

THE *ORDENE DE CHEVALERIE* AND THE OLD FRENCH TRANSLATION OF WILLIAM OF TYRE: THE RELATIONSHIP OF TEXT TO CONTEXT (WITH AN EDITION OF *OC*)

1. INTRODUCTION

There has recently emerged a hitherto unknown, or at least unremarked and unrecorded, prose version of the *Ordene de Chevalerie* (hereafter *OC*) interpolated between the end of Book 21, Chapter 27 (hereafter 21.27) and the beginning of Book 21, Chapter 28 in two manuscripts of the Old French translation of the Latin chronicle of William of Tyre, known (together with its various continuations) as the *Eracles*.¹ The existence of this interpolated text was first brought to scholarly attention by Peter Edbury in 2007.² It should be emphasised from the outset that the inclusion of this interpolation in the *Eracles* is exceptional; of the 51 manuscripts of the French translation of William of Tyre dating from before 1500 which survive in public collections, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 137 (hereafter *W*)³ and Épinal, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 45 (hereafter *Ép*)⁴ are the only two which feature it. The purpose of this article is to consider how this version of the *OC* relates to the stemma proposed in 1920 by Kjellman for the ex-

¹ The title arose, because the name of the seventh-century Byzantine emperor, Eracles (Heraklios), occurs in the opening sentence of the French text.

² Edbury 2007. I am grateful to Professor Edbury for providing me with electronic pdf copy from black and white microfilm of the relevant folios of the manuscripts.

³ Now available online at: <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W137/> (accessed 26 July 2016).

⁴ Now available online at: http://www.bmi.agglo-epinal.fr:8084/base_patrimoine/Francais/collection.php?id_col=39&type=manuscrits&etat=d (accessed 29 July 2016). In the digital catalogue, the manuscript is numbered 125, with 45, the number by which it has hitherto been known, given in brackets. Although the online description of the manuscript does mention the inclusion of the *OC* at fol. 201v, it is called, somewhat misleadingly, «un passage d'un poème médiéval», whereas it is in fact a prose version of the text.

tant manuscripts of the prose *OC* known to him.⁵ Thereafter, the relationship of the *OC* to the *Eracles* will be explored, with particular consideration of the motivation for its interpolation in these two exceptional manuscripts of the chronicle text. This discussion will take into account the other texts which follow the *Eracles* in *W*. The article concludes with an edition of the text of the *OC* as found in *W*.

The text of the French translation of William of Tyre differs in significant ways from the Latin original.⁶ William's account of the history of the Crusades and the Latin East from 1099 to 1184 was commissioned by the Latin King of Jerusalem, Amalric I, in the late 1160s. It was intended to inform, entertain and edify the writer's contemporaries and successors in the Latin East, to celebrate their achievements, and to promote the sympathetic understanding of Christians in the West. By contrast, the French translator, working between 1219 and 1223,⁷ adapted the Latin text to suit a western lay audience, possibly the Capetian court and the nobility of north-central France. He was undoubtedly a westerner and a cleric, probably of noble extraction, and he clearly identified with the knightly ethos. What he produced was an adaptation, as much as a translation; there is evidence that he draws on a range of other crusading texts, both Latin chronicles and vernacular *chansons de geste*, in particular the *Chanson d'Antioche*.⁸ The resultant work has been likened to a prose epic and it is in relation to this general character of the French text that the innovative interpolation of the *OC* by the compiler of the exemplar of *W* and *Ép* should be considered.

The *Ordene de chevalerie*⁹ is a widely known medieval text, famous as much for its didactic account of the symbolic ritual of making knights as for its association with the figure of Saladin, who receives instruction, though in most versions not the desired *colee* (accolade), from the

⁵ *Ordre de Chevalerie* (Kjellman): 158.

⁶ See Pryor 1992; Madureira 2008; Jubb 2010c.

⁷ According to Pryor 1992: 293, the translation was made «sometime between 1205 and ca 1234», but Handyside 2015: 119 has concluded that it was most likely made between 1219 and 1223, thus reviving the date originally suggested by Morgan 1973: 172.

⁸ See Pryor: 291-3.

⁹ The title, *Ordene de chevalerie*, is generally used for the verse version, and *Ordre de chevalerie* for the prose. Hereafter I shall use the abbreviation *OC*, unless there is a particular need to distinguish between the two versions.

Christian knight, Hugh of Tiberias.¹⁰ Originally a verse text, composed ca 1220 and adapted into prose soon afterwards, the *OC* is extant in different versions in both verse and prose,¹¹ bearing witness to the popularity of the subject matter and to the propensity of the text for *remaniement* to suit different audiences with varying emphasis on the moral content or on the story for its own sake.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS *W* AND *Ép*

The two manuscripts of the *Eracles* in which the *OC* is interpolated, *W* and *Ép*, are both believed to date from the end of the thirteenth century.¹² They are textually very close to one another, with a large number of chapter divisions in common.¹³ As Folda has shown in his 1976 monograph, there is also a close relationship between the miniatures and an identical system of rubrics going back to a common source.¹⁴ The use in both manuscripts of historiated initials for selected chapter incipits, rather than a panel miniature at the start of each book of the chronicle, as was hitherto the norm in copies of the *Eracles*, marks a new approach to the illustration of the *Eracles* and one which was subsequently widely adopted. On art historical grounds, Folda has suggested a Parisian provenance for both manuscripts. However, though he thinks it likely that *Ép* was painted by Parisian artists, he sounds a note of caution about *W*, commenting that the illustrations in the latter are «done in a less elegant style and with more strongly crusader-influenced iconography».¹⁵ This no doubt explains why in his earlier handlist of 1973 he drew a distinction between *W* whose provenance is given as northern France and *Ép* which is assigned to the Ile de France.¹⁶ Unfortunately, there is no surviving indication of ownership of either manuscript in the medieval period and neither manuscript is discussed by

¹⁰ See Tolan 1997: 32-3 and Jubb 2000: 67-85.

¹¹ For the verse version, see *Ordene de Chevalerie* (Busby): 71–175 and Busby 1984. For the prose versions, see *Ordre de Chevalerie* (Kjellman): 160-77.

¹² See Edbury 2007: 80. They are numbered 31 and 35 respectively in Folda 1973: 93. See also Riant 1881: nn. 42 and 41 and Woledge–Clive 1964: 60-1.

¹³ See Edbury 2007: 80.

¹⁴ Folda 1976: 146-51 (149).

¹⁵ *Ibi*: 151.

¹⁶ Folda 1973: 93.

Richard and Mary Rouse in their work on commercial book producers in medieval Paris.¹⁷

In any case it would appear that the exemplar of both text and rubrics must have used Picard orthography, though this is followed more closely by the scribe of *W*, for example with his regular use of the graphy *ē*, than by the scribe of *Ép*.¹⁸ Regrettably, given the rounder and more evenly formed script of the latter, it is on the former that we must rely for the greater part of the *OC* interpolation, because a crucial folio between 201 and 202 is missing from *Ép*. The missing folio would have included the incipit to Book 22, and, in all likelihood a miniature, the acquisition of which may well have tempted a mutilator.

In his catalogue descriptions, Folda lists the rubrics marking book and chapter divisions in each codex,¹⁹ but does not include the rubric which precedes the *OC* in each case.²⁰ The omission is surprising, because the beginning of the *OC* interpolation is further signalled in *W* by a small flourished red initial *I*, extending to the height of four lines, a type of initial which is used at the beginning of secondary divisions of the text throughout this codex.²¹ Less obviously, in *Ép* the beginning of the *OC* is signalled by a broader than usual decorative gold line to the left of the opening lines of text. As indicated in the online description of this manuscript,²² to the left of each column of text there is usually a thin gold line accompanied by red and blue arcs. What is striking here is the interruption to the usual pattern of alternating red and blue arcs to the left of the gold line. Instead the noticeably thicker than usual gold line, which starts alongside the rubric to the *OC* and extends down the first six lines of text, is accompanied by the type of fine blue scrolling which is elsewhere found alongside a small gold initial. Such an initial, as an alternative to a small red or blue initial, marks some other secon-

¹⁷ See Rouse–Rouse 2000, II: 363–74. Neither *Ép* nor *W* appears in the *Index of Manuscripts*.

¹⁸ See Folda 1976: 151.

¹⁹ *Ibi*: 205–11.

²⁰ «L'ordene de la chevalerie et comment Hues de Tabarie fu raiens par son sens».

²¹ See Randall 1989: I, *Catalogue* 50: 123–7 (125). I am grateful to William Noel, Curator of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Walters Art Museum, for sending me colour images of the rubric and initial from *W*, fol. 264b taken on his small camera before the manuscript was digitised in 2014.

²² See n. 4 above.

dary divisions of the text.²³ It may be that the thick gold line was an attempt to make good the failure to leave space at the start of the *OC* text for a gold initial, but in any case the purpose is clearly to signal the beginning of a significant episode. Whether by accident or design, the right-hand column of the text of the *OC* which breaks off at the bottom of fol. 201v has no decoration. The most likely explanation is that it has been accidentally omitted, as occurs at other points in the manuscript.²⁴ At any rate, in both manuscripts the beginning of the interpolated *OC* is deliberately and clearly marked.

3. THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE PROSE *OC*

As mentioned in the Introduction, the different manuscript contexts in which the *OC* occurs shows that it could be accommodated for a variety of reasons. Thus, the verse text appears in collections ranging from the exclusively didactic and/or Christian, to ones which include courtly poems, or which concern themselves primarily with material relating to Jerusalem and the Crusades.²⁵ The prose versions are particularly interesting, because in three of the ten manuscripts examined in 1920 by Kjellman,²⁶ the text is interpolated into a longer narrative, forming what has been called a “cyclical” version. What we find in *W* and *Ép* is a new cyclical version of the *OC* and the first thing to consider is how this cyclical version compares to the others. The earliest in date, and the most relevant²⁷ for this discussion, of the previously known cyclical versions of the prose *OC* is the version interpolated into one of the three extant copies of the thirteenth-century *Estoires d’Outremer et de la naissance Sale-*

²³ Such an initial, extending to the height of three lines, is found on fol. 203r at the beginning of Book 22, Chapter 5.

²⁴ For example on fols. 201r and 203v it is absent from the left-hand column of the text.

²⁵ See *Ordene de Chevalerie* (Busby): 87-8.

²⁶ *Ordre de Chevalerie* (Kjellman): 141-2. The mss. are the thirteenth-century Paris, BnF, ms. f.fr. 770, where the *OC* is interpolated into the *Estoires d’Outremer*, and two fifteenth-century mss., Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 5208, and Paris, BnF f.fr. 12572, where it is interpolated into the prose epic, *Saladin*.

²⁷ The other two cyclical versions of the *OC*, interpolated in the prose epic, *Saladin*, date from the fifteenth century and depend on the version found in the *Estoires d’Outremer*.

hadin, hereafter referred to as the *Estoires*.²⁸ This text is a lively account of the Crusades from 1099 to 1230, whose abbreviated and sometimes garbled narrative is drawn largely from the *Ernoul-Bernard* chronicle,²⁹ with the interpolation of one major fictional interpolation relating the supposed descent of Saladin from the French noble house of Ponthieu. As I have argued elsewhere, the introduction of the *OC*, a second fictional interpolation relating to Saladin, into the *Estoires* was in all probability an innovation by the compiler of the version found in the thirteenth-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. f.fr. 770.³⁰ The *Ernoul-Bernard* chronicle, on which the *Estoires* draws for the historical narrative, does not mention Hugh of Tiberias as one of the prisoners taken by the Saracens at Beaufort in 1178

La prisent il le maistre dou Temple et Bauduin de Rames et les enmenerent en prison à Damas; et si s'en retournerent li Sarrasin a tout lor gaaing, et li rois demoura en sa tiere.³¹

Nor is he mentioned in the other two extant mss. of the *Estoires*, the thirteenth-century BnF, ms. f.fr. 12203 or the fifteenth-century ms. f.fr. 24210. However, the *Estoires* text in BnF, ms. f.fr. 770 does include Hugh and then proceeds smoothly into the *OC* where Hugh is invited to instruct his captor, Saladin, in the mysteries of knighthood.

La prisent il le maistre dou Temple et Bauduin de Rames et monseigneur Huon de Tabarie et mout des autres et tous les menerent en prison a Damas fors monseignor Huon. Le soir fu amenés devant Salehadin ki bien le counut et mout en fu liés, car lonc tans l'avoit convoitié a tenir en son destroit et a estre acointiés de lui, pour les grans bien ke il en avoit oï dire.³²

The capture of Hugh at Beaufort is mentioned in both the Latin chronicle of William of Tyre and the *Eracles*:

²⁸ See *Estoires*: 109-14. See also Jubb 2010b where the title is unfortunately mistranslated into English as «Stories of Overseas». In fact *Estoires* is the singular form of the subject case and should be translated as «Story/History».

²⁹ See Jubb 2010a.

³⁰ See *Estoires*: 20-2. See also *Ordre de Chevalerie* (Kjellman): 143.

³¹ *Ernoul-Bernard*: 50.

³² *Estoires*: 109.

Balduinus, quoque de Ramis, nobilis vir et potens, Hugo quoque de Tyberiadem, domini comitis Tripolitani privignus, adolescens bone indolis et acceptus plurimum, et alii multi, quorum nomina non novimus nec numerum, capti sunt.³³

Baudouins de Rames, hanz hom et puissanz, Hues de Tabarie fillastres,³⁴ le conte de Triple, i furent pris. De cestui furent mout de genz courreciées, car il estoit junes hom, sages et cortois et mout avoit la grace de touz. Assez d'autres en i ot perduz qui n'estoient pas si riche home.³⁵

This same juncture in the narrative thus provides the compiler of the exemplar of *W* and *Ép* with the opportunity to interpolate his version of the *OC* into the historical narrative.

However, the first major point of difference to note about this new cyclical version, as compared to the version found in the *Estoires*, is that in this version (lines 72-3 of the edited text at the end of this article), Hugh tells Saladin about the *colee* (the stroke on the shoulder with the flat of the sword given when knighthood is bestowed), but refuses to give it to him. We must assume that *Ép* was similar in this, as in other respects, to *W*, but on account of the missing folio previously discussed, the text breaks off before this point in the narrative is reached. By contrast, in the version of the *OC* interpolated in the *Estoires*, Hugh does let himself be persuaded to grant Saladin the *colee*. This represents a significant modification of the original verse text and it is such a distinctive feature that it argues strongly from the outset against a close textual relationship between the cyclical version of the *OC* interpolated in *W* and *Ép* and the version found in the *Estoires*.

We should consider next the idiosyncratic prose version of the *OC* found in Paris, BnF, ms. f.fr. 781. Kjellman sets this manuscript, which he calls *B*, apart, judging it to be the closest of all the extant prose re-

³³ William of Tyre, II: 1002, lines 46-50 (Book 21, Chapter 28).

³⁴ The text would make better sense without the comma.

³⁵ *Eracles* (Paris), II: 407 (Book 21, Chapter 27). However, at this same point in the narrative, where the chapter is numbered 21.29 (see Edbury 2007: 98-101 for chapter numbering), the *Eracles* (RHC): 1057, which takes BnF, ms. f.fr. 2627 (Folda's ms. 02) as its base ms., gives an idiosyncratic reading, commending Baldwin of Ramleh, rather than Hugh of Tiberias. It reads thus: «Baudouins de Ramès, hanz hom et puissanz, Hue de Tabarie, fillastre le conte de Triple: cil i furent pris; et de ceus furent meintes genz correciez, quar cil Baudouin [my underlining] estoit sages hom et cortois et mout avoit la grace de touz. Assez d'autres en i avoit qui n'estoient pas si riche hom».

dactions to the original verse text. It is clear that none of the distinctive readings which it alone shares with the verse text is reproduced in *W* or *Ép*.³⁶ Kjellman divides the remaining thirteenth-century manuscripts of the prose *OC* into two separate families, on the one hand *D* (Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 867) and *E* (Paris, BnF, ms. f.fr. 17203), both deriving from the same lost intermediary, β , and on the other *A* (BnF, ms. f.fr. 770, the *Estoires*) and *C* (BnF ms. f.fr. 25462), both deriving from a different lost intermediary, γ . With which of these families do *W* and *Ép* have more in common? Do they have any parallels at all with the cyclical version of the *OC*, as represented by *A*, the *Estoires*, or are they completely divergent? Close examination of the variant readings shows that whenever there is a significant divergence between the two families, the text of *W* and *Ép* parallels the version given by *D* and *E* rather than that of *A* and *C*. For example, in *A* and *C* there is quite an extended dialogue between Hugh and Saladin before the ritual unfolds, with each flattering the other. Thus Saladin explains that he would rather be knighted by Hugh than by anyone else and Hugh observes that if only Saladin were a Christian, knighthood would be well conferred upon him. In *A*, Saladin replies cryptically that this cannot be, but there is the tantalising implication that conversion might be considered in the future.³⁷ By contrast, the dialogue in *W* and *Ép* (lines 31-42 of the edited text) is much briefer. There is a general tendency for the dialogue in *A* and *C* to be more developed than in *D* and *E*, and for *W* and *Ép* to follow the latter tradition, for example in simply having Hugh describe the significance of the bath (lines 44-7), and not including the linking dialogue found in *A* and *C*.³⁸

Although they share many readings, there are occasions when *D* and *E* diverge from one another, and Kjellman has concluded from these variants that second only to *B*, *D* is the closest of the surviving prose versions to the lost verse original, *O*, on which all the prose texts ultimately depend.³⁹ It is interesting to note that whenever *D* and *E* do

³⁶ See *Ordre de Chevalerie* (Kjellman): 145 where, speaking of the bath from which the knight should emerge free from sin, Kjellman notes that *B* alone of the prose versions, continues: «& devés estre plains de bonté & de courtoisie & faire amer a toutes gens». This comment is not found in either *W* or *Ép*.

³⁷ *Estoires*: 111.

³⁸ The *Estoires*: 111 reads: «“Sire, savés vous ke chis bain vous doune a entendre?”. “Hue”, fit li rois, “non”».

³⁹ See *Ordre de Chevalerie* (Kjellman): 150-2.

diverge from one another, *W* and *Ép* parallel the version of *E*, both in content and wording. For example, as in *E*, there is no mention of the *coiffe*, and the fourth of the knightly obligations, to make an offering at Mass is omitted.⁴⁰ There are two striking instances of parallel wording with *E*. The first occurs where Hugh explains his reluctance to make Saladin a knight. The idiosyncratic mention of holy oil or chrism, *eresme* (line 37), with which Saladin has not been anointed, is found only in *E* of all the hitherto known prose and verse versions of the text. Other versions refer only to Saladin's deficiency in the matter of baptism and Christian religion. The second example concerns a curious phrase (lines 98-9 and n. 101): «venés le jambe sor vos palefroi». There is an evident parallel here with *E*, but also a corruption of the superior, though admittedly still enigmatic, reading of *E*: «venés le jambe sor le col de vo palefroi».⁴¹ A similar phrase is found in other verse versions of the *OC*,⁴² but of the prose versions, *E* and *W* are alone in preserving it.

How then might the version of *W* and *Ép* fit into the stemma proposed by Kjellman for the extant manuscripts of the prose *OC*?⁴³ To recap, Kjellman postulated the existence of a lost original prose redaction, *O*₁, which was used by two copyists.⁴⁴ One produced the fragment extant in *B* (BnF, ms. f.fr. 781), and the other a lost version, *α*, somewhat freer from the influence of the original *O*₁, and from which all the other prose redactions derived. These can be further divided into two families, one of which was established through the intermediary of *β*, passing to *D* and *E* (Kjellman's *version primitive*), and the other through the intermediary of *γ*, passing to *A* and *C*.

From the evidence adduced above, it follows that, like *D* and *E*, the version of *W* and *Ép* must derive from *α* via the common intermediary of *β*. The idiosyncrasies which it shares with *E*, and also its one notably inferior reading to *E*, may argue for direct dependence on *E*, or more likely, for a lost shared common source for them both. What is beyond question is the relative remoteness in textual terms of this new cyclical

⁴⁰ See n. 97 below.

⁴¹ See *Ordre de Chevalerie* (Kjellman): 165.

⁴² See n. 101 below.

⁴³ See *Ordre de Chevalerie* (Kjellman): 158.

⁴⁴ All the prose versions have one feature in common which distinguishes them from the original poem and which argues for a single original prose archetype, namely the reduction of the delay granted to Hugh for the collection of his ransom from two years to one.

version from the one other extant thirteenth-century cyclical version as found in the *Estoires*. The latter, Kjellman's *A*, has a more fully developed dialogue and many distinctive features, not only the fact that Hugh actually gives the *colee* to Saladin, but also, for example, the timing of the ritual, which occurs the day after Hugh is captured.⁴⁵ None of these singular features is found in the version of *W* and *Ép* and in turn their idiosyncratic readings are not found in *A*. It seems probable that the compiler of the lost common exemplar of *W* and *Ép* and the compiler of the *Estoires* as found in BnF, ms. f.fr. 770, independently decided to interpolate a version of the widely circulating *OC* into their narratives of Crusade history at the logical point when Hugh was taken captive at Beaufort.⁴⁶

There is one interesting feature of the interpolated version in *W* which remains to be considered and it concerns the conclusion. Unsurprisingly, it is closely related to the version of Kjellman's *E*, but it stops short of the didactic conclusion⁴⁷ and the explicit as found in *E*:

et quant li princes vint en son païs, si donna celui avoir & departi a cels qui encore en sunt rice home. Et pour çou est cis contes ramenteüs que mout est bel et boin d'avoir preudome couvent a autre preudome. Ci faut li contes de mon segneur Huon de Tabarie, le prince de galilée, et de Salehadin.⁴⁸

In *W* (lines 120-1 of the edited text below) the episode concludes simply with Hugh returning to his homeland and generously disbursing money that Saladin had given him. It is curious to note that as a result the last two words of the historical narrative of the *Eracles* in *W* immediately before the rubric for the *OC* interpolation, «riche home» (line 5

⁴⁵ See *Estoires*: 110.

⁴⁶ For the conflation of the capture of Hugh of Tiberias near Beaufort Castle and the knighting of Saladin, elsewhere attributed to Humphrey of Toron (whose initials, H. de T., were the same), see Busby 1984: 31.

⁴⁷ This didactic conclusion is even more extended in *D*: «Et pour çou est cis contes ramenteüs que mout est bel et boin d'estre preudom, car quant uns preudom ciet en main d'autre preudome, plus legiere est sa raençons, et ausi fu il au preudome Huon de Galilée. Ki preudome sert, sa painne ne pert». See *Ordre de Chevalerie* (Kjellman): 166. Warren 2003: 292 has called this conclusion «a pragmatic lesson in chivalric survival», and has suggested that it was focused «on the economic self-interest of fighting men of moderate means».

⁴⁸ See *Ordre de Chevalerie* (Kjellman): 166.

of the edited text), are identical to the last two words of the interpolated episode, «a cels qui encore en sunt riche home» (lines 120-1). This may be pure coincidence, but it might have been part of a deliberate design on the part of the compiler of the exemplar of *W* and *Ép*. He might have been seeking to underline the continuity between the exemplary Hugh of Tiberias and his successors and inheritors in the West with a view to encouraging the latter to further crusading expeditions.

4. THE INTERPOLATION OF THE PROSE *OC* INTO THE *ERACLES*

The fact remains that the *W* and *Ép* mss. of the *Eracles*, together with the BnF, f.fr. 770 version of the *Estoires*, are unique in interpolating a version of the *OC* into a narrative of Crusade history. However, there is other surviving manuscript evidence for the association of the *OC* as an independent text with other texts about the Crusades and/or Jerusalem. For example, BnF, ms. f.fr. 781 groups together in a single codex two quite lengthy texts – a prose résumé of the *premier état* of the first cycle of Crusade epic poems (fols. 1r-60v), *Ernoul-Bernard* (fols. 63r-147r) – and three separate, short supplements, namely a prophecy about the Kingdom of Jerusalem (fols. 148c-149b), an anecdote about Saladin's visit to the Hospitallers (fols. 149c-150b), and an incomplete prose copy, Kjellman's *B*, of the *OC* (fols. 150b-150d). We should also consider BnF, ms. f.fr. 17203 where a prose version of the *OC*, Kjellman's *E*, appears at the end of the codex, and is preceded by a copy of Jacques de Vitry's *Histoire abrégée de Jérusalem* (fols. 1-47), and three other chronicles.⁴⁹ Given the evidence adduced above for the close relationship between the *E* version of the *OC* and that found in *W* and *Ép*, it is tempting to suggest that the association of the *OC* in BnF, ms. f.fr. 17203, or a manuscript very like it, with a narrative of Crusade history might have inspired the compiler of the lost exemplar of *W* and *Ép*, but this is mere conjecture. What is certain is that by comparison with the varied manuscript contexts in which the verse versions of the *OC* occur, the extant thirteenth-century prose versions, with only one excep-

⁴⁹ These three chronicles are: a French translation of the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle; *Chronique abrégée des rois de France to 1204*; *Chronique d'un anonyme de Béthune to 1220*. See BnF catalogue at <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000046879> (accessed 25 October 2012).

tion, *D*, all occur in association with texts about the Crusades or, in the case of *C* (BnF ms. f.fr. 25462), about Saladin himself.⁵⁰

Independently of the *OC* there are other contemporary medieval texts which briefly mention Saladin's becoming a knight.⁵¹ There may even have been a basis in historical reality for his having expressed an interest in the institution and for having received some instruction in the knightly duties, though more likely when he was a captive in 1167, rather than when Hugh of Tiberias was his captive in 1179. In any case, there was evidently a desire on the part of the Christians to give credence to a story that allowed some of the glory for Saladin's chivalrous actions to redound upon themselves. There was ample reason then for the compiler of the lost exemplar of *W* and *Ép* to interpolate a version of the widely circulating *OC* into the Crusade narrative of the *Eracles*, and all the more so because it was entirely in keeping with the knightly ethos of the Old French translation of William as a whole. The placing of the *OC* after 21.27 indeed amplifies and illustrates the immediately preceding characterisation of Hugh as «saiges et cortois» (lines 3-4 of the edited text below), a distinctly courtly development by the translator of the *Eracles* from William of Tyre's description of Hugh as «bone indolis» (of good character).⁵²

It is significant that in both *W* and *Ép* the *OC* episode is signalled as a separate episode by a rubric. Folda has observed that the textual rubrics served both reader and painter,⁵³ but in this case there is no miniature or historiated initial, so the purpose is clearly not to indicate to the illuminator what he has to illustrate at this point. Rather, the rubric is directed to the reader. It seems likely, as others have argued,⁵⁴ that a rubric would help readers to find their way around a text, in other words act as a kind of bookmark for a particular episode. This would be all the more useful if a favourite episode were to be singled out for selective reading. The words of the rubric, «L'ordene de la chevalerie»⁵⁵ et

⁵⁰ The one exception is Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 867, where the *OC*, Kjellman's *D*, is found in a codex which is made up for the most part of saints' lives. By contrast, in BnF ms. f. fr 25462, the *OC* is associated with another legendary tale about Saladin, the *Fille du comte de Pontieu*.

⁵¹ More detailed discussion in Cook–Crist 1972: 124-32 and Jubb 2000: 67-8.

⁵² See n. 33 above.

⁵³ Folda 1976: 148.

⁵⁴ Busby 2002, I: 346-7.

⁵⁵ I have used the spelling of *Ép* for *chevalerie*.

comment Hues de Tabarie fu raiens par son sens» are interesting, because they suggest that the interest of the episode was not only its account of the ritual of making a knight, but also the shrewdness of Hugh of Tiberias in securing his ransom. Curiously, there is no mention of Saladin. There is no rubric to serve as a comparison in BnF, ms. f.fr. 17203, Kjellman's *E*, to which, as we have seen above, the version of the *OC* found in *W* and *Ép* is most closely related, but there is an explicit which marks the end of: «li contes de mon segneur Huon de Tabarie, le prince de galilée, et de Salehadin». However, in the version of Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 867, Kjellman's *D*, which belongs to the same family as *E*, there is a rubric: «Chi commence du prince de Galilée, mon signeur Huon de Thabarie, comment il fist le roi Salehadin cevalier». The focus here is on the two individuals concerned and on the description of Hugh knighting Saladin (though, in fact, as we have seen, he does not actually give him the accolade). In the one other extant thirteenth-century cyclical version of the *OC* in BnF f. fr. 770, there is no rubric to mark the interpolation. However, the *OC* episode, like the other major fictional interpolation relating to Saladin, the *Fille du comte de Pontieu*, is highlighted in a different way by a miniature to mark its beginning and its end.⁵⁶

What can we conclude from this? The particular rubric which introduces the *OC* in *W* and *Ép* must have derived from their common exemplar. There is nothing remarkable about the opening words, «L'ordene de la chevalerie», by which the episode was widely known in the incipits and explicits of verse and prose manuscripts alike. What is interesting is the particular focus on Hugh's use of his wits to secure payment of his ransom. This was already an integral part of the the *OC* episode, but by drawing attention to this aspect of the story in the rubric, the compiler of the exemplar of *W* and *Ép* has made an explicit link between his interpolation and the preceding narrative of the *Eracles*, recounting Hugh's capture and extolling his qualities of courtliness and

⁵⁶ See fols. 313a-b and 315d for the miniatures at the beginning and end of the *Fille* episode and fols 326d and 327f for the miniatures at the beginning and the end of the *OC*. There are two other miniatures in the BnF ms. 770 text of the *Estoires*: to mark the beginning of the account of the misdeeds of Emperor Andronicus (fol. 334a) and to mark the beginning of the account of Saladin's siege of Jerusalem (fol. 349a).

wisdom.⁵⁷ The absence of any reference to Saladin would seem to suggest that for this compiler the immediate justification for the interpolation lay in its connection with Hugh of Tiberias. This is in marked contrast to the cyclical version of the *OC* in the *Estoires*, where the central interest of the text as a whole is very obviously with Saladin.⁵⁸ A desire to boost a particular northern French lineage may nevertheless explain both cases; the lords of Tiberias owned lands in the region of Saint-Omer, while the counts of Ponthieu were encouraged by the other major fictional interpolation in the *Estoires* to claim Saladin as a blood relative.

The interpolation of the fictional *OC* into the historical narrative of the *Eracles* might appear more surprising than its interpolation into the *Estoires*, which, as I have argued elsewhere, evidently placed entertainment before accuracy.⁵⁹ However, the interpolation of material into the narrative of the *Eracles* is not entirely without precedent. There is also the case of London, British Library, Henry Yates Thompson, ms. 12.⁶⁰ It has been dated to the mid thirteenth century and may be of English provenance. Like *W* and *Ép*, the text of the *Eracles* in this manuscript contains a continuation from 1184 (the point at which William of Tyre's chronicle broke off) to 1232, adapted from the *Ernoul-Bernard* text. As Edbury has pointed out, this British Library manuscript stands alone in the *Eracles* manuscript tradition, because at three points – 19.21, 19.30 and 22.29 – it interpolates earlier passages from *Ernoul-Bernard* into the text of the French translation of William's chronicle.⁶¹ There has evidently been an attempt on the part of the compiler to integrate the text of the translation with the continuation which follows it. The second interpolated passage is particularly noteworthy; it gives quite an extended account, based as much on hostile rumour as on fact, of Saladin's perfidious murder of the moulana of Egypt and his consequent seizure of power. The episode forms part of the hostile western

⁵⁷ See lines 3-4 of the edited text below.

⁵⁸ See *Estoires*: 6-11. It is noteworthy that the explicit of the *Estoires* in BnF, mss. f.fr. 12203 and 24210 is: «Salhadins fine ichi».

⁵⁹ See *Estoires*: 293-307.

⁶⁰ See Folda 1973: 93-4, where it is numbered 38. See also Folda 2010 on the unusual illustrations in this ms.

⁶¹ See Edbury 2007: 79 and Edbury 2010: 107-13 (108). The passages are to be found in *Ernoul-Bernard*: 25-31, 35-41, 114.

legend about Saladin's rise to power.⁶² It is interesting that in their different ways, the one still reflecting the hostile western view of Saladin and the other bearing witness to his transformation into adoptive chivalric hero, the interpolated episode about his exploits in Egypt in British Library, Henry Yates Thompson, ms.12 and the interpolated *OC* in *W* and *Ép*, both show a compiler amplifying the *Eracles* with semi-legendary material no doubt calculated to appeal to a thirteenth-century western audience.

In addition to the interpolated *OC* episode, there is further evidence in *Ép* of appeal being made to an audience interested in chivalry. The historiated initial on fol. 198r, possibly influenced by romance iconography, depicts what was in fact a battle between the forces of Saladin and King Baldwin IV near Ascalon as a spirited joust between two individuals.⁶³ It is significant that this miniature is placed, as it were as a “trailer”, at the opening of 21.27, the very chapter which, as we have seen, is followed by the interpolated episode of the *OC* with its extended account of Saladin's instruction in the ritual of making knights.

There is no illustration at this point in the narrative in *W*, but this codex does provide us with an interesting miniature peculiar to itself.⁶⁴ It appears at the beginning of 1.1 (fol. 1r), illustrating the speech of Urban II at Clermont to launch the First Crusade. The textual account of Urban's speech does not occur until Chapter 15 of Book 1, but the four-part panel miniature serves as an eminently suitable opening to the narrative as a whole. It forms what Folda has called «an illustrated lecture».⁶⁵ Urban is shown speaking to the crowds in the upper right quadrant, while the other quadrants illustrate his three main points: Christ the Redeemer, the difficulties of pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and the worship of idols in the Holy Land. We might argue that this unique miniature is evidence of a didactic intent in *W* and of a particular interest in Crusade propaganda.

⁶² See Jubb 2000: 5-18.

⁶³ See Folda 1976: 147 and Plate 271. See also n. 4 above for the digitised ms.

⁶⁴ *Ibi*: 150, n. 146 and Plate 273. It should be noted that the opening chapter has been lost from *Ép*. The beginning of Yates Thompson ms. 12 is also lost.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

5. THE UNUSUAL TEXTUAL CONTENT OF *W*

We find in *W* evidence of a different sort which also reflects the cultural and political concerns of the compiler and of the audience for whom it was made. Unusually, there are two independent texts appended to the *Eracles*, the inclusion of which must have been specified in the commission for this codex.⁶⁶ The first (fols. 329-56) is an untitled continuation of the *Faits des Romains* and the second (fols. 357-61) a prose version of the *Letter of Prester John*.⁶⁷ The *Faits des Romains* is a compilation history recounting the exploits of Julius Caesar. Composed in Paris in the early thirteenth century, it was drawn from various classical authors, such as Sallust, Suetonius, Lucan and Caesar. The continuations found in *W* extend from the age of Emperor Tiberius to Julian. It is understandable that an audience interested in reading about Crusade history should also have been interested in the military campaigns of the Roman emperors.⁶⁸

The *Letter of Prester John* is more of a curiosity. Supposedly written by a legendary Christian patriarch and king ruling over a Christian people in the Orient to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus I, it survives in different versions in languages ranging from the original Latin to a variety of vernaculars.⁶⁹ The Old French prose version of the letter found in *W* is similar, but not, as Randall implies,⁷⁰ identical, to that transcribed by Jubinal in 1875.⁷¹ However, both manuscripts give the P-1 version which has been dated to before 1242.⁷² In this version there occurs a passage which is of significance on two grounds. First, it is flattering to the French who are the trusted servants at court of Prester John and also accompany him into battle as his bodyguards. Second, and this is of particular relevance to the manuscript context of *W* and the interpolation of the OC into the preceding narrative of the *Eracles*, Prester John says that he makes knights of all the French who come

⁶⁶ *Ibi*: 151, n. 150.

⁶⁷ See Randall 1989, I: 124.

⁶⁸ See Folda 1976: 92.

⁶⁹ See *Letter of Prester John* (Gosman); Wagner 2000; *Letter of Prester John* (Brewer).

⁷⁰ See Randall 1989, I: 124.

⁷¹ See Rutebeuf (Jubinal), III: 356-75. The ms. which Jubinal transcribed is Gosman's *M*.

⁷² See *Letter of Prester John* (Gosman): 32. The version contained in *W* is not recorded by Gosman.

to his court. Their knightly qualities of nobility, boldness and loyalty are seen to stem from their Christian belief in God.

Et si avons .ii. mile françois que nos avons faiz chevaliers qui nos servent a nostre court et a nostre tauble et en nostre chambre. Et touz les françois qui viennent a nos, soient cler, soient escuier, nos les ordenons a l'ordre de chevelerie. Et por ce que sunt bien a la creance de Deu sunt preu et hardi et loiaus gens et bien afaitiés par nature. Et quant nos alons en bataille il sunt pres de nos por garder nostre cors.⁷³

A clear parallel with the didactic glorification of the Christian institution of knighthood in the *OC* is evident, though it is impossible to say whether the appendage of the *Letter* to *W* was specifically motivated by this passage. Indeed it must be said that like the *OC*, the *Letter* had sufficient elasticity of interest and purpose to be accommodated in a variety of different manuscript contexts.⁷⁴ Certainly, the inclusion of the *Letter* in a codex containing a Crusade chronicle is not without parallel. Notably, in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. 113, which contains a very wide variety of texts ranging from romances to chronicles, a copy of the short chronicle of *Ernoul-Bernard* (fols. 116a-166b) is followed by an anonymous description of Jerusalem (fols. 166b-166f) and then by a verse version of the *Letter* (fols. 166f-169d). Apart from its broad appeal as a wonder tale detailing the marvels and riches of the East, the *Letter* had value as propaganda material, encouraging prospective Crusaders with the promise of powerful support from co-religionaries.⁷⁵ More particularly, in the context of *W*, it complements the fantasy and wish-fulfilment evident in the *OC*, and allows the French to enjoy the glory reflected onto them by the supposed admiration of a powerful Eastern leader. It may or may not have also been intended to further glorify the Christian institution of knighthood itself. At any rate, an element of didacticism and of morale-boosting is common to both the *OC* interpolation and the appendage of the *Letter of Prester John* in *W*.

We have already observed how unusual it is for an interpolation to be encountered in the text of the *Eracles* itself and how interesting the interpolation of the *OC* into *W* and *Ép* therefore is. The previously discussed case of London, British Library, Henry Yates Thompson, ms.

⁷³ *W*, fols. 360b-c.

⁷⁴ See *Letter of Prester John* (Gosman): 49.

⁷⁵ See Gosman 1989.

12, with its interpolation of earlier passages from *Ernoult-Bernard* into the text of the French translation of William's chronicle, is the only precedent. What is remarkable about *W* is that its appendage of two additional, and highly unusual, texts to the *Eracles* makes it a rarity among surviving manuscripts in another equally interesting regard. Of all the 51 manuscripts of the French translation of William of Tyre dating from before 1500 which survive in public collections, there are only five others which include anything but the *Eracles*, continued variously to 1232, 1261 (the Rothelin continuation) or beyond. Of the manuscripts in Section III of Folda's handlist⁷⁶ containing the *Eracles* continued to 1232, the only manuscript, apart from *W*, which contains any other text is F41, Paris, BnF, ms. f.fr. 67. It prefaces the *Eracles* with an extended annal covering the period from the time of Julius Caesar to 1095.⁷⁷ Of the manuscripts in Section IV of Folda's handlist, containing the Rothelin continuation to 1261, only F58 and F64 include anything else. They both have a French version of the *De Excidio Urbis Acconis*.⁷⁸ Finally, in Section V of Folda's handlist, containing the *Eracles* continued beyond 1261, there are two manuscripts, F70 and F77, which contain other texts. The first of these, F70 (a manuscript produced in Acre) contains a version of the *Annales de Terre Sainte*.⁷⁹ The second, F77, contains pilgrimage itineraries to Jerusalem (fols. 343r-345r), followed by a colophon (fols 345r-345v), and then by a papal letter of Boniface VIII (fols. 345v-346v).⁸⁰ This clearly exiguous catalogue demonstrates not only the rarity value of the appendages in *W*, but also the unusual choice of material, particularly of the *Letter of Prester John*. Though admittedly relevant to the Crusades, not least as propaganda material, it is more fabulous in nature than any of the other texts detailed above which are found in other surviving manuscripts of the *Eracles*. The only comparable manuscript to *W* on account of its inclusion of the *Letter* together with a Crusade chronicle remains Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. 113, but, as we have seen, this manuscript differs from *W* in one im-

⁷⁶ See Folda 1973: 93-4.

⁷⁷ See Edbury 2007: 79-80.

⁷⁸ *Ibi*: 91.

⁷⁹ For an edition of this text, see *Annales de Terre Sainte* (Edbury).

⁸⁰ For the pilgrimage itineraries, see *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*: 87-103. The colophon is printed in Folda 1976: 203-4.

portant respect. It contains the *Ernoul-Bernard* short chronicle, not the *Eracles*.⁸¹

6. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the cyclical version of the *OC* found in the *W* and *Ép* manuscripts of the *Eracles* throws light on the manuscript tradition of the *OC* text itself, offering another example of the family represented by Kjellman's mss. *D* and *E*, and sharing with *E* (BnF, ms. f.fr. 17203) in particular some interesting and idiosyncratic readings. It is possible that the association in BnF, ms. f.fr. 17203 of the *OC* with a narrative of Crusade history might have inspired the compiler of the lost exemplar of *W* and *Ép* to incorporate the episode into the text of the *Eracles*. At any rate, his cyclical version of the *OC* is textually quite remote from the one other thirteenth-century cyclical version found in the BnF, ms. 770 version of the *Estoires*. It must be the case that two compilers – the compiler of the exemplar of *W* and *Ép* on the one hand, and the compiler of the 770 version of the *Estoires* on the other – decided independently to interpolate the episode into a longer text and placed it at the same juncture in their historical narratives, after the capture of Hugh of Tiberias at Beaufort.

The most obvious reason for the inclusion of the *OC* in the *Eracles* is clearly its connection with the Crusades and its potential to stimulate interest in and encourage future crusading endeavours. Secondly, like the interpolations in the British Library, Henry Yates Thompson, ms. 12 copy of the *Eracles*, it adds drama and interest to the historical narrative. The particular value of the *OC* in the context of the *Eracles* is that it celebrates the knightly ethos of *sagesse* and *courtoisie* which the French translator of William of Tyre had already sought to glorify in his adaptation of the Latin original. The idiosyncratic miniature placed in *Ép* at the beginning of 21.27 and showing Saladin and King Baldwin IV engaged in a joust underlines the appeal to an interest in chivalry. The placing of the miniature is significant, because it highlights the very chapter at the end of which the *OC* interpolation occurs. There is no parallel miniature at this point in *W*, but the striking miniature on the

⁸¹ See Folda 1973: 93.

opening folio of the manuscript which has been compared to an illustrated lecture is indicative of a general didactic intent. Such an intent is of course inherent to the text of the *OC* interpolation with its explanation and glorification of the ritual of making knights.

The hitherto unstudied presence of the *OC* in these two manuscripts of the *Eracles* thus reflects the political and cultural concerns of the thirteenth century in which they were produced and is of significance for both historians and literary scholars. The *OC* itself has already been studied by literary scholars as an example of *mouvance*.⁸² The different versions of the text and the different manuscript contexts in which they occur, whether as an interpolated, cyclical episode, or as an independent episode grouped together in a codex with other loosely related texts, show how readily it could be adapted to suit different purposes. Although the complicated textual tradition of the Old French continuations of William of Tyre has been quite thoroughly investigated,⁸³ it is only recently that proper scholarly attention has begun to be paid to the Old French translation itself. By studying the interpolation of the *OC* in that translation, this article has sought to shed further light both on the adaptable nature of the *OC* itself and on the preoccupations and tone of the French translation in which it is included.

In addition, attention has been drawn to the appendage in *W* of two unusual texts to the text of the *Eracles*. As we have seen, it is very rare for manuscripts of the *Eracles* to include any additional texts at all. The choice of the *Letter of Prester John* is particularly striking. It might well have been intended to complement the didactic nature of the *OC* interpolation, if not with its admittedly passing reflections on Christian knighthood, then certainly with its instructive catalogue of the wonders of the East. Above all, however, it was no doubt included for its value as propaganda material to encourage prospective Crusaders. In a sense, the manuscript thus ends as it had begun with a focus on Crusade propaganda. This is established at the beginning with a miniature illustrating the historic call to Crusade of Pope Urban II and mirrored at the end with a text which encourages future expeditions.

⁸² See *Ordre de Chevalerie* (Kjellman); *Ordene de Chevalerie* (Busby) and Busby 1984.

⁸³ See Morgan 1973, Morgan 1982; Edbury 1997, Edbury 2010.

7. EDITION OF THE TEXT (*W*, FOLS. 264B-265B)

My editorial principles are as follows: I have regularised the use of *i* and *j*, *u* and *v*, and I have used diacritical marks – acute accent, tréma and cedilla – in accordance with the recommendations of Foulet and Blakely Speer.⁸⁴ I have adopted modern punctuation and have numbered the lines to facilitate references in the discussion above.

Bauduin de Rames haus hom et poissans et Hues de Tabarie fillastres⁸⁵ le conte de Triple cist i furent pris. Si furent de cestui molt de gent correlié, car il estoit joves hom saiges et cortois et molt avoit la graise de tous, mais assez d'autres en
5 i ot pierdus ki n'estoient pas si riche home.

L'ordene de la chevelerie et comment Hues de Tabarie fu raiens par son sens.⁸⁶

Icil Hues de Tabarie fu amenés le soir devant Salehadin et quant Salehadins le vit si le conut bien et li dist: «Hues, vos
10 estes pris». «Sire», ce dist Hues, «ce poise moi⁸⁷ plus que tous les autres». «Par mon chief», dist Salehadins, «droit aveis, car morir ou rambre vos covient». «Sire, bien sachiez que raiençon vos donrai jeu molt volentiers ançois que jou i muire se jeu ai chose que vos voilliez prendre». «Oïl bien», dist
15 Saleha[fol.264c]dins et Hues respondi: «Sire, quoi?» «Vos me donrez», dist Salehadins, «cent mile besanz sarrasinois». «Sire», dist Hues, «c'est trop grans raençons a home de ma terre», et Salehadins respondi a Huon: «Hues, vos le me donrez

⁸⁴ Foulet–Blakely Speer 1979: 67-74.

⁸⁵ The ms. reading is *fillasters*, but this should clearly be corrected.

⁸⁶ Rubric. Alongside the rubric, in the right-hand margin in dark brown ink is the note: «Hugues de Tabarie Prisonnier de Saladin luy confère la Chevalerie». Randall 1989, I: 124 dates this and other similar marginal notes throughout the manuscript to the nineteenth century.

⁸⁷ A further note in the right-hand margin in brown ink highlights this section of narrative thus: «Notez que Guillaume de Tyr ne dit pas un mot de cette Histoire de Chevalerie, mais que notre present traducteur l'a, de lui-même intercalée, entre les Chapitres xxix et xxx du xxieme livre de l'édition latine *de bello sacro*, pag. 338». For discrepancy between the numbering of the chapters in the *Eracles* and the Latin text of William of Tyre, see Edbury 2007: 80, 98-101.

⁸⁸ The presumed nineteenth-century annotator has written «100^m Bezans sarrasinois» in the left-hand margin.

20 bien, car vos estes si preudom et si bons chevaliers que
 chascuns qui orra parler de vos raençon vos donra et envoiera
 volentiers dou sien». «Sire, selon ceu que vos dites je le vos
 promec, mais que vos me dites sor quoi vos les me kerrez». «Je
 les vos kerrai», dit Salehadins, «sor vo loi un an. Se vos les me
 25 reportez dedens .i. an je les prendrai. Et se vos nes raportez,
 revenez en autel point que vos estes ore, je vos prendrai
 bien». «Sire», dist Hues, «selonc ceu que vos me dites je les vos
 promech, mais livrez moi conduit et si me donez congiet que
 je m'en puisse aler comme chevaliers». «Volentiers», dist
 Salehadins, «mais je voel parler a vos en ceste chambre». «Sire»,
 30 dist Hues, «et je a vos molt volentiers». Et quant il vinrent en la
 chambre, Hues li demanda: «Que vos plaist?» «Hues», dist
 Salahadins, «je voel que vos me mostrez en quel guise et
 comment on fait chevaliers a la loi crestiene». «Sire», fait il, «a
 qui le vos mosterrai [j]e?» Salehadins li respondi: «A moi
 35 meïsmes». «Sire, ja Deu ne place que jou mete si haut ordene
 comme est ordene de chevalerie sor tel cors d'ome que li
 vostres est, car vos estes wis de cresse⁸⁹ et de baptesme et de
 loi crestiene». «Hues», fait li rois, «se me faites chose que je vos
 requiere, [ja]⁹⁰ ne troverez a vostre loi qui trop vos en blasme,
 40 car vos estes mes prisons et si estes encore par deviers mi. Si
 ne me devez chose escondire que je vos requiere». «Sire, selonc
 [fol. 264d] ceu que vos me dites, je le vos ferai». Il li fist tantost
 son chief laver et sa barbe reire plus bele qu'ele n'estoit devant.
 Après il le mist en un baing et li dist: «Sire, cist bains vos done
 45 a entendre que ausi nés et ausi purs et ausi mondes que li enfes
 ist de fons sanz nul empeechement [de pechié devés vous issir
 de cest baing sans nul empeecement]⁹¹ de vilonnie». Et
 Sahlehadins li dist: «Hues, cist commencemens est molt
 50 bia[u]s». Apriés il le fist issir dou baing et couchier en un lit
 tout novel et li dist: «Sire, cist lis vos doune a entendre le grant
 lit de repoz que vos devez conquerre par vos chevalerie». Apriés
 quant il ot un poi geü, il le fist lever et le fist vestir d'uns

⁸⁹ The words *wis de cresse* are underlined.

⁹⁰ This is the reading of *Ép.* *W* has *gai*, possibly for *gaire*.

⁹¹ The text of *W* is corrupt, the result of a scribal *saut du même au même* at *empeechement*, the missing sense has been supplied from *Ép.*

blans dras de lin et li dist: «Sire, cist blans dras vos donent a
entendre virginité que vos devez garder». Apriés il le ve[s]ti une
55 roube vermelle et li dist: «Sire⁹² ceste reube vos done a
entendre le sanc que vos devez⁹³ espandre por sainte esglise
maintenir et deffendre». Après il li chauça une[s] chauce
brunes de soie et li dist: «Sire, ces chauce vos donent a
entandre la terre dont vous estes venus et la⁹⁴ ou vos repartés».

60 Après il li çainst une blanche corroie et li dist: «Sire, ceste
corroie vous done a entendre neteé que vos devez garder [de]
vo cors, car molt doit chevaliers agarder ançois que il peche
vilainnement de lui meïsmes». Apriés si li chauça uns esperons
doreis et li dist: «Sire, cist esperon vos donent a entendre ke
65 ausi vistes et ausi movans que vos volez que vos chevalz soit a
le semonse de vos esperons devez vos estre au
commandement de Deu siervir et sainte esglise maintenir et
deffendre». Après il li çainst une espee a .ii. trenchans et li dist:
«Sire, cest espee vos done [fol. 265a] a entendre li uns des
70 trenchan[s]⁹⁵ seürté contre le diable, li autre droiture et raison
[a]⁹⁶ garder le povre del riche et le foible del fort que
vilainnement ne le maine». «Sire, encore i a une chose que je ne
vos donrai mie, colee que on done a chevalier nouvel». Et
Salehadins li dist: «Por quoi et que senefie?» «Sire,
75 ramembrance de celui de cui on l'a prise». «Sire», fait li
preudom chevaliers, «ces .iiii. teches⁹⁷ generaus doit avoir
chevaliers. Il ne doit estre en leu ou dame ne damoisele soit
desconsiliee que il ne l'aiüt et consaut a son pooir, ne en liu ou
traïsons soit faite ne porparlee au mains que il s'en parte se il
80 ne le puet anienteir. Sire, juner doit le vendredi en l'onour⁹⁸ de

⁹² The narrative of the *OC* in *Ép* breaks off at this point.

⁹³ *entendre et espandre* (ms.).

⁹⁴ *lai* (ms.).

⁹⁵ Scribal correction has crossed through redundant *chans* by dittography at the end of the word.

⁹⁶ The ms. reading is *et*.

⁹⁷ This version only details three of the four qualities or obligations. In this respect it is like BnF, ms. f.fr. 17203, Kjellman's *E* (see *Ordre de Chevalerie*: 164, variant 10). By comparison, Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 867, Kjellman's *D*, includes a fourth: «et s'il ot messe, offrir doit en l'ouneur Dieu s'il a coi». See n. 99 below.

⁹⁸ Scribal correction has crossed through a repetition of *en l'onour*.

Dieu. Se il ne le fait par abstinence⁹⁹ ou par compaignie et s'il l'emfrait, amender le doit en autre maniere». Quant il l'ot ensi atiré, li rois qui molt ert bia[us] et bien acesmés prist par la main Huon de Tabarie et issirent de la chambre et vinrent en une
85 autre chambre ou il avoit bien .i. amiraus sarrasins. Salehadins si s'assist au haut et messires Hues se volt aseoir a ses piés et il li dist: «La ne serez vos mie». Ains le prist par la main et le fist seoir dejuste lui et messire Hues li requist congié et qu'il li
90 livrast conduit que il en peüst aler comme chevaliers et Salehadins respondi que ce feroit il volentiers. «Sire et si me sovint d'une chose que vos me desistes quant je me raiens que chascuns qui orroit de ma raençon parler me donroit et envoie-
95 roit a aiue de ma raençon. Sire», dist Hues, «a plus preudome de vos je ne sauroie comencier. Donés moi». Et li rois¹⁰⁰ li respont: «Vos comenciés bien, je vous donrai .i. mile besanz et .x. de ceuls qui furent pris avoec vos et si [fol. 265b] vos promec que s'il i a poigneïs entre vos gens et les nos et hom i est pris que vos ameïs, venés le jambe sor vos
100 palefroi,¹⁰¹ je le vos randrai se il est trovez en tote ma tere». «Sire, je vos en merci dou grant don». Lors prist Salehadins monseignor Huon par la main et le mena entour as amiraus et quist tant et pourchaça que il out .x. mile besanz de remenant deseure toute sa raençon païé. Et quant Hues entendi ceu, si li
105 quist congié et demanda conduit comme cil qui de sa reançon estoit bien quites. Et Salehadins respondi: «Ensi n'ira il mie

⁹⁹ The reading of Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 867, Kjellman's *D*, is preferable here: «Sire, abstinence doit avoir; le venredi doit juner en ramenbrance de Dieu; s'il ne le fait pour enferté de cors ou pour compaignie et se il l'enfrait, amender le doit en autre bienfait; et s'il ot messe, offrir doit en l'ouneur Dieu s'il a coi».

¹⁰⁰ A later scribe has crossed through *rois* and written *sarrasin* above.

¹⁰¹ The verse version of the *OC* is more illuminating with regard to this gesture, which is clearly taken to mean that the rider came with peaceful intentions and was to be received without hostility: «*Sor le col de vo palefroi/Metez vo jambe en contenance/C'on ne vous face destorbance*». See Busby 1984: 114, vv. 320-322. Nevertheless, the precise significance of the gesture described seems to have been obscure even when the verse text was copied, to judge from the variants for *jambe*: *hiaume*, *genz* and even *jambes* (plural), which Busby (*ibi*: 143) cites. Apart from *W*, only one other extant prose version of the *OC*, the XIIIth century Paris, BnF ms. f.fr. 17203 (ms. *E*), preserves the phrase: «venés le jambe sor le col de vo palefroi», see *Ordre de Chevalerie* (Kjellman): 165. By comparison, the reading of *W*, with the words, «le col de», omitted, is evidently corrupt.

ançois n'i demorra deniers a paier del daerrain besant, ains les
 vos paierai de mon tresor et les reprendrai a ceaus qui promis
 le vous ont». Lor apiele son maistre chambrelanc qui son tresor
 li gardoit et li commanda que on fesist baillier au prince Huon
 110 .x. mile besanz et li princes les commanda a resevoir [a] un sien
 prison ke Salehadins li avoit rendu. Et puis sejourna li princes
 avoec Salehadin .viii. jors et enquist molt et demanda des
 autres prisons et molt les eüst volentiers rachaté des besanz
 qu'il avoit de remenant quant Salehadins en jura le grant Dieu
 115 que il n'en deliverroit plus a cele fois. Et quant li princes Hues
 l'entendi si ne l'en volt plus traveillier, ains li requist congié et
 demanda conduit. Lors fist Salehadins armer .xl. chevaliers
 sarrazins et reconduisent monsignor Huon et ses compaignons
 en sa terre et puis en repairerent a Salehadin et quant Hues de
 120 Tabarie vint en son país si dona celui avoir et departi a cels qui
 encore en sunt riche home.

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ABSTRACT: This article examines a recently discovered prose version of the *Ordene de Chevalerie* which is interpolated in only two of the 51 surviving manuscripts of the Old French translation of William of Tyre (the *Eracles*): Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 137 and Épinal, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 45. Discussion of the interpolation and of the broader manuscript context throws light both on the adaptable nature of the *OC* itself and on the preoccupations and tone of the French translation of William of Tyre in which it is included. An edition of the text of the *OC* as found in the Baltimore ms. follows the article.

KEYWORDS: *Ordene de Chevalerie*, Old French translation of William of Tyre.

RIASSUNTO: Questo saggio si occupa di una versione in prosa recentemente scoperta dell'*Ordene de Chevalerie*, inserita in solo due dei 51 manoscritti ancora esistenti della traduzione in francese antico della cronaca di Guglielmo di Tiro (*Eracles*): Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 137 ed Épinal, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 45. L'analisi dell'interpolazione e del suo più ampio contesto manoscritto fa luce sia sulla la natura versatile dell'*OC*, sia sulle finalità e il tono della traduzione di Guglielmo di Tiro nella quale si trova inserita. Dopo lo studio, si presenta un'edizione del testo dell'*OC* secondo il manoscritto di Baltimore.

PAROLE CHIAVE: *Ordene de Chevalerie*, traduzione in francese antico della cronaca di Guglielmo di Tiro.