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Re-translating William of Tyre:
The Origins of the Templars and Hospitallers
according to London, British Library Additional
Manuscript 5444, fols 242v–248r

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At the end of British Library Additional Manuscript 5444 is a Latin account, ‘Ex historia Anthiochena’, of the beginnings and early years of the Templars and the Hospitallers, including their conflicts with the Church authorities in the Holy Land. The account generally corresponds in content but not in wording to Book 12, chapter 7 (Templars) and Book 18, chapters 3–8 (Hospitallers) of William of Tyre’s *Chronicon*,¹ and closely resembles the Old French translation of William of Tyre’s chronicle.² However, the material on the Hospitallers has been reordered so that the description of the dispute with the patriarch of Jerusalem is at the end rather than the beginning of the account. It contains no historical information that is not in William of Tyre’s chronicle, but its existence and form prompt questions about the later history of that work, how it might have been used in the later Middle Ages and early modern period, and the continuing importance of Latin literature at that time. This essay explores what may be deduced about the origins of this text, from which version of William of Tyre’s chronicle it derives, and when and why it could have been produced. An edition of the text appears at the end of the essay.

British Library Additional Manuscript 5444 is a copy of British Library Cotton Manuscript Otho B iii, made before that manuscript was virtually destroyed in the Cotton fire of 1731. Like many in the Cotton collection, Otho B iii is an assemblage of several manuscripts. Thomas Smith’s catalogue of the Cotton Library (1696) listed nine separate items within Cotton MS Otho B iii, of which the first six are now lost, item seven was ‘Annales acephali’, eight was ‘de prima institutione Templariorum’ and nine was ‘de prima institutione Hospitaliariorum’.³

¹ WT, 12:7, pp. 553–5; 18:3–8, pp. 812–20.

² Paris, vol. 1, pp. 441–3, vol. 2, pp. 197–201, summarising pp. 201–4, then pp. 195–7: 12:7; 18:4–6, summarising the latter part of chapters 6, 7 and the first part of 8, then chapter 3.

³ *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 76 (2 vols, London, 1882–83), vol. 1, pp. xi–xii; Thomas Smith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae* (Oxford, 1696), pp. 69–70.

1 Before its destruction in the Cotton fire, parts seven to nine of this manuscript were 1
 2 copied by an eighteenth-century hand, now British Library Additional Manuscript 2
 3 5444. William Stubbs, who published part seven of the manuscript as the *Annales* 3
 4 *Londonienses* in 1882, traced the history of this transcript down to its arrival in the 4
 5 British Museum library, showing that the eighteenth-century copy was originally 5
 6 made for John Bridges, Esquire, whom Stubbs concluded to be ‘doubtless the 6
 7 eminent collector of the materials for the History of Northamptonshire’.⁴ 7

8 Parts eight and nine had been published in 1673 by Roger Dodsworth and 8
 9 William Dugdale in the first edition of their *Monasticon Anglicanum*: the account 9
 10 of the Templars’ origins being from Otho B iii fol.188b, and the Hospitallers’ from 10
 11 Otho B iii fol.189a.⁵ The part relating to the Hospitallers was published in 1895 as 11
 12 ‘de prima institutione hospitaliariorum’ in volume five of the *Recueil des historiens* 12
 13 *de croisades, historiens occidentaux*, where it is described as an extract from a Latin 13
 14 manuscript in the British Library (Add. 5444).⁶ Neither publication has attracted 14
 15 much scholarly attention.⁷ William Stubbs did not publish this part of BL Cotton 15
 16 Add. MS 5444, stating that it ‘is a copy of the chapters of William of Tyre, which 16
 17 contain the account of the origin of the knightly orders: and they have nothing 17
 18 which it is necessary here to reproduce’.⁸ He explained further in his introduction 18
 19 to the *Annales Londonienses*: 19

20
 21 As these articles ... are merely extracts from the great work of William of Tyre, 21
 22 have no connexion whatever with what has gone before, and possibly owe their 22
 23 juxtaposition to a mere accident of binding, I have had no hesitation in omitting 23
 24 them from the present edition of the *Annales Londonienses*.⁹ 24
 25 25

26 The ‘accident of binding’ was the responsibility of Sir Robert Cotton, the founder 26
 27 of the Cotton collection. From the time he graduated from Cambridge University in 27
 28 1585, Cotton collected medieval manuscripts that had been in monastic libraries and 28
 29 had come into private hands after the dissolution of the monasteries. Some of his 29
 30 manuscripts were clearly fragmentary when he purchased them: some seem even to 30

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34 ⁴ *Chronicles*, ed. Stubbs, vol. 1, pp. xiii–xv. 34

35 ⁵ Templars: ‘Adhuc de prima eorundem institutione’, in *Monastici Anglicani volumen* 35
 36 *secundum* [hereafter *MA*, vol. 2], ed. Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale (London, 1673), 36
 37 pp. 517–18; Hospitallers: ‘De prima institutione Hospitaliariorum’, in *ibid.*, pp. 497–500. 37

38 ⁶ ‘De prima institutione hospitaliariorum’, in *RHC Oc*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1895), pp. 401–5. 38

39 ⁷ For previous scholarly discussion of the text relating to the Hospitallers see Karl 39
 40 Borchardt, ‘Spendenaufufe der Johanniter aus dem 13.Jahrhundert’, *Zeitschrift für* 40
 41 *bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 56 (1993), pp. 1–61 at 23; citing Charles Kohler, preface of 41
 42 *RHC Oc*, vol. 5, pp. cxi–cxii. 42

42 ⁸ *Chronicles*, ed. Stubbs, vol. 1, p. 251. 42

43 ⁹ *Chronicles*, ed. Stubbs, vol. 1, pp. xix–xx. 43

1 have been rescued from burning.¹⁰ Cotton re-bound all his manuscripts, combining
 2 in each volume documents of different type and provenance.¹¹ As a result, it can now
 3 be extremely difficult to work out the provenance of a Cotton manuscript.

6 **The Provenance of the Text**

8 Although William Stubbs was certain that this text derived from William of Tyre's
 9 chronicle, the title of its source, 'Historia Antiochena', does not necessarily indicate
 10 this. That was also the title given to an anonymous history of the First Crusade
 11 written during the reign of Baldwin III.¹² It could simply indicate any history of the
 12 First Crusade and the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

13 It is possible that our text is an extract from a medieval chronicle that
 14 incorporated a Latin translation or adaptation of the Old French William of Tyre.
 15 Scholars have long been aware that the Old French translation of William of Tyre's
 16 Latin chronicle was translated back into Latin during the Middle Ages. Margaret
 17 Ruth Morgan noted that Marino Sanudo Torsello's *Liber Secretorum Fidelium*
 18 *Crucis*, written in Latin between 1307 and 1321, includes 'a free rendering' of
 19 parts of the Old French translation of William of Tyre's chronicle, from Book 1,
 20 chapter 11 onwards.¹³ However, this reworking of William of Tyre did not include
 21 the sections on the foundation of the Templars and Hospitallers.¹⁴

22 In 1320 Francesco Pipino, a Dominican friar of Bologna, wrote a universal
 23 Latin chronicle in twenty-five books.¹⁵ Morgan noted that Book 25 includes a Latin
 24 translation of the Old French translation of William of Tyre as far as William's

27 ¹⁰ For example, 'Inquisitio de Gubernatione Militum Templi in Anglia', in London,
 28 British Library, Cotton MS Julius B xii, fols 67r–82r: see *The Proceedings Against the*
 29 *Templars in the British Isles*, ed. and trans. Helen J. Nicholson (2 vols, Farnham, 2011), vol.
 30 1, pp. xvi–xvii.

31 ¹¹ Colin G.C. Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton*. The Panizzi lectures,
 32 1993 (London, 1994), p. 104.

33 ¹² 'Balduini III Historia Nicæna vel Antiochena', in *RHC Oc*, vol. 5, pp. 133–85.

34 ¹³ M.R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Old French Translation of William*
 35 *of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 22–4, at p. 22; see also E&R, p. 5; for date see Marino Sanudo
 36 Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, trans. Peter Lock (Farnham,
 37 2011), p. 3.

38 ¹⁴ The origin of the Templars is mentioned in a single sentence at the end of Book 3,
 39 part 1, chapter 9 (Marino Sanudo, *The Book of the Secrets*, p. 251); the Hospitallers' origins
 40 would be in Bk 3, pt 1, ch. 20 (*ibid.*, p. 268); there is a short account of the foundation of
 41 the Templars and Hospitallers in Bk 3, pt 7, ch. 3 (*ibid.*, p. 283), but this is not taken from
 42 William of Tyre's chronicle.

43 ¹⁵ Modena, Biblioteca Estense, códice Lat. 465 = a.X.1.5; Fulvio delle Donne, 'Pipino,
 44 Francesco [da Bologna]', in Graeme Dunphy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Medieval*
 45 *Chronicle* (2 vols, Leiden, 2010), vol. 2, pp. 1219–20.

1 Book 14.¹⁶ Chapter 112 of Book 25 mentions the beginnings of the Templars, but as
 2 in Marino Sanudo's work this is only a passing note, and again the Hospitallers are
 3 omitted.¹⁷ Pipino wrote a little more on the Templars' origins in Book 19 chapter 21,
 4 but even this is barely seven lines of script, and he did not mention the Hospitallers.¹⁸
 5 Clearly our text was not taken from either Marino Sanudo's or Pipino's
 6 translation. So where does it come from? 6

7 I initially came across the text that is the subject of this article in 2004 while
 8 studying BL Add. MS 5444. At that time, there was little published scholarship
 9 on the Old French translation of William of Tyre's chronicle.¹⁹ I showed the text
 10 to Peter Edbury, who was conducting research into the Old French translations in
 11 preparation for his major research project. Peter noted it briefly in a postscript to an
 12 article, describing it as 'an unpublished translation of the French text of XII. 7 and
 13 also of XVIII. 3–8 (dealing with the origins of the Hospitallers) back into Latin'.²⁰
 14 He added: 14

15
 16 It is clear that the translator did not employ a manuscript in what I have called 16
 17 here the 'western tradition' (Section IV). On the other hand, he does seem to have 17
 18 had a text which read 'a ceus' (or similar) in sentence 5 in place of 'a cens'. An 18
 19 analysis of the readings in XVIII.3–8 would no doubt help further in identifying 19
 20 the closest extant manuscripts of the French text. 20

21
 22 Peter had identified certain 'diagnostic features' which determine whether a 22
 23 manuscript of the Old French translation of William of Tyre's chronicle derived 23
 24 from an 'eastern' or 'western' tradition – that is, from the eastern Mediterranean 24
 25 or western Europe.²¹ The 'western tradition' manuscripts omit certain words and 25
 26 phrases that are found in the 'eastern tradition' manuscripts and in this Latin 26
 27 translation: for example, in the second sentence on the beginnings of the Templars 27
 28 the phrase 'furent dui chevaliers' is missing in the western tradition, but the words 28
 29 'fueru[n]t duo milites' appear in the Latin translation. In the fourth sentence, the 29
 30

31 ¹⁶ Morgan, pp. 23–4, 50–51. 31

32 ¹⁷ Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.X.1.5, fol. 137v; printed as: *Bernardi Thesaurarii* 32
 33 *Historia de acquisitione Terrae Sanctae, quam auctor hujus operis transtulit ex Gallico in* 33
 34 *Latinum*, in RIS, vol. 7.1 (Milan, 1723), cols 657–850, at col. 752 (end of chapter cxii). 34

35 ¹⁸ Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.X.1.5, fol. 70r; see also Louis de Mas Latrie, 35
 36 *Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le trésorier* (Paris, 1871), p. 7, note 1. 36

37 ¹⁹ John H. Pryor, 'The Eracles and William of Tyre: An Interim Report', in *Horns*, pp. 37
 38 270–93. 38

39 ²⁰ Peter W. Edbury, 'The Old French William of Tyre and the Origins of the Templars', 39
 40 in Norman Housley (ed.), *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and* 40
 41 *the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 151–64 at 164.
 42 Peter developed his discussion of the translation further in Edbury, 'The French Translation
 43 of William of Tyre's *Historia*: The Manuscript Tradition', *Crusades*, 6 (2007), pp. 68–105. 42

43 ²¹ Edbury, 'Old French William of Tyre', p. 158 and note 25; on 'a ceus', see p. 159. 43

1 words ‘que il avoit’ are missing in the western tradition, but ‘quod habebat’ appear 1
 2 in the Latin; and so on. On the other hand, unlike most of the ‘eastern tradition’ 2
 3 manuscripts, the translator correctly recorded that the Templars received first 3
 4 fruits, *primicias* (fol. 243v).²² Peter’s point that the translator’s text had the canons 4
 5 of the *Templum Domini* giving the Templars property *a ceus* rather than *a cens* 5
 6 demonstrates that our text was not derived from one of Peter’s base manuscripts.²³ 6
 7 Beyond this, however, it is not yet possible to identify this limited section of the text 7
 8 with a particular branch of the stemma, or even to be certain that it does derive from 8
 9 a known version of the Old French translation.²⁴ The source of this translation may 9
 10 become clearer when the results of Peter Edbury’s 2009–12 AHRC-funded research 10
 11 project on the Old French William of Tyre and its continuations are published, in 11
 12 particular Philip Handyside’s PhD thesis on the manuscript tradition of the Old 12
 13 French translation of William of Tyre.²⁵ 13

14 Our Latin text may not directly reflect any single Old French manuscript of 14
 15 William of Tyre. Whoever translated this text into Latin also amended it, changing 15
 16 the order of the material on the Hospitallers, adding a reference to *clientes* in the 16
 17 order of the Temple (fol. 243r) and reinforcing the definition of *elemosina* by 17
 18 referring to an eleventh-century Latin authority, Papias’s *Elementarium Doctrinae* 18
 19 *Rudimentum* (fol. 246r). 19

20 20

21 21

22 **Why Was This Text Produced?** 22

23 23

24 The fact that William of Tyre’s account of the Hospitallers’ origins has been 24
 25 rearranged into chronological order indicates that our text was created for a purpose. 25
 26 It is not simply a chance survival of odd folios from a now-lost Latin translation of 26
 27 the Old French translation of William of Tyre, perhaps torn out and preserved by 27
 28 a sixteenth-century antiquary before consigning the rest of the manuscript to the 28
 29 flames. Were that the case, the section on the Hospitallers would be in the usual 29
 30 order. 30

31 Although Thomas Smith’s catalogue listed the text on the origins of the 31
 32 Templars separately from that on the Hospitallers, the two appear to have been 32
 33 conceived as a whole. The section on the Templars opened with the words ‘Ex 33
 34 historia Anthiochena Li^o 12^o ca^o 7^o’, while that on the Hospitallers closed with a 34
 35 reference to the same text: ‘Hæc in historia Antiochena li. 18^o ca.^o 3^o & 4^o’. The 35

36 36

37 37

38 ²² Edbury, ‘Old French William of Tyre’, p. 159. 38

39 ²³ Edbury, ‘Old French William of Tyre’, p. 159; for the base manuscripts, see *ibid.*, 39
 40 p. 153.

41 ²⁴ I am very grateful to Dr Handyside for his comments on this subject. 40

42 ²⁵ Recent outputs include: Peter Edbury, ‘New Perspectives on the Old French 41
 42 Continuations of William of Tyre’, *Crusades*, 9 (2010), pp. 107–13; Philip David Handyside, 42
 43 ‘The Old French Translation of William of Tyre’ (PhD thesis, University of Cardiff, 2012). 43

1 obvious inference is that these were transcribed together, or even translated and 1
 2 compiled together, as a record of the origins of these two military religious orders. 2
 3 Because the original manuscript has been destroyed, it is impossible to know 3
 4 whether it was a medieval creation or produced in the early modern period. It is 4
 5 likely, although not certain, that it was produced in England, as it was available for 5
 6 Robert Cotton to acquire it in the early seventeenth century. It is even possible that 6
 7 Cotton himself or a contemporary copied it. However, as all the surviving fragments 7
 8 of BL Cotton MS Otho B iii are in a similar fourteenth-century hand, although none 8
 9 of these fragments has been firmly identified as coming from the sections containing 9
 10 the text under discussion here (and on some only the outlines of letters can now be 10
 11 discerned), it is possible that it was created in the fourteenth century. 11

12 If this account were created as evidence for a general history of religious orders 12
 13 (for example), there seems no particular reason why an historian would have copied 13
 14 these accounts and no more of William of Tyre's work. It is more likely that whoever 14
 15 put the text into the form in which Cotton acquired it had a particular connection 15
 16 with or interest in the Templars or Hospitallers. 16

17 In the early fourteenth century – when Marino Sanudo and Francesco Pipino 17
 18 produced their Latin translations – both the Templars and the Hospitallers were 18
 19 trying to find new means of pursuing their vocation of war against the enemies of 19
 20 Christendom. It would not have been surprising if a leading member of either order 20
 21 in England had commissioned a version of their order's history to help in justifying 21
 22 the order's existence. The addition of the word *clientes* into the description of the 22
 23 Templars' *minores fratres*, lesser members, on fol.243r suggests that the translation 23
 24 was made by someone with direct knowledge of the order, but the fact that the 24
 25 section on the Templars' origins omits the final words in the Old French translation, 25
 26 'si com il font encore'²⁶ [as they still do], indicates that the translation was made 26
 27 after the dissolution of the Templars. However, it could have been produced after 27
 28 1312 for the English Hospitallers as evidence of their history. The Hospitallers had 28
 29 produced a fictionalised version of their history in the twelfth century: the *Miracula* 29
 30 or 'legends' survive in various versions in manuscripts in French, Anglo-Norman 30
 31 French and Latin.²⁷ In the early fourteenth century Fr. Guglielmo di Sancto Stefano 31
 32

33 ²⁶ Paris, vol. 1, p. 443. 33

34 ²⁷ Antoine Calvet, *Les Légendes de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem* (Paris, 2000), 34
 35 pp. 7–8, 13–16. For recent discussion of the Hospitallers' foundation myths see Philippe 35
 36 Josserand and Mathieu Olivier (eds), *La Mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-* 36
 37 *militaires au Moyen Âge: Actes des journées d'études de Göttingen (25–26 juin 2009) /* 37
 38 *Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter,* 38
 39 *Beiträge der Göttinger Tagung (25.–26. Juni 2009)* (Münster, 2012), pp. 1–71, 137–78, 269– 39
 40 82. Hospitallers' foundation myths, see Philippe Josserand and Mathieu Olivier (eds), *La* 40
 41 *Mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge : Actes des journées* 41
 42 *d'études de Göttingen (25–26 juin 2009) / Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den* 42
 43 *geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter, Beiträge der Göttinger Tagung (25.–26. Juni 2009)* 43
 (Münster, 2012). pp. 1–71, 137–77, 269–82.

1 wrote a history of the Hospital's origins in which he appealed to William of Tyre's 1
2 text as evidence against the legends. A later medieval Latin account built on Fr. 2
3 Guglielmo's version of events.²⁸ 3

4 This suggests the possibility that a late medieval Hospitaller could have translated 4
5 the Old French translation of William of Tyre into Latin as evidence of the order's 5
6 history. It is well known that in the Middle Ages texts were translated out of Arabic, 6
7 Greek and Hebrew into Latin, to make them more accessible to Catholic Christian 7
8 scholarship, and from Latin into the vernacular to make them more accessible to a 8
9 wider western European readership.²⁹ What is less well known is that sometimes 9
10 texts were translated out of one vernacular into Latin to make them more accessible 10
11 to readers who used a different vernacular. For instance, in the late fourteenth and 11
12 early fifteenth centuries Wycliffite texts composed in English were translated into 12
13 Latin for export to a wider European readership.³⁰ Antoine Calvet has pointed out 13
14 that in the mid-fourteenth century the Hospital's statutes, which had been drawn up 14
15 in French, were translated into Latin for the use of the Lombard Hospitallers. The 15
16 1367 statutes and those of the following General Chapters, produced in French, were 16
17 translated into Latin for the German Hospitallers.³¹ In the late fourteenth century and 17
18 early fifteenth century the Hospital moved to using Latin in its official documents, 18
19 abandoning the use of French.³² Guillaume Caoursin's history of the siege of Rhodes 19
20 in 1480, intended for wide European readership, was composed in Latin.³³ So, a 20
21 Latin translation of the vernacular version of William of Tyre's chronicle would 21
22 have fitted this pattern: it could have been produced for fourteenth-century (or later) 22
23 English readers who regarded Latin as a more authoritative language than French 23
24 and were more familiar with Latin than with early thirteenth-century French. 24

25 We might ask why the Hospitallers would have included William of Tyre's 25
26 account of the origins of the Temple in a history of the Hospitallers. The Hospitallers 26
27 had been granted the Templars' property after the papal dissolution of the Templars 27
28 in 1312 and the English Hospitallers knew they had the Templars to thank for many 28
29

31 ²⁸ Calvet, pp. 13, 16. 31

32 ²⁹ For an overview, see Charles H. Manekin, 'Medieval Translations: Latin and 32
33 Hebrew', Bernice M. Kaczynski, 'Medieval Translations: Latin and Greek', Deborah 33
34 L. Black, 'Medieval Translations: Latin and Arabic', and Jeanette M.A. Beer, 'Medieval 34
35 Translations: Latin and the Vernacular', in Frank Anthony Carl Mantello and A.G. Rigg 35
36 (eds), *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington, DC, 1996), 36
37 pp. 713–34. 37

38 ³⁰ Fiona Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England* 38
39 (Cambridge, 1998), p. 7. 39

40 ³¹ Calvet, p. 20. 40

41 ³² Joseph M. Brincat, 'The Languages of the Knights: Legislation, Administration and 41
42 Diplomacy in a Multilingual State (14th–16th Centuries)', in Jovan Kurbalija and Hannah 42
43 Slavik (eds), *Language and Diplomacy* (Msida, 2001), pp. 261–79 at 263–5. 42

43 ³³ Calvet, p. 18. 43

1 of their possessions, a point of which patrons also frequently reminded them.³⁴ By 1
 2 the 1430s, the Hospitallers regarded the Templars as, in a sense, their forerunners. 2
 3 The Hospitaller brother John Stillingflete included the Templars' property in his 3
 4 Latin account of the Hospital's founders in England,³⁵ noting (for example) that the 4
 5 Templars were bound always to release Roger de Mowbray and his successors from 5
 6 penance for any harm the Mowbrays might do the Templars, in consideration for the 6
 7 great devotion Roger had shown the Templars.³⁶ Stillingflete's history carried the 7
 8 date 1434, more than a century after the dissolution of the Templars, but the English 8
 9 Hospitallers were still recording the obligation that their sister-order had incurred. 9
 10 Stillingflete not only listed the Templars' property and noted their obligations to 10
 11 their patrons, but stated at the beginning of his work that he had included the names 11
 12 of the masters of the Temple and Hospital, as well as the names of the priors of 12
 13 the Hospital in England.³⁷ The surviving manuscripts do not include many of these 13
 14 names,³⁸ but there is such a list in what remains of the Hospitallers' cartulary in the 14
 15 British Library. The names of the masters of the Temple in England and the grand 15
 16 masters of the Temple are listed first, followed by the masters of the Hospital and 16
 17 then the priors of the Hospital in England; as if the Temple was the original order 17
 18 and the Hospitallers followed it.³⁹ This was certainly the impression given by the 18
 19 author of the Valencian romance *Tirant lo Blanc*, writing three decades after John 19
 20 Stillingflete, who depicted the Hospital as having been set up after the dissolution 20
 21 of the Templars.⁴⁰ 21

22 It would have been natural, then, for a Hospitaller historian to have included a 22
 23 history of the Templars' origins with a history of his own order's beginnings. On 23
 24 the other hand, given that the account is not particularly flattering to the orders, 24
 25 it is also possible that it was produced by or for an opponent of the Hospitallers 25
 26 who was critical of their possessions and privileges and wanted evidence against 26

27
 28 ³⁴ For example, see Simon Phillips, *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in Late* 28
 29 *Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 8: quoting *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Henry VI,* 29
 30 *1422–1429* (London, 1933), p. 244; other examples in *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Edward* 30
 31 *III, AD 1334–1338* (London, 1895), p. 199; *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Edward III, AD* 31
 32 *1339–1341* (London, 1901), pp. 410–11. 31

32 ³⁵ John Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete de nominibus fundatorum Hosp. S. 32
 33 Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia', in *MA*, vol. 2, pp. 541–53. 33

34 ³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 551. 34

35 ³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 541. 35

36 ³⁸ London, College of Arms, L17, fols 141r–156v. My thanks to Robert Yorke 36
 37 and Matthew Jones, archivists at the College of Arms, for allowing me to examine the 37
 38 manuscript. There is another copy, which was damaged in the Cotton fire, at London, 38
 39 British Library, Cotton MS Tib. E. ix: 'Miscellaneous historical, genealogical and heraldic 39
 40 papers' transcribed in the early modern period, including 'excerpta ex registris chartarum ... 40
 41 Hospitalis S. Joannis Jerusalem in Anglia' (Smith, *Catalogus*, p. 32). 41

41 ³⁹ London, British Library Cotton MS Nero E vi, fols 466r–467v. 41

42 ⁴⁰ Joanot Martorell, Martí Joan de Galba, *Tirant lo Blanc*, ed. Martí de Riquer and 42
 43 Maria Josepa Gallofré, 2nd edn (2 vols, Barcelona, 1985), chapter 98, vol. 1, pp. 159–60. 43

1 them. In this case, by combining the history of the foundations of both orders the 1
 2 translator–compiler would have demonstrated that both the Hospitallers and their 2
 3 predecessors the Templars had been a thorn in the side of ecclesiastical authorities 3
 4 since their early years. A further possibility is that the account was produced after 4
 5 the dissolution of the monasteries by a sixteenth-century antiquary with an interest 5
 6 in the military religious orders. Unless another original manuscript of our text is 6
 7 found, this question must remain open. 7

8
 9

10 **Edition of BL Add MS 5444, fols 242v–248r** 10

11 11

12 *Editor's Notes* 12

13 13

14 [] material within square brackets represents letters omitted in abbreviation. 14

15 All abbreviations have been resolved except 'x' and 'xp' where these stand for 15
 16 'Christ'. 16

17 17

18 [*fol. 242v*] 18

19 19

20 A catchword appears at the foot of each page of the MS, at the outer edge of the 20
 21 folio. Catchwords are not reproduced here. 21

22 22

23 23

24 24

25 **De prima institutione Templarior[um]⁴¹** 25

26 26

27 Ex historia Anthiochena Li^o 12^o ca^o 7^{o42} Circa annu[m] D[omi]ni 1120^m, quidam 27
 28 milites p[ro]bi ho[m]i[n]es, habe[n]tes volu[n]tate[m] & p[ro]po[sitione]m q[uo]d 28
 29 toto t[em]p[or]e vitæ suæ r[em]ane[n]di i[n] s[er]vitio Dei & duce[n]di vita[m] 29
 30 co[m]munem ad modu[m] r[e]gulariu[m] cano[n]icor[um] in manu p[at]riarchæ, 30
 31 castitate[m] & obedi[enti]am veracit[er] voverunt & om[n]i p[ro]p[ri]etate r[e] 31
 32 nunciaveru[n]t. Illi au[tem] qui istud plus tenueru[n]t & ad h[oc] id[e]m faciend[um] 32
 33 alios excitaveru[n]t, fueru[n]t duo milites q[ui] r[um] un[us] dicebat[ur] Hugo de 33
 34 paiens de le troies, ali[us] vocabat[ur] Galfrid[us] de S[anc]to Omero. Et q[uare] 34
 35 no[n] habebant ecc[lesi]am n[ost]ra certa[m] domu[m], ubi pot[er]at viver[e] p[er] 35
 36 se, rex jer[usa]l[em] concessit eis q[uo]d antu[m] voleba[n]t & unu[m] hab[er]e jaculu[m] 36
 37 i[n] domib[us] palacij, q[uo]d habebat jux[t]a te[m]plu[m] D[omi]ni. Cano[n] 37
 38 ici v[er]o te[m]pli tradideru[n]t eis una[m] area[m], qua[m] habeba[n]t iux[t]a 38
 39 palaci[u]m ad eme[n]dac[i]o[n]em hospital[is] sui; & ad const[r]uend[um] officinas 39
 40 40

41 ⁴¹ This account of the Templars corresponds to WT, 12:7, pp. 553–5; and to the Old 41
 42 French translation ed. Paris, 12:7, vol. 1, pp. 441–3. 42

43 ⁴² 7] reading from *MA*, vol. 2, p. 517; BL Add MS 5444 gives: 4. 43

1 gentib[us] religiosi s[e]c[essari]as. Rex au[tem] & barones, p[at]riarcha ac cet[er] 1
 2 i p[re]lati ecc[lesi]a dederunt eis [fol. 243r] de suis d[omi]nicalib[us] reddit[us] 2
 3 p[ro] victu eor[um] & vestitu, aliqua p[ro] temp[or]e, aliqua p[ro] semp[er]. 3
 4 P[rimu]m on[us] q[uo]d eis erat i[n]ju[n]ctu[m] i[n] r[e]missione[m] p[er]cc[at] 4
 5 or[um] suor[um] p[er] p[at]riarcha[m] fuit, q[uo]d vias p[er] quas venire[n]t p[er] 5
 6 eg[ri]ni, custodire[n]t a lat[ro]nib[us] & p[ræ]donib[us], qui multa mala facer[e] 6
 7 consueveru[n]t. P[er] 9 an[n]os morabat[ur] sic in h[ab]itu seculari, & habeba[n]t 7
 8 tales robas quales milites & alij boni ho[m]i[n]es daba[n]t eis ob amore[m] D[omi]ni. 8
 9 Deinde, 9o an[n]o, f[ac]t[u]m est conciliu[m] in F[r]ancia infr[ate] Civitate[m] de Troies. 9
 10 Ibi conveneru[n]t Archiep[iscopu]s de Rayns, Archiep[iscopu]s de Sanz cu[m] 10
 11 om[n]ib[us] suis ep[iscop]is, ep[iscop]us Albanen[sis], q[ui] erat Legatus p[apæ], 11
 12 Abbas Cist[er]cie[n]sis, Abb[as] Clar[e]vallen[sis] & m[u]lti alij r[e]ligiosi. Et ibi 12
 13 fuit ordo, stabilit[as], & r[e]gula dabat[ur] eis ad vivendu[m] s[ecun]d[u]m ho[m]i[n]es 13
 14 i[n] religio[n]e, Et fuit ordinatu[m] & p[re]ceptu[m] auct[orit]ate D[omi]ni Honorij 14
 15 II & p[er] p[at]riarcha[m] Jer[usa]l[em], q[uo]d habit[us] eor[um] foret alb[us]. Ille 15
 16 ordo duraverat ia[m] p[er] 9 an[n]os, ut ia[m] dixi, n[on] era[n]t adhuc p[ræ]t[er] 16
 17 q[ua]m 9 frat[er]es, qui viveba[n]t cotidie de elemosinis alior[um]. Ab illo t[em]p[or]e 17
 18 p[or]o cepit augeri eor[um] nu[m]er[us], & dabat[ur] eis tenem[en]ta & reddit[us]. 18
 19 Temp[or]e v[er]o eugenij III p[apæ], p[ræ]ceptu[m] erat, q[uo]d suere[n]t cr[uce]s i[n] 19
 20 capis, & ma[n]tell[is] eor[um] de pa[n]nio rubeo, ut esse[n]t noti int[er] alios. Sic 20
 21 fecer[un]t milites & mi[n]ores fr[atr]es, qui vocaba[n]t[ur] clientes⁴³ & Serjeans.⁴⁴ 21
 22 Ab illo t[em]p[or]e, sic creveru[n]t eor[um] possessiones, q[uo]d vix pote- [fol. 22
 23 243v] rat inveniri p[ro]vincia cit[ra] mar[e] v[er]o ult[ra] t[er]ra[m] xpianor[um], ubi 23
 24 ordo ille non h[ab]eret possessiones & mansiones & fr[atr]es i[n] magno num[er]o. 24
 25 Primo, fuer[un]t hospitati iux[ta] templu[m], & ideo vocati su[n]t milites de militia 25
 26 templi. In p[ri]mo gereba[n]t se sapie[n]t[er] & hu[m]ilit[er] valde s[ecundu]m 26
 27 p[ro]fessione[m] suam, qui p[ro]p[ter] Deu[m], s[er]v[er]u[n]t dimisera[n]t. S[ed] 27
 28 postea, q[ua]n[do] divitiar[um] eor[um] creveru[n]t, videba[n]t[ur] p[ro]p[os]itione[m] 28
 29 suu[m] oblivisci, & i[n] magna sup[er]bia su[n]t erecti; ita q[uo]d p[ri]mo a p[at] 29
 30 riarcha jer[usa]l[em] se s[ub]trahe[n]t, & q[uo]d nullam potestatem h[ab]eret 30
 31 sup[er] eos, p[ro]curaveru[n]t a su[m]mo po[n]tifice, cu[m] t[ame]n ip[s]e p[at] 31
 32 riarcha i[n] p[ri]mo stabilierat & fu[n]dav[er]at eos de ip[s]is bonis ecc[lesi]æ suæ. 32
 33 Ab alijs insup[er] r[e]ligiosis atq[ue] ecclesijs, a quib[us] m[u]ltas & pulc[ras] r[e] 33
 34 cep[er]a[n]t elemosinas, i[n]cep[er]u[n]t decimas atq[ue] p[ri]micias & cet[er]os 34
 35 redditus quos h[ab]eba[n]t auferre. Alios etia[m] vicinos suos turbaba[n]t & m[u] 35
 36 ltiplicit[er] g[ra]vaba[n]t. [fol. 244r] 36
 37 37
 38 38
 39 39
 40 40
 41 ⁴³ clientes] not mentioned in either WT, 12:7, p. 554 nor Paris, vol. 1, p. 443. This 41
 42 addition presumably refers to the order's associate members. 42
 43 ⁴⁴ serjeans] reading from MA, vol. 2, p. 518; BL Add MS 5444: Seriat[us]. 43

1		1
2	De prima institutione Hospitalariorum ⁴⁵	2
3		3
4	Co[n]tigit t[em]p[re] Eraclij Imperatoris, circa annum Domini 612, quando Turchij	4
5	Arabiae venerant in terras Suriae & Aegypti cu[m] magna potentia, multi boni	5
6	Christiani de ultra mare venerunt in Jerusalem peregrinando, ad visitandum Sancta	6
7	loca, quae Infideles extorserant & tenebant minus honorifice quam debebant.	7
8	Venera[n]t autem, inter alios Xpianos, quidam mercatores Xani Ytaliae, de Civitate	8
9	Pulliae quae appellat[ur] Malfe, & portabant p[rim]o in t[er]ra[m] Suriae mercimonia,	9
10	qualia Turchij nunquam prius viderant; quapropte[r] Ballivi terrae sciverant eis	10
11	grates & faciebant eis bonum multum & solacia in multis, salvo quod conducebant	11
12	in suo dominio. Illi au[tem] m[er]catores h[ab]ebant plenarie gr[ati]am &	12
13	familiaritate[m] Califae principis Aegypti & o[mn]i[u]m Baronum [fol. 244v]	13
14	suor[um], ita q[uo]d possent secure p[er] p[at]riam ire, ad vendendu[m] m[er]ces	14
15	suas & emend[um] alias. Erant au[tem] boni Xpiani & om[n]i vice ^{qua} vener[un]t ⁱⁿ	15
16	Jer[usa]l[em], ibant ad Sancta loca civitatis. Non habebant aliqua[m] domu[m] in	16
17	Civitate illa, q[uo]d grave erat eis, eo q[uo]d oportuit eos aliq[ua]n[do] p[er]	17
18	magnum temp[us] mora[m] ibi facer[e] & Socios suos dimittere ad liberandu[m]	18
19	se de hijs quae affer[e]ba[n]t. Petierunt q[uo]d a p[ra]side[nt]e una[m] area[m] in	19
20	Jer[usa]l[em] ad const[ru]end[am] una[m] domu[m], in qua possent se recipere,	20
21	quando venire[n]t ad Civitatem. Ponebantq[ue] peticio[n]em suam in sc[ri]ptis, &	21
22	porrigeba[n]t Califae magno principi Aegypti, cui petic[i]o[n]i statim annuebat.	22
23	Deinde Ballivo de Jerusalem p[er]vener[un]t l[itte]rae ex p[ar]te p[ri]ncipis & p[ra]e	23
24	sidentis Egipti, q[uo]d Civib[us] de Malfe qui erant amici sui, & magnu[m]	24
25	comodu[m] facieba[n]t t[er]rae suae, eo q[uo]d deferebant illuc r[e]s n[ecessari]	25
26	as, tradi facer[et] & liberari unam magnam aream in illa p[ar]te Civitatis Jer[usa]	26
27	l[em], ubi h[ab]itaba[n]t x[rist]iani, ad const[ru]end[am] s[ibi] h[ab]itac[i]o[n]em	27
28	qualem volebant. Illa au[tem] Civitas tu[n]c fuit divisa in 4 ^{or} p[ar]tes satis equales,	28
29	una[m] p[ar]tem t[er]tia[m] de 4 ^{or} p[ar]tib[us] tene- [fol. 245r] bant Xpiani, in qua	29
30	fu[n]dat[ur] ecc[lesi]a S[anc]ti Sepulc[ri] & to[tu]m r[e]siduu[m] Civitatis &	30
31	templu[m] D[omi]ni habitabatur ab Infidelib[us]. Ballivus au[tem] t[ra]didit eis	31
32	q[ua]nda[m] aream satis largam, coram ecc[lesi]a S[anc]ti Sep[ul]cri, in qua	32
33	const[ru]xer[un]t una[m] ecc[lesi]a[m] i[n] honor[e] V[ir]gi[n]i[s] glo[ri]os[e], &	33
34	officinas cum aedificijs r[e]ligio[n]i mo[n]achor[um] n[ecessari]s. Deinde	34
35	facieba[n]t ibi hospicia p[ro] hospitib[us] suae p[ro]vinciae r[e]cipiendis, Quib[us]	35
36	completis, facieba[n]t illuc venir[e] unu[m] abb[at]em & mo[n]achos de terris suis,	36
37	ita q[uo]d in illo loco fiebat una abbacia ad s[er]viendu[m] Do[minus]. Postea	37
38		38
39		39
40	⁴⁵ This account of the Hospitallers begins with the material in WT, 18:4, p. 814;	40
41	Old French translation in Paris, vol. 2, pp. 197–8 (18.4). See also ‘De prima institutione	41
42	hospitalariorum’, in <i>MA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 497–500 and in <i>RHC Oc</i> , vol. 5, pp. 401–5. BL Add	42
43	MS 5444 has modernised numerals, so DCXII becomes 612; <i>RHC Oc</i> , vol. 5, retains the	43
	medieval forms.	

1 freq[ue]n[ter] accidit, q[uod] m[u]lte bonæ mulier[es] venieba[n]t c[aus]a p[er] 1
 2 eg[ri]nac[i]o[n]is, & devotionis in Jer[usa]l[e]m, tam de Melfe q[ua]m de alijs t[er]ris 2
 3 dictis m[er]catorib[us] specialius adhærentes. Illi t[ame]n de Abbathia noleba[n]t 3
 4 recipere mulier[es] hospic[i]o, timor[e] p[er]cc[at]i, & p[ro] suspic[i]o[n]e sca[n] 4
 5 dali vita[n]da. Q[uo]d videntes illi boni m[er]cator[es], q[ui] illa[m] abbaciam fu[n] 5
 6 davant,⁴⁶ feceru[n]t ibi iux[t]^a abbacia[m] una[m] ecc[lesi]am p[ar]va[m] in honor[e] 6
 7 S[anc]tæ Mar[ie] Magdalenæ, & ædificia p[er] p[er]eg[ri]nis suscipie[n]dis, 7
 8 statue[n]tes ibi soror[es] ad r[e]cipie[n]d[um] & s[er]vie[n]d[um] p[er]eg[ri]nis 8
 9 sup[er]venientib[us]. Et q[uare] te[m]p[us] tu[n]c erat p[er]iculosu[m] X[pi]anis, 9
 10 multi p[er]eg[ri]nor[um] nobiliu[m] illuc venie[n]ciu[m] libent[er] hospitabant in 10
 11 [fol. 245v] illo loco p[er] eo q[uod] paup[er]es era[n]t & ege[n]tes, q[ua]n[do] 11
 12 venera[n]t illuc. Na[m] t[ra]nseuntes p[er] t[er]ras Turchorum, multocie[n]s ab eis 12
 13 spoliaba[n]t[ur], & q[ua]n[do] p[er]ven[er]ant⁴⁷ ad porta[m] Jer[usa]l[e]m, no[n] 13
 14 valebant intrar[e], nisi un[us]q[ui]sq[ue] dar[e]t p[ri]us unu[m] talentu[m], & tu[n] 14
 15 c p[ost]q[ua]m int[ra]vera[n]t civitate[m], no[n] habeba[n]t un[de] se sustentare 15
 16 posse[n]t, nisi q[ua]ntu[m] illa dom[us] eis co[n]fer[er]at, q[uonia]m om[n]es alie 16
 17 gentes illius Civitatis v[e]l erant de alia lege v[e]l de alia lingua, & Xpiani i[n] 17
 18 Civitate mane[n]tes s[ic] g[ra]vaba[n]t[ur], q[uo]d p[ro]p[ter] sua[m] paup[er] 18
 19 tate[m] no[n] pot[er]ant ex[tra]neis p[ro]desse, un[de] m[u]ltimodas miseras 19
 20 patieba[n]t[ur] in Ci[vi]tate. Q[uo]d vide[n]tes illi qui ista loca tenebant, infra 20
 21 limites suos construxeru[n]t una[m] domum Dei ad hospitandu[m] paup[er]es p[er] 21
 22 eg[ri]nos sanos & infirmos, ita q[uo]d de elemosinis & r[e]liq[ui]s istar[um] 22
 23 duar[um] abbaciar[um] mo[n]achor[um] s[cilicet] & illar[um] mulier[um], 23
 24 aliqua[m] h[ab]eba[n]t suste[n]tac[i]o[n]em. Ibi & iam ædificaveru[n]t q[ua] 24
 25 nda[m] ecc[lesi]am i[n] honor[e] S[anc]ti Joh[an]nis elemon. Iste Joh[an]nis oriun[de] 25
 26 d[us] erat in Cipro vir s[anc]tus & r[e]ligiosus & p[at]riarcha Alexandriæ, ubi fecit 26
 27 multa bona op[er]a, in elemosinis extitit multum larg[us], id[e]o s[anc]ti p[at]res 27
 28 qui illic era[n]t, vocaba[n]t eum Elemon. i[d] est⁴⁸ plenu[m] m[isericord]ia.⁴⁹ 28
 29 Elemon. n.⁵⁰ g[re]ce, [fol. 246r] lati[n]e d[icitu]r misericors, & elemosina g[re]ce, 29
 30 lati[n]e m[isericord]ia, secundum Papiam.⁵¹ Istæ tr[es] ecc[lesi]æ p[re]d[i]ctæ 30
 31 nullos habeba[n]t reddit[us] n[on] possessiones ex[tr]a p[ro]ci[n]ctu[m] suu[m]; 31
 32 s[ed] illi de melfe m[er]cator[es] facieba[n]t o[mn]i a[n]no qu[a]n[da]m coll[ec]tam 32
 33 pecuniæ, ex qua p[er] manus abb[at]is suste[n]taba[n]t[ur] fr[at]res & sorores 33
 34 _____ 34
 35 ⁴⁶ Fundav[er]unt MA, vol. 2, p. 498: fundaverunt; RHC Oc, vol. 5, p. 402: fundarant. 35
 36 ⁴⁷ p[er]ven[er]ant MA, vol. 2, p. 498 and RHC Oc, vol. 5, p. 402: pervenerunt. 36
 37 ⁴⁸ id est] reading from MA, vol. 2, p. 498 and RHC Oc, vol. 5, p. 402; MS: i. 37
 38 ⁴⁹ misericordia] MA, vol. 2, p. 498 and RHC Oc, vol. 5, p. 402: misericordia. 38
 39 ⁵⁰ n.] MA, vol. 2, p. 498 and RHC Oc, vol. 5, p. 402: enim. 39
 40 ⁵¹ secundum Papiam] reading from MA, vol. 2, p. 498 and RHC Oc, vol. 5, p. 402; MS: 40
 41 s'p[er] papiā. The eleventh-century lexicographer Papias is not mentioned at this point in the 41
 42 Latin text of William of Tyre, nor in Paulin Paris's edition of the Old French translation. His 42
 43 *Elementarium Doctrinae Rudimentum* defined *elemosyna* as the Greek for the Latin word 43
miseriordia: Papias, *Elementarium Doctrinae Rudimentum* (printed Venice, 1491), fol. 32v. 43

1 illar[um] abbaciar[um], & de r[e]siduo fiebat dist[ri]but[i]o[nem] paup[er]ib[us] 1
 2 illi[us] dom[us] Dei. Et tali modo fuit ille loc[us] p[er] integr[u]m te[m]p[us] 2
 3 sustentat[us], an[te]qu[am] Civitas Jer[usa]l[e]m fuit capta p[er] Xpianos. S[ed] 3
 4 q[ua]n[do] Saraceni erant a sacro loco ejecti, & Civitas ab infidelitate p[ur]gata, 4
 5 valentes t[er]ra[m] conq[ui]re[n]tes di[vi]no auxilio, inveneru[n]t infra Abbathia[m] 5
 6 femi[n]ar[um] una[m] valde valida[m] abbissa[m] muliere[m] s[anc]tam, r[e] 6
 7 ligiosa[m] ac g[e]n[er]osa[m], Romæ oriunda[m].⁵² Et infr[a] Abbathiam ho[m] 7
 8 i[n]u[m] inveneru[n]t unu[m] fr[at]rem bonæ vitæ int[er] alios, Girardu[m] no[m]i[n] 8
 9 e, qui ex p[re]cepto Abb[at]is & mo[na]chor[um], diu s[er]vierat in domo Dei, 9
 10 q[ua]n[do] Saraceni tenebant Civitatem, paup[er]es & p[er]eg[ri]nos recipiens, & 10
 11 faciens eis bo[nu]m, q[uo]d potuit s[ecundu]m facultatem suæ paupertatis. De ta[m] 11
 12 parvo principio venerunt Hospitalarij ad magnam potentiam, qua[m] h[abe]nt. 12
 13 Dabant[ur] e[ni]m eis [fol. 246v] magnæ elemosinæ ad paup[er]u[m] su[s]te[n] 13
 14 tac[i]o[n]em. Et q[ua]n[do] videba[n]t se posse sibi suffic[er]e de b[e]n[e]ficijs 14
 15 abbaciar[um] p[re]d[ic]taru[m], q[uo]d eos manutenuerant, statim p[ro] 15
 16 curaveru[n]t s[ibi] p[ri]vilegiu[m], q[uo]d nich[il] facere[n]t p[ro] Abbate. Postea 16
 17 incipieba[n]t possessiones eor[um] crescer[e] in tantu[m], q[uo]d h[abe]ba[n]t 17
 18 villas & Castella. Deinde laborar[e] & su[m]ptus magnos apponer[e] no[n] 18
 19 cesseba[n]t erga roma[n]a[m] eccl[esi]am, quousq[ue] totaliter eos absolver[e]t a 19
 20 p[otes]tate & obed[ie]ntia p[at]riarchæ. Cu[m]q[ue] h[abe]rent h[oc] p[ri]vilegiu[m], 20
 21 ex tu[n]c no[n] curaveru[n]t nisi paru[m] de p[re]latis suis, om[n]es decimas 21
 22 terraru[m] quas adquisierant, tollebant a vicinis ecclesijs. Et ab illis, qui eos aliq[ua] 22
 23 n[do] pavera[n]t & sustinueru[n]t in eor[um] paup[er]tate, sua nocum[en]ta 23
 24 primit[us] inchoaba[n]t; unde ecc[lesi]a s[anc]ti Sepulc[ri] pot[er]at dic[er]e id 24
 25 p[ro]ph[et]ic[um]: ‘Filius enutrivi & exaltavi illi autem sp[er]averu[n]t me.’⁵³ Q[uo] 25
 26 d cu[m] p[at]riarcha & cæteri Ep[iscop]i viderent, se no[n] posse r[at]io[n]em 26
 27 h[abe]re cu[m] Hospitalarijs, eo q[uo]d no[n] invenire[n]t qui facer[e]t eis 27
 28 justicia[m], & ecc[lesi]æ suæ era[n]t p[er] eos g[ra]vit[er] da[m]pnificatæ,⁵⁴ 28
 29 adieru[n]t roma[m] ad oste[n]de[n]du[m] p[ap]æ & cardin[al]ib[us] injurias quas 29
 30 sustinuerant p[er] fr[at]res hospitalis; s[ed] hospitalarij p[re]venie[n]tes p[er] dona 30
 31 maxi[m]a, totam Curia[m] coruperu[n]t. Sicq[ue] p[at]riarcha & Ep[iscop]i infecto 31
 32 negocio, ad p[at]riam sua[m] redieru[n]t.⁵⁵ [fol. 247r] Deinde fr[at]res Hospitalarij 32
 33 magnas injurias feceru[n]t P[at]riarchæ & o[mn]ib[us] alijs ecc[lesi]ar[um] Prælati, 33
 34 de justicia parochiar[um] ac decimar[um]. Nam q[ua]n[do] Prelati exco[m]mun 34
 35 icaveru[n]t v[e]l int[er]dixerant aliquos de parochianis suis p[ro] defectib[us] 35
 36
 37
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⁵² William of Tyre calls her Agnes: WT, 18:5 line 78, p. 817.

⁵³ Isaiah, ch. 1, v. 2.

⁵⁴ Paris, vol. 2, p. 201 (18.6). Our text now summarizes the events described in the French translation in the rest of chapter 6 and chapter 7, ending in chapter 8 (p. 204) at the words ‘Au repere se mistrent, mout greve de cors et de despens, tuit honteus’.

⁵⁵ WT, 18:8, line 15, p. 820; Paris, vol. 2, p. 204 (18.8). Our text now goes back to follow WT, 18:3, pp. 812–13; Paris, vol. 2, pp. 195–7 (18.3).

1 eor[um], hospitalarij recep[er]u[n]t eos in ecc[les]ijs ad missas, & ad o[mn]ia alia 1
 2 Sacra; sepeliebant q[ue] eos p[ost] mortem infra cimit[er]ia sua. Et si contigisset 2
 3 aliq[ui]c[us]q[ue] n[ost]r[us], p[ro]p[ter] t[ra]nsgressiones p[ri]ncipu[m], Ep[iscopu]m int[er] 3
 4 dic[er]e civitate[m] aut aliq[ui]c[us]q[ue] locu[m], in quib[us] hospitalarij h[ab]ebant 4
 5 ædificia, ip[s]i hospitalarij facieba[n]t pulsar[e] ca[m]panas fortissime, & in 5
 6 Capellis suis altius cantar[e] q[ua]m solebant. Nec erat int[er]dictu[m] ibi 6
 7 receptu[m], & q[ua]re clausæ fuer[un]t aliæ ecc[lesi]æ, plur[e]s obl[ati]ones r[e] 7
 8 cipieba[n]t. In p[ar]ochijs quas s[ibi] deder[un]t Prælati, ponebant p[re]sb[ite]ros 8
 9 p[ro] voluntate sua, s[ic] aliq[ui]c[us]q[ue] m[en]c[i]o[n]e f[ac]ta Ep[iscop]is, a quib[us] 9
 10 cura[m] debebant accip[er]e. Et q[ua]n[do] p[re]sb[ite]ri eis displiceba[n]t, p[ar] 10
 11 ochias ab eis aufer[er]ebant absq[ue] alicujus alt[er]i[us] ma[n]dato. De o[mn]ib[us] 11
 12 tenem[en]tis & terris suis acquisitis, deci[m]as ab ecc[les]ijs aufereba[n]t. Ista g[ra] 12
 13 vami[m]a c[ur]rebat p[er] om[n]es t[er]ras, in quib[us] hospitalarij habeba[n]t 13
 14 possessiones & maneria. S[ed] sup[er] omnes alios da[m]pnificabat[ur] P[at]riarcha 14
 15 Jer[usa]ll[em] apud ecc[lesi]am S[anc]ti Sepulc[ri]. Unu[m] aliud fe- [fol. 247v] 15
 16 ceru[n]t ip[s]i hospitalarij. Na[m] cora[m] loco, ubi Xpus c[ru]cifix[us] est & 16
 17 cora[m] ecc[lesi]a S[anc]ti Sepulc[ri], incipieba[n]t construer[e] magnis su[m] 17
 18 ptib[us] ædificia altiora quam erat ecc[lesi]a S[anc]ti Sepulc[ri]. Freq[ue]nt[er] 18
 19 contigit q[uo]d q[ua]n[do] p[at]riarcha p[re]dicavit p[ro]p[ter] p[ro]p[ter] & docuit quæ 19
 20 facienda erant & quæ vitanda, hospitalarij ad inpediend[um] eu[m] & t[ur]band[um] 20
 21 feceru[n]t tali temp[or]e om[n]es ca[m]panas suis simil[iter]⁵⁶ pulsar[e], ne p[ro] 21
 22 p[ro]p[ter] eu[m] audier[et]. P[at]riarcha au[tem] freq[ue]nt[er] conq[ue]rebant[ur] 22
 23 maiorib[us] ci[vi]tatis Jer[usa]ll[em], q[ui] inculpabant mag[ist]rum & fr[atr]es 23
 24 hospital[is], & rogaba[n]t eos q[ua]tin[us] ista corrig[er]ent. At illi promiser[un]t 24
 25 eis deteri[us] se f[ac]turos. Q[uo]d quide[m] p[ro]missu[m] satis fidelit[er] eis p[er] 25
 26 solveba[n]t. Quadam e[n]i[m] die, contigit eos sic t[ur]bari, & p[er] diabo[le]m ad 26
 27 tanta[m] dem[en]cia[m] concitari q[uo]d armis assumptis, s[anc]tissimo loco mu[n] 27
 28 di h[ic] e[st] ecc[lesi]e S[anc]ti Sepulc[ri], no[n] defer[er]ebant i[n] aliq[ui]c[us]q[ue] 28
 29 volentes ea[m] intrare sicuti fuisset dom[us] lat[er]anis, p[er] violentiam t[ra]xeru[n]t 29
 30 t[er] maxima[m] copiam sagittar[um] v[er]sus ecc[lesi]am, quas inh[ab]itantes⁵⁷ 30
 31 collegeru[n]t, & p[ost]ea colligatas cora[m] mo[n]te Calvariæ suspenderu[n]t; 31
 32 Q[uo]d m[ulti] vide[n]tes admirati s[un]t. Radix isti[us] & h[ui]i[us] mali fuit Curia 32
 33 ro[m]ana, eo q[uo]d ip[s]a no[n] curavit de isto negoc[i]o; s[ed] curasse debuit, 33
 34 s[ed] subtraxit domu[m] hospitalor[um] a p[otest]ate [fol. 248r] & obed[ie]ntia 34
 35 Patriarchæ, s[ub] quo fu[er]a[n]t⁵⁸ a magno te[m]p[or]e dabatq[ue] eis Papa tam 35
 36 magna p[ri]vilegia, q[uo]d n[on] de Clericis nec de Laicis curaver[un]t. Nec ob hoc 36
 37 debet veritas reticeri. Ille ordo multociens postea pauperibus Christianis victum & 37
 38 vestitum pariter & hospitium exhibuit, mortuosq[ue] honorifico sepelivit, 38
 39 multaq[ue] alia charitatis opera exercuit. Fratres etiam Hospitalarij, hostes fidei 39
 40 _____ 40
 41 ⁵⁶ similiter] *MA*, vol. 2, p. 499 and *RHC Oc*, vol. 5, p. 403 amend to: simul. 41
 42 ⁵⁷ inh[ab]itantes] *MS*: inhitantes. 42
 43 ⁵⁸ fuerant] *MA*, vol. 2, p. 499 and *RHC Oc*, vol. 5, p. 404: fuerat. 43

1	X[p]ianæ victoriosissime debellaverunt, & multa gravamina eis intulerunt. Multi	1
2	&[iam] valentes viri, postea in ordine illo fuerunt, qui animas suas Deo annuente	2
3	salvaverunt, nec excessib[us] & s[upe]rbiaē prædictor[um] consenserunt. S[ed], ut	3
4	sciatur unde illa religio Hospitaliorum orta est, in principio & q[ua]m injuste	4
5	debuissent contra Prælatos ecclesiæ insurrexisse, superius pleniter est declaratum. ⁵⁹	5
6	Hæc in historia Antiochena li. 18 ^o ca. ^o 3 ^o & 4 ^o . ⁶⁰	6
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41	⁵⁹ WT, 18:3, p. 813; Paris, vol. 2, p. 197 (18.3).	41
42	⁶⁰ The book and chapter numbers given here correspond to those in William of Tyre's	42
43	chronicle [WT] and the Old French translation [Paris].	43

