

Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiatina*: a new manuscript witness in Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 496*

by Thomas W. Smith

The copy of Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiatina* – the premier eyewitness account of the Fifth Crusade (1217-21) – in Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 496 is the first manuscript witness to come to light since Hermann Hoogeweg edited the complete works of Oliver in 1894.¹ Hitherto unknown to scholars of the crusading movement, MS 496 is an important addition to the source base: it supplies valuable evidence for the regional transmission and reception of the text in thirteenth-century England; it preserves unique additions concerning the count of Chester; and the texts with which it travelled demonstrate that its compiler included the first-redaction version of the *Historia Damiatina* as part of an account of the past of the Fifth Crusade and the future of the crusading movement in the Near East. The present article, which serves as a prelude to a larger project on Oliver of Cologne, publishes some of the most important textual variants and offers preliminary observations on the significance of the new manuscript witness.

The life and career of Oliver of Cologne

Oliver of Cologne, also known as Oliverus scholasticus and Oliver of Paderborn, forged a glittering career as one of the foremost secular clerics of the early thirteenth century. Rudolf Hiestand suggests that he was probably born around 1170, and

*My thanks to the staff of the Manuscripts Reading Room at Trinity College Library, especially Aisling Lockhart, for their gracious assistance. I am grateful for the insightful observations of the anonymous peer reviewer.

¹ Hoogeweg 1894.

he surfaces for the first time in the documentary record acting on behalf of the bishop of Paderborn, as witness to a document issued on 1 January 1196, which names him as ‘magister Oliverus’.² In 1200, Oliver was head of the cathedral school at Paderborn, where he taught theology, but shortly thereafter he moved to take up a position as head of the cathedral school at Cologne (‘Domscholaster’ or ‘magister scholarum’), all the time retaining his canonry at Paderborn, since he was not bound by the requirement of residency.³ He reappears in a document issued in Paris in 1207.⁴ It is possible that he was drawn to the city to further his studies, but if this was indeed the case then he did not stay long, because he had returned to Cologne by 1208.⁵ It has traditionally been claimed that he preached in the south of France against the Albigensians around this time, but, as Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele points out, this cannot be verified in the available sources.⁶ What is certain, though, is that in Paris he came into contact with Jacques de Vitry and Robert de Courçon – acquaintances that would have a profound impact on his life.⁷

The relatively quiet existence that Oliver had pursued at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries shattered in 1213, when, in a move that must have resulted from the connections forged in Paris, Pope Innocent III designated him, along with Jacques de Vitry and Robert de Courçon, as a preacher of the Fifth Crusade in the encyclical *Quia maior*.⁸ In the version of the letter despatched to Cologne on 22 April, the pope named him – together with Hermann, dean of Bonn – as the local crusade preacher for the diocese, referring to him as ‘Oliver,

² Hiestand 1987, 1; Finke 1888, no. 160, 67; Hoogeweg 1894, ix; Bulst-Thiele 1989, 35; Kümper 2010, 1166.

³ Hoogeweg 1894, xii; Bulst-Thiele 1989, 35.

⁴ Hiestand 1987, 15; Hoogeweg 1894, xvii.

⁵ Hoogeweg 1894, xvii; Kümper 2010, 1166.

⁶ Bulst-Thiele 1989, 35. Cf. Hoogeweg 1894, xvii, xx-xxii; Kümper 2010, 1166.

⁷ Hiestand 1987, 16-18; Hoogeweg 1894, xix; Kümper 2010, 1166.

⁸ Kümper 2010, 1166. *Quia maior* is preserved in the papal registers: Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Vaticana 8, fols 140v-41v. It is printed in Migne 1844-64, vol. 216, cols 817-22. On the preaching of the Fifth Crusade in Germany, see Pixton 1978, 166-91.

scholasticus of Cologne'.⁹ He appears to have embraced his new calling with enthusiasm – indeed, his seizure of this opportunity arguably represented the turning point in his career, catapulting him from his position as a prominent cleric in Cologne and Paderborn to become one of the pillars of the Roman papacy. His preaching tour of 1214-17 took in Liège, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, Geldern, Utrecht and also Frisia, where it was accompanied by a battery of miracles.¹⁰ He interrupted these endeavours in order to attend the Fourth Lateran Council in Rome in 1215, where the initial plan for the Fifth Crusade, first circulated in *Quia maior*, found its final form in the Holy Land ordinances appended to the conciliar decrees, known as *Ad liberandam*.¹¹ The deadline for departure of crusaders was set for 1 June 1217, and Oliver appears to have continued preaching the Cross in the intervening period, before embarking for the Holy Land at Marseilles in that year.¹²

The first contingents of the Fifth Crusade, led by King Andrew II of Hungary and Duke Leopold of Austria, landed at Acre in September 1217. After some probing expeditions around Mount Tabor in 1217/18, and the departure of Andrew at the beginning of 1218, the Crusade sailed south on 24 May to attack Egypt, which was commonly held to be the foundation of Muslim power in the Near East, and, as Oliver himself stated, was designated as the target of the expedition at the Fourth

⁹ The variant wording for the local appointment of crusader preachers in the diocese of Cologne is printed in Finke 1888, no. 235, 112: 'Ad hec igitur exequenda dilectos filios Oliuerium Coloniensem scolasticum et Hermannum decanum Bunnensem viros utique probate honestatis et fidei deputamus, qui ascitis secum viris providis et honestis auctoritate nostra statuant et disponant, quecumque ad hoc negotium promovendum viderint expedire fatientes [...]'. See: Hoogeweg 1894, 24; Hiestand 1987, 2.

¹⁰ Pixton 1978, 177; Hoogeweg 1894, xxiv; Bulst-Thiele 1989, 35. See Hoogeweg 1888a, 235-70. For evidence that Oliver preached the crusade in 1216, see Moolenbroek 1998, 34-36. On the miracles, see Moolenbroek 1987, 251-72.

¹¹ Hoogeweg 1894, xxv-xxvi; Hiestand 1987, 2; Bulst-Thiele 1989, 35; Powell 1986, 44-47; Roscher 1969, 160-66. For the text of *Ad liberandam*, see García y García et al. 2013, 200-04.

¹² Hoogeweg 1894, xxvii-xxviii; Moolenbroek 1998, 38; Bulst-Thiele 1989, 36-7.

Lateran Council.¹³ The crusaders landed in the Nile delta on 27 May and soon began the investment of the crucial, and strongly fortified, port city of Damietta, which benefited from the protection of triple walls and a chain tower that stretched out across the Nile, preventing encirclement of the city. The siege of Damietta was gruelling. The Christians – nominally under John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem – not only had to overcome the city's determined defenders, but also the relief army under the command of al-Kamil, which arrived from Cairo on 6 June. Early assaults on the formidable chain tower using siege engines failed, and the structure fell only in August after Oliver designed an innovative floating machine by lashing two ships (cogs) together and building a platform on top of four masts which permitted the crusaders to reach the tower with the aid of a ladder jutting out from the peculiar contraption.¹⁴ The capture of the chain tower, however, did not bring about swift victory over the city of Damietta. The siege dragged on for over a year, until, finally, they managed to storm the city on 5 November 1219. Yet, as James Powell elegantly put it, it 'was a bloodless victory over a dying city' – some five-sixths of the population had died, those still alive were sick, and bodies were strewn across the city.¹⁵ The capture of Damietta marked an incredible achievement for the Fifth Crusade – the Christians had secured a vital foothold in Egypt from which to threaten Cairo and defend the rump kingdom of Jerusalem – yet it also ushered in a long period of inaction, which can largely be attributed to the nature of service on the expedition, which was determined by the seasonal rhythm of the crossings across the Mediterranean. Most of the nobles campaigned for about a year before returning to the West. These short terms of military service crippled the entire campaign, making it difficult for the leadership council to plan longer-term strategies and forcing them to surrender the Crusade as a hostage to fortune: would enough new warriors

¹³ Hoogeweg 1894, 175. See Powell 1986, 137.

¹⁴ On Oliver's siege machine, see Francis 1993, 28-32.

¹⁵ Powell 1986, 162.

arrive in the next flotilla to make a march into the Egyptian interior viable?¹⁶ The eventual thrust towards Cairo, attempted in the summer of 1221, ended in disaster and the army surrendered to al-Kamil, exchanging the hard-won city of Damietta for their lives.¹⁷ Despondently, Oliver then sailed back to Acre with the main part of the army, soon thereafter making the journey back to the West: he is recorded as being present in Cologne again on 16 February 1222.¹⁸

The twilight of Oliver's career played out in the shadows cast by the failure of the Fifth Crusade. He continued to serve the papacy in the *negotium Terre Sancte*, preaching the Cross once again in Frisia in 1223/24, and probably taking part in the papacy's negotiations with Frederick II at San Germano in 1225 regarding the new imperial expedition.¹⁹ Soon after his return from the Near East, he was elected as bishop of Paderborn in 1223, although he was not consecrated until 1225 on account of a rival candidate.²⁰ In the same year Pope Honorius III cemented Oliver's brilliant career as a star in the firmament of the church by appointing him as cardinal-bishop of S. Sabina.²¹ Oliver did not reap the rewards of this promotion for long; he died in August or September 1227, possibly of the same plague that cut a swathe through Frederick II's crusader host in Brindisi.²² But his impact on the crusading movement did not perish with him: his influence lived on through his written works.

The writings of Oliver of Cologne

¹⁶ Jotischky 2004, 219; Powell 1986, 116-18.

¹⁷ On the course of the Fifth Crusade, see Powell 1986. See also now Mylod, Perry, Smith and Vandeburie 2017.

¹⁸ Hoogeweg 1894, xxxii, xxxiv-xxxv.

¹⁹ Bulst-Thiele 1989, 36; Hoogeweg 1894, xlix. On this later preaching tour, see Hoogeweg 1890a, 54-74.

²⁰ Bulst-Thiele 1989, 36; Hoogeweg 1894, xlix. On his election as bishop of Paderborn, see Hoogeweg 1888b, 92-122.

²¹ Hoogeweg 1894, l; Bulst-Thiele 1989, 36.

²² Bulst-Thiele 1989, 36; Hoogeweg 1894, lii.

The Fifth Crusade, both its preparation and its campaign, was the defining event of Oliver's life and ecclesiastical career. And, aside from a smattering of letters, it was during the Fifth Crusade that he produced the entirety of his literary works; indeed, much of our knowledge about the course of the expedition comes largely from his writings.²³ He found ample time to write while on campaign and was astoundingly prolific: in addition to the *Historia Damiatina*, his eyewitness chronicle of the Fifth Crusade, he appears to have compiled a *Descriptio Terre Sancte* and written the *Historia de ortu Jerusalem* and the *Historia regum Terre Sancte*.²⁴ Evidence from two different manuscript copies of the latter text notes that he composed the work 'in obsidione Damiate apud Egyptios' and that 'hanc historiam cum magna stili brevitae compilavit magister Oliverus scholasticus Coloniensis apud Damiatam', respectively.²⁵ The crusader host's long period of inaction in 1220-21 after the capture of the city must have provided him with the perfect opportunity to make good progress on these projects, and, as Hoogeweg pointed out, he clearly had the necessary sources to hand in Egypt in order to write these works.²⁶ This corpus of texts bears a clear, unifying theme: the Holy Land. As Hoogeweg argued, the *Historia de ortu Jerusalem* transported readers on a journey through the history of the city from the Creation up to the rule of Godfrey of Bouillon after the First Crusade. The *Historia regum Terre Sancte* then picked up the thread of rulers of Jerusalem, narrating their history up to 1216. The *Historia Damiatina* completed the trilogy, carrying readers through the Fifth Crusade to 1222. It therefore

²³ For Oliver's letters, see: Hoogeweg 1894, 285-316; Röhrich 1891, 161-208; Hiestand 1987.

²⁴ Hoogeweg 1894, xxxi. The complete works of Oliver are printed, with full introductions, in Hoogeweg 1894.

²⁵ Cited in Hoogeweg 1890b, 191.

²⁶ Hoogeweg 1890b, 191. On the inaction of the army after the fall of Damietta, see Powell 1986, 175-85.

represented 'the complete history of the Holy Land from Adam to Oliver's time'.²⁷

The *Historia Damiatina*, Oliver's vivid and trustworthy account of the Fifth Crusade, is widely recognised as the most detailed and significant source for the campaign and is rightly famous among scholars of the crusading movement.²⁸ His narrative, which is divided into eighty-nine chapters, begins with the preparations and departure of the major contingents in 1217 and covers the entire campaign and its immediate aftermath up to 1222. Like many narrative sources, the course of its gestation and transmission in manuscript is extremely complex. Barbara Bombi and Jessalynn Bird draw attention to the fact that, after Bongars mistakenly published the *Historia Damiatina* as the third book in Jacques de Vitry's so-called *Historia Hierosolymitana abbreviata* (the first two books being Jacques' *Historia Orientalis* and *Historia Occidentalis*) in 1611, Oliver's work was long confused with that of Jacques.²⁹ It is also certainly underappreciated in Anglophone scholarship that the *Historia Damiatina* was not originally planned as a comprehensive chronicle of the Fifth Crusade from its inception, but initially circulated in the form of two letters that Oliver sent back to Cologne, which he later worked up and extended into a chronicle.³⁰ There are over twenty manuscript witnesses of the *Historia Damiatina*, which Hoogeweg delineated thus:

²⁷ Hoogeweg 1890b, 191: 'so hat uns Oliver mit diesen seinen drei Werken die ganze Geschichte des hl. [heiligen] Landes von Adam bis auf seine Zeit hinterlassen'.

²⁸ Bird, Peters and Powell 2013, 158; Bulst-Thiele 1989, 37; Kümper 2010, 1166. The text is edited Hoogeweg 1894, 161-282. It is translated in Birds, Peters and Powell 2013, 158-225.

²⁹ Andenna and Bombi 2009, 7-12; Bird 2003, 56.

³⁰ Hoogeweg 1894, lviii: 'Die hist. Dam. [*Historia Damiatina*] ist nicht ein von vorherein planmässig angelegtes werk, sondern aus zwei briefen zusammengesetzt, die Oliver aus Egypten nach Köln schrieb und dann, wie wir sehen werden, durch fortsetzungen und überarbeitung in drei verschiedenen redaktionen in die endgültige form gebracht worden.' (The lack of capitalisation of nouns follows Hoogeweg's original German text.) See also Brincken 1991, 57, 59.

(a) Oliver's first letter to Cologne (no independent manuscript witnesses of the individual letter; text taken from the combined, but not reworked, first and second letters);³¹

(b) second letter to Cologne (eleven manuscript witnesses);³²

(c) first redaction of the *Historia Damiatina* (four manuscript witnesses known to Hoogeweg, now five with the new copy);³³

(d) second redaction (two manuscript witnesses);³⁴

(e) third redaction (two manuscript witnesses).³⁵

Hoogeweg also noted another three manuscripts containing the *Historia Damiatina*, but which he chose not to sort according to his system of redactions, apparently because the end of the text had been torn out of one codex, and the other two texts were copied with the works of Jacques de Vitry (B, P and M, respectively – see Appendix for sigla), although Hoogeweg did not explain the rationale behind this decision.³⁶ This brings us to a total of twenty-two manuscript witnesses known to Hoogeweg, and twenty-three with the new copy in Trinity College MS 496. Hoogeweg's description of the different stages of composition of the *Historia Damiatina* is convoluted in the extreme, and further research is clearly required on the various redactions and transmission of the text, but for the present it can be summarised thus.³⁷ Oliver penned the first letter to Cologne between the end of August and the beginning of September 1218. This first letter related the events of the Crusade up to the seizure of the chain tower (24 August 1218), which prompted Oliver to put quill to parchment.³⁸ The next major victory of the Crusade, the capture of Damietta (5 November 1219),

³¹ Hoogeweg 1894, lviii.

³² Hoogeweg 1894, lix-lxiii.

³³ Hoogeweg 1894, lxiii-lxix.

³⁴ Hoogeweg 1894, lxix-lxx.

³⁵ Hoogeweg 1894, lxx-lxxiii.

³⁶ Hoogeweg 1894, lxxii-lxxv.

³⁷ Hoogeweg 1894, cxl-clxvi.

³⁸ Hoogeweg 1894, cxl.

supplied the motivation to write the second letter, which continued the narrative up to that point. Oliver wrote this letter very soon after the fall of the city.³⁹ Once these letters began circulating in the West, they took on a life of their own. They were copied individually, but also, soon after their arrival, scribes reworked the two into a single text and began to transmit them in this new format as well. There were two different forms in which this was accomplished. One tradition simply removed the address of the second letter and appended its text to that of the first. According to Hoogeweg, the other tradition represents the first redaction of the *Historia Damiatina* and was the result of more careful planning: its creator combined the two letters into one text, added a *proemium* (opening preamble), removed the address clauses of both letters (which were specific to Cologne) and replaced them with a general address 'omnibus orthodoxis', and also reworked the texts of the letters themselves.⁴⁰ Judging by the textual variants, it is to this latter, more considered, composition of the text that MS 496 appears to belong (which consists of manuscripts Z, F, G, and Gg – some of MS 496's closest relations), despite the fact that it lacks both the *proemium* and any address clause. This poses interesting – and complicated – questions about the relationships between the redactions and the fork in the transmission of the text that MS 496 represents. These questions require further investigation that is beyond the scope of the present article, but which I intend to address in a future study.

While an eager Western audience was already transmitting, consuming and reworking his letters, Oliver was still chronicling the events of the Fifth Crusade in the Near East. His continuation of the text up to the coronation of Frederick II in November 1220 is the second redaction of the text. As it circulated in the West, scribes again made additions to his work.⁴¹ Despite his statement that after the second letter there is

³⁹ Hoogeweg 1894, cxl-cxli.

⁴⁰ Hoogeweg 1894, clxi.

⁴¹ Hoogeweg 1894, clvi-clvii.

no evidence that Oliver sent further copies of the text as letters to Cologne, Hoogeweg did not engage with the question of how this second redaction began to circulate in the West.⁴² It is possible that other crusaders made copies of the second redaction after the failure of the expedition (before Oliver extended the narrative beyond November 1220) and, while Oliver returned to Acre, they carried this text back to the West with the portion of the army bound for European ports, although Hoogeweg does not make this point explicitly.⁴³ A question mark must hang over this problem until more research is completed. Oliver's final version of the *Historia Damiatina* is preserved in the third redaction, which completes the history of the Fifth Crusade and takes the narrative up to 1222.⁴⁴ He added the concluding sections to the text not in the Near East, but in the West, probably in Cologne.⁴⁵ Thus the *Historia Damiatina* began to circulate in its final form.

The new copy of the *Historia Damiatina* in Trinity College MS 496

The first-redaction copy of the *Historia Damiatina* in Trinity College MS 496, hitherto unknown to scholars of the Crusades, is preserved in a miscellany created in the first half of the fourteenth century in England.⁴⁶ The exact provenance of the manuscript and how it came to enter the collection of Trinity College is unclear at present; it is listed under its oldest call sign of O.1.17 in the catalogue of c. 1670.⁴⁷ It could be that it was a manuscript from the collection of Archbishop Ussher, or it could be a late seventeenth-century accession.⁴⁸ It consists of

⁴² Hoogeweg 1894, cliii.

⁴³ Hoogeweg 1894, clvii.

⁴⁴ Hoogeweg 1894, clvii.

⁴⁵ Hoogeweg 1894, clx.

⁴⁶ Trinity College Library MS 496, fols 198v-212v; Colker 1991, II.907; Abbott 1900, 74.

⁴⁷ Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 7/2 (also catalogued as TCD MUN/LIB/1/51(2)), fol. 41r.

⁴⁸ See Colker 1991, I.22.

230 (plus 12 blank) leaves.⁴⁹ The leaves that contain the *Historia Damiatina* measure approximately 135mm x 100mm. Within its modern leather binding, MS 496 contains seven parts:

(a) a *provinciale* that includes information on the patriarchate of Jerusalem, the ecclesiastical structure of Palestine, and a list of Western rulers, among other items;

(b) Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, together with some brief notes on English history from 1135 to 1265, and a list of events concerning ecclesiastical history from 912 to 1230;

(c) a diagram of the English heptarchy; a summary chronicle of the history of England from 786 to 1272; a life of Edward I in verse; a genealogical diagram of Edward I in the form of circles and lines;

(d) a commentary on Merlin's prophecy, by Geoffrey of Monmouth;

(e) a summary chronicle of the history of England;

(f) a summary chronicle of world history from AD 42 to c. 450; Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiatina* (first redaction); the letter from the Fifth Crusade written by the Templar master, Peter de Montague, to the bishop of Elne in 1220; the prophecy of the son of Agap; Bede's *De locis Sanctis*; and a list of surnames of the Norman knights who came to England in 1066;

(g) Nennius' *Historia Brittonum*; texts regarding Merlin, including prophecies.⁵⁰

The editor of the most recent catalogue, Marvin Colker, states that these seven parts were 'probably bound together at an early date', which would be the reign of Edward II (1307-27), or shortly thereafter, and Julia Crick has also designated the codex as a fourteenth-century manuscript (which is correct for the overwhelming majority of leaves).⁵¹ But I dissent from Colker and Crick by suggesting that, unlike the rest of the codex, the

⁴⁹ Colker 1991, II.913.

⁵⁰ Colker 1991, II.907-13.

⁵¹ Colker 1991, II.907, 913; Crick 1989, no. 65, 105.

hand in which the Fifth Crusade and Holy Land sources (f) are written belongs to the thirteenth rather than the fourteenth century (see Plate 5). If correct, this would also fit much better with the context in which these texts were created, and the motivation of an English scribe for creating them. The presence of Bede's *De locis Sanctis* after the Crusade texts reinforces the Holy Land specificity of this part of the codex, but it is the inclusion of Peter de Montague's letter and the prophecy of the son of Agap, and, specifically, the order in which they were copied, that illuminate important aspects of the reception and transmission of the text.⁵² The version of the *Historia Damiatina* belongs to the first redaction, that is, it is a reworked version of Oliver's first two letters from the Fifth Crusade. These first two letters carry the reader up to the capture of the city of Damietta in November 1219. The text that immediately follows is the letter from the master of the Templars, Peter de Montague, to the bishop of Elne.⁵³ This letter sent word from the Crusade back to the West, updating the recipients on the perilous strategic and financial situation of the pilgrims in Egypt in September 1220. The third and final text is the prophecy of the son of Agap, which the crusaders first encountered in Egypt.⁵⁴ This prophecy foretold that the Crusade would capture Damietta in 1219, followed by the rest of Egypt. The prophecy went on, as Bernard Hamilton writes, that soon thereafter 'a king would come from beyond the mountains and would capture Damascus, and the king of Albexi or Abismi would invade Arabia and attack Mecca. Then the Antichrist would come and the End of the World would begin.'⁵⁵ The crusaders accepted this prophecy 'as genuine and it fuelled the apocalyptic

⁵² Bede's *De locis Sanctis* is found at Trinity College Library MS 496, fols 215r-223v; Tobler and Molinier 1879, I.xxxiv-xxxviii.

⁵³ Trinity College Library MS 496, fols 212v-213v. A different version of Peter's letter is printed in Luard 1872-84, III.64-66.

⁵⁴ Trinity College Library MS 496, fols 213v-215r. A different manuscript copy of the prophecy (see main text, below) is printed in Röhricht 1879, 214-22.

⁵⁵ Hamilton 2017, 59.

atmosphere among them'.⁵⁶ This trio of Fifth Crusade texts therefore represents a selection with a specific purpose: to create a comprehensive chronological narrative of the expedition. The creation of this collection, either in this manuscript or an unknown earlier exemplar, demonstrates that the scribe responsible for its composition did not have access to a copy of the second or third redactions of the *Historia Damiatina*, or else surely he would simply have transcribed one of those more complete accounts. He made up for this deficiency, however, by including the letter of Peter de Montague immediately after Oliver's letters. This ran on from Oliver's account, taking the reader from the fall of Damietta up to September 1220. The inclusion of the prophecy of the son of Agap extended the narrative of the Fifth Crusade into the future. Thus, MS 496 appears to be a consciously planned account of the Fifth Crusade's past and the future of the crusading movement in the Near East.

This might illuminate when the collection was originally compiled, if not when our copy was made. That our text of the *Historia Damiatina* belongs to the first redaction obviously means that the texts cannot have been copied before November 1219. That the scribe did not have access to a more complete copy of the chronicle might indicate that the second and third redactions were not yet in circulation, although here we are on uncertain ground – it could simply point to the reality of regional manuscript transmission, and this may have been the fullest account available. The fact that the scribe wrote his account below the top ruled line points to a date post c. 1230 (see Plate 5), when it became common for scribes to copy out texts according to this new practice.⁵⁷ Peter's letter supplies us with a more certain *terminus post quem* of September 1220, pushing the earliest possible date of composition slightly further forward, probably into 1221 given the speed at which medieval

⁵⁶ Hamilton 2017, 60.

⁵⁷ See Ker 1960, 13–16.

letters travelled. It is the prophecy of the son of Agap, however, that perhaps supplies the best clue as to when these texts were first bundled together. We know that the crusaders first came into contact with this prophecy (originally in Arabic) in 1221 and that the papal legate, Pelagius, cardinal-bishop of Albano, had it translated into Latin and despatched it to Pope Honorius III.⁵⁸ This prophecy was therefore circulating in the West from 1221. Given that the prophecy foretold the future of the Fifth Crusade, one might draw the conclusion that it was copied as part of this trio *before* the failure of the expedition was known in Europe. This is certainly a possibility. But the more probable explanation is that the design of the structure of the account (to conclude with the prophecy) was an attempt to look to the future of the crusading movement after the defeat of the venture. There could be a parallel for this possibility in contemporary chronicles produced at Trois-Fontaines and Neufmoustier, where, as Bird writes, scribes included ‘materials on recent crusades, the East, and its peoples in reaction to the disastrous denouement of the Damietta campaign and Frederick II’s successful crusade [1228-29]. They creatively combined information from [Jacques de Vitry’s] newsletters and eastern histories with Oliver’s *Historia Damiatina* and *Historia Regum*, Haymarus’s [patriarch of Jerusalem] brief, and William of Tyre’s history of the Latin Kingdom’.⁵⁹ It is noteworthy that other first-redaction manuscripts of Oliver’s *Historia Damiatina* also contain versions of the prophecy, such as G (London, Gray’s Inn Library MS 14).⁶⁰ Further research into the variant version of the prophecy in MS 496 and the manuscript transmission of this set of texts is clearly necessary for this question to be answered with any level of certainty.

⁵⁸ Hamilton 2017, 59; Lewy 2017, 109-18. I am very grateful to Mordechay Lewy for his advice regarding this prophecy.

⁵⁹ Bird 2003, 57.

⁶⁰ Horwood 1869, 14. The text from this manuscript is printed in Röhrich 1879, 214-22. On the status of Gray’s Inn MS 14 as a first-redaction copy of the *Historia Damiatina*, see Hoogeweg 1894, lxv.

Internal textual evidence also confirms beyond doubt that the Fifth Crusade section of the manuscript is of English provenance and interest. At first glance it might appear that these texts have little in common with the rest of the miscellany. Yet some tangible links can be drawn that help to explain – aside from sheer convenience, which was often a motivating factor in selecting which texts to bind in a miscellany – why these leaves were bound together in the early fourteenth century. The sources concerning the crusade (f) find some common ground with the *provinciale* (a), which, with its text on Western rulers and the ecclesiastical structures of Palestine, contains information of crucial importance to the recovery of the Holy Land. Similarly, the prophecy of the son of Agap fits well with the texts on the prophecy of Merlin (d; g). As will become apparent below, the new copy of the *Historia Damiatina* was created for an English audience and thus focuses heavily on Ranulph earl of Chester's contribution to the campaign, often at the expense of other participants. The scribe's intense interest in the deeds of the earl of Chester could indicate that this version of the *Historia Damiatina* was created in that region, but it may just be that Ranulph supplied the most prominent English link to the endeavour. Crick has tentatively suggested Wymondham in Norfolk as the place of origin of the miscellany, but the argument made in the present article that the Fifth Crusade texts (which Crick did not identify in her catalogue entry for this manuscript) were copied in the thirteenth century, thus pre-dating the rest of the fourteenth-century codex, means that the provenance of these leaves remains an open question.⁶¹ Therefore, despite some thematic dissonance, which is normal for a miscellany, the Anglocentric focus of this copy of the *Historia Damiatina* probably marked it as relevant for inclusion in this English codex.

⁶¹ See Crick 1989, no. 65, 105-07. The entry for the leaves containing the Fifth Crusade texts (included in the folio division 192r-215r by Crick) is summarised only as a 'Chronology of events in early Christian history.'

The text of the *Historia Damiatina* in MS 496

Close textual analysis of MS 496 can tell us much about the regional reception and transmission of the *Historia Damiatina*. The copy of the *Historia Damiatina* is a witness to the first redaction, that is, it is a compilation of Oliver's first two letters to Cologne as a single narrative of the Crusade up to chapter 40, just after the capture of Damietta in November 1219. As stated above, there are two known traditions of the first redaction. One simply dropped the address clause of the second letter and joined its text to the end of the first letter. The creator of the more carefully planned tradition, however, added a *proemium*, or opening prologue, to the combined letters, changed or removed the address clauses to reflect the new form of the work and its wider audience outside Cologne, and reworked the text.⁶² While our new version of the text clearly belongs to this first redaction, given that it breaks off after chapter 40, it lacks the *proemium* entirely and simply launches into the main text. As noted above, comparison of the internal evidence with other manuscripts, however, demonstrates that its text belongs to the second, more carefully reworked, tradition of the first redaction.

MS 496 shares the largest number of variant readings with Hoogeweg's manuscripts F, B, Z, G, and Gg (see Appendix for a comparison of shared variant readings and sigla referred to here). Aside from B (whose text is related to Z but whose redaction is unclear), these are all first-redaction versions, of which F, B, Z, and G all preserve the *proemium*.⁶³ The copies of the *Historia Damiatina* in manuscripts F and G, in particular, are close relatives of MS 496, but since the latter does not preserve the *proemium*, it means that F and G cannot descend entirely from it. Similarly, MS 496 cannot descend from F (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.25.4) because, when narrating the deaths of a number of high-ranking crusaders, including Oliver, the illegitimate son of King John of England,

⁶² Hoogeweg 1894, clxi.

⁶³ On the relationship B to Z, see the Appendix to this article and Hoogeweg 1894, clxiii-clxiv.

F displays apparently unique scribal modifications (all italics are my own):

Oliverus, <i>Die Schriften des Kölnerdomscholasters</i> , ed. Hoogeweg, pp. 187-88	Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 496, fol. 204	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.25.4, fol. 67v
Comes de Marchia et comes Barri et filius eius, frater Willelhelmus de Carnoto, magister militie Templi, Herveus de Wirsone, Iterius de Tocce, Oliverus filius regis Anglorum et multi alii equestris ordinis et plebei apud Damiatam <i>diem clausurunt extremum.</i>	Comes March' [fol. 204v] et comes Barri filius eius, frater Willelhelmus de Carnoto magister milicie Templi, Henricus de Ursone, Iterius de Cocce, Oliverus filius regis Anglie, et multi alii equestris ordinis et plebei apud Damietam <i>diem clausurunt extremum.</i>	Comes March' et Comes Barri et filius eius <i>qui ibidem diem clausurunt extremum, cum fratre Willelmo de Carnoto magistro militie Templi, venerunt tunc</i> Herveus de Virsone, Iterius de Tocce, Oliverus filius regis Anglie et multi alii equestris ordinis et plebei qui apud Damiatam <i>mortui sunt.</i>

At some point in the transmission of the text that forms the basis of F, then, a scribe played around with the word order, moving the construction *diem clausurunt extremum*, seemingly with the intention of emphasising the deaths of the counts of La Marche and Bar (interestingly, from the point of view of an English audience, at the expense of King John's son). As a result, in order to avoid inelegant repetition, the scribe was forced to employ the simplification *mortui sunt* to round off the sentence. The fact that all of these alterations are missing in MS 496 is important evidence that it and F represent different branches of the *Historia Damiatina*'s transmission in England. This demonstrates, through the existence of such missing links in the chain of transmission, that the copying of the text in the kingdom was more extensive than the number of surviving manuscripts suggests.

MS 496, F, and G all share a similar provenance. F was probably copied in the mid thirteenth century, c. 1240-c. 1260, and, like MS 496, is a composite manuscript.⁶⁴ It is noteworthy that the sixteenth-century compiler of F also chose to include the *Historia Damiatina* alongside Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*.⁶⁵ Similarly, G (London, Gray's Inn Library MS 14), a twelfth- and thirteenth-century miscellany, most renowned for its copy of Isidore of Seville's commentaries on the Old Testament, also contains the text of the prophecy of the son of Agap.⁶⁶ The copy of Oliver's work belongs to the thirteenth century, and at least part of G has been dated to between 1221 and 1231(?) and was probably produced in Chester.⁶⁷ This could be significant in analysing the regional textual traditions of the *Historia Damiatina* in thirteenth-century England, because our copy displays significant additions regarding the earl of Chester.

In addition to the sheer quantity of shared textual variants with these manuscripts (see Appendix), a number of significant alterations to the text of the *Historia Damiatina* by English scribes anchor MS 496 firmly in this thirteenth-century English context. The scribes responsible for the texts in MS 496 and F both devoted special attention to the contribution of Ranulph earl of Chester to the Fifth Crusade.⁶⁸ Often this simply took the form of moving his name forward in the lists of noble crusaders. For instance, in a passage from chapter 29 that recounts the names of combatants in a fierce battle, Ranulph, who falls in the middle of the list in other versions of the text, takes pride of place after the military orders in MS 496 and F (all italics my own):

⁶⁴ In addition to Hardwick and Luard 1856-67, II.317, see the superior online catalogue: <<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-FF-00001-00025-00004/131>> [accessed 13 December 2016].

⁶⁵ Hardwick and Luard 1856-7, II.317; <<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-FF-00001-00025-00005/1>> [accessed 13 December 2016].

⁶⁶ Horwood 1869, 12-15.

⁶⁷ Robinson 2003, I.35.

⁶⁸ See Powell 1986, 77, 81, 115, 144.

Oliverus, <i>Die Schriften des Kölnerdomscholasters</i> , ed. Hoogeweg, p. 215	Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 496, fols 208v-209r	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.25.4, fol. 69v
Rex vero cum Templariis et domo Teutonicorum et Hospitalariis sancti Iohannis et de Hollandia et de Withe, de Sarebrugge et Cestrie comitibus, Galthero Bertoldi, Francigenis et Pisanis comitibus aliisque militibus impetum persequentium sustinuit.	Rex vero cum Templariis in domo Theutonicorum cum [<i>Templariis</i> del.] Hospitalariis sancti Iohannis <i>et Cestrie</i> et de Hoylandia et de Wiche et de Salabriga comitibus Galtero Barcoldi, <i>Reginaldo de Ponte</i> Francigenis Pisa[fol. 209r]nis aliisque militibus impetum persequentium sustinuerunt.	Rex vero cum Templariis et domo Theutonicorum et Hospitalariis sancti Iohannis, <i>et Cestrie</i> , et Hoilandia, et de Withe, et de Salabriga comitibus, Waltero Bertoldi, <i>qui apud Damiatam post captionem civitatis diem clausit extremum</i> , <i>Reginaldo de Ponte</i> , Francigenis, Pisanis, aliisque militibus, impetum persequentium sustinuit.

Although MS 496 and F display further variations from each other here – supplying more evidence that they represent distinct, but closely related, branches of the *Historia Damiatina*'s transmission in England, probably descending from a common exemplar further back in the manuscript tradition – they are apparently also the only manuscript witnesses to add to this passage the name of Reginald de Pons, a noble of Brittany enmeshed in the English political world.⁶⁹ But the scribes who altered these versions of the *Historia Damiatina* to make them appeal more to an English audience did not stop there. Both manuscripts also include additions to the text that flesh out the role of Ranulph in much more detail than the other versions. In this, MS 496 displays even more detailed attention to the earl of Chester than F. In chapter 16 of Oliver's account, which records

⁶⁹ See Powell 1986, 239; Carpenter 1990, 267, 279; Aurell 2007, 193.

the deaths of crusaders and the arrival of reinforcements in the autumn of 1218, our English manuscripts are apparently the only witnesses to the text that insert a mention of the earl's arrival and enlarge upon his impact on the expedition (all italics are my own):

Oliverus, <i>Die Schriften des Kölnerdomscholasters</i> , ed. Hoogeweg, p. 187	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.25.4, fol. 67v	Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 496, fol. 204r
Venit etiam comes Nivernensis, qui imminente periculo cum Christianorum recessit scandalo.	Venit et Comes Nivernensis qui imminente periculo cum Christianorum recessit scandalo. <i>Venit vero Ranulphus illustris Comes Cestrie, vir nobilis et potens regni Anglie, qui longam moram et nimis utilem fecit apud Damietam. Tandem cum favore tocius exercitus recessit.</i>	Venit et comes Nivernensis, qui imminente periculo cum Christianorum recessit scandalo. <i>Venit et tunc temporis illustris comes Cestrie Radulphus nomine vir nobilis et potens regni Anglie, qui fere per biennium in servicio Domini cum ingenti milicia et magna copia bellatorum in obsidione Damiete commoratus immoderatis sumptibus et magnis laboribus et etiam periculis Christianorum et Saracenorum ibidem se et suos exponere non formidavit. Tandem civitate predicta Christianorum imperio subiugata non sine magna militum et serviantium iactura, quorum quidam pro Christo nomine trucidati, quidam autem captivitati in</i>

		<i>festo decollacionis beati Iohannis Baptiste remanserunt, cum legati licencia et benedicione et tocus exercitus favore recessit, votumque suum valde commendabiliter Domino annuente complevit.</i>
--	--	---

Among the known manuscript witnesses, the additions of MS 496 are unique (Plate 5). They display the special concern of the scribe who composed this new section to justify the contribution of the earl to the campaign, in direct juxtaposition to that of Hugh, count of Nevers. As noted above, the course of the Fifth Crusade was determined to a large extent by the seasonal arrivals and departures of pilgrims, and most nobles served the crusader host for a year.⁷⁰ Hugh and Ranulph both arrived in Egypt at the same time, and both departed in 1220 (Ranulph in the summer).⁷¹ The length of their campaigns was nothing out of the ordinary. But the arrival of Ranulph in the same passage as Hugh, whom Oliver rebuked harshly for abandoning the Crusade in its time of need, created a problem for supporters of Ranulph. There was a danger that his reputation might be besmirched by association and because both Hugh and Ranulph campaigned for around the same length of time. How, then, were Ranulph's supporters to elucidate the importance of his Crusade and to dissociate him from the count of Nevers? The additions of F and MS 496 are the solution. Yet while F only provides a short clarification of Ranulph's service, MS 496 launches into a full panegyric on his achievements, highlighting the money that he poured into the furtherance of the Crusade, his feats of arms, and confirming that he had completed his vow. A statement that he departed blessed with the favour of the

⁷⁰ Powell 1986, 116.

⁷¹ Powell 1986, Table 6.1, 117.

crusader host, such as that found in F, was apparently not deemed sufficient for MS 496, and the scribe went to extra lengths to emphasise that the papal legate on the expedition, Pelagius, had granted Ranulph special permission to leave, thus certifying his contribution (and departure) with papal approval. Although this praise reads like a classic case of overcompensation, it was clearly intended to deflect any possible suspicion about whether the earl of Chester had weakened the army by his departure in the summer of 1220 – the letter of Peter de Montague, after all, made clear that the Crusade was in dire straits in the autumn of that year. The fact that a scribe added this interpolation supplies further proof that the account of the Fifth Crusade ‘past and future’ in MS 496 was envisaged as a unit by its compiler, since it attempts to pre-empt any negative reading of Ranulph’s Crusade from the *Historia Damiatina* and any criticism that might be assumed from Peter de Montague’s letter.

Furthermore, the interpolations might shed more light on the question of when and where this set of three texts was compiled. Could the intense interest in Chester offer a clue to solving the problem of the manuscript’s provenance? If this is a codex from the collection of Ussher, it could be significant that much of his medieval collection was bought ‘at the sale, after 1617, of the library of Henry Savile of Banke’, which, as Bernard Meehan notes, ‘included several manuscripts from northern English monasteries’.⁷² Could this manuscript, like G (Gray’s Inn Library MS 14), also have a link to the palatinate of Chester? The scribe, who perhaps enjoyed some form of connection to the earl, was clearly concerned to defend his service to Christendom and the papacy during the Holy War, and his exertions on the earl’s behalf could represent evidence of sensitivity to contemporary criticism that followed the failure of the Crusade.

⁷² Meehan 1986, 99.

Further evidence of the regional reception of the *Historia Damiatina* can be found in MS 496. From the middle of chapter 34 (the sentence ending ‘... de quo superius dictum est.’), the manuscript completely omits the text up to the opening of chapter 37 with the words ‘Contrivit Dominus’:

Oliverus, <i>Die Schriften des Kölnerdomscholasters</i> , ed. Hoogeweg, pp. 230-35	Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 496, fol. 211r
<p>[Chapter 34] Gaudeat igitur universalis ecclesia dignas gratiarum actiones referendo pro tali triumpho, et non solum pro Damiatia, sed pro destructa pernitiosa munitione montis Thabor et pro aditu libero in Jerusalem, ut reedificentur muri eius tempore ab Altissimo proviso; pro Castro preterea filii Dei, quod magnis sumptibus militia Templi utiliter et inexpugnabiliter edificat, de quo superius plenius scriptum est. Letare, provincia Coloniensis, exulta et lauda, quoniam in navibus, instrumentis bellicis, bellatoribus et armis, victualibus et pecunia maius auxilium tulisti quam residuum totius regni Teutonici.</p> <p>[... rest of chapter 34, chapters 35–36 ...] [Chapter 37] Contrivit Dominus baculum impiorum, confregit cornu superborum, terribilis in consiliis super filios hominum portas Damiate potenter aperuit.</p>	<p>[Chapter 34] Gaudeat igitur universalis ecclesia dignas gratiarum acciones referendo pro tali triumpho et non solum pro Damietta, sed pro debellata perniciose munitione montis Thabor vel pro aditu libero ad Ierusalem ut reedificentur muri eius tempore ab altissimo proviso, pro castro preterea filii Dei quod magnis sumptibus edificat viriliter et inexpugnabiliter militia Templi de quo superius dictum est. [Chapter 37] Contrivit Dominus baculum impiorum confregit cornu superborum terribilis in consiliis super filios hominum portas Damiete potenter aperuit.</p>

It is significant that the other first-redaction English manuscripts F and G also lack these chapters, but that the German codex Z, which comes from Posau monastery near

Zeitz, preserves them.⁷³ In cutting out these parts of the account, these codices omit Oliver's praise in the latter half of chapter 34 directed at the city and province of Cologne, as well as the German empire more broadly. Audiences outside the empire probably did not deem it essential to include such material, which was of more limited interest in England. Chapters 35 and 36, however, are more concerned with the people and the political affairs of the Near East than the Crusade proper. Their exclusion might be explained by a similar lack of interest in their content, but it is possible that the text from which the compiler of MS 496 was copying also omitted these chapters, thus precluding their inclusion. Taken together, then, this evidence suggests that there exists an important English fork in the transmission of the *Historia*, represented by MS 496, F and G, that has thus far gone unrecognised.

Another textual variant unique to MS 496 demonstrates a lack of understanding of the subtlety of Oliver's text. The floating siege machine that Oliver designed during the Crusade has contributed to his fame among modern scholars, but in chapter 12 of the *Historia Damiatina*, he modestly conceals his role, writing that God provided an architect for the contraption: '[...] Domino demonstrante et architectum providente [...]'.⁷⁴ Apparently this was too subtle for some scribes, because the scribe of MS 496 gives instead: 'Domino tunc demonstrante et *architectoribus* providentibus [my italics]'.⁷⁵ This erroneous plural is another indicator of the remove from the participants in the expedition at which our scribe was working (although F managed to get this right).⁷⁶ Returning crusaders, especially those from Germany and Frisia who were involved in the construction and operation of the engine, would surely have

⁷³ In his notes on Oliverus, Hoogeweg (1894, 230) lists Gg (and not F and G) as being the only other manuscript witness that omits these chapters. It appears to be an error, however, since on the next page he includes Gg among those codices *with* the chapters. On the provenance of Z, see Hoogeweg 1894, lxiv.

⁷⁴ Hoogeweg 1894, 181.

⁷⁵ Trinity College MS 496, fol. 202v.

⁷⁶ Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.25.4, fol. 67r.

contributed to the oral traditions of the expedition, especially given the key roles that Oliver and this machine played in the Fifth Crusade. Taken together, all of these variants testify to the particular interests, concerns and information available to the consumers of the *Historia Damiatina* in thirteenth-century England.

Conclusion

In addition to drawing attention to, and publishing selections from, this new version of Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiatina*, which hitherto was unknown to scholars of the crusading movement, these preliminary observations from MS 496 illuminate important aspects of the regional reception and transmission of the text. The textual modifications displayed by the manuscripts examined here demonstrate that there was an important English branch of manuscripts, hitherto unappreciated, that bear significant differences from their continental counterparts – alterations that were clearly designed to appeal more to an English audience. In the effort to understand how the *Historia Damiatina* was received in the Middle Ages, MS 496 is an extremely significant witness to the text. Its unique textual variants, especially the long addition to justify the length of Ranulph earl of Chester's campaign on the Fifth Crusade, offer a glimpse into the thoughts and political anxieties of at least one scribe who copied the account. The copyist who expanded upon the deeds of the earl – whether it was the scribe who penned MS 496, or another further back in the manuscript tradition – was clearly seeking to absolve Ranulph of any blame for the situation of the crusader host in 1220, or for the defeat of the entire enterprise the next year. That scribe had one eye on the text of the *Historia Damiatina* before him, and the other firmly on the posterity and reputation of the earl. In any case, the texts with which the *Historia Damiatina* travelled are the key to understanding the intention behind the purpose of the compilation in MS 496. Oliver's account of the Crusade up to 1219, coupled with the letter of

Peter de Montague, which carries on the narrative up to 1220, and the prophecy of the son of Agap, which foretold the future of the crusading movement and the end of the world, was meant to provide a single account of the Fifth Crusade: its past and its future. The exact relationship of these texts to one another, and the relationship of MS 496 to the other manuscript witnesses, is an extremely promising avenue of future research.

THOMAS W. SMITH
University of Leeds

Bibliography

- Abbott, T. K., 1900. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*. Dublin.
- Andenna, G. and Bombi, B. (eds), 2009. *I cristiani e il favoloso Egitto: Una relazione dall'Oriente e la storia di Damietta di Oliviero da Colonia*. Genoa and Milan.
- Aurell, M., 2007. *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154–1224*, trans. David Crouch. Harlow.
- Bird, J., 2003. 'The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry: Visual and Written Commentaries as Evidence of a Text's Audience, Reception, and Utilization.' *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 20, 56-74.
- Bird, J., Peters, E. and Powell, J. M. (eds), 2013. *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*. Philadelphia.
- Brincken, A. D. v. den, 1991. 'Oliverus Scholasticus et Cardinalis († 1227).' *Rheinische Lebensbilder*, 12, 47-67.
- Bulst-Thiele, M. L., 1989. 'Oliver von Paderborn.' In K. Ruh, G. Keil, W. Schröder, B. Wachinger and F. J. Worstbrock, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*. 14 vols, Berlin (1977-2008), 7: 35-38.
- Carpenter, D. A., 1990. *The Minority of Henry III*. London.
- Colker, M. L., 1991. *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*. 2 vols. Aldershot.

- Crick, J. C., 1989. *The Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, III: A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts*. Cambridge.
- Finke, H., 1888. *Westfälisches Urkunden-Buch: Die Papsturkunden Westfalens bis zum Jahre 1378*. Münster.
- Francis, D., 1993. 'Oliver of Paderborn and his Siege Engine at Damietta.' *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 37, 28-32.
- García y García, A., et al., 2013. *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta, editio critica: II/1. The General Councils of Latin Christendom from Constantinople IV to Pavia-Siena (869-1424)*. Turnhout.
- Hamilton, B., 2017. 'The Impact of Prester John on the Fifth Crusade.' In Mylod, et al., 53-67.
- Hardwick, C., and Luard, H. R., 1856-67. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*. 6 vols. Cambridge.
- Hiestand, R., 1987. 'Oliver Scholasticus und die Pariser Schulen zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts: Zu einem neuen Textfund.' *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 58, 1-34.
- Hoogeweg, H., 1888a. 'Der kölnen Domscholaster Oliver als Kreuzprediger 1214-1217.' *Westdeutsche Zetschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 7, 235-270.
- 1888b. 'Die Paderborner Bischofswahl vom Jahre 1223.' *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 46, 92-122.
- 1890a. 'Die Kreuzpredigt des Jahres 1224 in Deutschland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Erzdiöcese Köln.' *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 4.2, 54-74.
- 1890b. 'Eine neue Schrift des Kölner Domscholasters Oliver.' *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 16, 186-92.
- 1894. *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus*. Tübingen.
- Horwood, A. J., 1869. *A Catalogue of the Ancient Manuscripts belonging to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn*. London.
- Jotischky, A., 2004. *Crusading and the Crusader States*. Harlow.

- Ker, N. R., 1960. 'From "Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line": A Change in Scribal Practice.' *Celtica*, 5, 13-16.
- Kümper, H., 2010. 'Oliver of Paderborn.' In G. Dunphy (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*. Vol. 2. Leiden, 1166-67.
- Lewy, M., 2017, *Der apokalyptische Abessinier – der Transfer eines frühislamischen Motivs nach Europa: Eine eschatologische Deutung des Horns von Afrika in Mappae mundi des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, unpublished PhD thesis, Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main.
- Luard, H. R., 1872-84. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*. Rolls Series 57, 7 vols. London.
- Meehan, B., 1986. 'The Manuscript Collection of James Ussher.' In P. Fox (ed.), *Treasures of the Library: Trinity College Dublin*. Dublin, 97-110.
- Migne, J. P., 1844-64. *Patrologiae cursus completa series Latina*. 221 vols. Paris.
- Moolenbroek, J. J. van, 1987. 'Signs in the Heavens in Groningen and Friesland in 1214: Oliver of Cologne and Crusading Propaganda.' *Journal of Medieval History*, 13, 251-72.
- 1998. 'Dreihundert Schiffe für das Heilige Land: Oliver von Köln und die Kreuzzugskampagne der Jahre 1213-1217.' *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 201, 19-44.
- Mylod, E. J., Perry, G., Smith, T. W. and Vandeburie, J. (eds.), 2017. *The Fifth Crusade in Context: The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century*. Abingdon.
- Oliverus: see Hoogeweg 1894.
- Pixton, P. B., 1978. 'Die Anwerbung des Heeres Christi: Prediger des Fünften Kreuzzuges in Deutschland.' *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 34, 166-91.
- Powell, J. M., 1986. *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221*. Philadelphia.

- Robinson, P. R., 2003. *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.888–1600 in London Libraries*. 2 vols. London.
- Röhricht, R., 1879. *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*. Geneva.
- 1891. 'Die Briefe des Kölner Scholasticus Oliver.' *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 10, 161–208.
- Roscher, H., 1969. *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge*. Göttingen.
- Tobler, T., and Molinier, A. 1879. *Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae bellis sacris anteriora*. Vol. 1. Geneva.

Appendix

Manuscripts that share variant readings with Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 496

I print here a representative sample of the most significant variant readings from the *Historia Damiatina* in Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 496, and the manuscripts that most often share these readings (Z, F, G, Gg, A, D, M, B, P). I give the relevant page and line number for each variant according to Hoogeweg 1894, with the text of the edition followed after the square bracket by the corresponding variant reading in MS 496 and in all other manuscripts which share the same variant reading with MS 496. If no other manuscripts are listed as sharing a variant reading (including manuscripts not given as part of this sample), then this is a reading unique to MS 496. Sigla are those according to Hoogeweg 1894, lxviii–lxxvii, to which I have added indication of the different redaction to which each manuscript belongs. With the exception of the Zeitz codex, I have updated all of the repository names, call numbers and dates for each manuscript from Hoogeweg's edition. An extremely unfortunate typographical error on p. lxxv gives the siglum C to the Gray's Inn manuscript when Hoogeweg already

assigned it to a different codex. The Gray's Inn text should in fact be signified by G. Similarly, another typographical error afflicted the designation of the Uppsala manuscript, which appears erroneously in Hoogeweg as C 53.

Sigla

Z = Zeitz, Bibliothek des Stiftgymnasiums Hs 1 (first redaction; thirteenth century) [now Zeitz, Stiftsbibliothek; at the time of writing, I was unable to access the necessary resources to verify the call number and date].

F = Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.25.4 (first redaction; thirteenth century).

G = London, Gray's Inn Library MS 14 (first redaction; thirteenth century).

Gg = Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek C. 43 (first redaction; fifteenth century).

A = Admont, Benediktinerstift Admont, Stiftsarchiv Cod. 401 (second redaction; fourteenth century).

D = Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Hs 231 (second redaction; 1430).

M = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 118 (redaction unclear; sixteenth century).

B = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek MS 214 (redaction unclear; first half of the thirteenth century).

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 16079 (redaction unclear; thirteenth century).

p. 163, l. 2 *potens et nobilis*] *nobilis et potens* Z B

p. 163, l. 7 *eicientes*] *Scientes*

p. 163, l. 9 *omnia Christo*] *omnia laudabiliter* Z F G A D B P :
deo laudabiliter Gg

p. 168, l. 10 *peregrinorum*] *om.* Z G D B

p. 168, l. 15 *viriliter*] *utiliter* Z F B

p. 172, l. 12 *Christi*] *om.* Z F Gg B

p. 172, l. 14 *quedam remanserunt*] *om.*

- p. 172, l. 15 *Ulixbonam*] *Lesebonam* Z: *Lessebonam* F G B
- p. 173, l. 7 *et Frisones*] om. Z F G Gg A M B P
- p. 173, ll. 8-9 *maxima multitudine*] *maxima multitudo* F G B
- p. 173, l. 9 *fratre Petro Abwite tunc tempore magistro in partibus illis existente* add.
- p. 174, ll. 2-3 *Frisie Bedem*] *Bedon Frisie* Z: *Bedom Frisie* F G B
- p. 174, l. 4 *forma*] *forma crucis* Z F G Gg B P
- p. 174, l. 8 *fixione*] *infixione* G Gg D M B
- p. 174, l. 11 *Suthershusen*] *Suzerhuse* F
- p. 174, l. 12 *cerulei*] *crocerulei* : *croculei* F
- p. 174, l. 14 *ubi*] *in qua* Z F G Gg B
- p. 174, ll. 15-16 *ad stationem*] *ad indictam* (*indictum* M) *stationem* Z F G Gg A D M B P
- p. 174, l. 16 *trabs*] *trabes* Z
- p. 175, l. 1 *transverso*] *adverso* Gg.
- p. 181, l. 10 *circumfluentis aque*] *aque circumfluentis* Z F G Gg A M B
- p. 181, l. 10 *importunitatem*] *inoportunitatem* F
- p. 181, l. 11 *architectum providente*] *architectoribus providentibus*
- p. 181, l. 12 *eorumque*] *eorundemque* F Gg A D
- p. 181, l. 13 *trabibus et*] om. F
- p. 181, l. 15 *antennas*] *antempnas* F D P
- p. 181, l. 15 *in eis ereximus*] *ereximus in eis* Z F G Gg B
- p. 182, l. 4 *protensa*] *protensa maximo*
- p. 182, l. 6 *quid*] *aliquid* Z F G B
- p. 182, l. 7 *indicarent*] *perficeretur* Z F G B
- p. 182, l. 10 *machinarum ictibus*] *ictibus machinarum* F
- p. 182, l. 15 *natione*] *gence* Z F G Gg A D M B P
- p. 182, l. 18 *implendas sufficeret et regendas*] *sufficeret ad naves implendas et regendas* Z F B
- p. 186, l. 14 *maxima multitudo*] *multitudo maxima* F Gg M P
- p. 187, l. 1 *post hec*] *post illos* F
- p. 187, ll. 1-4 *et cum ipso* — *Salpensis episcopi*] om. Z F G Gg B
- p. 187, l. 10 *venit et tunc temporis* — *annuente complevit* add. F (part).
- p. 188, l. 3 *Anglorum*] *Anglie* G M P

- p. 207, l. 6 *sanctitate* add.
- p. 215, l. 4 *et Hospitalariis sancti Johannis]* *et Hospitalariis sancti Iohannis et Cestrie* F
- p. 215, l. 5 *Reginaldo de Ponte* add. F.
- p. 225, l. 3 *ascribatur victoria]* *ascribatur evidenter Victoria* F G A
D
- p. 228, l. 7 *Damiata!]* *Damieta Damieta : Damiata Damiata* F G
B P M A
- p. 228, l. 9 *modicas]* *immodicas*
- p. 230, l. 3 *destructa]* *debellata*
- p. 244, l. 7 *arcuosum]* *arcum*
- p. 244, l. 8 *in quem]* *in quam* B

The number of shared variant readings in this sample from the *Historia Damiatina* is thirty-one for F, twenty-two for B, nineteen for Z and for G, thirteen for Gg, eight for A, for D, and for M. Nine variant readings appear to be unique to TCD 496.

Plates

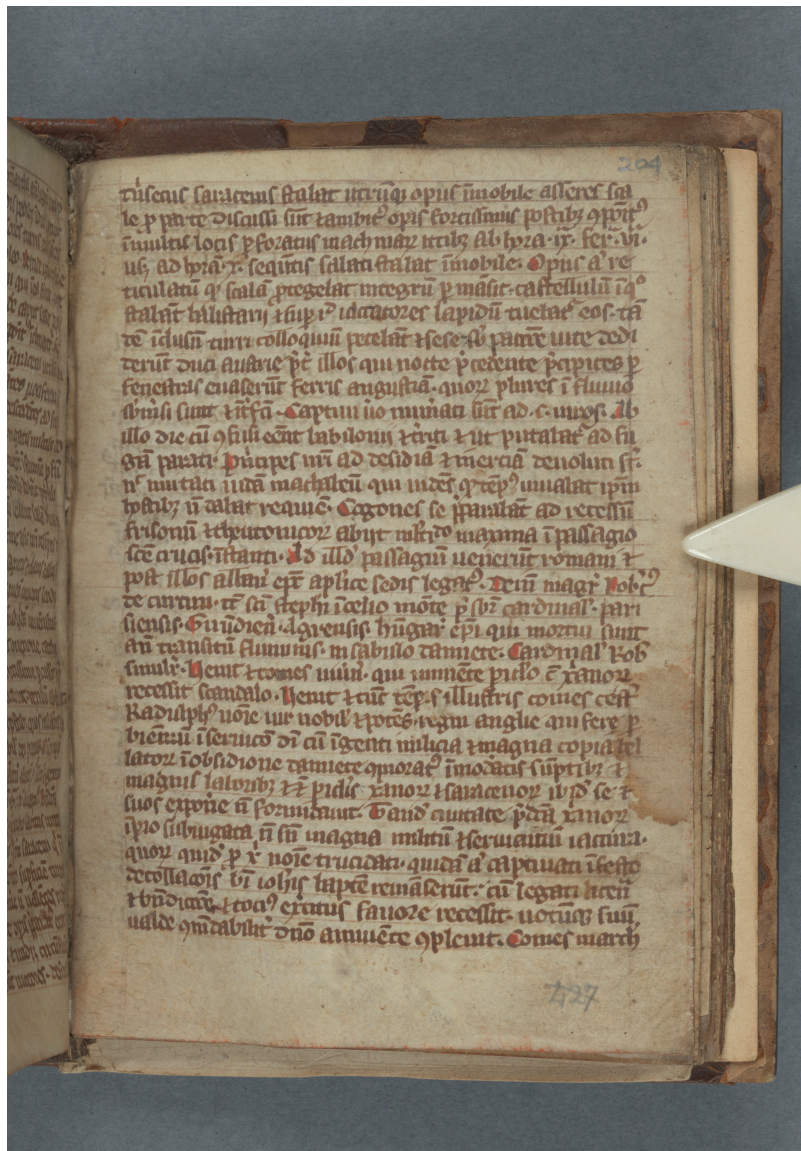


Plate 5. MS 496, fol. 204r.

© The Board of Trinity College, the University of Dublin