</sup> WT, 7.22 lines 25-6; *RHC* reads 'viri Dei Heliae nutritia' 7.22 p. 311.

<sup>9</sup> Paris, 7.22 l. p. 256.

<sup>10</sup> *RHC*, 7.22 p. 312.

The second sample is from Book 11 chapter 14 which deals with the arrival of a Norwegian fleet of Crusaders and the capture of Sidon by Baldwin I in 1111 with its aid. William relates that in addition to Baldwin's army marching to besiege Acre 'classis quoque nichilominus a portu Acconensi egressa illuc directe properaverat, ita ut pene eodem momento uterque exercitus ante urbem conveniret'.<sup>11</sup> This is altered in both the Paris and *RHC* edition's to read 'Une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cité d'Acre por venir aidier a leur genz de Saiete si que près que tuit ensemble vindrent cil dui ost, celé part'.<sup>12</sup> Paris comments: 'Cette phrase est omise dans plusieurs bons manuscrits. Ici elle donne une traduction opposée au sens, La ville d'Acre était déjà au pouvoir des Chrétiens, et les « navies » qu'elle envoya vers Saiete arrivaient en même temps que l'ost de Baudouin. *Classis a portu Acconensi egressa illuc directe properaverat, ita ut, pene eodem momento, uterque exercitus ante urbem conveniret*'.<sup>13</sup> This is another instance in which William's Latin appears to have been imperfectly translated. Paris's comment that this phrase is missing in most of the best manuscripts makes it potentially important in attempting to construct a stemma. In addition, F06 gives a different reading to both editions: 'une granz navie restoit meue d'escalone por venire aidier a leur gent de saete'<sup>14</sup> This passage will be used as a sample because it is evident that there are multiple variants of this passage to be found within the manuscripts and that can be used to determine the relationships of the manuscripts.

The third sample that I am using is Book 15 Chapter 22. This chapter relates the death of Emperor John II Komemnos in a hunting accident in 1143 in the principality of Antioch. While he is out hunting a boar rushes out before the emperor who draws his bow but shoots himself in the hand with a poisoned arrow. Upon realising his predicament John returns to his

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<sup>11</sup> WT, 11.14 lines 26-8; *RHC*, 11.14 p. 477.

<sup>12</sup> Paris, 11.14 l. p.403; *RHC*, 11.14 p. 477.

<sup>13</sup> Paris, l. p. 403, n. 6.

<sup>14</sup> F06, fo. 106v.

tents to seek the aid of his doctors.<sup>15</sup> The Paris and *RHC* editions both name the doctors of the emperor: ‘dans Hues de Pierefont, dans Gautiers et tant des autres que je ne vos sai nomer’.<sup>16</sup> This additional information is not to be found in those manuscripts which elsewhere appear to be closer to the Latin, notably F05 and F38. However it is to be found in F06. This passage might therefore seem to represent a major division in the manuscript tradition. This particular addition is also of particular importance as these doctors are not named in any other text and appear to be unknown to historians; they are not included in Piers Mitchell’s list of doctors and medical practitioners involved in the Crusades and the Latin East.<sup>17</sup> Locating the appearance of these personages within the *Eracles* manuscript tradition will shed some light on their possible background and the veracity of the addition. As well as this information, the *RHC* addition also includes further additional readings to be found in neither the Paris edition nor the manuscripts which are closest to the Latin. These additions are of a more stylistic nature, such as adding to the statement of the emperor that it would bring shame to the Empire if he were to rule with only one hand, the other being amputated to remove the poison of the arrow, ‘n’il ne seroit pas resons à lui ne au pueple qu’il a à gouverner, quar trop a afere’.<sup>18</sup> A variant of this reading ‘meesmemant qui ne seroit pas droiz ne ressons a lui ne au pueple qu’il avoit agouverner trop avoit afere’<sup>19</sup> is to be found in F06. Once again we have a clear instance in which there are variant readings between manuscripts and the modern editions which hold potential for establishing the manuscript tradition.

The fourth sample chapter is Book 20 chapter 11 in the Paris edition but chapter 12 in the *RHC* edition and Huygens’ edition of the Latin text. This chapter is concerned with King Amaury sending messengers in 1169 to the western princes to request aid following the rise

<sup>15</sup> WT, 15.22 line 14.

<sup>16</sup> Paris, 15.22 ll. p. 80; *RHC*, 15.22 p. 695.

<sup>17</sup> P. Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon* (Cambridge 2004), pp. 11-45.

<sup>18</sup> *RHC*, 15.22 p. 694.

<sup>19</sup> F06, fo. 158r.

of Saladin in Egypt. Following an initial failed crossing by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, and John, bishop of Banyas arrive in Paris where the bishop of Banyas dies. Both the Paris and *RHC* editions add ‘et fut enterrez en l’eglise Saint Victor, à senestre, si com l’en entre vers le cuer’.<sup>20</sup> However, the *RHC* also adds ‘et Huitace, li déans de Charmentré’ to the bishop of Banyas as dying in Paris. It also reads ‘murent’ and ‘furent enterrez’<sup>21</sup> implying that they both died at the same time and were both buried on the left of the choir in the Abbey of St. Victor. While the additional information regarding the site of the burial is found in F05, F06 and F38, the addition of the dean of Charmentré was not found in any of the first few manuscripts studied. As a result this chapter will be studied in order to pinpoint the entry of this information into the manuscript tradition. This is the same Huitace the dean of Charmentré whom Ost and Pryor identified as potentially being an intimate associate of the translator and who was discussed above in the chapter on the translator.<sup>22</sup>

The fifth chapter to be studied also refers to Huitace the dean of Charmentré. This is Book 22 chapter 6 in the Paris edition and chapter 7 in the *RHC*. This chapter refers to the crimes committed by Bohemond III, prince of Antioch, in 1181 towards the church and general criticism of his lifestyle, which led to his excommunication, culminating in a group of barons and prelates being sent from Jerusalem to try and persuade him to renounce his previous behaviour. At the end of the list of ecclesiastics on the expedition both the Paris and *RHC* editions add ‘et Huitace li déans de Charmentré’.<sup>23</sup> This additional reading is, like the previous mention of Huitace, not to be found in any of the manuscripts that I originally looked at. It thus seems fairly clear that a comprehensive study needs to be made of the manuscripts in order to determine where the dean of Charmentré should be placed in the

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<sup>20</sup> Paris, 20.11 ll. p. 327; *RHC*, 20.12 p. 961

<sup>21</sup> *RHC*, 20.12 p. 961

<sup>22</sup> Ost, p. 14, Pryor, p. 280.

<sup>23</sup> Paris, 22.6 ll. p. 418; *RHC*, 22.7 p. 1075.

manuscript tradition. Is he simply lacking from these manuscripts, which otherwise seem to represent early versions of the text, or has he appeared later on in the tradition?

In addition to these five sample chapters this study will also look at the first few lines from the beginning of Book 12 chapter 1. The chapter deals with the election of Baldwin du Bourq as King Baldwin II of Jerusalem in 1118. A large section has been added to the beginning of the chapter describing how Xerxes, king of Persia refused to hear counsel from his barons regarding not going to war with Greece. This is put in to contrast with Baldwin's eagerness for counsel and aid in order to rule the kingdom properly. This entire chapter will not be looked at as it is found in all of the manuscripts in the same form and was not initially considered for selection. However, whilst transcribing the sample chapters in the manuscripts I saw that there was a noticeable variant at the beginning of this chapter. This variant occurs within the first sentence which introduces Xerxes and can also be found in the published editions. The Paris edition reads: 'Xerxés fu uns poissanz rois de la terre qui a non Aise, et avoit mout grant contenz au roiaume de Grece'.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, the *RHC* edition reads: 'Xerxés fu uns puissanz rois de la terre qui a non Aise, et avoit mout grant contenz à la terre d'Egypte'.<sup>25</sup> F05 and F38 agree with the Paris edition while F06 agrees with the *RHC* edition. Meanwhile F72 contains a third reading: 'Xerses fu un puissant roi de la terre qui a anon Aise et avoit grant contents au reiaume de France et a celui de Gresse'.<sup>26</sup> It is again quite certain that there are some clear distinctions within the manuscript tradition and this sentence will also contribute towards establishing a stemma for the *Eracles* text.

Throughout the text the large majority of differences between the Latin and French editions can be found in what are believed to be those manuscripts that are closest to the Latin text and are therefore more likely to be closer to the original text of the translation.

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<sup>24</sup> Paris, 12.1 l. p. 432.

<sup>25</sup> *RHC*, 12.1 p. 692.

<sup>26</sup> F72, fo. 123v.

These readings are hence likely to be found in most of the manuscripts and in any in which they are lacking it is more likely that they have been lost at some point during the copying process. However, there are a number of instances in which it is clear, from a preliminary investigation of a few manuscripts and the editions, that there are certain readings which are not to found in either the Latin or the early French manuscripts. These variations would therefore seem to have been added into the manuscript tradition later and do not represent the text of the original translation. However, it is necessary to look at these sample chapters in detail before progressing to any firm conclusions regarding the manuscript tradition of the *Eracles* text.

## The Manuscript Tradition

It became very clear from the outset of my research that there were some significant readings that allowed the establishment of two very broad initial groupings within the manuscript tradition. I was first alerted to this division by the additional readings found in 15:22 which deals with the death of the emperor John II Komnenos but it is also supported by other readings found within the sample chapters. This division is also supported by the findings of Edbury in his paper on the chapter divisions of the *Eracles* text where he divided the manuscripts into two groupings:  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ .<sup>1</sup> The group  $\alpha$  manuscripts do not contain the additional readings in 15.22 while those in group  $\beta$  do. I shall continue to use these designations for these two main groups. In preparing an edition of the sample chapters it was found that attempting to include the variant readings from all of the manuscripts within a single apparatus produced an apparatus that was both unwieldy and difficult to read. As a result it has been necessary to split up the manuscripts into smaller groups.

This is fairly straightforward with the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts as they can be readily divided between those manuscripts produced in the West and those produced in the East. The western manuscripts will continue to be labelled group  $\alpha$  and this group consists of the following manuscripts: F01, F02, F03, F04, F05, F31, F35, F38, F41 and F52. There are also some readings unique to the eastern manuscripts that create a quite clear division between these groups. As a result the eastern manuscripts will be labelled group  $\lambda$ . This break seems to coincide with the text being taken from the West, where the translation was made, to the East. The earliest eastern manuscripts appear to be F50 and F73 which have been dated to ca. 1255-60 and late 1250s or early 1260s respectively and so are fairly early manuscripts. Because of this, it appears that the *Eracles* text must have been taken to the East shortly after

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<sup>1</sup> Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 75-94.

the *Ernoul-Bernard* continuation was added to the text in the 1230s.<sup>2</sup> F38 is also dated to the mid-thirteenth century and has been attributed to an English provenance. It therefore seems fairly certain that the translation became popular fairly quickly and spread from France to England and the Latin East within forty years of the translation first being produced. These manuscripts can also be divided into two groups based upon distinctive readings. The first group,  $\lambda_1$ , contains: F50, F57, F70, F72, F73 and F77. The  $\lambda_2$  group of manuscripts contains: F49, F67, F68, F69, F71, F74 and F78. This division between these manuscripts is generally consistent. However in 20.11 F74 does appear to be closer to the  $\lambda_1$  group. While this does create a problem in dividing the manuscripts in this way the majority of readings seem to imply two distinct traditions. The fact that F74 appears to switch groups, but only for one of the sample chapters, might imply that exemplars were switched at some point for this, or an antecedent, manuscript. This is one of the later manuscripts from this group with only F57 being given a later date of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. F67 and F68 are both fifteenth-century manuscripts but they are being discounted because they derive directly from F69 and are not being considered in this study. The two branches of this group of manuscripts appear to have developed in the East, Acre in particular, but some manuscripts from this tradition made their way to the West where they were copied. The fact that the Eastern manuscripts from group  $\lambda$  have been attributed to the Acre scriptorium implies that the manuscripts from both subgroups were in close proximity to each other and it would be very easy for the exemplars to be switched either within the scriptorium or following their hurried removal to Italy.

The group  $\beta$  manuscripts are much more numerous and, like group  $\alpha$ , are of western origin, with the possible exception of F06. They appear to represent a manuscript tradition that had branched off from the main  $\alpha$  group before the continuations were added. F06, which

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<sup>2</sup> Edbury, 'Continuations', p. 108.

does not contain a continuation, is dated ca. 1260-1268 while F51, which does, is dated ca. 1250-75. These groups appear to have been forming at similar times with the  $\beta$  group characterised by this additional material in 15.22 along with the alternative reading of 'Egypte' in 12.1 and the lack of background material regarding Sidon in 11.14. There also do not appear to be any major divisions that would allow an easy grouping of the manuscripts. Instead of having a direct linear relationship it would appear that these manuscripts have a more complex relationship. Group  $\beta$  consists of the following manuscripts: F06, F30, F32, F33, F34, F36, F37, F39, F40, F42, F43, F44, F45, F46, F47, F48, F51, F53, F54, F55, F58, F60, F61, F62, F63, F64 and F65. In order to produce a stemma, it was more practical to begin by breaking this group down into smaller subgroups for the simple reason that it is easier to compare the variants from a small number of manuscripts at a time than attempt to compare all twenty-seven manuscripts at once. The difficulty of comparing all of the manuscripts at once was compounded by the fact that several of the later manuscripts, notably F36 and F44, contain numerous variants in which large portions of the text have been reworked and a lot of abridgment has been made. As a result, I originally divided the  $\beta$  manuscripts into three smaller groups.

The manuscripts put in  $\beta_3$  (F06, F32, F45 F58, F61 and F65) were separated because they contain unique additional readings that it was thought may indicate major divisions in the manuscript stemma. F61 and F65 are particularly close but the rest of these manuscripts contain readings that are distinctive from all other manuscripts. The rest of the manuscripts from group  $\beta$  were split into  $\beta_1$  and  $\beta_2$ . This essentially involved arbitrarily splitting the manuscripts into two different groups simply to aid the editing process.  $\beta_1$  comprised: F30, F33, F34, F36, F37, F39, F40, F42, F43, F44 and F46.  $\beta_2$  comprised: F47, F48, F51, F53, F54, F55, F58, F60, F62, F63 and F64. However, upon examining these groups independently, I decided to leave the major variations and abridgements found in the

fifteenth-century manuscripts out of the analysis as they are not useful for the discussion of the original translation and the development of the manuscript stemma. None of the changes found in individual manuscripts will be discussed in the following section or the sample chapters unless they are of particular significance. This is particularly the case with the fifteenth-century manuscripts F36 and F44. A full apparatus showing all of the variants is included in the appendix. In general the  $\beta$  group manuscripts do have various subgroups, for instance F60, F61, F62 and F65 share a number of variant readings, as do F53 and F64. This does not mean that these, originally  $\beta_3$ , show a clear division with the rest of the  $\beta$  manuscripts. Instead these distinctive readings appear in manuscripts that otherwise are firmly part of a general group  $\beta$ . While certain subgroups do appear, the variant readings are not always consistent and there may be a certain amount of cross-influence amongst the manuscripts. Since, the division of the  $\beta$  manuscripts into these three groups did not accurately reflect the relationships between the manuscripts I will discuss this group as a whole while highlighting particularly close relationships between some of the manuscripts.

In the preface to their work the *RHC* editors claim to have used several manuscripts of the *Eracles* text which were in the Bibliothèque National, formerly the Bibliothèque Royal, in Paris for their edition of the translation of William's work. They say that they particularly used F02 but, due to various mutilations to the text, they also used F04, F48 and F77.<sup>3</sup> These four manuscripts represent a good variety of the manuscripts, one from each main group, while F02, despite being a fifteenth-century manuscript, appears to contain an early version of the text, though with a few significant errors in it. However, this list is misleading. The *RHC* bears little resemblance to F02 and instead contains all of the hallmarks of the  $\beta$  group manuscripts, such as F48. However, the edition is not particularly close to F48 either. Instead,

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<sup>3</sup> 'Verborum recensionem constituimus, secuti codicem in bibliotheca regia 8314/6 signatum. Hic autem codex seculi XIII<sup>i</sup>, accurata quadem solertia, ut visum est, exaratus fuit; partes obscuras aut mutilas, trium adjumento aliorum, 8404, 8409/5.5, 104 (Suppl. Franc.), quibus in biblioteca regia praestantiores nulli, dilucidatas aut reflectas damus.' *RHC*, Preface, p. xxvi; Cf. Riant, 'Inventaire' and Folda, 'Handlist' for modern classmarks.

it has numerous affinities with F45, a manuscript that is not mentioned in the introduction to the edition. This includes containing additional material unique to the manuscript as well as mistakes unique to this manuscript. The edition also includes a unique variant found only F64. While the relationship between the edition and the manuscripts will be discussed in more detail in the following discussion, it seems certain that the *RHC* edition was largely based upon F45 with corrections inserted from other manuscripts when the mistakes in F45 were obvious. One of the manuscripts used to make corrections appears to have been F64, with the variant in this case replacing ‘regné’ with ‘conroi armé’ in 11.14 being distinctive. F77 was also likely used due to a variant reading in 7.22 which is found in only five manuscripts in which the word ‘né’ is added to ‘Ou Helies li profetes fu’ in a reference to 1 Kings, these manuscripts include F41, F44, F70, F72 and F77. This list contains a manuscript from each of the  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\lambda$  groups. A sixth manuscript, F36, reads ‘natis’ and is likely to stem from a ‘né’ exemplar with a more Latinized form of the word being introduced in this fifteenth-century manuscript. While this variant may have come from one of the other manuscripts, the fact that the *RHC* editors stated that they used this manuscript, and also used it for the continuations to William’s text, makes it likely that the addition of this word came from F77, though its presence in other manuscripts that were potentially available to the editors would encourage them to include the variant in their edition. The editors may have made use of other manuscripts but their edition is certainly based upon the  $\beta$  tradition and includes the various additions from this group as well as lacking the material that is in both the majority of the  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  group manuscripts and the Latin text.

Paulin Paris states that he used two manuscripts that were in the possession of Ambroise Firmin-Didot (both now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore,) F31 and F52,<sup>4</sup> as well as manuscripts in public libraries. These are both  $\alpha$  group manuscripts, and Paris’s text

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<sup>4</sup> Paris, I. p. xvi.

generally follows this group of manuscripts. However he also makes references in his footnotes to various readings that could be found in F58, a  $\beta$  manuscript, and to alternative readings from the *RHC* edition. It is also striking that Paris adds some of the additional text found in the *RHC* edition, including material from F45. So Paris was adding additional material from the previous edition to the text found in the manuscripts that he was using and thus managed to corrupt the arguably earlier reading they give. In this way, Paris's edition became a pastiche of the Firmin-Didot manuscripts and the *RHC* edition. However, F31 and F52 also contain several variants and mistakes with the result that Paris's edition contains numerous inaccuracies. From my initial research, F38 appears to contain a reading which may be closest to the original translation. As such I shall use it as a base manuscript but in conjunction with F02 in an attempt to correct the various mistakes that appear in both manuscripts for the following sample chapters. 15.22 creates a problem due to the large amount of additional material found in the  $\beta$  manuscripts. For the sake of convenience, two versions of this chapter will be used: one giving the version found in the  $\alpha$  group and the other portraying  $\beta$  group text. The differences between the two groups will be highlighted in bold lettering with only the variants within the groups being placed in the apparatus. None of the  $\beta$  group manuscripts immediately stands out as being preferable. There are numerous variants within the manuscripts, but F39 appears to have the fewest mistakes and to be closest to the  $\alpha$  group. The majority of variants in F39 are shared by all of the  $\beta$  group manuscripts and it has relatively few unique variants. Within the sample chapters certain words and phrases have been highlighted with the discussion. These are places in which the Paris edition contains a different reading to that found within my base manuscript. Most of these variants belong to either later developments within the manuscripts used by Paris, or to interpolations into his edition from the *RHC* edition, which do not agree with what appears to be the original reading of the text of the translation. One of these variants, the correction of 'Mores'

to 'Molins' in 22.6 is not supported by any known manuscript and appears to have been an editorial change.

## Book 7 Chapter 22

The first chapter to be studied is Book 7 Chapter 22. The procedure that will be followed in studying these sample chapters will be to include an edition of the chosen text with apparatus which will then be followed by a discussion of the variants. Due to the large number of variants only those which appear in multiple manuscripts or are of particular significance will be included in the apparatus. Many of those variants not included are instances in which an article is missing in a single manuscript or another similar minor scribal variation that does not assist in determining the manuscript stemma. In addition, some of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, F36 and F44 in particular, are heavily abridged and lack large amounts of text. These major abridgements have not been included in the apparatus. Another version of these sample chapters with a full apparatus detailing all of the variants is included as an appendix.

Using F02 and F38 as the base manuscripts

$\alpha$	$\lambda_1$	$\lambda_2$	$\beta$	
F01 80r	F50 88r-v	F49 76v-77r	F06 67r-v	F47 44r
F02 49v-50r	F57 75r	F69 69r-v	F30 52r-v	F48 54v
F03 48r	F70 78v	F71 ms.	F32 50v-51r	F51 54v
F04 35v-36r	F72 71r	mutilated	F33 67v-68r	F53 78v-79r
F05 74v-75r	F73 61r	F74 93v-94r	F34 54v	F54 86v-87r
F31 70v-71r	F77 92r-v	F78 87r-v	F36 69r-v	F55 27v
F35 59r-v			F37 104v-105r	F58 59r
F38 39v			F39 138	F60 69r
F41 129v			F40 47v-48r	F61 63r
F52 59v-60r			F42 96r	F62 Ms. 22496
			F43 62v	73r
			F44 93r-v	F63 72v
			F45 61v-62r	F64 74r
			F46 ms.	F65 110v-111r
			mutilated	

Au<sup>1</sup> tiers jour vindrent devant la cité de Baruth; sur un flum qui queurt<sup>2</sup> devant se logierent<sup>3</sup>. Li bailli de la ville leur donna grant loyer<sup>4</sup> et leur fist venir<sup>5</sup> assez<sup>6</sup> viandes<sup>7</sup> a<sup>8</sup> bon marchie<sup>9</sup> pour espargnier les arbres et les blese<sup>10</sup> des terres. L'endemain<sup>11</sup> vindrent a la cité<sup>12</sup> de<sup>13</sup> Saiette. La se logierent sur un flum ou il tornerent<sup>14</sup> assez pres de illec. Cil<sup>15</sup> qui gardoit<sup>16</sup> la cité ne leur voust onques faire bonté<sup>17</sup> nulle<sup>18</sup>. Je ne sai en quoi il se fioit<sup>19</sup> mais il<sup>20</sup> envoia de sa gent assez<sup>21</sup> hors<sup>22</sup> pour faire dommage a<sup>23</sup> l'ost<sup>24</sup>. Ilz commencierent a hardoyer et a<sup>25</sup> atainer<sup>26</sup> chevaliers<sup>27</sup> qui pres estoient<sup>28</sup> logié<sup>29</sup> tant que cilz ne le porent plus<sup>30</sup> souffrir<sup>31</sup> ains monterent es<sup>32</sup> chevaus et leur corurent<sup>33</sup> sus. Ne<sup>34</sup> sai quanz en occistrent<sup>35</sup> li<sup>36</sup> autre s'en foinrent en la cité ne<sup>37</sup> n'orent puis<sup>38</sup> talent de noz gens atainer<sup>39</sup>; si<sup>40</sup> que toute celle nuit

<sup>1</sup> Au] Le F37 F44; et au F50 F57 F73

<sup>2</sup> queurt] cort i qui F50; court iluec F57 F73 F77

<sup>3</sup> sur un flum qui queurt devant se logierent] et se logierent sur ung flum qui court devant F36 F37 F42

<sup>4</sup> loyer] dons F61 F65

<sup>5</sup> fist venir] envoia F61 F65

<sup>6</sup> assez] F01 F04 F49 F74 F78 *lack*; largement F37 F42

<sup>7</sup> assez viandes] viandes asses F30 F34

<sup>8</sup> a] et a F03 F06 F31 F36 F37 F44 F45 F48 F62 F69 F73 F78

<sup>9</sup> marchie] marchie et asses lor en dona F77

<sup>10</sup> blese] fruis F70 F72; biens F37 F47 F63

<sup>11</sup> L'endemain] et l'endemain F43 F45 F57

<sup>12</sup> a la cité] F05 *lacks*

<sup>13</sup> la cité de] F50 F73 F77 *lack*

<sup>14</sup> ou il tornerent] que il troverent F01 F50 F53 F54 F57 F60 F72 F73 F77; que il tornerent F02 F36 F40 F42 F55 F58 F64; ou il troverent F30 F31 F35 F49 F69 F74 F78; qui cort F43 F45; courante F44; ou cort F51

<sup>15</sup> Cil] Le capitaine F45

<sup>16</sup> Cil qui gardoit] Le Cappitaine de F44

<sup>17</sup> faire bonté] bonté fere F04

<sup>18</sup> faire bonté nulle] firent nulle bonté F34; faire nulle coutoisie F36; faire bonté F50 F77; bonte faire F57 F73; faire nulle bonté F37 F42 F69 F70 F74 F78

<sup>19</sup> Je ne sai ... fioit] F50 F57 F73 F77 *lack*

<sup>20</sup> mais il] ainz F57 F73 F77

<sup>21</sup> de sa gent assez] assez de sa gent F05 F06 F30 F31 F35 F35 F50 F57 F73 F77; beaucoup de sa gent F42; assez] F37 F43 F44 F45 F51 *lack*

<sup>22</sup> hors] F30 F37 F62 F73 *lack*

<sup>23</sup> a] en F06 F32 F33 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F58 F54 F63 F64; a ceulz de F60 F62

<sup>24</sup> l'ost] nostre ost F50 F57 F70 F73; noz F61; noz gens F65; nostre gent et a nostre ost F77

<sup>25</sup> a] F03 F35 *lack*; Ilz commencierent a hardoyer et a] et pour F37 F42

<sup>26</sup> atainer] atairir F05; traîner F31; atainer aucune F37 F42; atraire F50 F77 F69 F74 F78; traier F73

<sup>27</sup> chevaliers] a ceus F50 F57 F73 F77

<sup>28</sup> estoient] de eus estoient λ2 F77

<sup>29</sup> logié] dans logier F57 F73; herbeges F69 F74 F78

<sup>30</sup> plus] F01 F52 *lack*

<sup>31</sup> tant que cilz ne le porent plus souffrir] tellement que ceus ne se peure plus endurer F37 F42

<sup>32</sup> es] en leur F06 F32 F39 F40 F43 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F62 F63 F70 F72; sor leur F45 F47 F53 F61 F64 F65; auz leur F48

<sup>33</sup> corurent] coururent vigoureusement F37 F42

<sup>34</sup> sus. Ne] et ne F50 F57 F73

<sup>35</sup> Ne sai quanz en occistrent] et en ocisent ne sai quans F31 F35; Ilz en occirent je ne say quanz F37 F42

<sup>36</sup> li] et li F36 F37 F42 F50 F57

<sup>37</sup> cité ne] cité qui puis ne F50 F57 F73 F77; cité et ne F49 F69 F74 F78

<sup>38</sup> puis] F50 F73 *lack*

se reposerent li nostre<sup>41</sup> mout<sup>42</sup> en pais. Au matin pour reposer<sup>43</sup> la menue gent ne se murent<sup>44</sup> de illec ains envoierent fourriers<sup>45</sup> par les villes entor et gens armées qui<sup>46</sup> les gardassent<sup>47</sup>. Cil aporтерent<sup>48</sup> vitailles<sup>49</sup> a<sup>50</sup> hommes et a chevaus<sup>51</sup>, a<sup>52</sup> mout grant plenté<sup>53</sup>. Bestes<sup>54</sup> amenerent<sup>55</sup> assez<sup>56</sup> grans et petites<sup>57</sup> et s'en revindrent tuit ensamble<sup>58</sup> sans rien perdre<sup>59</sup> fors un seul<sup>60</sup> chevalier qui avoit nom Gautier de Ver<sup>61</sup>. Cil<sup>62</sup> ala espoir<sup>63</sup> trop<sup>64</sup> avant mais<sup>65</sup> il ne revint mie<sup>66</sup> ne oncques puis<sup>67</sup> ne sot l'en<sup>68</sup> que il devint; mout en furent tuit<sup>69</sup> courroucié en l'ost<sup>70</sup>. Le jour apres passerent par mout aspre voie et descendirent apres<sup>71</sup> par uns destroit<sup>72</sup> es plains. A destre laisserent celle ancienne cité<sup>73</sup> qui a non Sarepte<sup>74</sup> ou Helies li profetes fu<sup>75</sup>. Puis passerent une eaue qui queurt entre Sur et Saiete<sup>76</sup>. Tant alerent<sup>77</sup> que il vindrent a cele

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<sup>39</sup> atainer] trainer F31

<sup>40</sup> si] tellement F37 F42

<sup>41</sup> li nostre] F31 F35 *lack*; se reposerent li nostre] nos gens se resposerent F37 F42

<sup>42</sup> mout] tout F45 F51 F49 F57

<sup>43</sup> reposer] reposer et raffreschir F37 F42

<sup>44</sup> murent] partirent une F37 F42

<sup>45</sup> fourriers] en fourrage F37 F42

<sup>46</sup> qui] por F34 F61 F65

<sup>47</sup> gens armées qui les gardassent] gens qui les gardassent armes F70; gardassent] garder F61 F65

<sup>48</sup> aporтерent] amenerent F77

<sup>49</sup> vitailles] viandes F31 F35 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>50</sup> a] et F34 F49 F50

<sup>51</sup> chevaus] femmes F61 F65

<sup>52</sup> a] F01 F04 F05 F31 F32 F33 F37 F38 F39 F40 F41 F42 F55 F58 F60 F64 F69 F73 F78 *lack*; et F70 F72

<sup>53</sup> plenté] quantité F37 F42

<sup>54</sup> bestes] et bestes F50 F57 F73 F77; de bestes F32 F37 F39 F40 F42 F47 F48 F49 F53 F54 F55 F58 F61 F62 F65 F69 F70 F72

<sup>55</sup> amenerent] F50 F57 F73 F77 *lack*

<sup>56</sup> assez] assez et F57; assez en i ot de F58 F64

<sup>57</sup> assez grans et petites] et granz presanz F43 F45 F51

<sup>58</sup> grans et petites ... ensamble] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 F78 *lack*

<sup>59</sup> perdre] prendre F31 F35

<sup>60</sup> tuit ensamble sans rien perdre fors un seul] sans riens predre tous ensamble si non tant seullement uns F37; tous enseble sans rien perdre se non ung chevalier tant seulement F42; seul] F49 F74 *lack*

<sup>61</sup> Ver] nevers F69 F74 F78

<sup>62</sup> cil] et cil F57 F73 F77

<sup>63</sup> espoir] par sa baillance F37 F42; un poi F50 F57 F73 F77

<sup>64</sup> espoir trop] si F30 F36

<sup>65</sup> mais] par quoi F50 F57 F73 F77

<sup>66</sup> mie] pas F60 F61 F62 F63

<sup>67</sup> mais il ne revint mie ne oncques puis] F30 F36 *lack*

<sup>68</sup> l'en] hom F50 F57 F73 F74 F78

<sup>69</sup> tuit] F50 F57 F73 F77 *lack*

<sup>70</sup> en l'ost] F69 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>71</sup> et descendirent apres] F43 F45 F51 *lack*

<sup>72</sup> destroit] destroit leus a destre F43 F45; destroiz a destre F51

<sup>73</sup> A destre laisserent celle ancienne cité] a cele cite lessierent a senestre F45

<sup>74</sup> Sarepte] Sarsent F49 F50 F57 F69 F70 F73 F74 F77

<sup>75</sup> fu] fu né F41 F44 F62 F70 F72 F77; fu natis F36; fu envoié et F57 F73

<sup>76</sup> Saiete] Sarphent F50; Sarsent F57 F73

<sup>77</sup> Tant alerent] cheminierent F37; cheminierent avant F42

noble<sup>78</sup> cité de Sur. La<sup>79</sup> se logierent devant<sup>80</sup> la tresnoble<sup>81</sup> fontaine<sup>82</sup>, qui si est renomée, qui est fontaine<sup>83</sup> des cortiz et puiz des eues vivanz<sup>84</sup> si com dit l'escripture. Es jardins mout delitables furent une nuit<sup>85</sup>. Quant<sup>86</sup> il fu adjourné il<sup>87</sup> se mistrent<sup>88</sup> a la voie<sup>89</sup>. Il<sup>90</sup> passerent uns destroiz mout perilleus qui sunt<sup>91</sup> entre les monteignes et la mer<sup>92</sup>. Il<sup>93</sup> descendirent es plains de la cite d'Acre. Iluecques<sup>94</sup> delez<sup>95</sup> la cité<sup>96</sup>, sur une eue corant<sup>97</sup>, tendirent leur paveillons.

As mentioned previously the initial reason for choosing this chapter was the discrepancy in the modern editions in regards to the mention of the prophet Elijah in Sarepta. The Latin had rendered 'Heliae nutricia' while the Paris edition reads 'Elyes fu' and the *RHC* edition reads 'Elielyes fu né' which is not what the biblical record says. (see apparatus note 75) As a result the goal was to identify which manuscripts contained which readings and see if any had a reading that was closer to the Latin. As it turns out, the large majority of manuscripts, including those manuscripts that seem generally to be closer to the Latin, F02, F05 and F38, agree with the reading in the Paris edition. Only eight of the fifty-one manuscripts give a different reading. Of these eight, five agree with the *RHC* edition rendering 'fu né': F41, F44, F70, F72 and F77. A sixth, F36 (dated to the third quarter of the fifteenth-century), gives a slightly more Latinate variation of the same phrase 'fu natis'.

<sup>78</sup> cele noble] la noble F50 F57 F73 F77

<sup>79</sup> La] et la F50 F57 F73

<sup>80</sup> devant] delez F37 F42

<sup>81</sup> tresnoble] noble F06 F30 F37 F42; haute F50 F73 F77; terre noble F69 F78

<sup>82</sup> fontaine] cité F43 F45 F51 F60; cité fontaine F61 F62 F63 F65; ~~cit~~é fontaine F64

<sup>83</sup> qui si est renomée qui est fontaine] β F70 F72 *lack*

<sup>84</sup> vivanz] F43 F45 F51 F62 *lack*; coranz F58 F64

<sup>85</sup> qui est fontaine ... nuit] et si courant la ou il a si richez jardinz si comme dist l'escripture. En celui lieu si delitable furent une nuit F50 F57 F73 F77

<sup>86</sup> Quant] et que F30; Et quant F31

<sup>87</sup> il] F05 F31 F41 *lack*; et F51 F53

<sup>88</sup> mistrent] remistrent F04 F05 F31 F35 F37 F38 F41 F49 F69 F78

<sup>89</sup> il se mistrent a la voie] F03 F36 *lack*; voie] chemin F37 F42 F65

<sup>90</sup> Il] et F06 F39 F40 F43 F44 F51 F53 F65; et il F50 F57 F73 F77

<sup>91</sup> sunt] siet F40; est F44 F49 F50 F53 F54 F55 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F72

<sup>92</sup> mout perilleus qui ... mer] qui est entre les montaignes et la mer molt perillous F70

<sup>93</sup> il] et F44 F55 F58 F70 F72

<sup>94</sup> Iluecques] F30 F53 *lack*; et iluec F50 F57

<sup>95</sup> delez] pres F57 F73; pres de F50 F77

<sup>96</sup> delez la cité] β F04 F70 F72 *lack*

<sup>97</sup> corant] si F69 F74 F78

While these manuscripts are relatively few in number, it is noticeable that these manuscripts have a representative from all of the manuscript groups provisionally identified: F41 from group  $\alpha$ , F36 and F44 from group  $\beta$  and F70, F72 and F77 from group  $\lambda$ . Two other manuscripts from group  $\lambda$ , F57 and F73, give ‘fu envoie’. While this variant reading is not closer to the Latin it is actually more in accord with the story as related in 1 Kings 17:9-15 in which Elijah is sent by God to Sarepta and is provided food and drink by a widow. As the manuscript tradition seem to be strongly supported elsewhere it does not seem likely that various scribes independently added in the word ‘né’, especially as it was not accurate. It therefore seems more probable that the original reading of the translation, or of a subsequent copy that formed the exemplar of all of the surviving manuscripts, was ‘fu né’. If this is the case then we may have an instance of *dificilior lectio* in which later copyists recognised a mistake in the text and sought to remove the erroneous information, as it is possible that a cleric copying this text would make a correction if he was familiar with the story. These variant readings provide a number of interesting possibilities, or in the case of F57 and F73, to alter it based upon their own knowledge of the biblical passage. It is also possible that William’s ‘nutricia’ meaning, ‘nursed’ or ‘nourished’ has given rise to the erroneous ‘born’ by the translator with the resultant ‘né’ being introduced and subsequently corrected by later scribes.

Table 1: 7.22 A

Ou Helies li profetes fu	F01 F02 F03 F04 F05 F06 F30 F31 F32 F33 F34 F35 F37 F38 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F50 F51 F52 F53 F54 F55 F56 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F69 F71 F74 F78
Ou Helies li profetes fu né	F41 F44 F70 F72 F77
Ou Helies li profetes fu envoie	F57 F73
Ou Helies li profetes fu natis	F36

Lack chapter – manuscripts mutilated	F46 F71
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A major division that occurs within the manuscripts in this chapter relates to the stream near which the crusader army set up camp before Sidon. William relates ‘Sequenti vero die Sydonem pervientes, secus fluent, aquarum commoditatem sequuti, locaverunt’.<sup>98</sup> The Paris edition reads ‘L’endemain vindrent à la cité de Saiete. Là se logierent sur un flun où il tornerent, assez près d’ilec’<sup>99</sup> while the *RHC* edition reads ‘Lendemein vindrent à la cité de Saiete. Là se logierent seur un flum qui cort assez près d’iluec.’<sup>100</sup> (see apparatus note 14) It is clear from this that there are two very different readings with the Paris version the one that more closely matches the Latin. However, which version do the manuscripts support? The particular phrase that varies is ‘où il tornerent’. Only two manuscripts, F43 and F45, match the *RHC* edition in reading ‘qui cort’. F51 is also close to this reading ‘où cort’ while F44 reads ‘courante’. Most of the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts match the Paris reading. However, F01, F31 and F35 read ‘troverent’ instead of ‘tornerent’. It seems likely that this reading is an erroneous one, a form of metathesis from the original text, as it is further from the Latin and not found in most of the better manuscripts. However it is a common reading. It is found in all of the group  $\lambda$  manuscripts except for F70 and F71. It is not as common in the group  $\beta$  manuscripts but is found in F30, F53, F54, F60 and F63.

Table 2: 7.22 B

Où il tornerent	F03 F04 F05 F06 F32 F33 F37 F38 F39 F41 F47 F48 F52 F58 F61 F62 F65
Que il tornerent	F02 F36 F40 F42 F55 F58 F64
Où il troverent	F30 F31 F35 F49 F69 F74 F78

<sup>98</sup> WT, 7.22 lines 4-6.

<sup>99</sup> Paris, 7.22 l. p. 255.

<sup>100</sup> *RHC*, 7.22 p. 377.

Que il troverent	F01 F50 F53 F54 F57 F60 F63 F72 F73 F77
Qui cort	F43 F45
Ou cort	F51
Courante	F44
Lack chapter – manuscripts mutilated	F46 F71

One piece of evidence that could be useful for establishing a stemma refers to a spring near Tyre that is mentioned by William. He relates that the army came upon Tyr ‘ubi circa illum egregium et seculis admirabilem fontem hortorum et puteum aquarum viventium castrametati’.<sup>101</sup> The Paris edition renders the French text as ‘la se logierent devant la tresnoble fontaine qui est si renomée, qui est fontaine des courtiz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit l’escripture’.<sup>102</sup> The *RHC* edition on the other hand reads ‘la se logierent devant la très noble fontaine des courtiz, ès puis des eues, si com dit l’escripture.’<sup>103</sup> It is quite clear that the Paris version is closer to the Latin. Also most of the manuscripts from group  $\alpha$ , including F02, F05, and F38, contain a reading similar to this: ‘La se logierent devant la trenoble fontaine qui si est renomée qui est fontaine des cortiz et puiz des eues vivanz si com dit l’escripture’. The only difference between these manuscripts and the Paris version is the placement of the words ‘si’ and ‘est’ after renomée. In what would appear to be a case of haplography, the majority of manuscripts, including F31 and F35 from group  $\alpha$ , all  $\lambda 1$ , and nearly all of group  $\beta$ , lack the phrase ‘qui si est renomée qui est fontaine.’ (see apparatus note 82) F31 and F35 consistently share readings that distinguish them from the rest of the  $\alpha$  manuscripts. The only exception from group  $\beta$  is F36 which is a late fifteenth-century manuscript and which contains numerous alternate readings. Care must be taken in trying to

<sup>101</sup> WT, 7.22 lines 28-30.

<sup>102</sup> Paris, 7.22 l. p. 256.

<sup>103</sup> *RHC*, 7.22 p. 312.

divide the manuscripts using the presence or absence of this passage. While a rough division appears to coincide with the initial divisions that were made upon the presence of various additional passage several manuscripts cross the divide. F31 and F35 are closer here to the  $\beta$  manuscripts than the  $\alpha$  group while F36 is closer to the latter group than the former. It would be fairly easy for a scribe to have made this mistake and, as a result, it could have occurred within the different groups independently. However, this passage can indicate some of the subsequent development of the manuscript tradition. While the reading in the Paris edition is found in the majority of the  $\alpha$  manuscripts, the only manuscripts to have a similar reading to the *RHC* edition by also lacking ‘vivanz’ for this portion of the text are F45 and F51. A discussion of the reading of the *RHC* edition and the manuscripts used will follow at the end of this section on this sample chapter.

Table 3: 7.22 C

la se logierent devant la tresnoble fonteine <b>qui si est renomée, qui est fontaine</b> des courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit l’escripture	F01 F02 F03 F04 F05 F38 F41 F49 F52 F74
la se logierent devant la tresnoble fonteine des courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit l’escripture	F31 F33 F34 F35 F39 F40 F44 F47 F48 F53 F54 F55 F72
la se logierent <b>pres</b> la <b>noble</b> fonteine des courtilz, et <b>pres</b> des eaues vivanz, si come dit l’escripture	F06
la se logierent devant la tresnoble fonteine des courtilz, et puiz des eues <b>douces</b> vivanz, si come dit l’escripture	F32
la se logierent devant la tresnoble fonteine des courtilz, et puiz des eiues vivanz, <b>si come dit l’escripture</b>	F70
la se logierent devant la <b>haute</b> fontaine qui si est renomee <b>et si corant la ou il ja si riches</b>	F50 F73 F77

<b>jardins</b> si com dit l'escriture	
la se logierent devant la tresnoble fontaine qui si est renomée <b>et si corant la ou il ja si riches jardins</b> si com dit l'escriture	F57
la se logierent devant la <b>terre noble</b> fontaine qui si est renomée, qui est fontaine des courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit l'escriture	F69 F78
la se logierent devant la <b>noble</b> fontaine des courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit l'escriture	F30 F37 F42
<b>si</b> se logierent illec devant la tresnoble fontaine qui <b>tant</b> est renomée qui est fontaine des <b>jardins</b> et puis des eaues vives si comme dist l'escriture	F36
la se logierent devant la tresnoble <b> cité</b> des courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit l'escriture	F43 F60
la se logierent devant la tresnoble <b> cité</b> des courtilz, et puiz des eaues, si come dit l'escriture	F45 F51
la se logierent devant la tresnoble <b> cité fontaine</b> des courtilz, et puiz des eaues, si come dit l'escriture	F62
la se logierent devant la tresnoble <b> cité fontaine</b> des courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit l'escriture	F61 F63 F65
la se logierent devant la tresnoble <b> cité fontaine</b> des courtilz, et puiz des eaues <b> coranz</b> , si come dit l'escriture	F64 – The word 'cité' is struck through in this manuscript
la se logierent devant la tresnoble fontaine des courtilz, et puiz des eaues <b> coranz</b> , si come dit l'escriture	F58
Lack chapter	F46 F71

A few manuscripts from group  $\lambda 1$  contain a further alternative reading to the passage ‘qui est fontaine des courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivan, si come dit l’escriture es jardins mout delitables furent une nuit’. F50, F57, F73 and F77 all read ‘et si courant la ou il a si richez jardinz si comme dist l’escriture. En celui lieu si delitable furent une nuit’. Throughout the portion of chapter 7.22 studied these four manuscripts regularly show close affinities. They all add ‘iluec’ to ‘cort’ at the beginning of the chapter and replaces ‘chevaliers’ with ‘a ceus’. They all also add ‘nostre’ to ‘l’ost’ and replace ‘cité ne’ with ‘cité qui puis ne’. There are also a few instances in which F50, F73 and F77 contain readings unique to themselves, most notably replacing ‘haute’ with ‘tresnoble’. These three are also unique in merging 7.22 with the previous chapter, 7.21. In doing so the capital ‘Au’ is replaced with ‘et au’.

The division of group  $\lambda$  into two different sub-groups is supported by a number of readings that are unique to the Eastern manuscripts. In particular is the spelling of the city Sarepta, this is the Latin form of the name. All the group  $\alpha$  and group  $\beta$  manuscripts give the spelling ‘Sarepte’. Of the Eastern manuscripts only F72 from  $\lambda 1$  and F78 from  $\lambda 2$ , with F71 lacking the chapter, contain this reading. F69 has a similar reading of ‘Saprete’ but F49 and F74 read ‘Sarphent’, F77 reads ‘Serfrant’ and F50, F57, F73, and F77 all read ‘Sarsent’. Later on in the chapter F57 and F73 also replaces ‘Saiete’ with ‘Sarsent’, which would appear to be a mistaken reading, while F50 reads ‘Sarphent’. It seems likely that the ‘Sarepte’ form of the name is the original version. The form ‘Sarphent’ has been shown to have been prevalent in the East, ‘Zarephath’ in Hebrew and ‘Sarafand’ in Arabic,<sup>104</sup> and it is more plausible that an Eastern scribe altered the name to a form that was more familiar. F69 and F72 are distinctive in reading ‘terre’ instead of ‘tres.’ This is clearly a mistake since both manuscripts have ‘terre’ written out rather than in a contracted form. The scribe of an antecedent of these two

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<sup>104</sup> R. D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1998), p. 281

manuscripts has clearly presumed ‘tres’ to be a contraction of ‘terre’ and expanded the word with the resulting erroneous reading.

In regard to the group  $\beta$  manuscripts, there are very few instances in which a clear manuscript tradition appears. Instead it would appear, in the case of this particular chapter, that in general the manuscripts all come from an original  $\beta$  version, which is distinct from the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts, but all represent different variants from this original, more of a scatter-gram relationship, rather than a more linear, family tree type of relationship. Some more specific textual affinities can be established for manuscripts based upon the other sample chapters. The only two manuscripts from this group that appear to have a very clear relationship for this chapter are the fifteenth-century F37 and F42. In general these two manuscripts share a number of distinctive readings and lack similar passages. However each does at points have readings, not found in the other, which are more similar to other group  $\beta$  manuscripts. A major example of this occurs with the first word of the chapter ‘Au’. F42, like most manuscripts reads ‘Au’ but F37 reads ‘Le’. The only other manuscript to share this reading is F44; however this is a late manuscript and contains a large number of variant readings not found in any other manuscript. F37 also replaces ‘blese’ with ‘biens’ which is a unique reading. Meanwhile F42 replaces ‘gardoit’ with ‘gouvernoi et gardoit’. However their similarities are far more numerous. Both replace ‘assez’ with ‘largement’ as well as replacing ‘reposer’ with ‘reposer et raffreschir’, ‘murent’ with ‘partirent une’, ‘espoir’ with ‘par sa baillance’ and ‘voie’ with ‘chemin’.

There do, however, appear to be some similarities amongst those manuscripts which contain the *Rothelin* continuation. In particular the various readings that either add ‘cité’ or replace ‘fontaine’ with ‘cité’ would seem to indicate that these manuscripts are fairly closely related. F61, F62, F63 and F65 all add ‘cité’ but F62 is also lacking ‘vivanz’. F62 is similar in this respect to F45 and F51, which are not *Rothelin* manuscripts, but these two manuscripts

only read 'cité' not 'cité fonteine'. Another non-*Rothelin* manuscript to contain 'cité' is F43 which has a similar reading to F60, which is a *Rothelin* manuscript and elsewhere is very close to F62. F58 does not contain 'cité' but is close to the same reading as F64 throughout the manuscript and both replace 'vivanz' with 'coranz'. These two manuscripts may, however, be linked with the rest of these 'cité' manuscripts. F64 originally had a reading, similar to F61, F62, F63 and F65 in that it read 'cité fonteine'. However, in F64 the mistake has been detected and a line has later been drawn through 'cité' to indicate that the word should be omitted. F64 is generally very close to F58 but at no other point does it have a reading that would associate it with the rest of these manuscripts that contain 'cité.' It seems clear that the erroneous reading of 'cité fonteine' had been noticed and corrected but it is difficult to determine at what point the error was corrected and on what authority the correction was made.

The fact that several other manuscripts, F43, F45, F51, and F60 contain just 'cité' seems to suggest that a scribe at some point had encountered 'cité fonteine' and removed 'fonteine' to produce an erroneous reading. While F58-65 are fourteenth and fifteenth-century manuscripts, F43 has been dated to 1275 while F51 is ca. 1250-75, both coming from northern France. It seems that the use of 'cité fonteine' continued with most alterations to the keeping only 'cité'. The only exception is F64 which generally seems to belong to a different tradition. It seems unlikely that a shift of exemplars has occurred since F58 and F64 share unique variants both above and below in close proximity to this passage. It is therefore more likely that these two manuscripts stem from a manuscript which introduced 'cité' which was also an antecedent for the rest of the manuscripts with this reading. However they appear to have sharply diverged, this is exemplified by the different ways in which the mistake 'cité fonteine' has been corrected.

Throughout this chapter the *RHC* edition includes a number of readings that do not correspond to the Latin and are only to be found in a single manuscript, F45. Examples of this include reading ‘cele cité lessierent a senestre’<sup>105</sup> instead of ‘a destre laisserent cele ancienne cité’ and replacing ‘et petite’ with ‘presenz’. However, the *RHC* edition does not always follow F45. In particular this is not true regarding F45’s reading of ‘cité’ instead of ‘fontaine’, which was mentioned above. The edition includes the more common and correct reading of ‘fontaine’.<sup>106</sup> It also does not include a case in which a possible case of haplography appears to have occurred in F45 so that the phrase ‘et descendirent apres’ is lacking in the manuscript. This phrase follows after ‘aspre voie’ and it seems possible that the scribe’s eye skipped to ‘apres’ after ‘aspre’ but the inclusion of ‘voie’ would seem to create a problem in labelling this haplography. However, the phrase is lacking in F45. It seems clear from this, and will also be shown in the subsequent sample chapters, that the *RHC* edition appears to be largely based upon the reading of F45. The editors have corrected some of the mistakes found in this manuscript, but not all.

An interesting alteration in some of the manuscripts is the replacement of the plural verb ‘sunt’ with the singular ‘est’ in ‘uns destroiz mout perilleus qui sunt entre les monteignes et la mer’. While it may seem more grammatically correct to insert ‘est,’ ‘sunt’ is actually a closer translation of William’s ‘iacent’ from ‘exsuperatis angustiis que inter montes prominentes et mare periculose nimis iacent medie’<sup>107</sup> since the ablative ‘angustiis’ is treated by William as a plural noun when describing a narrow gorge or pass. The word comes from ‘angustiae’ which refers to ‘straights’ or ‘narrows.’

This sample chapter is a good example of the variety of the readings that the various *Eracles* manuscripts can give. While it is clear that there are some, F38 in particular, that

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<sup>105</sup> *RHC*, 7.22 p. 312.

<sup>106</sup> *RHC*, 7.22 p. 312.

<sup>107</sup> *WT*, 7.22 lines 32-33.

contain readings that are regularly closer to the Latin text, scribes have clearly been willing to alter the text. This is particularly true with the passage relating to the prophet Elijah. While it seems clear that the translator translated the Latin ‘nutricia’ with ‘fu né,’ based upon the large number of manuscripts, particularly those with readings closer to the Latin, containing this reading, several later copyists have decided to attempt to correct the sentence. The fact that similar additional readings occur in manuscripts that are not otherwise strongly related points to this being done independently by different scribes but also presents difficulties when attempting to identify the relationships between the manuscripts. However, it is quite clear from the fact that the majority of the  $\alpha$  manuscripts do not contain the haplography lacking ‘qui sie est renomée, qui est fontaine’ that these manuscripts preserve an earlier reading of the texts. The fact that it is also found in a couple of the  $\lambda$  manuscripts also shows that an early version of the text formed the base for this group despite later alterations.

The  $\beta$  manuscripts all contain diverse variant readings and clearly all of them belong to a later stage of the manuscript tradition. However, there is clearly a group of these manuscripts, among which are early manuscripts such as F34 and late manuscripts such as F44, that include the haplography but do not contain the other significant variants. The fact that F04, alone amongst the  $\alpha$  manuscripts, lacks ‘delez cité’ appears to indicate that the  $\beta$  group manuscripts descend from a manuscript related to this manuscript. This relationship between F04 and the  $\beta$  group is continued throughout the sample chapters. F70 and F72 also lack ‘delez la cité’ and contain the haplography lacking ‘qui sie est renomée, qui est fontaine.’ In this they are distinctive from the  $\lambda$  manuscripts. However, these two manuscripts are not particularly close to the  $\beta$  manuscripts elsewhere and this may be the result of a scribal error or an indication that an antecedent of these two manuscripts had been corrected using a manuscript from a different group.

## Book 11 Chapter 14

Using F02 and F38 as the base manuscripts

$\alpha$	$\lambda_1$	$\lambda_2$	$\beta$	
F01 125r-v	F50 141r-v	F49 123r-v	F06 106v	F47 68v
F02 75r-v	F57 119v-120r	F69 165r-v	F30 96r	F48 85r
F03 77r-v	F70 117r-v	F71 A80v	F32 80r	F51 85r
F04 54v-55r	F72 113v	F74 145r-v	F33 101r	F53 121v
F05 121v-122r	F73 95v-96r	F78 133v	F34 84r	F54 86v-87r
F31 112v	F77 128v-129r		F36 109v	F55 70v-71r
F35 88r			F37 165r-v	F58 96r-v
F38 62v			F39 218	F60 104r-v
F41 158v			F40 100v	F61 94v-95r
F52 94v			F42 153v-154r	F62 Ms. 22496
			F43 96v-97r	110v-111r
			F44 135r	F63 104v
			F45 97v	F64 117r
			F46 ms.	F65 180r-v
			mutilated	

Ne demora gueres<sup>1</sup> en cele saison meismes, que la novele de la terre<sup>2</sup> d'outremer<sup>3</sup> qui ainsi estoit<sup>4</sup> conquise et<sup>5</sup> ou l'en guerrioit<sup>6</sup> les ennemis<sup>7</sup> Nostre Seigneur, fu alee jusques<sup>8</sup> en occident en la terre qui a<sup>9</sup> nom Noroegue. Assez i ot<sup>10</sup> chevaliers et autres gens a<sup>11</sup> qui li<sup>12</sup> talens prist du pelerinage por aller<sup>13</sup> au Sepuchre<sup>14</sup>. Ilz apareillerent bele navie et se mistrent ens par la mer d'Engleterre. S'en<sup>15</sup> alerent<sup>16</sup> jusques ilz<sup>17</sup> vindrent en la mer d'Acre<sup>18</sup>. Puis<sup>19</sup> arriverent au port de Japhe. Sires<sup>20</sup> et chevetaines de cele

<sup>1</sup> gueres] gaires que F60 F61 F62

<sup>2</sup> de la terre] F30 F36 *lack*

<sup>3</sup> que la novele de la terre d'outremer] F61 F65 *lack*

<sup>4</sup> estoit] avoit esté F43 F45 F47 F51 F53

<sup>5</sup> et] F49 F50 F69 F71 F72 F78 *lack*

<sup>6</sup> guerrioit] grevoit F69 F71 F74 F78

<sup>7</sup> ennemis] ennemis de F37 F42

<sup>8</sup> jusques] F60 F62 *lack*

<sup>9</sup> a] ot F51 F53

<sup>10</sup> i ot] F51 F53 *lack*

<sup>11</sup> a]  $\lambda_2$  F01 F05 F31 F38 F50 F57 F73 *lack*

<sup>12</sup> li] F30 F36 F60 *lack*; a F37 F42 F64

<sup>13</sup> du pelerinage por aler] d'aler en pelerinage et F45 F60 F61 F62 F65

<sup>14</sup> Sepuchre] saint sepulchre F37 F53 F65

<sup>15</sup> S'en] Si s'en F47 F55 F61

<sup>16</sup> par la mer d'Engleterre s'en alerent] s'en allerent par la mer d'angleterre F37 F42

<sup>17</sup> S'en alerent jusques ilz] tant qu'il F50; Tant alerent qu'il F70 F72

<sup>18</sup> S'en alerent jusques ilz vindrent en la mer d'Acre] F31 F74 *lack*

<sup>19</sup> Puis] et F58 F64

<sup>20</sup> Sires] Souverain seigneur F37 F42

navie<sup>21</sup> estoit<sup>22</sup> un moult<sup>23</sup> beaus bachelers<sup>24</sup>, blons<sup>25</sup> et grans<sup>26</sup> et bien fez, frere le roi de Noroegue. Quant ilz furent arivez ainsi<sup>27</sup> pour rendre leur veus et<sup>28</sup> parfaire lors pelerinages s'en<sup>29</sup> alerent en Jherusalem<sup>30</sup>. Quant<sup>31</sup> li rois oi la<sup>32</sup> noveles<sup>33</sup> de<sup>34</sup> la venue de<sup>35</sup> cele gent, hastivement s'en vint a eus et<sup>36</sup> grant joie leur fist et leur envoia beaus<sup>37</sup> presenz. Mout se acointa debonnairement de ces haut<sup>38</sup> home qui estoit chies<sup>39</sup> des autres. Puis leur demanda se ilz avoient proposement, pour Dieu et pour l'onneur<sup>40</sup> de la Crestienté, que ilz demorassent en la terre tant, que par la volenté Nostre<sup>41</sup> Seigneur<sup>42</sup> et par leur aide<sup>43</sup>, l'en<sup>44</sup> eust conquis aucune des<sup>45</sup> cités des<sup>46</sup> Sarrasins<sup>47</sup> qui sieent<sup>48</sup> sur la mer<sup>49</sup>. Ilz pristrent conseil entr'eus<sup>50</sup> et respondirent que par tele intencion, qu'ilz servissent Nostre Seigneur, estoient ilz meuz<sup>51</sup> de leur pais et venu jusques la. Et<sup>52</sup> prometoient bien<sup>53</sup> le roi que, se il voloit<sup>54</sup> asseoir une<sup>55</sup> des citez de la marine, menast<sup>56</sup> son ost

<sup>21</sup> navie] galie F58 F64

<sup>22</sup> de cele navie estoit] estoit de cele navie F34 F36 F45 F51 F53; fu de cele navie F71 F74 F78

<sup>23</sup> moult] F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 *lack*

<sup>24</sup> de cele navie ... bachelers] estoit uns biaux bachelers de cele navie F60 F61 F62 F65; bachelors] chevalier

Chastelains avoit nom F70 F72; chastelains F50 F77

<sup>25</sup> blons] bons F04

<sup>26</sup> grans] blans F60 F61 F62 F65

<sup>27</sup> ains] il issirent a terre F70; il issirent F50 F72

<sup>28</sup> et] et pour F61 F65

<sup>29</sup> s'en] F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>30</sup> Quant ilz furent ... Jherusalem] F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>31</sup> Quant] F30 F54 F55 F58 F64 *lack*; Et quant F60 F62

<sup>32</sup> la] F01 F38 F41 F49 F50 F52 F53 F57 F73 *lack*; ces F74 F78

<sup>33</sup> noveles] verité F33

<sup>34</sup> la noveles de] F04 F32 F34 F37 F40 F42 F48 F54 F55 *lacks*

<sup>35</sup> la venue de] F06 F30 F33 F39 F43 F45 F47 F51 F53 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65 F69 F71 F74 F77 F78 *lack*; de] a F50 F57

<sup>36</sup> et] F01 F05 F37 F39 F40 F41 F42 F48 F49 F50 F52 F55 F57 F58 F60 F62 F64 F69 F70 F71 F72 F73 *lack*

<sup>37</sup> beaus] de beaus F06 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65

<sup>38</sup> haut] grant F50 F70

<sup>39</sup> chies] chievetains F31; chies et souverain F37; riches et chies F64

<sup>40</sup> l'onneur] F50 F57 F73 *lack*

<sup>41</sup> Nostre] de nostre F06 F32 F33 F36 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F48 F51 F53 F54 F57 F65 F71 F73 F77; et par nostre F72

<sup>42</sup> Nostre Seigneur] F69 F74 *lack*

<sup>43</sup> leur aide] aide lor F69 F74

<sup>44</sup> l'en] F69 F74 *lack*

<sup>45</sup> des] F01 F30 F36 F49 F69 F71 F74 *lack*

<sup>46</sup> des] que li F57 F73

<sup>47</sup> Sarrasins] sarrasin tenoient F57 F73

<sup>48</sup> siéent] estoient F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F48 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65 F73; des Sarrasins qui siéent] F47 F51 F53 *lack*

<sup>49</sup> des Sarrasins ... mer] de la marine qui estoient des sarrasins F50 F70 F72; mer] marine F37 F57 F47; sur la mer] de la marine F47 F51; des Sarrasins qui siéent sur la mer] par la marine aux sarrasins F45 F53

<sup>50</sup> entr'eus] F60 F61 F62 *lack*

<sup>51</sup> meuz] venu F01 F53 F69 F74

<sup>52</sup> Et] si F61 F65

<sup>53</sup> bien] F44 F53 F60 F74 *lack*

<sup>54</sup> voloit] F43 F45 F47 F53 *lack*

<sup>55</sup> une] nule F43 F45 F47 F53; aucune F44 F55 F58 F64 F69 F74 F78

par terre il menroient leur navie<sup>57</sup> par mer et volontiers lui aideroient selon leurs pooir<sup>58</sup> a bone foi. Quant li rois oi leur proposement, grant joie en ot<sup>59</sup> et sans demorance fist semondre tant com il pot avoir de chevaliers<sup>60</sup> en son regne<sup>61</sup>. Puis amena tout<sup>62</sup> son ost devant<sup>63</sup> la cité de Saiette<sup>64</sup>. Une<sup>65</sup> grant navie de Turs<sup>66</sup> estoit<sup>67</sup> meue de la cité d'Acre<sup>68</sup>, por venir aidier a lor gent<sup>69</sup> de Saiette<sup>70</sup>, si que pres que<sup>71</sup> tuit ensemble vindrent cil dui ost cele part. Saiette<sup>72</sup>, cele cité<sup>73</sup>, siet sur la mer<sup>74</sup> entre Baruth et Sur en la province de Fenice<sup>75</sup>; moult a<sup>76</sup> beau siege<sup>77</sup> de<sup>78</sup> vile<sup>79</sup>. Anciene citéz est moult<sup>80</sup>. Sydon<sup>81</sup>, li fils<sup>82</sup> Canaam, la fonda dont ele tient<sup>83</sup> encore le nom selon le<sup>84</sup> latin<sup>85</sup>. Ele est<sup>86</sup> desouz l'arceveschie de Sur. De ceste cité parlent maintes ancienes<sup>87</sup> escriptures<sup>88</sup>. Dido en fu nee<sup>89</sup>, la roine<sup>90</sup> qui fonda Cartage<sup>91</sup>. Li rois assist cele vile<sup>92</sup> par mer et<sup>93</sup> par terre<sup>94</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> menast] et menast F03 F35; si menast F31

<sup>57</sup> navie] F43 F51 *lack*

<sup>58</sup> pooir] pooir que il avoient λ1 λ2

<sup>59</sup> grant joie en ot] si en ot molt grant joie F31

<sup>60</sup> com il pot avoir de chevaliers] chevaliers com il pot avoir F01 F04 F35 F50 F69 F78; de chevaliers come il pot avoir F06 F32 F33 F34 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F49 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F70 F71 F72 F73 F74 F77; de chevaliers qu'il peust finex F65; de chevaliers] F37 *lacks*

<sup>61</sup> regne] conroi armé F45; conroi F52

<sup>62</sup> tout] F01 F70 F72 *lack*

<sup>63</sup> devant] en F45 F47 F51

<sup>64</sup> Saiette] Acre F57

<sup>65</sup> Une] D'autre part une F37 F42

<sup>66</sup> de Turs] F06 *lacks*; de crestiens F50 F70 F72

<sup>67</sup> estoit] restoit F06 F30 F30 F33 F36 F57 F70 F72 F73 F77; partie F37 F42 F65; re estoit F57 F70; i avoit F58 F64

<sup>68</sup> d'Acre] de Ascalon F06; de Sur F57 F73

<sup>69</sup> lor gent] ceus F34 F36 F60 F61 F62; secourir ceulx F65

<sup>70</sup> une grant navie ... gent de Saiette] F01 F31 F41 F44 F48 F51 F52 F53 λ2 *lack*

<sup>71</sup> que] F01 F02 F05 F06 F30 F33 F34 F36 F39 F40 F54 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>72</sup> Saiette] de F74 F78; F69 *lacks*

<sup>73</sup> Saiette cele cité] Celle cité Saiete F37 F42 F57; la cité de Saiete si F43 F45 F47 F53; cele cité] F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*

<sup>74</sup> mer] marine F57 F71 F73

<sup>75</sup> en la province de Fenice] F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*

<sup>76</sup> a] i F06 F43 F45 F47 F51 F53 F54 F60 F62 F63

<sup>77</sup> a beau siege] siet biau F57 F73; siege] situation F37 F42

<sup>78</sup> de] cele F57 F70 F72 F73

<sup>79</sup> moult a beaus siege de vile] F30 F36 *lack*

<sup>80</sup> moult] molt plasiens F31; plasiens F35 *lacks* text prior to this point

<sup>81</sup> Sydon] F31 F36 F44 F69 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>82</sup> li fils] F01 F02 F03 F04 F05 F06 F31 F32 F33 F34 F36 F38 F39 F41 F43 F45 F47 F48 F50 F51 F52 F53 F54 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 F69 F70 F71 F72 F73 F74 F77 F78 *lack*

<sup>83</sup> tient] a F50 F57 F73 F77; en tient F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>84</sup> le] F69 F74 F77 *lacks*

<sup>85</sup> Sydon li fils Canaan la fonda dont ele tient encore le nom selon le latin] F37 F42 *lack*

<sup>86</sup> est] iert F71 F78

<sup>87</sup> ancienes] F31 F35 F57 F73 *lack*

<sup>88</sup> Ele est dessouz l'arceveschie de Sur. De ceste cité parlent maintes ancienes escriptures] F04 β *lack*

<sup>89</sup> en fu nee] la fonda F71 F74 F78; F69 *lacks*

<sup>90</sup> la roine] F32 F43 F47 F45 F51 F53 F54 F60 F61 F62 F65 *lack*; Dido en fu nee la roine] la roine Dido en fut nee F37 F42

The primary reason for choosing this chapter was the additional information to the effect that a Muslim fleet left Acre to go to the aid of the citizens of Sidon. This statement is self-evidently inaccurate as the Christians held Acre at the time of the siege of Sidon in 1111. It also became clear fairly early on that some manuscripts had different readings for this text, F06, F57, and F73 in particular, (see apparatus note 68) which possibly reflected a more accurate reading because the cities named in these manuscripts were under Muslim control. However, this reference to the Muslim fleet coming from Acre is present in most manuscripts and is found in manuscripts from all groups. Several manuscripts lack the passage, but this appears to be a case of haplography. There are a number of other points in this section which may be useful in establishing the relationship between the manuscripts and, importantly, identifying manuscripts which have a reading that is closer to William's Latin. An example is how William's phrase 'Rex ergo cognito eorum adventu'<sup>95</sup> is rendered in the French with several manuscripts containing a reading, 'quant li rois oi la novele de la venue de cele gent' which appears to be the closest reading to the Latin, while the majority of manuscripts containing variant readings that either lack a portion of this phrase or contains an alternative word choice. These various different readings in the manuscripts will be discussed below.

The main addition that we are concerned with in this chapter, 'une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cite d'Acre por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette' is of particular importance due to the fact that there are different readings and that, as highlighted by Paulin Paris, this passage is not in all the manuscripts and appears to contain an erroneous reading.<sup>96</sup> The

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<sup>91</sup> Cartage] la cité de Cartage F32 F43 F45 F47; De ceste cité ... Cartage] maintes ansienes escriptures dient que Dido la royne qui fonda Cartage en fu nee F70 F72

<sup>92</sup> vile] cité F36 F44 F57 F71 F73

<sup>93</sup> par mer et] F30 *lacks*

<sup>94</sup> mer et par terre] terre et par mer F04 F06 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; et par terre et par mer F72

<sup>95</sup> WT, 11.14 line 13.

<sup>96</sup> Paris, I. p. 403 n. 6 'Cette phrase est omise dans plusieurs bons manuscrits. Ici elle donne une traduction opposée au sens, La ville d'Acre était déjà au pouvoir des Chrétiens, et les « navies » qu'elle envoya vers Saiete

problems regarding the validity of the addition were discussed earlier, but it also has some bearing upon a discussion of the manuscripts. The fact that Acre was in the hands of the Crusaders at the time of the siege of Sidon makes it fairly obvious that a mistake has been made at some point in the transmission of this statement. The fact that there is no reference to this fleet in William's Latin makes it difficult to identify the best readings for this passage. Paris's statement that 'cette phrase est omise dans plusieurs bons manuscrits', on the face of it at least, seems to indicate that, in his view, this may be a later addition found in only a few manuscripts somewhat removed from the original translation. However, this is not borne out by the manuscripts.

Of the fifty-one surviving manuscripts, only thirteen lack a form of this addition. These manuscripts are: F01, F31, and F52 from the  $\alpha$  group; F41, F44, F48, F49, F51, and F53 from the  $\beta$  group; F69, F71, F74, and F78 from the  $\lambda_2$  group. F46 is the only manuscript to lack this chapter completely and F63 lacks much of the first part of the chapter. (F63 picks up the narrative with the background to Sidon and lacks everything regarding the arrival of the Norwegian fleet and the beginning of the siege, including the arrival of Baldwin's army before Sidon.) This list includes manuscripts from all over the manuscript spectrum that are not generally closely related. None of them is elsewhere closer to the Latin. Some, such as F31, which Paris used for his edition, are late thirteenth century while others, like F44 are from the fifteenth century. Since the  $\lambda_2$  manuscripts are either of an eastern provenance, or derived from those that are, it is tempting to think that the scribe of an antecedent for this group was aware that the statement about the Muslim fleet was incorrect and simply deleted the erroneous passage. However, the  $\lambda_1$  manuscripts are also eastern but contain this passage, as well as showing some links with the  $\lambda_2$  manuscripts at other points. It is also possible that

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arrivaient en même temps que l'ost de Baudouin. *Classis a portu Acconensi egressa illuc directe properaverat, ita ut, penecodem momento, uterque exercitus ante urbem conveniret.*'

the passage was omitted altogether by scribes who were attempting to correct the text, but this seems unlikely.

Table 4: 11.14 A

Une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cité d’Acre, por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette	F02 F03 F04 F05 F35 F38 F42 F43 F45 F47 F54 F55 F58 F64 F70 F72
Une grant navie estoit meue de la cité de <b>Ascalon</b> , por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette	F06
Une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cité de <b>Sur</b> por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette	F57 F73
Une grant navie de <b>crestiens</b> estoit meue de la cité d’Acre, por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette	F50 F70 F72
Une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cité d’Acre, por venir aidier a <b>ceus</b> de Saiette	F34 F36 F60 F61 F62
Une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cité d’Acre, por venir aidier a <b>secourir ceulx</b> de Saiette	F65
Lack passage	F01 F31 F41 F44 F48 F49 F51 F52 F53 F69 F71 F74 F78
Lacks chapter	F46

It is worth pointing out the surrounding text: ‘puis amena tout son ost devant la cité de Saiette. Une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cité d’Acre por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette si que pres que tuit ensemble’. The fact that the section missing in these manuscripts coincides with the repetition of the word ‘Saiette’, the variation does not seem to form a division within the manuscripts, except for group  $\lambda_2$ , and the fact that these are all manuscripts that have variations elsewhere would seem to indicate that the omission of this phrase in the thirteen manuscripts listed above is simply a case of haplography. As a result it would seem to be conclusive that this erroneous additional information was in fact a part of the original translation.

The passage ‘une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cite d’Acre por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette’ was clearly part of the original translation. All of those manuscripts

termed the ‘better manuscripts’ because they are in general closer to the Latin text contain this reading. All but six of the manuscripts which contain this passage about the fleet have this reading. The only exceptions are F06, F50, F57, F70, F72, and F73 which all contain a reading that is more historically accurate. F06 alters this passage so that it reads ‘une grant navie estoit meue de la cite d’**Ascalon** por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette.’ While F06 has been assigned an eastern provenance, this is questionable and will be discussed below. F50, F70, and F72 read ‘une grant navie de **crestiens** estoit meue de la cite d’Acre por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette’. These are eastern manuscripts from group  $\lambda 1$  that share several readings. F70 and F72, in particular, are very closely related so it is no surprise that they both have the same reading. It has previously been discussed that it seems to be fairly clear that the reading in the majority of the manuscripts seems to be closer to the original translation. Since the reading in these two manuscripts is isolated on the stemma this must be an alteration from the original reading. It therefore seems likely that the copyist of a manuscript that formed a close common ancestor for these two manuscripts realised that this passage was incorrect and so corrected to what he believed must have been the original intended reading. It is possible that he was altering it to reflect the fleet of Norwegian Crusaders who were aiding Baldwin I in the siege. But that would also not make much sense as the newly arrived Crusaders were in Jerusalem with Baldwin but had left their fleet at the port of Jaffa, as is stated in both the Latin and French versions of the text. As a result they would sail from Jaffa to Sidon, not from Acre. It seems that the scribe knew that Acre was in Christian hands at that time but the alteration so that a second Christian fleet came to Sidon, in addition to the Norwegians is not necessarily accurate.

Also from group  $\lambda 1$  are F57 and F73 which read ‘une grant navie estoit meue de la cite d’**Sur** por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette.’ These readings are further examples of an attempt to correct a *dificilior lectio*, such as occurred in 7.22 regarding Elijah and Sarepta.

The scribes have clearly realised that the reading of ‘d’Acre’ was an error and have attempted to correct it. These variant readings have clearly been added into the manuscript tradition since the  $\lambda$ 1 manuscripts elsewhere show close affinities. Furthermore, F77, which is also a  $\lambda$ 1 manuscript, though copied in the West, contains the original ‘d’Acre’ reading. As said before, most of these manuscripts with variant readings were copied in the East. F50, F70, F72, and F73 have all been attributed to an Acre provenance. As such, it would be reasonable to expect that they would know that Acre was not under Muslim control in 1110. The lack of agreement between the manuscripts indicates that the scribes did not have any further information about the fleet.

There is also another instance in which both F70 and F72 appear to contain a reading that has been corrected. During the discussion of the background to Sidon it is stated by William that ‘est autem una de urbibus suffraganeis Tyrensis metropolis.’<sup>97</sup> This is rendered in the French as ‘elle **est** dessouz l’arceveshie de Tyr.’ F70 and F72 are unique in reading ‘elle **iert** dessouz l’arceveshie de Tyr.’ (see apparatus note 86) The use of the imperfect ‘iert’ seems to imply that the scribe is stating that Sidon was normally under the archbishop of Tyre but that there was a more complex situation than the present tense conveyed. Saladin had conquered the city in 1187 but a part of the region was restored to Christian control in the truce between Richard I and Saladin in 1192. A condominium was declared in the city in 1197, in which both Christians and Muslims ruled a part of the city, but the city of Sidon was not completely restored to Christian hands until 1229 while the region was partly under Muslim control until 1240. Sidon was sacked by the Mongols in 1260 but was not completely lost until 1291.<sup>98</sup> This alteration in these two manuscripts may reflect something of the continual disputes in this region in which the city of Sidon was lost on occasion, but it is

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<sup>97</sup> WT, 11.14 lines 41-42.

<sup>98</sup> Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 297.

more likely that this is simply the result of a mistake in an antecedent of these two manuscripts.

The confusion regarding the Norwegian fleet is also enhanced by F06. F06 is unique among the group  $\beta$  manuscripts in being attributed by Folda with an Eastern provenance.<sup>99</sup> At the end of the manuscript there is a note that the manuscript was given to the Vatican Library by Queen Isabella of Norway in 1598. This manuscript also has some marginalia, most of which seem to have been made since the manuscript came into the possession of the Vatican Library. However there is one piece of marginalia next to the list of those who were ruling at the time of the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 which reads ‘et en Escoce le bon Roy David le premier de ce nom’.<sup>100</sup> Despite the fact that this statement is incorrect – David I did not become king of Scotland until 1124 – the addition of a western ruler and this connection with Scotland is unique amongst the *Eracles* manuscripts. The marginalia appear to be in a Gothic script similar to the main text but using a different ink. This addition would seem to give the manuscript a strong western background, and it has to be assumed that, if indeed the manuscript was made in the East, it was taken to the West very soon afterward. The correction from ‘Acre’ to ‘Ascalon’ indicates that the scribe of this manuscript, or one of its antecedents, realised that the passage regarding the fleet was incorrect and, as a result, sought to correct the text. The scribe corrected F06 similarly to F70 and F72, but replaced ‘d’Acre’ with ‘de Ascalon,’ instead of ‘de Sur.’ This alteration keeps the original information that a Muslim fleet came to the aid of the citizens of Sidon, but instead states that they came from Ascalon which was held by the Fatimids at that time. However there does not appear to be any confirmation of this aid that went to Sidon from other sources.

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<sup>99</sup> Folda ‘Handlist’ p. 91.

<sup>100</sup> F06, fo. 78va; Cf. WT, 9.24 lines 55-58.

There is a further addition in this chapter which is appended to the discussion of Sidon. The Old French adds ‘Dido en fu nee la royne qui fonda Cartage’ according to the base manuscripts F02 and F38 and the Paris edition<sup>101</sup>. The *RHC* edition has a slightly different reading of ‘Dydo en fu nee qui fonda la cité de Cartage’.<sup>102</sup> All the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts contain the same reading as the Paris edition. Some alteration of the word order has crept into group  $\lambda 1$  with F70 and F72 both reading ‘Dido la royne qui fonda Cartage en fu nee’. In group  $\lambda 2$  it appears that quite early on a scribal error has been made with F71, F74 and F78 reading ‘Dido la fonda la roine qui fonda Cartage’. F69 is alone in this group in lacking this passage. All of the group  $\beta$  manuscripts contain a variation of the passage. F32, F43, F45, and F47 match the *RHC* reading. Several manuscripts also lack ‘la royne’ but do not include ‘la cité de’, these include; F51, F53, F54, F60, F61, F62, F63 and F65. F37 and F42 give a variant reading of ‘la royne Dido en fu nee qui fonda Cartage’ while F44 reads ‘Dido y fu nee qui puis la royne de Cartage’. The rest of the group  $\beta$  manuscripts contain the base reading. It seems clear from this that this phraseology was a part of the original translation. These various different readings of this passage do also seem to break the manuscripts up into some groupings that are also found elsewhere and as such can be useful in establishing a stemma for the manuscripts.

Table 5: 11.14 B

Dydo en fu nee la royne qui fonda Cartage	F01 F02 F03 F04 F05 F06 F30 F31 F33 F34 F35 F36 F38 F39 F40 F41 F48 F50 F52 F55 F57 F58 F64 F73 F77
Dido la royne qui fonda Cartage en fu nee	F70 F72
Dydo la royne qui fonda Cartage	F69
Dydo la fonda la royne qui fonda Cartage	F71 F74 F78

<sup>101</sup> Paris, l. 11.14 p. 403.

<sup>102</sup> *RHC*, 11.14 p. 477.

La royne Dido en fut nee qui fonda Cartage	F37 F42
Dido en fu né qui fonda la cité de Cartage	F32 F43 F45 F47
Dido en fu né qui fonda Cartage	F47 F51 F53 F54 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65
Dido y fu nee qui puis la royne de Cartage	F44
Lacks chapter	F46

The most interesting manuscript variation again relates to the background to the city of Sidon. In the same manner as other eastern cities William gives the classical background for the city and also gives the source of the name of the city. In this case ‘Hanc Sydon, filius Canahan, fundasse legitur, unde et usque in presentem diem nomen tenet auctoris’<sup>103</sup>, a reference to Genesis 10:15. However, Huygens notes that the word ‘filius’ is only present in two manuscripts, British Museum, Royal 14 C. X, and Magdalene College, Cambridge, F. 4. 22, which he labelled B and W respectively. For the French text both the Paris and *RHC* editions agree in reading ‘Sydon li fils Canaam la fonda, dont ele tient encore le non, selon le latin’.<sup>104</sup> At first glance it would therefore appear that the translator used a Latin text that included the word ‘filius’. However, ‘li fils’ is also lacking from the large majority of the manuscripts. The only manuscripts that include this are F30, F40, F44, F54, F55, F58 and F64. It is possible that the *RHC* editors may have picked up ‘li fils’ from F64 since their edition reads ‘conroi armé’ instead of ‘regne’, this variant is unique to F64 with all other manuscripts following the main reading. These manuscripts are all from group  $\beta$  and do not include any of the manuscripts that are usually closer to the Latin. It is therefore possible that the translation was made from a Latin manuscript which did not contain ‘filius’. However, while F58 and F64 do seem to have some close ties, there are no other readings which would seem to indicate these manuscripts as a group in which ‘li fils’ may have been added which

<sup>103</sup> WT, 11.14 lines 40-41.

<sup>104</sup> Paris, l. 11.14 p. 403; *RHC*, 11.14 p. 477.

would explain its absence elsewhere. It is possible that the translation did originally contain ‘li fils’ but this began to be lost from manuscripts very early on in the tradition. This would also imply that the translation was made from a Latin text which contained ‘filius’.

There also a few other instances, discussed in the previous chapter, in which some of the readings from the *Eracles* texts seem to be closer to readings unique to the BW group of manuscripts identified by Huygens. However, the fact that none of the manuscripts that contain ‘li fils’ contain other readings closer to the Latin, in fact those closest to the Latin lack this phrase, makes it seem likely that ‘li fils’ was not a part of the original translation. The later appearance of this phrase could be due to clerical scribes again inserting information that they had from their biblical knowledge. However, there is little variation on ‘li fils,’ which corresponds neatly with ‘filius’. None of the manuscripts add ‘qui fu li fils de’, for instance, or some other major textual variation that may have occurred with the phrase being added independently by various scribes. It is generally unusual for the translator to retain such background material but he does appear to have a knowledge of the Old Testament and regularly retains or adds references to Noah or to the prophets.

A major division within the manuscripts concerns the translation of ‘Rex ergo cognito eorum adventu’<sup>105</sup> regarding Baldwin going to meet the Norwegian crusaders. (see apparatus notes 34 and 35) The Paris and *RHC* editions both read ‘Quant li rois oi la novele de cele gent.’<sup>106</sup> However most of the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts, including F02, F03, F31, F35, F38, F41 and F52 include readings that are a closer translation of the Latin. F02, F03 and F31 read ‘Quant li rois oi la novele de la venue de cele gent’ while F01 F38, F41 and F52 have a very similar reading of ‘Quant li rois oi novele de la venue de cele gent’ in which only the first ‘la’ is lacking. F05 has a unique reading for this passage, ‘la novella de cele gent de leur venue,’

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<sup>105</sup> WT, 11.14 line 13.

<sup>106</sup> Paris, l. 11.14 p. 402; *RHC*, 11.14 p. 476.

which still preserves the entire passage found in the rest of group  $\alpha$ . The only manuscript from this group to lack a part of the passage is F04 which reads ‘Quant li rois oit la venue de cele gent’. All of group  $\lambda 1$  except F77 include this reading, similar to F04. Nearly all of group  $\lambda 2$  and group  $\beta$  lack this reading with the only two exceptions being F49, a thirteenth-century manuscript, and F44, fifteenth-century, respectively. The fact that this reading does have a representative in all of the manuscript groups, and the fact that it is a closer translation of the Latin, seems to indicate that the entire phrase was a part of the original translation.

With the exception of F44, all of the group  $\beta$  manuscripts have a reading that lacks a part of the original passage. Some, like F04, retain ‘la venue de’, these are: F32, F34, F37, F40, F42, F48, F54 and F55. Whilst others, like group  $\lambda 2$ , retain ‘la noveles de’, these are; F06, F30, F39, F43, F45, F47, F51, F53, F58, F60, F61, F62, F64 and F65. F33 is unique in reading ‘la verité de.’ F36, as it does elsewhere, greatly alters the text but it is a very late manuscript from the fifteenth-century. However, it appears to be a part of the ‘venue’ group as it reads ‘Si tost que li roi sceut la venue de celle natione’. At first glance it appears that the reading in F36 could possibly be a better translation of William’s Latin which reads: ‘Rex ergo cognito eorum adventu.’<sup>107</sup> However, it is unique and unlikely to be a reading closer to the original translation since the manuscript does contain so many variants. It is particularly interesting that F44, like F36 a fifteenth-century manuscript that contains numerous variants, should contain what appears the earliest version of this passage. It is possible that this is a case of haplography in which different sections of the passage have been omitted by different manuscripts. However this would imply that different scribes making the same haplography as the group  $\beta$  manuscripts reading ‘venue’ are more closely related to the group  $\beta$  manuscripts reading ‘novele’ than to the group  $\lambda 2$  manuscripts. It also seems possible that scribes found the passage wordy and that it was unnecessary to keep the entire passage.

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<sup>107</sup> WT 11.14 line 13.

Table 6: 11.14 C

Quant li rois oi la noveles de la venue de cele gent	F01 F02 F03 F31 F35 F38 F41 F44 F49 F52
Quant li rois oi la novella de cele gent de leur venue	F05
Quant li rois oi la novele de cele gent	F06 F30 F39 F43 F45 F47 F51 F53 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65 F77 F68 F69 F71 F74 F77 F78
Quant li rois oit la venue de cele gent	F04 F32 F34 F37 F40 F42 F48 F54 F55
Quant li rois oi la verité de cele gent	F33
Si tost que li roi sceut la venue de celle natione	F36
Lacks most of the chapter	F63
Lacks entire chapter	F46

It could be tempting to attempt to use this passage to try an attempt to establish relationships between manuscripts based upon which variant of this passage they contain. This seems to be especially tempting as they generally seem to conform to the general division into groups  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\lambda_1$  and  $\lambda_2$ . In fact, by dividing the manuscripts this way, those manuscripts that generally seem to be closely related such as F37 and F42, F61 and F65, F60 and F62 as well as F58 and F64, are grouped together. However, there are a few readings within this chapter which appear to bridge this divide, in particular the variants regarding the Norwegian crusaders promising Baldwin I that they would aid in besieging a Muslim city on the coast, ‘asseoir une des citez de la marine.’ For example F44, F55, F58 and F64 all replace ‘une’ with ‘aucune’ while F43, F45, F47 and F53 replace it with ‘nule.’ (see apparatus note 55)

Also in this passage, ‘siéent’ is replaced by ‘estoient’ in numerous manuscripts including; F06, F30, F32, F33, F34, F37, F39, F40, F42, F48, F54, F55, F58, F60, F61, F62, F64 and F65. It is replaced by ‘par’ in F43 and F45, and the entire phrase ‘qui siéent sur mer’ is lacking in F36, F44, F47, F51 and F53. These variant readings are found in all of the group  $\beta$  manuscripts which contain this chapter. All of the group  $\lambda 1$  manuscripts also read ‘estoient’ while  $\lambda 2$  manuscripts agree with the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts in reading ‘siéent’. Whereas in the instance regarding ‘la noveles de la venue’ Group  $\alpha$  generally agreed with group  $\lambda 1$  and group  $\lambda 2$  agreed with group  $\beta$ , in the case the agreements are reversed with group  $\alpha$  paired with  $\lambda 2$  and group  $\beta$  with  $\lambda 1$ .

Table 7: 11.14 D

Qui siéent sur mer	F01 F02 F03 F04 F05 F31 F35 F38 F41 F49 F50 F52 F69 F70 F71 F72 F73 F74 F77 F78
Qui estoient sur mer	F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F48 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65 F73
Qui siéent sur la marine	F37
Par la marine	F43 F45 F53
De la marine	F47 F51
Lack passage	F36 F44
Lacks chapter	F46

Within this chapter are several instances which do appear to set group  $\beta$  apart. The most occur with the background to the city of Sidon. In addition to the origin of the name, which was discussed earlier, William also adds that the city ‘est autem una de urbibus suffraganeis Tyrensis metropolis’.<sup>108</sup> This is rendered in the French as ‘elle est dessouz l’arceveschie de Sur. De ceste cité parlent maintes anciennes escriptures’. The second

<sup>108</sup> WT, 11.14 lines 41-42.

sentence relating that Sidon was mentioned in scripture is additional to the Latin text. However, the French lacks several biblical quotations, Matthew 6:2, Matthew 11:21, and Luke 10:13, in which William gives instances in which Sidon is mentioned. This would indicate that the translator was working from a Latin manuscript which contained these passages and that the omission of biblical and classical quotations, throughout the text, was a conscious decision of the translator. This passage is found in all of the  $\lambda$  group manuscripts, though F57 and F73 lack the word ‘anciennes’. It is also found in all of the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts with the sole exception of F04.

F04 is generally a rather poor manuscript despite being dated to the first half of the thirteenth century. It includes many variations and mistakes such as reading ‘bons’ instead of ‘blons’ when discussing the appearance of Sigurd I, the leader of the Norwegian expedition, and is also unique amongst the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts in lacking ‘la novele de’ which was discussed earlier. The passage ‘elle est dessouz l’arceveschie de Sur. De ceste cité parlent maintes anciennes escriptures’ is also absent from all of the group  $\beta$  manuscripts. F04 is also alone among the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts in reading ‘par terre et par mer’ instead of ‘par mer et par terre’ when describing Baldwin I besieging the city of Sidon (‘Li rois assist cele vile par mer et par terre’). Neither is closer to the Latin which reads ‘hanc igitur noster exercitus ex utraque parte obsidione vallans’.<sup>109</sup> As those manuscripts which have been elsewhere shown to be closer to the Latin and to have better readings it is therefore probably the correct reading.

Amongst the  $\lambda$  group manuscripts only F72 reads ‘par terre et par mer’ with the rest all reading ‘par mer et par terre’, which is unusual as F72 is generally close to F70, such as in it reading regarding the Dido reference above in which these two manuscripts share a unique reading. Once again all the group  $\beta$  manuscripts share the reading ‘par terre et par mer’

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<sup>109</sup> WT, 11.14 lines 42-43.

except for F30 which lacks ‘par mer et’ entirely and as a result is further from the Latin. There are also some instances in other chapters, such as 15:22, which will be discussed later, in which F04 is unique among the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts in possessing a reading that is common to the group  $\beta$  manuscripts. It therefore seems likely that F04 should be thought of as a transitional manuscript, essentially an  $\alpha$  manuscript but containing some of the readings that would come to characterise the  $\beta$  manuscripts.

As in the previous chapter, the better  $\alpha$  manuscripts provide readings that appear to be closer to the original translation because they contain a reading that is closer to the Latin. The major variants in this chapter involve the lack of various portions of text. F04 appears to be linked with the  $\beta$  manuscripts due to the fact that they all lack the additional background to the city of Sidon. In the previous chapter the  $\beta$  group was more strongly linked with F31 and F35. The  $\lambda$  group is again similar to the  $\alpha$  group but contains a number of variants, particularly with regard to Dido, that distinguishes the group with F70 and F72 being particularly close.

The numerous variant readings illustrate that, while the manuscripts can be divided into broad groups, these divisions are not always clear cut. Several variants, such as the lack of the passage ‘une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cite d’Acre por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette,’ cut across the groups. While these variants may be of significance, they may also be the result of scribal errors, such as haplography. They may indicate relationships between manuscripts but could also be the result of similar errors by different scribes. As a result, it is difficult to establish a manuscript stemma based upon such. The division of the manuscripts between the  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\lambda_1$ , and  $\lambda_2$  groups is primarily based upon additional material to the text which is discussed in the subsequent chapters.

## Book 12 Chapter 1

Using F02 and F38 as the base manuscripts

$\alpha$	$\lambda_1$	$\lambda_2$	$\beta$	
F01 135v	F50 152v	F49 ms.	F06 115r	F47 73v
F02 78r	F57 129v	mutilated	F30 ms.	F48 92r
F03 83v	F70 125v	F69 116r	mutilated	F51 91v
F04 59r	F72 123v	F71 A90r	F32 86r	F53 131r
F05 132r	F73 103r	F74 157r	F33 ms.	F54 147r
F31 132r	F77 136v	F78 142v	mutilated	F55 80r
F35 94v			F34 90v	F58 104v
F38 67v			F36 112r	F60 112v
F41 166r			F37 177v	F61 102v
F52 102r			F39 235	F62 118v
			F40 80r	F63 111v
			F42 165r	F64 126r
			F43 104r	F65 192r
			F44 ms.	
			mutilated	
			F45 102r	
			F46 ms.	
			mutilated	

Xersés<sup>1</sup> fu uns puissans rois de la terre qui a non Aise et avoit<sup>2</sup> grant contenz<sup>3</sup> au roiaume<sup>4</sup> de Grece<sup>5</sup>.

This chapter, dealing with Baldwin du Bourg's arrival in Jerusalem following the death of his cousin Baldwin I contains the largest single addition within the *Eracles* text. This addition is also unusual in being a rare case in which a classical reference is introduced by the translator instead of being removed. While this addition is discussed in more detail in the chapter on additions to the text, it also has relevance in establishing a manuscript stemma.

This chapter was not initially considered as a sample chapter since several manuscripts lack

<sup>1</sup> Xersés] Persés F01 F04 F31 F35 F37 F40 F52 F54 F60 F64 F65 F69 F74 F78; Cersés F34 F61 F62; Yersés F42; Sersés F51; Rerxés F57

<sup>2</sup> avoit] avoit molt F01 F04  $\beta$

<sup>3</sup> contenz] debat F37 F42; gent F43 F45 F47 F51; plente de gens F53

<sup>4</sup> roiaume] terre F36

<sup>5</sup> Grece] Egypte F06 F32 F33 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F57 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; Persse F34; France et au royaume de Grece F57 F70 F72 F73 F77

the entire chapter. These manuscripts are: F30, F33, F44, F46, and F49. This seems mainly to be due to the fact that the folios have been removed because they contained miniatures. In addition to entire folios being removed, several manuscripts have had miniatures cut out. This is the case for F55 in this chapter. The miniature has been cut out as well as the first line of the text so that only the text after the word ‘terre’ has survived. In those manuscripts where the chapter has survived the addition generally appears in the same form. However, there is a variant at the beginning of the chapter that appears to divide the manuscripts into several main groupings.

This addition generally consists of a short discussion explaining the differences between Baldwin II and Xerxes, king of Persia. The chapter opens with an introduction of Xerxes: ‘Xersés fu uns puissans rois de la terre qui a non Aise et avoit grant contens au reame de Grece’. This reading is found in most of the group  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda 2$  manuscripts, except for F49 which lacks the folio, as well as the Paris edition of the text. Nearly all of the  $\lambda 1$  manuscripts have a variant reading of ‘Xersés fu uns puissans rois de la terre qui a non Aise et avoit grant contens au **reame de France** et reame de Grece. The only exception from this group is F50 which maintains the base reading. This may indicate that F50, dated circa 1255-60, preserves a better reading than others within this group, though it does share features particular to this group and it is closest to F57, F73 and F77.

Table 8: 12.1 A

Grece	F01 F02 F03 F05 F31 F35 F31 F50 F52 F69 F71 F74 F78
Reaume de France et ... Grece	F57 F70 F72 F73 F77
Egypte	F06 F32 F33 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F57 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65
Persse	F34

Lack chapter – manuscripts mutilated	F33 F44 F46 F49
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The group  $\beta$  manuscripts nearly all have an alternative reading of ‘Xersés fu uns puissans rois de la terre qui a non Aise et avoit **molt** grant contens au reame **d’Egypte**’. This reading is also found in the *RHC* edition of the text. The only manuscript from outside this group to share this reading is F04. As we have seen, this manuscript also shows several affinities to the  $\beta$  group of manuscripts throughout the text and that seem to suggest that they were descended from a manuscript related to F04, but the fact that F04 shares such a significant variation clearly indicates that it represents a stage in the development of the  $\beta$  group prior to the introduction of new text in the next sample chapter that will be studied, 15.22. F04 also shares the additional reading of ‘molt’ with the  $\beta$  manuscripts. Interestingly, F01 also contains ‘molt’ but does not share any of the other readings which link F04 and the  $\beta$  group.

There are a few minor variants on the general  $\beta$  reading for this chapter. Several manuscripts, F43, F45, F47, and F51 replace ‘contenz’ with ‘gent.’ F53 also has a similar variant reading of ‘plent de gens.’ None of the other manuscripts contains a similar variant at this point. Only F37 and F42, which are very close, have another variant at this point reading ‘debat.’ F43, F45, and F51 also share a number of other minor variants throughout the sample chapters, this will be discussed in detail later, with F53 also linked to them. While none of these manuscripts is particularly close, this reading, in addition to the several minor similarities, does seem to indicate that these manuscripts share some sort of relationship which distinguishes them from the rest of the  $\beta$  manuscripts. The only manuscript with a significantly different reading is F34 which reads, ‘Xersés fu uns puissans rois de la terre qui a non Aise et avoit molt grant contens au reame de **Persse**.’ However, this manuscript is still clearly a part of this group. It is not certain when this alteration from ‘Grece’ to ‘Egypte’ was

made but it clearly occurred fairly early within the manuscript tradition, as it occurs through the group with several of the manuscripts, such as F51, dating to the mid to late thirteenth-century. It also seems likely that this variant came into the tradition prior to the additional readings found in 15.22 of the group  $\beta$  manuscripts and can serve to characterise the group along with F04, which seems to be an early development towards the  $\beta$  group. F34 does have the unique 'Persse' reading and has a number of variants including lacking some of the additional material found in 15.22. Despite this it is still quite clearly a part of this group.

Another variation that regularly occurs in this sentence is the different spellings for the name of Xerxes. Edbury highlighted this variation by pointing out that several of the  $\alpha$  manuscripts spell the name differently. F02, F03, F05, F38 and F41 have 'Xersés,' while F01, F04, F31 and F52 read 'Persés.'<sup>6</sup> While it is clear that the 'Xersés' reading is found in those manuscripts, such as F02 and F38, which appear to give the best readings of the original translation, the division in the spelling of Xerxes's name does not appear to indicate a split in the manuscript tradition. Many of the  $\beta$  manuscripts include the original spelling. Instead the variation of the spelling appears to be a scribal foible. This is highlighted by the fact that F60 and F62, which are generally very close, have different readings. The former reads 'Persés' while the latter reads 'Cersés.'

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<sup>6</sup> Edbury, 'Translation', p. 81.

## Book 15 Chapter 22

Of the sample chapters considered, this chapter presents the clearest indication of a division in the manuscript tradition. In particular, it highlights the split between the  $\beta$  group from the rest of the manuscripts due to various additional readings that are only found in the  $\beta$  manuscripts. I originally considered presenting two different editions for this chapter, one giving the reading found in the  $\beta$  manuscripts and the other giving the reading that appears to be closest to the original translation. However, the two forms of the chapter have been merged in to a single form. In general, the form of the following edition for 15.22 gives the base reading from F38 and F02 that is closest to the Latin text. The sections of text that are placed within brackets represent additional material that is found only in the  $\beta$  manuscripts. At a few points the  $\beta$  manuscripts consistently alter the wording of the text. These portions of the text are highlighted in bold font to indicate the points at which these differences occur while the variant is included as a footnote. This significant division within the textual tradition will be discussed in detail below and the differences between the two versions will be highlighted.

Based upon F02 & F38

$\alpha$	$\lambda_1$	$\lambda_2$	$\beta$	
F01 179v	F50 216r	F49 187r-v	F06 157v-158r	F47 100v-101r
F02 104v	F57 181v-182r	F69 165r-v	F30 131v-132r	F48 127r-v
F03 117r	F70 172r-v	F71 A141r	F32 118v-119r	F51 125r-v
F04 78v-79r	F72 171r-v	F74 220r-v	F33 149r-149v	F53 Lacks
F05 187r	F73 144r-v	F78 198r-v	F34 125r	F54 198r-v
F31 168v-169r	F77 168v-169r		F36 147r	F55 124r
F35 135r-v			F37 118v-119r	F58 148r-v
F38 97v-98r			F39 330-331	F60 151v-152r
F41 205v-206r			F40 100v	F61 139v
F52 142r			F42 189v-190r	F62 Ms. 22497 3r
			F43 143v	F63 153r
			F44 189v-190r	F64 174r-v
			F45 132r	F65 254v-255r
			F46 ms. mutilated	

Lors<sup>1</sup> ne demoura mie<sup>2</sup> que l'emperere vit le tens assouagier. Mes encore ne trouvoit l'en<sup>3</sup> mie<sup>4</sup> par les chans<sup>5</sup> **asses pasteures**<sup>6</sup> aux<sup>7</sup> chevaux. Pour ce ne vout mie encores esmouvoir ses osts<sup>8</sup>. Sur<sup>9</sup> touz autres deduz il amoit archoier<sup>10</sup> en bois. Un jour avint qu'il i<sup>11</sup> fu alez<sup>12</sup> o pou de compaignie<sup>13</sup> de chevaliers<sup>14</sup>. Il se<sup>15</sup> fu affustez<sup>16</sup> et tint son arc<sup>17</sup> tout<sup>18</sup> tendu et une saiete encochie. Li veneour et li vallet<sup>19</sup> l'empereour<sup>20</sup> orent aceint un buisson ou il avoit grant plente de bestes. Si les commencierent a adrecier tout droit<sup>21</sup> vers le fust<sup>22</sup> ou l'empereour se tenoit<sup>23</sup>. Uns senglers en issi premiers<sup>24</sup> trop granz<sup>25</sup> et passa devant<sup>26</sup> l'empereour. Quant<sup>27</sup> il le vit<sup>28</sup>, si grant volenté ot<sup>29</sup> de li doner<sup>30</sup> grant<sup>31</sup> cop<sup>32</sup>, que il entesa sa<sup>33</sup> saiete jusques<sup>34</sup> au fer au<sup>35</sup> descochier se navra en la main. La saiete estoit entouschiée<sup>36</sup>. Tantost<sup>37</sup> li

<sup>1</sup> Lors] A lors F43 F45

<sup>2</sup> mie] gaires F05 F30 F44 F65; mie guaires F42

<sup>3</sup> l'en F01 F33 F44 *lack*

<sup>4</sup> mie] pas F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F70 F72; F40 *lacks*; point F65

<sup>5</sup> par les chans] F43 F45 F51 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 F70 F72 *lack*

<sup>6</sup> asses pasteures] herbe β

<sup>7</sup> par les chans asses pasteures aux] herbe par les pres pour les F37 F42

<sup>8</sup> ses osts] F30 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>9</sup> Sur] mais sor F31 F35

<sup>10</sup> archoier] atraire F49; F71 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>11</sup> i] F01 F06 F30 F34 F42 F45 F54 F60 F61 F63 F65 λ1 λ2 *lack*

<sup>12</sup> alez] alez chacier F01 F52 λ1 λ2; ales en bois F30 F42 F43

<sup>13</sup> compaignie] compaignie en bois F33 F39

<sup>14</sup> chevaliers] chevaliers en bois F45 F47 F54 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>15</sup> se] F34 F50 F57 F73 *lack*

<sup>16</sup> affustez] bien montez F50; montez sor un bon chaceor F57 F73; arestes F72; monte F77

<sup>17</sup> arc] arc en sa main F35

<sup>18</sup> tout] F72 F74 *lack*

<sup>19</sup> et li vallet F30 F36 *lack*; Li veneour et li vallet] Li escuier et li varlet et li veneour F60 F62; escuier et li veneour F61 F65; valet et li veneour F63

<sup>20</sup> l'empereour] F36 F48 F54 *lack*

<sup>21</sup> a adrecier tout droit] tout droit amener F01; tout droit adrecier F31 F35 F50 F57 F73 F77 λ2

<sup>22</sup> vers le fust] la F06 F30 F32 F34 F36 F37 F40 F42 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F61 F64; cele part F31 F35; F33 F39 F43 F58 F60 F62 F63 F65 *lack*; vers la F64

<sup>23</sup> se tenoit] estoit F06 F31 F35 F42; F30 F34 *lack*

<sup>24</sup> premiers] F43 F74 *lack*

<sup>25</sup> trop granz] F02 F30 *lack*; Uns senglers en issi premiers trop granz] un trop grant senglers s'en issi F70 F72

<sup>26</sup> devant] par devant F42 F43

<sup>27</sup> Quant] et quant F30 F31 F35

<sup>28</sup> vit] vit venir vers lui F57 F73

<sup>29</sup> si grant volenté ot] si ot si grant volent F31; si ot grante volenté F35

<sup>30</sup> doner] ferir F52; li doner] doner li F06 F42 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F70 F72; doner F47

<sup>31</sup> grant] un F31

<sup>32</sup> doner grant cop] ferir parmi le cors λ2

<sup>33</sup> sa] la F02 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F42 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F61 F64 F72; sa la F03

<sup>34</sup> jusques] deschi F31 F35

<sup>35</sup> au] et au F31 F57 F65

<sup>36</sup> entouschiée] entoschiee de venin

<sup>37</sup> Tantost] et tantost F31

venin li commenca a<sup>38</sup> corre parmi le bras<sup>39</sup> si que il lui<sup>40</sup> enfla<sup>41</sup>. Quant l'emperieurs senti<sup>42</sup> qu'il estoit<sup>43</sup> ainsi blechiez du bois se<sup>44</sup> parti<sup>45</sup> isnelment<sup>46</sup> et vint en ses tentes. Lors envoya querre les mires<sup>47</sup> dont il avoit<sup>48</sup> assez. [Dans<sup>49</sup> Hues de Pierrefons et Dans Gautier et tant des autres que je ne vous sauroie nommer. Que chascunz i venoit volantierz por si haut homme comme li emperieres iert<sup>50</sup>. Il en i ot un qui li dist] L'achoisson<sup>51</sup> de sa maladie **leur dist**<sup>52</sup>. Cilz<sup>53</sup> quistrent<sup>54</sup> triaque et toutes les<sup>55</sup> choses par quoi ilz<sup>56</sup> cuiderent restraindre<sup>57</sup> le venin<sup>58</sup>. Assez en parlerent<sup>59</sup> mes pou<sup>60</sup> lui<sup>61</sup> firent d'aide<sup>62</sup> car parmi le bras<sup>63</sup> estoit ja li venins expandus<sup>64</sup> ou cors<sup>65</sup>. Lors se commenca plus<sup>66</sup> sentir agreve<sup>67</sup> l'emperieres<sup>68</sup>. Li mire<sup>69</sup> pristrent conseil **entre eus**<sup>70</sup> et virent bien que toute la force de l'entouschement movoit<sup>71</sup> de la main ou<sup>72</sup> li cop avoit esté. Si se acorderent que, ancois que les autres<sup>73</sup>

<sup>38</sup> commenca a] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>39</sup> bras] bras contremont F57 F73

<sup>40</sup> lui] F47 F69 F71 F78 *lack*

<sup>41</sup> enfla] enfla touz F31 F35

<sup>42</sup> senti] entendi F50 F57 F73 F77; se senti F30 F33 F34 F36 F43 F44 F51 F58 F64 F65 F70 F72

<sup>43</sup> qu'il estoit] F30 F44 F45 F51 F58 *lack*

<sup>44</sup> se] s'en F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; si se F42

<sup>45</sup> du bois se parti] si ce parti dou bois F31 F35; parti] retorna F43 F45 F51

<sup>46</sup> du bois se parti isnelment] isnelment s'en parti dou bois F70 F72

<sup>47</sup> mires] mieges F49 F71 F78

<sup>48</sup> avoit] i avoit F01 F03 F04 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65

<sup>49</sup> Dans] F06 F44 *lack*

<sup>50</sup> dont il i avoit ... iert] et il i vindrent tantost F30 F34

<sup>51</sup> l'achoisson] et l'ochoison F31 F35

<sup>52</sup> leur dist] β *lack*

<sup>53</sup> avoit asses. L'achoisson de sa maladie leur dist. Cilz] F71 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>54</sup> quistrent] pristrent F04 λ2 β

<sup>55</sup> toutes les] autres F36 F44

<sup>56</sup> par quoi ilz] F69 F74 *lack*

<sup>57</sup> restraindre] destraindre F31 F35

<sup>58</sup> restraindre le venin] le venin restraindre F49 F50 F69 F71; le venin retraire F74

<sup>59</sup> parlerent] trouverent F70 F72

<sup>60</sup> pou] ne F31, petit F49; riens F69 F71 F74 F78

<sup>61</sup> lui] ne li F69 F71 F78

<sup>62</sup> firent d'aide] aiderent F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>63</sup> bras] bras li F61 F65

<sup>64</sup> li venins expandus] expandu li venin F34 F43

<sup>65</sup> expandus ou cors] ou cors estendus F31 F35

<sup>66</sup> plus] F05 *lacks*

<sup>67</sup> plus sentir agreve] asentir plus greves F69 F71 F74; agreve] fu grevez F61 F63; et grever F70 F72

<sup>68</sup> li emperieres] F06 F65 *lack* sentir agreve l'emperieres] a sentir l'empereres et a grever F31; mieges

l'empereor F69 F71 F78; les mires l'empereour F74

<sup>69</sup> mire] miege F49; maistre F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>70</sup> entre eus] et assentirent F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F44 F45 F47 F48 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; F06 F42 F43 F51 *lack*

<sup>71</sup> movoit] le venoit F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>72</sup> ou] dont F06 F32 F39 F40 F43 F48 F51 F54 F55

<sup>73</sup> les autres] une F43 F45; les une F51

parties du corps fussent corrompues, l'en<sup>74</sup> lui copast la main<sup>75</sup> car autre<sup>76</sup> maniere<sup>77</sup> de<sup>78</sup> garison ni s'avoient ilz<sup>79</sup> point<sup>80</sup>. Quant l'emperierre oi ce, qui<sup>81</sup> estoit hom<sup>82</sup> de grant<sup>83</sup> cuer<sup>84</sup>, bien dist<sup>85</sup>: 'Qu'il sentoit la force du venin vers ses<sup>86</sup> entrailles et<sup>87</sup> grant angoisse souffroit. Mes<sup>88</sup> pour garir ne se<sup>89</sup> lairoit il ja<sup>90</sup> copper la main. [Ce disoit il bien<sup>91</sup> et certainement, le savoit il que<sup>92</sup> ja ne li avendroit que il poist que ja la main li fust<sup>93</sup> coupée.] Car grant honte seroit<sup>94</sup> que<sup>95</sup> li empires<sup>96</sup> de Costantinoble<sup>97</sup> fust<sup>98</sup> gouvernez a<sup>99</sup> une main'. [Meismement<sup>100</sup> ne<sup>101</sup> seroit pas droit ne raison<sup>102</sup> a lui et<sup>103</sup> au peuple que il avoit<sup>104</sup> a gouverner car<sup>105</sup> trop a<sup>106</sup> affaire.] Quant<sup>107</sup> cele novele fu einssint<sup>108</sup> expandue<sup>109</sup> par l'ost, que leur sires<sup>110</sup> [estoit<sup>111</sup>

<sup>74</sup> corrompues l'en] entreprises com F31 F35; l'en] que l'en F42 43 F51 F57 F62 F69 F70 F71 F78

<sup>75</sup> main] poing F57 F73; ou li cop ... main] F61 F65 *lack*

<sup>76</sup> autre] en autre F06 F39 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65

<sup>77</sup> maniere] F34 F44 F77 *lack*

<sup>78</sup> de] de nulle F70 F72

<sup>79</sup> s'avoient ilz] veoient F43 F45 de garison nis'avoient ilz] ni avoit garison point F60 F62 F63; ni avoit garison nulle F61 F65

<sup>80</sup> de garison ni s'avoient ilz point] n'achaoit point de garison F06; ni veoient il nulle garison F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F44 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F64; nulle garison point F37; ni chacoient il nulle garison F39 F40 F47 F48; ne veoient ilz mie de garison F42; end of chapter F31 F35

<sup>81</sup> qui] qui moult F31 F35

<sup>82</sup> hom] F04 F30 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F74 *lack*

<sup>83</sup> grant] bon F06 F32 F33 F37 F39 F40 F45 F48 F54 F55 F60 F62

<sup>84</sup> cuer] cuer et de vaillant F58 F64; oi ce qui estoit home de grant cuer] qui molt et bon cuer oy ce F34; qui estoit de grant cuer oyt ce F42; oy ce qui estoit hom de grant cuer] qui de grant cuer estoit oy ce F70 F72

<sup>85</sup> bien dist] si dist bien F31 F35

<sup>86</sup> vers ses] par les F70 F72

<sup>87</sup> et] F69 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>88</sup> Mes] et F32 F33 F37 F40 F45 F47 F48 F51 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; F39 F43 *lack*

<sup>89</sup> se] F70 F72 F74 *lack*

<sup>90</sup> il ja] pas F06 F61 F63; ja] F32 F37 F39 F40 F45 F47 F48 F54 *lack*; mie F42; pas F60; point F65 lairoit il ja] laisseroit il pas F49; laissa pas F69 F71 F74 F78

<sup>91</sup> bien] F06 F30 F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>92</sup> le savoit il que] F34 *lacks*; que] F37 F39 F40 *lack*

<sup>93</sup> li fust] n'avroit F32 F37 F47 F48 F55 F58

<sup>94</sup> grant honte seroit] il seroit grant honte F57 F73

<sup>95</sup> que] se F49 F70

<sup>96</sup> empires] empereres F02 F06 F31 F32 F33 F35 F39 F42 F44 F47 F48 F50 F57 F61 F72 F73 F74 F77

<sup>97</sup> de Constantinoble] F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>98</sup> fust] seroit F31

<sup>99</sup> a] par F43 F51

<sup>100</sup> Meismement] ne F30 F43

<sup>101</sup> ne] que il ne F32 F37 F47 F60 F62; qui ne F06 F40 F45; ne il ne F51

<sup>102</sup> ne raison] F30 F55 F58 F64 *lack*; droit ne raison] raison ne droit F44

<sup>103</sup> et] ne F06 F32 F40 F42 F44 F45 F47 F54 F55 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>104</sup> avoit] F47 F48 F51 F54 *lack*

<sup>105</sup> car] F06 F30 F33 *lack*

<sup>106</sup> a] avoit F06

<sup>107</sup> Quant] et quant F05

<sup>108</sup> einssint] F36 F37 F40 F44 F61 F63 F65 *lack*

<sup>109</sup> expandue] seue F06

<sup>110</sup> sires] l'empeur F36 F44; seigneur F42 F65 F70 F72

einssint<sup>112</sup> plaiez en la main et que il estoit einssint<sup>113</sup> blesciez et<sup>114</sup> entouchiez del venim, que il] se mouroit ainsi<sup>115</sup>, lors<sup>116</sup> firent trop<sup>117</sup> grant duel grant et petit<sup>118</sup> [et riches et pauvres]<sup>119</sup>. Mainte<sup>120</sup> priere firent a Nostre Seigneur que santé lui envoiast<sup>121</sup> se il les en<sup>122</sup> vousist oïr<sup>123</sup>.

This sample covers the entirety of 15.22 which relates the mortal wound suffered by John II Komnenos, the Byzantine emperor 1118-43, whilst hunting near Antioch. The chapter is of particular importance because it is one of the few places in the text in which the French has additional information to the Latin text. This refers to specific names given to the doctors who treated the emperor with both modern editions containing these names.<sup>124</sup> However, Paris puts the names in brackets and notes in his edition that ‘ce qui est entre crochets ne se trouve pas dans la plupart des manuscrits, et est ajouté au texte de Guillaume de Tyr’.<sup>125</sup> It soon became clear in my research that there were a number of manuscripts that did not contain the names of these doctors. I also found that those manuscripts that did have these names also contained additional stylistic material that further emphasised the valour of the emperor once he knew the severity of his wound that was not to be found in the Paris edition and only partially in the *RHC* edition. As a result I decided to use this as a sample chapter.

On review of this chapter it seems clear that there are two distinct traditions in the manuscripts, despite the fact the manuscripts of each tradition have a variety of provenances,

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<sup>111</sup> estoit] se moroit F32 F37

<sup>112</sup> einssint] si F30; F33 F43 F45 F63 *lack*; si malement F34; en telle maniere F51 F64

<sup>113</sup> einssint] F39 F41 F43 F47 F48 F51 F60 *lack*; si F06 F32 F61 F63 F65

<sup>114</sup> einssint blesciez et] si F30 F34

<sup>115</sup> ainsi] illuec einssi F31

<sup>116</sup> lors] si F31 F35

<sup>117</sup> trop] F03 F06 F30 F31 F32 F33 F34 F35 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F70 F72 *lack*

<sup>118</sup> grant et petit] petite et grant F06 F31 F34 F35 λ1

<sup>119</sup> grant et petite et riches et pauvres] riches et pauvres et petite et grand F58 F64; riches et pauvres] li poure et li rice F30 F42; F44 F65 *lack*; petit et grant et poure et riche F48

<sup>120</sup> Mainte] et maintes F42 F49 F65

<sup>121</sup> envoiast] vosist F52

<sup>122</sup> en] F57F06 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*

<sup>123</sup> oïr] oy ne escouter F42; oïr de leur prerres F69 F71 F74 F78

<sup>124</sup> Paris, II. 15.22 p. 80; *RHC*, 15.22 p. 693.

<sup>125</sup> Paris, II. p. 80 n. 2.

with manuscripts from both groups dating from between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries and, at first glance, coming from anywhere between England and the Latin East. All those manuscripts that do not contain the names of the doctors are in my  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  groups, in other words all of those in Edbury's  $\alpha$  group. The  $\beta$  manuscripts all contain the names of the doctors and are nearly all of a western provenance. The only  $\beta$  manuscript which has been given an eastern provenance by Folda is F06. The provenance of this manuscript is questionable, and it may be Italian,<sup>126</sup> though as mentioned earlier in the discussion regarding the fleet that came to Sidon, it does correct 'Acre' to 'Ascalon,' and that would indicate an Eastern origin, or at least an understanding of the situation in the East at that time. It does also have some strong western elements, such as the reference to David I of Scotland mentioned earlier. However, despite the difficulties in attributing a provenance to this manuscript, it is clearly a member of the  $\beta$  group of manuscripts which appears to have been the branch of the manuscript tradition that was dominant in the West but not in the East.

While the grouping of these manuscripts based upon the doctors' names can be problematic because it is reliant upon a single sample chapter, this division was also seen in the switch between 'Grece' and 'Egypte' mentioned earlier in 12.1. This division also matches Edbury's findings that the variations in chapter divisions showed two distinct manuscript groupings,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , that exactly match the grouping that I have found with a textual comparison of 15.22.<sup>127</sup> My group  $\beta$  exactly matches his, while my groups  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  correspond with his group  $\alpha$ . I have split the original group  $\alpha$  because there are readings in 7.11, 11.14, and 12.1, discussed earlier, which seem to indicate that the  $\lambda$  manuscripts have branched off from the main  $\alpha$  group. The group  $\beta$  manuscripts, like group  $\alpha$ , are of western

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<sup>126</sup> J. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 348.

<sup>127</sup> Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 69-105

origin, with the possible exception of F06, but represent a subgroup that branched off from the main  $\alpha$  group early on. These major divisions appear to have been forming at the same time as the emergence of the  $\lambda$  branch in the East, very soon after the initial translation, with the  $\beta$  group characterised by this additional material in 15.22 along with the alternate reading of ‘Egypte’ in 12.1 and the lack of background material regarding Sidon in 11.14. However, this last example is found in F04 and appears to indicate that the tradition was developing prior to the addition of the material in this chapter.

The major division between those manuscripts that do or do not contain the names of the doctors establishes a very distinct group  $\beta$ . All the group  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  manuscripts, with a few minor variants, read: ‘Lors envoya querre les mires dont il avoit assez l’achaison de sa maladie **leur** dist. Cilz **quistrent** triaque’. A notable variant is amongst the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts is F04 which replaces ‘quistrent’ with ‘pristrent.’ (see apparatus note 54) This alternative reading is also common to the  $\beta$  group manuscripts and to the entire  $\lambda_2$  group while group  $\lambda_1$  maintains the ‘quistrent’ reading. This is another instance in which F04 contains a variant reading that appears to link it with the  $\beta$  subgroup. The  $\beta$  group, with a few variants, generally read: ‘Lors envoya querre les mires dont il **i** avoit assez **Dans Hues de Pierrefons et Dans Gautier et tant des autres que je ne vous savroie nommer que chascunz i venoit volentierz por si haut homme comme li empieres iert il en i ot un qui li** dist l’achaison de sa maladie. Cil **pristrent** triacle’. F36 is alone among the group  $\beta$  manuscripts in lacking the names of the doctors. However it is a very late manuscript, dated to the third quarter of the fifteenth-century, and contains numerous variant readings and this chapter in particular is very condensed with abridged readings. F36 does, however, maintain some of the group  $\beta$  readings, such as ‘il en i eut ung qui dist’ which puts it squarely in this group which always has a single doctor rather than a plural for the group as a whole, which is the case for the  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  manuscripts.

The *RHC* edition includes the entirety of this reading about the doctors.<sup>128</sup> However the Paris edition only includes the portion which includes the names and, as mentioned earlier, it is marked by brackets in the text. As a result the edition reads ‘Lors envioia querre les mires [dont il i avoit assez : dans Hues de Pierefont, dans Gautiers et tant des autres que je ne vos sai nomer ;] l’achoisson de sa maladie leur dist’.<sup>129</sup> Apart from the insertion of the doctors’ names the Paris edition matches the readings from the  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  manuscripts. This is not too surprising as the manuscripts which Paris stated that he used as his base, F31 and F52 both come from the  $\alpha$  group. However he did not solely use these two manuscripts as he makes a reference to F58<sup>130</sup> and also makes frequent reference to the *RHC* edition.<sup>131</sup> It therefore seems likely that Paris added the names of the doctors due to their presence in the *RHC* edition and possibly in other manuscripts not specifically mentioned.

There is also another minor variant in this chapter that divides group  $\beta$  from the rest of the manuscripts. In itself it is a simply word-choice replacement. However, it always coincides with the addition of the new material and can be used as a marker for this group. It occurs in the discussion that the emperor was not able to find any pasture for his horses in the Spring and as a result was unwilling to move his army, which led to him deciding to go on a hunt. All the manuscripts from groups  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  use the term ‘pasteures’ while all the  $\beta$  group manuscripts use ‘herbe’. This variant is useful in confirming that some of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, F36 and F44, which are heavily abridged and lack the doctor’s names are in fact  $\beta$  manuscripts. While these manuscripts also contain the ‘Egypte’ reading in 12.1, the presence of ‘herbe’ confirms that they are also a part of this group.

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<sup>128</sup> *RHC*, 15.22 p. 693.

<sup>129</sup> Paris, II. 15.22 p. 80.

<sup>130</sup> Paris, I. 1.27 p. 49 n.2; 3.19 p. 111 n. 3.

<sup>131</sup> Paris, I. 11.14 p. 402 n. 4.

In addition to the names of the doctors there some more passages found in this chapter for the  $\beta$  manuscripts, that are not present in any of the  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  manuscripts, which occur towards the end of the chapter and generally extol the virtues of the emperor. In general the  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  group manuscripts read:

‘mais pour garir ne se lairoit il ja coper la main: car grant honte seroit que li empires de Costentinoble fust gouvernez a une main. Quant cele novele fu esbandue par l’ost que leur sires se mouroit ainsi lors firent trop grant duel grant et petit’

but the  $\beta$  group manuscripts add to this by reading:

‘mes pour garir ne se leroit il ja coper la main **ce disoit il bien et certainement le savoit il que ja ne li avendroit que il poist que ja la main li fust coupée**. Car granz hontes seroit se li empires de Costantinople estoit governez a une main **meismement ne seroit pas droit ne raison a lui et au peuple que il avoit a gouverner car trop a affaire**. Quant cele novele fu einssint esbandue parmi l’ost que leur sires **estoit einssint plaiez en la main et que il estoit einssint bleschiez et entouchiez del venim que il se moroit** Lors firent grant duel grand et petite **et riches et pauvres**’.

While many of the  $\beta$  group manuscripts lack a few words from these additional passages, which will be discussed shortly, no part of them is found in any of the  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  group manuscripts. At this point William’s text reads:

‘posse adhiberi remedium si lesa manus ... imperiali tamen maiestate constanter observata spremit et respondisse dictur indignum esse Romanum imperium ut una manu regatur. Sinistro igitur eventu, et quo periculosior intervenire nullus poterat, attonitus concutitur exercitus omnis et pro tanti principis defectu dolor universas occupat legiones, meror et anxietas corda sibi vendicant singulorum et castra omnino insperata replent amaritudine.’<sup>132</sup>

In general this is more of a stylistic addition that does not contain anything informative not present in the Latin. The lack of any specific mention of ‘right or reason’ or ‘rich or poor’ as

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<sup>132</sup> WT, 15.22 lines 19-30.

well as the fact that these phrases are only found within the  $\beta$  group manuscripts indicates that these passages are additional to the original text of the translation, despite the fact that they fit in neatly with the rest of the text, and are simply the attempts of a later scribe to liven up the passage and to enhance the general sense of grief.

These passages are entirely absent from the Paris edition and only partially present in the *RHC* edition which reads:

**et por garir ne se leroit il pas couper le braz: ce disoit bien certainement que ja ne li avendroit que il peust que la mein eust coupée, quar grant honte seroit que li empires de Costantinoble fust governez par une mein, n'il ne seroit pas resons a lui ne au pueple qu'il a a gouverner, quar trop a afere. Quant cele novele fu einssint espadue par l'ost, que leur sires avoit esté plaiez en la mein, et qu'il estoit si bleciez et entouchiez de venin qu'il se moroit, lors firent duel grant et petit et riche et povre.**<sup>133</sup>

The *RHC* edition here contains a version of the passage which, as elsewhere, exactly matches the form of F45, with F43 containing a similar reading. The Paris edition does contain an additional reading of 'lors firent trop gran duel **par l'ost**, que leur sires' which is not found in any of the extant manuscripts.<sup>134</sup>

Several of the group  $\beta$  manuscripts, such as F30, F33, F39, F42, F43, F45, F47, F54, F60, F61, F62, F63, and F65, also add the phrase 'en bois' but at different points in the text. (see apparatus notes 12-4) This phrase is completely lacking in groups  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  but is present in both the *RHC* and Paris editions.<sup>135</sup> This is another reading not found in Paris' base manuscripts F31 and F52 and seems to be an instance in which he has introduced a reading from the *RHC* into his edition. F52 contains another variant reading which will be discussed below. While the phrase 'en bois' is present in several manuscripts from this group, including

<sup>133</sup> *RHC*, 15.22 p. 694.

<sup>134</sup> Paris, II. 15.22 p. 80.

<sup>135</sup> *RHC*, 15.22 p. 693; Paris, II. 15.22 p. 79.

some early ones, it does not appear to be a reading that it is characteristic of the  $\beta$  group and may instead represent some link between these manuscripts. While some of these manuscripts are clearly related and can be considered to form subgroups – F60, F61, F62, F63, and F65 are all clearly close while F43 and F45 share features – there are no close ties between these manuscripts. F54, in particular, does not seem to be closely related to any of the other manuscripts that contain a version of ‘en bois.’ Instead it seems more likely that the addition of this phrase was a stylistic addition made by scribes who inserted it at different places. F43 and F45, for instance, elsewhere share several distinctive variants but the phrase ‘en bois’ is found in different points of the text in these two manuscripts.

The large majority of  $\beta$  group manuscripts, with only the exception of F06, lack ‘hom’ (see apparatus note 82) and read ‘et’ instead of ‘mes.’ (see apparatus note 88) The lack of ‘hom’ is shared by F04 which may indicate a connection between F04 and the majority of  $\beta$  group. F06 contains several variant readings that would appear to distance it from the rest of the group, this particular variant is one of them, but elsewhere does contain all the significant readings that serve to identify the group  $\beta$  manuscripts. This may be again indicative of the fact that, while the rest of the  $\beta$  manuscripts are clearly of a western provenance, this manuscript may be the sole survivor of a distinctive branch of the manuscript tradition or may represent a very early form of this version of the text. While F04 appears to represent a mid-point between the original translation and the development of the  $\beta$  manuscripts, at which point the additional information about the doctors in 15.22 were added, the lack of the word ‘hom’ at this point may have occurred in F04 and the  $\beta$  group after F06 independently. However it may have also been added back into the text as several manuscripts show evidence of having been corrected. On the whole F04 does appear to represent an intermediate step between the group  $\alpha$  and group  $\beta$  manuscripts, and F06 is clearly isolated on the  $\beta$  branch of the manuscript stemma.

As well as this reading which distinguishes the  $\beta$  group manuscripts there are also some readings that are unique to the eastern  $\lambda$  group manuscripts. While there is no major variant that distinguishes group  $\lambda 1$ , such as the addition of ‘reaume de France et’ in 12:1 that distinguishes this group from all of the other manuscripts, the group does share a few readings that are found only in a few manuscripts from other groups and generally consist of rephrasing or reordering the words in the text. In particular they all read ‘alez chacier’ instead of ‘alez’. In addition to the manuscripts from group  $\lambda 1$ , this reading is found in F01 and F52, which contain several similarities, from group  $\alpha$ , all of group  $\lambda 2$  except for F67, F68 and F69 and is completely absent from group  $\beta$  which has a variant which adds ‘en bois’ The addition of ‘chacier’ makes sense within the context of the passage and could possibly represent an earlier version of the text. However, apart from the  $\lambda$  group, it is only present in two manuscripts, F01 and F52, neither of which is particularly early, late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively, and neither of which are particularly close to the Latin. Those manuscripts, that elsewhere appear to have a better reading of the text, such as F02 and F38, simply read ‘alez’. As a result it seems more likely that ‘chacier’ was added into the text later and may possibly also show some relationship between a precursor of F01 and F52 and the  $\lambda$  group. However, ‘chacier’ may also have been added in independently by different scribes as it would be the logical word to add in as to where the emperor was going to. They also all read ‘petit et grant’ instead of ‘grant et petit’.

The majority of the  $\lambda 2$  group manuscripts are characterised by an addition to the end of the chapter. F69, F71, F74 and F78 all read ‘en vousist oïr de leur preres’. The only manuscript from this group that does not include this reading is F49. However this manuscript elsewhere contains readings that link it with the rest of the manuscripts in this group, such as replacing ‘quistrent’ with ‘pristrent.’ All of the manuscripts from this group, including F49, also replace ‘doner grant cop’ with ‘ferir parmi le cors’ in this reading group

λ2 is independent from the rest of the *Eracles* manuscripts. This group also has another similarity to the β group in replacing ‘lairoit il ja’ with F49 reading ‘laisseroit il pas’ while the rest read ‘laisa pas’. F49 appears, based upon this evidence to be roughly a part of this group but it contains a number of readings which seem to indicate that it is not particularly close to the rest of the manuscripts in the group

The group α manuscripts generally stay very close to the base reading for this chapter which makes it difficult to establish the relationship between the manuscripts for this chapter. Those few variants which do occur tend to be minor, with the exception of the ‘alez chacier’ reading in F01 and F52 mentioned earlier. Though F01 and F52 do have a few other variants they are not found in the other. The major exceptions to this are F31 and F35 which share a number of distinctive readings both within this chapter and in the others as well as similar iconography in the miniatures.<sup>136</sup> These two manuscripts are also unique in dividing this chapter into two. Many of the changes are generally minor and involve simple alterations to the word order or variant spellings. However, the fact that these two manuscripts share so many variant readings would seem to indicate that they are fairly closely related. However one is not derived from the other. F31 contains a few variant readings not found in F35 and also lacks ‘...mi le bras estoit ja li venins’ which is present in F35. The text here should read ‘fient d’aide car parmi le bras estoit ja li venins esendus ou corps’. The only text missing are six words and part of a seventh. In F31 ‘car par...’ occurs at the end of the last line of folio 168vb, it is the end of the signature. the missing text should therefore appear on the first line of the next folio. However, folio 169ra reads ‘ou cors estendus’ which is a variant of ‘esendus ou corps’. It may be the case that the scribe forgot these few words when changing folios or that he mistakenly skipped them; however, this does not appear to be an obvious case of haplography. It seems likely that the scribes were working with unbound copies of the

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<sup>136</sup> Edbury, ‘Translation’, pp. 71-80; J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d’Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton, 1976), p. 148.

manuscript and a shift in exemplar may have occurred. The variant ‘ou cors estendus’ is only found in one other manuscript, the related F35. If a shift has occurred it has been to another manuscript very closely related to the previous exemplar. It seems in this case to be more likely that the scribe has simply forgotten to include this portion when switching to a new folio.

There are a number of manuscripts which replace ‘empires’ with a variant of ‘empereres.’ (see apparatus note 96) These include: F02, F31, and F35 from group  $\alpha$ ; F50, F57, F72, F73, and F77 from group  $\lambda_1$ ; F74 from group  $\lambda_2$ ; along with F06, F32, F33, F39, F42, F44, F45, F47, F48, and F65 from group  $\beta$ . In addition F62 also originally contained ‘empereres’ but what looks like a similar hand has corrected it to ‘empires’ which brings it into line with the majority of the manuscripts. The entire phrase ‘que li empires de Costantinoble fust gouvernez a une main’ clearly refers to the Byzantine Empire as a whole rather than specifically to the emperor. As a result the ‘empereres’ reading is clearly an error and the correct reading should be ‘empires’.

It is possible within this chapter to detect a few affinities between manuscripts from group  $\beta$ . In particular F60 and F62 appear to have a close relationship. They both contain additional readings such as the ‘en bois’ discussed earlier and both replace ‘li veneor et li valet’ with ‘li escuier et li varlet et li veneour’ as well as ‘mire’ with ‘maistre.’ (see apparatus notes 19 and 69) They also have a number of minor variants in common and both lack ‘par les chans.’ (see apparatus note 5) Many of the other manuscripts that contain the ‘Rothelin’ continuation also appear to be related to F60 and F62, in particular F61, F63 and F65. These three manuscripts also lack ‘par les chans’, contain the additional ‘en bois’ and contain the ‘maistre’ reading. F45 also contains most of these readings but does not contain the same variants elsewhere in the chapter as these manuscripts. The *RHC* edition maintains the

variants found in F45.<sup>137</sup> F61 and F65 also contain a variant on ‘li veneor et li valet’ reading ‘escuier et li veneour’ while F63 reads ‘li valet et li veneour’. Both of these variants bear a partial resemblance to the variant reading in F60 and F62. F61 and F65 share these variant readings and also share unique rubrics for each chapter. The rubric for 15:22 reads ‘Comment l’empereur entrainit une sayette a une pors sangler se navre et la prinst la cause dont il morut’. However, they each have variant readings not found in the other and one cannot be derived from the other though it is likely that these two manuscripts share a common ancestor.

As far as the modern editions of the *Eracles* text are concerned this distinct tradition of two manuscript groups is maintained. The Paulin Paris edition, for the most part, is close to the  $\alpha$  group. On the other hand the *RHC* edition, again for the most part, closely resembles the  $\beta$  group of manuscripts. However there are problems with both. Where the Paris edition differs from the  $\alpha$  group, it has some of the additional readings found in the  $\beta$  group, notably the doctors’ names. However the edition does not include any of the other additions from that chapter which are always present in the manuscripts. The *RHC* edition includes the doctors’ names and most, but not all, of the other readings that always accompany them. This edition omits sections of these further additions and the only manuscript that omits the same sections as the *RHC* edition is F45. While these omissions may be coincidental, elsewhere the *RHC* edition also includes further additions that I have not found in any other manuscript except for F45. These occur in 20.11 and 22.6 and will be discussed in detail in the next two chapters. The inclusion of the doctors’ names in the Paris edition seems to reflect his use of the *RHC*.

It seems clear therefore that there is a very clear division in the manuscript tradition. Those in group  $\beta$  that contain additional material regarding the doctors of Emperor John II

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<sup>137</sup> *RHC*, 15.22 p. 693.

and those in group  $\alpha$  which do not. Those manuscripts which appear to contain all the material found in the Latin and would appear to be closest to a possible translation are all found within group  $\alpha$ . This grouping of the manuscripts, based upon this passage, coincides with Edbury's findings when comparing the chapter divisions throughout the entire text. I would therefore argue that the manuscripts in group  $\alpha$  do in fact form a distinct group from the  $\beta$  manuscripts and represent a reading closer to the original translation. The subsequent division of this group into  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$ , based upon the readings in other chapters does not alter the fact that they contain an earlier reading of the text for this chapter. The development of the  $\lambda$  group is independent from the  $\beta$  group and suggests that the remaining  $\alpha$  manuscripts contain a form of the text from which these two branches of the stemma developed. However it also appears to be clear that the division in the manuscripts appeared rather quickly with the introduction of this new material. I would also argue that the group  $\lambda$  tradition was dominant in the Latin East. On the other hand, the Group  $\beta$  tradition, characterised by the doctors' names, appears to have been dominant in the West, with most of the surviving manuscripts belonging in this group.

In regards to the modern editions it seems clear that the *RHC* edition is based upon this secondary  $\beta$  tradition. However, the edition is based upon manuscripts that are significantly removed from what may be termed the base  $\beta$  group reading. I am not sure how far this permeates through the rest of the text, but my initial investigation showed that the  $\beta$  manuscript F06 contains several variants from the readings found in the  $\alpha$  manuscripts F02, F05, and F38 that indicate a division between the groups of manuscripts. While F06 contains several errors and distinctive readings that separate it from the rest of the  $\beta$  manuscripts, most of the significant variants are found in the  $\beta$  manuscripts and, to some extent, the *RHC* edition. The Paris edition appears to have been primarily based upon the earlier  $\alpha$  tradition but it too has some erroneous readings and the editor appears to have inserted material from

the previous edition that was not to be found in the manuscripts which he was using. I think that it is clear from this that a new edition of the *Eracles* text is needed in order to establish the correct readings of the text of the original translation and also to determine the extent of the variants within the manuscripts, notably the  $\beta$  group.

## Book 20 Chapter 11

Based upon F02 &amp; F38

$\alpha$	$\lambda_1$	$\lambda_2$	$\beta$	
F01 ms. mutilated	F50 306r-v	F49 267v-268r	F06 222v-223r	F47 ms.
F02 146r	F57 263r-v	F69 238r-v	F30 192v-193r	mutilated
F03 162v	F70 221v	F71 B20r	F32 172r-v	F48 181v
F04 110r	F72 243r-v	F74 311v-312r	F33 199v-200r	F51 177v-178r
F05 267v268r	F73 209v	F78 277r-v	F34 180r-v	F53 238v-239r
F31 241v	F77 231v-232r		F36 188v-189r	F54 278r-v
F35 183v			F37 345r-v	F55 196r-v
F38 146r			F39 475-476	F58 216v217r
F41 ms. mutilated			F40 149v	F60 214r
F52 201v-202r			F42 324v-325r	F61 193v
			F43 206v-207r	F62 B66v-67r
			F44 259r-v	F63 216r
			F45 189r-v	F64 254v-246r
			F46 110r-v	F65 345v-346r

Puis que li rois<sup>1</sup> fu retornez<sup>2</sup> en son reaume au commencement de cel an, n'avint guerres chose en la terre<sup>3</sup> qui face a raconter. Se ce non que lors fu mors Reniers<sup>4</sup> l'evesques de Lidde et<sup>5</sup> en son lieu fu esleuz et<sup>6</sup> sacrez Bernarz l'abbé de Monte Tabor<sup>7</sup>. Apres quant<sup>8</sup> li<sup>9</sup> novieau tens fu venus, ce fu au<sup>10</sup> commencement du<sup>11</sup> sixte an du reaume le<sup>12</sup> roi Amauri<sup>13</sup>, li baron de la terre de Surie<sup>14</sup>, cils qui plus sage estoient<sup>15</sup>, se penserent<sup>16</sup> que mout estoit en grant peril toute<sup>17</sup> la crestiente de la terre<sup>18</sup>. Parce que cils puissant home<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> rois] rois amauris F30 F37

<sup>2</sup> retornez] retornes en son pays et F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>3</sup> en la terre] F02 F49 F50 F53 F69 F71 F77 F78 *lack*

<sup>4</sup> Reniers] F58 F65 *lack*; leuses F60 F61 F62 F63

<sup>5</sup> et]  $\lambda_1$  F03 F46 F49 F54 F55 F58 F69 F71 F78 *lack*

<sup>6</sup> esleuz et] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; mis F44 F53 F55 F58 F64

<sup>7</sup> fu esleuz et ... Tabor] Bernarz l'abé de monte tabor et sacrez a evesque F49 F69 F71 F78; en fist ou un autre F50 F57; fu esleus bernart l'abé de monte tabor et sacrez a evesque F70 F72; F73 F77 *lack*; apres lui fu mis un autres de cui je ne sai pas le nom F74; lieu fu esleuz ... Monte Ta...] F60 F61 F62 F63 *lack* (en son |bor); en son lieu ... Tabor] F65 *lacks*

<sup>8</sup> quant] au F31 F35

<sup>9</sup> quant li] que il F49 F69 F71

<sup>10</sup> au] le F36; F32 F37 *lack*; ce fu au] F44 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*

<sup>11</sup> commencement du] F04 F71 F70 F72  $\beta$  *lack*

<sup>12</sup> le] dou F57 F73

<sup>13</sup> quant li nouveau ... Amauri] au novel tant F31 F35

<sup>14</sup> de Surie]  $\beta$  *lack*

<sup>15</sup> cils qui plus sage estoient] F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>16</sup> penserent] por penserent F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>17</sup> toute] F31 F35 F43 *lack*

<sup>18</sup> de la terre] F50 F65 *lack*

<sup>19</sup> cils puissant home] F03 F31 F35 F44 *lack*

Noradins, qui assez mauls<sup>20</sup> leur avoit fait<sup>21</sup> par maintes fois<sup>22</sup>, avoit<sup>23</sup> ores a sa volenté le reame d’Egypte. Si<sup>24</sup> que il pooit<sup>25</sup> venir sur les nostre<sup>26</sup> par<sup>27</sup> mer et par terre<sup>28</sup> et<sup>29</sup> destraindre<sup>30</sup> toute la terre en maintes manieres<sup>31</sup>. Et faire tant que par mer<sup>32</sup> ne porroit l’en<sup>33</sup> venir seurement<sup>34</sup> en Jherusalem<sup>35</sup>, qui estoit encore li graindres<sup>36</sup> perils pour la grant plainté des galées et des nés<sup>37</sup> que cil avoit sur mer<sup>38</sup>. Pour ce deviserent li preudome, que bien<sup>39</sup> seroit metiers, que l’en envoias<sup>40</sup> es terres<sup>40</sup> devers Occident des meilleurs prelas<sup>41</sup> du país<sup>42</sup> qui bien<sup>43</sup> seussent moustrer<sup>44</sup> aux<sup>45</sup> princes bons crestiens<sup>46</sup> le mesaise et<sup>47</sup> le peril<sup>48</sup> de la Sainte<sup>49</sup> terre<sup>50</sup> et leur requissent de par Nostre Seigneur<sup>51</sup> que secorre le venissent<sup>52</sup> en<sup>53</sup> son<sup>54</sup> heritage<sup>55</sup>. Car par leurs gens<sup>56</sup> avoit esté maintes fois li reames de Surie<sup>57</sup> aidez et maintenuz<sup>58</sup>. A

<sup>20</sup> mauls] F70 F72 *lack*

<sup>21</sup> mauls leur avoit fait] leur avoit fait maus F04 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F39 F40 F43 F45 F46 F48 F51 F54 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63; leur avoit fait de mal et de dommage F37; leur avoit mal fait F55; fait] done F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78

<sup>22</sup> qui asses mauls leur avoit fait par maintes fois]; F03 F31 F35 *lack*; par maintes fois] F53 F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>23</sup> avoit] afaire avoit F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78

<sup>24</sup> si] tellement F37 F42

<sup>25</sup> si que il pooit] por F03 F31 F35

<sup>26</sup> les nostre] nos gens F36 F37 F42

<sup>27</sup> par] et par F49 F69 F78

<sup>28</sup> et par terre] F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*; mer et par terre] terre et par mer F77

<sup>29</sup> et] et por aus F03; aus miese F31; por aus miels et F35

<sup>30</sup> destraindre] constrandre F37 F42

<sup>31</sup> toute la terre en maintes manieres] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>32</sup> par mer] pelerins F49 F69 F78; sur les nostre par mer] par mer sus le nos F60 F62 F63

<sup>33</sup> l’en] F37 F46 F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*

<sup>34</sup> seurement] λ1 λ2 F03 F31 F35 F43 F53 F64 *lack*

<sup>35</sup> seurement en Jherusalem] en Jerusalem seurement F34 F60 F61 F62 F63

<sup>36</sup> graindres] plus grant F70 F72; encore li graindres] ore li plus grans F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>37</sup> galées et des nés] nés et de galies F30 F34 F49 F50 F57 F69 F70 F71 F72 F74 F77 F78

<sup>38</sup> pour la grant plainté des galées et des nés que cil avoit sur mer] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>39</sup> bien] F36 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*

<sup>40</sup> es terres] F03 F35 *lack*

<sup>41</sup> prelas] chevaliers F53 F55 F58 F64

<sup>42</sup> du país] F49 F69 F71 F72 F78 *lack*

<sup>43</sup> bien] maius F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>44</sup> moustrer] mostrer et conter F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>45</sup> aux] as barons et as F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>46</sup> bons crestiens] F03 F36 F49 F65 F69 F71 F78 *lack*

<sup>47</sup> le mesaise et] F34 F36 *lack*

<sup>48</sup> et li peril] F70 F72 *lack*; peril] grant perill F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>49</sup> Sainte] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>50</sup> Sainte terre] terre sainte F36 F38; sainte terre d’oultremer F53 F58

<sup>51</sup> de par Nostre Seigneur] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>52</sup> secorre le venissent] il li venissent secorre F49 F50 F57 F69 F71 F77 F78; les venissent secore F63 F70 F72

<sup>53</sup> en] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 *lack*

<sup>54</sup> son] leur F43 F45 F51

<sup>55</sup> en son heritage] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>56</sup> gens] les vaillans predecesseurs F37 F42; encesseurs F54; leurs gens] F60 F61 F63 *lack*

<sup>57</sup> de Surie] F06 F51 *lack*; avoit esté maintes ... Surie] maintes fois avoit esté li roiaumes de Surie F32 F60 F62; car par leurs ... Surie] maintes fois avoit esté li reame de surie par lor genz F49 F69 F71 F78

ce messaige faire furent esleu<sup>59</sup> li patriarches de Jherusalem, Amaurris<sup>60</sup>, li arcevesque de Cesaire<sup>61</sup>, Herneis<sup>62</sup>, et<sup>63</sup> Guillaume l'evesque d'Acre<sup>64</sup>. L'en leur encharja nommement<sup>65</sup> que il<sup>66</sup> s'en<sup>67</sup> alaissent pour moustrer ceste chose<sup>68</sup> a l'empereur Ferri<sup>69</sup> d'Alemaigne<sup>70</sup>, au<sup>71</sup> roi Looy<sup>72</sup> de France, au<sup>73</sup> roi Henri<sup>74</sup> d'Engleterre, au<sup>75</sup> roi Guillaume de Sezille. Et leur dist<sup>76</sup> l'en<sup>77</sup> que il<sup>78</sup> parlissent<sup>79</sup> de ce meismes<sup>80</sup> aux meneurs<sup>81</sup> barons<sup>82</sup>; au conte Phelippe de Flandres, au<sup>83</sup> conte<sup>84</sup> Henri de Champaigne, au<sup>85</sup> conte Tiebaut<sup>86</sup> de Blois, et aux<sup>87</sup> autres<sup>88</sup> de ces terres<sup>89</sup>. Cils atornerent leur voie<sup>90</sup> et monterent sur<sup>91</sup> mer et se partirent du port<sup>92</sup>. Mes la seconde nuit<sup>93</sup> sordi une tempeste trop grant<sup>94</sup> si<sup>95</sup>, que leur mas pecoia<sup>96</sup> les<sup>97</sup> governails

<sup>58</sup> avoit esté maintes ... maintenuz] avoit maintes foiz este li roiaumes de Surie aidez F03; avoit esté li roiaumes de Surie maintes foiz aidez F31 F35; maintenuz] secourra F37 F42 F53 F54 F55 F58; maintes foiz avoit esté li roiaumes de Surie aidies et maintenus F61 F63

<sup>59</sup> A ce messaige faire furent esleu] Esleu furent F03; Esleu furent por ceste besoinge afaire F31 F35 (split chapter)

<sup>60</sup> patriarches de Jherusalem, Amaurris] patriarches amaurris de Jherusalem F30 F44; Amauri patriarche de Jerusalem F32 F36 F70 F72

<sup>61</sup> Cesaire] Sur F50

<sup>62</sup> Herneis] Arnoulz F02; li arcevesque de Cesaire Herneis] li evesque de Sayete Henri F49 F69 F71 F78; et Hernaus l'arcevesque de Cesaire F70 F74

<sup>63</sup> et] F40 F43 F74 *lack*

<sup>64</sup> Herneis et Guillaume l'evesque d'Acre] F50 *lacks*

<sup>65</sup> nommement] F03 F31 F35 F57 *lack*

<sup>66</sup> il] F02 F05 F32 F33 F40 *lack*

<sup>67</sup> s'en] F49 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>68</sup> pour moustrer ceste chose] premierement λ2; chose] besongne F37 F42

<sup>69</sup> Ferri] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>70</sup> ceste chose a l'empereur Ferri d'Alemaigne] a l'empereor Ferri d'Alemaigne ceste chose F32 F33 F61 F63

<sup>71</sup> au] et au F35 F51 F74

<sup>72</sup> Looy] Ferris F02; F03 F31 F35 F65 *lack*

<sup>73</sup> au] et au F30 F34 F35 F65 F74

<sup>74</sup> Henri] F03 F31 F35 F65 *lack*

<sup>75</sup> au] et au F34 F35 F37 F65 F74

<sup>76</sup> dist] charge F37 F42

<sup>77</sup> l'en] F03 F31 F35 F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*

<sup>78</sup> il] F02 F04 F50 *lack*

<sup>79</sup> parlissent de] moustrassent F60 F61 F62 F63

<sup>80</sup> meismes] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>81</sup> meneurs] F37 F42 F53 *lack*; meillors F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78

<sup>82</sup> barons] barons de c'est assavoir F37 F42

<sup>83</sup> au] et au λ2

<sup>84</sup> au conte] F53 F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>85</sup> au] et au F34 F44 F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>86</sup> Tiebaut] F31 F35 F65 *lack*; F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>87</sup> aux] a toz F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>88</sup> autres] autres barons F69 F70 F71 F72 F78; maintes autres qui point ne sont icy nomines F37 F42

<sup>89</sup> de ces terres] F03 F31 F35 F36 F37 F42 F54 F55 *lack*; autres de ces terres] leurs barons F65

<sup>90</sup> atornerent leur voie] vinrent F03 F31 F35; F36 *lacks*; Cils aturnerent leur voie] ces prelatz devant nominez ordonnerent leur partement] F37 F42; voie] afaire F44 F49 F69 F71 F78; oirre F50 F57 F72 F77; meute F74

<sup>91</sup> monterent sur] entrerent en F30 F36 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; mistrent en F34 F58; monterent en F44

<sup>92</sup> et se partirent du port] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; port] port d'acre F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>93</sup> nuit] nuit apres F37 F42; jor F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78

<sup>94</sup> tempeste trop grant] trop grant tempeste F60 F61 F65; grant tempeste F62

<sup>95</sup> sij] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; tellement F37 F42; trop grant sij] si grant F49 F53 F55 F58 F64 F69 F71 F78

froisserent<sup>98</sup> les nés meismes<sup>99</sup> fendi. Si que par grant peril s'en eschaperent et revindrent au tiers jour<sup>100</sup> au port<sup>101</sup>. En<sup>102</sup> nulle guisse<sup>103</sup> ne peussent puis<sup>104</sup> estre mis<sup>105</sup> a ce<sup>106</sup> qu'ilz alaissent<sup>107</sup> la si que il<sup>108</sup> covint a<sup>109</sup> eslire autre gent. Par la grant<sup>110</sup> priere le roi et<sup>111</sup> des autres<sup>112</sup> barons, emprist a faire<sup>113</sup> ce message<sup>114</sup> l'arcevesques Ferris de Sur<sup>115</sup> et mena avecques lui Jehan<sup>116</sup> l'evesque<sup>117</sup> de Belinas, qui estoit uns de ses evesques<sup>118</sup>. Cils orent meilleur vent<sup>119</sup> et<sup>120</sup> passerent la mer sans encombrier<sup>121</sup>. Mes ne firent mie grant<sup>122</sup> preu<sup>123</sup> a cele besoigne. Car puis que il furent venu en France, ne demora guerres<sup>124</sup> que l'evesque Jehans<sup>125</sup> de Belinas<sup>126</sup> morut<sup>127</sup> a Paris<sup>128</sup> et fu enterrez en<sup>129</sup> l'eglise<sup>130</sup> Saint Victor, a senestre<sup>131</sup> si come l'en entre vers le<sup>132</sup> cuer<sup>133</sup>. Deus anz apres l'arcevesques s'en retourna en Surie et ne apporta<sup>134</sup> ne<sup>135</sup> secors ne esperance<sup>136</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> pecoia] rompirent F37 F42; des percirent F63; rompist F65; leur mas pecoia] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 *lack*

<sup>97</sup> les] et li F49 F69 F70 F71 F78

<sup>98</sup> mas pecoia les gouvernails froisserent] mars et gouvernail pecoierent F03 F31; mas et leur gouvernaus pechoierent F35

<sup>99</sup> meismes] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>100</sup> par grant peril ... jour] au tiers jor par grant perill eschaperent et vindrent F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>101</sup> port] port en la vile F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>102</sup> En] En tel maniere que F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>103</sup> guisse] eglise F32 F37 F39 F51

<sup>104</sup> puis] F34 F49 F53 F58 F69 F71 F78 *lack*

<sup>105</sup> mis] F61 F63 *lack*

<sup>106</sup> ce] voyage tellement F37 F42; ce mene puis F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>107</sup> estre mis a ce qu'ilz alaissent] aller F03 F31 F35

<sup>108</sup> que il] F48 F53 *lack*

<sup>109</sup> a] F03 F31 F33 F36 F38 F40 F42 F43 F45 F46 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F63 *lack*; puis a F49 F69 F71 F78; puis F57 F72 F77

<sup>110</sup> grant] F03 F31 F32 F35 F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*

<sup>111</sup> le roi et] F03 F31 F34 F35 *lack*

<sup>112</sup> autres] F30 F53 F54 F55 *lack*

<sup>113</sup> emprist a faire] fist F03 F31 F35

<sup>114</sup> message] voyage F37 F42; a faire ce message] ce messaige a faire F53 F54 F55 F58

<sup>115</sup> l'arcevesques Ferry de Sur] l'arcevesques de Sur Ferris F03; Ferris l'arcevesques de Sur F31 F35

<sup>116</sup> Jehan] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>117</sup> l'evesque] l'arcevesque F03; l'evesque de Bethleem et l'evesque F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78; Jehan l'evesque] l'evesque Jehan F58 F60 F62

<sup>118</sup> uns de ses evesques] soz lui F03 F31 F35; sage home F49 F69 F70 F72 F78; sages F71

<sup>119</sup> vent] vent que li autre F37 F42 F49 F70 F71 F72 F78

<sup>120</sup> meilleur vent et] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>121</sup> encombrier] avoir quelque empeschement F37; quelque empeschement F42

<sup>122</sup> grant] grant moult grant F02 F57; molt grant F70 F72 F74 F77

<sup>123</sup> preu] avancement F37 F42

<sup>124</sup> guerres] mye graniment F37 F42

<sup>125</sup> Jehans] F03 F31 F35 F44 F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78 *lack*

<sup>126</sup> Jehans de Belinas] F61 F63 *lack*

<sup>127</sup> Jehans de Belinas morut] jehan de belynas et huitace deans de charmentre morurent F45

<sup>128</sup> a Paris] F58 F61 F63 *lack*; Jehans de Belinas morut a Paris] F60 F62 *lack*

<sup>129</sup> enterrez en] mist a F03 F31 F35

<sup>130</sup> l'eglise] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>131</sup> a senestre] F53 F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>132</sup> vers le] en F60 F61 F62; li F63

This chapter relates the embassy sent by King Amaury of Jerusalem to the western princes in 1169, in order to request aid following the growth in the power of Nur al-Din and was in direct response to Saladin gaining control of Egypt. This chapter was selected due to the presence in the *RHC* edition (where it is chapter 20.12, Huygens also labels it 20.12) of an addition relating to a man called Huitace described as ‘dean of Charmentré.’<sup>137</sup> (see apparatus note 127) As noted earlier in the chapter on the translator, Ost and Pryor identified this figure as being closely associated with the translator due to the fact that he is the subject of two additions to the text.<sup>138</sup> However, Huitace does not appear in the Paris edition for this chapter though Paris did note that the *RHC* edition had included this reading.<sup>139</sup> Pryor also noted this and commented that ‘it would appear that the scribes of the MSS used by Paulin Paris had dropped the mention of this dean of Charmentré from E.20,12 because they realized that he was reported as still alive in 1180-81.’<sup>140</sup> I was not able to find reference to Huitace in the first few manuscripts, F02, F05, F06, F38, or F72, that I consulted in 20.11. He also appears in the printed editions in 22.6 but his name was not present in the manuscripts consulted initially for this chapter either.<sup>141</sup> (22.6 chapter will be discussed in the next section.) As a result, I selected 20.11 as a sample chapter in order to locate Huitace in the manuscripts in the belief that this passage would serve as a good guide for establishing the relationships between the manuscripts. I also hoped to determine what sort of importance should be ascribed to him by historians.

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<sup>133</sup> a senestre si ... cuer] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 *lack*

<sup>134</sup> ne apporta] n’en reporta F60 F62 F63

<sup>135</sup> ne] F31 F37 F46 F50 F54 F57 F73 *lack*

<sup>136</sup> esperance] esperance aucune F37; esperance que nus deust venir F49 F69 F71 F78; aie F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; esperance que arme deust venir F70 F72

<sup>137</sup> *RHC*, 20.12 p. 961.

<sup>138</sup> Ost, p. 14; Pryor, p. 280.

<sup>139</sup> Paris, 20.11 ll. p. 327 n. 3.

<sup>140</sup> Pryor, p.281.

<sup>141</sup> Paris, 22.6 ll. p. 418; *RHC*, 22.7 p. 1074.

In short, I do not think that this addition can be attributed to the translator of the *Eracles* text. Despite Pryor's comment that the scribes had omitted Huitace's name from this chapter as he also occurred later on in the text, he does not appear in either location in the two texts that Paris stated that he used, F31 and F52, nor does he appear in F58, the only other manuscript which Paris mentions that had a variant reading.<sup>142</sup> Pryor also states that 'the important point is that various MSS add his name to the chronicle on two different occasions and some of them give precise details of his burial place.' In this statement Pryor was reliant upon Ost's work. Neither consulted the manuscripts, though Pryor did note that more work needed to be done upon the manuscript tradition. In fact the addition of Huitace, dean of Charmentré, only occurs in a single manuscript of the *Eracles* text, F45. This manuscript, as mentioned before, includes numerous variations and cannot be considered to be a particularly close to the original text of the translation. This does seem to prove conclusively that the *RHC* editors used F45, dated c. 1260, and were heavily reliant upon it.

While the addition of Huitace is restricted to just one manuscript, the addition of the burial place of John, the bishop of Banyas, is found in nearly all of the manuscripts. While William simply stated that John died in Paris: 'nam predictus episcopus postquam in Franciam pervenit, statim apud Parisius ultimum clausit diem,'<sup>143</sup> but the French text adds 'et fu enterrez en l'eglise Saint Victor a senestre si come l'en entre vers le cuer.' However, a possibly related manuscripts lack parts of this addition. This reading is present in all the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts but a portion, 'a senestre si come l'en entre vers le cuer,' is lacking from a number of  $\lambda$  group manuscripts. (see apparatus note 133) In particular it is lacking in F50, F57, F73 and F77 from group  $\lambda 1$ . There are number of variants in this chapter that seem to divide these four manuscripts from F70 and F72; these will be discussed later in this section. F74 is alone in group  $\lambda 2$  in matching the reading of F50, F57, F73 and F77. While F74 does

<sup>142</sup> Paris, 1.27 l. p. 49 n.2; 3.19 l. p. 111 n. 3.

<sup>143</sup> WT, 20.12 lines 35-37.

have a few unique variations, including the repetition of lines, it appears, for this chapter at least, to form a group with the four manuscripts from group  $\lambda_1$  while the rest of group  $\lambda_2$ , F49, F69, F71 and F78 appear to have a number of similarities with the other two manuscripts from group  $\lambda_1$ , F70 and F72. Amongst the group  $\beta$  manuscripts only F34, a manuscript which contains several unique readings, matches the reading which lacks ‘a senestre si come l’en entre vers le cuer’. F44 lacks ‘si come l’en entre vers le cuer’ while F53, F58 and F64 lack ‘a senestre’. The only manuscript which completely lacks this addition is F65. However, this manuscript is heavily abridged in the chapter with numerous variants and omissions and cannot be said to contain a good reading of the text.

Table 9: 20.11 A

et fu enterrez en l’eglise Saint Victor a senestre si come l’en entre vers le cuer	F02 F04 F05 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F38 F39 F40 F42 F43 F46 F48 F49 F51 F52 F54 F55 F58 F64 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78
et fu <b>mist a</b> Saint Victor a senestre si come l’en entre vers le cuer	F03 F31 F35
et fu enterrez en l’eglise Saint Victor	F34 F50 F57 F73 F74 F77
et fu enterrez en l’eglise Saint Victor a senestre	F44
et fu enterrez en l’eglise Saint Victor si come l’en entre vers le cuer	F53 F58 F64
et <b>furent</b> enterrez en l’eglise Saint Victor a senestre si come l’en entre vers le cuer	F45
et fu enterrez en l’eglise Saint Victor a senestre si come l’en entre <b>en</b> cuer	F60 F61 F62
et fu enterrez Victor a senestre si come l’en entre li cuer	F63
Lacks passage	F65
Lack chapter	F01 F41 F47

A number of group  $\lambda$  manuscripts, mentioned above, share a number of distinctive readings. These are F49, F69, F71 and F78 from  $\lambda_2$  and F70 and F72 from  $\lambda_1$ . These variants also include a number of the additional readings. The title of John of Banyas is altered from ‘Jehan l’evesque de Belinas’ to ‘Johan l’evesque de Betleem et l’evesque de Belinas’, ‘un de ses evesques’ becomes ‘sages hom’ and ‘que nus deust venir’ is added to the end of the chapter following the statement that Frederick, the archbishop of Tyre, had failed to return with aid from the West. These manuscripts also share a number of variant word order changes. It is interesting that these variant readings regarding the bishop of Banyas only occur in those manuscripts with an eastern provenance, or those clearly derived from eastern manuscripts, and could imply an eastern scribe adding his own knowledge of the persons involved. However, there are no other records that mention this John, bishop of Banyas, holding any other office, and the bishop of Bethlehem in 1169 was named Ralph. (1146-74)<sup>144</sup> This appears to be a case in which these manuscripts contain an incorrect variant that is not supported by any other source. These manuscripts cannot be relied upon in general to be accurate because they also contain other variants which are not found in the other manuscripts. For instance ‘li arcevesque de Cesaire Herneis’ is altered in F49, F69, F71 and F78, but not F70 or F72, to read ‘li evesque de Sayete Henri’. William gave ‘dominus Hernesius Cesariensis archiepiscopus’.<sup>145</sup> This appears to be another case in which an erroneous reading has appeared in these eastern manuscripts: the archbishop of Caesarea was indeed Ernesius and the bishop of Sidon in 1169 was named Amalric.<sup>146</sup> There are a couple of other variants for Herneis with F03 and F36 reading ‘Arnoul’ while F44 has ‘Hermen’ but the  $\lambda_2$  variant is not found in any other manuscripts.

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<sup>144</sup> Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 117-8.

<sup>145</sup> WT, 20.12 lines 18-19.

<sup>146</sup> Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 124-5, 148.

Amongst the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts F31 and F35 again show a number of close similarities, with F03 also showing a close relationship to these two manuscripts. While these manuscripts do not contain additional material that can distinguish them, like the  $\lambda$  group manuscripts, they all lack significant sections of text from this chapter such as ‘esleuz et’, ‘pour la grant plainté des galées et des nés que cil avoit sur mer,’ and the names of the western rulers. In addition they share numerous variant word order readings. F31 and F35 are also unique in splitting this chapter into two. (see apparatus note 59)

F04 contains a couple of variant readings that set it apart from the rest of the  $\alpha$  group manuscripts. It lacks ‘commencement du’ (see apparatus note 11) and alters ‘mauls leur avoit fait’ to read ‘lor avoit fet mal.’ (see apparatus note 21) The first of these two variants is also to be found in all of the group  $\beta$  manuscripts, whilst those manuscripts that do not contain the second have a variant reading in which the text before the passage which reads ‘par maintes fois’ has been lost and then contain the reading ‘mauls leur avoit fait.’ It is possible that this is a simple word order change and that the text has been accidentally switched back to the original order. In this case a manuscript closely related to F04 was the basis for the group  $\beta$  branch, since there are several instances in which F04 has a reading unique amongst the group  $\alpha$  manuscripts which is commonly found with the  $\beta$  manuscripts. While this current example creates a few problems for this theory it is a single example and stands alone against all of the other ties between F04 and group  $\beta$

Once again F60 and F62 have a number of variations in common. Both read ‘Jesus’ instead of ‘Reniers’, ‘moustrassent’ instead of ‘parlassent de’ and ‘aie’ instead of ‘esperance’. F61 and F63 also share all three of these variants with F65 sharing the last two, F65 lacks ‘Reniers’ entirely. This is another case in which these ‘Rothelin’ continuation manuscripts appear to be related. Another place in which these manuscripts are alike is in lacking the phrase ‘en son lieu fu esleuz et sacrez Bernarz l’abbé de Monte Tabor’. While

F65 lacks the entirety of this passage, the rest only lack a portion so that they read ‘en son ...bor’ with the section ‘lieu fu esleuz et sacrez Bernarz l’abbé de Monte Ta...’ missing. The fact that four of the manuscripts contain the beginning and the ending of the phrase would seem to indicate that it was part of an earlier exemplar manuscript. Interestingly, in F60 this missing section coincides with the end of a line, though it is within the middle of the folio. In this manuscript ‘en son’ are the last two words of folio 214ra line 14 while ‘...bor’ begins line 15. The amount of text missing would be roughly equivalent to a line of text in the manuscript and it seems logical to conclude that the scribe of this manuscript, or a very similar manuscript, skipped a line in his exemplar. In F61, F62 and F63 ‘en son ...bor’ occurs within the middle of the line. This appears to indicate that these three manuscripts are either derived from F60 or a manuscript closely related to it. The fact that F65 does contain some strong similarities to the rest of these manuscripts would seem to indicate that it is a part of their group and it would seem likely that the scribe noticed that ‘en son ...bor’ was an error and omitted these words in order for the text to make more sense, since the omission of this line rendered the surrounding text meaningless. F65 also contains a number of other variants that would separate it somewhat from the rest of the group. It is also a fifteenth-century manuscript while the rest are fourteenth-century.

F37 and F42 also have a few similarities which would continue to link them together, as in the other chapters, but these are rather few and each has many other variations not found in the other which would seem to indicate that, while they are related, they are not particularly close. Both manuscripts have been given a provenance of the late fifteenth-century in Flanders. However, these two manuscripts are part of a distinct  $\beta$  group tradition that included a number of variant readings. F37 does though have more variants, such as adding ‘aucunes’ to ‘esperance’ at the end of the chapter and replacing ‘barons de la terre cils’ with ‘barons et haut homes aumomsees’. It should be noted here that the base reading is

‘barons de la terre de Surie’. However, as mentioned above, ‘de Surie’ is absent in all of the group  $\beta$  manuscripts so that the scribe is simply adding a set phrase of honour to the mention of the barons which the text continues to describes as ‘plus sage’.

While there are numerous variants in the *Eracles* manuscripts, it is quite clear from this chapter that several different branches of the stemma have developed. While most of the  $\lambda_2$  manuscripts can be identified from additional readings, this is not the case for the  $\beta$  manuscripts which can only be categorized in general by the various passages lacking from these manuscripts that are generally present in the  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  manuscripts. However, despite a lack of positive form of identification, these manuscripts are still recognizably part of a group in spite of the numerous variations that occur within individual manuscripts.

## Book 22 Chapter 6

Based upon F02 &amp; F38

$\alpha$	$\lambda_1$	$\lambda_2$	$\beta$	
F01 ms. mutilated	F50 339r-v	F49 299r-v	F06 245v	F47 183v-184r
F02 162v-163r	F57 239r	F69 267r-v	F30 261v-217r	F48 203r-v
F03 179r-v	F70 250v-251r	F71 B44v	F32 193v-194r	F51 198r
F04 122v	F72 272r	F74 344v	F33 223r-v	F53 268v-269r
F05 299r	F73 232v-233r	F78 311r	F34 201v	F54 308v-309r
F31 268r	F77 256r-v		F36 188v189r	F55 221v
F35 203v-204r			F37 193v	F58 244r
F38 163r			F39 529-530	F60 238v
F41 ms. mutilated			F40 168r-v	F61 212v-213r
F52 224r			F42 363r	F62 B90v
			F43 231v-232r	F63 239v
			F44 283v-284r	F64 274v
			F45 213r	F65 381r-v
			F46 140r-v	

Honteuse<sup>1</sup> vie menoit<sup>2</sup> en ceste maniere li princes Buimonz<sup>3</sup> a ce tens. Et<sup>4</sup> tant estoit ja<sup>5</sup> la chose alée avant que li princes estoit<sup>6</sup> escommeniez et<sup>7</sup> toute la terre entredite<sup>8</sup> pour les sacrileges<sup>9</sup> et pour<sup>10</sup> les tors<sup>11</sup> que l'en fesoit aux clers et aux eglises. Par tout le país ne fesoit l'en nul sacrement<sup>12</sup> fors seulement baptizier les enfans et confesser les malades. A<sup>13</sup> la fin, virent<sup>14</sup> li preudome du reaume<sup>15</sup> de Surie<sup>16</sup> que cilz aferes ne povoit pas<sup>17</sup> longuement durer sans grant peril. Si envoierent la<sup>18</sup>, par commun accort, le patriarche de Jherusalem, Renaut<sup>19</sup> de Chastellon qui avoit este prince d'Antioche et

<sup>1</sup> Honteuse] Toute sa  $\lambda_2$

<sup>2</sup> Honteuse vie menoit] Honteusement menoit sa vie F30 F53 F54 F55 F58 F64

<sup>3</sup> li princes Buimonz] Buimont le prince d'Antioche F53 F55 F58 F64

<sup>4</sup> et] F53 F58 *lack*

<sup>5</sup> ja] F02 F04 F48 F53 F54 F55 F57 F58 F70 F72 F73 *lack*

<sup>6</sup> estoit] ert F43; estoit ja F61F65

<sup>7</sup> et] et que F49 F69 F71 F74

<sup>8</sup> entredite] estoit entredite F69 F71 F74 F78

<sup>9</sup> sacrileges] sarquiles F30 F33 F39 F40 F47 F51 F54 F55 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64; grevemens F42; outrages F43 F45 F48 F53 F58

<sup>10</sup> les sacrileges et pour] F49 F50 F69 F71 F74 F77 *lack*

<sup>11</sup> tors] torz fez F58 F64

<sup>12</sup> sacrement] sacrement ne nulls droiture de Sainte Eglise F53 F58 F64

<sup>13</sup> A] en F36 F43 F65

<sup>14</sup> virent] vindrent F53 F54 F61 F65

<sup>15</sup> du reaume] F43 F51 *lack*; de la terre F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; preudome du reaume] baron F52  $\lambda_1$   $\lambda_2$

<sup>16</sup> de Surie] F34 F46 *lack*

<sup>17</sup> pas] mie F03 F31 F35 F48

<sup>18</sup> la] F30 F46 F48 F60 F62 F69 F71 F74 *lack*

<sup>19</sup> Renaut] et Renaut F34 F48 F72

parrastres<sup>20</sup> a celui Buimont, le<sup>21</sup> mestre du Temple frere Arnaut de Toroge, le<sup>22</sup> mestre de l'Ospital frere<sup>23</sup> Rogier de Mores<sup>24</sup>. A ceus fu commandé que ilz essaïassent en toutes manieres<sup>25</sup> se ilz povroient apaiser du tout<sup>26</sup> ce grant trouble, qui estoit en la terre de Antioche, ou au mains i<sup>27</sup> meissent tel conseil que cil mal cessassent une piece du tens. Car li prodome avoient<sup>28</sup> grant paour que la parole en<sup>29</sup> alast<sup>30</sup> outre mer a l'apostoille et au reaume de France et<sup>31</sup> que l'en meist<sup>32</sup> sus a ceus de la terre que ilz consentissent<sup>33</sup> les maus que li princes fesoit. Pour ce vouldrent moustrer appertement que ilz ne se acordoient mie<sup>34</sup> a lui aincois leur desplaisoit moult sa vie. Li patriarches prist avecques lui des prelaz de Sainte Eglise<sup>35</sup> les plus sages et les plus<sup>36</sup> religieux<sup>37</sup>: Aubert l'evesque<sup>38</sup> de Bethleem, l'eslit de Cesaïre<sup>39</sup> qui avoit<sup>40</sup> nom Moines<sup>41</sup>, Renault l'abbé de Monte Syon, Perron<sup>42</sup> le prieur<sup>43</sup> du Sepuchre<sup>44</sup>. Ilz s'en alerent tuit ensemble<sup>45</sup> par<sup>46</sup> la terre au<sup>47</sup> conte de Triple et le menerent avec eus pour ce qu'il estoit acoïnte du prince et cuidèrent<sup>48</sup> que ses paroles le deussent<sup>49</sup> mouvoir a bien fere<sup>50</sup>. Ilz vindrent vers Antioche et troverent le prince et le patriarche que il orent fet venir<sup>51</sup> a la Lische<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> parrastres] autres F57 F73

<sup>21</sup> le] et le F48 λ2

<sup>22</sup> le] et le F36 F44 F48 F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>23</sup> frere] F36 F44 F52 F57 F73 F77 *lack*

<sup>24</sup> Rogier de Mores] F36 F46 F44 F49 F69 F71 *lack*

<sup>25</sup> en toutes manieres] F53 F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>26</sup> du tout] F53 F58 F72 *lack*

<sup>27</sup> i] F30 F34 F63 *lack*

<sup>28</sup> avoient] en avoient λ2

<sup>29</sup> en] ne F06 F54; F42 F64 *lack*; n'en F44 F45 F48 F51 F60 F72

<sup>30</sup> alast] n'alast F06 F61 F65; en alast] n'alast λ2

<sup>31</sup> et] λ2 F33 *lack*; ne F43

<sup>32</sup> meist] ne meist F43 F62 F63 F64; ne deïst F44

<sup>33</sup> consentissent] ne consentissent F43 F60

<sup>34</sup> mie] pas F54 F72 λ2; F50 *lacks*

<sup>35</sup> Sainte Eglise] Surie F44

<sup>36</sup> plus] F32 F37 F40 F47 *lack*

<sup>37</sup> et les plus religieux] F53 F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>38</sup> l'evesque] F43 F45 F51 *lack*

<sup>39</sup> de Cesaïre] et des autres F43 F45 F51; de Saïette F54

<sup>40</sup> avoit] out F43 F51

<sup>41</sup> qui avoit nom Moines] F34 F44 F48 *lack*

<sup>42</sup> Perron] Pierre F42 F44 F53 F58 F64

<sup>43</sup> prieur] maïstre F53 F58 F64; empereur F55

<sup>44</sup> Sepuchre] Sepulcre et Huitace li dean de Charmentré F45

<sup>45</sup> ensemble] F53 F55 F58 F64 F65 *lack*

<sup>46</sup> par] en F60 F61 F62

<sup>47</sup> au] le F50 λ2; dou F57

<sup>48</sup> cuidèrent] pource F61 F65

<sup>49</sup> deussent] seussent F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>50</sup> et cuidèrent que ... fere] F53 F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>51</sup> venir] mener F70 F72

<sup>52</sup> que il orent fait venir a La lische] F36 F42 F44 F65 *lack*

Like 20.11, 22.6 (labelled as 22.7 in the *RHC* edition) was chosen because of the mention of Huitace, dean of Charmentré, in both modern editions in which his name is added to William of Tyre's list of nobles and clergy who were sent to speak to Bohemond III of Antioch about the scandal surrounding his treatment of the Church and his wife that had caused his excommunication in 1181.<sup>53</sup> Unlike 20.11, Paulin Paris has included this addition within the text but notes: 'voici la seconde fois que notre traducteur ajoute à la liste donnée par Guillaume de Tyr ce nom de doyen de Charmentré. Mais cette addition n'est pas dans tous les manuscrits'.<sup>54</sup> This comment led me to believe that this chapter was potentially important in establishing a relationship between the various manuscripts. This is a particularly long chapter which covers the excommunication of Bohemond, subsequent disputes following the arrival of the delegation, the death of Pope Alexander III and election of Lucius III, as well as the death of Odo, the archdeacon of Tyre. I am looking only at the section of this chapter that deals with the background to the dispute with Bohemond as well as the discussion for a need of a delegation, the naming of the members, the statements of what they were to say to Bohemond and their journey north until they found Bohemond in Latakia

As in 20.11, the reference to Huitace is also only found in one manuscript, F45. Again, there is nothing to indicate that this addition can be attributed to the translator of the *Eracles* text. Huitace's name does not appear in either location in the two texts that Paris stated that he used, F31 and F52, nor does he appear in F58, the only other manuscript which Paris mentions that had a variant reading.<sup>55</sup> While Ost and Pryor both thought that this addition could be useful for historians in establishing an identity for the translator, it seems clear that this addition has nothing to do with the translator of William's text since the addition of Huitace, dean of Charmentré only occurs in a single manuscript of the *Eracles*

<sup>53</sup> *RHC*, 22.7 p. 1074; Paris, II. 22.6 p. 418.

<sup>54</sup> Paris 22.6 II. p. 418 n. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Paris, 1.27 I. p. 49 n.2; 3.19 I. p. 111 n. 3.

text. This manuscript, as stated earlier, contains numerous variants and cannot be considered a particularly good version of the text. This reading reinforces the conclusion that the *RHC* editors used F45 and were heavily reliant upon it. However it is likely that the scribe of this particular manuscript, or a direct antecedent, had some knowledge of this Huitace. There are, however, no other references to Huitace being present in the East and being a part of this delegation.

Despite the lack of success in being able to use Huitace as a tool for establishing a stemma, this chapter does have a few cases in which a division between the manuscripts is clear. All of the  $\lambda$  group manuscripts read ‘baron’ instead of ‘preudome du reaume’ whilst nearly every manuscript from groups  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  contains the base reading of ‘preudome du reaume.’ (see apparatus note 15) The only exception to this is F52 from group  $\alpha$ . There is also further evidence which supports splitting the  $\lambda$  group into two subgroups. While the reading of ‘baron’ is the only variant common to group  $\lambda 1$ , the group has a few individual variants with only a couple linking two manuscripts, the  $\lambda 2$  group has some more variants that are common to all of the manuscripts. Notable is the opening of the chapter in which ‘Honteuse’ is replaced with ‘Toute sa’ in all of the manuscripts within this group. No manuscript outside of this group contains this reading. This variant does make sense within the sentence but does not fully replace ‘honteuse.’ The manuscripts in  $\lambda 2$  also share a number of minor variant reading, such as replacing ‘mie’ with ‘pas’ or ‘avoient’ with ‘en avoient’. Taken individually these variations are not of much significance and can be attributed to minor scribal variants. But the fact that these manuscripts have a number of such instances in common, in addition to the significant variations they share, indicates that these manuscripts form a cohesive group for this chapter.

The  $\lambda 1$  manuscripts also form a distinct group for this chapter, but there are a few readings which link manuscripts within this group. F57 and F73 have been closely linked in

the other chapters. In this chapter they are unique amongst all of the manuscripts in replacing ‘parrastres’ (father-in-law) with ‘autres’. This is clearly a mistake as ‘Renaut de Chastellon qui avoit esté prince d’Antioche et **autres** a celui Buimont’ conveys a very different meaning to ‘Renaut de Chastellon qui avoit esté prince d’Antioche et **parrastres** a celui Buimont’. These two manuscripts also both lack ‘frere’ from Roger des Moulins, the master of the Hospital, the manuscripts read ‘Mores’ instead of ‘Molins’ but this is common to all manuscripts and will be discussed below. F77 from group  $\lambda 1$  also lacks ‘frere’. This manuscript elsewhere has been shown to be related to these two manuscripts and this would seem to support this. The only other two manuscripts to lack ‘frere’ are F51 from group  $\beta$  and F52 from group  $\alpha$ . F51 does not appear to be related to F57 and F73 in any other way and it seems more likely that this is a scribal omission and that the similarity in lacking ‘frere’ is coincidental. However, this is the second time in this chapter in which F52 contains a variant unique amongst group  $\alpha$  but which seems to link it with  $\lambda$  group manuscripts, the previous instance is the ‘baron’ reading which is found in all of the  $\lambda$  group manuscripts.

It is tempting to think that F52 represents a group of manuscripts which formed the basis for the branching out of the  $\lambda$  group. F52 itself is a fourteenth-century manuscript whilst the  $\lambda$  group is generally mid to late thirteenth-century. Another problem in associating F52 with the  $\lambda$  group is that the  $\lambda$  manuscripts generally contain the *Acre Continuation* or just a continuation up to 1232. There is one exception, F57, which contains the *Rothelin Continuation*, like F52, however, it only switches to that continuation part way through the text.<sup>56</sup> As a result there is no reason to link it specifically to F52 on the basis of the continuation that it contains; this will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on the continuations. For four of the sample chapters, 7.22, 11.14, 12.1 and 20.11, F52 bears no resemblance to the  $\lambda$  group. However F52 does share major variant readings for 15.22, the

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<sup>56</sup> Morgan, ‘Rothelin’, pp. 252-3; Cf. *RHC Occ II*. pp. 435 and 565.

‘chacier’ reading, and in 22.6, the ‘baron’ reading. The problem is that there are only a couple of cases in which F52 appears related to the  $\lambda$  group and this may be coincidental. However, the fact that these variants include a couple of instances in which text has been added would appear to count against this theory. It is possible that F52 may contain material from a different tradition of the *Eracles* text and the different exemplar was related to the  $\lambda$  group.

Generally there are very few variants amongst the  $\alpha$  group manuscripts for this chapter. Those found in F52 that are similar to those found in the  $\lambda$  group manuscripts have already been discussed. The  $\alpha$  manuscripts generally contain few variants in this chapter with only F31 and F35 containing a significant number. Throughout the sample chapters these two late thirteenth-century manuscripts appear to be closely related, and it is no different in this chapter. They are alone among all the manuscripts in reading ‘l’apostole de Rome’ instead of ‘l’apostolle’ and also share several minor variants. F31 and F35 also share a minor variant with F03 which elsewhere appears to be distantly related to them. The scribe of F03 also appears to have skipped a line with ‘...zes. Par tout le païs ne faisoit l’en nul sacrement’ with ‘egli...’ forming the last word on folio 179rb line 47 and the rest of the material sufficient to take up a line of the text. F31 is also unique amongst the manuscripts in reading ‘Marches’ instead of ‘Mores’ regarding Roger des Moulins, the master of the Hospital, mentioned above. Roger was the master of the Order of the Hospital from 1177 to 1187 and William specifically names him as ‘magister quoque Domus Hospitalis frater Rogerus de Molins.’<sup>57</sup> Paris, in his edition, also refers to Roger in this form with ‘le mestre de l’Ospital, frere Rogier de **Molins**’.<sup>58</sup> However the *RHC* editors refer to him as ‘le mestre de l’Ospital, frere Rogier de **Mores**’.<sup>59</sup> No manuscript of the *Eracles* text reads ‘Molins’ at this point, and he is not mentioned elsewhere in the translation. The only variant from ‘Mores’ is F31 with ‘Marches’

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<sup>57</sup> WT, 22.7 lines 13-14.

<sup>58</sup> Paris, 22.6 ll. p. 418.

<sup>59</sup> *RHC*, 22.7 ll. p. 1073.

with only F36 and F44 lacking his name all together from the chapter. It would appear to be the case that Paris has altered the name to the more recognizable Latin form which is still in current use.<sup>60</sup> Interestingly, Huygens notes in his edition of the Latin text that only the  $\beta$  group of the Latin manuscripts contains the reading ‘Molins’. The  $\alpha$  group of the Latin manuscripts instead have the alternate reading of ‘Moris’ with is very similar to the French ‘Mores’.<sup>61</sup> I have not found any other instances in which either of these variants occurs.

As a result it seems likely from this that the translation was made using an  $\alpha$  group Latin manuscript, rather than a manuscript from the  $\beta$  group. The Latin  $\alpha$  group consists of three known manuscripts; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 95, known as C, as well as manuscripts B and W mentioned above in 11.14 in regards to the discussion on presence, or not, of the words ‘li fils’ between ‘Sydon’ and ‘Canaam’. If the phrase was lacking in the original translation, 11.14 is closer to the Latin group  $\beta$  manuscripts but closer to the  $\alpha$  manuscripts in this chapter. If the phrase was in the original translation then it is closer to group  $\beta$  in both chapters. In 12.4 there is another instance in which the French text has a reading closer to the B and W manuscripts. This refers to Baldwin I’s father-in-law, the Armenian named Gabriel. The Latin reads ‘nobilis Greci Gabrielis nomine’.<sup>62</sup> However, Huygens notes that the B and W manuscripts replace ‘nobilis’ with ‘homine’.<sup>63</sup> The *Eracles* text reads ‘haut home hermin qui ot non Gabriel’. The French at this point, in addition to correcting ‘Greci’ appears to contain the readings from both of the Latin manuscript groups. The French text appears to have readings in common with both Latin groups and it is unlikely that it was derived directly from either one. However the ‘Mores’ reading does seem to link it with the Latin  $\beta$  group rather than the  $\alpha$  group.

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<sup>60</sup> Cf. J. Burgdorf *Central Convent*, pp. 74-5; H. J. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Boydell, 2003), p. xi.

<sup>61</sup> Huygens, WT, 22.7 p. 1015, line 14 n.

<sup>62</sup> WT, 12.4 line 19.

<sup>63</sup> Huygens, WT, 12.4 p. 551, line 19 n.

The group  $\beta$  manuscripts once again have a large number of variants. F44 in particular, a mid fifteenth-century manuscript, is heavily abridged, as it is throughout the text. It does share a couple of readings with F42, which is another mid fifteenth-century manuscript from Flanders such as replacing ‘Perron’ with ‘Pierre’ and lacking the last part of the sample ‘que il orent fait a la Lische’. This last variant is also shared by F36, which is also a fifteenth-century manuscript but this time from Artois, and F65, fifteenth-century from Northern France. F42, F44 and F65 also have a variant of ‘saint pere’ rather than ‘l’apostolle’ in common which is shared by F37, another fifteenth-century manuscript from Flanders. This strongly indicates that, by the fifteenth century, a number of variants had been introduced into the manuscript tradition as well as new vocabulary and terminology that saw the French *Eracles* text, especially in this chapter, move away from its original form. F65 is of particular interest because up to this point it has shown strong affinities with F61, to the point of including the same distinctive rubrics: ‘Comment Bauduin prince d’Antioche a la requeste du patriarche se commença a retraire de sa folie mais puis que lui et les autres prelatz furent partis il fist pis que devant et getta les vaillans homes hors d’Antioche.’ Both manuscripts incorrectly read ‘Bauduin’ rather than ‘Buimont,’ which is found in the text. They also both appear to be in the same hand as the text of the manuscript and do not appear to have been added into the blank space at a later time as both fit into the allocated space neatly.

Though it does seem strange that the scribe would insert ‘Bauduin’ in the rubric, the fact that both of them include this error would strongly indicate that both are copies of an earlier manuscript which contained this mistake. However, despite a few similarities, such as reading ‘de la terre’ instead of ‘du reume’ (see apparatus note 15), F65 has a very abridged version of this chapter in which large sections, particularly the list of those on the expedition to Bohemond are lacking. The fact that the ‘de la terre’ reading is found not only in F61 and

in F65 but also, F60, F62 and F63 would confirm that these manuscripts form a distinct subgroup which was also indicated in the previous sample chapters.<sup>64</sup> F65 may have a very different text for this chapter, but there are enough indications that it is still a part of the same tradition and that the abridgement of this chapter coincides with the abridgement of the same chapter in other fifteenth-century manuscripts that do not appear to be directly related. It seems more likely that this is an example of a general trend in interest in the Crusades during the fifteenth century in which the material was condensed rather than it being a case in which a single manuscript has started a tradition of abridgement.

There are also a number other variants which can be used to link the rest of the  $\beta$  manuscripts. The most noticeable occurs at the beginning of the chapter with several manuscripts altering ‘honteuse vie menoit’ so that it reads ‘honteusement menoit sa vie’. These manuscripts include: F30, F53, F54, F55, F58 and F64. F44 includes a variant which has some similarities to this reading, ‘moult menoit le prince honteusement sa vie’, but F44 is not particularly close to these manuscripts in any other way, apart from those readings which establish it as a part of the  $\beta$  group, and any similarity in the heavily reworked text in F44 is coincidental. F30 does not have any other major similarities with this group and this may indicate a distant relationship as the rest of the manuscripts in the group have several other major readings in common. The rest of this group of manuscripts also contain other significant variations which links the group together. F53, F55, F58 and F64 all read ‘Buiemont le prince d’Antioche’ instead of ‘li princes Buimonz’ while F53, F58 and F64 all add the phrase ‘ne nulls droiture de sainte eglise’ to the discussion that no sacraments were being administered while the principality of Antioch was under excommunication. F58 and F64 again seem closely related in reading ‘torz fez’ rather than ‘tors’. This group of manuscripts also contains some significant errors. Again F53, F58 and F64 seem particularly

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<sup>64</sup> Edbury, ‘Translation’, p. 91.

close with all three replacing ‘prieur’ with ‘maistre’ in regards to Peter, Prior of the Holy Sepulchre, who was a member of the delegation to prince Bohemond. These three manuscripts are also alike in giving his name as ‘Pierre’ rather than ‘Perron’ which is common to most of the manuscripts. They are also unique in all lacking a large section of text from near the end of the sample; ‘et cuiderent que ses paroles le deussent mouvoir a bien faire’. F55 also alters the title of Peter but this manuscript reads ‘empereur’ in what is an obvious mistake. This whole group of manuscripts also share some minor variations but F53, F58 and F64 appear to be the most closely related.

One word that appears to create a major division between the  $\beta$  group manuscripts is ‘sacrileges’ for which there a number of variant readings, the  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  manuscripts all contain the base reading. Only a few  $\beta$  manuscripts contain ‘sacrileges’, these are: F06, F32, F34, F36, F37 and F46. Most of the manuscripts read ‘sarquiles’, which may be a variation of ‘sacrileges’; F30, F33, F39, F40, F47, F51, F54, F55, F60, F61, F62, F63 and F64. A few read ‘outrages’; F43, F45, F48, F53 and F58. F42 is alone in reading ‘grevemens’ but this is a late manuscript. The passage is lacking entirely in F36, F44 and F65. Discounting the fifteenth-century F42, the rest of the readings are found in manuscripts which contain manuscripts dated from the thirteenth to the fifteenth-centuries. While a variant of ‘sacrileges’ seems to be the best reading both F43 and F45 have early dates of ca. 1275 and ca. 1250-75 respectively. However, the number of manuscripts reading ‘sacrileges’, particularly those manuscripts that generally tend to have better readings means that ‘outrages’ is a variant reading. The *RHC* edition again follows the F45 variant.<sup>65</sup> However, dividing the manuscripts up using this variant separates manuscripts, such as F58 and F64 as well as F37 and F42, that otherwise appear to be closely related. The problem is that this cannot be simply attributed to regional usage as both F58 and F64 have a provenance of Paris

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<sup>65</sup> *RHC*, 22.7 p. 1073.

in the fourteenth-century while F37 and F42 are dated to the fifteenth-century in Flanders. This may be a scribal foible but it does create problems in solidly establishing a manuscript stemma, but on the whole it is outweighed by other variants that link these manuscripts together.

## Rubrics

Despite the fact that both of the modern editions contain a complete set of rubrics for the *Eracles* text, the original translation of William's work does not appear to have contained any rubrics. In fact, of the thirteenth-century manuscripts, only F70 contains rubrics; instead they are predominantly found in the fifteenth-century manuscripts and some of those from the fourteenth-century. The following lists the rubrics in the manuscripts and compares them to the chapter headings in both of the modern editions:

7.22

*RHC* – Comment li Crestien vindrent jusqu'à Rames que il troverent vuide de gent

Paris – Coment li Crestien vindrent jusqu'à Rames que il troverent vuide de gent

F37 – De la grant diligence que nos gens faisoient d'approuchier Jherusalem. Et advances d'aucune Turs a ceulx

F44 – Comme les crestiens passerent pais et pluseurs citez et comme le conte de flandres entre en la cité de Rames

F53 – Comment les xristiens vindrent a [illegible possibly 'Rames' or 'Pais'] qu'ilz trouverent voide de gens

F60 – Comment nos gens pristrent diverses citez et comment l'en les recevoit courtoisement par doute et comment il firent .i. evesque a Rames et li donnerent .ii. citez et les viles d'entour en l'onneur de saint jorge qui la estoit aovrez

F61 – Comment nos gens passerent diverses cités et comment l'en lez recevoit cortoisement par doute et comment il furent .i. evesque a ramez et li donnerent .ii. cités et lez vilez d'entour en l'onneur de Saint Jorge qui la estoit aoures

F64 – Conmant li crestien vindrent iusqua Rames que il trouverent voide de genz

F65 – Comment noz gens passerent divers citez et comment on les recevoit courtoisement par Et comment ilz furent ung evesque a Rames et lui donnerent deux citez et les villes d'entour en l'onneur de Saint George qui sa estoit aoure

11.14

*RHC* – Comment li rois Baudoin prist la cité de Saiete

Paris – Coment li rois Baudoin prist la cité de Saiete

F31 – le siege de Saiete

F36 – Comment le roy Bauduin fu preserve de mort

F44 – Comme la cité de Saiette fut prinse et comme le roy Baudouin fu en dangier

F53 – Comment le roy Baudouin prist la cité de Saiette

F60 – De la navie des crestiens qui vindrent de norouaille em pelerinage et par leur aide prist li rois la cité de Saiete. Et comment le seneschal du roy fu pendus par sa traison que li rois sot par les lettres qui estoient liees a une saiete qui fu traite en l’ost

F61 – De la navie des crestiens qui vinrent de norouaille en pelerinage et par leur aide prist li roys la cité de Saiete et comment le seneschal au roy fu pendus par sa trahison

F65 – De la navie des xpiens de Noruegue qui vinrent en pelerinaige. Et comment par leur ayde le roy prist la cité de Sayette Et comment le seneschal du roy fut perdu par sa trayson

F70 – Coment la cité de Seete fu conquise

12.1

*RHC* – Comment il fait bon ovrer par conseil en ses gueures, et comment Baudoin de Borc, contes de Rohes, vint a Jherusalem et fut a l’enterrer le roi son cosin

Paris – Coment il fait bon ovrer par conseil en ses gueures, et coment Baudoins de Borc, contes de Rohez, vint a Jherusalem et fut a l’enterrer le roi son cousin

F36 – Comment Bauduin de Borc conte de Rohes fu coronne roy de jherusalem

F37 – Comment apres la mort du roy Baudouin son cousin le conte Baudouin de Rohes fut esleu roy de la sainte cité de Jherusalem

F53 – Li commence li douzieme livrez coment li quens Baudoins de Roehes vint en Jherusalem

F64 – Li commence li douzieme livrez coment li quens Baudoins de Roehes vint en Jherusalem

F65 – Comment il fait bon ouvres par conseil en ses guerres Et comment Baudoin de Bourc conte de Rohes vinst en Jherusalem et fut a enterrer le roy son cousin’

F70 – Cest le douzieme livre ou qu’il se contrent come Buidoyn de Borc fu roi de Jerusalem et come l’ordre dou Temple comme sa. Et coment une grant navie de Veneciens a venue lor dux vin en surie et les covenances que les barons de la terre orrent a els por la conquete de Sur

15.22

*RHC* – Comment li empereres Jehans fu envenimés d’une saiete

Paris – Coment li empereres Jehanz fu envenimez d’une saiete

F36 – Le mort de l’empereur de Constantinople

F44 – Come l’empereur estant a la chasse en furant d’un arc fu navre grefment

F60 – Comment l’empereres entrasint une saiete a .i. porc sengler se navre et la prist la cause dont il morut

F61 – Comment li empereres entraisint une saiete a .i. pors sengler se navra et la prist la cause dont il morut

F65 – Comment l’empereur entrainit une sayette a une pors sangler se navre et la prinst la cause dont il morut

F70 – Coment l’emperere de Costantinople al enteser qu’il fist por ferir un senglier se feri dont il morut

F74 – Ci ores comment li empereres de Costantinople se mist a la mort par .i. pilet envenimé et quey il en avint

20.11

*RHC* – Des messages que li Crestien envoierent pour querre aide

Paris – Des messages que li Crestien envoierent por querre aide

F36 – Des messages que li Crestien envoierent por querre aide

F37 – Comment les barons de Surie envoyerent aucune prelates oultre mer pour demander secoure mais point n’en curent

F44 – Comme le roy de Jherusalem et les barons envoierent en la terre d’occident devers les princes

F46 – Des messages que li Crestien envoierent por querre aide

F53 – Des messaiges que les xristiens envoierent guerre aide et retorna

F60 – Comment li roys par son conseil envoia en France et es autres terres de occident querre secours mais en la fin il ni trouva ne secours ne aide

F61 – Comment li roys par son conseil envoia en France et es autres terres de occident querre secours mes en la fin il ni trouva n’esperes ne aide

F64 – Des messages que li Crestien envoierent por querre aide

F65 – Comment le roy per son conseil envoya en France et en autres terres d’occident querre secours mais a la fin il ny trouva riens

F70 – Coment cil de surie envoierent as princes d’occident requerre aye

## 22.6

*RHC* – Comment li princes d’Antioche fu escommenié, et de la grant traison qui fu en Costentinoble

Paris – Coment li princes d’Antioche fu escommeniez, et de la grant traison qui fu en Costentinoble

F36 – Coment li princes d’Antioche fu escommeniez et de la grant traison qui fu en Costentinoble

F37 – Coment li princes d’Antioche fu escommeniez et de la grant traison qui fu en Costentinoble

F44 – Coment li princes d’Antioche fu escommeniez et de la grant traison qui fu en Costentinoble

F46 – Coment li princes d’Antioche fu escommeniez et de la grant traison qui fu en Costentinoble

F53 – De ce meismes

F60 – Comment Baudoin le prince [illegible] du patriarche promist a lor de [illegible] mais puis que lui et [illegible] sen virent parti il fist puis que [illegible] gent des vaillans homes [illegible]

F61 – Comment Bauduins le prince d’Anthyoiche ala requeste du patriarche permist a roy retraire de sa folie mais puis que il et li autre prelat firent parti il fist puis que devant et geta les vaillans homes hors d’Anthyoiche

F64 – De ce meismes

F65 – Comment Bauduyn prince d’Antioche ala requeste du patriarche se commenca a retraire de sa folie mais puis que lui et les autres prelatz furent partis il fist pis que devant et getta les vaillans homes hors d’Aantioche

F70 – de totes de ces encores de ce meismes

### Summary

F31 occasionally contains a few very short rubrics

F35 contains a few short rubrics [lacks beginning of 11.14]

F36 contains numerous rubrics but not for every chapter

F37 contains numerous rubrics but not for every chapter

F44 contains rubrics for all chapters in the ms

F46 contains rubrics for all chapters in the ms

F53 contains rubrics for most chapters

F58 contains rubrics for most chapters

F60 contains extensive rubrics

F61 contains extensive rubrics

F64 contains rubric for most chapters

F65 contains extensive rubrics

F70 contains rubrics for most chapters

The scribe of F74 has left a space for rubrics in the first thirteen books but they do not appear to be present.

Once again it seems clear that the editors of the *RHC* used manuscripts beyond the four that they mentioned in their preface since none of F02, F04, F48 or F77 contains rubrics. It has already been mentioned that the *RHC* edition contains a variant that is only found in F64. It is interesting to note that for two of the three sample chapters for which F64 includes a rubric, 7.22 and 20.11, the corresponding chapter in the edition contains the same heading. The third rubric from F64, in 22.6, simply reads ‘de ce meismes’ and may have been considered to have been too brief to be include as a chapter heading. While F64 is not alone in containing these rubrics, a close variant for the heading in 7.22 is found in F53 while the rubric for 20.11 is shared by F36 and F46 with F53 again containing a close variant, it seems very plausible that the *RHC* editors consulted this manuscript and used at least some of its rubrics. However, F53 is textually very close to F64 and is also shows similarities regarding its rubrics. In addition to the similar readings in 7.22 and 20.11, they are identical in 12.1 and 22.6 while both lack a rubric for 12.1 and 15.22. However F53 contains a rubric for 11.14 while F64 does not. This rubric ‘comment le roy Baudouin prist la cité de Saiette’ is unique amongst the manuscripts but is found in both of the modern editions. As a result it seems likely that the *RHC* editors consulted both of these manuscripts. The rubric for 12.1 matches that from F65 but which is a variant reading of F53 and F64.

The only rubric from the sample chapters that is not to be found in any of the known manuscripts is for 15.22. Despite the fact that several different rubrics can be found in the manuscripts none were used. It seems likely that the editors either used a manuscript which is no longer extant or they created a rubric for 15.22 because they were unable to find a one in the manuscripts that they used. This implies that the editors did not use any of the manuscripts containing a rubric for this chapter: F36, F44, F60, F61, F65, F70, and F74. It seems clear that the *RHC* editors used a variety of manuscripts beyond those which they mention in their preface and used several to accumulate their chapter headings. However they

did not use every manuscript and seem to have relied heavily on the rubrics from F53 and F64. Paulin Paris appears to have simply copied the chapter headings from the RHC edition, with a few spelling changes, since one of his manuscripts, F31, does contain some rubrics but he opts to include the same headings as the previous edition.

The fact that the rubrics are not found in the majority of the manuscripts means that they cannot be used to track the development of the entire manuscript stemma. However, several manuscripts that share similar rubrics also are textually very similar. This means that the rubrics can to an extent be indicative of the development of the manuscript tradition. In particular the rubrics seem to indicate a division between the  $\beta$  and  $\lambda$  manuscripts with the only two  $\alpha$  group manuscripts to include some rubrics, F31 and F35, containing very different rubrics. Of these latter two manuscripts neither contains a large number of rubrics. In F31 the only rubric in the sample chapters is in 11.14 while F35 lacks the beginning of this chapter and does not contain a rubric for any of the sample chapters. As a result it is difficult to determine how close the two manuscripts are in regards to the rubrics. However, the general pattern of similarity matches that of the text of the two manuscripts. Both appear to be related and to stand clear from all of the other manuscripts in the  $\alpha$  group. Each manuscript, however, includes major variants and lacks large sections of text that does not correspond to the other. It seems clear that these two manuscripts form a distinct subgroup but are not closely related.

The rubrics found in F60, F61 and F65 are generally almost identical and distinct enough that it is clear that they belong to the same tradition. This is also reinforced by the fact that the texts for these three manuscripts, particularly F61 and F65, are very closely related. These three manuscripts also all contain the *Rothelin Continuation* and almost

certainly form a distinct group from the other manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> However, the presence of a particular continuation in a manuscript does not indicate the type of rubrics which the manuscript will contain. Other *Rothelin* manuscripts, such as F53, F58 and F64 contain a completely different set of rubrics. This other set of rubrics is particularly distinct in the later books, including the sample chapters 20.11 and 22.6 in which the headings for these chapters are identical. This group also contains manuscripts including the *Ernoult and Bernard the Treasurer Continuation*, ending in 1232, such as F36, F37, F44 and F46. These rubrics were clearly not a part of the original translation and it also seems likely that they were introduced after the various continuations were added to William's text. It also appears to be the case that different sets of rubrics were established and that they were most likely added whenever a new copy of the text was made regardless of which version of the text with the result that similar rubrics are found on dissimilar manuscripts. This seems to indicate that some of the rubrics were added by a scriptorium that contained versions of the *Eracles* text with different continuations.

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<sup>1</sup> Morgan, 'Rothelin', p. 245.

## The Continuations

Of the fifty-one surviving *Eracles* manuscripts, only six do not contain any of the various continuations which were added to the Old French William of Tyre. These manuscripts comprise the first six manuscripts of Folda's listing.<sup>1</sup> However this statistic can be misleading since F01 only contains the first sixteen books of the text. It is likely that this manuscript had been bound in two separate volumes and that the second one has been lost. If this is the case, then book sixteen would have been the midpoint if the manuscript had contained a continuation. There are also examples of manuscripts which originally contained a shorter text. F52 contains the *Rothelin Continuation*, but this has clearly been added to a manuscript that only contained the translation since there is a blank folio between the two and the two different parts have been copied in different hands. F54 is another example of the *Rothelin* text being added to a manuscript, but in this case the manuscript already contained a continuation to 1232.<sup>2</sup> In these examples it is clear that the form of a manuscript was not static and that other texts were added to manuscripts that already contained a version of the *Eracles* text. Since several of the manuscripts do not contain a continuation, and a couple of those that do contain a version of the continuations can be shown to have had this text added later, it seems fairly certain that the Old French translation of William of Tyre originally circulated without any continuation. Since the manuscript tradition was evolving prior to the continuations being added, there is not necessarily a direct link between manuscripts simply because they share the same continuation. However, the presence of a particular continuation may indicate an affinity between manuscripts if the exemplar through which two manuscripts were related contained the same continuation. The following section will discuss the various continuations that were added to the Old French William of Tyre and identify those

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<sup>1</sup> Folda, 'Handlist', p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Edbury, 'Translation', p.73.

manuscripts that appear to be textually related for both the translation and continuation portions of the text.

In Folda's list, manuscripts F30 to F51 all contain a recension of the *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* text which brings the narrative up to 1232. Some of these, F49 for example, are truncated and may have contained a continuation beyond 1232. The *Ernoul* text is a composite work and circulated independently of the translation of William of Tyre. Ernoul, the squire of Balian of Ibelin, is identified as the author of a portion of the *Ernoul* text. This text seems to have described events up to and including 1187 where Balian of Ibelin is prominent, with subsequent narratives continuing the story. The form of the text which was eventually added to the translation appears to have been from a manuscript which contained the composite text lacking the reference to Ernoul. Peter Edbury has identified the continuation found in F38 as having a close affinity with the *Ernoul* manuscript found in Bern Bürgerbibliothek, ms. 113, F24 in Folda's handlist. F38 may be the earliest surviving manuscript to contain a continuation. The manuscript is unique in including *Ernoul* material within the text of the translation, rather than just pasted on the end, but this does not alter the fact that F38 contains an early reading.<sup>3</sup> F38 was also selected as the base manuscript for the sample chapters of the translation, discussed above, since it appears to contain a reading that is closer to William's Latin than the other manuscripts and presumably, therefore, closer to the original translation. In addition to the interpolated passages, F38 contains a number of unique illustrations and has been given an English provenance.<sup>4</sup> F38 is a member of the  $\alpha$  group of manuscripts. Three other manuscripts from this group also contain the *Ernoul* continuation; these are F31, F35, and F41. None of these is particularly closely related to F38, though F31 and F35 form a subgroup by themselves. The problematic F06 is a

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<sup>3</sup> Edbury, 'Continuations', pp. 108-9.

<sup>4</sup> J. Folda, 'The Panorama of the Crusades, 1096 to 1218, as seen in Yates Thompson MS. 12 in the British Library', *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff*, eds. George Hardin Brown and Linda Ehrsam Voigts, MRTS 384 (Tempe, 2010), pp. 253-80; 'Handlist', p. 94.

$\beta$  manuscript and does not contain any continuation. That would imply that the essential divisions between the  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  groups were in place prior to the continuations being added to the text.

There are also two  $\lambda$  manuscripts which contain the *Ernoul* continuation to 1232. One, F49, is mutilated and breaks off in the account of events of 1187; it should probably be included with the *Acre Continuation* manuscripts discussed below because it is textually similar to them and likely also contained the longer version of the continuation. The other  $\lambda$  manuscript which contains a continuation up to 1232 is F50. This manuscript is unique amongst the *Eracles* manuscripts because it appears to contain a reading for the continuation that is closer to the manuscripts which just contain the *Ernoul* text and do not include the translation of William of Tyre. For example, F50 shares an extended description of the city of Jerusalem with the *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* manuscripts, which is not found in any of the other *Eracles* manuscripts, and also lacks an account of the election of Eraclius to the patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1180 and a comment upon his moral laxity which is also absent in *Ernoul* but present in all of the other *Eracles* manuscripts containing this continuation.<sup>5</sup> At first glance F50, for the Continuation, appears to be far removed from the other  $\lambda$  manuscripts to which it is textually related for the translation. However, while the last portion of the continuation in F50 is derived independently from an *Ernoul* manuscript, it begins with the *Colbert-Fontainebleu Continuation*, which is found in some of the other  $\lambda$ 1 manuscripts, but then changes part of the way through to the *Ernoul* version.<sup>6</sup> This is a clear example in which the exemplar being used has switched dramatically. This indicates that

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<sup>5</sup> Edbury, 'Continuations', pp. 109-10.

<sup>6</sup> P. Edbury, 'Gerard of Ridefort and the Battle of Le Cresson (1 May 1187): The Developing Narrative Tradition', *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, ed. H. J. Nicholson (Aldershot 2011), pp. 55-9.

different continuations were available to the scribes of this group of manuscripts, attributed by Folda to the scriptorium in Acre during the latter half of the thirteenth-century.<sup>7</sup>

The *Rothelin Continuation* is added to the end of the *Ernoul* continuation in another group of the surviving manuscripts, F52 to F66 in Folda's list, which continues the narrative from 1231 to 1261. These are all believed to have been of French provenance and as a result may show a distinct grouping in the manuscript tradition.<sup>8</sup> Again though, this does not quite agree with the textual analysis. Most of these manuscripts are  $\beta$  manuscripts and there are a few groups of closely related manuscripts which share this continuation. One in particular is the group comprising of F60, F61, F62, F64 and F65. A problem occurs with F32 and F58 which appear to be closely related. F58 contains the *Rothelin* continuation while F32 contains the basic *Ernoul-Bernard* continuation. This may indicate that F58 was a copy of F32, or a similar manuscript, and that the further continuation was added to *Ernoul-Bernard* but there does not appear to be any evidence supporting the fact that all of the *Rothelin* manuscripts were derived from F32. Two *Rothelin* manuscripts are not in the  $\beta$  group of manuscripts. F52 is an  $\alpha$  manuscript and appears to contain a good reading of the translation without the errors found in the  $\beta$  manuscripts, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the continuation F52 is later than the text of the translation, while F57 is a  $\lambda$  manuscript, it is generally very close to F73 which contains a different continuation added to the manuscript but contains a few unique readings.<sup>9</sup> It seems far more plausible for the manuscript tradition of the translation to have developed first with scribes adding their preferred continuation to the text since all of the *Rothelin* manuscripts appear to be of a French provenance.

This is also shown by another group of manuscripts which have either been given a provenance in the Latin East or can be shown to have been derived from a text produced in

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<sup>7</sup> Folda, 'Handlist', pp. 94-5.

<sup>8</sup> Folda, 'Handlist', pp. 94-5.

<sup>9</sup> Morgan, 'Rothelin', pp. 252-3.

the East.<sup>10</sup> These manuscripts contain what is known as the *Acre Continuation* which takes the text beyond 1261 but also include *Ernoul* for the period 1184-1232. This group includes F69, F71, and F78. F74 also contains this continuation but also contains readings from the *Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation* which again seems to indicate various shifts in exemplar. F74 also showed this tendency in the sample chapters of the translation. It is generally close to this same group of manuscripts but contains several variants that appear to be similar to the  $\beta$  group while in 20.11 it is much closer to the  $\lambda 1$  group. This group, F69, F71, F74, and F78, along with F49, which is mutilated at the end and likely originally contained a further continuation but which subsequently only contains *Ernoul*, also form the distinct  $\lambda 2$  group for the text of the translation. A further group of manuscripts produced in the East are related to the other Acre manuscripts but contain a different continuation. F73, closely related, to F57, contains the *Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation*, while F72, the *Lyon Eracles*, and F70, both closely related, contain sections which appear to follow the *Colbert-Fontainebleau* text. It is believed that the partial following of this text resulted from scribes in Acre switching exemplars as they were copying from unbound manuscripts.<sup>11</sup> This switch of exemplars is particularly evident in F57 which is textually very close to F73 throughout the text of the translation and contains the *Colbert-Fontainebleu Continuation*. However, at the account of the year 1248 F57 switches to the *Rothelin Continuation*. It seems likely that this was the result of the scribes copying from unbound folios in a scriptorium which contained both versions of the text. This seems likely as F57 has been given a provenance in the Ile de France in the first quarter of the fourteenth-century similar to many of the *Rothelin* manuscripts.<sup>12</sup> The close relationship with F73, identified as a thirteenth-century Acre manuscript, suggests that F57 was copied from similar manuscript to F73, but

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<sup>10</sup> Edbury, 'Continuations', p. 108.

<sup>11</sup> Edbury, 'Continuations', pp. 111-2.

<sup>12</sup> Folda, 'Handlist', p. 95.

that the exemplar was switched during the copying of the continuation. However, F57 contains several readings that indicate that, on occasion, it preserves readings preferable to those in F73.

There are certainly instances in which close affinities between manuscripts in the text of the translation correspond with the Continuation, or lack thereof, attached to the manuscript. This particularly seems to be the case for manuscripts produced in Acre or in Northern France and would seem to suggest that the scriptoria in which these manuscripts were being produced had their own copies of the text from which subsequent copies were made, rather than simply copying a manuscript provided by a client. However, it is also clear that a continuation was not included with the original translation and that the manuscript tradition had begun to develop prior to the addition of the continuations. The presence of similar continuations in manuscripts from different branches of the translation tradition suggests that the continuations were added independently to different manuscripts and argues against the idea that all the manuscripts that contain a continuation were derived from an original text which already included a continuation. It is clear, however, that some development took place after *La Chronique d'Ernoul* was added to the translation, with two subgroups seemingly showing a development from simply the *Ernoul* text to including further continuations.

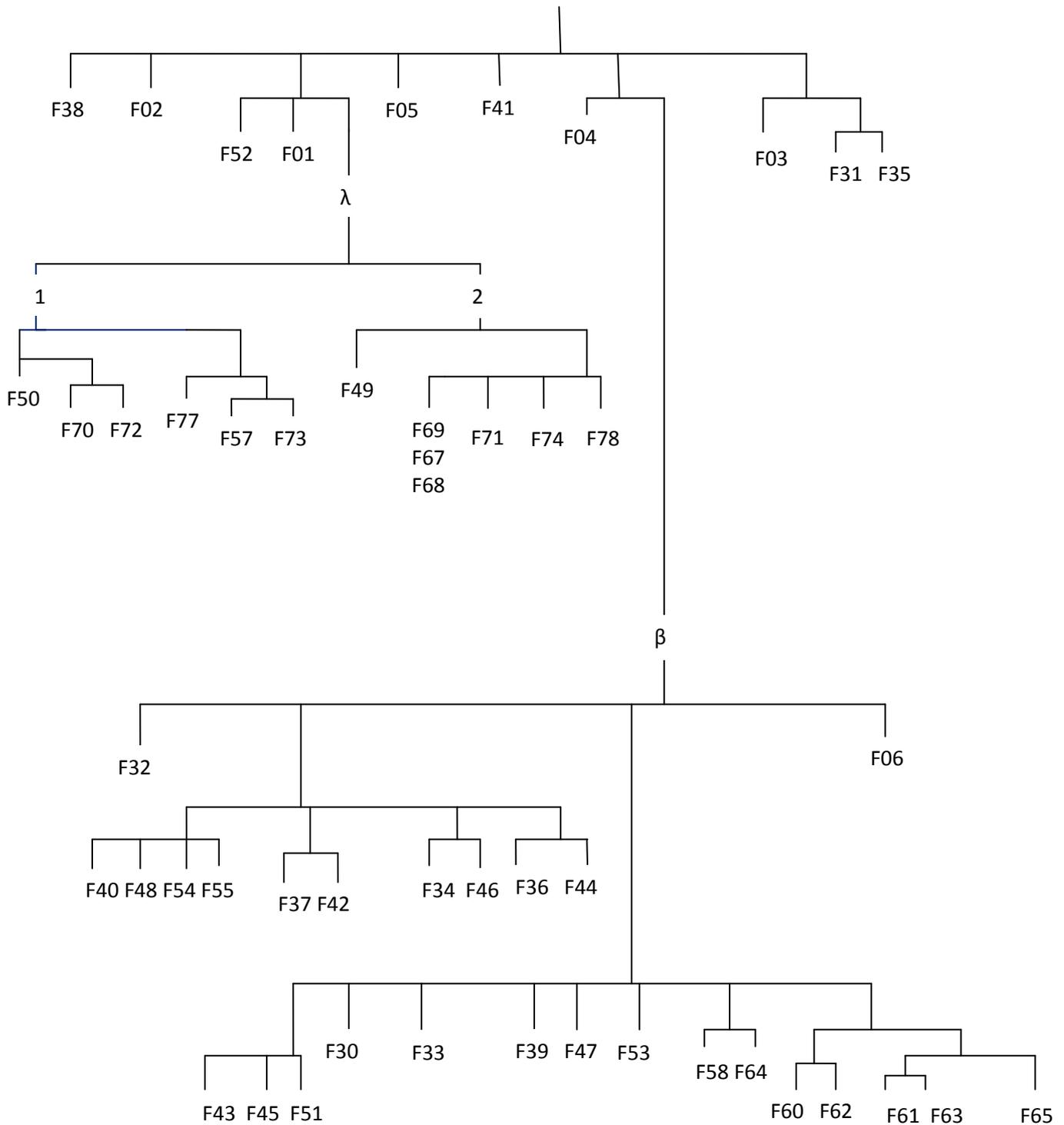
## The Manuscript Stemma

It became clear very early on in my research that there were some significant divisions within the manuscript tradition of the *Eracles* text. The major split in the manuscripts appears to coincide with the addition of the material relating to the doctors who tended the emperor John II Komnenos of Constantinople and matches Peter Edbury's division of the manuscripts into group  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , the latter containing the information about the doctors. These additional readings found in the  $\beta$  are the most significant diagnostic feature found in the sample chapters. The fact that these features are found in F06, a mid-thirteenth century manuscript without a continuation, is important, indicating that these features developed in the manuscript tradition before the continuation was added. There is also evidence that suggests that a further split occurred when the text found its way to the East and developed independently from the western manuscripts. This splits Edbury's  $\alpha$  group into  $\alpha$ , the western manuscripts which are generally closer to the Latin, and  $\lambda$ , the eastern manuscripts which contain unique variant readings. This division appears to have occurred very early on in the development of the tradition as the earliest possible date for the translation appears to have been just after the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the last possible date in the 1230s when the continuation was added. As discussed earlier, there is some evidence to suggest that the translation was made around the last few years of the reign of Philip II of France who died in 1223. Since manuscripts dated ca. 1250-60 have survived from all three groups, this only leaves a window of twenty to thirty years for these major divisions to have occurred, not counting any minor variations. However these divisions did occur and we are left with three major strands in the manuscript tradition. The following diagram outlines the relationships between the *Eracles* manuscripts:

*L'Estoire d'Eracles: Manuscript Stemma*

Original Translation

$\alpha$



## Group $\alpha$

The  $\alpha$  group manuscripts, F01, F02, F03, F04, F05, F31, F35, F38, F41 and F52, comprises those which generally are closest to the Latin text. Apart from F02 they are all either mid to late thirteenth or early-fourteenth century manuscripts. F02 is a fifteenth-century manuscript which, despite its late date, is a very good copy preserving early readings that are closer to the Latin than some of the other manuscripts from this group, although it does include a few errors of its own. F38, like F02, is also very close to the Latin text and contains very few errors. While it is dated to the mid-thirteenth century, it also has an English provenance which may count against it since the translation was definitely made in France. However, it seems to preserve a better reading than the surviving French manuscripts which contain various errors. In general, F38 stands outside the textual tradition that might be associated with Paris – as does the iconography of the historiated capitals, including the famous image of William of Tyre examining Baldwin IV.<sup>1</sup> Another good manuscript is F05 which appears to be one of the earliest surviving illuminated manuscripts and is dated to ca. 1245-48 in the city of Paris but it does contain a small number of errors. F03 and F04 also date to the first half of the thirteenth-century but do not contain any illuminations. Folda was unsure whether these two manuscripts were from the Latin East or France, but both have close affinities with other western manuscripts.

F38, F41 and F52, one of the manuscripts used by Paulin Paris, also come as close as we get can to the original translation. The rest of this group, F01, F03, F04, F31 and F35 are further removed from the base text. F31 and F35 have a number in variants in common that strongly suggests that they are closely related. The connection between these two manuscripts can also be found in their illumination with Folda noting a strong stylistic relationship

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<sup>1</sup> F52, fo. 152v; Cf. Folda, 'Panorama', pp. 253-8.

between them.<sup>2</sup> F03 has a number of variants in common with these two but only in the last three sample chapters. In the first four sample chapters F03 does not appear to be particularly close to these two manuscripts. This may be misleading; however, as F03 and F31 both add the word 'et' to 'menast,' while F35 reads 'si menast,' in 11.14. (See 11.14 apparatus note 56) This would imply that they are related but the lack of variations makes this difficult to establish in the early part of the text. F01, despite lacking the text from Book 16 onwards, is definitely a part of this group. It seems likely that this manuscript did include the entire text and probably a continuation as well despite being placed in Folda's non-continuation group. There are no major variations within the sample chapters which would link F01 with another manuscript closely but it does share the 'alez chacier' reading in 15.22 with F52. Of significance, though, is the fact that both F01 and F52 lack chapter 8.23. This is not a case in which the manuscripts have been mutilated but that the chapter is lacking from the text.<sup>3</sup> This indicates that these two manuscripts may be closely related. The fact that 'alez chacier' is common to the  $\lambda$  group manuscripts shows that these two manuscripts were in some way related to the initial manuscript taken to the East where a further independent tradition developed. This also shows that the tradition was developing prior to the major divisions within the manuscripts.

This is also shown by F04 which contains a number of mistakes which are unique amongst group  $\alpha$  manuscripts but common to those in group  $\beta$ . Notably, F04 contains the erroneous reading of 'Egypte' in 12.1 that is a characteristic of the  $\beta$  group but not found in any of the other  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  manuscripts. This manuscript clearly represents a development towards the  $\beta$  group tradition prior to the additional material in 15.22 being added. It is clear from this that mistakes and variants crept into the manuscript tradition from an early stage. This would imply that the text became very popular almost immediately upon translation for

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<sup>2</sup> Folda, *Saint-Jean d'Acre*, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 102-3.

this number of variations to have developed within twenty years of the translation. We can therefore say that the *Eracles* text was instantly popular and that interest in the Crusades in Europe and the Latin East was very high at the time of the translation. It is also likely that the translation was made in response to an upsurge in interest in the Crusades with a wider population seeking information than those who could access William's Latin text.

### Group $\lambda$

The  $\lambda$  group manuscripts have a number of readings which distinguish them all within the same sub-group but they are also divided within this group into two smaller ones labelled  $\lambda_1$  and  $\lambda_2$ . The  $\lambda_1$  manuscripts are F50, F57, F70, F72, F73 and F77 while the  $\lambda_2$  manuscripts are F49, F69, F71, F74 and F78. The  $\lambda_1$  manuscripts are generally characterised by the presence of the addition 'reaume de France' to the Xerxes passage in 12.1 with the notable exception of F50. However F50 does contain a number of other variants that links it to this group. For instance at the beginning of 15.22 it includes the reading 'alez chacier' instead of 'alez' which is a characteristic of the  $\lambda$  group not found in manuscripts from either group  $\alpha$  or  $\beta$ . F50 is also linked closely with the rest of the  $\lambda_1$  subgroup with several common variant readings but seems to be particularly close to F70 and F72 since these three manuscripts are alone in identifying the fleet in 11. 14 as 'un navie de crestiens'. It is also linked with F77 in this chapter in replacing 'bachelors' with 'chastelains.' F70 and F72 seem to give a related variant of 'chevalier Chastelains avoit nom'. In general, it seems clear that F50 belongs in the  $\lambda_1$  sub-group. This is shown by the number of variants it shares with this group and also by instances where these variants alter the meaning of the text. The fact that this manuscript does not contain all of the variants and errors found in manuscripts from this group suggests that it represents an early version of the text from this group for the translation. It also contains part of the *Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation* which links it with the rest of the manuscripts in

this group, but the clear evidence of a switch in exemplars in the narrative of 1187 sets it apart from the group.

F70 and F72 are clearly related due to a high number of close variants and can be shown to be more closely related than the other manuscripts in this group. F57 and F73 are also closely related but also share a number of similarities with F50 and F77 that shows that these four manuscripts are distinct from F70 and F72. The  $\lambda_2$  manuscripts are clearly a part of the  $\lambda$  group but do not possess the major variation regarding Xerxes which generally characterises the  $\lambda_1$  group. While F50 also did not include this variation, the  $\lambda_2$  group also shows some features distinct from F50 and the  $\lambda_1$  group, for instance replacing ‘doner grant cop’ with ‘ferir parmi le cors’ in 15.22. These manuscripts also show a number of features that clearly link them together. F71 and F78 in particular have a number of similarities which closely link them together, though F69 and F78 are particularly close in the continuation and contain closely related miniatures by the same artist, labelled by Folda as the Hospitaller Master.<sup>4</sup> F74 also shows a number of similarities with this group except for in 20.11 in which it appears to be closer to the  $\lambda_1$  group. F74 is also alone amongst this group in not containing the additional ‘que nus deust venir’ which is a general characteristic of this group.

Interestingly, F70 and F72 are unique amongst the  $\lambda_1$  manuscripts in containing a similar variant, ‘que arme deust venir’. It seems clear that a distinctive tradition, characterised by several readings, has been established amongst those manuscripts which were copied in the East. There also appear to be a couple of distinct traditions within this sub-group. However, there are a few instances in which manuscripts from each group appear to jump this divide. This only occurs rarely and elsewhere in the same manuscripts they have readings which clearly show a division between groups  $\lambda_1$  and  $\lambda_2$ . Since all the eastern manuscripts have been attributed to an Acre scriptorium by Folda, it is certainly plausible that, if two distinct

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<sup>4</sup> Folda, *Saint-Jean d’Acre*, pp. 85-92.

traditions had developed, it would be fairly easy for the traditions to be crossed in places, especially with the scribes working in close proximity to each other. This would also be likely to happen if the exemplars which the scribes were using were not bound and the possibility existed of signatures being mixed up with those from a different tradition.

The only exception to this general rule that the manuscripts produced in the East, according to Folda, were made in Acre is F06. This manuscript, as has already been discussed is a distinctive manuscript but is clearly a part of the western  $\beta$  group tradition and is not closely related to the  $\lambda$  group of manuscripts. There is also evidence that this eastern tradition of the *Eracles* text did not end with the loss of the kingdom of Jerusalem. F67 and F68, which are both fifteenth-century manuscripts copied in the West, can be shown to have been derived from F69 which is thirteenth-century and was copied in Acre. The survival of the eastern tradition is also shown by F77, given a provenance of Rome ca. 1295, and F74, dated to ca. 1291-95 in Lombardy. F74 is of particular interest because, as stated above, it is generally very close to the  $\lambda_2$  group except for in 20.11 in which it is much closer to the  $\lambda_1$  manuscripts. This indicates a switch in exemplar that may have occurred before the transport of the manuscripts to the West, Italy in particular, where these copies were made. If both of these two subgroups developed within the Acre scriptorium, as seems likely, it would be very easy to switch exemplar to a different tradition if the manuscripts were not bound and were used in common by the various scribes of the scriptorium. This would indicate the practice of retaining several copies of the text within the scriptorium for the purpose of producing copies rather than relying upon individual copies being brought in by clients.

## Group $\beta$

This group appears to have been a distinct branch of the manuscript tradition that developed in France and derived from a manuscript related to F04. This group includes

several notable readings, in particular the doctors in 15.22 and ‘reaume de Egypte’ in 12.1. The majority of the surviving *Eracles* manuscripts belong to this group and are almost all of a western provenance. The only possible exception to this is F06, to which Folda gave a provenance of Antioch ca. 1260-1268. This manuscript is unusual in many respects. Its alteration of ‘Acre’ to ‘Ascalon’ in 11.14 seems to imply a general knowledge of eastern affairs. The only other manuscripts which also appear to contain similar corrections are the Acre manuscripts F70 and F72. This would favour F06 being an Eastern manuscript. However, the rest of the manuscript, the marginalia referring to David I of Scotland in particular, and the fact that it was owned by the queen of Norway proves that this manuscript was kept in the West. Apart from the reading of ‘Ascalon,’ F06 contains all of the hallmarks of the group  $\beta$  manuscripts though it is clearly distinct from the rest of the group. Folda also had trouble identifying the provenance of F06. He describes the chapter initials as ‘French-type’ but that it contains historiated initials that are similar to earlier Crusader texts from Jerusalem, Acre and Sicily. In particular he identifies the capital for book six as showing a specific knowledge of the walls and city profile of Antioch as well as showing similarities with Antiochene coinage. He also identifies in the capital to 12.1 similarities with thirteenth century Arabic manuscripts. In summary, Folda identifies a scribe with a Southern Italian background, with French and Byzantine influences, who was working in Antioch.<sup>5</sup>

While the later  $\lambda$  manuscripts copied in France show that Eastern manuscripts were brought to the West, this seems to be unlikely in the case of F06. I think that it is more probable that it was copied in the West, perhaps in Italy, from a group  $\beta$  exemplar, but that it was copied by a scribe with a better knowledge of the Latin East than the scribes who copied out the rest of the manuscripts, very possibly someone who had travelled to the East himself. If the scribe had been working in the East he would have been more likely to use an Eastern  $\lambda$

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<sup>5</sup> Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 348.

group manuscript as an exemplar, rather than a group  $\beta$  manuscript that does not otherwise appear to have influenced the Eastern manuscripts. The distinctive nature of the  $\beta$  manuscripts, of which F06 is clearly a member, is not found at all in any of the manuscripts copied in the East. No eastern manuscript contains any of the additional information found in 15.22 nor the 'Egypte' reading in 12.1. A scribe working in Italy would be more likely to use a manuscript produced in France, which was likely to be from group  $\beta$  as there are more manuscripts surviving from this group than from group  $\alpha$ , though there are no other surviving examples of group  $\beta$  manuscripts in Italy.

The rest of this group is also difficult to place on a stemma as there are a number of variations that appear to negate each other when attempting to link manuscripts together. However there are a few distinct groupings. F60 and F62 are clearly closely related, as are F61 and F63. F65 also appears to be related to the two latter manuscripts. These five manuscripts form a distinct group apart from the rest of the manuscripts. F58 and F64 are also closely related and have some similarities with F53 and, to a lesser extent F51 and F55. F54 appears to be related to F55 in 11.14 but not in any of the other sample chapters. F37 and F42 have similarities, especially in 11.14 and 20.11, that link them closely together despite the fact that they are not particularly close in 22.6. The rest of the manuscripts appear to be distantly related but the closeness of the similarities varies throughout the text.

Several of these manuscripts also contain unique variants not found in other manuscripts. This is particularly true of F45 which is alone in including the 'Huitace' additions. F45 does appear to be related to F43 but only distantly and this manuscript does not include these additions. In general F32, F34 and F39 appear to hold the best readings for this group with F30 and F33 also containing readings that are closer to the original translation than the large majority of  $\beta$  group manuscripts. However all contain variants, F32 has some similar variants to F51 and F53 in 15.22 and 20.11. The later manuscripts in this group

generally tend to have readings with numerous variants and a certain amount of abridgement; this is particularly true of F36 and F44. The similarity in this group of manuscripts has also been found in studies of the miniatures and artwork of the text. Robert Branner has identified F45 and F51 as being particularly closely related and likely to have originated from the same atelier.<sup>6</sup> F43, textually linked to these two manuscripts, he associates with a different workshop as well as F48.<sup>7</sup> This seems to indicate that there is not necessarily a link between the text of a manuscript and its miniatures. These manuscripts appear to have been produced in the same scriptorium, or at least to have come from similar exemplars, but the miniatures have been done by a different artist. This implies that once a manuscript was written it was not simply given to the scriptorium's artist. Presumably if a scriptorium had more than one artist they would have been similarly trained. The fact that the miniatures show different styles suggests that the artists belonged to different schools and were presumably working in different studios. This suggests that the artists may have been independent from the scriptorium with the miniatures being added at a point subsequent to the production of the manuscript, rather than being added shortly afterwards by an in-house artist. This also implies that the *Eracles* text could be purchased without miniatures and then taken to an independent artist who would add the miniatures to the text. In addition, Folda notes that F78 contains the styles of two different artists. He argues that this suggests that the manuscript was originally only partly completed and a different artist was later hired to complete the manuscript.<sup>8</sup> This opens the possibility for textually very close manuscripts being illustrated by different artists at different times.

It would appear that the manuscripts in the  $\beta$  group are related to several antecedents that contributed to their text. While this makes it very difficult to establish a manuscript

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<sup>6</sup> R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles* (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 80, 95.

<sup>7</sup> Branner, pp. 81, 84.

<sup>8</sup> Folda, *Saint-Jean d'Acree*, p. 78.

stemma for the text, it does raise some suggestions about the process by which these manuscripts were copied. The fact that these manuscripts are all generally related to each other, but with very few direct connections between manuscripts, suggests that several exemplars were used in the production of these manuscripts. If someone wished to obtain a copy of the Old French William of Tyre they could simply have borrowed one that belonged to someone else and had a copy made of it. If that had been the normal practice, this process would result in a neat family tree of the manuscripts with each subsequent manuscript containing the various errors of the exemplars plus a few further mistakes made by the copyist. This is not the case with the *Eracles* manuscripts, particularly the  $\beta$  group. The fact that manuscripts seem to have relationships in certain chapters but are then completely different in another chapter suggests that a change in exemplar, and in some cases several changes, have occurred. This suggests that the scriptoria producing these manuscripts held several copies of the text and that these copies were more likely loose signatures than fully bound manuscripts. This would make it easier for the scribes to be able to copy the text but also introduces a strong possibility of switching exemplars, which is shown in the manuscript tradition.

## Conclusion

As the translator reminds his reader, it was William of Tyre who originally wrote the history of the Latin East found in *L'Estoire de Eracles*. Because of this, and the high regard in which he obviously holds William, the translator is on the whole faithful to William's text. However, this creates various problems when attempting to study the translation. At no point does the translator identify himself nor does he specify when he was working or where. As a result we are dependent upon an analysis of the text in order to try and establish answers for these questions. He appears to have had a very good understanding of Latin and follows the original narrative fairly closely. At times he gives a word-for-word translation of the Latin but in general the process of translation has altered the text so that it is more suited to the vernacular style of Old French. William's narrative has not been lost in the translation though, as it is possible to go through the *Eracles* text and find its corresponding text in the *Historia* with relative ease. In general, this means that the translation gives an accurate representation of William's text and includes the same informational content as William's text and also generally adheres to William's viewpoints and opinions. Because of this, it is particularly difficult to identify the translator and to make any comment upon him and the motives behind the translation because very few actual alterations have been made to the text in comparison with the size of the text as a whole.

This is not to say, however, that the translator did not make any alterations to the text. Many of these alterations can be termed as 'stylistic alterations' that do not have a large bearing upon the narrative of the text. Many of the alterations made by the translator, which involved adding material to the text, fall under this heading. Many of the omissions made by the translator can also come under the stylistic heading. William included numerous quotations from, and references to, biblical and classical sources. William may have been

using these references in order to show off his erudition but he also uses them to expand upon various themes and statements, for instance showing examples of various sayings. While these statements are used well by William, they do also repeat information that has already been discussed within the same chapter. The translator omits most of these quotations and references in order to simplify the text and give it the more fast-paced style of Old French prose. Many of the larger omissions made by the translator, such as the papal letters discussing the rights of the churches in Antioch and Bethlehem as well as the speech given by William to Urban II at Clermont, also appear to have been made due to the different style of the translator. While he does not remove these passages completely – he includes a summary of their content – the translator changes the text so that these passages become a part of the narrative rather than a clear interpolation into the text.

However, while historians quite rightly use William's original Latin text when studying the history of the Latin East in the twelfth century, this does not mean that the *Eracles* text should be neglected, as has generally been the case. In addition to simplifying the text to suit a new language and a new audience the translator has also made several changes to the text that alters the informational content of the narrative. These alterations make it possible to try and identify the translator, to establish a rough dating for the translation, and shed light of the translator's cultural milieu. The omissions and assumptions made by the translator about events can also serve to supply further information. These can also help to provide historians with a means of validating William's *Historia*. This validation not only shows the viewpoint of the translator but can also help to establish William's viewpoint by bringing to attention scenes which William either omitted to mention or presented in a way which influenced his reader to a different point of view from that found in the translation.

This is particularly the case with the altered description of Renaud de Châtillon. While the translator does not completely remove William's criticism of Renaud, he does appear to present a more positive view of Renaud which portrays him as having been wronged and explains his actions, particularly the invasion of Cyprus, as the result of the emperor of Constantinople refusing to pay him for preventing the Armenian Toros from making incursions into Byzantine territory. The translator strives to show that Renaud is justified in, at least partly, attacking Byzantine Cyprus. While the translator does acknowledge that some atrocities were committed on the island, he greatly abridges the list of crimes given by William and notes that Renaud cannot be held responsible for everything that happens in a time of war. The translator does not appear to have any close links with Renaud and is unable to provide any further information about him. However, he constantly adds praise to Renaud and appears to have a far more positive view of him than William did. This suggests that William's depiction of him as being a self-serving mercenary was not universally shared, Peter of Blois was far more positive about him, and Islamic accounts, in which Renaud holds a more prominent role in attempting to defend the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, may be nearer to the truth.

The translator is careful to identify William as the original author and makes no mention of using any other source in addition to William's text. Despite this, the translator does make many informational additions to the text. These are generally rather short statements and generally serve as glosses to statements made by William. Many of these pertain to France or to French crusaders and, while it is possible that the translator had another work before him that he was mining for information, it seems likely that these additions were made through the translator's personal knowledge of the topic. These additions generally involve adding background information to locations, such as happens

with Boulogne, or adding names to people or places, such as with Eleanor of Aquitaine and the battle of Tinchebray.

Most of the informational additions made by the translator give background material that can be verified by other sources. This is true of his naming of Eleanor as the wife of Louis VII or his statement that Philip of Flanders died on the Third Crusade. However, there are instances in which the translator adds information that is otherwise unknown and the fact that the other additions can be verified implies that these further additions may be accurate. A good example of this is the statement that Adrian IV was responsible for moving the Abbey of St. Ruf from Avignon to Valence due to disputes with the people of Avignon. It is known that the abbey was moved following a disagreement with the cathedral chapter and that Adrian had previously resided in the abbey. As a result it is likely, or was believed to have been the case by the translator seventy years later, that the new pope was involved in re-locating the abbey. It appears that the translator visited the abbey during a journey down from central France to Italy and the information was related to him by the monks in the abbey who were Augustinian canons. It is likely that the translator himself was a member of this order due to the fact that several of his additions seem to have some bearing upon the Augustinian order, whether it is criticising the laxity of those in the East or relating the burial place of the bishop of Banyas in the abbey of St. Victor in Paris, again an Augustinian church. Due to the translator's continued apparent interest in the French monarchy it is tempting to suggest that he was in fact based at St. Victor. While there is no hard evidence of this and the translator may simply have visited the abbey, it is clear that the translator was working somewhere within the Île de France and that he showed an interest in the French monarchy beyond what he had in any other families in western Europe. These additions, though relatively few in number, show that the *Eracles* text should be considered by historians.

While the translator does not mention himself in the text, it is clear that he was working in the Île de France but evidently was aware of events elsewhere in northern France. He also shows some knowledge of Anglo-Norman England, particularly in regards to Thomas Becket. This indicates that he may have travelled there but was primarily based in northern France. He also appears to have travelled down the Rhône and south into Italy as is shown by a series of additions to William's text. This journey south may have been a part of a pilgrimage to the East which is supported by several additions relating to the Latin East and also to Egypt which appear to show the translator's knowledge of the weather, geography and customs of the area. The translator was clearly well educated and so was able to read William's Latin but also seems to have taken a great interest in the Latin East himself and because of this was able to produce an excellent translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*. The translation appears to have been made between the capture of the city of Damietta by the Christians during the Fifth Crusade in November 1219 and the death of Philip II of France in 1223, though it may have been begun or completed a few years either side of these dates. It is unlikely that the entire translation was made within a year, so it is likely that the translation was made, at least partly, after the failure of the Fifth Crusade in 1221. At whatever point the translation was made during this period it is clear that it was a time of increased interest in the crusades and the Latin East with other crusade literature, such as the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* and *Le Chanson d'Antioche*, also being produced at this time. The Fifth Crusade did not involve any major French nobility and the translator's continued insistence throughout the text that it was the 'gent de France' who had conquered Jerusalem on the First Crusade seems to suggest that he is seeking to remind his readers, particularly the laity, that it was the French nobility that had been responsible for establishing the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The text appears to have been written at a time of increased interest in the fortunes of the crusader states and that the nobility, and the monarchy itself, was being encouraged to

once again go on crusade to the East and to re-conquer the lands that had been won by their ancestors.

Once the translation of William of Tyre's *Historia* was made it is clear that the text became very popular, as the number of extant manuscripts shows. The popularity of the *Eracles* text is shown by the fact that several variant readings developed very quickly within the manuscript tradition, within a decade or so of the original translation, and that led to the development of two distinct branches with the manuscript tradition. This split is characterised by two major points in the sample passages selected. The first major division occurs in 12.1. The beginning of this chapter is a comparison of Baldwin II and the Persian ruler Xerxes and is present in nearly all of the manuscripts. Those manuscripts which do not contain this passage are mutilated in general and are missing several folios from this point and it is likely that they did originally contain this passage. The background given to Xerxes relates to him fighting with a foreign power and it is at this point that division occurs. Most of the manuscripts in the group, labelled as  $\alpha$  by Edbury, read that Xerxes 'avoit grant contens au reame de Grece.' This statement is factually correct and, since these manuscripts elsewhere can be shown to be closer to the Latin than other manuscripts, this appears to be the original reading in the translation. Several of the Eastern tradition manuscripts add 'et reame de France' but retain the base reading. This group are clearly closely related to the rest of the group but form their own subgroup. The only  $\alpha$  manuscript to contain a significantly different reading is F04 which reads 'avoit molt grant contens au reame d'Egypte.' This reading links F04 very strongly with the other group of manuscripts identified by Edbury, labelled  $\beta$ , which contain the same reading. The switch from 'Grece' to 'Egypte' is clearly an error but is present in a large number of manuscripts and clearly denotes a division in the manuscript tradition. The only manuscript from the  $\beta$  group that does not contain this reading is F34 which reads 'Persse' instead of 'Egypte.' However, it also includes the additional 'molt' that

is characteristic of this group and clearly belongs with the rest of these manuscripts. This manuscript contains several variants but is clearly a part of this group. The 'Persse' reading is clearly just a foible of this particular manuscript, possibly an attempt to correct the erroneous reading.

The second major division between the  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  manuscripts occurs in 15.22 and involves the inclusion of additional material relating to the doctors of Emperor John II Komnenos. The group  $\alpha$  manuscripts follow William's text in relating that after his accident out hunting the emperor called his doctors but that they were unable to heal his wounds from which he died. The  $\beta$  manuscripts on the other hand name these doctors as 'Dans Hues de Pierrefons et Dans Gautier et tant des autres que je ne vous savroie nommer' and also include further additional sentences which do not affect the informational content of the chapter. These additional readings are found in all of the  $\beta$  group manuscripts but they are not in any of the  $\alpha$  manuscripts. While this additional information does not seem to have been introduced by the translator, it is quite clear that it was introduced shortly after the translation was made. The names of these doctors are not found in any other source. This is interesting because it shows new information for historians that was not found in William's text but the accuracy of the statement cannot be ascertained. Apart from this instance there are no other instances in which the  $\beta$  manuscripts as a group insert additional information that would allow the identification of the scribe and any possible relationship that led to the inclusion of these names.

There are further readings that serve to distinguish the  $\beta$  group from the rest of the manuscripts, but these are comprised by variant readings and instances in which portions of the text are missing, likely due to haplography. F45 does insert further additional material referring to Huitace, the dean of Charmentré, that seems to indicate that the scribe of this particular manuscript had an interest in this person but there does not appear to be any

connection with the addition of the names of the emperor's doctors nor does there appear any reason to believe that this reference survived alone in this manuscript but was lost from all of the others. This means that this manuscript represents a unique variant of the text. There is also no reference to Huitace being buried in the abbey of St. Victor or being present in the Latin East in any other source so the veracity of these statements cannot be determined. F06 is the only other manuscript from this group that might possibly indicate that the scribe had any personal knowledge of events in the East, beyond what was presented in the exemplar, by replacing 'Acre' with 'Ascalon' in 11.14, but, again, this manuscript stands alone in the  $\beta$  group. While F06 is clearly a member of the  $\beta$  group, it contains several unique textual readings that regularly distinguish it from the rest of the manuscripts.

The *Eracles* manuscripts can be shown to be clearly divided into these two broad groups with the  $\alpha$  group containing those manuscripts that are closest to the Latin and therefore the original translation. The fact that these divisions are seen in some of the earliest manuscripts and also manuscripts that do not contain any continuations indicates that these significant divisions in the manuscript stemma were established shortly after the translation was made. The original *Eracles* manuscripts were made in the West, most likely around the Île de France, and seem to have remained popular, with the  $\beta$  group of manuscripts being the most prevalent. While the  $\alpha$  manuscripts were still in circulation, F02 being a fifteenth-century manuscript, the majority come from the mid to late thirteenth century. An early version of the text, one that did not contain the  $\beta$  variants, was brought to the East creating another division from the  $\alpha$  group that has been termed the  $\lambda$  group. These manuscripts appear to have developed in isolation with several variant readings common to them all. Several points also seem to divide these manuscripts into two further subgroups. However, Folda has suggested that these manuscripts were all produced in a single scriptorium in Acre, or derived from those that were. While there is some difference between these two subgroups,

the  $\lambda$  manuscripts all share some readings that indicate that they are descended from a single exemplar. There is also evidence that, despite clear divisions at points, it seems likely that there is some sort of relationship between these two groups. F74 is a prime example of this because it, or its antecedent, appears to switch between the two groups, possibly due to a switch in exemplars and supporting the theory that both versions were found in a single scriptorium.

While none of the  $\lambda$  manuscripts contains the significant  $\beta$  group readings, such as the names of the doctors in 15.22 or the 'Egypte' variant in 12.1, there are a few places where these manuscripts contain similar minor variants to some of the  $\beta$  manuscripts. This also seems to be linked with the division of the  $\lambda$  group since  $\lambda_1$  and  $\lambda_2$  seem to agree with  $\beta$  manuscripts at different points. These variants generally involve cases of haplography and other omissions that cannot be said to definitely link the manuscripts. However, there does seem to be some relationship, particularly with those  $\lambda$  manuscripts that were produced in the West following the loss of Acre in 1291 where there would have been the possibility of the exemplars being mixed with those from a  $\beta$  group manuscript.

The  $\alpha$  and  $\lambda$  manuscripts can be grouped in a manuscript stemma fairly easily, but the same cannot be said of the  $\beta$  manuscripts. This is primarily due to the fact that there are simply more manuscripts in  $\beta$  group than there are in either  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$ . In addition to being the most common version of the *Eracles* text, the manuscripts from this group were produced regularly throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries resulting in a large amount of time in which variations could appear in the manuscript tradition. Also, nearly all of the manuscripts have been given a provenance of north or central France, or Flanders in the fifteenth century, the only exceptions to this being F01, F06, and F38. This again indicates that the manuscripts were being produced in scriptoria where there was ample opportunity for the switching of exemplars and multiple relationships between various

manuscripts. This is borne out by an examination of the manuscripts themselves. While there are clearly close ties between some of the manuscripts from this group, there are numerous instances in which variants appear to link two manuscripts that elsewhere do not appear to be closely related at all. In general these manuscripts are all inter-related and it is impossible to produce a neat stemma for the group that could place each manuscript in order in their relation to the original translation. While a couple of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, F36 and F44, are clearly to be located furthest from the original translation, as both contain extensive abridgments of the text, most vary in their proximity to what is believed to be the original translation and none can be shown to be the definitive archetype for this group. Some do, however, generally seem to be closer to the original translation. These, predictably, are generally the earliest manuscripts, in particular F06, F32, F34, and F39. However, all of these, F06 especially, contains numerous errors and variants that make it difficult to rely upon a single manuscript when attempting to study this text.

Of the two nineteenth-century editions of *L'Estoire d'Eracles*, that of Paulin Paris appears to present a reading of the text that is closer to the original translation. The main argument for this is that while Paris mainly used F38 and F52, both of which are  $\alpha$  manuscripts and appear to preserve an early version of the text, the *RHC* edition is largely based on F45, which is a  $\beta$  manuscript that contains several unique readings and cannot be considered to represent an early form. However, Paris appears to have introduced readings into his text which he found in the *RHC* edition but were not found in the manuscripts which he used. As a result, while Paris's edition generally contains a better reading, it also contains numerous variants that cannot be attributed to the translator. The editors of the *RHC* edition used a manuscript from lower down on the stemma than Paris but give a far more accurate representation of their manuscript. Due to this, historians should be careful when using either

of the two editions due to these errors found in both of the editions. This current work has attempted to highlight these errors and to bring them to the attention of scholars.

The chapters in all of the manuscripts which contain the significant variants have been studied in detail in order to separate what is thought to be the original translation from late variations in the manuscript tradition. In addition several of the early manuscripts, taking examples from each group, have been consulted in their entirety and no significant alteration beyond what has been discussed was found. While it is hoped that this work will provide a significant tool for historians attempting to use this text to study the history and literature and medieval Europe and the Latin East, a new critical edition of the entire text is needed in order to finally establish the text of the original translation and to identify other variants of note that are buried within the manuscript tradition of the *Eracles* text.

## Appendix:

Sample chapters with full apparatus containing all of the variants to the text, including minor unique readings and fifteenth century redactions of the text.

Book 7 Chapter 22  
Based upon F02 & F38

$\alpha$	$\lambda_1$	$\lambda_2$	$\beta$	
F01 80r	F50 88r-v	F49 76v-77r	F06 67r-v	F47 44r
F02 49v-50r	F57 75r	F69 69r-v	F30 52r-v	F48 54v
F03 48r	F70 78v	F71 ms.	F32 50v-51r	F51 54v
F04 35v-36r	F72 71r	mutilated	F33 67v-68r	F53 78v-79r
F05 74v-75r	F73 61r	F74 93v-94r	F34 54v	F54 86v-87r
F31 70v-71r	F77 92r-v	F78 87r-v	F36 69r-v	F55 27v
F35 59r-v			F37 104v-105r	F58 59r
F38 39v			F39 138	F60 69r
F41 129v			F40 47v-48r	F61 63r
F52 59v-60r			F42 96r	F62 Ms. 22496
			F43 62v	73r
			F44 93r-v	F63 72v
			F45 61v-62r	F64 74r
			F46 lacks	F65 110v-111r

Au<sup>1</sup> tiers jour<sup>2</sup> vindrent devant<sup>3</sup> la cité de<sup>4</sup> Baruth; sur<sup>5</sup> un flum qui queurt<sup>6</sup> devant<sup>7</sup> se<sup>8</sup> logierent<sup>9</sup>. Li bailli de la ville<sup>10</sup> leur donna grant loyer<sup>11</sup> et leur fist venir<sup>12</sup> assez<sup>13</sup> viandes<sup>14</sup> a<sup>15</sup> bon<sup>16</sup> marchie<sup>17</sup> pour espargnier les arbres et les blese<sup>18</sup> des<sup>19</sup> terres<sup>20</sup>. L'endemain<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Au] El F33; Le F37 F44; et au F50 F57 F73

<sup>2</sup> jour] jour apre ensint les crestiens F44

<sup>3</sup> devant] a F34; F41 *lacks*

<sup>4</sup> la cité de] F74 *lacks*

<sup>5</sup> sur] et sur F44

<sup>6</sup> qui queurt] F30 *lacks*; queurt] cort i qui F50; court iluec F57 F73 F77

<sup>7</sup> queurt devant] devant court F44

<sup>8</sup> se] F52 *lacks*

<sup>9</sup> sur un flum qui queurt devant se logierent] et se logierent sur ung flum qui court devant F36 F37 F42

<sup>10</sup> ville] cité F44; de la ville] F64 *lacks*

<sup>11</sup> loyer] dons F61 F65

<sup>12</sup> fist venir] dona F30 envoia F61 F65; venir] tonner F69

<sup>13</sup> assez] F01 F04 F49 F58 F74 F78 *lack*; largement F37 F42

<sup>14</sup> assez viandes] viandes asses F30 F34; donna grant loyer et leur fist venir assez viandes] fist grant dons et envoia buirce a plent F36

<sup>15</sup> a] et a F03 F06 F31 F36 F37 F44 F45 F48 F62 F69 F73 F78

<sup>16</sup> bon] grant F43

<sup>17</sup> marchie] marchie et asses lor en dona F77

<sup>18</sup> blese] biens F37 F47 F63; leus F49, fruis F70 F72; arbres et les blese] blez et les arbres F45

<sup>19</sup> des] qui estoient sur F65

vindrent a<sup>22</sup> la cité<sup>23</sup> de<sup>24</sup> Saiette. La<sup>25</sup> se logierent sur un flun<sup>26</sup> ou il tornerent<sup>27</sup> assez pres de illec<sup>28</sup>. Cil<sup>29</sup> qui gardoit<sup>30</sup> la cité ne leur voust<sup>31</sup> onques faire<sup>32</sup> bonté<sup>33</sup> nulle<sup>34</sup>. Je ne sai en quoi il se fioit<sup>35</sup> mais<sup>36</sup> il<sup>37</sup> envoa<sup>38</sup> de sa<sup>39</sup> gent assez<sup>40</sup> hors<sup>41</sup> pour<sup>42</sup> faire dommage a<sup>43</sup> l'ost<sup>44</sup>. Ilz commencierent a<sup>45</sup> hardoier et a<sup>46</sup> atainer<sup>47</sup> chevaliers<sup>48</sup> qui pres<sup>49</sup> estoient<sup>50</sup> logié<sup>51</sup> tant que cilz ne le<sup>52</sup> porent plus<sup>53</sup> souffrir<sup>54</sup> ains monterent es<sup>55</sup> chevaus et<sup>56</sup> leur corurent<sup>57</sup> sus. Ne<sup>58</sup> sai quanz en<sup>59</sup> occistrent<sup>60</sup> li<sup>61</sup> autre s'en foinrent<sup>62</sup> en la cité ne<sup>63</sup> n'orent<sup>64</sup> puis<sup>65</sup> talent<sup>66</sup>

<sup>20</sup> pour espargnier les arbres et les blese des terres] F36 *lacks*; donna grant loyer ... terres] envoya grans dons et biens et vitailles a grant marchie F44

<sup>21</sup> L'endemain] et l'endemain F43 F45 F57; Le l'endemain F65

<sup>22</sup> a] devant F44

<sup>23</sup> a la cité] F05 *lacks*

<sup>24</sup> la cité de] F50 F73 F77 *lack*

<sup>25</sup> La] et la F50

<sup>26</sup> La se logierent sur un flun] et sur ung fleune se logierent F44

<sup>27</sup> ou il tornerent] que il troverent F01 F50 F53 F54 F57 F60 F72 F73 F77; que il tornerent F02 F36 F40 F42 F55 F58 F64; ou il troverent F30 F31 F35 F49 F69 F74 F78; qui cort F43 F45; courante F44; ou cort F51

<sup>28</sup> illec] la cité F44

<sup>29</sup> Cil] Le capitaine F45

<sup>30</sup> Cil qui gardoit] Le Cappitaine de F44; gardoit] gouvernoi et gardoit F42

<sup>31</sup> voust] F34 *lacks*

<sup>32</sup> onques faire] fere onques F58

<sup>33</sup> faire bonté] bonté fere F04

<sup>34</sup> faire bonté nulle] firent nulle bonté F34; faire nulle coutoisie F36; faire bonté F50 F77; bonte faire F57 F73; faire nulle bonté F37 F42 F69 F70 F74 F78; nulle] aucune F65

<sup>35</sup> Je ne sai ... fioit] F50 F57 F73 F77 *lack*

<sup>36</sup> mais] F61 *lacks*

<sup>37</sup> mais il] ainz F57 F73 F77

<sup>38</sup> envoa] envoa fors F70

<sup>39</sup> sa] F72 *lacks*

<sup>40</sup> de sa gent assez] assez de sa gent F05 F06 F30 F31 F35 F35 F50 F57 F73 F77; beaucoup de sa gent F42; assez] F37 F43 F44 F45 F51 *lack*

<sup>41</sup> hors] F30 F37 F62 F73 *lack*

<sup>42</sup> pour] pour eus F30

<sup>43</sup> a] en F06 F32 F33 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F58 F54 F63 F64; F30 *lacks*; a ceulz de F60 F62

<sup>44</sup> l'ost] F30 *lacks*; nostre ost F50 F57 F70 F73; noz F61; noz gens F65; nostre gent et a nostre ost F77; Je ne sai ... l'ost] ainchois fist saillit ses gens hors por grever l'ost F36

<sup>45</sup> a] F74 *lacks*

<sup>46</sup> a] F03 F35 *lack*; Ilz commencierent a hardoier et a] et pour F37 F42

<sup>47</sup> atainer] atarir F05; trainer F31; atainer aucune F37 F42; atraire F50 F77 F69 F74 F78; traier F73;

commencierent a hardoier et a atainer] envahirent aucune F36

<sup>48</sup> chevaliers] a ceus F50 F57 F73 F77; a chevaliers F74

<sup>49</sup> pres] pres d'aus F31

<sup>50</sup> estoient] de eus estoient F49 F69 F74 F77 F78

<sup>51</sup> pres estoient logié] estoient logiez pres se la cité F36; logié] dans logier F57 F73; herbeges F69 F74 F78

<sup>52</sup> le] F34 F53 F57 *lack*

<sup>53</sup> plus] F01 F52 *lack*

<sup>54</sup> tant que cilz ne le porent plus souffrir] tellement que ceus ne se peure plus endurer F37 F42

<sup>55</sup> es] en leur F06 F32 F39 F40 F43 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F62 F63 F70 F72; sor leur F45 F47 F53 F61 F64 F65; auz leur F48

<sup>56</sup> ains monterent es chevaus et] F30 *lacks*; si F36

<sup>57</sup> corurent] coururent vigoureusement F37 F42

<sup>58</sup> sus. Ne] et ne F50 F57 F73

<sup>59</sup> en] F70 *lacks*

de noz<sup>67</sup> gens<sup>68</sup> atainer<sup>69</sup>; si<sup>70</sup> que toute<sup>71</sup> celle nuit se reposerent li nostre<sup>72</sup> mout<sup>73</sup> en pais<sup>74</sup>.  
 Au<sup>75</sup> matin pour<sup>76</sup> reposer<sup>77</sup> la menue gent<sup>78</sup> ne se murent<sup>79</sup> de illec ains<sup>80</sup> envoierent<sup>81</sup>  
 fourriers<sup>82</sup> par les villes<sup>83</sup> entor<sup>84</sup> et gens armées qui<sup>85</sup> les gardassent<sup>86</sup>. Cil aportherent<sup>87</sup>  
 vitailles<sup>88</sup> a<sup>89</sup> hommes et<sup>90</sup> a<sup>91</sup> chevaus<sup>92</sup>, a<sup>93</sup> mout<sup>94</sup> grant plenté<sup>95</sup>. Bestes<sup>96</sup> amenerent<sup>97</sup>  
 assez<sup>98</sup> grans et<sup>99</sup> petites<sup>100</sup> et<sup>101</sup> s'en revindrent tuit ensamble<sup>102</sup> sans rien perdre<sup>103</sup> fors un<sup>104</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Ne sai quanz en occistrent] si en ocistrent F30; et en ocisent ne sai quans F31 F35; Ilz en occirent je ne say quanz F37 F42

<sup>61</sup> li] et li F36 F37 F42 F50 F57

<sup>62</sup> foinrent] flurent F01; s'en foinrent] se retrairent F36

<sup>63</sup> cité ne] cité qui puis ne F50 F57 F73 F77; cité et ne F49 F69 F74 F78

<sup>64</sup> n'orent] ilz n'eurent F37

<sup>65</sup> puis] F50 F73 *lack*

<sup>66</sup> puis talent] talent puis F03

<sup>67</sup> noz] leur F51

<sup>68</sup> gens] F41 *lacks*

<sup>69</sup> atainer] adamager F30; trainer F31; aregnier F69; de noz gens atainer] d'atinner noz genz F58; de grever noz gens ne leur corre sus F65

<sup>70</sup> si] tellement F37 F42

<sup>71</sup> toute] F30 *lacks*

<sup>72</sup> li nostre] F31 F35 *lack*; se reposerent li nostre] nos gens se resposerent F37 F42; nostre] noz gens F65; nies F70

<sup>73</sup> mout] tout F45 F51 F49 F57

<sup>74</sup> mout en pais] F30 *lacks*; n'orent puis talent ... pais] ainsi noz gens reposerent celle nuit en paix F36

<sup>75</sup> Au] Le F36

<sup>76</sup> pour] por eulx F36; pour bien F42; F63 *lacks*

<sup>77</sup> reposer] reposer et raffreschir F37 F42

<sup>78</sup> menue gent] pietons F36

<sup>79</sup> murent] partirent une F37 F42

<sup>80</sup> pour reposer la menue gent ne se murent de illec ains] F30 *lacks*; ains] et F36; ainz en F43

<sup>81</sup> envoierent] envoierent ilec F45

<sup>82</sup> fourriers] fors F01; fouragier F36; en fourrage F37 F42

<sup>83</sup> villes] viles la F43; vile d'iluec F51 F57

<sup>84</sup> entor] F54 *lacks*

<sup>85</sup> qui] por F34 F61 F65

<sup>86</sup> gens armées qui les gardassent] gens qui les gardassent armes F70; gardassent] garder F61 F65

<sup>87</sup> aportherent] amenerent F77

<sup>88</sup> vitailles] viandes F31 F35 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; l'argement vitailles et F42

<sup>89</sup> a] et F34 F49 F50

<sup>90</sup> et] F49 *lacks*

<sup>91</sup> a] F50 *lacks*

<sup>92</sup> a hommes et a chevaus] F30 *lacks*; chevaus] femmes F61 F65

<sup>93</sup> a] F01 F04 F05 F31 F32 F33 F37 F38 F39 F40 F41 F42 F55 F58 F60 F64 F69 F73 F78 *lack*; et F70 F72

<sup>94</sup> mout] F06 F74 *lack*

<sup>95</sup> plenté] quantité F37 F42

<sup>96</sup> bestes] et bestes F50 F57 F73 F77; de bestes F32 F37 F39 F40 F42 F47 F48 F49 F53 F54 F55 F58 F61 F62 F65 F69 F70 F72

<sup>97</sup> amenerent] F50 F57 F73 F77 *lack*

<sup>98</sup> assez] de F37; F48 *lacks*, et F51; assez et F57; assez en i ot de F58 F64

<sup>99</sup> et] et de F58 F64

<sup>100</sup> assez grans et petites] et granz presanz F43 F45 F51; grans et petites] petites et granz F47

<sup>101</sup> bestes amenerent assez grans et petites et] F30 *lacks*; grans et petites] et de grandes et de petites F42

<sup>102</sup> grans et petites ... ensamble] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 F78 *lack*

<sup>103</sup> ensamble sans rien perdre] F30 *lacks*; perdre] prendre F31 F35

<sup>104</sup> un] un tout F30

seul<sup>105</sup> chevalier qui avoit<sup>106</sup> nom Gautier de Ver<sup>107</sup>. Cil<sup>108</sup> ala espoir<sup>109</sup> trop<sup>110</sup> avant mais<sup>111</sup> il ne revint<sup>112</sup> mie<sup>113</sup> ne oncques puis<sup>114</sup> ne<sup>115</sup> sot<sup>116</sup> l'en<sup>117</sup> que il<sup>118</sup> devint; mout<sup>119</sup> en furent tuit<sup>120</sup> courroucié en l'ost<sup>121</sup>. Le jour<sup>122</sup> apres<sup>123</sup> passerent<sup>124</sup> par mout aspre voie<sup>125</sup> et<sup>126</sup> descendirent apres<sup>127</sup> par<sup>128</sup> uns<sup>129</sup> destroit<sup>130</sup> es plains<sup>131</sup>. A destre<sup>132</sup> laisserent<sup>133</sup> celle<sup>134</sup> ancienne cité<sup>135</sup> qui a non<sup>136</sup> Sarepte<sup>137</sup> ou Helies li profetes fu<sup>138</sup>. Puis passerent une eae qui queurt<sup>139</sup> entre<sup>140</sup> Sur<sup>141</sup> et Saiete<sup>142</sup>. Tant alerent<sup>143</sup> que il vindrent a<sup>144</sup> cele noble<sup>145</sup> cité de

<sup>105</sup> tuit ensamble sans rien perdre fors un seul] sans riens predre tous enssamble si non tant seullement uns F37; tous enseble sans rien perdre se non ung chevalier tant seulement F42; seul] F49 F74 *lack*

<sup>106</sup> avoit] out F01; entor et gens ... avoit] si curent vinres a plente et ni perdirent si non ung chevallier F36

<sup>107</sup> Ver] nevers F69 F74 F78; vin F62

<sup>108</sup> cil] qui F36; et cil F57 F73 F77

<sup>109</sup> espoir] par sa baillance F37 F42, un poi F50 F57 F73 F77; par fortune F65

<sup>110</sup> espoir trop] si F30 F36, trop] tout F78

<sup>111</sup> mais] par quoi F50 F57 F73 F77; oir F52

<sup>112</sup> revint] retourna F37

<sup>113</sup> mie] pas F60 F61 F62 F63; mais il ne revint mie] F65 *lacks*

<sup>114</sup> mais il ne revint mie ne oncques puis] F30 F36 *lack*

<sup>115</sup> ne] que l'en que F36

<sup>116</sup> sot] sout F01

<sup>117</sup> l'en] hom F50 F57 F73 F74 F78

<sup>118</sup> ne oncques puis ne sot l'en que il] ni cet l'om qui F34

<sup>119</sup> mout] si F30

<sup>120</sup> tuit] F50 F57 F73 F77 *lack*

<sup>121</sup> mout en furent tuit courroucié en l'ost] si en furent cil de l'ost molt courechie F30; dont ilz furent tres dolans F36; bonté nulle. Je ... l'ost] punt plaisir ne courtoisie aux pelerins ains a son povoir leur porroit grant dommage. Et advint ung jour que par son commandement en yssi de la cité grant nombre por venir su l'ost. Quant les crestiens les appercevrent ilz montrent a cheval et serirent si asrement sus leurs ennennz que presque tous les abarvent et mistrent a mort et tellement furent menez que depuis ne sematirent sus les crestiens. Et illes se reposerent l'endemain tout le jour for aucuns qui par le pais allerent querir vitailles tant vous hommes que pour chevaux et tant adinerent que tous en ovrent l'argement F44; en l'ost] F69 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>122</sup> Le jour] F30 F53 *lack*

<sup>123</sup> apres] en suivant F44; F45 F57 *lacks*

<sup>124</sup> passerent] ilz passerent F36, apres passerent] passerent apres F54

<sup>125</sup> mout aspre voie] aspre F44

<sup>126</sup> et] et puis F36

<sup>127</sup> apres] F36 *lacks*; et descendirent apres] F43 F45 F51 *lack*

<sup>128</sup> par] F70 *lacks*

<sup>129</sup> uns] F36 *lacks*

<sup>130</sup> destroit] destroit leus a destre F43 F45; destroiz a destre F51

<sup>131</sup> plains] plain païs F44

<sup>132</sup> A destre] F62 *lacks*; senestre F65

<sup>133</sup> apres par uns ... laisserent] F52 *lacks*

<sup>134</sup> celle] une F44

<sup>135</sup> A destre laisserent celle ancienne cité] a cele cite lessierent a senestre F45

<sup>136</sup> qui a non] de F36

<sup>137</sup> Sarepte] la cité F43; Sarsent F49 F50 F57 F69 F70 F73 F74 F77

<sup>138</sup> fu] fu né F41 F44 F62 F70 F72 F77; fu natis F36; fu envoié et F57 F73

<sup>139</sup> une eae qui queurt] F30 *lacks*; queurt] passé F37; qui queurt] droit F52

<sup>140</sup> entre] entre les cités de F44

<sup>141</sup> Sur] lui F33; sure F53

<sup>142</sup> Saiete] Sarphent F50; Sarsent F57 F73

<sup>143</sup> alerent] errerent F36; Tant alerent] cheminierent F37; cheminierent avant F42; s'en alerent tant F69

<sup>144</sup> a] devant F74

Sur. La<sup>146</sup> se logierent<sup>147</sup> devant<sup>148</sup> la<sup>149</sup> tresnoble<sup>150</sup> fontaine<sup>151</sup>, qui si<sup>152</sup> est renommée, qui est fontaine<sup>153</sup> des cortiz<sup>154</sup> et puiz<sup>155</sup> des eues<sup>156</sup> vivanz<sup>157</sup> si com dit l'escriture<sup>158</sup>. Es jardins mout<sup>159</sup> delitables<sup>160</sup> furent<sup>161</sup> une<sup>162</sup> nuit<sup>163</sup>. Quant<sup>164</sup> il fu adjourné<sup>165</sup> il<sup>166</sup> se mistrent<sup>167</sup> a la voie<sup>168</sup>. Il<sup>169</sup> passerent uns destroiz mout perilleus<sup>170</sup> qui sunt<sup>171</sup> entre les monteignes et la mer<sup>172</sup>. Il<sup>173</sup> descendirent es plains de la cite d'Acree. Iluecques<sup>174</sup> delez<sup>175</sup> la cité<sup>176</sup>, sur<sup>177</sup> une eue corant<sup>178</sup>, tendirent leur paveillons<sup>179</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> cele noble] la noble F50 F57 F73 F77

<sup>146</sup> La] si F36; ou ilz F44; et la F50 F57 F73

<sup>147</sup> logierent] logierent illec F36

<sup>148</sup> devant] delez F37 F42; pres F06

<sup>149</sup> la] cele F31

<sup>150</sup> tresnoble] noble F06 F30 F37 F42; haute F50 F73 F77; terre noble F69 F78

<sup>151</sup> fontaine] cité F43 F45 F51 F60; cité fontaine F61 F62 F63 F65; cité fontaine F64

<sup>152</sup> si] tant F36

<sup>153</sup> qui si est renommée qui est fontaine] F06 F30 F31 F32 F33 F34 F35 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F70 F72 *lack*

<sup>154</sup> cortiz] jardins F36

<sup>155</sup> puiz] pres F06

<sup>156</sup> eues] eues douces F32

<sup>157</sup> vivanz] F43 F45 F51 F62 *lack*; coranz F58 F64

<sup>158</sup> devant la tresnoble ... l'escriture] F44 *lacks*; et puiz des eues vivanz si com dit l'escriture] si com dit l'escriture el puis des eiues vivans F70

<sup>159</sup> Es jardins mout] En une leue F49

<sup>160</sup> delitables] delittables et la F44

<sup>161</sup> mout delitables furent] qui furent molt delitables virent F54; furent logies F65

<sup>162</sup> une] celle F34 F37

<sup>163</sup> es jardins mout ... nuit] Il furent es jardins molt delitables une nuit F31; qui est fontaine ... nuit] et si courant la ou il a si rizez jardinz si comme dist l'escriture. En celui lieu si delitable furent une nuit F50 F57 F73 F77; furent une nuit] F63 *lacks*

<sup>164</sup> Quant] et que F30; Et quant F31

<sup>165</sup> adjourné] hour F65

<sup>166</sup> il] F05 F31 F41 *lack*, et F51 F53; si F70; Quant il fu adjourné il] L'endemain F44

<sup>167</sup> mistrent] remistrent F04 F05 F31 F35 F37 F38 F41 F49 F69 F78

<sup>168</sup> il se mistrent a la voie] F03 F36 *lack*; voie] chemin F37 F42 F65

<sup>169</sup> Il] F02 *lacks*; si F31, et F06 F39 F40 F43 F44 F51 F53 F65; et il F50 F57 F73 F77

<sup>170</sup> perilleus] destroit F63

<sup>171</sup> sunt] siet F40; est F44 F49 F50 F53 F54 F55 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F72

<sup>172</sup> mout perilleus qui ... mer] qui est entre les montaignes et la mer molt perillous F70

<sup>173</sup> il] F02 *lacks*, si F06; et F44 F55 F58 F70 F72

<sup>174</sup> Iluecques] F30 F53 *lack*; et iluec F50 F57

<sup>175</sup> delez] au pres de F36; pres F57 F73; pres de F50 F77

<sup>176</sup> delez la cité] F04 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F43 F42 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F70 F72 *lack*; cité] mer F34

<sup>177</sup> sur] La sour F53; de sur a F57 F73

<sup>178</sup> corant] si F69 F74 F78

<sup>179</sup> tendirent leur paveillons] se logierent F77

Book 11 Chapter 14  
Based upon F02 & F38

$\alpha$	$\lambda_1$	$\lambda_2$	$\beta$	
F01 125r-v	F50 141r-v	F49 123r-v	F06 106v	F47 68v
F02 75r-v	F57 119v-120r	F69 165r-v	F30 96r	F48 85r
F03 77r-v	F70 117r-v	F71 A80v	F32 80r	F51 85r
F04 54v-55r	F72 113v	F74 145r-v	F33 101r	F53 121v
F05 121v-122r	F73 95v-96r	F78 133v	F34 84r	F54 86v-87r
F31 112v	F77 128v-129r		F36 109v	F55 70v-71r
F35 88r			F37 165r-v	F58 96r-v
F38 62v			F39 218	F60 104r-v
F41 158v			F40 100v	F61 94v-95r
F52 94v			F42 153v-154r	F62 Ms. 22496
			F43 96v-97r	110v-111r
			F44 135r	F63 104v
			F45 97v	F64 117r
			F46 ms.	F65 180r-v
			mutilated	

Ne<sup>1</sup> demora gueres<sup>2</sup> en cele saison meismes<sup>3</sup>, que la novele<sup>4</sup> de la terre<sup>5</sup> d'outremer<sup>6</sup> qui ainsi<sup>7</sup> estoit<sup>8</sup> conquise et<sup>9</sup> ou l'en guerrioit<sup>10</sup> les ennemis<sup>11</sup> Nostre Seigneur<sup>12</sup>, fu alee<sup>13</sup> jusques<sup>14</sup> en<sup>15</sup> Occident en la terre<sup>16</sup> qui a<sup>17</sup> nom Noroegue<sup>18</sup>. Assez i<sup>19</sup> ot<sup>20</sup> chevaliers<sup>21</sup> et autres gens a<sup>22</sup> qui<sup>23</sup> li<sup>24</sup> talens prist<sup>25</sup> du<sup>26</sup> pelerinage<sup>27</sup> por aler<sup>28</sup> au Sepuchre<sup>29</sup>. Ilz apareillerent bele<sup>30</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ne] Le F61 (*Ne marginalia*)

<sup>2</sup> gueres] F52 *lacks*; gaires que F60 F61 F62

<sup>3</sup> Ne demora gueres en cele saison meismes] En cele saison meisme ne demora gaires F 31; en cele meisme saison F42 F44; meismes] F37 *lacks*; saison meismes] meismes saison F57

<sup>4</sup> novele] novele vint F30; nouvele de la nouvele F57

<sup>5</sup> de la terre] F30 F36 *lack*

<sup>6</sup> que la novele de la terre d'outremer] F61 F65 *lack*

<sup>7</sup> ainsi] ici F49; si F70 F72

<sup>8</sup> estoit] avoit esté F43 F45 F47 F51 F53

<sup>9</sup> et] F49 F50 F69 F71 F72 F78 *lack*

<sup>10</sup> guerrioit] grevoit F69 F71 F74 F78

<sup>11</sup> ennemis] ennemis de F37 F42

<sup>12</sup> et ou l'en guerrioit les ennemis Nostre Seigneur] F36 *lacks*

<sup>13</sup> alee] alee outré mer F57

<sup>14</sup> jusques] F60 F62 *lack*

<sup>15</sup> en] F32 *lacks*

<sup>16</sup> terre] mer F72

<sup>17</sup> a] ot F51 F53

<sup>18</sup> Noroegue] Norweie F50

<sup>19</sup> Assez i] a plenté] F36

<sup>20</sup> i ot] F51 F53 *lack*

<sup>21</sup> chevaliers] de chevaliers F48

<sup>22</sup> a]  $\lambda_2$  F01 F05 F31 F38 F50 F57 F73 *lack*

<sup>23</sup> qui] F41 *lacks*

<sup>24</sup> li] F30 F36 F60 *lack*; a F37 F42 F64

<sup>25</sup> talens prist] prist talent F34

<sup>26</sup> prist du] prist voulente d'ilec F36

navie<sup>31</sup> et se mistrent ens par la mer d'Engleterre. S'en<sup>32</sup> alerent<sup>33</sup> jusques ilz<sup>34</sup> vindrent en la mer d'Acre<sup>35</sup>. Puis<sup>36</sup> arriverent<sup>37</sup> au port de Japhe. Sires<sup>38</sup> et chevetaines<sup>39</sup> de cele navie<sup>40</sup> estoit<sup>41</sup> un moult<sup>42</sup> beaus bachelers<sup>43</sup>, blons<sup>44</sup> et grans<sup>45</sup> et bien fez<sup>46</sup>, frere<sup>47</sup> le roi de Noroegue<sup>48</sup>. Quant<sup>49</sup> ilz<sup>50</sup> furent arivez ainsi<sup>51</sup> pour rendre<sup>52</sup> leur veus<sup>53</sup> et<sup>54</sup> parfaire<sup>55</sup> lors<sup>56</sup> pelerinages<sup>57</sup> s'en<sup>58</sup> alerent en Jherusalem<sup>59</sup>. Quant<sup>60</sup> li Rois oi la<sup>61</sup> noveles<sup>62</sup> de<sup>63</sup> la venue de<sup>64</sup> cele gent, hastivement s'en<sup>65</sup> vint<sup>66</sup> a eus et<sup>67</sup> grant joie leur fist<sup>68</sup> et leur envoia beaus<sup>69</sup>

<sup>27</sup> pelerinage] pelerinage d'outremer F77

<sup>28</sup> por aler] F36 *lacks*; du pelerinage por aler] d'aler en pelerinage et F45 F60 F61 F62 F65

<sup>29</sup> Sepuchre] saint sepulchre F37 F53 F65

<sup>30</sup> bele] buone F43

<sup>31</sup> navie] F60 *lacks*

<sup>32</sup> S'en] Si s'en F47 F55 F61

<sup>33</sup> s'en alerent] F36 *lacks*; par la mer d'Engleterre s'en alerent] s'en allerent par la mer d'angleterre F37 F42

<sup>34</sup> S'en alerent jusques ilz] tant qu'il F50; Tant alerent qu'il F70 F72

<sup>35</sup> S'en alerent jusques ilz vindrent en la mer d'Acre] F31 F74 *lack*; d'Acre] F36 *lacks*

<sup>36</sup> Puis] et F58 F64

<sup>37</sup> arriverent] arresterent et se ancrerent F36

<sup>38</sup> Sires] Souverain seigneur F37 F42

<sup>39</sup> et chevetaines] F36 *lacks*

<sup>40</sup> navie] galie F58 F64; et se mistrent ... navie] F69 *lacks*

<sup>41</sup> Sires et chevetaines de cele navie estoit] si estoit chevetaines de cele navie F30; de cele navie estoit] estoit de cele navie F34 F36 F45 F51 F53; fu de cele navie F71 F74 F78; estoit] F47 *lacks*

<sup>42</sup> moult] F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 *lack*

<sup>43</sup> de cele navie ... bachelers] estoit uns biaux bachelers de cele navie F60 F61 F62 F65; bachelors] chevalier Chastelains avoit nom F70 F72; chastelains F50 F77

<sup>44</sup> blons] bons F04

<sup>45</sup> blons et grans] granz et blons F48; grans] blans F60 F61 F62 F65

<sup>46</sup> un moult beaus ... fez] F36 *lacks*

<sup>47</sup> frere] le frere du F36; blons et grans et bien fez frere] F49 *lacks*

<sup>48</sup> que la nouvele ... Noroegue] se mistrent en mer des parties d'occident de la terre nonmee norweghe grant nombre de chevaliers et autres vaillans homes pour aller en pelerinage au saint sepulcre et tant furent qu'ilz arriverent au port de jaffe de celle compaignie estoit chies hault prince frere du roy de norweghe F44;

Noroegue] Norgales F50

<sup>49</sup> Quant] Et quant F38

<sup>50</sup> Quant ilz] Et aussi l'ost qu'ilz F44

<sup>51</sup> arivez ainsi] ainsy arriviez F37; ainsi] il issirent F50 F72; il issirent a terre F70

<sup>52</sup> rendre] faire F02

<sup>53</sup> veus] pelerinage F48

<sup>54</sup> et] et pour F61 F65

<sup>55</sup> parfaire] por parfere F48 F60 F62

<sup>56</sup> lors] le F04

<sup>57</sup> ainsi pour rendre leur veus et parfaire lors pelerinages] F36 *lacks*; pelerinages] veuz F48

<sup>58</sup> s'en] ilz s'en F36; F58 F64 *lack*; et s'en F70; si s'en F77

<sup>59</sup> Quant ilz furent ... Jherusalem] F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>60</sup> Quant] F30 F54 F55 F58 F64 *lack*; Et quant F60 F62

<sup>61</sup> la] F01 F38 F41 F49 F50 F52 F53 F57 F73 *lack*; ces F74 F78

<sup>62</sup> noveles] verité F33

<sup>63</sup> la noveles de] F04 F32 F34 F37 F40 F42 F48 F54 F55 *lacks*

<sup>64</sup> la venue de] F06 F30 F33 F39 F43 F45 F47 F51 F53 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65 F69 F71 F74 F77 F78 *lack*; de] a F50 F57

<sup>65</sup> s'en F44 *lacks*

<sup>66</sup> vint] prist F06 (*vint marginalia*); ala F71

<sup>67</sup> et] F01 F05 F37 F39 F40 F41 F42 F48 F49 F50 F52 F55 F57 F58 F60 F62 F64 F69 F70 F71 F72 F73 *lack*

<sup>68</sup> grant joie leur fist] lour fist molt grant joie F30

presenz. Mout se acointa debonnairement<sup>70</sup> de ces haut<sup>71</sup> home qui estoit chies<sup>72</sup> des autres<sup>73</sup>. Puis<sup>74</sup> leur demanda se ilz<sup>75</sup> avoient proposement<sup>76</sup>, pour<sup>77</sup> Dieu<sup>78</sup> et pour l'onneur<sup>79</sup> de<sup>80</sup> la Crestienté, que ilz demorassent<sup>81</sup> en la terre tant, que par la volenté Nostre<sup>82</sup> Seigneur<sup>83</sup> et par<sup>84</sup> leur<sup>85</sup> aide<sup>86</sup>, l'en<sup>87</sup> eust conquis aucune<sup>88</sup> des<sup>89</sup> cités des<sup>90</sup> Sarrasins<sup>91</sup> qui<sup>92</sup> sieent<sup>93</sup> sur<sup>94</sup> la mer<sup>95</sup>. Ilz pristrent conseil entr'eus<sup>96</sup> et respondirent que<sup>97</sup> par tele intencion<sup>98</sup>, qu'ilz servissent Nostre Seigneur, estoient ilz meuz<sup>99</sup> de leur<sup>100</sup> pais et venu jusques la<sup>101</sup>. Et<sup>102</sup> prometoient bien<sup>103</sup> le roi<sup>104</sup> que, se<sup>105</sup> il voloit<sup>106</sup> asseoir une<sup>107</sup> des<sup>108</sup> citez<sup>109</sup> de la

<sup>69</sup> beaus] de beaus F06 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65; molt bel F31

<sup>70</sup> debonnairement] F30 *lacks*

<sup>71</sup> haut] grant F50 F70

<sup>72</sup> chies] chievetains F31; chies et souverain F37; riches et chies F64

<sup>73</sup> et leur envoya ... autres] honnourablement les recut grans presens leur donna et fort s'acointa du prince qui estoit chies de sa compaignie F44

<sup>74</sup> Quant li Rois ... Puis] Si tost que li roi sceut la venue de celle nation il s'en vindrent eulx et les receu honnourablement puis leur envoia de beaux presens moult s'aquointa de ce hault home et F36

<sup>75</sup> ilz] lui et ses compaignons F45

<sup>76</sup> se ilz avoient proposement] pria moult chierement F37; leur pria chierement F42; intencion de F44

<sup>77</sup> pour] por amor de F48

<sup>78</sup> Dieu] l'amour de dieu F42; server nostre seigneur F44

<sup>79</sup> pour l'onneur] F37 *lacks*; l'onneur] F50 F57 F73 *lack*

<sup>80</sup> l'onneur de] F65 *lacks*

<sup>81</sup> demorassent] retournaissent F60; ne retournaissent F65

<sup>82</sup> Nostre] de nostre F06 F32 F33 F36 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F48 F51 F53 F54 F57 F65 F71 F73 F77; et par nostre F72

<sup>83</sup> Nostre Seigneur] F69 F74 *lack*

<sup>84</sup> proposement, pour Dieu ... par] intention de non partir de la terre tant que par la volenté de nostre seigneur et moienat F36

<sup>85</sup> leur] sa lor F02

<sup>86</sup> par la volenté Nostre Seigneur et par leur aide] F30 *lacks*; leur aide] aide lor F69 F74

<sup>87</sup> l'en] F69 F74 *lack*

<sup>88</sup> aucune] une F34

<sup>89</sup> des] F01 F30 F36 F49 F69 F71 F74 *lack*; des cez F54

<sup>90</sup> des] que li F57 F73

<sup>91</sup> Sarrasins] sarrasin tenoient F57 F73

<sup>92</sup> qui] F32 *lacks*

<sup>93</sup> siéent] estoient F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F48 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65 F73; des Sarrasins qui siéent] F47 F51 F53 *lack*

<sup>94</sup> qui siéent sur] par F43

<sup>95</sup> qui siéent sur la mer] F36 *lacks*; mer] marine F37 F57 F47; des Sarrasins qui siéent sur la mer] par la marine aux sarrasins F45 F53; sur la mer] de la marine F47 F51; des Sarrasins ... mer] de la marine qui estoient des sarrasins F50 F70 F72

<sup>96</sup> et pour l'onneur ... entr'eus] F44 *lacks*; entr'eus] F60 F61 F62 *lack*

<sup>97</sup> que] F50 F69 *lack*

<sup>98</sup> intencion] cause F44

<sup>99</sup> meuz] venu F01 F53 F69 F74; parti F34

<sup>100</sup> leur] nostre F43

<sup>101</sup> Ilz pristrent conseil ... la] Il se conseilla puis respodi que il estoit parti de sa terre a celle intention F36

<sup>102</sup> Et] si F61 F65

<sup>103</sup> prometoient bien] tres bien prometoit F36; bien] F44 F53 F60 F74 *lack*

<sup>104</sup> le roi] roi le F38; bien le roi] le roy bien F69

<sup>105</sup> se] F69 *lacks*

<sup>106</sup> voloit] F43 F45 F47 F53 *lack*; voloit le roy F69

marine<sup>110</sup>, menast<sup>111</sup> son ost par terre il<sup>112</sup> menroient leur<sup>113</sup> navie<sup>114</sup> par mer<sup>115</sup> et volontiers lui<sup>116</sup> aideroient<sup>117</sup> selon leurs<sup>118</sup> pooir<sup>119</sup> a<sup>120</sup> bone foi<sup>121</sup>. Quant<sup>122</sup> li rois<sup>123</sup> oi leur proposement<sup>124</sup>, grant joie en<sup>125</sup> ot<sup>126</sup> et sans demorance<sup>127</sup> fist semondre<sup>128</sup> tant<sup>129</sup> com il pot avoir de chevaliers<sup>130</sup> en son regne<sup>131</sup>. Puis<sup>132</sup> amena tout<sup>133</sup> son<sup>134</sup> ost<sup>135</sup> devant<sup>136</sup> la cité de Saiette<sup>137</sup>. Une<sup>138</sup> grant<sup>139</sup> navie de Turs<sup>140</sup> estoit<sup>141</sup> meue<sup>142</sup> de la cité<sup>143</sup> d'Acre<sup>144</sup>, por venir<sup>145</sup> aidier a lor gent<sup>146</sup> de Saiette<sup>147</sup>, si que pres que<sup>148</sup> tuit<sup>149</sup> ensemble vindrent<sup>150</sup> cil dui

<sup>107</sup> une] nule F43 F45 F47 F53; aucune F44 F55 F58 F64F69 F74 F78

<sup>108</sup> des] de ces F36; F62 F71 *lack*

<sup>109</sup> une des citez] aucune ville F74

<sup>110</sup> marine] marine qu'il F36 F42

<sup>111</sup> menast] et menast F03 F35; si menast F31

<sup>112</sup> il] et qu'il F36; et il F69

<sup>113</sup> leur] son F36; le suen F51

<sup>114</sup> navie] F43 F51 *lack*

<sup>115</sup> il menroient leur navie par mer] F03 *lacks*; mer] la mer F44

<sup>116</sup> lui] F69 *lacks*

<sup>117</sup> volontiers lui aideroient] lui aideroient molt volontiers F30; F36 *lacks*; aideroient] aideroient a bone foi F70

<sup>118</sup> leurs] son F54 F74

<sup>119</sup> pooir] pooir que il avoient λ1 λ2

<sup>120</sup> a] en F04

<sup>121</sup> selon leurs pooir a bone foi] F30 F36 *lack*; en bone foy aumoit selon leur pouvoir F37; a bone foy selon leur pouvoir F42

<sup>122</sup> Quant] et quant F61

<sup>123</sup> li rois] rois le F38

<sup>124</sup> proposement] proposement et bone volenté F42; response F44 F65

<sup>125</sup> en] grant F01

<sup>126</sup> grant joie en ot] si en ot grant joie F30; si en ot molt grant joie F31; ce il en fu bien joieux F36; ot] out et grandement les mercia F44

<sup>127</sup> et sans demorance] si F30; demorance] arrest F36; sans demorance] incontinent F65

<sup>128</sup> fist semondre] semondre fist F77

<sup>129</sup> tant] tant pou F06

<sup>130</sup> com il pot avoir de chevaliers] chevaliers com il pot avoir F01 F04 F35 F50 F69 F78; de chevaliers come il pot avoir F06 F32 F33 F34 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F49 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F70 F71 F72 F73 F74 F77; de chevaliers qu'il peust finex F65; de chevaliers] F37 *lacks*

<sup>131</sup> regne] conroi armé F45; conroi F52

<sup>132</sup> fist semondre tant ... Puis] assembla son pouvoir F44

<sup>133</sup> tout] F01 F70 F72 *lack*

<sup>134</sup> son] son avoir F38

<sup>135</sup> amena tout son ost] vint F36; et vint F44

<sup>136</sup> com il pot ... devant] sa gent si en mena tout sa gent F30; devant] en F45 F47 F51

<sup>137</sup> Saiette] Acre F57

<sup>138</sup> Une] D'autre part une F37 F42

<sup>139</sup> grant] F37 *lacks*

<sup>140</sup> de Turs] F06 *lacks*; de crestiens F50 F70 F72

<sup>141</sup> estoit] restoit F06 F30 F33 F36 F57 F70 F72 F73 F77; partie F37 F42 F65; re estoit F57 F70; i avoit F58 F64

<sup>142</sup> meue] venue F57; partis F65

<sup>143</sup> de la cité] F64 *lacks*

<sup>144</sup> d'Acre] de Ascalon F06; de Sur F57 F73; estoit meue de la cité d'Acre] F34 *lacks*

<sup>145</sup> por venir] venoit por F34

<sup>146</sup> lor gent] ceus F34 F36 F60 F61 F62; secourir ceulx F65

<sup>147</sup> une grant navie ... Saiette] F01 F31 F41 F48 F49 F51 F52 F53 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>148</sup> que] F01 F02 F05 F06 F30 F33 F34 F36 F39 F40 F54 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>149</sup> tuit] F34 *lacks*

ost<sup>151</sup> cele<sup>152</sup> part<sup>153</sup>. Saiette<sup>154</sup>, cele cité<sup>155</sup>, siet<sup>156</sup> sur la mer<sup>157</sup> entre Baruth et Sur<sup>158</sup> en<sup>159</sup> la province<sup>160</sup> de Fenice<sup>161</sup>; moult<sup>162</sup> a<sup>163</sup> beau siege<sup>164</sup> de vile<sup>166</sup>. Anciene citez est moult<sup>167</sup>. Sydon<sup>168</sup>, li fils<sup>169</sup> Canaam, la fonda dont ele tient<sup>170</sup> encore le<sup>171</sup> nom selon le<sup>172</sup> latin<sup>173</sup>. Ele<sup>174</sup> est<sup>175</sup> desouz l'arceveschie de Sur. De ceste cité parlent maintes ancienes<sup>176</sup> escriptures<sup>177</sup>. Dido en fu nee<sup>178</sup>, la roine<sup>179</sup> qui fonda Cartage<sup>180</sup>. Li Rois assist cele vile<sup>181</sup> par mer et<sup>182</sup> par terre<sup>183</sup>.

<sup>150</sup> tuit ensamble vindrent] vindrent tuit ensamble F06; ensemble vindrent] vindrent ensamble F50 F57

<sup>151</sup> vindrent cil dui ost] deux ost estoient venus F36; ost] F57 *lacks*

<sup>152</sup> cele] d'une F48

<sup>153</sup> Ne demora gueres ... part] F63 *lacks*

<sup>154</sup> Saiette] de F74 F78; F69 *lacks*

<sup>155</sup> cele cité] F36 *lacks*; Saiette cele cité] Celle cité Saiete F37 F42 F57; la cité de Saiete si F43 F45 F47 F53; cele cité] F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*

<sup>156</sup> siet] si est F49

<sup>157</sup> mer] marine F57 F71 F73; sur la mer] F70 *lacks*

<sup>158</sup> cele part. Saiette ... Sur] F30 *lacks*; Une grant navie ... Sur] F44 *lacks*

<sup>159</sup> en] qui est F44; et F49 F77

<sup>160</sup> province] terre F44

<sup>161</sup> Fenice] Sur F36; en la province de Fenice] F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*

<sup>162</sup> moult] et mout F74

<sup>163</sup> a] i F06 F43 F45 F47 F51 F53 F54 F60 F62 F63

<sup>164</sup> a beau siege] siet biau F57 F73; siege] situation F37 F42

<sup>165</sup> de] cele F57 F70 F72 F73

<sup>166</sup> moult a beaus siege de vile] F30 F36 *lack*

<sup>167</sup> moult] molt plasiens F31; plasiens F35 *lacks* text prior to this point; ancienne citez est moult] elle est moult ancienne citez F36; si est molt ansiene cité F70; moult a beau ... citéz est moult] Cest cité est moult ancienne et bien assise F44

<sup>168</sup> Sydon] F31 F36 F44 F69 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>169</sup> li fils] F01 F02 F03 F04 F05 F06 F31 F32 F33 F34 F36 F38 F39 F41 F43 F45 F47 F48 F50 F51 F52 F53 F54 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 F69 F70 F71 F72 F73 F74 F77 F78 *lack*; et F74

<sup>170</sup> tient] a F50 F57 F73 F77; en tient F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>171</sup> le] son F57

<sup>172</sup> le] F69 F74 F77 *lacks*

<sup>173</sup> Sydon li fils Canaan la fonda dont ele tient encore le nom selon le latin] F37 F42 *lack*; latin] latin de sydoine F70

<sup>174</sup> Ele] et elle F74

<sup>175</sup> est] iert F71 F78

<sup>176</sup> ancienes] F31 F35 F57 F73 *lack*

<sup>177</sup> Ele est dessouz l'arceveschie de Sur. De ceste cité parlent maintes ancienes escriptures] F04 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 *lack*; escripture] estoirs F41

<sup>178</sup> en fu nee] la fonda F71 F74 F78; F69 *lacks*

<sup>179</sup> la roine] F32 F43 F47 F45 F51 F53 F54 F60 F61 F62 F65 *lack*; Dido en fu nee la roine] la royne Dido en fut nee F37 F42

<sup>180</sup> Cartage] la cité de Cartage F32 F43 F45 F47; De ceste cité ... Cartage] maintes ansienes escriptures dient que Dido la royne qui fonda Cartage en fu nee F70 F72

<sup>181</sup> vile] cité F36 F44 F57 F71 F73; ville et F43

<sup>182</sup> par mer et] F30 *lacks*

<sup>183</sup> mer et par terre] terre et par mer F04 F06 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; et par terre et par mer F72

Book 12 Chapter 1  
Based upon F38

$\alpha$	$\lambda_1$	$\lambda_2$	$\beta$	
F01 135v	F50 152v	F49 ms.	F06 115r	F47 73v
F02 78r	F57 129v	mutilated	F30 ms.	F48 92r
F03 83v	F70 125v	F69 116r	mutilated	F51 91v
F04 59r	F72 123v	F71 A90r	F32 86r	F53 131r
F05 132r	F73 103r	F74 157r	F33 ms.	F54 147r
F31 132r	F77 136v	F78 142v	mutilated	F55 80r
F35 94v			F34 90v	F58 104v
F38 67v			F36 112r	F60 112v
F41 166r			F37 177v	F61 102v
F52 102r			F39 235	F62 118v
			F40 80r	F63 111v
			F42 165r	F64 126r
			F43 104r	F65 192r
			F44 ms.	
			mutilated	
			F45 102r	
			F46 ms.	
			mutilated	

Xersés<sup>1</sup> fu uns puissans rois de la terre qui a non Aise et avoit<sup>2</sup> grant contenz<sup>3</sup> au roiaume<sup>4</sup> de Grece<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Xersés] Persés F01 F04 F31 F35 F37 F40 F52 F54 F60 F64 F65 F69 F74 F78; Cersés F34 F61 F62, Yersés F42; Sersés F51; Rerxés F57

<sup>2</sup> avoit] avoit molt F04  $\beta$

<sup>3</sup> contenz] debat F37 F42; gent F43 F45 F47 F51; plente de gens F53

<sup>4</sup> roiaume] terre F36

<sup>5</sup> Grece] Egypte F04 F06 F32 F33 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F57 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; Persse F34; France et au royaume de Grece F57 F70 F72 F73 F77

Book 15 Chapter 22  
Based upon F02 & F38

$\alpha$	$\lambda 1$	$\lambda 2$	$\beta$	
F01 179v	F50 216r	F49 187r-v	F06 157v-158r	F47 100v-101r
F02 104v	F57 181v-182r	F69 165r-v	F30 131v-132r	F48 127r-v
F03 117r	F70 172r-v	F71 A141r	F32 118v-119r	F51 125r-v
F04 78v-79r	F72 171r-v	F74 220r-v	F33 149r-149v	F53 ms. mutilated
F05 187r	F73 144r-v	F78 198r-v	F34 125r	F54 198r-v
F31 168v-169r	F77 168v-169r		F36 147r	F55 124r
F35 135r-v			F37 118v-119r	F58 148r-v
F38 97v-98r			F39 330-331	F60 151v-152r
F41 205v-206r			F40 100v	F61 139v
F52 142r			F42 189v-190r	F62 Ms. 22497 3r
			F43 143v	F63 153r
			F44 189v-190r	F64 174r-v
			F45 132r	F65 254v-255r
			F46 ms. mutilated	

Lors<sup>1</sup> ne demoura mie<sup>2</sup> que<sup>3</sup> l'emperere<sup>4</sup> vit le tens assouagier<sup>5</sup>. Mes encore ne trouvoit l'en<sup>6</sup> mie<sup>7</sup> par les chans<sup>8</sup> asses<sup>9</sup> pasteures<sup>10</sup> aux<sup>11</sup> chevaux. Pour ce ne vout mie<sup>12</sup> encores<sup>13</sup> esmouvoir ses osts<sup>14</sup>. Sur<sup>15</sup> touz autres deduiz il amoit archoier<sup>16</sup> en<sup>17</sup> bois<sup>18</sup>. Un<sup>19</sup> jour avint<sup>20</sup> qu'il i<sup>21</sup> fu<sup>22</sup> alez<sup>23</sup> o pou de compaignie<sup>24</sup> de chevaliers<sup>25</sup>. Il<sup>26</sup> se<sup>27</sup> fu<sup>28</sup> affustez<sup>29</sup> et tint son

<sup>1</sup> Lors] A lors F43 F45; Aprez ce F44

<sup>2</sup> mie] gaires F05 F30 F44 F65; mie guaires F42; F74 *lacks*

<sup>3</sup> que] quant F43

<sup>4</sup> l'emperere] le empereur de Costantinoble F44

<sup>5</sup> assouagier] abelir F42; tens assouagier] printemps aproucher F44

<sup>6</sup> l'en F01 F33 F44 *lack*

<sup>7</sup> mie] pas F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F70 F72; F40 *lacks*; point F65

<sup>8</sup> par les chans] F43 F45 F51 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 F70 F72 *lack*

<sup>9</sup> asses] F52 *lacks*

<sup>10</sup> asses pasteures] herbe  $\beta$

<sup>11</sup> par les chans asses pasteures aux] herbe par les chans F34; herbe par les pres pour les F37 F42; aux] pour F44 F65

<sup>12</sup> mie] F34 *lacks*; il F44

<sup>13</sup> mie encores] encore pas F06

<sup>14</sup> ses osts] F30 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*; Lors ne demoura ... osts] En ce tandis le printemps revint dont l'empereur fu moult joieux car F36

<sup>15</sup> Sur] mais sor F31 F35

<sup>16</sup> archoier] a chacier F42; chacier F44 F65; atraire F49; F71 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>17</sup> archoier en] la chasse des F36

<sup>18</sup> il amoit archier en bois] F69 *lacks*

<sup>19</sup> Un] et un F44

<sup>20</sup> avint] avint que un jor F05; li avint F43; il amoit archoier ... avint] F31 *lacks*

<sup>21</sup> i] F01 F06 F30 F34 F42 F45 F54 F60 F61 F63 F65  $\lambda 1$   $\lambda 2$  *lack*

<sup>22</sup> fu] estoit F65

<sup>23</sup> alez] alez chacier F01 F52  $\lambda 1$   $\lambda 2$ ; ales en bois F30 F42 F43; fu alez] alla F44

arc<sup>30</sup> tout<sup>31</sup> tendu<sup>32</sup> et une saiete encochie. Li veneour et li vallet<sup>33</sup> l'empereour<sup>34</sup> orent<sup>35</sup> aceint un<sup>36</sup> buisson<sup>37</sup> ou il avoit grant plente<sup>38</sup> de bestes. Si les commencierent<sup>39</sup> a<sup>40</sup> adrecier tout droit<sup>41</sup> vers le fust<sup>42</sup> ou<sup>43</sup> l'empereour se tenoit<sup>44</sup>. Uns senglers en<sup>45</sup> issi<sup>46</sup> premiers<sup>47</sup> trop<sup>48</sup> granz<sup>49</sup> et passa<sup>50</sup> devant<sup>51</sup> l'empereour. Quant<sup>52</sup> il le vit<sup>53</sup>, si grant volenté<sup>54</sup> ot<sup>55</sup> de li<sup>56</sup> doner<sup>57</sup> grant<sup>58</sup> cop<sup>59</sup>, que il<sup>60</sup> entesa<sup>61</sup> sa<sup>62</sup> saiete<sup>63</sup> jusques<sup>64</sup> au fer au<sup>65</sup> descochier se<sup>66</sup>

<sup>24</sup> compaignie] compaignie son arc en sa main tout tendu a poi de compaignie F31; compaignie] compaignie en bois F33 F39

<sup>25</sup> il i fu alez ... chevaliers] a petite compaignie il estoit ale jouer au bois F36; de chevalier] F44 lacks; chevaliers] chevaliers en bois F45 F47 F54 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; compaignie de chevaliers] chevaliers de compaignie F72

<sup>26</sup> Il] F48 lacks

<sup>27</sup> se] F34 F50 F57 F73 lack

<sup>28</sup> fu] F73 lacks

<sup>29</sup> affustez] bien montez F50; afustez a un chesne F54; montez sor un bon chaceor F57 F73; arestes F72; monte F77

<sup>30</sup> arc] arc en sa main F35; Il se fu afustez ... arc] Il tint une saiete tout encochiee en son arc F36

<sup>31</sup> tout] F72 F74 lack

<sup>32</sup> tendu] F74 lacks

<sup>33</sup> et li vallet F30 F36 lack; vallet] varlet de F42; Li veneour et li vallet] Li escuier et li varlet et li veneour F60 F62; escuier et li veneour F61 F65; valet et li veneour F63

<sup>34</sup> l'empereour] F36 F48 F54 lack

<sup>35</sup> orent] avoient F42

<sup>36</sup> vallet l'empereour aorent aceint un] F74 lacks

<sup>37</sup> buisson tout entor l'empereour F54

<sup>38</sup> grant plante] plenté grant F33

<sup>39</sup> commencierent] prindrent F36

<sup>40</sup> a] F37 lacks

<sup>41</sup> a adrecier tout droit] tout droit amener F01; tout droit adrecier F31 F35 F50 F57 F73 F77 λ2; droit] F32 lacks

<sup>42</sup> vers le fust] la F06 F30 F32 F34 F36 F37 F40 F42 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F61 F64; cele part F31 F35; F33 F39 F43 F58 F60 F62 F63 F65 lack; vers la F64

<sup>43</sup> ou] cel ou F72

<sup>44</sup> se tenoit] estoit F06 F31 F35 F42; F30 F34 lack

<sup>45</sup> en] s'en F30

<sup>46</sup> issi] issi treiot F58

<sup>47</sup> premiers] F43 F74 lack; premiers que merveilles estoit F47; devant F54

<sup>48</sup> trop] F47 lacks

<sup>49</sup> trop granz] F02 F30 lack; en issi premierz trop granz] F36 lacks; Uns senglers en issi premiers trop granz] un trop grant senglers s'en issi F70 F72

<sup>50</sup> passa] passa par F06

<sup>51</sup> devant] par devant F42 F43; vers F74; en issi premierz ... devant] moult grant s'en tira tout droit a F65

<sup>52</sup> Quant] et quant F30 F31 F35

<sup>53</sup> vit] vit venir vers lui F57 F73

<sup>54</sup> grant volenté] F30 lacks

<sup>55</sup> si grant volenté ot] si ot si grant volent F31; si ot grante volenté F35; ot] lui vint F36; li prist F43

<sup>56</sup> ot de li] li puis de F72

<sup>57</sup> doner] ferir F52; li doner] doner li F06 F42 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F70 F72; doner F47

<sup>58</sup> grant] un F31; ung F42; un grant F47

<sup>59</sup> doner grant cop] ferir parmi le cors λ2

<sup>60</sup> doner grant cop que il] ferir si F30

<sup>61</sup> entesa] tendi F72

<sup>62</sup> sa] la F02 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F42 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F61 F64 F72; sa la F03

<sup>63</sup> saiete] saiete tres toute F58

<sup>64</sup> jusques] deschi F31 F35

navra<sup>67</sup> en la main. La saiete estoit entouschiée<sup>68</sup>. Tantost<sup>69</sup> li venin li<sup>70</sup> commença<sup>71</sup> a<sup>72</sup> corre<sup>73</sup> parmi<sup>74</sup> le<sup>75</sup> bras<sup>76</sup> si que il lui<sup>77</sup> enfla<sup>78</sup>. Quant l'empereurs senti<sup>79</sup> qu'il<sup>80</sup> estoit<sup>81</sup> ainsi<sup>82</sup> bleciez<sup>83</sup> du bois se<sup>84</sup> parti<sup>85</sup> isnelment<sup>86</sup> et vint<sup>87</sup> en ses tentes. Lors envoya querre<sup>88</sup> les mires<sup>89</sup> dont il avoit<sup>90</sup> assez<sup>91</sup>. [Dans<sup>92</sup> Hues de Pierrefons et<sup>93</sup> Dans Gautier et tant des autres que je ne vous sauroie nommer<sup>94</sup>. Que chascunz i venoit volantierz por si haut homme<sup>95</sup> comme li emperieres iert<sup>96</sup>. Il en i ot un qui li dist] L'achoisson<sup>97</sup> de sa maladie<sup>98</sup> leur dist<sup>99</sup>. Cilz<sup>100</sup> quistrent<sup>101</sup> triaque et<sup>102</sup> toutes les<sup>103</sup> choses par quoi ilz<sup>104</sup> cuiderent restraindre<sup>105</sup> le

<sup>65</sup> au] et au F31 F57 F65

<sup>66</sup> se] il se F42

<sup>67</sup> se navra] il s'en bleca F36; navra] blessa F65

<sup>68</sup> entouschiée] entoschiee de venin F01; empoisonne F36; envenimée F42

<sup>69</sup> Tantost] et tantost F31; et F42

<sup>70</sup> li] F50 *lacks*; en F61

<sup>71</sup> li venin li commença] li comença li venins F04

<sup>72</sup> commença a] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; a] a de F61

<sup>73</sup> corre] couler F48

<sup>74</sup> parmi] au long F36; toute contreval F58

<sup>75</sup> corre parmi le] monter ou F65

<sup>76</sup> bras] bras telement F42; bras contremont F57 F73

<sup>77</sup> lui] F47 F69 F71 F78 *lack*

<sup>78</sup> enfla] enfla touz F31 F35; si que il lui enfla] F36 *lacks*; enfla] enfla tout F42; Il se fu afustez ... enfla] chasser pour prendre bestes sauvages tenant en sa main ung arc et des saiettes. Les veneurs trouverent ung buisson ou il avoit plusieurs bestes que ilz furent assez droit au lieu ou il estoit. Si tost que il les apercut il enteza en son arc une saiette pour traire a ung senglier qui vers lui venoit et tellement que il la mist jusques au fer. Maiz au descocher ne navri en la main tressort et aussi tost lui enfla le braz et la main moult l'aidement F44; si que il lui enfla] et sense incontinent moult fort F65

<sup>79</sup> senti] entendi F50 F57 F73 F77; se senti F30 F33 F34 F36 F43 F44 F51 F58 F64 F65 F70 F72; F74 *lacks*; quant l'empereor se senti] Voiant l'empereur F36

<sup>80</sup> qu'il] se il F43

<sup>81</sup> qu'il estoit] F30 F44 F45 F51 F58 *lack*

<sup>82</sup> ainsi] issi F48; si F51

<sup>83</sup> ainsi bleciez] F43 *lacks*

<sup>84</sup> se] s'en F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; si se F42

<sup>85</sup> du bois se parti] si ce parti dou bois F31 F35; parti] retorna F43 F45 F51; de parti F57

<sup>86</sup> isnelement] instement F05; hastivement F42; tantost F58; du bois se parti isnelment] il part du bois F44; isnelment s'en parti dou bois F70 F72

<sup>87</sup> du bois se parti isnelement et vint] il partir du bois et s'en ala F36

<sup>88</sup> querre] il querres F42

<sup>89</sup> mires] mieges F49 F71 F78

<sup>90</sup> avoit] i avoit F01 F03 F04 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65

<sup>91</sup> assez] en l'ost Entre les quelz y vint F44

<sup>92</sup> Dans] F06 F44 *lack*

<sup>93</sup> et] et ung nomme F44

<sup>94</sup> que je ne vous sauroie nommer] F44 *lacks*

<sup>95</sup> homme] prince F48

<sup>96</sup> dont il i avoit ... iert] et il i vindrent tantost F30 F34; F36 *lacks*; li emperieres iert] estoit l'empereur F44

<sup>97</sup> l'achoisson] et l'ochoisson F31 F35; la cause F36

<sup>98</sup> Il en i ot ... de sa maladie] F44 *lacks*

<sup>99</sup> leur dist] β *lack*

<sup>100</sup> Cil] Les quelz F44; avoit asses. L'achoisson de sa maladie leur dist. Cilz] F71 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>101</sup> quistrent] pristrent F04 λ2 β

venin<sup>106</sup>. Assez<sup>107</sup> en parlerent<sup>108</sup> mes<sup>109</sup> pou<sup>110</sup> lui<sup>111</sup> firent d'aide<sup>112</sup> car parmi le bras<sup>113</sup> estoit<sup>114</sup> ja li venins<sup>115</sup> expandus<sup>116</sup> ou cors<sup>117</sup>. Lors<sup>118</sup> se<sup>119</sup> commença plus<sup>120</sup> sentir<sup>121</sup> agreve<sup>122</sup> l'emperieres<sup>123</sup>. Li<sup>124</sup> mire<sup>125</sup> pristrent conseil entre eus<sup>126</sup> et virent bien<sup>127</sup> que toute la force<sup>128</sup> de<sup>129</sup> l'entouschement movoit<sup>130</sup> de la main<sup>131</sup> ou<sup>132</sup> li cop avoit esté<sup>133</sup>. Si se acorderent<sup>134</sup> que, ancois<sup>135</sup> que les autres<sup>136</sup> parties<sup>137</sup> du corps fussent corrompues<sup>138</sup>, l'en<sup>139</sup> lui copast la main<sup>140</sup> car autre<sup>141</sup> maniere<sup>142</sup> de<sup>143</sup> garison ni s'avoient ilz<sup>144</sup> point<sup>145</sup>. Quant

<sup>102</sup> triaque et] F34 *lacks*

<sup>103</sup> toutes les] autres F36 F44

<sup>104</sup> par quoi ilz] F69 F74 *lack*; ilz] F39 *lacks*

<sup>105</sup> restraintre] destraintre F31 F35

<sup>106</sup> le venin] F31 *lacks*; restraintre le venin] le venin oster F06; le venin restraintre F49 F50 F69 F71; le venim retraire F74

<sup>107</sup> Assez] et assez F31

<sup>108</sup> par quoi ilz ... parlerent] F36 *lacks*; pour oster le venin a leur pover F44; en parlerent] et mistrent tout li trure poienne et toute menz F54; parlerent] trouverent F70 F72

<sup>109</sup> mes] et F06

<sup>110</sup> pou] ne F31; petit F49; riens F69 F71 F74 F78

<sup>111</sup> lui] ne li F69 F71 F78

<sup>112</sup> firent d'aide] aiderent F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>113</sup> bras] bras li F61 F65; cors F69

<sup>114</sup> estoit] s'estoit il F49

<sup>115</sup> ...mi le bras estoit ja li venins] F31 *lacks*

<sup>116</sup> li venins expandus] expandu li venin F34 F43

<sup>117</sup> cors] il cors F05; expandus ou cors] ou cors estendus F31 F35; parmi le bras ... cors] par le long du bras le venin lui estoit des ja entre ou cors F36

<sup>118</sup> ou cors. Lors] aincois F42

<sup>119</sup> se] F34 *lacks*

<sup>120</sup> plus] F05 *lacks*

<sup>121</sup> sentir] F78 *lacks*

<sup>122</sup> et plus agreve] lomau F34; Lors se commença ... agrever] Plus assoit avant plus entre goit la maladie F44; plus sentir agreve] asentir plus greves F69 F71 F74; agreve] fu grevez F61 F63; et grever F70 F72

<sup>123</sup> li emperieres] F06 F65 *lack* sentir agreve l'emperieres] a sentir l'empereres et a grever F31; mieges l'empereor F69 F71 F78; les mires l'empereour F74

<sup>124</sup> Li] Mais li F31; Et en fin les F44

<sup>125</sup> mire] medics F44; miege F49; maistre F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>126</sup> entre eus] et assentirent F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F45 F47 F48 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; F06 F42 F43 F51 *lack*

<sup>127</sup> bien] F74 *lacks*

<sup>128</sup> force] flesche F63

<sup>129</sup> la force de] F01 *lacks*

<sup>130</sup> movoit] li movoit do braz et F06; se senoit F42; venoit F57; le venoit F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; movoit bien F78

<sup>131</sup> la main] bras F71

<sup>132</sup> ou] dont F06 F32 F39 F40 F43 F48 F51 F54 F55

<sup>133</sup> ou li cop avoit esté] navrée F42

<sup>134</sup> se acorderent] s'acorderent a ce F48

<sup>135</sup> que, aincois] F06 *lacks*, pristrent conseil entre ... aincois] bien conguenrent que il estoit neccesité lui couper la main avant F44

<sup>136</sup> les autres] une F43 F45; les une F51

<sup>137</sup> parties] moitie F48

<sup>138</sup> corrompues] corrompue du venin que F44

<sup>139</sup> corrompues l'en] entreprises com F31 F35; l'en] que l'en F42 43 F51 F57 F62 F69 F70 F71 F78

<sup>140</sup> main] poing F57 F73; ou li cop ... main] F61 F65 *lack*

<sup>141</sup> autre] il autre F05; en autre F06 F39 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; F74 *lacks*

l'emperierre oi ce<sup>146</sup>, qui<sup>147</sup> estoit hom<sup>148</sup> de grant<sup>149</sup> cuer<sup>150</sup>, bien dist<sup>151</sup>: 'Qu'il sentoit la force du<sup>152</sup> venin vers<sup>153</sup> ses<sup>154</sup> entrailles et<sup>155</sup> grant angoisse<sup>156</sup> souffroit. Mes<sup>157</sup> pour garir<sup>158</sup> ne se<sup>159</sup> lairoit il ja<sup>160</sup> copper la main<sup>161</sup>. [Ce disoit<sup>162</sup> il bien<sup>163</sup> et<sup>164</sup> certainement<sup>165</sup>, le<sup>166</sup> savoit il<sup>167</sup> que<sup>168</sup> ja ne li avendroit que il poist<sup>169</sup> que ja<sup>170</sup> la<sup>171</sup> main li fust<sup>172</sup> coupée<sup>173</sup>.] Car<sup>174</sup> grant honte seroit<sup>175</sup> que<sup>176</sup> li empires<sup>177</sup> de Costantinoble<sup>178</sup> fust<sup>179</sup> gouvernez a<sup>180</sup>

<sup>142</sup> maniere] F34 F44 F77 *lack*

<sup>143</sup> de] de nulle F70 F72

<sup>144</sup> s'avoient ilz] veoient F43 F45 de garrison nis'avoient ilz] ni avoit garison point F60 F62 F63; ni avoit garison nulle F61 F65

<sup>145</sup> de garison ni s'avoient ilz point] n'achaoit point de garison F06; ni veoient il nulle garison F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F44 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F64; nulle garison point F37; ni chacoient il nulle garison F39 F40 F47 F48; ne veoient ilz mie de garison F42; end of chapter F31 F35

<sup>146</sup> ce] les medecins ainsi parlez F44

<sup>147</sup> qui] qui moult F31 F35

<sup>148</sup> hom] F04 F30 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F74 *lack*

<sup>149</sup> grant] bon F06 F32 F33 F37 F39 F40 F45 F48 F54 F55 F60 F62

<sup>150</sup> cuer] cuer et de vaillant F58 F64; oi ce qui estoit home de grant cuer] qui molt et bon cuer oy ce F34; qui estoit de grant cuer oyt ce F42; oy ce qui estoit hom de grant cuer] qui de grant cuer estoit oy ce F70 F72

<sup>151</sup> bien dist] si dist bien F31 F35

<sup>152</sup> force du] F42 *lacks*

<sup>153</sup> vers] entre les F34; dedenz F51

<sup>154</sup> vers ses] par les F70 F72

<sup>155</sup> et] et que F44; F69 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>156</sup> angoisse] dolor F34; poine en F70

<sup>157</sup> Mes] et F32 F33 F37 F40 F45 F47 F48 F51 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; F39 F43 *lack*

<sup>158</sup> Mes pour garir] por garir mes il F06; garir] garantir me la main F43; morir F54

<sup>159</sup> se] F70 F72 F74 *lack*

<sup>160</sup> il ja] pas F06 F61 F63; ja] F32 F37 F39 F40 F45 F47 F48 F54 *lack*; mie F42; pas F60; point F65 lairoit il ja] laisseroit il pas F49; laissa pas F69 F71 F74 F78

<sup>161</sup> la main] F43 *lacks*

<sup>162</sup> disoit] disoit il bien F33

<sup>163</sup> bien] F06 F30 F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>164</sup> il bien et] F64 *lacks*

<sup>165</sup> et certainement] F34 *lacks*

<sup>166</sup> le] F06 *lacks*

<sup>167</sup> certainement le savoit il] F42 *lacks*; il] F54 *lacks*

<sup>168</sup> le savoit il que] F34 *lacks*; que] F37 F39 F40 *lack*

<sup>169</sup> que il poist] F45 *lacks*

<sup>170</sup> que il poist ja] F33 *lacks*

<sup>171</sup> la] sa F33

<sup>172</sup> li fust] n'avroit F32 F37 F47 F48 F55 F58; eust F51

<sup>173</sup> certainement le savoit ... coupée] bien F30; poist que ja la main li fust coupée] penst trover en son cuer de soffrir que l'em li copast la mein F40; que ja la main li fust coupée] que il eust la main coupée F54

<sup>174</sup> avendroit que il ... fust coupée. Car] avroit mestier en seur que F06; pour garir ne ... Car] non pour tant la maiz ne voudroit consentir avoir la main coupée pour doubte de mort ne autrement et que F44

<sup>175</sup> grant honte seroit] il seroit grant honte F57 F73

<sup>176</sup> que] se F49 F70

<sup>177</sup> empires] empereres F02 F06 F31 F32 F33 F35 F39 F42 F44 F47 F48 F50 F57 F61 F72 F73 F74 F77; empires F62 (*corrected from* empereres)

<sup>178</sup> de Constantinoble] F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>179</sup> fust] seroit F31; estoit F49

<sup>180</sup> a] par F43 F51

une<sup>181</sup> main'. [Meismement<sup>182</sup> ne<sup>183</sup> seroit pas droit ne<sup>184</sup> raison<sup>185</sup> a lui et<sup>186</sup> au peuple que il avoit<sup>187</sup> a gouverner car<sup>188</sup> trop<sup>189</sup> a affaire<sup>190</sup>.] Quant<sup>191</sup> cele<sup>192</sup> novele fu einssint<sup>193</sup> expandue par<sup>194</sup> l'ost, que leur sires<sup>195</sup> [estoit<sup>196</sup> einssint<sup>197</sup> plaiez<sup>198</sup> en la main<sup>199</sup> et<sup>200</sup> que il estoit einssint<sup>201</sup> blesciez et<sup>202</sup> entouchiez<sup>203</sup> del venim<sup>204</sup>, que il<sup>205</sup>] se<sup>206</sup> mouroit<sup>207</sup> ainsi<sup>208</sup>, lors<sup>209</sup> firent<sup>210</sup> trop<sup>211</sup> grant duel<sup>212</sup> grant<sup>213</sup> et petit<sup>214</sup> [et<sup>215</sup> riches et pauvres]<sup>216</sup>. Mainte<sup>217</sup> priere firent a Nostre Seigneur que santé lui envoiast<sup>218</sup> se il les en<sup>219</sup> vousist<sup>220</sup> oïr<sup>221</sup>.

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<sup>181</sup> une] une seule F44

<sup>182</sup> Meismement] ne F30 F43; F51 *lacks*

<sup>183</sup> ne] que il ne F32 F37 F47 F60 F62; qui ne F06 F40 F45; ne il ne F51

<sup>184</sup> pas droit ne] par F43; droit ne] F51 *lacks*; ne] F61 *lacks*

<sup>185</sup> ne raison] F30 F55 F58 F64 *lack*; droit ne raison] raison ne droit F44

<sup>186</sup> et] ne F06 F32 F40 F42 F44 F45 F47 F54 F55 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>187</sup> a lui et au peuple que il avoit] car qui la F30; avoit] F47 F48 F51 F54 *lack*

<sup>188</sup> car] F06 F30 F33 *lack*

<sup>189</sup> trop] trop y F42

<sup>190</sup> meismement ne seroit pas droit ... affaire] F34 *lacks*; Lors se commença plus ... affaire] F36 *lacks*; que il avoit ... affaire] F44 *lacks*

<sup>191</sup> Quant] et quant F05

<sup>192</sup> Quant cele] Si tost que la F44

<sup>193</sup> einssint] F36 F37 F40 F44 F61 F63 F65 *lack*

<sup>194</sup> par] en F36

<sup>195</sup> sires] l'empereur F36 F44; seigneur F42 F65 F70 F72

<sup>196</sup> estoit] se moroit F32 F37; avoit esté F51

<sup>197</sup> einssint] si F30; F33 F43 F45 F63 *lack*; si malement F34; issi F48; en telle maniere F51 F64

<sup>198</sup> plaiez] appareilliez F62

<sup>199</sup> en la main] F06 *lacks*

<sup>200</sup> et] F34 *lacks*

<sup>201</sup> einssint] F39 F41 F43 F47 F48 F51 F60 *lack*; si F06 F32 F61 F63 F65

<sup>202</sup> einssint blesciez et] si F30 F34; einssint plaiez en ... et] F42 *lacks*

<sup>203</sup> entouchiez] si entouche F42

<sup>204</sup> plaiez en la main ... entouchiez del venim] navre grierfment F44

<sup>205</sup> il] F39 *lacks*

<sup>206</sup> se] F78 *lacks*

<sup>207</sup> estoit einssint plaiez ... mouroit] estoit blece F36; mouroit] moroit ainsi F47; moroit molt F54

<sup>208</sup> ainsi] illuec ainsi F31

<sup>209</sup> lors] si F31 F35; tous en F36; Mout en F44; en F54

<sup>210</sup> lors firent] si en orent F30

<sup>211</sup> trop] F03 F06 F30 F31 F32 F33 F34 F35 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F70 F72 *lack*

<sup>212</sup> duel] duel et F78

<sup>213</sup> grant] et grant F40

<sup>214</sup> grant et petit] petite et grant F06 F31 F34 F35 λ1

<sup>215</sup> duel grand et petite et] F30 *lacks*

<sup>216</sup> grant et petite et riches et pauvres] riches et pauvres et petite et grand F58 F64; riches et pauvres] li poure et li rice F30 F42; F44 F65 *lack*; petit et grant et poure et riche F48

<sup>217</sup> Mainte] et maintes F42 F49 F65

<sup>218</sup> santé li envoiast] li amvoiast santé F45; envoiast] vosist F52

<sup>219</sup> en] F06 F57 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*

<sup>220</sup> vousist] vouloir F58

<sup>221</sup> oïr] oy ne escouter F42; oïr de leur preres F69 F71 F74 F78

Book 20 Chapter 11  
Based upon F02 & F38

$\alpha$	$\lambda_1$	$\lambda_2$	$\beta$	
F01 ms. mutilated	F50 306r-v	F49 267v-268r	F06 222v-223r	F47 ms.
F02 146r	F57 263r-v	F69 238r-v	F30 192v-193r	mutilated
F03 162v	F70 221v	F71 B20r	F32 172r-v	F48 181v
F04 110r	F72 243r-v	F74 311v-312r	F33 199v-200r	F51 177v-178r
F05 267v-268r	F73 209v	F78 277r-v	F34 180r-v	F53 238v-239r
F31 241v	F77 231v-232r		F36 188v-189r	F54 278r-v
F35 183v			F37 345r-v	F55 196r-v
F38 146r			F39 475-476	F58 216v-217r
F41 ms. mutilated			F40 149v	F60 214r
F52 201v-202r			F42 324v-325r	F61 193v
			F43 206v-207r	F62 B66v-67r
			F44 259r-v	F63 216r
			F45 189r-v	F64 254v-246r
			F46 110r-v	F65 345v-346r

Puis<sup>1</sup> que li Rois<sup>2</sup> fu retornez<sup>3</sup> en son reame<sup>4</sup> au commencement de<sup>5</sup> cel an<sup>6</sup>, n'avint guerres<sup>7</sup> chose<sup>8</sup> en la terre<sup>9</sup> qui face a raconter<sup>10</sup>. Se ce<sup>11</sup> non que lors<sup>12</sup> fu mors<sup>13</sup> Reniers<sup>14</sup> l'evesques<sup>15</sup> de Lidde<sup>16</sup> et<sup>17</sup> en son lieu fu esleuz et<sup>18</sup> sacrez<sup>19</sup> Bernarz l'abbé<sup>20</sup> de Monte Tabor<sup>21</sup>. Apres<sup>22</sup> quant<sup>23</sup> li<sup>24</sup> novieau tens fu venus, ce fu au<sup>25</sup> commencement du<sup>26</sup> sixte<sup>27</sup> an

<sup>1</sup> Puis] Apres F44

<sup>2</sup> Rois] rois amaurris F30 F37

<sup>3</sup> retornez] retornes en son pays et F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>4</sup> reame] royaume de Jherusalem F44

<sup>5</sup> commencement de] en F36; de] F77 *lacks*

<sup>6</sup> de cel an] F50 *lacks*

<sup>7</sup> de cel an n'avint guerres] n'avint guerres en cel an F74

<sup>8</sup> chose] de chose F33 F36

<sup>9</sup> en la terre] F02 F49 F50 F53 F69 F71 F77 F78 *lack*

<sup>10</sup> raconter] mentenoir en conte F74

<sup>11</sup> ce] tant F36

<sup>12</sup> au commencement de ... non que lors] F44 *lacks*

<sup>13</sup> mors] tres passa F36

<sup>14</sup> Reniers] F58 F65 *lack*; leuses F60 F61 F62 F63

<sup>15</sup> Reniers l'evesque] l'evesque Regnier F37

<sup>16</sup> Lidde] sode F33; fu mors Reniers l'evesques de Lidde] Reginez evesque de Lidde trespasa F44

<sup>17</sup> et] F03 F46 F49 F54 F55 F58 F69 F71 F78  $\lambda_1$  *lack*

<sup>18</sup> esleuz et] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; mis F44 F53 F55 F58 F64

<sup>19</sup> esleuz et sacrez] F36 *lacks*

<sup>20</sup> Bernarz l'abbé] B l'evesque F34; l'abbé] F37 F42 *lack*

<sup>21</sup> Tabor] de Tabor F36; fu esleuz et ... Tabor] Bernarz l'abé de monte tabor et sacrez a evesque F49 F69 F71 F78; en fist ou un autre F50 F57; fu esleus bernart l'abé de monte tabor et sacrez a evesque F70 F72; F73 F77 *lack*; apres lui fu mis un autres de cui je ne sai pas le nom F74; lieu fu esleuz ... Monte Ta...] F60 F61 F62 F63 *lack* (en son |bor); en son lieu ... Tabor] F65 *lacks*

<sup>22</sup> Apres] F74 *lacks*

<sup>23</sup> quant] F03 *lacks*; au F31 F35

<sup>24</sup> quant li] que il F49 F67 F68 F69 F71

<sup>25</sup> au] le F36; F32 F37 *lack*; ce fu au] F44 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*

<sup>26</sup> commencement du] F04 F69 F71 F70 F72  $\beta$  *lack*

du reaume<sup>28</sup> le<sup>29</sup> roy Amauri<sup>30</sup>, li baron<sup>31</sup> de la terre<sup>32</sup> de Surie<sup>33</sup>, cils<sup>34</sup> qui<sup>35</sup> plus sage<sup>36</sup> estoient<sup>37</sup>, se<sup>38</sup> penserent<sup>39</sup> que mout<sup>40</sup> estoit en grant peril<sup>41</sup> toute<sup>42</sup> la crestiente de la<sup>43</sup> terre<sup>44</sup>. Parce que cils puissant home<sup>45</sup> Noradins, qui assez<sup>46</sup> mauls<sup>47</sup> leur avoit fait<sup>48</sup> par maintes fois<sup>49</sup>, avoit<sup>50</sup> ores a<sup>51</sup> sa volenté<sup>52</sup> le<sup>53</sup> reaume d'Egypte<sup>54</sup>. Si<sup>55</sup> que il pooit<sup>56</sup> venir sur les nostre<sup>57</sup> par<sup>58</sup> mer<sup>59</sup> et<sup>60</sup> par terre<sup>61</sup> et<sup>62</sup> destraindre<sup>63</sup> toute<sup>64</sup> la terre<sup>65</sup> en maintes<sup>66</sup> manieres<sup>67</sup>. Et faire tant que par mer<sup>68</sup> ne porroit l'en<sup>69</sup> venir seurement<sup>70</sup> en<sup>71</sup> Jherusalem<sup>72</sup>,

<sup>27</sup> sixte] seizen F34

<sup>28</sup> du reaume] F06 *lacks*

<sup>29</sup> le] dou F57 F73

<sup>30</sup> quant li nouveau temps fu venus ce fu au commencement du sixte an du reaume le roi Amauri] au novel tant F31 F35

<sup>31</sup> baron] gent F34

<sup>32</sup> de la terre] F37 F44 *lack*; le roi Amauri; li baron de la terre] F74 *lacks*

<sup>33</sup> de Surie] β *lack*

<sup>34</sup> cils] et hautes homes aumomsees F37

<sup>35</sup> fu venus ce ... qui] F03 *lacks*; qui] qui les F65

<sup>36</sup> sage] loial gent F34

<sup>37</sup> cils qui plus sage estoient] F31 F35 *lack*; sage estoient] estoient sage F57

<sup>38</sup> se] F53 *lacks*

<sup>39</sup> penserent] por penserent F49 F69 F71 F78; représenterent F60

<sup>40</sup> cils qui plus ... mout] adjuserent que ilz F36; pensans et bien cognoissans que leur terre F44

<sup>41</sup> peril] par F30

<sup>42</sup> toute] F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>43</sup> la] celle F46

<sup>44</sup> de la crestiente de la terre] F36 *lacks*; de la terre] F50 F65 *lack*

<sup>45</sup> cils puissant home] F03 F31 F35 F44 *lack*

<sup>46</sup> assez] tant F37; moult F42

<sup>47</sup> assez mauls] maus outages F44; mauls] F70 F72 *lack*

<sup>48</sup> mauls leur avoit fait] leur avoit fait maus F04 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F39 F40 F45 F46 F48 F51 F54 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63; leur avoit fait de mal et de dommage F37; leur avoit mal fait F55; fait] done F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78

<sup>49</sup> qui asses mauls leur avoit fait par maintes fois] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; par maintes fois] F53 F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>50</sup> avoit] afaire avoit F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78

<sup>51</sup> a] F77 *lacks*

<sup>52</sup> que cils puissant ... volenté] que ilz voieoient que salhadin qui estoit vaillant et puissant et des ja leur avoit fait moult de maux avoit saisi F36; volenté] volenté et tenoit F77

<sup>53</sup> a sa volent le] la seigneurie du F44

<sup>54</sup> ores a sa volenté le reaume d'Egypte] aoren droit le royaume d'egypte a sa volente F74

<sup>55</sup> si] tellement F37 F42

<sup>56</sup> si que il pooit] por F03 F31 F35

<sup>57</sup> les nostre] aus F35; nos gens F36 F37 F42; sur les nostre] F65 *lacks*

<sup>58</sup> par] et par F49 F67 F68 F69 F78

<sup>59</sup> mer] mer par mer F36; sur les nostre par mer] par mer seur les nos F63

<sup>60</sup> et] comme F37

<sup>61</sup> si que il ... terre] et pavoit sur eulz venir par mer et par terre quant bon lui sembloit F44; et par terre] F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*; mer et par terre] terre et par mer F77

<sup>62</sup> et] et por aus F03; aus miese F31; por aus miels et F35

<sup>63</sup> destraindre] constrandre F37 F42

<sup>64</sup> toute] F06 *lacks*

<sup>65</sup> et destraindre toute la terre] F30 *lacks*; los F43

<sup>66</sup> maintes] F42 *lacks*

<sup>67</sup> toute la terre en maintes manieres] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>68</sup> par mer] pelerins F49 F67 F68 F69 F78; sur les nostre par mer] par mer sus le nos F60 F62 F63

<sup>69</sup> l'en] F37 F46 F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*

<sup>70</sup> seurement] λ1 λ2 F03 F31 F35 F43 F53 F64 F78 *lack*; venir seurement] seurement venir F46

qui estoit encore li<sup>73</sup> graindres<sup>74</sup> perils pour la grant plainté des galées<sup>75</sup> et des<sup>76</sup> nés<sup>77</sup> que cil avoit sur mer<sup>78</sup>. Pour ce deviserent<sup>79</sup> li preudome, que bien<sup>80</sup> seroit<sup>81</sup> metiers<sup>82</sup>, que l'en<sup>83</sup> envoiast<sup>84</sup> és<sup>85</sup> terres<sup>86</sup> devers<sup>87</sup> Occident des<sup>88</sup> meilleurs<sup>89</sup> prelas<sup>90</sup> du país<sup>91</sup> qui<sup>92</sup> bien<sup>93</sup> seussent moustrer<sup>94</sup> aux<sup>95</sup> princes bons<sup>96</sup> crestiens<sup>97</sup> le mesaise et<sup>98</sup> le peril<sup>99</sup> de la Sainte<sup>100</sup> terre<sup>101</sup> et leur requissent de par Nostre Seigneur<sup>102</sup> que<sup>103</sup> secorre le venissent<sup>104</sup> en<sup>105</sup> son<sup>106</sup> heritage<sup>107</sup>. Car<sup>108</sup> par leurs gens<sup>109</sup> avoit esté<sup>110</sup> maintes fois<sup>111</sup> li<sup>112</sup> reaumes de Surie<sup>113</sup>

<sup>71</sup> en] en la cité de F37

<sup>72</sup> seurement en Jherusalem] en Jerusalem seurement F34 F60 F61 F62 F63

<sup>73</sup> li] li plus F65

<sup>74</sup> graindres] plus grant F70 F72; encore li graindres] ore li plus grans F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>75</sup> galées] F60 *lacks*

<sup>76</sup> des] autres F37 F42

<sup>77</sup> galées et des nés] nés et de galies F30 F34 F49 F50 F57 F69 F70 F71 F72 F74 F77 F78

<sup>78</sup> pour la grant ... mer] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; et destraindre tout ... mer] F36 *lacks*; Et aussi que nulz pelerins ne povoient plus venir en Jherusalem sans le gangier des Egitiens qui estoit le greigneur dommage qui peust advenir aux crestiens F44; mer] F58 *lacks*

<sup>79</sup> deviserent] dissent F30; dirent F36

<sup>80</sup> bien] F36 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*

<sup>81</sup> bien seroit] F03 *lacks*

<sup>82</sup> bien seroit metiers] mestiers seroit F35 F53

<sup>83</sup> metiers; que l'en] expedient de F36; l'en] F55 *lacks*

<sup>84</sup> que l'en envoiast] F06 *lacks*; envoiast] devisast et enveiaist F72

<sup>85</sup> és] en la F30

<sup>86</sup> és terres] F03 F35 *lack*; terres] parties F36

<sup>87</sup> devers] par devers F30; de F37; devers] F53 *lacks*

<sup>88</sup> des] aucuns des F37

<sup>89</sup> pour ce deviserent ... meilleurs] Pouvre distrent les barons que bien envoyer en la terre d'occident des plus haulx F44

<sup>90</sup> prelas] chevaliers F53 F55 F58 F64

<sup>91</sup> país] terre F36; royaumes F37; surie F44; du país] F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*

<sup>92</sup> des meilleurs prelas du país qui] F30 *lacks*

<sup>93</sup> bien] F36 *lacks*; maius F49 F69 F71 F72 F78

<sup>94</sup> moustrer] de moustrer F36; mostrer et conter F49 F69 F71 F78; seussent moustrer] demonstrassent F65

<sup>95</sup> aux] as barons et as F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>96</sup> bons] de la F34; F60 *lacks*

<sup>97</sup> bons crestiens] F03 F36 F49 F65 F69 F71 F78 *lack*; metiers que l'en ... crestiens] mostrer as bons partes F31; princes bons crestiens] bons princes F35; bons princes crestiens F37; qui bons crestiens estoient F74

<sup>98</sup> le mesaise et] F34 F36 *lack*

<sup>99</sup> et li peril] F70 F72 *lack*; peril] grant perill F49 F67 F68 F69 F71 F78

<sup>100</sup> Sainte] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>101</sup> Sainte terre] terre sainte F36 F38; sainte terre d'oultremer F53 F58

<sup>102</sup> de par Nostre Seigneur] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>103</sup> que] qui F48

<sup>104</sup> le venissent] F34 *lacks*; le voulissent F37; vouldissent secourir F42; secourre le venissent] il li venissent secourre F49 F50 F57 F69 F71 F77 F78; les venissent secore F63 F70 F72

<sup>105</sup> en] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 *lack*

<sup>106</sup> son] leur F43 F45 F51

<sup>107</sup> en son heritage] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; heritage] corage F32

<sup>108</sup> Car] que par F45

<sup>109</sup> gens] les vaillans predecesseurs F37 F42; encesseurs F54; leurs gens] F60 F61 F63 *lack*

<sup>110</sup> avoit esté] avoient F37 F42

<sup>111</sup> fois] fois secoreus F34

<sup>112</sup> maintes fois li] li maintes fois F02; maintes fois] F48 *lacks*; li] F57 *lacks*

aidez<sup>114</sup> et maintenez<sup>115</sup>. A ce messaige<sup>116</sup> faire<sup>117</sup> furent esleu<sup>118</sup> li patriarches de Jherusalem, Amaurris<sup>119</sup>, li arcevesque de Cesaie<sup>120</sup>, Herneis<sup>121</sup>, et<sup>122</sup> Guillaume<sup>123</sup> l'evesque d'Acre<sup>124</sup>. L'en<sup>125</sup> leur encharja<sup>126</sup> nommement<sup>127</sup> que il<sup>128</sup> s'en<sup>129</sup> alaissent pour moustrer ceste<sup>130</sup> chose<sup>131</sup> a l'empereur Ferri<sup>132</sup> d'Alemaigne<sup>133</sup>, au<sup>134</sup> roi Looy<sup>135</sup> de France<sup>136</sup>, au<sup>137</sup> roi Henri<sup>138</sup> d'Engleterre, au<sup>139</sup> roi Guillaume<sup>140</sup> de Sezille. Et leur dist<sup>141</sup> l'en<sup>142</sup> que il<sup>143</sup> parlissent<sup>144</sup> de ce meismes<sup>145</sup> aux meneurs<sup>146</sup> barons<sup>147</sup>; au conte Phelippe<sup>148</sup> de Flandres<sup>149</sup>,

<sup>113</sup> de Surie] F06 F51 *lack*; avoit esté maintes ... Surie] maintes fois avoit esté li roiaumes de surie F32 F60 F62; car par leurs ... Surie] maintes fois avoit esté li reaume de surie par lor genz F49 F69 F71 F78; maintes fois li royaumes de Surie] li reaumes de surie meintes foiz F54

<sup>114</sup> aidez] F34 *lacks*; secourez et aidez F51

<sup>115</sup> avoit esté maintes ... maintenez] avoit maintes foiz este li roiaumes de Surie aidez F03; avoit esté li roiaumes de Surie maintes foiz aidez F31 F35; que secourre le ... maintenez] leur aide F36; maintenez] secourra F37 F42 F53 F54 F55 F58; soustenus F57; maintes fois avoit esté li roaumes de surie aidies et maintenus F61 F63; de Surie aidez et maintenez] F43 *lacks*; qui bien seussent ... maintenez] pour remonstrer la neccessité du païs et le peril ou estoit la sainte terre. Es panssement F44

<sup>116</sup> massaige] F36 *lacks*

<sup>117</sup> faire] F46 *lacks*

<sup>118</sup> A ce messaige faire furent esleu] Esleu furent F03; Esliu furent por ceste besoinge afaire F31 F35 (split chapter); esleu] ordonnez F44

<sup>119</sup> patriarches de Jherusalem, Amaurris] patriarches amaurris de Jherusalem F30 F44; Amauri patriarche de Jerusalem F32 F36 F70 F72; Amaurris] F65 *lacks*

<sup>120</sup> Cesaie] Sur F50

<sup>121</sup> Herneis] Arnoulz F02; hemens F43; F65 *lacks*; li arcevesque de Cesaie Herneis] Erneis li arcevesques de Cesaie F32; Ernoul archevesque de Cesaie F36; Hermen archevesque de Cesaie F44; li evesque de Sayete Henri F49 F67 F68 F69 F71 F78; et Hernaus l'arcevesque de Cesaie F70 F74

<sup>122</sup> et] F40 F43 F74 *lack*

<sup>123</sup> Guillaume] F65 *lacks*

<sup>124</sup> Herneis et Guillaume l'evesque d'Acre] F50 *lacks*; d'Acre] de la cité F51

<sup>125</sup> L'en] F35 F53 *lack*

<sup>126</sup> encharja] moustra F30

<sup>127</sup> nommement] F03 F31 F35 F57 *lack*; encharja nommement] commanda expressement F37; encharja expressement F42

<sup>128</sup> il] F02 F05 F32 F33 F40 *lack*

<sup>129</sup> s'en] F49 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*

<sup>130</sup> ceste] la F74

<sup>131</sup> moustrer ceste chose] ceste chose mostrer F31; pour moustrer ceste chose] premierement λ2; F34 *lacks*; chose] besongne F37 F42

<sup>132</sup> Ferri] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>133</sup> ceste chose a l'empereur Ferri d'Alemaigne] a l'empereur Ferri d'Alemaigne ceste chose F32 F33 F61 F63; a l'empereur ceste besoingne F65

<sup>134</sup> au] et au F35 F51 F74

<sup>135</sup> Looy] Ferris F02; F03 F31 F35 F65 *lack*

<sup>136</sup> de France] F40 *lacks*

<sup>137</sup> au] et au F30 F34 F35 F74

<sup>138</sup> Henri] F03 F31 F35 F65 *lack*

<sup>139</sup> au] et au F34 F35 F37 F74; et aussi F65

<sup>140</sup> Guillaume] F65 *lacks*

<sup>141</sup> dist] chargea F37 F42

<sup>142</sup> l'en] F03 F31 F35 F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*

<sup>143</sup> il] F02 F04 F50 *lack*; leur dist l'en que il] F44 *lacks*

<sup>144</sup> parlissent de] moustraissent F60 F61 F62 F63

<sup>145</sup> meismes] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; besongne F37; et leur dist ... meismes] que ilz remonstrasse pareillement toutes ces chose F65

<sup>146</sup> meneurs] greignor F30; F37 F42 F53 *lack*; meilleurs F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78

au<sup>150</sup> conte<sup>151</sup> Henri<sup>152</sup> de Champagne, au<sup>153</sup> conte Tiebaut<sup>154</sup> de Blois, et aux<sup>155</sup> autres<sup>156</sup> de ces terres<sup>157</sup>. Cils<sup>158</sup> atornerent leur voie<sup>159</sup> et<sup>160</sup> monterent sur<sup>161</sup> mer et<sup>162</sup> se partirent du port<sup>163</sup>. Mes la seconde<sup>164</sup> nuit<sup>165</sup> sordi une tempeste trop<sup>166</sup> grant<sup>167</sup> si<sup>168</sup>, que leur mas pecoia<sup>169</sup> les<sup>170</sup> gouvernails froisserent<sup>171</sup> les nés meismes<sup>172</sup> fendi<sup>173</sup>. Si que<sup>174</sup> par<sup>175</sup> grant<sup>176</sup> peril s'en<sup>177</sup> eschaperent<sup>178</sup> et<sup>179</sup> revindrent<sup>180</sup> au tiers jour<sup>181</sup> au port<sup>182</sup>. En<sup>183</sup> nulle guise<sup>184</sup> ne peussent puis<sup>185</sup> estre mis<sup>186</sup> a ce<sup>187</sup> qu'ilz alaissent<sup>188</sup> la<sup>189</sup> si que il<sup>190</sup> covint a<sup>191</sup> eslire<sup>192</sup>

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- <sup>147</sup> et leur dist ... barons] aux barons de France F36; barons] barons de c'est assavoir F37 F42; barons ce et a savoir F74; aux meneurs barons] F44 *lacks*; meneurs barons] autres princes et barons comme F65
- <sup>148</sup> Philippe] qui avoit non Phelippes F74; F78 *lacks*
- <sup>149</sup> Flandres] France F36
- <sup>150</sup> au] et au F49 F69 F71 F74 F78
- <sup>151</sup> au conte] F53 F58 F64 *lack*
- <sup>152</sup> Henri] F65 *lacks*
- <sup>153</sup> au] et au F34 F44F49 F69 F71 F78
- <sup>154</sup> Tiebaut] F31 F35 F65 *lack*; F49 F69 F71 F78
- <sup>155</sup> aux] a toz F49 F69 F71 F78
- <sup>156</sup> autres] F57 *lacks*; autres barons F69 F70 F71 F72 F78; princes F36; maintes autres qui point ne sont icy nomines F37 F42
- <sup>157</sup> de ces terres] F03 F31 F35 F36 F37 F42 F54 F55 *lack*
- <sup>158</sup> Cils] Les trois prelatz F36
- <sup>159</sup> atornerent leur voie] vinrent F03 F31 F35; F36 *lacks*; Cils atornerent leur voie] ces prelatz devant nominez ordonnerent leur partement F37 F42; voie] afaire F44 F49 F69 F71 F78; oirre F50 F57 F72 F77; meute F74
- <sup>160</sup> et] et s'en F30; puis F44
- <sup>161</sup> monterent sur] entrerent en F30 F36 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; mistrent en F34 F58; monterent en F44
- <sup>162</sup> et] et puis F34; puis F74
- <sup>163</sup> et se partirent du port] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; pour faire leur voyage F44; port] port d'acre F49 F69 F71 F78
- <sup>164</sup> seconde] premiere F44
- <sup>165</sup> nuit] nuit apres F37 F42; nuit de leur partement F44; jor F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78
- <sup>166</sup> trop] mout F74
- <sup>167</sup> trop grant] F36 *lacks*; tempeste trop grant] trop grant tempeste F60 F61 F65; grant tempeste F62
- <sup>168</sup> si] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; tellement F37 F42; sourdi une tempeste trop grant si] si grant tempeste dourdi trop en la mer que F44; trop grant si] si grant F49 F53 F55 F58 F64 F67 F68 F69 F71 F78
- <sup>169</sup> pecoia] se rompi F36; rompirent F37 F42; leur mas pecoia] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 *lack*
- <sup>170</sup> les] et li F49 F69 F70 F71 F78
- <sup>171</sup> mas pecoia les gouvernails froisserent] mars et gouvernail pecoierent F03 F31; et brisa lur governaus F34; mas et leur governaus pechoierent F35; froisserent] fu defroissie F36; casserent F37 F42; pecoierent F46
- <sup>172</sup> meismes] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; se meisme F36
- <sup>173</sup> fendi] ouvri F70
- <sup>174</sup> que] F33 F40 *lack*
- <sup>175</sup> par] F02 *lacks*; par mains F34; en F36
- <sup>176</sup> si que par grant] Et F37; si F42
- <sup>177</sup> s'en] F03 *lacks*
- <sup>178</sup> pecoia les gouvernails ... eschaperent] du vaisses tout froisse si que apartie que ilz ne furent navez et ainsi que dieu le vout furent sauvez F44
- <sup>179</sup> s'en eschaperent et] F36 *lacks*
- <sup>180</sup> et revindrent] F57 *lacks*
- <sup>181</sup> revindrent au tiers jour] au tiers jour retournerent F44; par grant peril ... jour] au tiers jor par grant perill eschaperent et vindrent F49 F69 F71 F78; et revindrent au tiers jor] si que au tiers jour s'en vindrent F61; li au tiers jour soudirent F63; si que au tier jour arriverent F65; au tierz jor et revindrent F77
- <sup>182</sup> port] port en la vile F49 F69 F71 F78
- <sup>183</sup> En] et puis en F30; En tel maniere que F49 F69 F71 F78
- <sup>184</sup> guise] eglise F32 F37 F39 F51; ne guise F65
- <sup>185</sup> puis] F34 F49 F53 F58 F69 F71 F78 *lack*
- <sup>186</sup> mis] F61 F63 *lack*

autre gent<sup>193</sup>. Par la grant<sup>194</sup> priere<sup>195</sup> le<sup>196</sup> roi et<sup>197</sup> des autres<sup>198</sup> barons<sup>199</sup>, emprist<sup>200</sup> a faire<sup>201</sup>  
ce message<sup>202</sup> l'arcevesques<sup>203</sup> Ferris<sup>204</sup> de Sur<sup>205</sup> et<sup>206</sup> mena avecques lui<sup>207</sup> Jehan<sup>208</sup>  
l'evesque<sup>209</sup> de Belinas, qui estoit uns de ses<sup>210</sup> evesques<sup>211</sup>. Cils orent meilleur vent<sup>212</sup> et<sup>213</sup>  
passerent la mer sans encombrer<sup>214</sup>. Mes ne firent mie grant<sup>215</sup> preu<sup>216</sup> a cele besoigne<sup>217</sup>.  
Car<sup>218</sup> puis<sup>219</sup> que il<sup>220</sup> furent venu en France, ne demora guerres<sup>221</sup> que<sup>222</sup> l'evesque Jehans<sup>223</sup>  
de Belinas<sup>224</sup> morut<sup>225</sup> a Paris<sup>226</sup> et fu enterrez<sup>227</sup> en<sup>228</sup> l'eglise<sup>229</sup> Saint<sup>230</sup> Victor, a<sup>231</sup>

<sup>187</sup> puis estre mis a ce] a ce estre mis F30; estre mis a ce faire puis F72; ce] voyage tellement F37 F42; ce mene  
puis F49 F69 F71 F78; ce faire F70; puis] F58 *lacks*

<sup>188</sup> estre mis a ce qu'ilz alaissent] aller F03 F31 F35

<sup>189</sup> la] F31 *lacks*; puis en ce message F48

<sup>190</sup> que il] F48 F53 *lack*; ne peussent puis ... il] ne volrent point aller ne la mais remonter sur mer mais F65; si  
que il] ainz F70

<sup>191</sup> a] F03 F31 F33 F36 F38 F40 F42 F43 F45 F46 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F63 *lack*; puis a F49 F67 F68  
F69 F71 F78; puis F57 F72 F77

<sup>192</sup> mis a ce qu'il alaissent la si que il covint a eslire] F52 *lacks*

<sup>193</sup> autre gent] des autres F36

<sup>194</sup> grant] F03 F31 F32 F35 F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*

<sup>195</sup> En nulle guise ... priere] Dont ilz estoient patiz. En nulle maniere depuis ne voudrent faire le voiage. Et en  
lieu deulz a la requeste F44

<sup>196</sup> le] dou F57

<sup>197</sup> le roi et] F03 F31 F34 F35 *lack*

<sup>198</sup> des autres] ses F30; autres] F53 F54 F55 *lack*

<sup>199</sup> et des autres barons] F44 *lacks*; des autre barons] F65 *lacks*

<sup>200</sup> Par la grant ... autres barons emprist] F36 *lacks*; emprist] entre prindrent F37; entreprint F42; emprirent  
autres F65

<sup>201</sup> a faire] F30 *lacks*; emprist a faire] fist F03 F31 F35

<sup>202</sup> faire ce message] ce faire furent esleuz F36; message] voyage F37 F42; emprist a faire ce message] y  
allerent F44; a faire ce message] ce message a faire F53 F54 F55 F58

<sup>203</sup> l'arcevesques] L'evesque F53

<sup>204</sup> l'arcevesques Ferris] Ferris l'arcevesque F36 F70; Thierry arcevesque F44; Ferris] F37 *lacks*

<sup>205</sup> l'arcevesques Ferry de Sur] l'arcevesques de sur Ferris F03; Ferris l'arcevesques de Sur F31 F35

<sup>206</sup> et] F40 *lacks*; qui F53

<sup>207</sup> mena avecques lui] F36 *lacks*; avec lui mena F60 F62

<sup>208</sup> Jehan] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>209</sup> l'evesque] l'arcevesque F03; l'evesque de Bethleem et l'evesque F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78; Jehan l'evesque]  
l'evesque Jehan F58 F60 F62

<sup>210</sup> de ses] F60 F62 *lack*

<sup>211</sup> uns de ses evesques] soz lui F03 F31 F35; sage home F49 F69 F70 F72 F78; sages F71; qui estoit uns de ses  
evesques] F34 F36 *lack*; qui pu de chose firent F44; evesques] evesques de belinas qui estoit F40; l'arcevesques  
Ferris de Sur ... evesques] F65 *lacks*

<sup>212</sup> vent] vent que li autre F37 F42 F49 F70 F71 F72 F78

<sup>213</sup> meilleur vent et] F03 F31 F35 *lack*

<sup>214</sup> Cils orent meilleur ... encombrer] les que elz passerent la mer F36; encombrer] avoir quelque  
empeschement F37; quelque empeschement F42; destorbier F52; dangier F65

<sup>215</sup> grant] grant moult grant F02 F57; molt grant F70 F72 F74 F77

<sup>216</sup> preu] avancement F37 F42; demeure F54

<sup>217</sup> Cils orent meilleur ... besoigne] F44 *lacks*; besoigne] chose F54

<sup>218</sup> Car] Et F78

<sup>219</sup> puis] pou apres F44

<sup>220</sup> firent mie grant ... il] F36 *lacks*; il] F70 *lacks*

<sup>221</sup> guerres] mye graniment F37 F42

<sup>222</sup> ne demora guerres que] F36 F44 *lack*; que] mie F71

<sup>223</sup> Jehans] F03 F31 F35 F44 F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78 *lack*

<sup>224</sup> Jehans de Belinas] F61 F63 *lack*

senestre<sup>232</sup> si come l'en entre<sup>233</sup> vers le<sup>234</sup> cuer<sup>235</sup>. Deus anz apres<sup>236</sup> l'arcevesques s'en  
 retorna<sup>237</sup> en Surie et ne apporta<sup>238</sup> ne<sup>239</sup> secors<sup>240</sup> ne esperance<sup>241</sup>.

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<sup>225</sup> morut] trespasa F36 F44; Jehans de Belinas morut] jehan de belynas et huitace deans de charmentre  
 morurent F45; ne demora guerres ... morut] que ung evesque qui estoit en leur compaignie morut F65

<sup>226</sup> a Paris] F58 F61 F63 *lack*; Jehans de Belinas morut a Paris] F60 F62 *lack*

<sup>227</sup> enterrez] enfouis F57

<sup>228</sup> enterrez en] mist a F03 F31 F35

<sup>229</sup> l'eglise] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; l'eglise de F53 F64

<sup>230</sup> en l'eglise Saint] F63 *lacks*; Saint] monseignor saint F74

<sup>231</sup> a] en toste F44

<sup>232</sup> a senestre] F53 F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>233</sup> entre] entre ens F30

<sup>234</sup> vers le] en F60 F61 F62; li F63

<sup>235</sup> a senestre si ... cuer] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 *lack*; a Paris et fu ... ver le cuer] F65 *lacks*

<sup>236</sup> Deus anz apres] apres dues anz F70

<sup>237</sup> retorna] entra F06; revint F31; Deus anz apres l'arcevesques s'en retorna] Les autres s'en revindrent F65

<sup>238</sup> apporta] aporta gueres preuz F48; ne apporta] n'en reporta F60 F62 F63

<sup>239</sup> ne] F31 F37 F46 F50 F54 F57 F73 *lack*

<sup>240</sup> ne secors] F64 *lacks* (*added above line in a different hand*)

<sup>241</sup> ne secors ne esperance] rien touchant secours F36; ne admena aucun secours ne point ne dona esperance  
 d'en avoir F44; esperance] esperance aucune F37; esperance que nus deust venir F49 F67 F68 F69 F71 F78; aie  
 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; esperance que arme deust venir F70 F72

Book 22 Chapter 6  
Based upon F02 & F38

α	λ1	λ2	β	
F01 ms. mutilated	F50 339r-v	F49 299r-v	F06 245v	F47 183v-184r
F02 162v-163r	F57 239r	F69 267r-v	F30 261v-217r	F48 203r-v
F03 179r-v	F70 250v-251r	F71 B44v	F32 193v-194r	F51 198r
F04 122v	F72 272r	F74 344v	F33 223r-v	F53 268v-269r
F05 299r	F73 232v-233r	F78 311r	F34 201v	F54 308v-309r
F31 268r	F77 256r-v		F36 188v189r	F55 221v
F35 203v-204r			F37 193v	F58 244r
F38 163r			F39 529-530	F60 238v
F41 ms. mutilated			F40 168r-v	F61 212v-213r
F52 224r			F42 363r	F62 B90v
			F43 231v-232r	F63 239v
			F44 283v-284r	F64 274v
			F45 213r	F65 381r-v
			F46 140r-v	

Honteuse<sup>1</sup> vie menoit<sup>2</sup> en ceste maniere<sup>3</sup> li princes<sup>4</sup> Buimonz<sup>5</sup> a ce tens<sup>6</sup>. Et<sup>7</sup> tant<sup>8</sup> estoit ja<sup>9</sup> la chose alée avant<sup>10</sup> que li<sup>11</sup> princes<sup>12</sup> estoit<sup>13</sup> escommeniez<sup>14</sup> et<sup>15</sup> toute la<sup>16</sup> terre entredite<sup>17</sup> pour les sacrileges<sup>18</sup> et<sup>19</sup> pour<sup>20</sup> les<sup>21</sup> tors<sup>22</sup> que l'en fesoit aux clers et aux eglises. Par tout le país ne fesoit l'en nul sacrement<sup>23</sup> fors<sup>24</sup> seulement baptizier<sup>25</sup> les<sup>26</sup> enfans<sup>27</sup> et confesser<sup>28</sup> les

<sup>1</sup> Honteuse] Honteuse se F31; Toute sa λ2

<sup>2</sup> Honteuse vie menoit] Honteusement menoit sa vie F30 F53 F54 F55 F58 F64; Honteuse se menenoit F33; moult menoit le prince honteusement sa vie F44; F65 *lacks*

<sup>3</sup> en ceste maniere] F72 *lacks*; maniere] maniere se com tenoit F65

<sup>4</sup> li princes] F34 *lacks*

<sup>5</sup> Buimonz] d'Antioche Buymonz F06; Honteuse vie menoit ... Buimonz] Le prince Bemont menoit mie honteuse vie F36; li princes Buimonz] Buimont le prince d'Antioche F53 F55 F58 F64; en ceste maniere li princes Buimonz] li princes bueimont en ceste maniere F62

<sup>6</sup> Buimonz a ce tens] F44 *lacks*

<sup>7</sup> et] F53 F58 *lack*

<sup>8</sup> tant] la F48

<sup>9</sup> ja] F02 F04 F48 F53 F54 F55 F57 F58 F70 F72 F73 *lack*

<sup>10</sup> avant] F34 *lacks*

<sup>11</sup> li] le dit F42

<sup>12</sup> estoit ja la chose avant que li princes] F44 *lacks*

<sup>13</sup> estoit] ert F43; estoit ja F61F65

<sup>14</sup> a ce tens ... escommeniez] F36 *lacks*

<sup>15</sup> et] car F36; et que F49 F69 F71 F74

<sup>16</sup> la] sa F65

<sup>17</sup> entredite] estoit interdite F36; estoit entredite F69 F71 F74 F78

<sup>18</sup> sacrileges] sarquiles F30 F33 F39 F40 F47 F51 F54 F55 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64; grevemens F42; outrages F43 F45 F48 F53 F58

<sup>19</sup> pour les sacrileges et] F44 *lacks*

<sup>20</sup> les sacrileges et pour] F49 F50 F69 F71 F74 F77 *lack*

<sup>21</sup> pour les] F42 *lacks*

<sup>22</sup> tors] torz fez F58 F64

<sup>23</sup> ...ses. Par tout le país ne fesoit l'en nul sacrement] F03 *lacks*; sacrement] sacrement ne nulls droiture de Sainte Eglise F53 F58 F64; pour les sacrileges ... sacrement] et ne administroit on le sacrement a parsonne qui voulut morir ne les mettre en terre sainte ne ne disoit on ne messe ne riens F65

malades<sup>29</sup>. A<sup>30</sup> la fin, virent<sup>31</sup> li<sup>32</sup> preudome<sup>33</sup> du reaume<sup>34</sup> de Surie<sup>35</sup> que cilz<sup>36</sup> aferes<sup>37</sup> ne pouvoit pas<sup>38</sup> longuement durer<sup>39</sup> sans grant peril<sup>40</sup>. Si<sup>41</sup> envoierent la<sup>42</sup>, par commun accort<sup>43</sup>, le patriarche de Jherusalem<sup>44</sup>, Renaut<sup>45</sup> de Chastellon qui<sup>46</sup> avoit este prince d'Antioche et parrastres<sup>47</sup> a<sup>48</sup> cellui<sup>49</sup> Buimont<sup>50</sup>, le<sup>51</sup> mestre<sup>52</sup> du Temple frere<sup>53</sup> Arnaut<sup>54</sup> de Toroge<sup>55</sup>, le<sup>56</sup> mestre de l'Ospital frere<sup>57</sup> Rogier de Mores<sup>58</sup>. A ceus fu commandé que ilz essaissent<sup>59</sup> en toutes<sup>60</sup> manieres<sup>61</sup> se ilz povrroient<sup>62</sup> apaiser du<sup>63</sup> tout<sup>64</sup> ce<sup>65</sup> grant<sup>66</sup> trouble, qui estoit en la

<sup>24</sup> fors] fors que F53 F58

<sup>25</sup> baptizier] de batier F72

<sup>26</sup> les] et les F50

<sup>27</sup> les enfans] F52 F60 *lack*

<sup>28</sup> confesser] conforter F34

<sup>29</sup> pour les sacrileges ... malades] F36 *lacks*

<sup>30</sup> A] en F36 F43 F65

<sup>31</sup> virent] vindrent F53 F54 F61 F65

<sup>32</sup> li] que li F57

<sup>33</sup> li preudome] les sages F44

<sup>34</sup> du reaume] F43 F51 *lack*; de la terre F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; preudome du reaume] baron F52 λ1 λ2

<sup>35</sup> de Surie] F34 F46 *lack*; Surie] surie et virent F53; Surie a la fin virent li baron de Surie F54

<sup>36</sup> cilz] li F55

<sup>37</sup> que cilz aferes] la chose F44; de Surie que cilz aferes] que cil aferes de Surie F51

<sup>38</sup> pas] mie F03 F31 F35 F48; pas bien F33

<sup>39</sup> durer] F43 *lacks*

<sup>40</sup> peril] F03 *lacks*; pas longuement durer sans grant peril] a bon aler F34

<sup>41</sup> Si] pource F44

<sup>42</sup> la] F30 F46 F48 F60 F62 F69 F71 F74 *lack*; devers le prince Buimont F44

<sup>43</sup> virent li preudome ... accort] A la fin le roy Bauduin et li preudome envoierent vers lui F36; par commun accort] F44 *lacks*

<sup>44</sup> que cilz aferes ... Jherusalem] devers le patriarche de jherusalem et virent que la chose ne pouvoit longuement durer et lui prierent F65

<sup>45</sup> Renaut] et Renaut F34 F48 F72

<sup>46</sup> qui] qui par avant F44

<sup>47</sup> parrastres] autres F57 F73

<sup>48</sup> et parrastres a] a cause de da femme mere de F44

<sup>49</sup> a cellui] F30 *lacks*; a celui a celui F63

<sup>50</sup> et parrastres a cellui Buimont] F54 *lacks*

<sup>51</sup> le] et le F48 λ2

<sup>52</sup> mestre] maistre de l'ospital frere rogier F63

<sup>53</sup> frere] F51 *lacks*

<sup>54</sup> Arnaut] hermans F53

<sup>55</sup> Arnaut de Toroges] F36 F44 *lack*; Hernart de Tor Rouge F50; Renaut de Coroges F72; Toroge] Corote F60; Torote F62

<sup>56</sup> le] et le F36 F44 F48 F49 F69 F71 F78

<sup>57</sup> frere] F36 F44 F52 F57 F73 F77 *lack*; et frere F47; qui fu frere F62

<sup>58</sup> Mores] Marches F31; Moreul F53; Mores au prince Buyemont F54; Rogier de Mores] F36 F46 F44 F49 F69 F71 *lack*

<sup>59</sup> essaissent] assarens F53

<sup>60</sup> toutes] maintes F43

<sup>61</sup> en toutes manieres] F53 F58 F64 *lack*; Renaut de Chastellon ... en toutes manieres] F65 *lacks*

<sup>62</sup> se ilz povrroient] F42 *lacks*; que il pleust F65; povrroient] poroient essaiaer F72

<sup>63</sup> du] tres F62

<sup>64</sup> apaiser du tout] du tout apaisier F30; du tout] F53 F58 F72 *lack*

<sup>65</sup> du toute ce] F34 *lacks*; du tout ce] ce prince du F65; A ceus fu commandé ... ce] pour essayer a reduire et vamenez le prince d'Antioche a bones œuvres et le F44

<sup>66</sup> grant] grant home qui avoit fait teil F30

terre de Antioche, ou au mains i<sup>67</sup> meissent tel conseil que cil mal cessassent une piece du tens<sup>68</sup>. Car li prodome<sup>69</sup> avoient<sup>70</sup> grant<sup>71</sup> paour<sup>72</sup> que la parole<sup>73</sup> en<sup>74</sup> alast<sup>75</sup> outre mer a<sup>76</sup> l'apostoille<sup>77</sup> et<sup>78</sup> au Reaume de France et<sup>79</sup> que l'en meist<sup>80</sup> sus a ceus de la terre<sup>81</sup> que ilz consentissent<sup>82</sup> les<sup>83</sup> maus<sup>84</sup> que li princes fesoit<sup>85</sup>. Pour ce vouldrent<sup>86</sup> moustrer appertement<sup>87</sup> que ilz<sup>88</sup> ne se acordoient mie<sup>89</sup> a lui aincois leur<sup>90</sup> desplaisoit moult sa vie<sup>91</sup>. Li patriarches prist avecques lui des<sup>92</sup> prelaz de Sainte Eglise<sup>93</sup> les<sup>94</sup> plus sages<sup>95</sup> et les<sup>96</sup> plus<sup>97</sup> religieux<sup>98</sup>: Aubert<sup>99</sup> l'evesque<sup>100</sup> de Bethleem, l'eslit<sup>101</sup> de Cesaire<sup>102</sup> qui avoit<sup>103</sup> nom Moines<sup>104</sup>, Renault<sup>105</sup> l'abbé de Monte Syon<sup>106</sup>, Perron<sup>107</sup> le prieur<sup>108</sup> du Sepuchre<sup>109</sup>. Ilz<sup>110</sup> s'en alerent

<sup>67</sup> i] F30 F34 F63 *lack*

<sup>68</sup> de Antioche ou ... tens] F65 *lacks*

<sup>69</sup> li prodome] ilz F65

<sup>70</sup> avoient] estoient en F06; en avoient λ2

<sup>71</sup> grant] si grant F65

<sup>72</sup> avoient grant paour] grant paor avoient F44

<sup>73</sup> parole] nouvelles F44

<sup>74</sup> en] ne F06 F54; F42 F64 *lack*; n'en F44 F45 F48 F51 F60 F72

<sup>75</sup> alast] n'alast F06 F61 F65; en alast] n'alast λ2

<sup>76</sup> a] jusqu'a F62

<sup>77</sup> l'apostoille] Romme au sanct père F37; saint pere F42 F65; saint pere de Romme F44

<sup>78</sup> et] F33 *lacks*; ne F43

<sup>79</sup> et] F33 λ2 *lack*; ne F43

<sup>80</sup> meist] ne meist F43 F62 F63 F64; ne deist F44

<sup>81</sup> terre] roaume de Surie F34

<sup>82</sup> consentissent] ne consentissent F43 F60; estoient consentans F44

<sup>83</sup> les] se il F34; des F44

<sup>84</sup> que ilz consentissent les maus] F58 *lacks*

<sup>85</sup> fesoit] avoit faiz et faisoit et F44

<sup>86</sup> vouldrent] volstrent F38; vostrent F50; vorent F72

<sup>87</sup> appertement] euidaument F42; F48 *lacks*

<sup>88</sup> ilz] point F44

<sup>89</sup> mie] pas F54 F72 λ2; F50 *lacks*

<sup>90</sup> leur] F50 *lacks*

<sup>91</sup> A ceus fu commandé ... vie] F36 *lacks*; moult sa vie] ses œuvres F44

<sup>92</sup> des] les F72

<sup>93</sup> Sainte Eglise] Surie F44

<sup>94</sup> les] des F72

<sup>95</sup> des prelaz de ... sages] des plus sages prelaz F48

<sup>96</sup> les] des F72

<sup>97</sup> plus] F32 F37 F40 F47 *lack*

<sup>98</sup> des prelas de Sainte Eglise ... religieux] des plus sages homes et des plus relegieus prelatz F34; F36 *lacks*; les plus sages et les plus religieux] ceste assavoir F44; religieux] religious que il avoit souz soi F48; et les plus religieux] F53 F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>99</sup> Aubert] F34 *lacks*

<sup>100</sup> l'evesque] F43 F45 F51 *lack*

<sup>101</sup> l'eslit] l'evesque F42

<sup>102</sup> de Cesaire] et des autres F43 F45 F51; de saiette F54

<sup>103</sup> avoit] out F43 F51

<sup>104</sup> qui avoit nom Moines] F34 F44 F48 *lack*

<sup>105</sup> Moines; Renault] Renauz li moines F06

<sup>106</sup> Syon] liuet F73

<sup>107</sup> Perron] Pierre F42 F44 F53 F58 F64; F54 *lacks*

<sup>108</sup> prieur] maistre F53 F58 F64; empereur F55

tuit ensemble<sup>111</sup> par<sup>112</sup> la terre au<sup>113</sup> conte<sup>114</sup> de Triple et le<sup>115</sup> menerent avec eus pour ce qu'il estoit acointe<sup>116</sup> du prince et cuiderent<sup>117</sup> que ses paroles le deussent<sup>118</sup> mouvoir a<sup>119</sup> bien fere<sup>120</sup>. Ilz vindrent<sup>121</sup> vers<sup>122</sup> Antioche<sup>123</sup> et<sup>124</sup> troverent le prince<sup>125</sup> et le patriarche<sup>126</sup> que il orent<sup>127</sup> fet venir<sup>128</sup> a la Lische<sup>129</sup>.

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<sup>109</sup> Sepuchre] Sepulcre te autres sages et religieux hommes F44; Sepulcre et Huitace li dean de Charmentré F45; Aubert l'evesque de ... Sepuchre] F65 *lacks*

<sup>110</sup> ilz] et F65

<sup>111</sup> ilz s'en alerent tuit ensemble] a chemin se mistrent et vindrent F44; ensemble] F53 F55 F58 F64 F65 *lack*

<sup>112</sup> par] en F60 F61 F62; F63 *lacks*

<sup>113</sup> au] le F50 λ2; du F57 F60; par la terre au] devers le F65

<sup>114</sup> la terre au conte] la conte F36

<sup>115</sup> le] le conte F36

<sup>116</sup> acointe] privé F36

<sup>117</sup> cuiderent] pource F61 F65

<sup>118</sup> deussent] seussent F60 F61 F62 F63 F65

<sup>119</sup> a] a aucun F72

<sup>120</sup> le deussent mouvoir a bien fere] y peussent servir F44; et cuiderent que ... fere] F53 F58 F64 *lack*

<sup>121</sup> vindrent] vin F72

<sup>122</sup> vers] en F48 F57

<sup>123</sup> et cuiderent que ... Antioche] F36 *lacks*

<sup>124</sup> et] Ilz F36; Ilz vindrent vers Antioche et] En la cité d'Antioche arriverent ou ilz F44

<sup>125</sup> et cuiderent que ... prince] F30 *lacks*

<sup>126</sup> et le patriarche] F44 *lacks*

<sup>127</sup> orent] eut F30

<sup>128</sup> venir] mener F70 F72

<sup>129</sup> que il orent fet venir a La lische] F36 F42 F44 F65 *lack*

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