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Imagining Iberia in Medieval German Literature

Doriane Zerka

King's College London

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Abstract

Medieval Iberia, through its complex history intertwining Islam, Christianity and Judaism in a dialectic between *Reconquista* and *convivencia*, has been appropriated by writers and scholars as a figure of thought that throws into relief the inherent intricacy of social forms and their construction. At once a barrier and a gateway between Europe, Africa and Asia, medieval Iberia presents a geographical and ideological challenge to post-medieval notions of "East," "West," "nationhood" and "Europe". This study analyses depictions of Iberia in medieval German literature, examining the ideological implications of real and fictional travels to the Peninsula for the construction of individual and collective identities, religious, cultural and political. I consider Iberia as a Foucauldian heterotopia, an imaginative space that stages a host of ideological problems and sheds light on the contingency of identities. Following recent trends in using network theory throws into relief the "Europeanization of Europe" as defined by Robert Bartlett, from a literary perspective. A network approach sheds light on the ongoing processes through which any cultural entity characterised as "European" is constantly renegotiated, rather than defined in a fixed form.

Chapter one considers two German adaptations of the Roland story: the twelfth-century *Rolandslied* and Der Stricker's *Karl der Große* from the thirteenth-century. The Songs of Roland project a homogeneous Frankish identity embodied by Charlemagne on the Iberian space, that is challenged and asserted by the heterogeneity of a Muslim enemy that involves all part of the known world. Chapter two looks at the fifteenth-century prose epic *Herzog Herpin*, in which the city of Toledo forms intra- and extra-textual connections. In the narrative, Toledo reconnects characters that had been separated and allows the resolution of the initial conflict. Yet to the audience Toledo triggers a multilingual "European" cultural memory through references to multilingual traditions. Chapter three analyses the construction of a poetic identity by Oswald von Wolkenstein (1376–1445) in four songs dealing with his journey to Iberia. Oswald makes use of Iberia as a plural space, between familiarity and estrangement, which becomes a stage upon which Oswald plays with innovation and conventions, to perform a plural poetic identity. Finally, chapter four investigates the travelogue *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft* by Georg von Ehingen (1428–1508), in which Georg defines his knightly identity and mediates his depiction of the Peninsula through crusading motifs inherited from literary discourses that do not conform to Iberian historical accounts. The transmission of the text by Georg's descendants, in turn, places the Peninsula at the heart of a family myth of origin. Finally, my conclusion briefly surveys the role of Iberia in post-medieval examples, to shed light on the ongoing use of the Peninsula as an ideologically loaded space on which to think through identities.

Throughout the thesis, all translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

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Introduction:

Imagining Iberia's Alterity in the European Cultural Network

In an essay published in 2006 and polemically titled "Why Iberia?," María Rosa Menocal writes these opening lines:

> My first instinct was to correct the title and rename this essay "Why Medieval Spain?" […] After all, I never say I work on or teach about "Iberia." And yet the editors have got it just right to signal—using the geographic Iberia instead of the national Spain—that the terrible difficulty of finding worthy names is at the heart of the matter here, at the heart of why it is that the study of the cultures and peoples of the Iberian Peninsula during the medieval period is as exacting, as stimulating, as important as it is.[1]

Menocal's terminological difficulty reflects her broader engagement with what she terms the "misnamings and misperceptions" that shape modern understandings of the multi-ethnic, multicultural and multireligious Iberian past.[2] She confronts the ideological implications of calling the Christian hero El Cid "Spanish" but not the Jewish poet and philosopher Judah Halevi, while Islamic contributions to Iberian society are termed "Moorish." Discussing the erasure of the memory of Jewish and Muslim citizens in the construction of a "Spanish" national identity, Menocal calls for a renewed engagement with the Iberian past which fully confronts the complexities of identity formation: "part of the answer to the 'Why Iberia' question is that the moment is clearly at hand to begin to undo the damage of hundreds of

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[1] María Rosa Menocal, "Why Iberia?," *Diacritics* 36, no. 3/4 (2006): 7.

[2] Menocal, "Why Iberia?," 8.

years of misnamings and misperceptions; to revel in the great cultural wealth and complexity of medieval Iberia; and to contemplate the remarkable questions it poses – and only sometimes answers – about the precarious nature of cultural symbiosis and its relationship to religious difference, about the very nature of what we call 'identity.'"[3] Medieval Iberia does not only prove a challenge to modern ideological constructions within Spain, but the religious plurality of medieval Iberia becomes an ideological weapon to outsiders as well. Citing the contrast between Osama Bin Laden's exaltation of al-Andalus as the origin myth of an era of Muslim hegemony over other religions and Edward Said's remarks on al-Andalus as the success of religious tolerance within an Arabicised culture, she highlights the ideological malleability of the Iberian past: "this is indeed in all its chapters a history that lends itself with greater ease than most to a remarkable range of interpretations, including, especially, the most contradictory. This is either the age of *convivencia* or *reconquista*, to put it at its most blunt and facile, it is either about how the three Abrahamic religions did fruitfully coexist or about how, in fact, they could not; virtually every political lesson is potentially there to be extracted."[4] Menocal's essay is a call to reflect on these political appropriations, to take the opportunity of a renewed interest in "medieval Iberia, with its al-Andalus, its Sefarad, its Castile, its Aragon, its Galicia, and more, none of these fixed entities but all continuously shifting their definitions and spaces and languages,"[5] to challenge political appropriations of the Iberian past for specific purposes, by shedding light on the ideological construction of these interpretations and on their inherent fluidity. Rather than picking and choosing aspects of the Iberian past as ideological justifications, Menocal exhorts her audience to question the very construction of these political lessons: "[t]he history of medieval Iberia is about as rich a case as one could wish for in which to explore the vexed

[3] Menocal, "Why Iberia?," 8.

[4] Menocal, "Why Iberia?," 9.

[5] Menocal, "Why Iberia?," 9.

questions of what the political has to do with the literary, the ideological with the cultural."[6] By what means can these political appropriations be challenged and understood? For Menocal, the answer lies in considering cultural production, for which she uses the term "poetry" as the "icon of all the art forms," a tool that "reveal[s] the sometimes unbearable contradictions that political and ideological discourse rarely tolerates. It is from poetry, at the end of the day, that one can understand that this is the age of *convivencia* **and** *reconquista*."[7] Literature, then, helps us understand the inherent intricacies of social forms and embrace what she terms "the 'yes-and-no'-ness of the thing."[8] The cultural production of Iberia negotiates conflicting political ideologies and becomes a productive example through which to consider the inherent complexity of social forms. Through confronting the ideologically constructed nature of the place we now call Spain, Menocal engages with fraught attempts to read the past through a modern lens and triggers reflections on the construction and meaning of identities.

This thesis re-contextualises Menocal's remarks on medieval Iberia's challenge to the construction of identities through the lens of German-language texts. If, as Menocal shows, considering the cultural production of medieval Iberia can help us understand the complexities hiding under the word "Spain," I demonstrate how representations of Iberia in the German language reveal constructions of religious, cultural and political identities. If medieval Iberia challenges the very notion of identity from within, then the processes of othering involved in representations of Iberia in German-language literature illuminate the ideologically constructed nature of identities hiding behind the "German" label from an external perspective. By analysing the variety and complexity of cultural contacts with Iberia in German-language texts, my thesis brings a new approach to medieval postcolonial studies

[6] Menocal, "Why Iberia?," 9.

[7] Menocal, "Why Iberia?," 10. Emphases in the original.

[8] Menocal, "Why Iberia?," 10.

by interrogating texts that have not been extensively studied from this perspective. Simultaneously, by keeping a focus on Iberia, this thesis questions the role of the Peninsula in the ongoing construction of cultures and identities that are labelled “European.”

I consider Iberia as a Foucauldian heterotopia, an imaginative space that stages a host of ideological problems. While it remains linked to the geographical space of Iberia, the heterotopia is an imagined representation of this space, one which in turn sheds lights on the contingent nature of identities as it shifts meaning in the different texts queried. In this thesis, I examine the differences and commonalities in different iterations of heterotopic Iberia from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The notion of heterotopia shows that Iberia is depicted in similar ways to the Orient of modern postcolonial thought, as an imagined space which reveals more about the text which describes it than it does about the location it describes. Rather than attempting to trace the influence of some texts on others, I use an interactional framework to look at the constellation of motifs and discourses that are constructed around the various representations of Iberia and I understand the Peninsula as a node in a cultural network that is being formed in premodern Western Europe.

Neither medieval Iberia nor the region from which German-language texts emerge equate to modern nation-states or to fixed, comprehensive entities. Yet while the dissonance between medieval Iberia and what we now term “Spanish” has been acknowledged, medieval literature in the German language remains somewhat bound to an idea of medieval “Germany.” I wish to consider German-language texts in a wider, transnational context. German-language texts form part of a literary network which sees cultural and social motifs circulate within the geographical region of Europe and as such highlights the ongoing challenge in attempting to define a cultural “European” entity. I hope to show through various examples that German-language texts operate within this wider framework, in which the Iberian Peninsula plays a central role as a space of othering, resulting in the construction of a different range of political, religious, personal and poetic

identities, both collective and individual. The intersections that compose identities are explored and layered in heterotopic representations of Iberia. Therefore, the hybridity of Iberia plays a central role in revealing the complexity of identity construction. Textual witnesses, however, must also contend with formal constructions of identity through the conventions or motifs appearing in different genres. To illustrate the possibilities offered by the heterotopia of Iberia for an intersectional approach to identity construction, my corpus incorporates a variety of genres, with texts ranging from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

Beginning with Carolingian epics and the story of Charlemagne's Iberian crusades, I consider the interaction of religious, political and dynastic elements leading to the establishment of a Frankish identity on the contested Andalusi space in the twelfth-century *Rolandslied* and a later adaptation from the early thirteenth century, Der Stricker's *Karl der Große*. I then explore the prose epic known as *Herzog Herpin*, from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, which focuses on the city of Toledo as a place of refuge and family reunion. The text incorporates Toledo in a transnational literary network in which the city triggers the collective cultural memory of its audience, illustrating the temporal dimension of cultural identities defined in relation to past traditions. Moving to a different genre, I analyse songs by Oswald von Wolkenstein (1376–1445) to consider the role of Iberia in the construction of his poetic identity, in which his personal lyric abilities encounter politics and social conventions. Finally, I turn to the travelogue *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft* by Georg von Ehingen (1428–1508), which similarly relies on travels as a means to define a personal identity resonating on a familial, local and political level through a crusade-inspired depiction of a Christian/heathen binary in southern Iberia.

1. Why Iberia? Iberia as Heterotopia

In the fifth century, the historian Orosius provides a description of the world in his *Historiarum adversus paganos libri septem* [Seven Books of History against the Pagans.] Orosius writes in the classical tradition, dividing the world in three – or two – parts: “Our ancestors divided the whole world, surrounded as it is by the belt of the Ocean, into three rectangular blocks, and called these three parts Asia, Europe, and Africa, although there are some who believe that there are two parts: namely Asia and Europe, including Africa in the latter part.” (I, 2)[9] The possibility of fusing Europe and Africa into one continent already becomes significant when keeping in mind the geographical position of the Iberian Peninsula. Orosius writes as the Peninsula is still under Roman control and known as the province of Hispania.[10] In his description, he draws a parallel between the limits of the European and African continents, stating that “[t]he Ocean by Spain is Europe’s Western boundary: more specifically where the Columns of Hercules are to be seen by the islands of Cadiz and where the Ocean swell comes in through the straits of the Tyrrhenian Sea. […] The Western bounds of Africa are the same as those of Europe: namely the narrows of the Straits of Cadiz. However, its uttermost end is Mount Atlas and the so-called Blessed Isles.” (I, 2)[11] After describing how water crosses through and delineates the world, Orosius describes the Iberian Peninsula specifically as a triangle, insisting on its near-insular quality, while further emphasising its proximity to Africa:

[9] A. T. Fear, trans. *Orosius: Seven Books of History Against the Pagans* (Liverpool University Press, 2010), 36.

[10] The translator of the edition used here renders “Hispania” as “Spain,” a term which, as discussed by Menocal, conveys a more modern national meaning, hence my decision to use “Iberia” or “Hispania” in my own discussion of Orosius.

[11] *Orosius*, 37.

> Spain in its entirety is triangular and is almost an island, being surrounded by the Ocean and the Tyrrhenian Sea. Its first angle, which looks to the east, joins onto the border of Narbonensis, being flanked by the province of Aquitania on the right and the Balearic Sea on the left. The second angle stretches towards the north-west, where the city of Brigantia, which lies in Gallaecia, has erected a very tall lighthouse looking out towards Britain […] Spain's third angle lies where the islands of Cadiz, which face Africa, look across to Mount Atlas over a gulf of the ocean. (I, 2)[12]

Hispania becomes a space that is at one and the same time liminal and peripheral, one which marks a border, the edge of Europe in the West and a gateway. A connection between continents, it is turned to Africa and even to the "uttermost end" of the African continent, which Orosius had already defined as Mount Atlas. While on the edge, Hispania offers possibilities for contact either through the strait of Cadiz or through the Mediterranean Sea and creates links between different parts of the world.

The geographical location of Iberia as a border zone permeates the biblically-conceived, tripartite cosmography inherited from classical Antiquity which finds its expression in T-O maps such as those described by the seventh-century bishop Isidore of Seville. Isidore characterises the position of Hispania in very similar terms to Orosius, highlighting the location of the Peninsula in relation to its surroundings, but also describing the separation of Hispania into two "inner" and "outer" parts: "It is situated *between* Africa and Gaul, *closed off* by the Pyrenees mountains to the north and everywhere else shut in by the sea. […] Inner (*citerior*) and Outer (*ulterior*) are so called as if it were *citra* (on this side) and *ultra* (beyond); but *citra* is formed as if the term were 'around the earth' (*circa terras*), and ultra either because it is the last (*ultimus*), or because after it there is not 'any' (*ultus*), that is, any other,

[12] *Orosius*, 44.

land.” (XIV, iv, 28)[13] Isidore understands Iberia as a space apart from other continents, a place “closed off” by its geographical surroundings, but he insists on the fact that the Peninsula remains a space in-between, a space which marks a point of contact with Africa. In similar terms to Orosius, he defines the Peninsula as both liminal and peripheral. Moreover, Isidore follows the sun as a reference point in his description of the world and the geographical liminality of Iberia is echoed in its climactic description, following a Macrobian map model, in which the world is divided through temperatures and their effect on human bodies. As Suzanne Conklin Akbari notes, “Isidore’s own space is a mean, but one surrounded closely by climactic extremes, with Spain being a kind of microcosm that enfolds within it the diversity of the earth.”[14] Although they rely on a cosmographical and geographical framework, Orosius and Isidore’s descriptions of the Iberian Peninsula acquire an ideological function that recurs in later representations of the Peninsula, due to the historical consequences of the geographical connection between Europe and Africa they describe.

In the dynamics of conquests and colonisation that take place in late Antiquity and the early medieval period, the position of Iberia between Europe and Africa left the Peninsula open to invasion on both fronts after the fall of the Roman Empire. In the first instance, Iberia was ruled by Visigoth kings from northern Europe from the sixth until the eighth century. In 711, the geographical closeness of the European and African continents in Iberia became cultural too with the arrival of Muslim troops from the North African provinces of the Empire of Damascus.[15] The name under which Orosius’ strait of Cadiz is known to a

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[13] Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach and Oliver Berghof, eds., *The* Etymologies *of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 292. My emphases in italics.

[14] Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 46.

[15] For an account of the Visigoth kingdom and the establishment of al-Andalus, see Part I “The Visigothic era” and Part II “The Ascendancy of Islam” in Joseph O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 35–190.

modern audience – the strait of Gibraltar – is symbolic of the significance of this moment that expands geographical access to Africa into an ideological gateway to Asia: the name Gibraltar derives from the Arabic “jebel el Tarik,” the mountain of Tarik, in reference to the military leader who led the first incursions into Iberian territory. Spain became a religious border, culturally closer to the Umayyad empire of Damascus in the east, via their North African provinces in the south, than to the Frankish kingdoms or the Carolingian empire to the north. Even though al-Andalus was established as a Muslim territory, it was not only populated by Muslims. A cohabitation between Christians, Muslims and Jews developed in the Peninsula, leading to the famous and highly polemical notion of *convivencia*, as developed by Américo Castro in his seminal *España en su historia. Cristianos, moros y judíos* first published in 1948.[16] Al-Andalus had a lasting influence on the European imaginary and Iberia’s proximity to Africa fascinated outsiders throughout the centuries, making the Peninsula fertile ground for writers in search of foreignness. What late Antique cosmographers highlighted as a geographical link between Europe and Africa became juxtaposed with ideological alterity in many representations of the Peninsula and the multireligious history of the Peninsula was used as an ideological tool by non-Iberian writers. Indeed, medieval depictions of Iberia showcase a shift towards ideological alterity. Iberia becomes a figurative space, invested with the symbolic function required by texts negotiating their own political, religious or cultural communities.

[16] Américo Castro, *España en su historia. Cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires : Losada, 1948). While the notion of *convivencia* has been widely influential, it has also attracted debates and criticism for its idealisation of the situation in medieval Iberia. See for example Alex Novikoff, “Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: An Historiographic Enigma,” *Medieval Encounters* 11, (2005): 7–36 or Brian Catlos, “Contexto y conveniencia en la corona de Aragón: propuesta de un modelo de interacción entre grupos etno-religiosos minoritarios y mayoritarios,” *Revista d’historia medieval* 12, (2001–2): 259–68, who offers the notion of *conveniencia*, an alternative which reveals a co-existence based on mutual interests.

The ideological use of the Iberian past is not restricted to the medieval era: the Black Legend, for example, taking its source in the Dutch revolt of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, uses the Iberian past to characterise Spain as a backward society. In the nineteenth century, the Romantics, such as Friedrich Bouterwek in his *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* [History of Literature and Eloquence since the End of the Thirteenth Century] or August Wilhelm Schlegel in his *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* [Lectures on dramatic art and literature] in Germany, appropriate the history of Iberia to characterise the Spanish national character as Oriental.[17] Bouterwek and Schlegel are not isolated cases but form part of what Julian Weiss called "a horde of European Romantics fascinated and scandalised by Spain, as the Orient on their doorstep and the Middle Ages of modernity."[18]

The cultural shift resulting from the establishment of a Muslim territory in the Peninsula is often explored in literary representations of Iberia. Iberia becomes a concept, an imagined space, upon which different geographical and ideological spaces are superimposed. According to Sharon Kinoshita's *Medieval Boundaries* (2006), the Peninsula, as a boundary zone on the edge of Europe, does indeed bear ideological significance. Kinoshita characterises the borders of the medieval West as liminal spaces that function not only as sites of conflict but as sites of negotiation in which political and cultural identities are tested and defined. In her analysis of contacts with Iberian "Others" in the *Chanson de Roland*, she argues that cultural negotiations taking place in Iberia highlight the process of identity-building in the epic, stressing the fact that ideas of France or Europe are not just territorial

[17] Friedrich Bouterwek, *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, 12 vols (Göttingen: Röwer, 1801–19); August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, 2 vols (Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1809–11). These examples will be discussed in more details in my conclusion.

[18] Julian Weiss, "Remembering Spain in the Medieval European Epic: A Prospect," in *Locating the Middle Ages: The Spaces and Places of Medieval Culture*, ed. Sarah Salih and Julian Weiss (London: King's College London Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2012), 78–9.

entities but "ideological constructs with their own deeply complicated history of conquest, colonization and acculturation."[19] Considering the role of Iberia in the medieval European epic, Weiss asserts in similar ways the challenge posed by the Iberian space to definitions of the European: "when analysing the ideological construction of Europe, Spain triggers important questions about the internal configuration and outer boundaries of that space, as well as about the rivalries and power struggles amongst its peoples and ruling elites."[20] The space of Iberia is invested with such ideological power because it is redolent of different cultural and political worlds (the Roman province, the Visigoth territory, al-Andalus…) that are not necessarily contemporaneous but that can all be simultaneously evoked in literary representations of the Peninsula. As such, Weiss defines Iberia as a chronotope, a "'[place] in time' made up of topographies, events and peoples, which act like coordinates on a map read not for its historical reliability but as a memory cue," conceding that "inevitably, the contours and function of Spain as a chronotope will vary according to time, place, genre and mode."[21] Going beyond the notion of chronotope, I consider Iberia through the lens of Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia. Heterotopia acts as a term that already contains the interaction of spatial and temporal categories. It enables me to conceptualise the way in which depictions of Iberia are those of a space that can hold together disparate elements and in which complex spatial dynamics are at play. Heterotopia, finally, encapsulates a sense of othering, enabling me to delve deeper into the function of representations of Iberia in literature.

The notion of the literary chronotope, developed by Mikhael Bakhtin, is an analytical tool that designates the interrelation of time and space in literature. According to Bakhtin, "[i]n the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully

[19] Sharon Kinoshita*, Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 45.

[20] Weiss, "Remembering Spain in the Medieval European Epic," 68.

[21] Weiss, "Remembering Spain in the Medieval European Epic," 69.

thought-out, concrete whole. […] This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope."[22] In this model, a chronotope constitutes a structural feature of narratives, a constitutive element that can be used to analyse generic differences, a method adopted by Bakhtin to consider examples from European literature. While the chronotope analyses the relation between time and space as a textual feature, the heterotopia privileges the analysis of space itself, even if it does concede that heterotopias are often shaped by their relation to a particular time. In other words, the heterotopia provides a tool more specifically suitable for the analysis of space and its representation within a narrative, rather than presenting us (like the chronotope) with an overarching tool for the analysis of the narratives that shape different literary genres.

The concept of heterotopia is particularly relevant to an analysis of medieval Iberia as a site of conquest and reconquest; Foucault relates the heterotopia to power dynamics by explicitly providing a framework in which to consider the heterotopia as a possible othering device. The notion of heterotopia has often been applied to urban spaces, "becoming a byword for a kind of postmodern spatial alterity," since the publication in 1984 of a lecture given by Foucault in 1967.[23] Yet considering a radio talk given by the philosopher in 1966

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[22] Mikhael Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes towards a Historical Poetics," in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 84.

[23] Kelvin T. Knight, "Placeless Places: Resolving the Paradox of Foucault's Heterotopia," *Textual Practice* 31, (2017): 145. Foucault first mentions the concept of heterotopia briefly in the introduction to *Les mots et les choses* (1966, translated as *The Order of Things* in 1970), in relation to a Chinese encyclopaedia invented by Jorge Luis Borges. See Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2002), xviii–xix. He defines the heterotopia as a linguistic device, an element of language. Foucault develops the concept in a 1967 lecture, subsequently published in 1984 under the title "Des espaces autres" and translated in 1988 as "Of Other Spaces." The text appears to relate the notion of heterotopia to actual spaces, positioning utopias, "sites with no real place" that portray a perfected but fundamentally unreal form of society, alongside heterotopias, sites of real place that function as "effectively enabled utopia[s] in which […]

highlights that the concept "refer[s] not to real places, but rather to fictional representations of those sites, and of their simultaneously mythic and real dimensions."[24] A heterotopia, then, is an imagined space that "is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible. Thus it is that the theatre brings onto the rectangle of the stage, one after the other, a whole series of places that are foreign to one another."[25] On the one hand, the heterogeneous plurality of this figurative device seems particularly suited to represent a space which, as mentioned previously by Menocal, embodies cultural hybridity and can be best understood in its complexity, in the "yes-and-no-ness" of its construction. On the other hand, as a form of representation that brings together disparate elements, the heterotopia highlights the constructed and contingent character of the society in which these elements appear. Foucault establishes that "heterotopias [...] have a function in relation to all the space that remains. This function unfolds between two extreme poles. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space [...] as still more illusory. Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled."[26] As a figurative device, the heterotopia allows the reader to consider the dissimilarities between an actual space and the representation of this space, between what is "real" and what is not. In the process, the discrepancy between the two sheds light on the ideological purpose of the text in which the heterotopia emerges.

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all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted." Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, (1986): 24.

[24] Knight, 147. Foucault's talk, aired on the programme "Heure de culture française," formed part of a series of broadcasts dedicated to utopias in literature. The full broadcast is available on the France Culture website, accessed 30 May 2019, https://www.franceculture.fr/emissions/les-nuits-de-france-culture/heure-de-culture-francaise-les-utopies-reelles-ou-lieux-et. The text was later published under Michel Foucault, *Le corps utopique, suivi de Les hétérotopies* (Fécamp: Nouvelles éditions lignes, 2009).

[25] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 25.

[26] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 27.

The mirror, which Foucault uses as an example of heterotopia in “Des espaces autres,” projects an unreal image of something real. As a person stands in front of a mirror, it shows them an image, a reflection of themselves which can be altered or distorted. In turn, this possibly distorted image projects something back onto the person standing in front of the mirror and reveals something about the identity of the person or object that has been presented to this mirror. In this sense, the heterotopia acts as a device of othering, understood in postcolonial terms not only as the construction of an “Other” but also as a dialectical process through which the very construction of alterity results in the simultaneous definition of the self.[27] The heterotopia, then, thematises the role of Iberia and its history as a tool which sheds lights on the construction of identities by emphasising at once its figurative character, its spatiotemporal plurality and its ideological function.

In the medieval German texts analysed in this thesis, Iberia is a porous boundary zone that connects not only to Africa but also, culturally, to Asia. Using problematic terms somewhat provocatively, I suggest that Iberia becomes a gateway through which East enters West and where the West can confront what lies beyond its borders. The medieval German witnesses interrogated here tend to conflate Iberia with al-Andalus, focusing on the Peninsula as a strictly Muslim space, which is slowly being conquered by Christian monarchs. Therefore, while the Peninsula goes from being an entirely Muslim space in the *Rolandslied* to progressively including Christian kingdoms, such as Castile and Aragon in texts by Oswald von Wolkenstein or Georg von Ehingen, the Jewish contributions to Iberian society remain largely unexplored. As much as Spanish national identity was defined by purging Iberia of its Jewish and Muslim roots, here the Peninsula is described through negating Iberian Jews and casting Iberian Muslims as “Other.” Whether or not this Muslim space is depicted as an

[27] “Othering” as a dialectical process was popularised by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in the essay “The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives,” *History and Theory* 24, no. 3 (1985): 247–72. For an overview of the term and its usage, see Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998), 171–3.

enemy depends on the text and its ideological purpose, but the alterity of Iberia is characterised as Muslim through the systematic use of the word "heathen."[28] In this respect the notion which appears in German Romanticism that Spanish culture is, at heart, Oriental results from earlier connections being made through the association of the Peninsula with Islam and of Islam with non-European geographies.

2. Why Postcolonialism? Iberia as "Other"

Discussing the Orient necessarily evokes Edward Said's seminal work *Orientalism*, first published in 1978, which looms large in analyses of depictions of alterity. Said reflects on the arbitrary construction of the Orient and what he terms an "imaginative geography," looking at the emergence of the Orient through the formation of a discourse.[29] Linking Iberia to the Orient problematises the role of the Peninsula in the medieval European context and in the textual witnesses this thesis interrogates. Such linkage implies long traditions of orientalism and postcolonial thought, which provide a helpful framework when considering depictions of Iberia as a hybrid, plural or other space, a space of othering. Not unlike the Orient of later Orientalist or postcolonial thought, Iberia (as it appears in my corpus) becomes an imagined space that stages a host of ideological problems.

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[28] While other words such as "Moor" or "Saracen" are used more or less sporadically in my corpus, "heathen" is the one common term used across all texts to refer to Muslims.

[29] "There were the Bible and the rise of Christianity; there were travelers like Marco Polo who charted the trade routes and patterned a regulated system of commercial exchange, and after him Lodovico di Varthema and Pietro della Valle; there were the militant pilgrims, chiefly the Crusaders. Altogether an internally structured archive is built up from the literature that belongs to these experiences. Out of this comes a restricted number of typical encapsulations: the journey, the history, the fable, the stereotype, the polemical confrontation. These are the lenses through which the Orient is experienced, and they shape the language, perception, and form of the encounter between East and West." Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), 58.

Using the terms "East," "West" or "Orient" is challenging, since they refer to modern and problematic notions. Associating medieval Iberia with the Orient can be productive, but it must be done within a specific context. Modern notions of the East and West binary are also not always appropriate terms to discuss the medieval era; indeed the East/West binary on which Said's work is based has been criticised on the basis that the division between Orient and Occident, although it exists in the Middle Ages, is defined in different terms, largely within the cosmographical framework mentioned previously.[30] Moreover, the scholarship surrounding the Orient often questions alterity in the modern era and relies on a socio-cultural framework which differs from that of the Middle Ages, a line of criticism often found in the field of postcolonial medieval studies that emerged in the beginning of the twenty-first century.[31] While acknowledging Said seems inevitable when discussing the Orient, his analysis does not lend itself seamlessly to a study of medieval literature and medievalists

[30] See Chapter one, "The Shape of the World," in Akbari, *Idols in the East,* 20–66.

[31] See for example, Lisa Lampert-Weissig, *Medieval Literature and Postcolonial Studies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Sylvia Huot, *Postcolonial fictions in the* Roman de Perceforest*: Cultural Identities and Hybridities* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007); Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams, eds., *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren, eds., *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern* (New York: Macmillan, 2003) and Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ed., *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (New York: Macmillan, 2000). For a general overview of medievalists' engagement with postcolonial studies, see Bruce W. Holsinger, "Medieval Studies, Postcolonial Studies, and the Genealogies of Critique," *Speculum*, 77 (2002): 1195–227. For a review essay of some of the works mentioned here, see also Simon Gaunt, "Can the Middle Ages Be Postcolonial?," *Comparative Literature* 2, (Spring 2009): 160–76; and for another review of postcolonial medieval studies with specific considerations on al-Andalus and its significance for the field, see Julian Weiss, "El postcolonialismo medieval: líneas y pautas en la investigación de un problema histórico," in *Literatura Medieval y Renacentista en España: Líneas y Pautas*, ed. Natalia Fernández Rodríguez and María Fernández Ferreiro (Salamanca: SEMYR, 2012), 177–200.

have often taken issue with his work.[32] Weiss, for example, criticises Said for three main points: "sus principales deficiencias son su visión simplista de la Edad Media, la contradicción entre su concepto del orientalismo como un fenómeno a la vez producto del imperialismo decimonónico y un hecho transhistórico que se puede rastrear en Homero, y, principalmente la ausencia de España en su análisis de la construcción del binario Oriente/Occidente." [His principal shortcomings are his simplistic vision of the Middle Ages, the contradiction between his concept of orientalism as a phenomenon at once product of nineteenth-century imperialism and a transhistorical occurrence which can be traced back in Homer, and, mainly, the absence of Spain in his analysis of the construction of the Orient/Occident binary.][33] The contradictions which arise from the two temporalities Said ascribes to Orientalism obscure phenomena which could be termed Orientalist, but must be historically defined, making sure that different "Orientalisms" appearing at different moments are not considered retrospectively through a modern lens or understood teleologically.

Akbari tackles the specificity of medieval Orientalism in her book *Idols in the East* (2009). Defining her argument as "centered on European representations of what is strange and distant rather than what is familiar and close at hand, in which fantasies of the Islamic East serve as much to define the self as to define the other,"[34] she argues that "the expression of the Western discourse of Islam, on the one hand, and discourse of the Orient, on the other [...] contribute to the emergence of a specifically medieval form of Orientalism."[35] Despite

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[32] For other studies querying medieval Orientalism, see amongst others Kathleen Davis, "Time Behind the Veil: The Media, the Middle Ages, and Orientalism Now," in Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, 105–22 and Sharon Kinoshita, "Deprovincializing the Middle Ages," in *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization*, ed. Rob Wilson and Christopher Leigh Connery (Santa Cruz: New Pacific Press, 2007), 61–75.

[33] Weiss, "El postcolonialismo medieval," 178.

[34] Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 10.

[35] Akbari, *Idols in the East,* 13. In her use of the notion of "discourse," Akbari interrogates the Foucauldian roots of Said's work by questioning the temporal limitations Foucault ascribes to the creation of such discourses. She broadens Foucault's temporal boundaries to liberate the notion of

her intention to focus on the depiction of the strange and distant, Akbari does acknowledge Islamic Iberia in the final chapters of her book, dedicated to representations of religious alterity. Although she interrogates depictions of Jews, to compare images of Judaism and Islam, she analyses predominantly representations of Muslims. She discusses the French tradition of the *Chanson de Roland* and other Charlemagne epics such as *Fierabras*, yet she fails to explicitly recognise the specificity of Iberia. Akbari is not alone in overlooking the specificity of Iberia in postcolonial medieval studies and, as Weiss argues, "[u]na de las consecuencias de este olvido es que se pierde la oportunidad de investigar la representación literaria de las relaciones transpirenaicas y el papel de 'España' como espacio ideológico en el imaginario cultural de lo que llegaría a ser 'Europa.'" [One of the consequences of this oversight is the lost opportunity to research the literary representation of trans-Pyrenean relations and the role of "Spain" as an ideological space in the cultural imaginary of what would become "Europe."][36] An investigation of depictions of Iberia, then, contributes to medieval Orientalism by adding a new dimension to representations of Islam, even though the Peninsula does not belong to the Orient as an ideological space associated with eastern geographies. While the German-language texts I analyse appear to project an East/West division onto Iberia, considering it as a form of "Orient," they operate within North-South dynamics, suggesting Mediterranean and northern European rivalries rather than a clash between "Orient" and "Occident." In this sense, the idea that the Iberian Peninsula is a Foucauldian heterotopia comes to the forefront with particular force: it is not the geographical space of the Peninsula, by default Western, which comes into question but its

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discourse from its post-Enlightenment context, 1–19. She explains: "If […] by a discourse we mean a system of classification that establishes hierarchies, delimits one category from another, and exercises power through that system of classification, there can be no doubt that discourses existed in the premodern era; medieval maps and encyclopaedias, scientific works and universal histories, all participate in the construction of an elaborate system of thought that categorizes, hierarchizes, and defines," 7.

[36] Weiss, "El postcolonialismo medieval," 193.

representation as it is mediated by textual witnesses. Heterotopic Iberia is a form of situated utopia, an imagined space superimposed on an existing geographical location. In a dynamic of othering, the distorted image of Iberia painted by my textual witnesses highlights the context in which these texts were produced and the identities they seek to project.

The necessity to define a specific form of Orientalism highlights the atemporality of postcolonialism and the continuous existence of counter-discourses alongside different forms of colonial practices. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, in his introduction to *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, questions the temporality implied by the prefix "post." Departing from Gayatri Spivak's proposition to replace "postcolonial" with "neo-colonial," he offers an alternative: "for accuracy's sake it would make more sense to speak of the 'midcolonial': the time of 'always-already,' an intermediacy that no narrative can pin to a single moment of history in its origin or end."[37] The persistence of colonialism throughout history and before the expansion of European imperialism in the nineteenth century, albeit in different forms, opens up new paths for postcolonial studies and new possibilities for questioning cultural relations in a context that precludes the rise of nations and national identities. Moreover, the presupposition of the colonial phenomenon as a modern one relies on a definition of modernity that alienates the medieval as necessarily "Other" and casts off the Middle Ages as a period apart. Cohen argues: "[b]y establishing a continuity between the pre- and postmedieval, this periodization precipitated the Middle Ages as middle while at the same time banishing them from any kind of center."[38] Rather than isolating them from postcolonial studies, the Middle Ages' dual character, as a time period which is at once at the

[37] Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, 3.

[38] Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, 4.

centre of later definitions of history, and an era on the margins, furthers an understanding of the processes at the heart of postcolonial theory.[39]

Yet the identification of medieval examples for colonial discourses should not take away from the specificity of colonial forms in different time periods or come to imply a teleological evolution of colonialism or Orientalism. Kinoshita emphasises the importance of periodisation in considering medieval forms of colonialism. She argues that the early thirteenth century forms a fundamental break as an era in which representations of alterity become increasingly fixed and rigid, as opposed to the twelfth century, which despite being "a century of crusade," allowed more fluidity in discourses of alterity.[40] Therefore, Kinoshita states, "postcolonial medievalism's disproportionate focus on the English fourteenth century has produced a skewed impression of a proto-modern Middle Ages in which nascent phases of nationalism, colonialism, and Orientalism are always already visible."[41] Kinoshita's comment relates back to the necessity of defining specific forms of Orientalism or colonialism not through a modern or teleological lens, but rather as separate phenomena borne out of a specific historical, social and cultural context that must be dealt with on their own terms. She challenges the implication of historical continuity while questioning the overreliance of postcolonial medieval studies on English material and the Anglo-centric perspective adopted in some of the most prominent works footnoted previously (Cohen, Heng, Ingham and Warren, Kabir and Williams, for example, rely almost exclusively on "English" texts). While Kinoshita, alongside Huot and Gaunt, discusses medieval French

[39] Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren make a similar argument: "Medievalists and scholars of pre-modern cultures, in general, thus share with their postcolonial colleagues a rich awareness of the complicated sophistication of so-called primitive peoples." *Postcolonial Moves*, 1.

[40] Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, 4–5.

[41] Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, 4–5.

literature, German-language witnesses, as well as (and especially with regards to) the potential of Iberia as an Orient within Europe remain largely understudied.[42]

3. Why German(y)? Challenging National Paradigms

The relative lack of engagement from medieval Germanists with postcolonial studies, as well as the imbalance of German-language texts in this branch of scholarship, might be partly explained by the persistence of the national paradigm in German literary studies, more specifically in the German field of *Germanistik*.[43] Jakob Norberg, questioning the tenacity of the nation in framing German literary studies in the United States, argues that although the high points which defined the German canon have shifted from strictly literary works

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[42] With a few exceptions: Akbari briefly analyses the Saracen hero Feirefiz in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* in her chapter on Saracen bodies. See *Idols in the East*, 192–9. Weiss mentions the *Rolandslied* and *Parzival* briefly while discussing Iberia as a historical metaphor. "El postcolonialismo medieval," 195. For analysis dealing with German literature specifically, see Jerold C. Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses of the Muslim Other in Medieval Germany* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and David F. Tinsley, "Mapping the Muslims: Images of Islam in Middle High German Literature of the Thirteenth Century," in *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*, ed. Jerold C. Frakes (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 65–102. These studies, while they mention Iberia, do not do justice to the ideological significance of this space and the challenges it poses to the construction of Europe. The focus on "medieval Germany," furthermore, brings to light issues I discuss in the following section of this introduction on the problem of the national paradigm. See also Annette Volfing, "Orientalism in the *Straßburger Alexander,*" *Medium Aevum* 79.2, (2010): 278–99, for a look at Orientalist dynamics in a German-language text. Volfing does not engage in the debate on a specifically medieval Orientalism, but rather applies selected aspects of Said's work to her analysis of cultural contact in the *Straßburger Alexander.*

[43] While I focus on the German language, the national paradigm still looms large in other disciplines: "The notion of national literary history that still, remarkably, predominates today owes little to medieval understandings of *natio* and much to nineteenth-century historiography – where the literary product of a particular place, such as Palermo, Toledo or Toulouse, is declared constitutive of a larger entity known, or later known, as Italy, Spain, or France." David Wallace, ed., *Europe: A Literary History, 1348–1418*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1:xxviii.

towards "criticism, aesthetics and philosophy," modern Germanists "remain the inheritors of the Germanist canonization efforts insofar as we are still institutionally committed to the idea of a series of definite high points in German thought and literature, which can all be located and understood in a more or less coherent context—namely, that of national culture."[44] The canonisation Norberg refers to was inherited directly from the German Romantics, who both exoticised Spain and created the field of *Germanistik*, which remains shaped by their ideas of national philology and the national canon. One of the pillars of the Romantics' canonisation efforts was the philological uncovering of an early Germanic language and literature, which was found in heroic epics, chiefly in the *Nibelungenlied*.[45] Even though medieval German texts do not emerge from "medieval Germany" or from any

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[44] Jakob Norberg, "German Literary Studies and the Nation," *The German Quarterly* 91, no. 1 (Winter 2018): 10. Norberg considers the role of Germanistik not as a product of Romantic nationalism, but as "the origin of the nation," 11. He argues that considering the field's inherent reliance on the division between what is "German" and what is not, radically rejecting national paradigms would lead to the dismantling of the discipline. Instead he suggests a solution based on reflection within the field: "German literary studies was the nationalist discipline par excellence. In the present moment, it ought to remake itself into the meta-national discipline par excellence—that is, into a discipline that more than any other seeks to understand and reconstruct the literary-cultural and intellectual-academic constitution of the nation and the nation-state as the absolutely hegemonic political form of the last 200 years," 14. See also Christopher Young, "Ulrich von Liechtenstein in German Literary History: The Don Quixote of the Steiermark," in *Ulrich von Liechtenstein: Leben, Zeit, Werk, Forschung*, ed. Sandra Linden and Christopher Young (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 1–44, especially 1–9, for reflections on German medieval studies and its inception.

[45] The relation between nationalism and medieval German literature has been a problematic one because of the appropriation of the *Nibelungenlied* by the Nazis. In the present day, what Norberg sees as the legacy of the national canon in (medieval) German literary studies in the importance of the *Nibelungenlied* does not reflect the violent nationalism of the Third Reich, but the aesthetic nationalism the Romantics instilled in the discipline at its inception. See Norberg, 7–10 for a brief discussion of the relation between early *Germanistik*, nationalism and the *Nibelungenlied*. For a discussion of issues relating to genre classification in medieval literature and their reliance on outdated paradigms established, for example, by the Romantics, see also Sarah Bowden, *Bridal-Quest Epics in Medieval Germany: A Revisionary Approach* (London: MHRA, 2012), especially the introduction of the problems of "Spielmannsepik" and "Brautwerbungsepik," 1–34.

kind of specifically "German" geopolitical identity, the influence of the Romantics' national philology equating language with nation persists.[46] Therefore, while the academic field of German is categorised through language, language needs to be considered independently of space, that is independently of the modern borders of German-speaking countries. The underrepresentation of German-language texts in medieval postcolonial studies can perhaps then be understood as the result of a persisting use of national philology as the default approach for German literary studies, an approach that relies on medieval literature as a proto-modern form of German culture – that is, the culture of Germany expressed in its national language.

For German-language texts to find an echo in the existing dialogue of medieval postcolonial studies, they should be considered within a transnational framework, attempting where possible to create links with textual witnesses in other languages and originating from different regions. In his literary history of Europe escaping national

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[46] It should thus come as no surprise that the "Spanish" part of Bouterwek's *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit*, despite acknowledging the influence of Arabic culture in the Peninsula, focuses on the Castilian tradition only. Similarly, a subtle amalgam between medieval German literature and the literature of "medieval Germany" appears in recent publications. Will Hasty, for example, states in the introduction to a literary history that the aim of the volume is "to familiarize readers with the most significant authors, works and literary traditions in medieval Germany" and while acknowledging the limitations of the word "Blütezeit" to describe a period of literary flourishing in the late twelfth century, continues "it nevertheless seems appropriate in the case of the German literature of the High Middle Ages, when a vibrant literary culture in the German vernacular emerged in the form of narrative and lyric poetry that continued to shape the cultural horizons of German-speaking peoples to the present day." Will Hasty, ed., *German Literature of the High Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Camden House, 2006), 1–2. John M. Peep introduces his reference work with the following: "*Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia* is an introduction to the society and culture of German- and Dutch-speaking Europe from approximately C.E. 500 to 1500." John M. Deep, ed., *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 2001), xxiii. In the historical field, Stefan Weinfurter traces the beginnings of the German nation in the Holy Roman Empire, under the title *Das Reich im Mittelalter: Kleine deutsche Geschichte von 500 bis 1500* [The Empire in the Middle Ages: Little German History from 500 to 1500] (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2011).

boundaries to consider literature through itineraries, David Wallace engages with German-language texts from this perspective: "The unboundedness of 'Germany' drives much of European history, but a nation-state called Germany is a recent invention. Our project serves 'German literary history' better than any earlier model, with at least thirteen locales that are, in whole or in part, German-speaking."[47] In the context of this project, the French *Chanson de Roland* remains unavoidably attached to the *Rolandslied*, which throws into relief that the representation of Iberia in the German text is already mediated by the Francophone version. Moreover, since the focus is on depictions of Iberia from another language and from an external perspective, interrogating Iberian texts as points of contrast, from poetry to historical records, provides in a few instances another perspective which challenges or illuminates the narrative put forward by our corpus. By putting into dialogue different cultural and linguistic areas, I hope to question and destabilise national paradigms, avoiding what Simon Gaunt has characterised as "the danger […] that postcolonial scholarship on the Middle Ages ends up reifying one of the very categories it should seek to question or, at the very least, to historicize more rigorously: namely, nationhood."[48] Yet challenging the national through the transnational poses another issue: if the nation as it is often understood, meaning the modern nation-state, has not yet emerged in the Middle Ages, a medieval trans*national* approach, relying on the existence of the nation, risks reinforcing the very national frameworks that it seeks to dismantle.

A possible solution to this issue lies, once again, in insisting on an approach that considers texts from the Middle Ages on their own terms. Using Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* as basis and questioning the case of medieval transnationalism, César Domínguez argues: "if the decomposition of both the religious community and the dynastic realm were preconditions for the emergence of the nation according to Benedict Anderson

[47] Wallace, 1:xxviii.

[48] Gaunt, "Can The Middle Ages Be Postcolonial?," 165.

[…], these structures were, by contrast, instrumental for medieval transnationalism. This fact should lead us to either stop thinking of a negative Middle Ages against which our positive modernity emerged or accept the formulation 'transnationalism before the nation' as non-contradictory."[49] Medieval transnationalism therefore leads us either to recontextualise the nation in a medieval framework and make a case for medieval nations that exist differently to the bordered, modern nation-state,[50] or to accept that transnationalism precedes the modern nation-state and is a piece of terminology which relies on modern concepts while existing independently of the modern era.

Considering the projection of the modern ideology of the German Romantics and their understanding of the nation shaped by philology and the national canon as an influence on medieval German literary studies, the use of transnationalism can be understood to reflect a desire to transcend disciplinary boundaries and break the Romantic and modern association of language and space. If postcolonial medieval studies calls for a diachronic study of colonial mechanisms, it also requires a multilingual and multicultural approach, which considers linguistic and cultural spaces in interaction. From its near-mythical foundation by Charlemagne to its endurance throughout the medieval period, the Holy Roman Empire looms large as a seemingly unified political entity from which my corpus emerges. Yet the contrast between the image of unity it sought to project and its political and linguistic fragmentation makes a case for going beyond considering German-language texts in relation to proto-Germany or a sense of Germanness. German-language texts emerging from its

[49] César Domínguez, "Medieval Transnationalism?," in *Literary Transnationalism(s)*, ed. Dagmar Vandebosch and Theo D'haen (Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2018), 23.

[50] See for example Rees Davies, "Nations and National Identities in the Medieval World: An Apologia," *Revue belge d'histoire contemporaine* 34, no.4 (2004): 567–79. Incidentally, after considering the uses of the Latin *nationes*, Davies focuses on the example of England in making a case for a medieval nation.

provinces, rather, should play a significant role in questioning the construction of forms of European identities.

4. Why Europe? Culture as Network

I follow Kinoshita in considering pre-European identities within the framework laid out by Robert Bartlett in *The Making of Europe* (1994). This project seeks to contribute to the study of this pre-European culture by expanding perspectives to include German-language texts that illuminate the nuanced relation between the vernacular, early nationhood and a broader identity defined as pre-European. Bartlett posits the "Europeanization of Europe" as the formation of an increasingly homogeneous society in the region of Western Europe in the High Middle Ages and the spread of a common cultural identity linked to Latin Christendom and produced by the diaspora of the Franks. He argues that this homogeneity appears as the result of a process of colonisation through which an institutional "blueprint" – the word he uses – enabled the reproduction of common cultural practices across a large territory. Bartlett's concluding words summarise the central argument of his book: "Europe, the initiator of one of the world's major processes of conquest, colonization and cultural transformation, was also the product of one."[51] While placing colonisation at the centre of the construction of a pre-European identity, however, Bartlett makes an important distinction between modern and medieval colonialism, defining the latter not as "the creation of 'colonies' in the sense of dependencies, but the spread by a kind of cellular multiplication, of the cultural and social forms found in the Latin Christian core."[52] He

[51] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe, Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350* (London: Penguin, 1994), 314.

[52] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, 306.

questions the relevance of the core-periphery model as a tool to describe medieval colonialism:

> There is clearly an outward movement of people and power not balanced by movement in the other direction. But 'core-periphery' is still perhaps misleading, for the concept is often taken to imply a permanent or long-term functional subordination of the periphery to the core. This is exactly what high medieval colonialism was not – it was a process of replication, not differentiation.
>
> This expansion through replication had, as its characteristic agents, not the powerful monarchies – we might be tempted to say, not the state – but consortia, entrepreneurial associations of Frankish knights, Latin priests, merchants, townsmen and, as non-voting members, peasants.[53]

Although his focus is on the historical and political processes behind the expansion of Latin Christendom, Bartlett offers a model that can help think through the literature developing around Western Europe alongside and after the process of institutional replication he describes. Processes of translation and adaptation construct a network of traditions and motifs that links different linguistic spheres through cultural elements. To name but a few major examples, the spread of the Arthurian or Carolingian traditions through a wide array of literary witnesses in Western Europe sheds light on the relational composition of European culture. The process of Frankish expansion directly corresponds to the context in which the *Rolandslied* was compiled but common cultural practices can equally be traced in later texts; one instance is the commonality of court culture that plays a central role in Oswald von Wolkenstein's lyric.

[53] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, 307.

In the case of literature, the emphasis must remain on the process and not just on the form that is being replicated. The idea of a "blueprint," the reproduction of a detailed plan, implies a fixity and element of containment which runs against the complicated web of traditions and stories that form, for example, Arthurian legends or Carolingian material. The blueprint needs to be understood in relational terms. Although he does not use this term, what Bartlett describes as medieval colonialism is the formation of a network, one in which replicated cells form nodes that are linked together by circulating agents. Recontextualising Bartlett's approach from a literary perspective, the network as a defining form brings out the inherent fluidity of medieval European literature.[54] Literary texts form a network that escapes containment. Turning once more to Menocal and her idea that literature "reveal[s] the sometimes unbearable contradictions that political and ideological discourse rarely tolerates,"[55] considering literary texts as a network that operates within the institutional pattern that Bartlett considered as a blueprint brings out inner paradoxes of his analysis. Bartlett, in his conclusion, concedes that "Lithuania, Ireland, the Mudejars: the extremities of Europe experienced the process of homogenization as a process of polarization," yet he simultaneously asserts: "By the fourteenth century a large part of Europe, including England, France, Germany, Scandinavia and northern Italy and Spain, had come to possess a relatively high degree of cultural homogeneity."[56] The increasing homogeneity of Europe, in his view, produces tensions and increasing heterogeneity on the edges of Europe, and in turn, reveals nascent forms of European racism and colonialism.[57] Iberia, then, contains the polarised extremity of Europe, while forming part of a homogeneous culture: this duality sheds light

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[54] See for example Paolo Borsa, Christian Høgel, Lars Boje Mortensen and Elizabeth Tyler, "What is Medieval European Literature?," *Interfaces* 1, (2015): 7–24, in which the authors highlight the necessarily cross-cultural, multilingual and networked construction of medieval European literature by questioning the very meaning of the words "medieval," "European" and "literature."

[55] Menocal, "Why Iberia?," 10.

[56] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, 313.

[57] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, 313.

on the ideological significance of Iberia in considering "European" identities beyond Bartlett's timeframe. If the "Europeanization of Europe" as he defines it occurs up to 1350, the texts analysed in Chapters two, three and four of this thesis all showcase a continued negotiation between cultures, languages and sometimes religions on the stage of Iberia and show that homogenisation and polarisation remain in process. From this perspective, it becomes clear that the "Europeanization of Europe" is an ongoing process, one that can never result in any form of a definitely fixed "Europeanized" Europe.

The adoption of a network approach, echoing Actor-Network-Theory, throws into relief the cultural construction of a literature developing within the geography of Western Europe by simply observing the links between cultural objects rather than attempting to determine the influence of some phenomena on others or to contain them within defined categories. Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) began with Bruno Latour's attempt to reject relations of cause and effect in his analysis of social forms and to suggest that the links between social and cultural objects matter equally to the objects themselves.[58] Rooted in social studies, ANT can be summarised following John Law as "a relational and process-oriented sociology that treats agents, organizations, and devices as interactive effects."[59] I follow in particular Caroline Levine, who analyses networks and their effects not just from a sociological standpoint, but also in literary texts, which she considers "not […] as reflections or expressions of prior social forms, but rather as sites, like social situations, where multiple forms cross and collide, inviting us to think in new ways about power."[60] Levine considers networks in all their varieties, refusing to define them as either containable or uncontainable

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[58] While Bruno Latour published a varied body of work and developed ANT over a range of texts, see specifically *Reassembling the Social, An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) for an overview of ANT as social theory.

[59] John Law, "Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy, and Heterogeneity," *Systems Practice* 5, no. 4 (1992): 389.

[60] Caroline Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 122.

forms, but rather inviting her audience to consider the relation of networks with other forms. She states that “it is the relation of networks and wholes that allows us to grasp culture as an object of study.”[61] In my analysis, it is the tensions between networks sprawling over modern borders, language traditions and the ideologically constructed wholes in which these traditions have been made to fit that allows me to grasp European literature as an object of study. On the one hand, a network approach rethinks Bartlett’s framework and problematises the “European” world in which my thesis is situated by highlighting the tensions between forms of geographically and culturally defined “Europes.” On the other hand, the network concept illuminates the constellation of motifs that surround the Peninsula and move from text to text, shifting purpose and shape as they do so.

In short, my thesis analyses the significance of Iberia as an imagined space in medieval German-language literature. The theoretical framework defined in this introduction offers a new way to consider medieval European literature by combining aspects of three theoretical fields, refracted in different ways through different textual witnesses. In some ways, my approach too is a network, one that links the Foucauldian heterotopia with postcolonial theory and network theory to highlight how these three fields illuminate in different ways the role played by Iberia in specific German-language texts. Iberia highlights the ideological purpose of the text in which it is produced because it becomes a heterotopia, the representation of an existing space, yet one in constant renegotiation. Considering the role of Iberia sheds light on questions at the heart of recent debates in postcolonial medieval studies on the dynamics of othering and the construction of identities because the heterotopia of Iberia is characterised by its religious and cultural alterity, specifically through its association with Islam. I consider Iberia through the lens of German-language texts because medieval German witnesses remain isolated in such debates, often restrained by the persisting influence of national philology. Returning to Menocal’s statement on the fluid

[61] Levine, *Forms*, 117.

natures of the entities that exist in medieval Iberia, I hope to highlight that, like al-Andalus, Sefarad, Castile, Aragon or Galicia, the religious, political or cultural identities projected in medieval German texts are "not fixed entities but all continuously shifting their definitions of spaces and languages."[62] Through sidelining the relation of German to Germany in order to foreground its role within a fragmented, multilingual cultural entity expanding across large parts of Western Europe, I contend that German-language texts bring a valuable contribution to the study of pre-European identities that are the networked products of a constant renegotiation in which Iberia, although geographically close, remains a contested ideological space.

Chapter one focuses on two German versions of the Roland story: the *Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad* and Der Stricker's *Karl der Große*. The texts project a homogeneous Frankish community embodied by Charlemagne on the space of Iberia through its opposition with a multifarious religious enemy. The Iberian Peninsula, allowing access to African and Asian troops, becomes a heterotopic space which contains a plural religious enemy and, as such, forms a central part in challenging and then asserting Frankish superiority and homogeneity. The Franks are afforded unity under the emperor and the multiplicity of their origins is resolved by the commonality of their Christian belief and their devotion to Charlemagne. The symbolism of Charlemagne's body as a site of unity is echoed in the function given to the female characters in the epic, specifically the heathen queen Brechmunda, the only Iberian character who survives the battle and converts to Christianity. Extra-textually, the texts appear to highlight the ongoing rivalry between French and Germanic rulers, as well as the cultural exchanges happening between the two linguistic spheres.

Chapter two explores the fifteenth-century prose epic *Herzog Herpin*, a complex narrative of family separations and reunions played out around the Mediterranean basin.

[62] Menocal, "Why Iberia?," 9.

Intra-textually, Toledo forms part of the extended Mediterranean, a networked space in which the characters interact. A place of refuge and family reunion, it allows for the resolution of the initial conflict of the text and offers possibilities to transgress boundaries of gender and religion. Finally, allusions to pan-European bodies of knowledge and traditions – especially the Carolingian tradition – construct a network of intertextual references which, extra-textually, highlight the commonalities in the cultural memory of multilingual audiences. The city, then, becomes a node both in the intra-textual Mediterranean network in which the characters evolve and in the extra-textual cultural network constructed around references to multilingual traditions.

Chapter three considers four songs by Oswald von Wolkenstein (1376–1445), narrating his journey to northern Iberia, specifically Aragon and a more loosely defined "Ispanien." The four songs play with blurring the boundaries between fiction and autobiography on the one hand and familiarity and estrangement on the other. The space of Iberia is at once courtly, accommodating familiar social conventions, and exotic, full of strange customs and performances, and becomes a heterotopic stage upon which Oswald carves a unique poetic identity. The four songs, considered as a unit, shed light on Oswald's self-fashioning as a courtier-poet who constantly reinvents himself on the stage of Iberia and in turn, unveil the contingency of social conventions.[63]

Chapter four analyses the travelogue *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft* by Georg von Ehingen (1428–1508). Through a narratological analysis, Iberia comes to light as a prominent part of the travelogue. Georg describes Iberia as a space of crusade, in which he can prove his knighthood by fighting against Muslims in Granada and Ceuta. Putting the travelogue in dialogue with Iberian sources highlights the influence of pre-existing literary discourses on his description of the relations between Castile and Granada. The religious, knightly identity

[63] A version of chapter three has been published under Doriane Zerka, "Constructing Poetic Identity: Iberia as a Heterotopia in Oswald von Wolkenstein's Songs," *MLR* 114, no. 2 (April 2019): 274–93.

he projects through his battles in Iberia functions as the foundation of a family myth of origins evidenced by his descendants' interest in editing the travelogue and the manuscript transmission of the text.

Finally, my conclusion highlights the continued interest in Iberia as an ideologically significant space for post-medieval writers and opens up other avenues of inquiry for future research, considering Iberia not only from an external perspective, but from within, in order to add another facet to the study of the construction of pre-European identities in their plurality and malleability.

1. Songs of Roland and the Construction of Frankish Identity

Karl, gotes dienestman,	Charles, servant of God,
île in Yspaniam!	Hurry to Spain!
got hât dich erhoeret,	God has answered your prayer
daz liut wirdet bekêret.	the people will be converted.
die dir aber wider sint,	Those who oppose it,
die heizent des tiuveles kint	they are called the devil's children
unt sint allesamt verlorn.	and they are all lost.
die slehet der gotes zorn	The wrath of God will destroy them
an lîbe unt an sêle.	both body and soul.
die helle bûwent si iemermêre.	They will reside in hell forever.[1]

RL, ll. 55–64

These words are spoken by an angel in a dream to Charlemagne in the German *Rolandslied*, compiled around 1170 by a certain "phaffe Chunrât" [priest Konrad], who names himself in the epilogue (*RL*, l. 9079). The angel's exhortation, God's answer to the emperor's prayers and to his sorrow upon learning that the people of *Yspania* do not follow the Christian religion, places the Iberian space at the centre of Charlemagne's mission. Hearing these words, Charlemagne assembles his troops and heads to *Yspania*. The emperor attempts to negotiate the Muslims' conversion to Christianity, but he is betrayed by one of his men, Genelun. As the Frankish army returns to Aachen, their rear-guard is attacked, leading to a long battle between Muslim and Christian forces.

[1] All primary quotations are from Dieter Kartschoke, ed., *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2011). References to the *Rolandslied* will be indicated with the acronym *RL*.

Iberia plays a major role in the *Rolandslied* as a space which comes to complete the European empire of Charlemagne, while offering access to a plural Muslim enemy. The use of "Yspania" showcases Konrad's use of Iberia as a figure of thought, since, as Julian Weiss argues, "[in] its Romance and Germanic derivatives, Hispania supplies the basic epic term for the Iberian Peninsula. Named after the oldest Roman colony, the word carries latent meanings, like the archaeological layers left by successive waves of diaspora, conquest and colonisation: Carthage, Rome, the Jews, the Visigoths, Islam and the Christian states that formed and reformed from the eighth century onwards."[2] The use of Yspania and its latent meanings highlights the heterotopic character of the representation of Iberia in the text, following Foucault's definition. The Peninsula is depicted as imagined space, in which Yspania and al-Andalus are conflated and which thematises narrative strategies and processes of identity-building at the core of the text. Beyond al-Andalus, the Iberian Peninsula provides connections to Africa and Asia, and to Muslim troops from all over the world, who come to embody a heathendom as magnificent and heterogeneous as Charlemagne's Christendom is divine and united. Doing so, the heterotopia of Iberia fulfils its distorted mirror function and becomes a necessary component of the establishment of Frankish identity by connecting the Frankish world, depicted as representative of the entirety of Christendom, to a religious enemy that comes to embody the entirety of heathendom. Iberia's heterotopia functions following Foucault's definition as a space of plurality, able to juxtapose "in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible,"[3] and in turn becomes "a space of illusion that exposes every real space […] as still more illusory."[4] Juxtaposing a range of Muslim spaces, Iberia reveals the dynamics at play in the construction of Frankish unity.

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[2] Julian Weiss, "Remembering Spain in the Medieval European Epic: A Prospect," in *Locating the Middle Ages: The Spaces and Places of Medieval Culture*, ed. Julian Weiss and Sarah Salih (London: King's College London, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2012), 69.

[3] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, 16 (1986): 25.

[4] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 27.

As well as spatial alterity, the heterotopia also contains temporal contradictions, and can be linked to specific moments that disrupt temporal continuity, or "slices in time."[5] The heterotopic representation of Iberia in the *Rolandslied* fuses the temporality of eighth-century al-Andalus with twelfth-century political models and concerns, producing a narrative that operates both in the past and in the present of the moment the text was compiled. In the historical context of the composition of the text, Konrad makes use of the Iberian past as an ideological tool to create a Frankish genealogy for political leaders at the time of composition, one that relies at once on an image of unity centred around a religious identity embodied by Saint Charlemagne and on his audience's cultural memory of the emperor and his Iberian crusade. In the process, the Roland material creates a story of religious opposition, which offers a different narrative to historical accounts. Einhard's ninth-century *Vita Karoli Magni* indicates that Basques attacked the emperor's rear-guard; Arabic sources, such as the thirteenth-century historian Ibn al-Athir, state that Charlemagne had taken his army to Iberia to give assistance to the Caliph of Saragossa, Ibn al-Arabi, who was revolting against the Emir of Cordoba, the Umayyad Abd al-Rahman, and who at the last minute closed the gate of the city to the emperor, who retaliated by capturing the Caliph, leading to an attack by the Caliph's sons, aided by the Basques.[6] The veracity of any specific version cannot be ascertained, but it seems clear that the likely historical circumstances of Charlemagne's involvement in internal struggles between Iberian leaders has been enshrined in the Roland tradition as a much more binary struggle between Charlemagne and a Muslim king.

The *Rolandslied* uses religious identities to consolidate political unity. In the case of the Christians, religious and political identities are juxtaposed and complement each other

[5] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 26.

[6] See especially Ian Short, ed., *La Chanson de Roland* (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1990), 8–9, as well as Kartschoke, *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*, 771–2 and Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 16–7.

through the figure of Charlemagne. In the Iberian camp, however, religion does not function as a unifying political factor, since, as discussed above, Charlemagne's Muslim enemy is characterised by plurality. The heterotopia provides a useful framework to think through the representation of the Iberian space in the text, as it functions as a figurative device that offers access to a symbolic multifarious religious enemy. In turn, looking back to network theory sheds light on this multifarious religious enemy and on the connectivity afforded by the imagined space of Iberia. The text presents two imperial networks, facing each other for control of the Iberian node. The two networks, too, have a temporal dimension. While the Carolingian empire of Charlemagne and the Persian empire of Paligan are part of the imagined past evoked by Konrad, they could also recall the contemporaneous northern crusader states in the north and the Berber empires which laid claims over the Peninsula in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the south.[7]

Following Levine, who advocates for a formalist approach to networks, "paying careful attention to the multiplicity of networks and especially to their differences,"[8] Yspania/al-Andalus, now a generic Muslim space, is integrated into an Islamic empire that stretches into Africa and beyond and becomes a heterogeneous network of religious enemies against which the Frankish empire's homogeneity can be established. On the one hand, the Frankish empire is presented as a coherent network sprawling into the Peninsula, not bounded since it must still claim the Iberian node but bound by faith and a common allegiance to Saint Charlemagne. On the other hand, the Peninsula is connected to an Islamic empire that is revealed to stretch further and further, first into Africa, then into Persia. The

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[7] The Almoravids conquered the Peninsula up to Toledo in the eleventh century, before being overthrown by the Almohad empire in the twelfth century. See Part 3, "A Balance of Power: From the Fall of the Caliphate to Las Navas de Tolosa, 1031–1212," in Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 191–330, especially 191–253.

[8] Caroline Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 114.

Islamic network refuses containment – they too want to claim the Iberian node – but does not find in faith a binding characteristic and lacks a symbolic uniting figure. Due to its position as a contested node between the two networks, Iberia becomes a central feature of the *Rolandslied*.

The *Rolandslied* is a German adaptation of French material narrating the famous story of Frankish crusading in Iberia.[9] The French version which was available to Konrad is unknown to modern audiences: he does not base his text on any specific extant text of the *Chanson de Roland* as it has become known to us. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that Konrad significantly expands upon known French witnesses: as a means of reference, the Oxford version of the *Chanson de Roland* counts 4002 lines, as opposed to 9094 lines for the standard edition of the *Rolandslied* as based on the only extant complete manuscript, known as manuscript P (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 112).[10] While a long tradition of scholarship has framed the *Roland,* especially the Oxford version, with the modern ideology of French nationalism, scholars have often considered the *Rolandslied* to

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[9] In the interest of brevity, I use the term "French" throughout this chapter to refer to the body of texts usually considered in French studies, but I keep in mind its limitations. As Jane Gilbert writes: "The *Roland* circulated well beyond modern France; indeed the assonanced version survives substantially in only two manuscripts, neither of which can be considered unproblematically 'French'. […] In fact a substantial number of the surviving Roland texts have either Anglo-Norman or Italian connections. Within what would become modern France, but outside the sphere of Old French, Roland is more frequently cited in the Occitan lyric tradition than are such major figures as Tristan, Alexander, Charlemagne, and Arthur. The *Song of Roland* was a *lieu de mémoire* significant to various medieval communities, not limited to those which we today would call French." "The *Chanson de Roland*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 25. While I have chosen to use the Oxford *Roland* as a point of comparison, the *Chanson de Roland* corpus includes a variety of witnesses. See Joseph J. Duggan, *La Chanson de Roland: the French corpus*, 3 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

[10] For more details on the manuscript transmission, see Kartschoke, *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad,* 616–9 and the page dedicated to the *Rolandslied* in the online German medieval manuscript census (Handschriftencensus), accessed 30 May 2019, http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/202.

have replaced this national outlook with religious zeal, exalting the image of Charlemagne as a saint and the conquest of Spain as a holy crusade through a "Vergeistlichung" [spiritualisation] of the text.[11] In the French context, the myth of the *épopée nationale* has been challenged and deconstructed by scholarship.[12] When it comes to the German text, however, its supposed religious zeal should not be strictly deconstructed, but – I argue – reconsidered in light of the two interconnected concepts of heterotopia and networks. Iberia's heterotopia, imagined contested space between two religious networks, becomes central to the expansion of Charlemagne's Imperial network intra-textually, and in turn to the legitimisation of power on an extra-textual level and within Bartlett's notion of the making of Europe.

The epic affirms a religious identity through the representation of Charlemagne's enterprise as an example of medieval colonisation, an attempt to unify a geographically close group of territories – that is, to include Iberia into his empire – under the banner of shared

[11] Karl-Ernst Geith, "Das deutsche und das französische Rolandslied: Literarische und historisch-politische Bezüge," in *Kultureller Austausch und Literaturgeschichte im Mittelalter / Transferts culturels et histoire littéraire au Moyen Âge*, ed. Ingrid Kasten, Werner Paravicini and René Pérennec (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998), 77. For other studies comparing the *Chanson* and the *Rolandslied* or discussing the Roland tradition with regards to the German text, see François Suard, "La chanson de geste: raisons d'un succès," in *Das Potenzial des Epos. Die altfranzösiche Chanson de geste im europäischen Kontest*, ed. Susanne Friede and Dorothea Kullmann (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2012), 21–42; Ricarda Bauschke, "'Chanson de Roland' und 'Rolandslied'. Historiographische Schreibweise als Authentisierungsstrategie," in *Deutsche Literatur und Sprache von 1050–1200: Festschrift für Ursula Hennig zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Annegret Fiebig and Hans-Jochen Schiewer (Berlin: Akademie, 1995), 1–18; Karl-Ernst Geith, "Zur Stellung des Rolandsliedes innerhalb der Überlieferung der 'Chanson de Roland'," *Wolfram-Studien,* 11 (1989): 32–46 and Danielle Buschinger, "Le Curé Konrad, adaptateur de la 'Chanson de Roland'," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 26, (1983): 95–115.

[12] See for example Simon Gaunt, "The *Chanson de Roland* and the Invention of France," in *Rethinking Heritage: Cultures and Politics in Europe*, ed. Robert Shannon (London: Tauris, 2003), 90–101. Gaunt deconstructs the *épopée nationale* by considering the work of 20th century medievalists through the lens of the search of a unifying national heritage in troubled times.

values of rulership and religion, as is highlighted in the lines at the start of this chapter. The specificity of the *Rolandslied*, however, is that Charlemagne's motivation is explicitly religious from the beginning of the text. Charlemagne makes his goal very clear and he does not seek territorial conquest in Iberia. As he prepares for battle, he tells his lords "das er willen habete / der haidenschaft zestoeren, / die cristenhait gemêren" (*RL*, ll. 84–6) [that he had the intention to destroy heathendom and spread Christianity.] Before the emperor departs for Iberia, his enterprise is defined as a religiously motivated war, which reinforces the crusading character of his Iberian conquest. By contrast, the Oxford *Roland* begins *in medias res* with the following famous lines: "Carles li reis, nostre emperere magnes, / Set anz tuz pleins ad estét en Espaigne : / Tresqu'en la mer *cunquist* la tere altaigne." (*CdR*, ll. 1–2) ["Charles the King, our emperor great, / Has been a full seven years in Spain. / As far as the sea he *conquered* this haughty land."][13] The emperor is already in Spain and has conquered all of the Peninsula apart from the city of Saragossa, which is still held by King Marsile, and so the *Chanson de Roland* begins with the notion of conquest, emphasising the territorial expansion of Charlemagne's empire. Marsile's faith is mentioned, and the narrator explains that the Iberian king will be defeated because he serves heathen gods (*CdR*, ll. 7–9), but Charlemagne is not ascribed any explicit religious motivations. The compiler remains invisible and does not offer any narrative framework or clear moral purpose to the text.

The *Rolandslied*, on the other hand, introduces its subject with a prologue setting up the religious purpose of the text, while reinforcing the two temporalities operating in the text. Konrad explicitly writes from a perspective in which Charlemagne is already dead, and makes his audience think of the superposition of past and present in his retelling. The opening lines of the German text highlight the sanctity of Charlemagne:

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[13] All primary quotations are from Short, *La Chanson de Roland*. All *Chanson de Roland* translations are from Simon Gaunt and Karen Pratt, trans. *The Song of Roland and Other Poems of Charlemagne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). References to the French text will be indicated with the acronym *CdR*. My emphases in italics.

Schephaere aller dinge,	Creator of all things,
keiser aller küninge,	emperor of all kings,
wol du oberester êwart,	truly, highest of all priests,
lêre mich selbe dîniu wort.	teach me your words yourself.
dû sende mir ze munde	Send to my mouth
dîn heilege urkunde,	your holy testimony
daz ich die lüge vermîde,	so that I avoid lies,
die wârheit scrîbe	[and] write the truth
von eineme tiurlîchem man,	about an excellent man
wie er daz gotes rîche gewan.	and how he won the kingdom of heaven.
daz ist Karl, der keiser.	That is Charles, the emperor.
vor gote ist er,	He is before God,
want er mit gote überwant	because with God he subdued
vil manige heideniske lant,	very many heathen lands
dâ er die cristen hât mit gêret,	and thus brought honour to the Christians,
alse uns daz buoch lêret.	as the book teaches us.

RL, ll. 1–16

Introducing the text as a story of Charlemagne's victories over heathendom, quickly followed by God's call for the emperor to hurry to *Yspania*, Konrad contextualises Charlemagne's journey to Iberia as a Christian enterprise. Charlemagne's campaign is not simply territorial, but is a religiously motivated necessary endeavour, ordered by God himself.

Konrad also thematises his own role as the compiler of the story, and his formulaic exhortations introduce his poetic activity as a holy one. As such, they correspond to what Walter Haug describes as a strategy through which profane oral tales could be transposed into Christian written narratives, a strategy which relies on the idea that the compiler or

translator's activity is the revelation of a hidden divine truth.[14] While, Haug concedes, the *Chanson de Roland* superposes a story of salvation on a heroic epic conflict, the *Rolandslied* reinforces the former and turns the entire narrative into a story of martyrdom – for example, it is not Roland's pride which prevents him from blowing his horn earlier, but his wish to die a martyr.[15] In this regard, the *Rolandslied* prologue appears to emphasise Konrad's intention to reframe the heroic epic as a religious narrative and brings to the fore the biblical elements in the battle between religious enemies: "in Ronceval erfüllt sich der Sieg Christi über den Teufel neu in legendarischer Imitatio. Und so ergibt sich denn, daβ es die Interpretation in diesen heilsgeschichtlichen Bezügen ist, für die Konrad sich im Prolog den göttlichen Beistand erbittet. Hier liegt die Wahrheit, die es zu vermitteln galt." [in Ronceval the victory of Christ over the devil is realised anew as a legendary *imitatio*. And so it results that it is for the interpretation of these references to salvation that Konrad demands divine assistance in the prologue. Here lies the truth that had to be imparted.][16] As a result of this emphasis on Christianity and martyrdom, the battle of Ronceval gains biblical symbolism and the hidden truth of the heroic epic is precisely the crusading character of Charlemagne's enterprise. The *Chanson de Roland* does not negate any possibility of negotiation at the beginning of the text, and the audience is left to discover through the unfolding of the action the impossibility of any peaceful outcome.[17] The *Rolandslied*, on the other hand, is framed by rhetorical devices which emphasise the impossibility of negotiation. The "true" story that Konrad narrates is that of Charlemagne's salvation by way of crusading. I should emphasise that "crusading" in

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[14] See Walter Haug, *Literaturtheorie im deutschen Mittelalter von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellchaft, 1992), 75–6. See also Jürgen Wolf, "Die Warheit der Schrift in Rolandslied und Willehalm. Schriftzentrierte Überlegungen zur deutschen Chanson de geste-Rezeption," in Friede and Kullmann, *Das Potenzial des Epos,* 177–90.

[15] Haug, *Literaturtheorie im deutschen Mittelalter*, 80.

[16] Haug, *Literaturtheorie im deutschen Mittelalter*, 80.

[17] Kinoshita's chapter on the text in *Medieval Boundaries* highlights this escalation in its title: "from *parias* to crusade." See Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries,* 15–45.

this instance does not refer to any specific historical crusade, but rather to the idea of the crusade in literature as set out by Anthony Bale: "in literary terms, […] some key trends emerge: these include the ambivalent encounter with the other; the praise of pious violence; and the role of crusading in narrating and developing a sense of collective or communal memory. Indeed, the literary construction of the crusades has played a key role in shaping our understanding of what a crusade was."[18]

The idea of the crusade as it is represented in the *Rolandslied* has been attributed to the context in which it was produced. In the epilogue, Konrad clearly states that he translated the epic from French into Latin and then into German, at the request of "den herzogen Hainrîchen" (l. 9042) [Duke Henry]. While Konrad does not provide any further details about Duke Henry, the recent scholarly consensus is that he refers to Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, married to Matilda of England, who thus becomes "diu edele herzoginne" [the noble duchess] who is also credited in the epilogue (*RL*, l. 9024). Matilda, daughter of Henry Plantagenet and Eleanor of Aquitaine, grew up in the Francophone English court, and could have plausibly brought a version of the French *Roland* with her when she married.[19] The *Rolandslied* epilogue creates a parallel between Henry and Charlemagne, establishing a form of legacy through descriptions of the duke making use of motifs attributed to the emperor in the rest of the text, such as a comparison with King David or the insistence on his role in converting heathens (*RL*, ll. 9039–76). The religious zeal attributed to the German text also functions as a legitimisation mechanism for Henry the Lion at a time when "his wars against the Slavs in the Elbe in the 1150s and 1160s had […] come to be recognised by the Church and eventually by the duke himself as crusades."[20] The exemplarity

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[18] Anthony Bale, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades*, ed. Anthony Bale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 2.

[19] See Kartschoke, *Das Rolandslied*, 781–84.

[20] Jeffrey Ashcroft, "Konrad's *Rolandslied*, Henry the Lion and the Northern Crusade," *Forum for Modern Language Studies,* 22 (1986): 186. For more on Henry the Lion, his life and his crusading

of Charlemagne's rule as an era of unifying sovereignty forms part of a wider interest in the Carolingian tradition, as a possibility to reclaim the memory of the emperor for a Germanic Holy Roman Empire and to counter the ambitions of the Capetians: for example, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa decided to have Charlemagne canonised in December 1165. It is this wider interest, then, that contextualises Henry's decision to commission the *Rolandslied* as a means to assert legitimacy.[21] Jeffrey Ashcroft, though, warns against the tendency to view the *Rolandslied* either as sheer ducal propaganda or as a testimony to Henry's power ambition, but rather sees the exemplarity of Christian rulers in the text as "a qualified endorsement of secular lordship."[22] Florian Müller makes a similar case to Ashcroft, and considers the epilogue to show what he terms "ideelle Ansippung" [spiritual dynastic attachment] of Henry to Charlemagne via the image of David.[23] In his analysis, the religious character of the *Rolandslied* acts to create an analogy between religious, divine lordship and Henry's own political role: in the style of an *imitatio Christi*, the *Rolandslied* stylises Henry through an *imitatio Caroli*.[24] The affirmation of a religious identity in the *Rolandslied*, then, is

efforts, see also Florian Müller, "*di fursten sprachen alle bi ainem munde*: Das deutsche *Rolandslied* in seinen Bezügen zur Herrschaft Heinrichs der Löwen," *Concilium medii aevi* 20, (2017): 1–26 and Bernd Bastert, "wie er daz gotes rîche gewan… Das Rolandslied des Klerikers Konrad und der Hof Henrichs des Löwen," in *Courtly literature and clerical culture. Höfische Literatur und Klerikerkultur. Littérature courtoise et culture cléricale. Selected papers from the tenth triennial congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Universität Tübingen, Deutschland, 28. Juli - 3. August 2001*, ed. Sandra Linden, Christoph Huber, Henrike Lähnemann (Tübingen: Attempto, 2002), 195–210.

[21] For comments on Charlemagne in the Germanic imaginary around 1160 and the link to the success of *Chansons de geste*, see François Suard, "La chanson de geste: raisons d'un succès," 26–7. See also Knut Görich, "Kanonisation als Mittel der Politik? Der heilige Karl und Friedrich Barbarossa," in *Karlsbilder in Kunst, Literatur und Wissenschaft*, ed. Franz Fuchs and Dorothea Klein (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2015), 95–114 for an account of the politics at play behind Charlemagne's canonisation.

[22] Ashcroft, "Konrad's *Rolandslied*, Henry the Lion and the Northern Crusade," 204.

[23] Müller, "Das deutsche *Rolandslied* in seinen Bezügen zur Herrschaft Heinrichs der Löwen," 18.

[24] Müller, "Das deutsche *Rolandslied* in seinen Bezügen zur Herrschaft Heinrichs der Löwen," 19.

a means to legitimise secular sovereignty on an extra-textual level through the exaltation of the recently canonised St Charlemagne.

The *Rolandslied* has acquired significance for medieval German scholars as one of the first witnesses of a Roland tradition in the German language. The extant manuscripts do not attest to a very long-standing transmission, however: only manuscript P, dated around 1200, remains in full. Six other fragments remain, dating from the end of the twelfth century to first third of the thirteenth century, although one of these has been lost, and is known only through the work of Wilhelm Grimm. Therefore, to provide a perspective from a piece which encountered a wider dissemination over a longer period, I also will consider examples from Der Stricker's *Karl der Große*, a thirteenth-century text which consists in an adaptation of the *Rolandslied* within a longer text, often described as more hagiographical, beginning with the story of Charlemagne's youth and developing into the narrative of the battle of Ronceval. The text echoes, and further reinforces, the religious zeal of the *Rolandslied*.[25] *Karl der Große* has suffered from its link to the *Rolandslied*, having been long considered a simple reworking worthy of less attention than Konrad's text.[26] Yet the number of extant manuscripts and their

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[25] Andreas Hammer, comparing it to the *Chanson de Roland*, states: "Die Chanson de geste erzählt (Reichs-)Geschichte – der Stricker erzählt Heilsgeschichte." [The Chanson de geste narrates History (of the Empire), Der Stricker narrates the history of salvation.] "Erinnerung und memoria in der Chanson de Roland und im *Karl der Große von dem Stricker,*" in Friede and Kullmann, *Das Potenzial des Epos*, 258.

[26] Bernd Bastert blames the pejorative characterisation of the text on an epistemological paradigm: "[e]ine Germanistik, der es – ganz im Banne der Lachmannschen Methode – vor allem um die Wiedergewinnung des ältesten Textes, am besten natürlich des 'Originals', ging, konnte kein in jenem Sinn begründetes Interesse an einem Werk haben, das für das genaue Gegenteil steht." [A field of German studies completely under the spell of the Lachmann method, for which it was all about the recovery of the oldest text, in the best-case scenario naturally the recovery of the "original," could have no sound interest, in any sense, in a work which stands for the exact opposite.] "Konrads 'Rolandslied' und Strickers 'Karl der Große': Unterschiede in Konzeption und Überlieferung," in *Eine Epoche im Umbruch: Volkssprachliche Literalität 1200–1300, Cambridger Symposium 2001*, ed. Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst and Christopher Young (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), 93.

dating points to a successful reception in the medieval period and *Karl der Große* appears to have enjoyed more longevity than Konrad's text: it exists in at least twenty-two full manuscripts, and twenty-one fragments, dating from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, to the last third of the fifteenth century.[27] I will consider specific passages and examples from *Karl der Große* in this chapter, but its primary focus remains the *Rolandslied*. The interest in considering Der Stricker's text lies in highlighting the endurance of motifs linked to the Peninsula that appear in relation to the *Roland* material. The narrative structure of both works diverges in the beginning and in the end; the core of the story (narrating Charlemagne's Iberian crusade) follows a similar structure in both texts. But it is especially the similarities – and sometimes the meaningful contrasts – in the representation of the Iberian space that illuminate the continuity of heterotopic representations of Iberia and the existence of a network of motifs linked to the Peninsula in Carolingian material.

First, this chapter will consider the different spaces that Iberia connects to and offer a new tripartite division of the final battle, one which showcases the connectivity of the Iberian space and the heterogeneity of the Muslim enemy Charlemagne fights against. Next, I will analyse the binary that is created in the text between Christians and heathens and which relies on a paradoxical mode of representation that shows both camps to be as similar as they are fundamentally different. Moving on from the heterogeneity of a heathendom depicted in a binary relationship to Christianity, I will finally analyse the symbolism of bodies in negotiating religious difference. On the one hand, Frankish homogeneity is embodied by Charlemagne. On the other hand, female characters (especially the heathen queen

[27] Bastert explains that the usual number of manuscripts given is of twenty-four full manuscripts and twenty-one fragments, but that this includes miscategorised manuscripts of Heinrich von München's *Weltchronik*, which contains a part dedicated to Charlemagne, thus mistaken for the Stricker's *Karl*. "Konrads 'Rolandslied' und Strickers 'Karl der Große'," 91. For more details on the manuscript transmission, including stemmatic analysis, see Johannes Singer, ed., *Strickers Karl der Grosse* (Berlin: De Gruyter Akademie Forschung, 2016), XV–LIX and the page dedicated to Der Stricker's *Karl* in the Handschriftencensus, accessed 30 May 2019, http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/366.

Brechmunda in the end of the text) offer the only possibility for conversion, and therefore become symbolic bodies upon which the conquest of Iberia is enacted.

1.1. Iberian Space(s) and Muslim Heterogeneity

Iberia is represented as a connecting gateway, one which allows the Frankish unity to be performed by opposing it to a heterogeneous Muslim enemy. Indeed, the heathens' plurality is portrayed through the several spaces that Charlemagne accesses via the Iberian Peninsula. The representation of the Peninsula in the *Rolandslied*, and similarly in *Karl der Große*, highlights its role as a figure of thought re-imagined by the compilers. In the manner of a heterotopia, Iberia "is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible."[28] The geographical space of Iberia puts the Franks in contact with other geographical spaces, and different armies are conflated into an ideological Muslim "Other" which successively reinvents itself on the stage of Iberia, involving all parts of the known world – Europe, Africa and Asia. The Frankish army, while remaining in Iberia, is symbolically opposed to all of the Muslim world, allowing Charlemagne to fulfil his initial crusading goal: "der haidenschaft zestoeren, / die cristenhait gemêren" (*RL*, ll. 85–6) [to destroy heathendom and spread Christianity].

The opposition of Christian and Muslim forces in the Roland tradition evolves through different stages, culminating in the fight between Charlemagne and Paligan. In her comparison of different versions of the *Chanson de Roland* and Konrad's *Rolandslied*, Danielle Buschinger attributes to Konrad a more structured work, in which the opposition between armies is separated into three battles. She divides the three battles as such:

[28] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 25.

1. *RL,* ll. 3241–5190: Marsilie's army ambushes Roland and the rear-guard, the Christians manage to overpower them, the battle ends with a generalising formula "die cristen fuoren mit êren" [the Christians went with honour.]
2. *RL,* ll. 5191–630: the second battle starts as the only one of Marsilie's men to have survived the battle brings the news to the king, who reassembles more troops and launches a second attack. The Christians are victorious once again.
3. from *RL,* l. 5631: this battle echoes the previous one, as the heathen Margariz is designed as the only surviving man on Marsilie's side. He announces the defeat to Marsilie, opening the final battle. Buschinger marks the second defeat of Marsilie as a turning point, but does not explicitly state where the third battle, in her interpretation, terminates.[29]

Buschinger's tripartite scheme appears to focus on the opposition of Roland's and Marsilie's forces. Her analysis continues with a comparison of the several duels taking place in the opposition of Marsilie and Roland, and she explains that Konrad moves some of the duels from the first to the second battle to lengthen the latter.[30] While she does recognise that Konrad's restructuring of the battles provides parallelism between each of them, I argue that broadening the focus from single fights to the larger armies involved in each battle brings another structure to the fore. Buschinger's focus on single fighters seems to obscure, in the case of the German text, the importance of the different stages of the battle for the larger purpose of the crusading narrative established by Konrad and echoed in *Karl der Große*. Bearing in mind the discussion above on the *Rolandslied*'s tendency to broaden the scope of the French text to a wider religious community – that is to generalise comments to all heathen fighters or to highlight the large forces at play rather than each hero's individuality –

[29] Buschinger, "Le Curé Konrad, adaptateur de la 'Chanson de Roland'," 103–5.

[30] Buschinger, "Le Curé Konrad, adaptateur de la 'Chanson de Roland'," 106–9.

the larger armies, and their leaders, provide a more meaningful framework within which to divide the battles.

If the *Rolandslied* is conceived through the lens of the Iberian space, another tripartite division emerges, one based on the armies entering the battlefield at different key moments. In this respect, the final opposition could be divided in three separate battles according to the allies coming to support Marsilie:

1. *RL,* ll. 4016–6327: the battle begins with Adalrot's threat to Roland, triggering the battle between the rear-guard and Marsilie's men, organised through a series of narrative episodes focusing on specific duels. The Christians appear to be victorious, but after Margariz brings the news to Marsilie, a new attack is launched by the Iberian troops. Sensing that the battle might not end well for them, Roland blows the Olifant. The first battle ends with Marsilie's maiming and his flight.
2. *RL,* ll. 6328–949: armies from Africa enter the battlefield, and bring fifty thousand men to help Marsilie, when only sixty-two Christians survive. The battle narrates the death of the main Christian heroes, Olivier and Turpin, and finally ends with Roland's death, followed by miraculous signs of his holiness (a great storm strikes and the sky darkens in the middle of the day).
3. *RL,* ll. 6950–8606: Charlemagne returns, discovers the Christians' bodies, laments and prays. The Caliph Paligan enters the scene and offers help to Marsilie. Both camps prepare for a new battle. Charlemagne finally kills Paligan, and Marsilie dies of grief.

Through this new division, the parallelism between the development of the three battles and the spaces opened up by the Iberian Peninsula comes to light. Each stage appears to oppose parallel leaders, beginning with Marsilie, Roland and their respective troops. As previously mentioned, the heathen armies are generally described as fierce warriors whose only – yet fatal – fault is to be fighting for the wrong gods. Following the first defeat of the Iberian army, Roland is confronted with unfamiliar African troops from Ethiopia, introducing a physical, racial dimension:

zwêne rîche künige,	Two rich kings:
den gelanc dâ vil übele.	it went very badly for them there.
der aine was von Kartagein	The one was from Carthage
. . . .	
der ander ûz Etthiopiâ.	the other from Ethiopia.
die kômen alrêst dâ	They had only just arrived there
mit fünfzec tûsent mannen.	with fifty thousand men.
der haiden was sô vil gevallen,	So many heathens had fallen there
daz si ûf in habeten.	that they [the Christians] stood on them.
an si vaste draveten	Towards them hurried quickly
di gotlaiden geste	the accursed guests
der si dâ vor nine westen	who no one knew of before.
si wâren swarz unt ubel getân"	They were black and ugly.
RL, ll. 6334–46	

While Marsilie's Iberian troops remained familiar, the Christian fighters are clearly more surprised by the arrival of African troops. Turpin wonders who they could be, but Roland retorts that they must be killed regardless. The new arrival of troops from Carthage and Ethiopia, explicitly presented as such, appears to be specific to the German texts discussed here. Both the *Rolandslied* and *Karl der Große* state that the troops arrive for the very first time, as in the line 6339 quoted above in the *Rolandslied*. In *Karl der Große*, this line is replicated: "aller erst gehorten si einen schal / von zweier richen ku(e)nege her." (*KdG*, ll. 7302–3) [They only just heard loud boasting from the armies of two opulent kings.] By contrast, in the Oxford *Roland* the African armies are already present on the battlefield, and simply come to the fore when Marsilie flees: "[…] Fuït s'en est Marsilies / Remés i est sis uncles l'algalifes / Ki tint Kartagene, Alferne, Garmalie / E Ethïope, une tere maldite." (*CdR*, ll.

1913–6) ["Marsilie has fled the field, / But still his uncle Marganice remains, / Who rules over Carthage, Alfrere, and Garmalie, / And Ethiopia, one of those accursed lands."] By revealing one by one all the spaces that the Peninsula offers access to, through the successive arrivals of different armies, the German text insists on the liminality of the Iberian Peninsula.

Beyond Africa, the gateway of Iberia enables Charlemagne to extend his reach to Asia, with the arrival of Caliph Paligan. The description of Paligan's arrival highlights the symmetry with Charlemagne, while hinting at the connected nature of Iberia, Africa and finally Asia:

daz was der chunc von Persia	He was the King of Persia,
der haiden houptstat ist dâ.	the heathen capital is there
der künc was vermezzen unt biderbe.	The king was determined and brave.
den hête Marsilie	Marsilie had previously
dâ vor sîne brieve gesant,	sent him a letter,
dô der kaiser vuor in sîn lant.	when the emperor had come into his land.
er hiez im sagen,	He had him told
er würde Karles man,	that he would become Charles' man
sine hülfen im mit her.	if they did not help him with an army.
dô wâren si ouch komen über mer.	So they crossed the sea and came.
si stadeten ze Alexandriâ.	They embarked in Alexandria.[31]

RL, ll. 7153–63

[31] "Stadeten" could mean "landed" rather than "embarked". The *Lexer* gives the following definition of the verb: "landen, an dem gestade sich sammeln" [to land, to assemble on the shore]. Accessed 2 August 2019, http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer?lemma=staden. In my own translation, I have focused on the more general idea of people gathering near the sea. Inspired by Kartschoke's modern German translation ("Bei Alexandria hatten sie sich eingeschifft"), I have chosen to translate "stadeten" as "embarked" as it seemed to better correspond to the idea of Paligan assembling his troops before crossing the sea to reach the Iberian Peninsula.

Paligan is presented as the king of heathendom, reinforcing the parallel with Charlemagne, who is defined as the king of Christendom. The duel between both kings at the very end of the text emphasises the culmination of a religiously motivated war in which the odds were stacked against Paligan from the beginning due to the crusading framework of the narrative. Furthermore, the duel is also the final struggle for domination of the node of Iberia, which, in the heterotopic symbolism of the Peninsula, implies the annihilation and ideological conquest of the enemy empire.

The final three battles reveal at once the heterotopic character of the Iberian space, and the Imperial networks that heterotopic Iberia connects. The German texts reveal, one by one, all the spaces that Iberia is connected to due to the role of al-Andalus in the Islamic imperial network. By connecting to the nodal point of al-Andalus, the Franks have access to other parts of the world, and symbolically to all of the Muslim world. The encounter between Christians and heathens is made possible by the imagined space of Yspania, a contested node reified as the connecting gateway to Africa and Asia. The Andalusi space is both a barrier, one which challenges Frankish expansion, and a gateway, one which affords connectivity between Christendom and its multifarious Muslim "Other."

1.2. The Christian/Heathen Binary

In its representation of Iberia, the *Rolandslied* relies on the creation of a Christian/heathen binary which functions as the overarching device of alterity in the epic, a device that is carried over in Der Stricker's adaptation. In this religious divide, the Franks and their enemies are diametrically opposed with the systematic denominations of "cristen" against "haiden." Yet the binary functions somewhat paradoxically by highlighting the similarity of Christians and heathens, while emphasising unbreachable religious difference. Stephanie Seidl, comparing the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Rolandslied*, argues that the French text, while showing

asymmetry between the two camps, does so in an ambiguous fashion that highlights the parallels between Christians and heathens; the *Rolandslied* on the contrary stresses a strong opposition through a much stricter asymmetry that demonises the heathens.[32] While the opposition between both camps is emphasised in the German text, I would not argue that the *Rolandslied* eliminates any ambiguity or parallelism between the Christians and heathens – rather, it creates a binary that allows for similarities while being rooted in a Christian framework that casts off heathens as fundamentally wrong in their belief. The paradox of "similarity in fundamental difference" is resolved by fitting Iberia in the biblical framework within which the epic operates: on the imagined space of Iberia, Konrad depicts an imagined form of Islam – "heathendom" – that is mediated through his Christian world-view and biblical symbolism.

Heathens are said to worship Mahomet as a god rather than a prophet, alongside "Apollo" and "Tervagant." The heathen trinity thus formed highlights the parallelism between Christians and heathens. Discussing the Oxford *Roland*, Sharon Kinoshita emphasises the descriptions of Christians and heathens as equal in all things, but religion: "This will toward parallelism accounts for the poem's most notorious 'inaccuracy': the Saracen 'trinity' of Mahumet, Apollin, and Tervagant. Both sides imagine their gods as feudal overlords, expected to dispense favors and miracles commensurate with the devotion they are offered."[33] In the German texts, the significance of the religious difference is established from the beginning through the crusading motif and the parallelism between Christianity and Islam therefore becomes less explicit. As a result, the trinity of Mahomet-Apollo-Tervagant, while present, is not emphasised to the same extent, and Mahomet takes on a higher role than the other two deities on the Muslim pantheon: his name appears thirty-seven times in the

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[32] Stephanie Seidl, "Narrative Ungleichheiten: Heiden und Christen, Helden und Heilige in der *Chanson de Roland* und im *Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*," *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 156, (2009): 46–64.

[33] Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries,* 26.

Rolandslied, against ten mentions of Apollo and six of Tervagant.[34] *Karl der Große* follows a similar pattern, as Mahomet is mentioned twenty-seven times, while Apollo and Tervagant appear seven and six times respectively. Furthermore, in the *Rolandslied* Mahomet's prominence is illuminated by a comparison with Saint Peter during the fight between Roland and Adalrot. After killing Adalrot, Roland exclaims: "sent Peter mac mir baz gehelven, / daz schînet hie ze stet / denne dir dîn hêrre Mahmet." (ll. 4070–3) [Saint Peter is able to help me better, it seems clear now, than your lord Mahomet may help you.] Ricarda Bauschke argues that this comparison, which situates Mahomet as a vicar of the heathen god, similar to Peter in Christianity, reveals a certain knowledge of the status of Mahomet in Islam, purposefully ignored and distorted in Konrad's representation.[35] *Karl der Große* adopts Konrad's distorted view and suppresses this instance through which Bauschke had read an awareness of Mahomet's status in the *Rolandslied*. After Roland's victory over Adalrot, Der Stricker transforms the comparison with Saint Peter: "nu(o) bistu(o) wol bescheiden, / daz sende Peter stercher ist / unt der heilige Christ / danne Mahumet din got" (*KdG*, ll. 4942–5) [Now you have been clearly shown that Saint Peter is stronger, and the Holy Christ, than Mahomet your god.][36] While Der Stricker shows the influence of the German tradition rather than the French in placing Mahomet higher than Apollo and Tervagant, he also reinforces in this instance the polytheistic idolatry attributed to the heathens in both German witnesses.

While both Konrad and Der Stricker adopt the parallelism implied by the heathen trinity, they cast off Islam as a polytheistic system of idolatry, with the term "apgot" (idol) used to refer to the objects of the heathens' worship. After the betrayal of Genelun has come to light and the two camps are preparing for battle, the Christians rejoice and state their

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[34] Ricarda Bauschke, "Der Umgang mit dem Islam als Verfahren christlicher Sinnstiftung in *Chanson de Roland* / *Rolandslied* und *Aliscans* / *Willehalm,*" in Friede and Kullmann, *Das Potenzial des Epos,* 201.

[35] Bauschke, "Der Umgang mit dem Islam als Verfahren christlicher Sinnstriftung," 202.

[36] All primary quotations are from Singer, *Strickers Karl der Grosse*. References to Der Stricker's *Karl der Große* will be indicated with the acronym *KdG*.

readiness for martyrdom in scenes of joy and fervour. The *Rolandslied* and *Karl der Große* then describe similar scenes in the heathen camp, but use these to emphasise the polytheistic nature of their religion, as the heathens are described placing seven hundred idols on a pedestal. In the *Rolandslied*, the scene is described as follows:

ain antwerc hêten si erhaben	They had erected a structure
alnach der künige gebot.	according to the king's request.
dâ wâren siben hundert apgot,	There were seven hundred idols;
Machmet was der hêrest unter in.	Mahomet was the highest amongst them.
dar kêreten si allen ir sin.	They turned all their thoughts towards him.
daz lob si im sungen.	They sang his praise.
siben tûsent horn dâ vor klungen.	Seven thousand horns sounded forth.
siben tûsent golt vaz –	Seven thousand golden lamps –
zue êren buten si im daz –,	they offered him this to honour him –
diu lûchten tac unt nacht.	shone day and night.

RL, ll. 3490–9

The frenzy surrounding this scene emphasises the element of idolatry, echoing – deliberately or not – the Golden Calf episode. In the Bible, as Moses is receiving God's commandments, the ancient Hebrews who have followed him out of Egypt begin to grow impatient. Aaron collects gold and creates a calf from it, to which the people reply: "Dixeruntque hi sunt dii tui Israel, qui te eduxerunt de terra Aegypti. Quod cum vidisset Aaron aedificavit altare coram eo et praeconis voce clamavit dicens Cras solemnitas Domini est. Surgentesque mane obtulerunt holocausta et hostias pacifica, et sedit populus manducare et bibere et surrexerunt ludere." ["And they said: These are thy gods, O Israel, that have brought thee out of the land of Egypt. And when Aaron saw this, he built an altar before it, and made proclamation by a crier's voice, saying: Tomorrow is the solemnity of the Lord. And rising in the morning, they offered

holocausts, and peace victims, and the people sat down to eat, and drink, and they rose up to play."][37] The worship of idols in Konrad's text introduces subliminal parallels between Muslims and the Israelites, both deniers of Christ in the medieval Christian world-view. Evoking the biblical scene insists on the irrationality of idol worshipping and of the heathens' belief system.[38]

As the ancient Hebrews' senseless material religiosity led to God's wrath, the heathens' prayers to their idols remain unanswered, and ultimately cause their downfall. Konrad makes the following proleptic comment: "si getrûweten in ze verre / des gelâgen si alle dâ nidere." (*RL*, ll. 3524–5) [They trusted them [the idols] too much, which is why they were all defeated.] The heathens' lack of faith is also highlighted, and they are represented as being quite fickle in their belief. As soon as they lose the battle, they complain to their gods and blame them for their lack of support. As the second battle comes to an end, the heathen king Marsilie is maimed and blames his defeat on the Gods:

si îlten sâ	They hurried at once
diu apgothûs nider brechen.	and destroyed the temples.
die gote hiezen si werven	They had the gods tossed
unter die hunde,	among the dogs,
etlîche in des wages grunde.	[and] some at the bottom of a river.

[37] Exodus 32:4–6 (LV; DR).

[38] The scene functions as a reminder of the Golden Calf because of the context in which it appears, but this is not to say that all literary scenes of statue worshipping are demonising the worshippers. In the thirteenth-century Castilian *Poema de Fernán González*, presenting Castile as the successor of the Visigothic kingdom, defending its territories against Muslim invaders, the hero Fernán González is captured by the King of Navarra. In his absence, the Castilians carve a statue and carry it around in a procession. In the *Poema*, the scene does not depict idolatry but rather the invocation of the body of the leader as a way to reclaim unity. See Julian Weiss, *The 'Mester de clerecía'. Intellectuals and Ideologies in Thirteenth-Century Castile* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2006), 143–78 (especially 167).

Apollon unt Machmeten,	They had Apollo and Mahomet
mit den füezen hiezen si dar ûf treten.	trampled over with their feet.

RL, ll. 7135–41

Similarly, when Caliph Paligan finally arrives from Persia to help the heathen troops, he sends envoys to Marsilie, who greet him invoking the gods. Marsilie, looking up with some effort, retorts:

waz mächten mir die gote frum sîn?	How can the gods be helpful to me?
ich hiez sie werfen unter die swîn.	I had them tossed among the pigs.
ir hûs hiez ich nider brechen.	I had their temples torn down.
[…]	
sie newolten nicht über mich erbarme,	They did not wish to take pity for me,
daz si mich geraechen	by avenging me
oder ie dechein wort dar umbe gespraechen.	or speaking any word about the [situation.
[…]	
sie sint alle trügenaere.	They are all traitors.

RL, ll. 7277–90

Marsilie loses faith in his gods. His reaction to their lack of help during the battle implies that he sees himself somewhat on a par with his gods, and that he lacks the humility that the text shows Christians to have. Furthermore, it reinforces a fundamental difference in the belief system of the heathens: while the Christians are ready for martyrdom, and indeed willing to suffer for their God, the heathens show the weakness of their belief, which only appears strong when they are in a positive position. Beyond showcasing the nature of the heathen faith as necessarily weak and wrong, Konrad uses pigs – and in the previous quote dogs – as

symbolic animals to play with the biblical pearl/swine topos, which would have been familiar to a Christian audience.[39] Konrad creates a parallel between the pearls and the idols. On the one hand, this parallel can be understood as indicating that the idols are holy to heathens, and that their disrespect towards them shows the truth of the Bible – the heathens lack faith and lose the battle. On the other hand, it could imply that the idols, if they are to be cast away, are not holy at all and the demise of the heathens was foreshadowed all along by their false belief. By representing Islam mediated through his Christian perspective, Konrad furthers the crusading narrative of the epic and integrates his characters into a biblical framework.[40]

Biblical symbolism is used throughout the text to reinforce the "similarity in difference" of the two camps. A prominent example is Charlemagne's counsel, which he holds at the very beginning of the epic when he decides whether to invade Iberia. In this scene of political council and fealty, Charlemagne assembles twelve trusted lords, who Konrad characterises as "die ûzerwelten zwelfe" (*RL*, l. 130) [the chosen twelve]. Later, the number is emphasised as the two armies are getting ready for battle and Marsilie, seeing that the Christians are led by twelve lords, imitates them and divides his own forces between twelve men, each leading twelve thousand soldiers (*RL*, ll. 3573–8). The parallel between Marsilie's council and Charlemagne shows that the divide between Christians and Muslims is bridged by the ideology of feudalism and that – despite Konrad's clear emphasis on the Iberian conquest as a crusade – the social models followed by Marsilie and the Franks are

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[39] "nolite dare sanctum canibus neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos ne forte conculcent eas pedibus suis et conversi disrumpant vos" ["Give not that which is holy to dogs; neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest perhaps they trample them under their feet, and turning upon you, they tear you."] Matthew 7:6 (LV; DR).

[40] In a similar way, medieval Castilian representations of the Reconquest as a crusade contain biblical allusions. See for example Alan D. Deyermond, "The Death and Rebirth of Visigothic Spain in the *Estoria de España*," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 9, (1984–5): 345–67.

quite similar. Yet the idea of twelve chosen followers closely mimics Jesus and his twelve apostles, uniting religious symbolism with political power. The symbolism is further emphasised by the traitor Genelun and the scenes in which he discusses the betrayal with the heathen Blanscandiz. Once Genelun has stated his dislike of Roland and his willingness to turn on the Christians, Blanscandiz and his companions sit down to plot with the traitor: "zesamne si gesâzen / under eine öleboume" (*RL*, ll. 1919–20) [together they sat under an olive tree]. The olive tree recalls the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem, a place that appears throughout the bible, but more specifically the place where Jesus leads his apostles following the last supper and where Judas leads the Roman soldiers to arrest him. While the olive tree alone might seem a tenuous link, the narrator highlights this parallel: "Genelun geriet michel nôt. / den armen Judas er gebildôt." (*RL*, ll. 1924–5) [Genelun's counsel caused much pain. He was the image of the miserable Judas.] By contrast, the Oxford *Roland* has Ganelon and Blancandrin plot on horsebacks, and then bring the news to Marsilie, sat under a pine tree (*CdR*, ll. 402–12). The biblical symbolism developed throughout the German text reinforces the transformation of a heroic epic into a religious narrative. Simultaneously, it makes sense of some of the paradoxes or inconsistencies that could emerge in keeping instances of interfaith dialogue in the text, such as the scenes of gift exchanges, while emphasising the impossibility of any resolution other than a Christian military victory. The unity of the Christian feudal order is maintained by projecting its own image on a heathen feudal order which readily accepts the problematic element – here the traitor Genelun.

The biblical framework Konrad develops applies to the very existence of the heathens; Konrad represents Muslims as children of God who have strayed away from the right path. The epic opens with this notion: before Charlemagne showed them the way, they did not know who their creator was ("sîne wessen ê nicht, / wer ir schephaere was" *RL*, ll. 22–3). Konrad reminds us several times that the heathens do not fear God (for example *RL*, ll. 35, 550, 3466), and insists on the disrespect they show their true creator: "si versmaehent ir

rechten schephaere" (*RL*, l. 3483).[41] The heathens' only – yet fatal – flaw is to be fighting for the wrong God. It comes as no surprise, therefore, when the *Rolandslied* narrator, lamenting the death of good heathen fighters, states: "dâ gelac manc helt gut / di deme rîche wol gezamen / ob si christen waren" (*RL*, ll. 4744–6) [There lay many good heroes, who would have credited the empire, had they been Christian.] Here Konrad extends to a wider community of heathen heroes a comment made about a specific fighter, an emir from Balaguer, in the French text: "Fust chrestïens, asez oüst barnét." (*CdR*, l. 899) ["Had he been a Christian, he would have been a great hero."] The difference in these two descriptions highlights the Christian/heathen binary constructed by the *Rolandslied*. While portraying a certain similarity in difference, the opposition is presented in much stronger terms in the German texts than in the French one, since it relies on the idea of a symbolic religious war, introduced from the very beginning of the narrative. Kinoshita, in her analysis of the Oxford *Roland*, highlights the possibilities of co-existence in the beginning of the text, represented through gift-giving which she likens to the medieval Iberian system of *parias*, and according to which the religious opposition does not form an initial motive for the battle: "[i]n the *Roland*, the pagans have no reason to doubt that the Franks are motivated by the desire for material gain."[42] The German texts, however, negate this possibility by introducing Charlemagne's enterprise as a form of crusade from the beginning of the narrative. Although the heathens themselves might believe in a material motivation, in the scenes of gift-giving and hostage exchanges that occur in both the *Rolandslied* and *Karl der Große*, the audience cannot see them as a possible resolution to the conflict. It follows that, while Kinoshita considers Roland and Baligant as characters embodying a "politics of intransigence" which leads to the clash of religions,[43] in the German versions the religious intransigence is already

[41] The line is replicated almost exactly in *Karl der Große* immediately preceding the placing of the idols in the temple (*KdG*, l. 4139).

[42] Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, 23.

[43] Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, 33.

present and underlines most interactions between the characters from the very beginning of the narrative. While some parallelism remains in the description of the characters on both sides, the religious framing of the narrative supports the purpose of the text, which affords homogeneity to the Christians that it refuses to the Muslims.

1.3. Symbolic Bodies

1.3.a. Embodying Frankish Homogeneity

The religious identity which served as an endorsement of secular lordship on an extra-textual level is mirrored in the representation of Frankish rule in Iberia. Volker Mertens, considering the role of religious identity in the text, highlights that "[w]ährend im altfranzösischen Lied eine vornehmlich herrschaftsbezogene Adelsidentität propagiert wird, ist im deutschen Text die religiöse Identität mit dieser kongruent, sie wirkt damit herrschaftsstabilisierend." [While the old French song promotes primarily a noble identity based on sovereignty, in the German text religious identity is congruent with it [noble identity], and it thus acts to stabilise sovereignty.][44] The complementarity of religious and political identities means that only Charlemagne's political authority and unity can remain stable, because only he benefits from religious legitimacy. The Frankish Imperial network is therefore afforded unity under Christianity, while the Islamic network constructed in Iberia remains heterogeneous.

The *Rolandslied* shows the expansion of Charlemagne's Imperial network through a religious lens, emphasising his ultimate goal of spreading Christianity. The text also lends expansion ambitions to the heathen army but frames their desire for conquest differently. The heathens seek to overcome to Franks and conquer further north, but while the

[44] Volker Mertens, "Religiöse Identität in der mittelhochdeutschen Kreuzzugsepik (Pfaffe Konrad: *Rolandslied*, Wolfram von Eschenbach: *Willehalm*)," in *"Chanson de Roland" und "Rolandslied": Actes du Colloque du Centre d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Picardie Jules Vernes, 11 et 12 janvier 1996*, ed. Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok (Greifswald: Reineke, 1997), 81.

Christians' conquest is religiously motivated, the Iberians' desire to conquer Charlemagne's lands is described only as a form of retribution, in moments of rage and grief. For example, at the end of the first battle, Margariz brings the news to Marsilie that both camps have suffered great casualties, and that Marsilie's son is dead. The king tears his hair out and exclaims in rage: "ich gesuoche si ze Kerlingen, / ich zestoere Paris, / des sîn si in alle vil gewis" (*RL*, ll. 5702–4) [I will seek them in the Carolingian lands, I will destroy Paris, they can be sure of this.] While Marsilie focuses on Charlemagne's empire, seeking revenge in a territorial sense, the heathens' desire for conquest follows the pattern established in the three battles, and expands with the arrival of Paligan. Before the final battle against Charlemagne, Malprimes, the son of Caliph Paligan exhorts his father:

kêre durch Yspaniam.	Move through Yspania.
dîn swert scol dir nu twinge	your sword will force
die übermüeten Karlinge.	Karl's arrogant people to submit to you.
Paris scoltu stoeren,	You should destroy Paris
Ache zefüeren.	lay waste to Aachen.
verteile sîne crône!	Deny him his crown!
dar nâch twinc du Rôme,	Then take Rome,
dâ er ân dîn urloup ist an gesezzen.	since he sits there without your permission.

RL, ll. 7226–33

The fit of rage that caused Marsilie to claim to destroy Charlemagne's lands is therefore transformed into a more ambitious claim. Malprimes brings in a more explicit religious element by threatening to take Rome, and addresses the parallelism between Charlemagne and Paligan, as both emperors claim dominion over the city. Hinting at Rome as the ultimate goal for imperial control transposes the crusading spirit usually associated with Jerusalem and the Middle East onto Western European geographies. If Rome is used as the symbolic centre

of Western Christendom, Iberia is the gateway through which to attain the city, and the Christian crusaders' itinerary, passing through Iberia on the way to Jerusalem, is reversed in the trajectory of the Muslims' crusade.[45] This reversal reinforces the role of Iberia as a contested node between two religious networks.

In this instance, *Karl der Große* further insists on the crusading ambitions of the heathens. Although the text follows a similar model and gives Marsilie a claim over Aachen, Der Stricker introduces an explicitly religious element in the king's claim:

vliehent si ze Kaerlingen,	If they flee to the Frankish lands,
si entrinnent niht der râche.	they will not escape my revenge.
beide Parîs und Âche,	Both Paris and Aachen
die wil ich gar zerbrechen,	I want to destroy completely.
und wil mich also rechen,	I want to take revenge in this way
daz diu kristenheit zergat	so that Christendom
und der geloube den si hat.	and its faith come to an end.

KdG, ll. 6656–62

[45] On Iberia as a site of western crusades, see Chapter one "Protection Rackets and Crusaders, c. 1000–1212," in Angus MacKay, *Medieval Spain: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500* (London: MacMillan, 1977), 15–35. See also Stephen Lay, *The Reconquest Kings of Portugal: Political and Cultural Reorientation on the Medieval Frontier*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009) and Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). In a modern context, the same reversed itinerary is expressed in the opening scene of Anthony Mann's 1961 film *El Cid*, often interpreted as an allegory of the Cold War. A Muslim war leader, his face partly covered by a black veil, makes an exalted speech: "I will sweep up from Africa, and then the Empire of the one true God – the true God Allah – will spread first across Spain, then across Europe, then … the whole world!" His eyes open wide menacingly and his hand reaches forth in the direction of the camera, as a chant of "Allah is merciful!" and the stereotypically "Oriental" sound of a nasal flute transition into the next scene, showing a burning church.

By contrast, Malprimes' counsel of his father follows a much more strategic aim. After stating, similar to the *Rolandslied*, that Paligan should return through Iberia ("durh Spanje cheren" *KdG*, l. 8514) and claim Paris, Aachen and Rome for himself, Malprimes states: "sin hohvart ist so manechvalt, / al die wile er Rome hat, / daz er iu iemer wider stat." (*KdG*, ll. 8522–4) [His pride is so great as long as he has Rome, that he will always resist you.] Therefore, although the *Rolandslied* and *Karl der Große* attribute different goals to different heathen leaders, both texts afford expansion ambitions to these leaders, throwing into relief the counter forces at play in Charlemagne's enterprise. *Karl der Große* emphasises, if subtly, the parallel between religious motivations. The Frankish army provokes the battle by attempting to invade and convert Iberia, but the Iberian fighters and their allies are not content with simply holding them off. They, too, want to expand their empire and the symbolism of Rome emphasises that, as much as Charlemagne wants to destroy heathendom, so do heathen leaders want to overthrow Christianity. In the process, the importance of Iberia as a contested space, a node that connects two religious and Imperial networks to each other is brought to the fore: heathen armies must first advance through Iberia to gain access to Paris, Aachen and then Rome.

The heathens' speeches bring to light key centres of power in the Carolingian empire. While these centres are the places to conquer in order to claim victory over the Christians, the Frankish Imperial network constructed in the text includes multiple territories, which are incorporated into a Christian community, rallying under Charlemagne. In constructing Christian unity, both texts highlight the numerous places conquered by Charlemagne, thus building unity on plurality. The origins of the lords serving Charlemagne are mentioned throughout the text, sometimes in long sections enumerating the territories to which assembled troops belong, spreading over modern-day Germany, France and England, places where – to return to Bartlett – the Frankish institutional model has been successfully replicated and imposed at the time of the text's composition. Therefore, if Bartlett's "Europeanization of Europe" corresponds to the spread of a common cultural identity linked

to Latin Christendom and produced by the diaspora of the Franks, the text highlights the continuing tension between homogenisation and polarisation that is still taking place in Iberia. Charlemagne wants to claim Iberia for Christianity and his empire, but Iberian characters, not being included or considering themselves to be included in Charlemagne's community, show a similar desire to integrate northern places in their own community.

In *Karl der Große*, one such list occurs in the same episode mentioned above, when Marsilie learns of the casualties suffered in his army. *Karl der Große* expands on the episode as it is told in the *Rolandslied*. Before Marsilie, in rage, makes claims to conquer Paris, he questions his decision to seek an alliance with Genelun, realising he was foolish to believe the traitor:

er sprach: "Karle mit dem barte,	He said: Charles with the beard;
dem chunde niht wider stan,	neither Apulia nor the Lateran
weder Pu(e)lle noch Latran.	could withstand him.
dô er Ungern u(e)berwant	When he subdued Hungary
und elliu kriehschien lant,	and all the Greek lands,
dar zu(o) die starchen Sahsen,	then the strong Saxons,
do was er mir entwahsen,	he outgrew me in stature,
daz ich in solte han vermitten.	so that I should have avoided him.
daz ich im so nahen bin geritten,	Since I rode so close to him,
do was ich ein vil tump man.	I was a very stupid man.

KdG, ll. 6188–97

In this instance, the importance of the Frankish imperial network is reinforced by being pronounced by the Iberian king: Marsilie himself validates the Frankish empire by recognising his foolishness in attempting to fight Charlemagne. Der Stricker uses a literary trick which consists of praising Frankish unity and power by having it recognised and acknowledged by an

Iberian character – a technique which will become central to the depiction of Charlemagne's symbolic body. Marsilie will soon forget his own words, and let his rage speak (as discussed above), but the fact that he ever praises Charlemagne and his empire reinforces the performance of Frankish unity which occurs in different places in the texts, especially in Roland's final speech.

Towards the end of the epic, as Roland is dying, he attempts to break his sword Durendart, to prevent it from being used to harm any Christian. Despite his best efforts, hitting it against a hard rock time and again, Roland cannot break the sword: he cannot even make a dent in it. Roland reminisces:

"ich bekenne wol dîne site,	I know your ways well
daz du nicht des vermite,	and that you never failed
swâ ich dich hin gebôt,	as soon as I aimed you [at someone]
den was geraite der tôt,	his death was ready,
die wîle ich tochte.	so long as I had strength.
ich hân mit dir ervochten	With you I have conquered
daz lant ze Ajûne,	the land of Anjou,
die maeren Petûwe.	the well-known Poitou.
ich twanc mit dir Provinciam	I subdued Provence
unt die starken Progetaneam.	and strong Aquitaine.
Lancparten ich mit dir revacht.	I have vanquished the Lombards with you
Pülle machete ich zinshaft.	I made Apulia tributary,
Malve unt Palerne,	Amalfi and Palermo,
die betwanc ich mînem hêrren.	I have taken for my lord.
die grimmigen Sorbîten	The wild Sorbs
unt Baire, die strîtegen	and the belligerent Bavarians
mit ir scarphen swerten,	with their sharp swords,

Sachsen, die dicke wol herten	the Saxons, who often fought strongly
in manigem grôzen volcwîge,	through many big battles,
si muosen im alle nîge.	they all had to yield to it [the sword].
Alemanniam ich ervacht,	I conquered the Alemanni,
Ungeren nam ich ir craft.	From the Hungarians I took away their power.
Britannia nemacht mir nicht widerstân,	Brittany could not resist me
Behaim unt Polân.	nor Bohemia or Poland.
Franken, die küenen,	The bold Franks
ne liez ich nie geruowen,	I did not let them rest
unze si kômen an ir rechten stam.	until they came to their right place of origin.[46]
Friesen ich mit dir gewan.	With you I won Frisia.
Scotten unt Irlant	Scotland and Ireland
ervacht ich mit miner zesewen hant.	I conquered with my right hand.
Engellant ze ainer kamere	I conquered England as crown land
ervacht ich dem künc Karle	for King Charles
unt andriu vil manigiu rîche.	and many other realms.

RL, ll. 6825–57

Roland praises his sword and, recalling how she was given by an angel to Charlemagne who passed it on to his nephew, emphasises its divine origin and the righteousness of the conquests it enabled. While the multiplicity of regions could paradoxically highlight the heterogeneity of the Christians, mentioning multiple territories serves to emphasise the might of the Carolingian army and the immensity of the Frankish empire. The divine origin of

[46] Karl Bartsch, quoted by Kartschoke, understands this line to refer to the legendary origin of the Franks in Troy. Kartschoke offers another possibility to read this as Constantinople following the Oxford *Roland*, which mentions the city in the verse immediately following Bohemia and Poland (*CdR*, l. 2329). Kartschoke, *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*, 726.

the sword gives legitimacy to the conquests, reinforcing their necessity as part of the Christianising mission of the heroes of the epic. Furthermore, the unity of these territories is increasingly asserted throughout the text with religious references as the loyalty of the lords to Charlemagne is tested in battle. The *Rolandslied* operates on this level in a similar way to its French counterpart.[47] As Kinoshita argues:

> the very nations now composing Charlemagne's army are themselves recent conquests. In this light the catalogue of troops cited above does not so much describe Frankish unity as perform it, assimilating former enemy tribes like the Bavarians or the Saxons into the imagined community of *douce France.* From this perspective, Roland *must* die so that his re-collection of the historical layering underlying the nascent Frankish state—the memory of the violence that has gone into the formation of Charlemagne's empire—may die with him. Charlemagne's annihilation of the Saracens to avenge Roland's death is a ritual forging the various peoples composing his army into a new *Frankish* nation […].[48]

Roland's speech occurs at the end of the epic, and the composition of a new Frankish nation Kinoshita discusses comes to pass following his death, with Charlemagne defeating Caliph Paligan. The *Rolandslied* attributes a lengthier speech to Roland than *Karl der Große*, which shortens the list of territories but keeps the lines in which Roland prays to God, yet the effect remains similar in both texts and follows Kinoshita's interpretation. In German, however, "douce France" becomes "suze Karlinge," which is revealing in that it produces a sense of

[47] In the Castilian fragment *Roncesvalles*, however, the emperor himself makes these remarks as he laments the death of Roland. See Julian Weiss, "Reconfiguring a Fragment: Cultural Translation and the Hybridity of Roncesvalles," in *"La pluma es lengua del alma": Ensayos en honor de E. Michael Gerli*, ed. José Manuel Hidalgo (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2011), 387–405, especially 396–7.

[48] Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries,* 30.

identity that is directly linked to the person of Charlemagne. Although "douce France" allows for nationalist translations, both words refer more generally to the Franks. But in the case of "Karlinge" it is hard to ignore the etymological implications of such a word, literally meaning "Charles's land" or "Charles's people."[49] Christians are united in their diversity; the origins and multiplicity of nations are subordinated on a political level to a supra-regional identity and to God via Saint Charlemagne. In fact, this performance of Frankish unity does not only present the opportunity to forget Charlemagne's violence so much as it reinforces the centrality of the emperor in the construction of the new Frankish entity. The plurality in unity provides another link to the memory of the crusades, since according to Bartlett, "[t]he avowed internationalism of the crusade was constituted by its divine authorization."[50] The list of territories Roland mentions is echoed in the *Rolandslied* by the emperor's praise of his warriors as the Frankish army, having returned to the battlefield to bring support to its rear-guard, gets ready to battle against Caliph Paligan. Between lines 7779 and 7870, Charlemagne makes battle plans, praises his heroes, and simultaneously echoes and reinforces the performative nature of Roland's enumeration, mentioning the same territories, and adding other conquests, emphasising his own colonising abilities. The centrality of Charlemagne in this performance of Frankish unity, however, is foreshadowed by the description of the emperor at the beginning of the text.

Frankish unity is not only performed by the diverse yet unified Frankish troops but finds its embodiment in the person of Charlemagne. While the systematic use of "Karlinge" hints at the emperor's centrality in the conception of a Frankish community, the physical

[49] The *Lexer* gives the following definitions for Karlinge: "untertan der Karle, bewohner des karoling. Frankreichs, Franzose" [subject of Charlemagne, inhabitant of Carolingian France, French.] Accessed 30 May 2019, http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer?lemma=kerlinc. In the context of the *Rolandslied*, the plurality of origins within the community of the "Karlinge" leads me to privilege the first, broader definition.

[50] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe, Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350* (London: Penguin, 1994), 261.

description of Charlemagne, which occurs in the Andalusi space, for the benefit of the envoys of the Iberian king, gives the Franks metaphysical legitimacy. At the beginning of the epic, Marsilie sends two envoys to negotiate with Charlemagne. Carrying palm leaves in a gesture of good will, probably recalling Palm Sunday in another biblical allusion, the envoys enter the camp and witness incredible scenes: they see a beautiful orchard (*RL*, l. 643), they see lions fighting bears (*RL*, ll. 646–7), they see noble knights shooting, they hear songs and music (*RL*, ll. 648–51). They see young knights training with swords, learning the law and engaging in falconry (*RL*, ll. 655–65). Women there are dressed in fine silk and wearing gold jewellery (*RL*, ll. 667–70). Twice, the narrator emphasises that all pastimes and pleasures of the world can be found in this camp (*RL*, ll. 652 and 666), so much so that: "sît Salomon erstarp, / sô ne wart sô grôz hêrschapht / noch newirdet niemer mêre. / Karl was aller tugend ein hêrre." (*RL*, ll. 671–4) [Since Solomon died there had been no such great splendour and they will never be again. Charles was a lord of all virtues.] While Charlemagne's virtues and faith had been emphasised by the narrator looking at the emperor from an internal perspective (from the perspective of the Franks), the wealth and strength displayed in the Frankish camp is only described once the narrator considers an external perspective (the perspective of the Muslim envoys). Following the description of the camp, the narrator, still looking through Iberian eyes, describes Charlemagne as follows:

sîn antlizze was wunnesam,	His face was beautiful
die boten harte gezam,	it was hard for the envoys
daz si in muosen schouwen.	to have to look at him.
jâ lûchten sîn ougen	His eyes shone
sam der morgensterne.	like the Morning Star.
man erkante in vile verre.	He was recognisable from afar.
nieman ne dorfte vrâge,	No one had to ask
wer der keiser wære.	who the emperor was.

nieman ne was ime gelîch.	There was none like him.
sîn antlizze was zierlîch.	His face was magnificent.
mit volleclîchen ougen	They could not look at him
ne mochten si in nicht gescouwen.	with their eyes fully open.
diu liuchte gab in den widerslac	The light blinded them
sam der sunne umbe mitten tac.	like the midday sun.

RL, ll. 683–96

Charlemagne's otherworldly beauty is a physical sign legitimising him as the rightful emperor, God's servant on this earth. In the entire passage, the themes that are developed in descriptions of the court are echoed in descriptions of Charlemagne himself with similar lexical fields. As the envoys enter Christian lands, they see the ground shine as they enter the camp, they see sword fights and noble youths learning the law (*RL*, ll. 655 and 661–2); in the depiction of Charlemagne, his eyes and face are lit up like the sun, his ability with a sword is emphasised and he is designed as the one who teaches the law (*RL*, ll. 697–708). All profane aspects encountered by the messengers are replicated, not only in Charlemagne's actions, but on his own body.

The interaction between secular and sacred elements in this depiction was already present in the preceding comparison with Solomon. As Annette Gerok-Reiter argues, "Entscheidend ist jedoch im Kontext, daβ Konrad den Salomonvergleich gerade nicht als gängigen Topos der *religiösen* Legitimation von Herrschaft anführt, sondern zunächst ausdrücklich in Bezug auf die Legitimation *profaner* Prachtentfaltung: Salomons *grôz hêrschapht*, nicht seine göttliche Berufung sind tertium comparationis." [In the context, however, the crucial fact is that Konrad invokes the Solomon comparison not as the usual topos of religious legitimisation of sovereignty, but first of all in explicit relation to the legitimisation of a secular display of splendour: Solomon's *grôz hêrschapht* [great splendour],

not his divine vocation are tertium comparationis.][51] The description of the court, anchored in the secular realm of chivalry and entertainment, enhances the image of Charlemagne's spirituality "shining" through his skin, as the court becomes a continuation of the lord's body. Indeed, Gerok-Reiter emphasises the necessity of the grandiose court in the assertion of Charlemagne's legitimacy: "Er braucht [den prachtvollen Hof] als Projektionsfläche seines Splendors, als Projektionsfläche, auf der die metaphysische Legitimation seiner Herrschaft erst eigentlich zur Erscheinung kommen kann." [He needs [his grandiose court] as a surface on which to project his splendour, a surface on which his sovereignty's metaphysical legitimisation can finally come to light.][52] Thus, courtly ideals and religious legitimacy are not only intertwined but also mutually influence and reciprocally legitimise each other, while Charlemagne's body is the site where they unite.

The symbolism of the emperor's body as a site of unity echoes Christian symbolism. As Suzanne Conklin Akbari explains while describing the symbolic value of the Eucharist, "the body of Christ is readily recognized as synecdoche for the 'other' body of Christ – that is, the community of the faithful united within the Church – it has only recently become widely recognized that eucharistic symbolism also lay beneath many early formulations of national identity."[53] Following this remark, Akbari specifies that the phenomenon of formulation of national identity develops mostly in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. I am reluctant to consider the identities represented here as "national," for reasons I have discussed in my introduction. Yet Akbari's comments shed light on the sense of community that hides behind the description of the emperor as a site of unity, a site where religious legitimacy and secular

[51]Annette Gerok-Reiter, "Der Hof als erweiterter Körper des Herrschers. Konstruktionsbedingungen höfischer Idealität am Beispiel des Rolandsliedes," in Linden, Huber and Lähnemann, *Courtly literature and clerical culture*, 83.

[52] Annette Gerok-Reiter, "Der Hof als erweiterter Körper des Herrschers," 84.

[53] Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 157.

sovereignty interact. As well as a unifying site for the Frankish court, the description of the emperor also contributes to the portrayal of Charlemagne as a saint and a Christ-like figure. The emperor's sainthood is reinforced in *Karl der Große*, where his description follows the pattern of the *Rolandslied*, but concludes as follows:

im was besezzen sin mu(o)t	His spirit was imbued
mit des heiligen geistes chraft.	with the strength of the Holy Spirit.
got hete sine meisterschaft	God had manifested his mastery
an Karls libe schin getan;	on Charles' body.
er ist ouch heilich ane wan."	He is also holy without a doubt.

KdG, ll. 1258–63

In both cases, the passage becomes particularly significant when considered through the lens of Iberia as a meaningful space in the epic: these scenes unfold under the eyes of Marsilie's messengers. Charlemagne only reveals himself in all his splendour as the Iberian envoys enter the stage and the Frankish unity embodied by the emperor is performed in Iberia for the Iberian envoys, making the Peninsula an essential space in the performance of pre-European Frankish identities. The Iberian space, then, takes on its heterotopic function as a theatre stage: by regrouping the Franks and the heathens in one same space, Iberia shines a light onto Charlemagne's holiness and brings to the fore the divine legitimacy granted to the entire community of Christians who follow the emperor.

The performance of Frankish unity is complicated by internal issues that are revealed in the same manner as Frankish unity is established – through contacts with Iberian "Others." The most prominent case of this is Genelun's betrayal. Discussing the French *Roland*, Simon Gaunt argues: "[i]t is as if encounters with others do not simply project an idealized image of the united 'Franks'; they also hold up an unflattering mirror that focuses on the blemishes

and potential fault lines in this image."[54] Genelun conspires with Marsilie and helps plot the attack on the rear-guard. While Charlemagne's spirituality – which literally shines through his skin – highlights his legitimacy, the traitor's physical appearance partially hides his true nature. The *Rolandslied* describes him as follows:

under scœnem schade liuzet,	Danger hides amongst beauty
ez en ist nicht allez golt, daz dâ glîzet.	and all that glitters is not gold.
Genelûn was michel unde lussam,	Genelun was mighty and beautiful,
er muose sîne natûre begân.	but he had to follow his true nature.
michels boumes schoene	The beauty of a great tree
machet dicke hoene.	is often deceitful.
er dunket ûzen grüene,	It looks green outside
sô ist er innen dürre.	but it is dead inside.
sô man in nider meizet,	When someone hacks at it,
sô ist er wurmbeizec.	it is revealed to be eaten by worms.
er ist innen vûl unde üble getân.	Inside it is foul and rotten.

RL, ll. 1958–68

Genelun's description separates him from the rest of Charlemagne's people. All that glitters is not gold: Genelun, who was previously part of the "shiny" Frankish court, is revealed for what he truly is. Other Christian heroes – and surely Charlemagne – are indeed gold, but Genelun is not. Finally, Genelun is tried and dismembered: "sô wart diu untriuwe geschendet. / dâ mit sî daz liet verendet." (*RL*, ll. 9015–6) [So was his treason avenged. / Thereby comes the song to an end.] While the body of Genelun is described in the same terms in *Karl der Große*, one of

[54] Simon Gaunt, "Can The Middle Ages Be Postcolonial?," *Comparative Literature* 61, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 171.

the significant points of divergence between the two texts is in the resolution of the conflict created by his betrayal. In the *Rolandslied*, Genelun is taken prisoner when the Franks discover his betrayal, and he is taken back to Aachen as prisoner before his trial. In *Karl der Große*, Genelun first escapes captivity, and the margrave Otto is entrusted by Charlemagne to go find the traitor.[55] Despite Genelun's attempt to trick Otto into thinking he is much further ahead than he really is, the margrave catches up with Genelun and brings him back to Aachen, where he can finally be tried and dismembered. Genelun's dismemberment quiets the fear of fragmentation of the Frankish community that had been projected onto his body. His escape from captivity, then, and his capture by margrave Otto, could function as a reinforcing mechanism through which the internal issues of the Frankish community, although revealed on the stage of Iberia, must be resolved at the heart of the Frankish empire, in Aachen. Symbolically, in both German texts the narrative closes with the final sign that, through the partition of the traitor's deceitful body, the Frankish empire is unified once again under Charlemagne's sacred leadership.

1.3.b. Female Bodies as Sites of Negotiation

In all three versions of the *Roland* mentioned in this chapter, Iberia fulfils a dual function: to allow Frankish unity to be asserted by simultaneously confronting it with a religious "Other" and highlighting the internal issues faced by Charlemagne. However, the final resolution of the internal conflict and assertion of Frankish superiority follows a different logic in the German-language texts as compared to the Oxford text. The difference between the French and German texts comes to light particularly when considering the role of female characters in asserting the social and religious order at the end of the story following the defeat of the

[55] In this regard, Der Stricker's text seems to have more in common with the rhymed versions of the *Chanson de Roland*, which similarly expand on Ganelon's escape. See Joseph J. Duggan, "The Trial of Ganelun in the Rhymed 'Chanson de Roland'," *Olifant* 25, (2006): 189–200.

Saracens.[56] In the French version, Bramimonde, Marsile's wife, opens the gates of Saragossa to the emperor, who takes her captive and brings her back to Aix, offering her the possibility to choose to convert to Christianity. Back in Aix, the emperor tells Aude, Roland's fiancée, of the warrior's death. Hearing the news, Aude falls dead. Genelun is then tried and executed. In the penultimate *laisse*, Charlemagne calls upon his bishops, informing them that Bramimonde has made the decision to convert to Christianity and the story ends with her conversion.[57] For Kinoshita, this series of events concludes the text with an assertion of the superiority of the Franks' feudal loyalty, since "in dying, [Aude] demonstrates a loyalty to Roland that equals Roland's to Charles."[58] Aude's death "conjures the enormity of Charlemagne's loss and adds to the tally for which Genelon must pay," but "[p]aradoxically, it is the conversion of the Saracen queen and her integration into Frankish society that provide closure to this song of feudal loyalty and heroic sacrifice."[59]

While affording an equally symbolic role to Alda and Brechmunda in the final moments of the text, the *Rolandslied* follows a different order. As Brechmunda opens the gate of the city for the emperor to come in, she converts immediately:

diu künigin Brechmundâ,	The queen Brechmunda
îlente sâ	hurried at once
hiez siu die burgertor entsliezen.	and had the city gates opened.
den kaiser sie dar in liezen.	She let the emperor in.
dem kaiser viel si ze füezen:	She fell at the feet of the emperor:

[56] For an analysis of the interaction between the construction of gender and the construction of cultural alterity in the *Chanson de Roland*, see Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, 34–45.

[57] Bramimonde's conversion concludes the Roland story but the final *laisse* of the Oxford text hints at the ongoing process of maintaining an empire, as Charlemagne is told of another heathen revolt to which he must attend (*CdR*, ll.3988–4002).

[58] Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, 43.

[59] Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, 43.

“ich wil,” sprach si, “richten unt büezen.	“I want,” she said, “to justify and expiate [my sins]”
swâ ich mich versûmet hân,	Wherever I have sinned,
ich hân ez unwizzent getân.	I have done so unknowingly.
die tiuvel hât mich lange betrogen.	The devil has long deceived me.
dû bist mir zetrôste komen.	You have come to my solace.
ich erkenne wol dîne wârhait.	I fully recognise your truth.
hilf dû mir zuo der christenhait.	Help me towards Christianity.
ich geloube an mînen trechtîn.	I believe in my lord.
swie dû gebiutest, sô wil ich sîn.”	I want to be as you order me to be.

RL, ll. 8617–30

The Franks enter the city, baptise the people and establish a bishopric, before returning to Aachen, taking Brechmunda with them (*RL*, ll. 8631–40). Her monologue reinforces the role of Charlemagne as a sacred figure: her impassioned speech, using formulae such as “dîne wârhait,” which implies the truth of God, blurs the line between devotion to Charlemagne and to God, further emphasising the interaction of religious and political sovereignty. By contrast, Alda directly calls upon the “aller dinge schephaere” (*RL*, l. 8713) [creator of all things] after hearing the news of Roland’s death, begging him to strike her dead. In the German versions, the problem which was posed by the heathens’ unwillingness to convert is resolved in Iberia and the colonial process of replication described by Bartlett is secured before Charlemagne’s return to his court and Genelun’s trial. It is not Brechmunda’s conversion that provides closure here, but the final resolution of the internal issues posing a threat to Frankish unity, the dismemberment of Genelun. The symbolic function of Brechmunda’s conversion is reinforced by the creation of a diocese, which Bartlett considers as an indicative sign of the expansion of Latin Christendom: “The theory of Latin Christendom

was that of a cellular body, and the cells were the dioceses."[60] The Iberian space, contested node between two Imperial networks, is finally claimed by the Frankish empire through the establishment of a religious institution and the conversion of the heathens. It becomes a cell, integrated into the body of Charlemagne's Christendom.

In the religious binary which frames the German text, the character of Brechmunda offers the possibility of an alternative outcome, one in which numerous deaths could be avoided, albeit understood within the Christian perspective of the narrator. While the male heathen heroes, even as they abandon their God, fail to recognise the power of Charlemagne, Brechmunda develops throughout the narrative and is influenced by the demonstration of power of the Frankish army. At the beginning of the text, when Marsilie's lords give gifts and hostages to Genelun, which he takes back to Charlemagne as a false sign of surrender, Brechmunda offers jewellery for Genelun's wife:

diu kust in dâ ze stunde.	She kissed him in immediately.
si gab ime ain gesmîde.	She gave him a piece of jewellery.
si sprach: "nu bringez dînem wîbe.	She said: "Now bring it to your wife.
Karl ist ein künec rîche,	Charles is a powerful king
er ne gwan nie nehain samlîche,	but he never acquired anything like this.
noch ne wart ûf der erde	Never on earth
nie geworcht mêre.	was another one made.
[…]	
scolt ich in toeten mit miner hant,	If I could kill him [Roland] with my own hand
ich gaebe liut unde lant."	I would give my people and my land.

RL, ll. 2570–80

[60] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, 4.

The *Rolandslied* appears to give Brechmunda at once agency and an awareness of her lack thereof. In her desire to kill Roland herself, the text highlights in a brief moment Brechmunda's brazenness. Simultaneously, she "fleetingly allud[es] to the sorority of Frankish women into which she will be absorbed at the end of the poem and explicitly evok[es] the absent woman who, as Roland's mother, Charlemagne's sister and Ganelon's wife, binds the text's three protagonists together in a feudal-familial allegiance and conflict."[61] Yet while in the French text Bramimonde becomes increasingly brazen and is the character who leads the destruction of the heathen temple previously mentioned, in the German text she becomes increasingly prudent and the destruction of the temple is led by Marsilie while Brechmunda, we are told, begins to cry. While she is stripped of some of the agency the Oxford *Roland* afforded her, she fulfils a similar function in disrupting the religious order of the heathens. As Paligan arrives to help the heathens, he sends envoys to Marsilie, who promise to defeat the emperor. Brechmunda replies with a warning. She is the only character who understands the power of the emperor, and she foreshadows Paligan's death: "Paligân, derne überwindet ez niemer mêre" (*RL*, l. 7320) [Paligan, he will not overcome this.] Brechmunda's speech hints at her later conversion. She does state her love for her lord Marsilie but she knows that this fight cannot be won by force. Reconsidering her later demand to convert through the lens of this first speech leads the audience to question whether her conversion is political intelligence and self-preservation, or whether she does truly embrace the Christian religion. *Karl der Große* leaves no such doubt in its audience's mind. In this version, Brechmunda already begins to see that Charlemagne's strength is intertwined with his faith as she foreshadows Paligan's demise: "Dem keyser hilfet ein man, / dem niemen an gesigen chan. / das ist sin herre Jesus Christ." (*KdG*, ll. 8629–31) [A man helps the emperor, over whom no one can claim victory: that is his lord Jesus Christ.] While Konrad leaves open the possibility of a prudent survival strategy, Der Stricker emphasises Brechmunda's religious realisation and

[61] Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, 36.

credits Charlemagne with her new-found faith, since it is the strength of the emperor which leads her to believe in the power of Christ. Furthermore, in *Karl der Große*, similar to the French text but unlike the *Rolandslied,* Brechmunda was indeed responsible for ordering the destruction of the temple and the idols. Der Stricker provides a more gradual progression in Brechmunda's discovery of the Christian faith: first she doubts her own gods and realises they lack power, then she acknowledges the power of Jesus Christ, and finally states her desire to convert. In both German versions, Brechmunda's conversion takes place in Iberia and functions as the final symbolic step in the conquest of the Peninsula. The Frankish Empire, integrating into its community the last surviving Iberian character, has succeeded in claiming the contested Iberian node which connected Charlemagne to a plural Muslim enemy.

In its plurality the Iberian space disrupts Frankish unity, forcing the internal faults in the Frankish army to come to light, and in doing so becomes an inherent part of the Franks' triumph. The Islamic military network remains plural, while the Franks' political network is consolidated in its opposition to the Muslims and afforded unity under Charlemagne. The political power of the emperor is reinforced through religious legitimacy, represented in the text by means of a Christian/heathen binary that allows for similarity between the two camps while insisting on the inherent difference of the Muslims. Finally, Frankish unity, the threat of betrayal and the final conquest of Iberia are enacted in the symbolic bodies of Charlemagne, Genelun and Brechmunda.

Iberia's heterotopia is imagined on a spatial, temporal and religious level. The European network, conceived in terms of territorial expansion, cannot be complete without the Iberian/Andalusi node. Territorial expansion, however, is only a function of the spread of Christendom, in the view that Konrad assigns to Charlemagne. Conceiving the text through the lens of the "Europeanization of Europe," considered as a process of network expansion, highlights the use of the Iberian space in the *Rolandslied* as a means to construct a Western European regional identity, defined by the Frankish Christianity of Charlemagne. In other

words, the identities constructed in the text rely on the memory of Charlemagne on the one hand and on the reification of Iberia’s Muslim past on the other. Both Frankish and Iberian past are used in the text to think through present – that is, twelfth-century – concerns. The memory of Charlemagne is kept alive to provide a symbolic figure to reclaim as a political stance, while the Iberian Peninsula is stuck in an eternal past that functions as a warning to the possible threats of fragmentation and decline and the continuous need for crusades, for example in the Baltic for Henry the Lion. The end of the narrative implies the replication of Carolingian structures in Iberia, with the establishment of a bishopric. Yet the Iberian space remains contested in the European imaginary. The enduring connection between Iberia and Carolingian material and the lasting success of texts narrating Charlemagne’s Iberian crusade in different languages highlight the ideological potential of the Iberian Peninsula as a stage upon which identities are re-negotiated.

2. Herzog Herpin, Toledo and the European Cultural Network

In contrast to the Songs of Roland I discussed in my first chapter, it is not the space of the Iberian Peninsula as a large entity – Hispania – that takes prominence in the prose epic *Herzog Herpin*, one of four prose texts compiled in the second quarter of the fifteenth century and attached to Elisabeth of Lorraine, Countess of Nassau-Saarbrücken. Rather, my analysis will focus on a specific place in Iberia: the city of Toledo. From a utopian Christian capital for the Visigoth kingdom, to an Arabic centre of knowledge and example of successful coexistence between religious groups, to a symbol of the start of the *Reconquista* after it was taken by the Castilians in 1085, Toledo was invested with symbolism and the city, too, comes to function as a figurative place, a heterotopia in which different temporalities co-exist.[1] The enduring myth surrounding Toledo in Iberian history permeates the representation of the city in *Herzog Herpin*, as Toledo functions as a locus of traditions, and as the gateway to a collection of previous stories, which come together to occupy a symbolic function in the narrative.

By exploring the inter-textual references centred on Toledo, I trace the contours of an extra-textual literary network that would trigger the collective memory of a German – and more generally a pan-European – audience. Next, I consider the role of Toledo as a place where boundaries of gender, religion and familial affiliation can be transgressed, specifically by female characters. Then, I explore the connections established by the characters as they move around the Mediterranean basin in order to show the construction of a Mediterranean

[1] For a study of the multiple cultural influences that shaped the city, looking at architecture and material culture, as well as more general histories on the city, see Jerrilynn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), especially 2–4 for an overview of Toledo's multicultural history and the symbolic value of the city to different cultural groups.

network and the role of Toledo as a narrative node in this network. In this respect, I follow the framework established by Damien Coulon and Dominique Valérian in their study of the Mediterranean space during the medieval era, who state that a network structure is the model best suited to describe this space:

> pour analyser un vaste espace au sein duquel des relations multiples et souvent enchevêtrées, voire conflictuelles, se développent tout au long du Moyen Âge : le bassin méditerranéen. Cet ensemble, dont les critères de cohésion ne manquent pas aux plans géographique et climatique, se révèle cependant difficile à analyser, tant son histoire le rend complexe, en particulier durant la période médiévale, au cours de laquelle l'unité politique qui l'avait caractérisé sous l'empire romain se révèle irrémédiablement rompue. De fait, au Moyen Âge, cette zone composite, centrée sur une vaste mer intérieure qui encourage les contacts, s'affirme avant tout comme un espace de relations très diverses.

> to analyse a vast space within which multiple and often entangled, perhaps conflictual, relations develop throughout the Middle Ages: the Mediterranean basin. This ensemble, which does not lack cohesion criteria in terms of geography and climate, nonetheless proves to be difficult to analyse, since its history makes it complex, particularly over the course of the medieval period, during which the political unity which had characterised it under the Roman Empire is irrevocably broken. Indeed, in the Middle Ages, this composite zone, centred on a vast interior sea that fosters contacts, emerges above all as a space of very diverse types of relations.[2]

[2] Damien Coulon, Christophe Picard and Dominique Valérian, eds., *Espaces et Réseaux en Méditerranée Vie-XVIe siècle*, Vol. I (Paris: Bouchène, 2007), 10.

The complex ensemble described here, while difficult to analyse from a historical perspective, fosters a more nuanced understanding of the relations between cultures, peoples and religions embedded in the Mediterranean space. Coulon and Valérian describe the Mediterranean as a network, which enables us to escape the binary logic opposing Islam and Christianity in the Mediterranean context. Sharon Kinoshita, in an overview of recent studies on the Mediterranean, echoes the idea of considering it a space of exchange rather than opposition: "With its millennia-long history of migration, commerce, warfare, diplomacy and other forms of exchange, the Mediterranean encourages us to replace a vocabulary of origins, development, and expansion with keywords like contact, interaction and circulation."[3] The narrative of *Herzog Herpin* adheres to this analysis on a literary level. The characters still take part in a form of expansion, conquering cities and kingdoms, but this expansion remains a territorial enterprise, connected to an increase in status and nobility, rather than a religiously motivated form of conquest as was the case in the Roland tradition considered in Chapter one. The network of the Mediterranean space, as well as enabling the movements and travels of the main characters throughout the text, brings nuance to cultural and religious encounters.

Born between 1394 and 1398, Elisabeth was the daughter of Frederick V of Lorraine and Margaret of Joinville. She married Philipp I of Nassau-Saarbrücken in 1412 and governed over the county after Philipp's death in 1429, until their son Philipp II took over in 1438, followed by his brother Johann III in 1442. During her regency, she succeeded in maintaining peace and prosperity in the region, despite the complicated context, one in which intrigues at the border between Francophone and German-speaking domains coincided with the end of

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[3] Sharon Kinoshita, "Locating the Medieval Mediterranean," in *Locating the Middles Ages: The Spaces and Places of Medieval Culture*, ed. Julian Weiss and Sarah Salih (London: King's College London, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2012), 39.

the Hundred Years War.[4] She died on 17 January 1456 and is buried in the church of the abbey of St. Arnual in Saarbrücken. Elisabeth's family relations created links between Nassau-Saarbrücken and Nancy, where her uncle Charles I of Lorraine dedicated himself to humanist topics, and with Heidelberg through Charles' wife; her brother, Anton, was part of the poetry circle at the court of Charles of Orléans.[5] Elisabeth lived, therefore, in a zone of contact, cultural and political, between French and German-speaking areas, which influenced her literary endeavours: an internationally-minded context, not dissimilar to that of Oswald von Wolkenstein and Georg von Ehingen as will be discussed in forthcoming chapters. Her husband Philipp took part in the Council of Constance in 1415, which forms the background of Oswald's travels to Iberia, and she corresponded relatively frequently with her cousin, René of Anjou, who is one of the kings depicted in the manuscripts of Georg's travelogue, discussed in the final chapter of my thesis.[6]

Elisabeth's interest in literature finds its roots in her childhood and the influence of Margaret of Joinville on her children. When Elisabeth was about ten years old, her mother worked on a translation from Latin into French of the Loher and Maller material, which then became the basis of a translation into German, alongside *Herzog Herpin* and other texts. It also appears that Margaret bequeathed her book collection to Elisabeth.[7] After Philipp's death, probably in the 1430s, Elisabeth translated – or had translated – four texts into

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[4] See Heinz Thomas, "Im Vorfeld von Saarbrücken: Frankreich und Burgund in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich: Elisabeth von Lothringen, Gräfin von Nassau-Saarbrücken*, ed. Wolfgang Haubrichs, Hans-Walter Herrmann (St Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2002), 155–90.

[5] See Hans Hugo Steinhoff, "Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken," in *VL,* 2:482–9.

[6] Elisabeth's extant letters have been edited in Jürgen Herold, Michaela Küper, Christine Maillet et al., "Edition der Varberg Korrespondenz," in Haubrichs and Herrmann, *Zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich,* 254–366.

[7] Hans-Walter Herrmann, "Lebensraum und Wirkungsfeld der Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken," in Haubrichs and Herrmann, *Zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich,* 112–3.

German, known as *Herzog Herpin*, *Königin Sibille, Loher und Maller* and *Huge Schleppel*.[8] The four prose epics are adaptations of French cycles about Charlemagne and his descendants, ending with Hugues Capet. *Herzog Herpin* focuses on one of Charlemagne's barons, Herpin of Bourges, and will be the subject of this chapter. *Königin Sibille* tells the story of Charlemagne's marriage to the daughter of the King of Constantinople, Sibille, her adventures following an intrigue leading to her banishment and her eventual reunion with Charlemagne. *Loher und Maller* narrates, similarly, the banishment of Charlemagne's son Loher, who travels to Constantinople with his friend Maller. Following battles for the thrones between Loher and his brother Ludwig, the text ends with the death of Ludwig and the end of the Carolingian era. Finally, *Huge Schleppel* focuses on Hughes Capet's ascension to the throne and the founding of the Capetian dynasty.[9]

The texts began receiving more scholarly attention following the publication of a foundational study by Wolfgang Liepe in 1920.[10] Since then, the Saarbrücken epics have

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[8] Wolfgang Haubrichs emits doubts as to whether she did translate the works herself or commissioned a translator, since it would have not been customary for a woman of her standing to translate, or indeed write herself according to him. "Kurze Forschungsgeschichte zum literarischen Werk Elisabeths," in Haubrichs and Herrmann, *Zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich,* 22–3. Yet as Christine McWebb argues in her analysis of Elisabeth's work through the lens of translation theory, the end of *Loher und Maller* states clearly that the book was "Inn dutsche gemacht durch die wolgeborn ffrauwe elisabeth von lotrengen greffynne witwe zu nassauwe vnde Sarbrucken, der vorgenannten hertzog friederichs vnd frauwe margarethe dochter, die ez durch sich selber also betutschet hat als ez hie vor ane beschrieben stet" ["made in German by the noble lady Elisabeth of Lorraine, Countess and widow of Nassau and Saarbrücken, daughter of the above mentioned Duke Friedrich and his wife Margareth. She put it in German herself as is described above."] *Loher und Maller* as quoted and translated in Christine McWebb, "Originality in Translation: The Case of Elisabeth of Nassau-Saabrücken," in *The Medieval Translator. Traduire au Moyen Âge*, ed. Jacqueline Jenkins and Olivier Bertrand (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 244.

[9] For a more detailed summary of the plot of each text in German, see the Elisabeth-Prosa-Portal compiling outputs and information of two recent research projects in Potsdam and Bochum, accessed 30 May 2019, http://www.esv.info/elisabeth-prosa-portal.

[10] See Wolfang Liepe, *Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken. Entstehung und Anfänge des Prosaromans in Deutschland* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1920).

mainly been studied as texts in a state of overlap or transition, not only between French- and German-speaking traditions, but also between rhymed texts inscribed in an oral tradition and a more modern written prose format, as well as between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period.[11] Recently, new interest in the texts has grown, with a focus on narrative characteristics and literary analysis, in particular under the aegis of two connected research projects which culminated in the publication of new editions of *Loher und Maller* (2013) and *Herzog Herpin* (2014) led by Ute von Bloh in Potsdam and Bernd Bastert in Bochum respectively.[12]

Herzog Herpin follows the complex story of the family of Herpin of Bourges over the course of three generations. The text can be roughly divided into two parts. The first part is concerned with the first generation (Herpin, his wife Alheyt and his son Lewe) while the second part, complicated by the appearance of a larger number of characters, deals with Lewe, his wife Florentyne, their two children Wilhelm and Oleybaum and their own wives.

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[11] Bernd Bastert, "'Ir herren machent friden': Gewaltdarstellung und Konfliktbewältigungsstrategien in den Saarbrücker Chanson de Geste-Bearbeitungen," in Haubrichs and Herrmann, *Zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich,* 459.

[12] See amongst others Ute von Bloh and Bernd Bastert, *Loher und Maller · Herzog Herpin: Kommentar und Erschließung* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2017); Maren Großbröhmer, *Erzählen von den Heiden: Annäherungen an das Andere in den Chanson de geste-Adaptationen "Loher und Maller" und "Herzog Herpin"* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2017); Rabea Kohnen, "Akkumulation und Überblendung. Zu seriellen Strategien des Erzählens im 'Herzog Herpin'," in *Wiederholen/Wiederholung*, ed. Bernd Bastert, Carla Dauven von Knippenberg, Rold Parr (Heidelberg: Synchron, 2015), 175–94; Bernd Bastert, *Helden als Heilige. Chanson de geste-Rezeption im deutschsprachigen* Raum (Tübingen: Francke, 2010); Ute von Bloh, *Ausgerenkte Ordnung. Vier Prosaepen aus dem Umkreis der Gräfin Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken: "Herzog Herpin", "Loher und Maller", "Huge Schleppel", "Königin Sibille"* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002) and Ute von Bloh, "Über Wunder, das Staunen und Erschrecken und über die Grenze des Wirklichkeitsentwurfs im Herzog Herpin," in *Fremdes wahrnehmen – fremdes Wahrnehmen. Studien zur Geschichte der Wahrnehmung und zur Begegnung von Kulturen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Wolfgang Harms, Stephen Jaeger and Alexandra Stein (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1997), 221–38. For the two editions, see Bernd Bastert, ed., *Herzog Herpin: Kritische Edition eines spätmittelalterlichen Prosaepos* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2014) and Ute von Bloh, ed., *Loher und Maller: Kritische Edition eines spätmittelalterlichen Prosaepos* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2013).

The turning point linking those parts is the reunion of Herpin, Alheyt and Lewe in the city of Toledo. Following a cyclical structure, *Herzog Herpin* constructs a family narrative of separation and reunions, centred around attempts of individual members to reclaim their legacy (the duchy of Bourges) while maintaining their own kingdoms, established around the Mediterranean.

By considering the role of Toledo in *Herzog Herpin*, I wish to highlight the significance of the city as a point of intersection of different networks crossing in the text. In this regard, Caroline Levine's analysis once again sheds light on the necessity to consider the multiplicity of networks as a productive force in a narrative. In her analysis of Charles Dickens' *Bleak House* as a narrative shaped by the criss-crossing of a wide range of networks, Levine considers characters as points of encounters, as nodes, and goes on to state that "in most networks there are some nodes – hubs – that are more highly linked than others; while most nodes cluster together around shared functions and purposes, a few important nodes are simultaneously part of many large clusters."[13] In *Herzog Herpin*, Toledo functions as a hub, that is, as a node that forms part of many larger clusters, of different networks and which connects these networks. On the one hand, Toledo is a hub within an extra-textual cultural network that the narrative constructs around the Mediterranean and through which the French-German axis to which the text belongs – through Elisabeth's role as translator –is reconfigured. The context in which the text was compiled highlights the role of Elisabeth as a transcultural agent between a Francophone and a German-language sphere. Yet this cultural network cannot be complete without its connections to Toledo. The French-German axis negotiated through Elisabeth's adaptations is reconfigured in Iberia, since the narrative relies on Toledo as a cultural node, a place which triggers the collective cultural memory of its audience across Western Europe. Toledo, evoking its own multicultural history, its role as a

[13] Caroline Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 126.

centre of knowledge and an evocative space which appears in a range of literary traditions, participates in the construction of a cultural memory cutting across linguistic and regional boundaries within the geography of Western Europe that I define as a European cultural network.

The possibilities offered by the city of Toledo to cut across linguistic and regional boundaries on the extra-textual level is echoed in the multiple boundaries transgressed by the characters intra-textually. The narrative shows characters moving across religious and cultural spheres with ease, and in some instances, playing with usual boundaries of gender and family ties. The city of Toledo, in this regard, offers a place in which the character of Alheyt portrays a particularly successful example of both cross-dressing and crossing religious boundaries by hiding her Christian faith.

Finally, Toledo is a centre of focus, not only on the extra-textual level as a focal point for moving references and topoi, but on the narrative level as a point of concentration of the characters. Superposed onto the cultural and mercantile routes that shaped the medieval Mediterranean basin, the text forms routes through which characters meet, interact, separate, connect with new characters and re-connect with old family members or allies. The characters develop their own stories on the Mediterranean network, while attempting to resolve the political and dynastic issues caused by the loss of the duchy of Bourges, through Herpin's banishment from Charlemagne's court at the beginning of the text. Maintaining control over the duchy of Bourges and protecting familial unity, while continuing to foster the independence of its separate branches through the conquest of new lands and kingdoms, proves difficult. In the chaotic Mediterranean world in which our characters operate, Toledo is a place which stabilises, if only for a time, the familial unity of the first generation. Lewe finally meets his parents, Herpin and Alheyt are reunited and the initial conflict of the narrative (the separation) is resolved. From Toledo's role in the extra-textual network of references, to the possibilities offered to characters to transgress boundaries in the space of Toledo and to the intra-textual constellation of characters and Mediterranean places, the city

is brought to the fore as a place that sustains and connects the multiplicity of networks around which the text revolves.

2.1. "Inter-traditional" References and Cultural Memory

A striking feature of *Herzog Herpin* is the wealth of traditions and references which coexist and influence each other in the text. The references form a literary network that could be characterised as intertextual – or "inter-traditional," in a somewhat cumbersome attempt to avoid implying that specific texts had an influence on the composition of the narrative. References to a European literary network bring to mind David Wallace's recent literary history of late medieval Europe, in which the editor and authors reject national or linguistic frameworks to map out the history of European literature through a series of itineraries, covering northern Europe, and the entire Mediterranean basin, to finish in Constance.[14] Wallace, in the concluding essay to the study, sees in the Council of Constance an exemplary moment of "Europeanness;" he considers the heterogeneous, multicultural encounter called to deal with the fragmentation of the Church as a metaphor for the heterogeneity and multicultural nature of the European literary culture traced by the different chapters of his study.[15] While he does not explicitly use the term "network," his study still offers insight into a network of European literary history. Although I would like to avoid the term "itinerary" (as used by Wallace), which might imply a route, a direction going from point A to point B, I operate within a similar framework, considering European literary production as a network: as explained in my introduction, the term and concept allow us to focus on interactions,

[14] See David Wallace, ed., *Europe: A Literary History, 1348–1418*, 2 vols (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2016).

[15] See Wallace, 655–82.

processes and connectivity, without presupposing a centre or ignoring the potential for extension and reformation.

Beyond the French-German linguistic environment in which *Herzog Herpin* was compiled, and in which it participates in creating common forms of cultural production, most of these references allude to a pan-European body of knowledge stemming from long oral and written traditions reaching across European vernaculars. This body of knowledge appears to rely on Iberia – or in this case Toledo – as an imagined space in which to negotiate identities and the city forms part of a collective cultural memory existing for audiences in Europe. I use the term "cultural memory" in a broad sense, using as a starting-point Jan Assmann's definition of it as "compris[ing] that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image."[16] I also follow Astrid Erll in considering cultural memory on the collective level as a metaphor, "a symbolic order, media and institutions through which social groups and societies establish their knowledge systems and versions of the past."[17] Two major strands of this body of reusable texts and images, through which a version of the past is established, appear throughout the text: Arthurian legends and Carolingian material. Arthurian references are only distantly linked to Toledo but contribute nonetheless to the pan-European scale of the traditions upon which the text relies in creating its cultural network. Carolingian material, on the other hand, contributes to this network but also brings the importance of Toledo as a particularly significant node to the forefront.

Toledo nonetheless has a role to play in the Arthurian tradition. Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, dated to the first decade of the thirteenth century, and one of the most influential texts of the German Arthurian tradition, places significance on the city, first

[16] Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," trans. John Czaplicka, *New German Critique* 65, (1995): 132.

[17] Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture* (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 99.

when the audience is told that Parzival's father Gahmuret's cousin is Kaylet, the King of Spain, who resides in Toledo (58, 27–30). Later on, Wolfram plays with the reputation of Toledo as a centre of science and erudition to claim the following source for his text: "Kyôt der meister wol bekant / ze Dôlet verworfen ligen vant / in heidenischer schrifte / dirre âventiure gestifte" (453, 11–4) ["Kyot, the renowned scholar, found in Toledo, lying neglected, in heathen script, this adventure's fundament."][18] Wolfram insists on the pre-eminence of this supposed original version, while still recognising the influence of Chrétien de Troyes' *Perceval*, as becomes clear at the end of the text: "Ob von Troys meister Cristjân / disem maere hât unreht getân, / daz mac wol zürnen Kyôt / der uns diu rehten maere enbôt." (827, 1–4) ["If master Chrétien de Troyes has done this tale an injustice, Kyot, who sent us the true tidings, has good reason to wax wrath."] Although scholarship has attempted to locate a historical Kyot, strong doubts persist and it is largely agreed he is an invention of Wolfram's.[19] Whether or not Kyot existed is not particularly important, however, as Joachim Bumke argues: "Besonders wichtig ist für Wolfram offenbar gewesen, daβ in der Geschichte vom Gral orientalische Gelehrsamkeit und lateinische Geschichtschreibung zusammengekommen sind." [Clearly what was particularly important to Wolfram was that Oriental erudition and Latin historiography converged in the story of the Grail.][20] Where best to find an environment in which the Arabic, Jewish and Christian communities converged than in Toledo? The city had acquired a reputation as a place of scholarship and erudition thanks to the school of translators who brought to a Latin audience Arabic and Ancient Greek writings and treatises

[18] All primary quotations are from Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, ed. by Wolfgang Spiewok, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2011). All *Parzival* translations are from Wolfram von Eschenbach*, Parzival and Titurel*, trans. Cyril Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[19] For an overview of the "Kyot problem," see Joachim Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach,* 5th ed (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1981), 61–4.

[20] Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, 64.

in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[21] The reference to Toledo in *Parzival*, then, relies on the city's past as a place of erudition. While *Herzog Herpin* makes no direct references to *Parzival*, Wolfram von Eschenbach's text contributes to fuelling an Arthurian myth which forms part of the narrative layers of the prose epic. The city is invested with yet another layer of meaning, recalling an intellectual community that comes to play a part in the network of traditions that the city hints at.

The reference to Arthurian legends that Toledo triggers is reinforced through place names, characters, or symbolic objects in the narrative. The figure of Morgue, a derivative of Morgan, appears early on in Lewe's life. In the beginning of the text, Alheyt gives birth to Lewe in the forest, but she is soon after captured by three men. As the baby is lying alone in the woods, it is recounted that, because God wanted to help the child: "Da kamen vier fien, das sint wunschel frouwen. Sy sahen an das kint vnd begonden es vff wickelen, sy sahen das crütz rot vnd clar." (f. 2v, 31) [There came four fairies – these are women who grant wishes. They looked at the child and began to swaddle him, they saw the cross red and bright.][22] The fairies begin to make wishes for the child. One wishes him bravery and strength, the second one wishes him not to be harmed by the animals of the forest. The third one, however, wishes him torments and poverty. The fourth one, Morgue, decides to rectify this and wishes that the child first reign over a powerful kingdom (f. 3r, 31). The red cross on Lewe's shoulder marks him as protected by God, which encourages Badewin of Monclin to rescue the child

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[21] Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 305–6. Bartlett also offers a helpful diagram showing the numbers of documents in Arabic, compared to Latin/Romance languages in Toledo from 1100 to 1250, which sheds light on the mixture of languages represented in the city. *The Making of Europe,* 205.

[22] All primary quotations are from Bastert, *Herzog Herpin*, referenced previously. Bastert's edition is based on manuscript B (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 46 Novissimi 2°), but incorporates excerpts from manuscript A (Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. fol. 464). The folio numbers are given according to that edition, followed by the corresponding page number. For more information on the manuscript transmission, see Bastert, *Herzog Herpin,* XVII–XXII.

upon finding him in the lioness's lair. The success Lewe first encounters as an adult, however, appears to come from the realisation of Morgue's wish: in the first half of the narrative, Lewe wins the kingdom of Sicily and the hand of Florentyne – the King of Sicily's daughter – in a tourney, before he experiences torment after the death of his wife and the capture of his children.

In a first instance, the narrator simply names Morgue and characterises her as a fairy, without further explanation. Morgue intervenes again much later in the text, when Lewe, having been reunited with his parents Herpin and Alheyt in Toledo, rides to Bourges. He travels up the Rhine and finds himself in the Eyfflinger forest, near Koblenz, where he finds a castle. As he approaches, a dwarf rides out and strikes him so hard he falls off his horse, an incident that recalls the story of Erec, the inexperienced knight from King Arthur's court, dishonoured after being struck by a dwarf.[23] Parallels with Erec also appear in the way both knights win their wife's hand in tourney. Yet Lewe is further included into the Arthurian world of the Erec tradition as the story continues. Appalled by the thought of having been struck down by a dwarf, Lewe climbs back on his horse, when a giant comes out of the same castle. The giant provokes Lewe but seeing the knight strike back with strength, he decides to use his wit:

> Da der {rise} Lewen sach, er sprach: "Lieber geselle, nym mich gefangen, nit endu mire eniche leyt, dann ich weyß wol, wie du heyssest vnd kennen ouch alle din wesen wol. Ich heyschen Abrahon vnd bin der twerg gewest, der dich darnyder stach. Du hast dich wol an mir gerochen, nü kome bijt mir in myn huß, du engesegest noch nye keyn schoner burg." Da er vff den sale qwam, da wart er wol entpfangen bijt manicher schoner frouwen. Da fant er alles, das yne ergetzen mochte. Er hait da inn also große freude, das

[23] The story of Erec also spans French and German traditions, with Chrétien de Troyes' *Érec et Énide* (c. 1160–1170) on the one hand, and Hartmann von Aue's *Erec* (c. 1180–1190) on the other.

> er vergaß sins vedderlichen erbe vnd ouch sins byderwe wybes. Da was Lewe by Morgue, der frouwen, vnd ouch mit Gloriande. Dann weres gotz verhencknіß nit gewest, er enwere niemer me darvß komen von grosser vberenzichkeyt freuden, die er da hat. (f. 107v, 562–3)

> As the giant saw Lewe, he said: "Dear companion, take me prisoner, do not do me any harm, for I know well, what your name is and I also know your nature well. My name is Abrahon and I am the dwarf who struck you to the ground. You have avenged yourself well, now come into my house, you will never see a more beautiful castle." As he came into the hall, there he was received well by many beautiful women. There he found everything that could delight him. He had such joy in there, that he forgot his paternal legacy and also his respectable wife. There Lewe was with Morgue, the lady, and also with Gloriande. Had it not been for God's providence, he would have never come out because of the abundance of joy that he had there.

Whether or not the dwarf and the giant are indeed the same person, or whether Abrahon pretends to be the dwarf as a ruse to prevent Lewe from harming him remains unclear but independently, the ruse works and Lewe enters the castle. In the next few lines, God intervenes by sending the white knight, a recurring figure sent from God who appears to help the characters in time of need – *deus ex machina*. Lewe believes he has only been there four days, but the white knight reveals to him his stay has already lasted six years. At first, Lewe does not believe this, but the white knight explains: "'Lieber geselle', […] 'is ist sechs iar vor war. Diese burg ist von solichem wesen, wer hündert iare hie inne ist, den düncket is küme vier wochen syn. Das ist vmb der vberencie freude willen, die hie inn ist, ist mit zeubery also gemacht.'" (f. 107v, 563) [My dear companion, it has truly been six years. This castle is of such a way, that he who is inside for a hundred years, he thinks that he has been for hardly four weeks. This is because the abundant joy which is inside here is made with magic.] The

combination of two topoi – the young knight being overcome by a dwarf, and a long period of idleness in the company of women – reinforce the link with the story of Erec. Erec's own shortcoming was to spend too long at home with his wife Enite, forgetting to fulfill his knightly duties because of the deep love he bore his wife.

In *Herzog Herpin*, the gatekeeper reveals himself to be Abrahon, a German derivative of the French Aubéron/Oberon,[24] who in the French tradition is a dwarf, sometimes characterised as the son of Julius Caesar and Morgan, sometimes as Morgan's brother and who much later became famous as a character in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[25] Here, Abrahon is clearly linked to Morgue, a character known throughout European Arthurian traditions as a magical woman, an enchantress, both a positive and negative figure.[26] Both characters introduce connections to traditions which contain strong wondrous and magical elements, bringing otherworldliness to the story of Lewe. Abrahon tricks Lewe not only into sparing his life, but also into entering his enchanted castle. Without God's intervention, Lewe would be lost forever in this world, which the narrator characterises as Arthurian by insisting on Morgue's identity: "Lewe, der nam vrloup von Morgue, der frouwen, die was konnig Artus süster. Konnig Artus suster, die was sere bedrübet, da sy gesach, das Lewe enweg wolt." (f. 107v, 564) [Lewe took leave of Morgue, the woman, who was King Arthur's sister. King Arthur's sister was very sad to see that Lewe wanted to be on his way.] The otherworld that was introduced by the encounter with Abrahon is now firmly linked to Arthur himself.

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[24] Bastert, *Herzog Herpin*, 883.

[25] For a brief introduction to the character, see Christopher W. Bruce, *The Arthurian Name Dictionary* (New York: Garland, 1999), 382.

[26] For an analysis of Morgan le Fay, her relation to Arthur and the evolution of her depiction in Arthurian romances, see Carolyne Larrington, *King Arthur's Enchantresses: Morgan and Her Sisters in Arthurian Tradition* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), especially 29–50.

Bernd Bastert, in an analysis of Lewe as a character who exists between the Arthurian otherworld and the Christian tradition, throws into relief the superposition of the Christian miraculous and the non-Christian wondrous, commenting on the text's ability to transgress boundaries between traditions and juxtapose motifs, which he sees as a characteristic of the late medieval epic.[27] Although the episode and the interruption of the wondrous and magical into the Christian family narrative appear isolated in the first instance, Arthur intervenes again in an important moment. After Florentyne succumbs to a disease, Lewe retreats into the woods to live as a hermit, mimicking his father's decision to do so after his initial separation from Alheyt and his then unborn son. Yet when both his sons are captured as they are trying to reclaim Bourges, the white knight intervenes once more to tell Lewe his sons need his help. Lewe rides to Bourges on the white knight's horse and as he arrives near the city: "Yme erscheyne zü der selben zijt ein frouwe, brocht yme phert vnd harnesch vnd sprach zu yme: 'Dis hait uch konnig Artus geschickt […].' Das selbe phert was Malberous gewest, das swert was konnig Artus." (f. 155v, 788) [At the same moment a woman appeared to him, brought him a horse and armour and said to him: "King Arthur sent you these." This very horse was Malberous, the sword was King Arthur's.] King Arthur appears in this instance as a similar figure to the white knight, coming to help Lewe in times of need, and the episode highlights the amalgam of what Bastert understands as the superposed strands of the miraculous and the wondrous. The Arthurian tradition is present at different points in the text, sometimes influencing the outcome (as in Arthur arming Lewe), sometimes in a self-contained anecdote (as in Abrahon's castle). Arthur never appears himself, however, and is always mentioned by other female characters, who act on his behalf, emphasising the role of female characters as mediators, as will be discussed below with regard to boundary

[27] See Bernd Bastert, "Zwischen Artus und Jesus. Lewe als Grenzgänger im 'Herzog Herpin'," in *Grenzgänge und Grenzüberschreitungen, Zusammenspiele von Sprache und Literature im Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Nina Bartsch and Simone Schultz-Balluff (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2016), 455–68.

transgression. Going beyond Bastert's division of Christian and non-Christian elements, the references to the Arthurian tradition place *Herzog Herpin* within a literary network that operates across regional or linguistic boundaries and reveal forms of "inter-traditional" references that pertain to a pan-European body of knowledge. Even though it is not mentioned directly in reference to the Arthurian references in the text, Toledo, through Kyot, plays a role in the body of knowledge related to Arthur and in the network formed by the multilingual traditions inspired by Arthurian material.[28] While the Arthurian references reinforce the European "inter-traditional" character of the text, Carolingian material highlights with particular force the connection established by the city of Toledo specifically to this network of traditions.

As previously mentioned, another important tradition spanning across languages and regions is the Carolingian material. Charlemagne appears from the very beginning of the text, as Herpin is banished from court after having killed Clarien, a traitor who tried to discredit him in the eyes of Charlemagne. As well as introducing Charlemagne as a character in the narrative, the text hints at the Roland tradition when the narrator lists the lords present at Charlemagne's court. The list begins with good and worthy knights but ends with the mention of Hatger, followed by "Gannelon vnnd Clarien, ir vetter, die diebe, […] die ir lebetage nye gut geteten." (f. A1v, 2) [Gannelon and Clarien, their cousins, the thieves, who had never done good in their lives.] In the Roland tradition, as discussed in the previous chapter,

[28] Some recent studies have considered the Arthurian material in a European context. See for example Elizabeth Archibald and Ad Putter, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to the Arthurian Legend* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) which takes a chronological and thematic approach to the Arthurian material rather than dividing it in linguistic or national traditions. The series "Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages," edited by Ad Putter and published by the University of Wales Press between 1995 and 2019, although it divides its material by areas and language traditions, similarly seeks to provide an account of the breadth of the Arthurian legend across Europe. See the series' page on the University of Wales Press' website, accessed 30 May 2019, https://www.uwp.co.uk/series/arthurian-literature-in-the-middle-ages/.

Ganelon/Genelun is known as the traitor who foments the attack on the rear-guard with Marsilie, the Iberian king. Here, Gannelon is associated with Clarien too, which similarly recalls the Roland tradition: "Clariens" is the name of the envoy who Paligan sends to Marsilie to offer his help to the Iberian troops (for example *RL* l. 7241, *KdG* l. 8531). Through the simple mention of the two names, the narrator provides a hint to former stories, one which will be developed later on in the narrative when Alheyt is hiding in Toledo and the city is attacked by a certain heathen: "eyn heydischen konnig, hieß Marciles, der Ramczebaux und Rolant erdodet, die zwen warent konnig Karl neuen." (f. 8r, 82) [a heathen king, called Marciles, who killed Ronceval and Roland, the two were the nephews of King Charles.] Despite the personification of Ramczebaux, transformed into Charlemagne's nephew, the mention of Roland makes the reference impossible to miss. In Carolingian epics, however, Charlemagne faces the Iberian king in a religiously motivated war. Here, on the other hand, two heathen kings – Marciles and the heathen King of Toledo – fight against each other for what appears to be territorial expansion, even though Marciles' aim remains unclear. Finally, Alheyt, dressed as a boy named Besem, defeats the giant Luciant, who was posted outside the city by Marciles. She is fighting on behalf of the King of Toledo, fighting under the guise of a heathen (and, moreover, a heathen boy) for a heathen king. Such transgressing of boundaries will be discussed in more details below, but in this instance, it indicates that loyalties are not explicitly determined by religion, but rather by the connections established between the main characters and the memory of Charlemagne's fight against the same king, Marciles.

Maren Großbröhmer considers the intertextual references in the French source and their capacity to secure and reinforce a collective cultural memory and identity, but does not apply this analysis to the German text, arguing that:

> Dem Schreiber der deutschen Adaptation des Herpin unterläuft in der Rekurrenz auf die Schlacht von Roncesvales also vermutlich deshalb ein sinnentstellender

Übersetzungsfehler, weil ihm der Inhalt und der historische Kern des Rolandslieds fremd, d.h. weil sie nicht Teil seines Sagengedächtnisses sind. Die spezifischen Bedingungen der deutschen Chanson de geste-Rezeption schneiden die deutschen Rezipienten von einem kulturellen Wissen ab, das in französischen Hörer- und Leserkreisen ganz selbstverständlich verfügbar gewesen sein dürfte.

A translation error, which distorts meaning, is probably committed by the scribe of the German adaptation of *Herpin* in the recurrence to the battle of Ronceval because the content and the historical core of the Song of Roland are foreign to him, that is to say, because they are not part of his *Sagengedächtnis* [legend-memory]. The specific conditions of the German *Chanson de geste* reception cut off the German recipients from a cultural knowledge that to French audiences and readerships would have been quite self-evidently available.[29]

Großbröhmer concludes that to a German audience the reference to Roland is a *Scheinanalepse* [seeming analepsis] – a term she borrows from Bastert as a reference to an event which is presented as historical but cannot be ascertained as such – and that it provides the text with seeming historicity and a direct link to Charlemagne. However, did a German audience need access to the French narratives and *Sagengedächtnis* Großbröhmer mentions for the reference to Roland to have a similar capacity to reinforce the German

[29] Großbröhmer, 84. Großbröhmer relies on an argument made by Bastert, who defines the *Sagengedächtnis* as “ein selbstverständlicher und leicht abrufbarer Teil des kulturellen Gedächtnisses […], das sich freilich als nur scheinbar solide und damit in irgendeiner Form ‚greifbare‘ Größe erweist, indem es zwar in der Literatur als fester Bezugsrahmen funktionalisiert, gleichzeitig aber durch sie wesentlich bestimmt und immer neu geformt wird.” [an evident and easily retrievable part of the cultural memory, which turns out to be only seemingly reliable and thereby in some way of a “tangible” breadth. While it is indeed functionalised in literature as a firm reference framework, it is simultaneously essentially asserted and always newly reformed through it.] *Helden als Heilige*, 56–7.

audience's sense of identity and cultural memory? The body of knowledge relating to legends of a German audience would have not likely been so different from that of a French audience so as to allow a possible mistake, or an intentional play on the name of Ronceval, to change the function and meaning of the Roland references in the German adaptation. Moreover, considering that Charlemagne is present as a character throughout the text, the link between the narrative and the Carolingians is already present. The explicit mentions of Marciles and Roland reinforce this link by recalling not only Carolingian material but specifically Charlemagne's Iberian crusade. I argue that the Roland reference is best understood by shifting the focus from its (in)accuracy and implications to the context in which it appears: the city of Toledo. Marciles, Ramczebaux and Roland are mentioned in relation to Toledo, a city which likely has a place in the cultural memory of *Herzog Herpin*'s audience, since it provides a connection to narratives of Charlemagne's youth.

According to a story which circulates in different texts in Latin and European vernaculars and is largely known as the *Mainet* tradition, Charlemagne escaped to Toledo in his youth, disguised under the name Mainet, where he fell in love with a Moorish princess, daughter of the King Galafer. The earliest allusion to the emperor's stay in Toledo appears in the Latin *Pseudo-Turpin*, in which the audience learns that Charlemagne has been received in Toledo by King Galafer in his youth as he was escaping his land and that he knows Arabic as a result of his stay there, although the text does not mention the emperor's love interest.[30] Although the story can be traced back in texts in French and Italian as well, within the scope of this project the reference to Toledo in texts developing in German and Castilian is particularly significant.[31] In Castile, the *Primera Crónica General de España*, begun under

[30] Jacques Horrent, *Les versions françaises et étrangères des Enfances de Charlemagne* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1979), 41.

[31] For a stemmatic study of the story of Charlemagne's youth in French, Italian, German and Castilian texts, see Horrent. For a multilingual bibliography on Charlemagne, spanning most of western Europe,

Alfonso X in 1270 and continued after 1289 under Sancho IV, integrates the story of Charlemagne's youth in Toledo into a larger narrative of the history of "Spain" and shares characteristics with the German *Karlmeinet,* a German collection of stories about Charlemagne from the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, probably compiled at the end of the thirteenth century or early fourteenth century, contains a *Mainete*, retelling the story but incorporating it with narratives of the conquest of Jerusalem and the First Crusade.[32]

In *Karl und Galie*, the title by which the first part of the *Karlmeinet* is known, Toledo is the city in which Charlemagne seeks refuge as he is driven out of his father's kingdom by the traitors Hanfrat and Hoderich who conspire to usurp the throne, and where he meets his Iberian bride Galie.[33] *Karl und Galie* and *Herzog Herpin* share similar characteristics in their depiction of the "heathens" of Toledo. While the Iberian characters are always defined as heathens and their characterisation heavily relies on their religious difference, it does not

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see Susan E. Farrier, *The Medieval Charlemagne Legend: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1993), especially 169–72 for stories of the emperor's youth.

[32] For editions of the texts, see Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Diego Catalán, eds., *Primera crónica general de España, editada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal; con un estudio actualizador de Diego Catalán* (Madrid: Gredos, 1977); Heinrich Keller, ed., *Karl Meinet zum ersten Mal herausgegeben* (Stuttgart: Litterarischer Vereins, 1858) and Louis Cooper, ed., *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, 4 vols (Bogota: Caro y Cuervo, 1979). For more information on the *Primera crónica general,* see Horrent, 31–5, 109–70 and Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, "Estoria de Espanna," in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. R. Graeme Dunphy (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 587–8. For information and a bibliography on the *Karlmeinet*, see Horrent, 30–1, 175–98 and Farrier, 143–4. For information and a bibliography on the *Gran conquista de Ultramar*, see Farrier, 55 and César Domínguez Prieto, "Gran Conquista de Ultramar [Great Conquest of Outremer]," in Dunphy, *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 726–7.

[33] While the only full edition of the compilation remains the 1858 version by Heinrich Keller, a more recent edition of the first part is available: Dagmar Helm, *"Karl und Galie." "Karlmeinet," Teil I. Abdruck der Handschrift A (2290) der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt und der 8 Fragmente herausgegeben und erläutert* (Berlin: Akademie, 1986). For an overview of the text and more information on the *Karlmeinet* in general, see Hartmut Beckers, "Karlmeinet-Kompilation," *VL*, 4:1012–29. For bibliographical information on *Karl und Galie* specifically, see Farrier, 171–2.

create a necessary duality or enmity between them and the Christians. Both Galafer and the unnamed King of Toledo in *Herpin* show hospitality to Charlemagne and Alheyt and Herpin respectively, describing much more complex and nuanced cultural contacts than, for example, the *Rolandslied*. Furthermore, the mention of Marsilie as a character, as mentioned previously, participates in creating reference to these narratives of Charlemagne's youth. In Der Stricker's *Karl der Große*, discussed in the first chapter, the story of Charlemagne fleeing to Iberia is told, and it is none other than Marsilie who offers the young emperor refuge (ll. 185–93). This story of Charlemagne's youth, through its disseminations in European vernaculars, forms yet another path between Herpin, Toledo, Carolingian legends and the European cultural network, and the link is reinforced by the inclusion of Galie as a character in *Herzog Herpin*: Oleybaum, Lewe's son, marries Gallien, the daughter of King Ansijs, the Iberian king from whom he receives the kingdom of Burgos. By using the name Gallien specifically in an Iberian context, the narrative once again plays with inter-traditional references and recalls Charlemagne's young Spanish bride Galie, albeit in a form closer to the French Gallienne or the Castilian Galiana.

I do not intend to rigorously track references to other works or traditions in an attempt to locate possible sources for *Herzog Herpin*. In fact, it would be virtually impossible to pin down references to specific texts, for example to say that the reference to Toledo is a direct link to Wolfram's *Parzival* or to one of the Roland versions specifically. Rather I would like to emphasise that evoking Carolingian motifs in the city of Toledo, deliberately or not, points to the importance of the city as a space reminiscent of a certain vision of the past shaped by literary witnesses. Toledo is an integral part of the narrative's complex web of references to different traditions and bodies of knowledge circulating around Europe for a large part of the Middle Ages. The examples discussed here, in keeping with this thesis's focus, span modern-day France, Germany and Spain. In the text, then, the city appears to trigger the cultural memory of its audience following the broad definition I established previously, relying on Assmann and Erll. Discussing Gabriel García Márquez' 1967 *Cien años*

de soledad [One Hundred Years of Solitude] and Salman Rushdie's 1981 *Midnight's Children*, Erll defines them as texts that "inspired an imagination of South American and Indian history in worldwide audiences."[34] In the context of *Herzog Herpin*, I suggest that the process is reversed and that, as a German adaptation of a French text, making use of pan-European motifs developed through the interactions of characters with and on the Mediterranean network and the city of Toledo, *Herzog Herpin* inspires an imagination of "European" history, a history shared across languages and regions within the geography of Western Europe, in a German-speaking audience. The idea of a "European" history contextualises the text itself by creating connections beyond the French-German axis represented in Elisabeth's translation. While the text moves from one language to the next, it also moves across an array of other literary traditions by recalling transnational motifs in a city that is already a symbol of cultural dialogue – that is, a symbol of the possibility to blur and cross boundaries established between traditions and cultures.

2.2. Transgressing Boundaries in Toledo

The blurring of boundaries which occurs between regions and languages through the use of pan-European traditions echoes other types of boundary-crossing in the text. The characters' peregrinations around the geographical borders of Europe translate into the narrative as a transgression of boundaries of religion, gender and familial organisation. In terms of transgressing boundaries of gender and religion, the most successful example appears in Toledo, where Alheyt, dressed as the heathen boy Besem, works for eighteen years in the kitchens of the king without arousing suspicions:

[34] Erll, 164.

> die fromme frouwe war noch in leben zu Tollet in der stadt, […] in des konniges hoffe sy wol achczehen iar was. […] Das hoffe gesinde hatte die hertzogynne alle lyep. Sij machte das füre vnd beryede die cappen vnd det darin, was man sy hieß. In der kuchen gewan sy nye rüge oder rast, sy arbeit alle zijt mit grossem fliße. Die edel frouwe hieß sich nennen Balier, das ist Besem, von Daragone. Sy ging als eyn iunger knecht, yr antlitz was schone. Die heiden hatten sij alle gemeinlich liep, dan sy lang da zu hoffe gewest. (f. 7v, 80)

> The valiant woman was still alive in the city of Toledo […] she was at the king's court for a good eighteen years […] The servants at court all liked the duchess. She made the fire and prepared the capons and she did there what people told her to. In the kitchen she never rested or was chastised, she was always very hard-working. The noble woman made them call her Belier, that is Besem, of Tarragona. She went as a young servant boy; her face was beautiful. The heathen all had a common affection for her, as she had been at court for so long.

Although Alheyt is accepted as a heathen man in Toledo, her disguise always remains clearly marked out to the audience, since the narrator continues to employ female pronouns to refer to her and thus reminds them of her true gender. If the audience is privy to her female identity, everyone in Toledo accepts her as a male body.[35] She fully commits to her disguise herself. When Florij, the king's daughter, asks her about her homeland, for example, she replies: "So mir unnser got Appollo, ich erstach einen mann, der namhaftig was, der schalt

[35] In this chapter, I wish to consider cross-dressing as an example of boundary transgression in the city of Toledo, but for more in-depth analyses of the implications of cross-dressing in medieval literature, see Ursula Peters, "Gender trouble in der mittelalterlichen Literatur? Mediävistische Genderforschung und Cross-dressing Geschichten," in *Manlîchiu wîp, wîplîch man: Zur Konstruktion der Kategorien "Körper" und "Geschlecht" in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Ingrid Bennewitz and Hermut Tervooren (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1999), 284–304 and Valerie Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross-dressing in Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge, 1996).

mich eins hornsuns lecker.“ (f. A25r, 80) [On our god Apollo, I stabbed a man, who was famous, he berated me as a son of a whore, a buffoon.] Alheyt modifies her true story, and attributes the actions of her husband to herself, taking on a masculine role to keep her cover. She swears on Apollo, often considered a Muslim god in medieval depictions of Islam (as discussed in Chapter one) and assumes all outward signs of belonging to that religion.

Even so, Alheyt moves with fluidity between her inner belief as a Christian and her outward performance as a heathen, helping the narrative escape strict binaries. When Marciles attacks the King of Toledo despite their shared belief, it is Alheyt as Besem who goes out to fight the giant Luciant, posted outside Toledo on Marciles' orders. In fact, she does so on God's orders. At night, a voice comes to her: "Got enbudet dir, das du gewappent seist, wenne es taget, als einem mann zugehoret vnnd dann gang auß der stat Tollet, so vindestu den risen, der wartet dein. […] Ganng vnnd thue den streit, das heisset dich Ihesus!" (f. 8v/A27r, 86) [God demands of you, that you be armed when the day breaks, as befits a man, and then that you go out of the city of Toledo. Then you will find the giant, he is waiting for you. […] Go and fight, Jesus commands you!] Throughout the fight, Alheyt prays to Mary and her Christian God and finally succeeds in defeating the giant. The fight plays out on two levels: to the characters in the narrative, a heathen man of Toledo fights for his king, but the audience knows that a Christian woman fights for her God, in order to save her place of refuge. Alheyt remains a boundary transgressor to the audience, who knows she has not truly adopted the heathen faith. Religious affiliation, it appears, can have a strategic function.

In the figure Alheyt, the text portrays a character who plays with gender and religion and challenges the social order. As such, her character can be inscribed in a larger tradition of describing women as agents of transgression, following Roberta L. Krueger's statement that "[i]n many courtly fictions, women's transgressive acts or disruptive speech make readers

question chivalric ideals and courtly conventions."[36] Alheyt's transgressive acts challenge conventions, but not the conventions of the society she finds herself in at the time of her transgression. The revelation of her true gender might challenge literary, courtly conventions, but do not seem to matter to anyone in Toledo. She ends up revealing to Frolich, the King of Toledo's daughter, that she is a woman when Frolich falls in love with Besem and asks for his hand in marriage. Once her disguise has been revealed, she flees only because it is now the King of Toledo who falls in love with her and asks for her hand in marriage. The issue that forces her to come out of her disguise and flee the court to hide in the streets of Toledo is her love and her marriage to Herpin. Alheyt's cross-dressing, as well as her pretend heathen faith, challenges the reader's expectations of female characters and this dynamic is only reinforced by the lack of reaction to her transgressions on the part of the characters in Toledo.

Other characters disguise themselves in the text, but only women cross-dress and only Alheyt maintains her persona for so long. The night before her wedding to Lewe, Florentyne is kidnapped with her servant Merge by the Duke of Calabria, who believes he is more deserving of her. They manage to escape by dressing up as two boys. When it was necessary for Alheyt to preserve her disguise to remain safe, however, Florentyne and Merge, arriving at a cloister, are first refused and must reveal their true gender to be allowed protection. Ultimately, the Duke of Calabria realises their trick and comes to find them at the cloister. Even for a short period of time, the malleability of cross-dressing is reserved for female characters. Lewe, on his way to rescue Florentyne and Merge, only attempts to dress as a beggar and disguise his social class and yet he is found out almost immediately. As was

[36] Roberta L. Krueger, "Questions of Gender in Old French Courtly Romance," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 137. See also Hotchkiss, 83–104, on disguised wives; she offers similar readings of instances of cross-dressing to reflect on social standing and conventions. For a more general study of the representation of gender and the influence of gender dynamics on medieval literature, see also Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

the case in the Roland tradition discussed in Chapter one, in which conversion and the negotiation of religious identities was enacted through Brechmunda, female characters in *Herzog Herpin* display a malleability that is necessary to their survival.

Whereas Alheyt plays with the boundaries of gender and religion with relative ease, she is forced to come out of hiding because she refuses to break the bond of marriage which unites her to Herpin. After she defeats the giant, she must first reveal herself as a woman to Florij, who had asked her hand in marriage; when her gender is revealed the King of Toledo makes a similar request. Only at this stage does Alheyt decide to abandon the court and live as a beggar on the streets of Toledo. Whereas Alheyt transgresses the boundaries of gender and religion but refuses to break familial bonds, other characters break familial bonds in order to avoid transgressing religious boundaries. Lina Herz, considering familial boundaries, cites the example of Ysorey, a secretly Christian man in the heathen city of Palermo who kills his own wife to protect Florentyne, Lewe's wife, when she arrives after fleeing from the Duke of Calabria. Ysorey must break his marriage bond to preserve what Herz defines as a "Glaubensfamilie" [belief family] and protect his "Glaubensschwester" [belief sister], Florentyne.[37] A second episode, in which the King of Cyprus is looking for a new wife after having made a promise on his late wife's deathbed that he would only remarry someone who looked exactly like her, is also discussed by Herz and merits further consideration. In this episode, the king searches for such a woman but does not find her. Instead, realising how much she looks like her mother, he decides to marry his own daughter Frolich and gets the blessing of the Pope himself. In this case, the King of Cyprus attempts to preserve his marriage bond through the promise he made to his wife but breaks Christian ethics and in doing so brings even the Pope into question when he blesses an incestuous union. Herz considers this episode from the perspective of familial construction, analysing the possibilities

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[37] Lina Herz*, Schwieriges Glück: Kernfamilie als Narrativ am Beispiel des "Herzog Herpin"* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2017), 154–5.

of changing the family value system at different moments in the text and the physical implications of attempting to remove yourself from the family: Frolich cuts her hand off in a bid to no longer qualify as her mother's look-a-like.[38] Following this, Frolich [Happy] hides her identity by changing her name to Bedrüpnis [Sadness.] The story exemplifies another type of religious boundary transgressing, not from one religion to another, but rather as a distortion of one character's own religious values. The text describes contacts between religious groups with nuance and complexity and relies less on a binary between Christianity and heathendom than on individuals' moral qualities and their abilities to follow the right cause. The episode shows the complexity of characters in the text, not only on a religious level since a converted Christian commits disturbing acts, surprisingly with the blessing of the Pope himself, but also in the range of occasions that allow connections to be formed between characters. The King of Cyprus was a necessary nodal character who connected Lewe to his father Herpin by giving him the information to go to Toledo. Here, he forces his daughter into an exile that breaks his own familial bond with her but creates another, as Frolich/Bedrüpnis flees to "Hyspanien" where she marries Oleybaum whose first wife Gallien has died.

In all these episodes, whether through cross-dressing or through marriage and conversion, moments of transgression and contact, as we have just seen with Frolich and Oleybaum, are negotiated on female bodies. Categories of gender, religion and familial values are reformulated through the adventures of female protagonists. As I discussed with relation to Queen Brechmunda in my first chapter, the symbolism of female bodies as sites of negotiations is not restricted to *Herzog Herpin*. In the case of this text, however, the wide array of female characters portrayed in this way becomes even more significant due to the text's connection to a female translator. In her discussion of medieval French romances, Krueger argue that these texts "provide evidence of elite women's continual literary activity as readers, patrons, and sometimes as creators; they also suggest that women participated

[38] Herz, 155–6.

along with men in an ongoing investigation of and debate about sexual and social identity."[39] In *Herzog Herpin*, the descriptions of female characters bring into question the role of Elisabeth of Nassau-Saarbrücken herself as a transcultural agent. Her involvement in the making of the text triggers further reflection on the role of women in the literary world – both as characters in texts and as historical figures contributing to the making of texts. If the text forms a network based on references to pan-European traditions and is attached to a woman who moves across cultural spheres through marriage, then considering the text in relation to Elisabeth brings to light the role of women in the shaping of what I have termed the European cultural network. While investigating further the role of Elisabeth as transcultural agent is not part of the scope of this chapter, her role highlights, once again, the multiplicity of networks that exist alongside each other in *Herzog Herpin*. Women are connective agents – in the extra-textual literary network and also in the intra-textual networks that shape the narrative.

2.3. Networks as Narrative Patterns

2.3.a. The Family as Network

The centrality of the family to the narrative has been often acknowledged by scholars as a central theme in *Herzog Herpin*. Herz considers the family nucleus (father, mother, child) as a narrative pattern that shapes the text, as different family models appear throughout its duration and are successively separated and reunited. She begins by considering the Holy Family as a pattern of narration in medieval literature, before analysing the original trio in the text – Herpin, Alheyt, Lewe – as an ideal family and the later generations as possible familial counter-models, which deconstruct the pattern of family nucleus by integrating other elements into the familial structure (Gerhart, for example, Lewe's bastard son, or Badewin of

[39] Krueger, 146.

Monclin, Lewe's adoptive parents, and Elij and Beatrix, who raise Oleybaum).[40] Rather than a family nucleus incorporating new elements and counter-models, I suggest that the family acquires a structuring function in the text because it takes the shape of a network, which is constructed through the characters' travels around the Mediterranean and expands as they connect with each other. Such is the nature of late medieval aristocratic families: networks stretching across time and space, relying upon relationships to sustain and transmit power, but centred on their line of descent as a way of maintaining land and wealth.[41] The narrative pattern in play here is this notion of the family conceived of as a network, in which family members are connected by other characters and by places.

Herzog Herpin repeatedly alienates its characters, reunites them and allows its audience to glimpse the paths connecting them as they are interrupted and stretched, even when these paths are not visible to the characters themselves. In this regard, the narrative functions in a way that recalls Levine's analysis of *Bleak House*, discussed previously.

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[40] See Herz, especially 65–134 for a discussion of the Holy Family and the original trio, and 135–56 for an analysis of other familial models.

[41] Bartlett deals with the concept of aristocratic families, who underwent transformations in the tenth and eleventh centuries and who from the thirteenth century "had some features that made them more identifiable, more insistent on paternal descent and more restrictive of wider kin-claims than their counterparts of the tenth. They had surnames, drawn from their properties or their castles, that identified them over time. They had heraldic insignia, with increasingly elaborate rules, that identified their family origins, visibly distinguished older and cadet branches and gave preference to male descent." *The Making of Europe*, 49–50. Incidentally, one of the examples Bartlett uses to illustrate the aristocratic diaspora and the construction of the families it produced is the house of Joinville in Champagne: the very house to which Elisabeth's mother, Margaret of Joinville, belonged. See also R. Howard Bloch*, Etymologies and Genealogies, A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983) for an analysis of the construction of familial units through literature. Using different genres, Bloch traces back the reorganisation of noble families around lineage and genealogy to the twelfth century, considers models disrupting this organisation, and draws conclusion about the relation of literature and power in Capetian France. See also Ursula Peters, *Dynastengeschichte und Verwandtschaftsbilder. Die Adelsfamilie in der volkssprachigen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1999) for a similar analysis based on literature in the German language.

Considering the multiplicity of networks that constitute Charles Dickens' narrative, Levine argues that through the layers of interconnection that exist between characters in the novel, "Dickens exposes not so much the splitting apart of families by networks but families as networks, in which the nodes are not always already fused together, but rather connected by paths that can be interrupted and stretched by other forms. *Bleak House* refuses to unify the family, then, and instead conceives of it as one of many networks."[42] The cyclical repetition of family separation and reunion that might be considered to structure the narrative is a consequence of the connection of different family members with external, unrelated characters at different moments in the narrative. Similarly, the multiplication of the number of characters in the second part of the text is a consequence of the extension of the family network, of the multiplication of connections that the family members must make before being able to reunite with other family members.

Lewe, unaware of his true lineage, cannot reunite with his parents without the intervention of other connecting nodes. To make his way to Toledo and his parents, he must go through a series of connecting links. First, he meets Gerna, formerly at the service of Herpin, who tells him of his father. Then he goes to Rome to ask for help in his struggle against the Duke of Calabria. There, the Pope confirms that his father is Herpin of Bourges but that he has been killed on his way to a pilgrimage. This is not true: Herpin has instead been sold as a slave by Gadifer of Savoy, who lied to the Pope to hide his betrayal. On the advice of the Pope, Lewe meets Gadifer, who is revealed as a liar and confesses his treason. Lewe returns to Montluisan in Sicily and decides to ride for Bourges and claim his legacy. Although he should be heading west, he travels first through Constantinople and the Holy Land, whence he sails to Cyprus, where he meets the king who remembers sending Christian men, including Herpin, to a friend but does not remember where he sent them. This delay gives Lewe time to help the King of Cyprus defeat the soldiers of Damascus, with help from

[42] Levine, *Forms*, 128.

the divine white knight. Witnessing the power of God, the King of Cyprus renounces his beliefs, exclaiming: "A Mahon, du bist nit eyns appels wert vnd wer an dich glaubt, der ist eyn dore" (f. 90r, 468). [Ah, Mahon, you are not worth an apple and he who believes in you is a fool.] The Cypriots convert to Christianity, the king is baptised Herpin in honour of Lewe's father and his daughter takes the name Frolich [Happy]. Following this, Lewe departs to search for his father, now accompanied by the King of Cyprus, and meets a beggar who tells them that he has come from Hyspanien and has witnessed the reunion of a husband and wife in Toledo: "In der stait was ein sengerynne, die was arme, vnd sprach, sye were von Franckrich. […] Nü lagen ouch cristen lude in des konnigs gefenkckniß, die ließ der konnig hervß, das sij wyeder die heiden strieden. Vnder den cristen was ein herre, man saget, er were verbannet vsser Franckrich. [...] Die sengerynne [...], die sange ein soliche liet, das der crysten man […] sprach, sij were sin elich wib. Man sagt ouch, das der cristen herre von grossem geslecht ein hertzog were." (f. 99r, 516–7) [In the city, there was a singer, she was poor, and said she was from France. Now there were also Christian people in the king's prison, the king let them out, so that they could fight against the heathens. Amongst the Christians was a lord, people say he had been exiled from France. The singer sang such a song that the Christian man said that she was his lawful wife. People also say that the Christian lord was a duke from a great family.] Hearing this, Lewe finally rides to Toledo and reunites with his parents.

To arrive in Toledo, the three members of the original family nucleus, Alheyt, Herpin and Lewe follow similar directions, but each of them establishes further connections and the itinerary expands each time a character undertakes the journey. Lewe, on his way to Bourges, decides to go through Jerusalem, indirectly fulfilling the wishes of his mother, a journey that will lead him to Cyprus; this means he reconnects with his father's network, albeit somewhat indirectly since the connection requires the intervention of a beggar to make up for the bad memory of the King of Cyprus. Different characters appear throughout the text as direct or indirect paths between family members. The reunion between Lewe and his parents can only

happen through Lewe connecting with characters who had previously connected with Herpin. The intermediary characters function as links that enable the (re)construction of the aristocratic family network, but it is only once the characters have reached Toledo that the family network can show itself fully. It may seem paradoxical that the reunion of the family nucleus enables the expansion of the family network but, going back to the construction of late medieval aristocratic families and their reliance on linear male descent, the reunion in Toledo validates Lewe's claim to the duchy of Bourges and to the familial legacy. Only once Lewe has finally met his father does he decide to make the journey to Bourges. Symbolically, Herpin then dies in Toledo, making Lewe the new patriarchal figure and allowing the development of the following part of the narrative, which describes the family extending into an ever-wider network composed of Lewe's children and grandchildren. In the chaos and fragmentation of power and jurisdiction, Toledo has a stabilising function in the symbolic order of the land-owning aristocratic family, developed to counteract this fragmentation. The idea of "stabilisation," in turn, recalls Assmann and Erll's notion of cultural memory, and Toledo becomes – as well as a node in an extra-textual network of cultural memory – a place that creates a dynastic memory for the family of Herpin of Bourges.

2.3.b. The Mediterranean Network

Herzog Herpin is a text shaped by networks. I have shown in the previous sections of this chapter the existence of an extra-textual network, a literary constellation of "inter-traditional" references. Similarly, I have shown how the network functions as a narrative pattern that shapes the family it describes. The Mediterranean basin around which the characters move is also shaped by connectivity. Just as Toledo formed a nexus in a European literary network, the city takes prominence as a pivotal point in the narrative both for the family conceived as network and for the Mediterranean network: all roads lead to Toledo. Using a network approach to qualify the Mediterranean echoes Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's conception of the basin as a space of connectivity between microregions,

defined as "the various ways in which microregions cohere, both internally and also one with another – in aggregates that may range in size from small clusters to something approaching the entire Mediterranean."[43] Horden and Purcell's study recalls, in a more strictly historical than literary historical context, Wallace's literary history discussed above: both works consider the Mediterranean in its heterogeneity, as a space of interaction and exchange.

Through movement, voluntary or not, the family stretches out across the Mediterranean basin, with the notable exception of Bourges in the centre of modern-day France, which reappears several times as different generations attempt to reclaim their family seat there. Lewe also travels along the Rhine and through modern-day Germany and Belgium in order to reach Paris and then Bourges. The text builds around movement from north to south as well as from east to west, but the majority of the action takes place around the Mediterranean, here understood in a large sense as a complex network constituted not only in the Mediterranean Sea and its coastal regions, but also in the countries which the main characters access or leave via the Mediterranean Sea, ranging from the Holy Land to the city of Toledo via Italy and Sicily.[44] Toledo exemplifies this broadly defined Mediterranean: although the city is landlocked, and located in the middle of the Peninsula, all three main characters who reunite there (Herpin, Alheyt and Lewe) access it by sailing the Mediterranean Sea. Alheyt arrives in the city involuntarily, as her plans to go to Jerusalem are compromised by a storm. The wind leads her to the coast of Iberia, whence she walks to

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[43] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea, A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 123.

[44] The idea that the Mediterranean is not only defined as the sea and its coastline, but also as a network that also extends inland, is at the heart of recent Mediterranean studies. See Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, especially 10–5; Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Karla Mallette, eds., *A Sea of Languages: Rethinking the Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), especially 3–22 and Brian Catlos and Sharon Kinoshita, eds., *Can We Talk Mediterranean? Conversations on an Emerging Field in Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

Toledo (f. A14r, 42–4). Herpin is taken as a slave from Cyprus to Toledo and Lewe arrives from Cyprus after hearing of his father's fate. In fact, Toledo appears as a counterpart to Jerusalem for the three main characters: Alheyt is diverted by a storm on her way to the city; Herpin was on his way to pilgrimage when he was sold as a slave. Lewe, however, is the only one who succeeds in seeing Jerusalem as he goes through the Holy Land (f. 86v–87r, 452) before travelling to Rhodes, Cyprus and finally Toledo. The first part of the narrative constructs a form of reciprocity between Jerusalem and Toledo, offering the latter as an alternative to pilgrimage. The characters, seeking a religious experience, encounter challenges that seem to function as tests of faith through which they showcase their resilience.

The Mediterranean space forms a narrative network, which includes and shapes other patterns of connection between characters, and this textual network is superimposed on a historically complex web of trading and cultural routes. The narrative makes use of the Mediterranean space's potential for intercultural exchange. The text acknowledges the mercantile networks operating in the Mediterranean and brings religious diversity to the fore as Herpin arrives in the port of Brindisi, where he will be unknowingly sold as a slave. The narrator notes that "da fant er vil kaufflüde von fremden landen. Der eyner was von Danmarcke, der ander von Collen, der drytte von dem lande Salomon, der vierde von Cipern. Iuden, cristen, heyden drieben yren kauffman schatz vnder eynander." (f. 18r–18v, 152) [There he found many merchants from foreign lands. The one was from Denmark, the other from Cologne, the third from the land of Solomon, the fourth from Cyprus. Jews, Christian, heathens were engaged in trade with one another.] This episode highlights the influence of the Mediterranean network on the narrative network and the family structure, since the character of Herpin himself is incorporated into the Mediterranean mercantile activities. The scene continues as follows:

> Gadifer gesag eynen kauffman von dem lande Cipern, der was der redelichste, der da was. Er fragete yne heymlich, ob er eynen cristen man keuffen wolde, den künsten, der

leben möcht vff ertrich, dann wer er alleyn nit gewest, so hetten die cristen zu Rome den strijt verlorn. Der kauffman sprach: “So mir myn got Baroton, ich wil üch darvmb geben güts als vil ir wolt, dusent marck gebe ich üch.” “Ffrünt,” sprach Gadifer, “ich wil yne üch in üwer hant geben.” “Ylte üch,” sprach der heyden, “dann ich han sust hye geendet, ich muß hin weg.” Da ging Gadifer wider in syn herberge, er sprach zu Herpin: “Herre, gefelletz uch wol, wir wollen vff das mere gene, kauffmanschatz sehen vnd wollen da keuffen cleynot, ringe und edel gesteyne.” “Es ist mir liep,” sprach hertzog Herpin. (f. 18v, 152–3)

Gadifer saw a merchant of the land of Cyprus; he was the most eloquent who was there. He asked him in confidence if he wanted to buy a Christian man, the boldest who might live on the earth. If it hadn’t been for him alone, then the Christians would have lost the fight in Rome. The merchant spoke: “In the name of my god Baroton, I will give you as many goods as you want for this man, I give you a thousand marks.” “Friend,” said Gadifer, “I will deliver him to you.” “Hurry,” spoke the heathen, “as I have otherwise finished here, I must go on.” Then Gadifer returned to his lodgings and said to Herpin: “Lord, if it pleases you, I would like to go out to sea, see the trade and buy fine little things there, rings and gemstones.” “I would like that,” said Duke Herpin.

Under the pretence of wanting to take part in the trading scene, Gadifer of Savoy sells Herpin into slavery to a Cypriot merchant, tricking him into losing his agency and becoming an object of trade. In the process, trade supplants earlier motivations: Herpin and Gadifer had left Rome to go on pilgrimage to the church of Saint Nicolas in Bari. The interaction of religious and mercantile motivation highlights the negotiations taking place in the Mediterranean space, replacing strict religious binaries with more fluid forms of cultural contact. These examples of the different types of relations (evoked by Coulon and Valérian) are not restricted to *Herzog Herpin* and appear in other texts dedicated to travels around the

Mediterranean from different periods. Perhaps the most famous example is the *Apollonius of Tyre*, a story of Greek origins, but with a wide dissemination spanning across European – including Mediterranean – vernaculars.[45] Discussing the Castilian *Libro de Apolonio*, and a remark a female character (Tarsiana) makes to the hero, Julian Weiss argues that "Apolonio's sea voyages symbolize the contingent and fluid nature of social relationships and the identities they require and produce. More specifically, Tarsiana's hesitation over whether Apolonio is really a pilgrim or a merchant is a symptom of a deeper uncertainty over the boundaries between economic, ethical and spiritual identities."[46] While written about a Castilian version of the story of Apollonius of Tyre, Weiss' remark is based on characteristics of the Mediterranean that shape texts dealing with this space more generally. In this instance, Herpin is caught in a similar opposition. Despite his desire to be a pilgrim, he finds himself included in a mercantile network, not even as a merchant, but as merchandise. The audience realises later on that this moment of treason actually turns out to Herpin's advantage and was necessary, since only through being sent by the King of Cyprus as a gift to the King of Toledo can Herpin reunite with his family. His passage through Cyprus also creates new paths for the following generation, since Lewe, on the search for his parents, must travel through Cyprus in order to learn of the fate of his father. From there, he travels on to Toledo, after having converted the island to Christianity. The Mediterranean, therefore, in provoking separations and enabling reunions, conditions the patterns of connection that exist between the members of the family.

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[45] For a study of the Apollonius of Tyre tradition, considered through a transnational lens in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, see Elizabeth Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre, Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations* (Cambridge : D.S. Brewer, 1991), 3–108, especially 45–51.

[46] Julian Weiss, *The 'Mester de Clerecía'. Intellectuals and Ideologies in Thirteenth-Century Castile* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2006), 202.

2.3.c. Mediterranean Places as Narrative Nodes

What is the role, then, of the different places in which the connections between characters happen? *Herzog Herpin* develops around several recurring places: Bourges, Montluisan and Palermo, the Holy Land, Cyprus and Toledo. Rabea Kohnen, discussing narrative techniques of accumulation and superimposition in the text, argues that one such technique is the construction of geographical cycles, in which repeated names of places enable the reader to build a mental map on which it is always possible to place the movements of the characters. Kohnen describes the recurrent places as nodal points in the narrative: "Indem bestimmte Orte zeitgleich und / oder nacheinander von unterschiedlichen Protagonisten besucht werden, etablieren sie sich als Handlungsknotenpunkte. Dieser Effekt der Wiederholung wird noch dadurch verstärkt, dass die meisten Nebenfiguren und Antagonisten raumgebunden agieren und sich so am jeweiligen Ort ein fixes Set an Interaktionsmöglichkeiten bindet."[47] [The fact that specific places are visited by different protagonists at the same time and/or after one another means that they establish themselves as nodes in the narrative. This effect of repetition is further reinforced through the fact that the actions of most secondary characters and antagonists are tied to a place. As such a fixed set of possible interactions is bound to each place.] What Kohnen describes as narrative nodes correspond to the different places visited by the characters within the Mediterranean network. Recurrent places in the text, each containing a specific set of interactions, become narrative pockets, in which sub-storylines develop, often conflicts which are related to a specific place and can only be resolved through the presence of specific characters in this place. The network structure which shapes both the depiction of the Mediterranean space and the family forms a constellation not only of geographical places but of specific narrative moments associated with these places. Different narrative pockets have different functions however, and in *Herzog Herpin* these nodes could be divided into two functional categories: cities and islands.

[47] Kohnen, 179.

The narrative structure here appears to mirror the network structure of the Mediterranean space as defined by Coulon and Valérian, who insist on cities and islands as two privileged observation points. On the one hand, cities "jouent […] un rôle polarisant en tant que centres de décisions, mais sont aussi des noeuds de réseaux et des points de concentration des hommes, des marchandises, des informations, etc." [play a polarising role as decision centres, but are also network nodes and points of concentration of men, merchandise, information, etc.][48] On the other hand, islands play "un rôle essentiel dans l'organisation des flux maritimes, qu'elles contribuent à fixer autour de quelques points de passage plus ou moins obligés, qui constituent des plaques tournantes où peuvent être mis en relations plusieurs réseaux différents." [an essential role in the organisation of maritime flows, which they help to fix around a few more or less obligatory crossing points, which constitute turning plates where several different networks can be put in touch.][49] I draw on Kohnen's narratives nodes, re-contextualised through Coulon and Valérian's comments on cities and islands, to highlight again the parallel between the historical Mediterranean conceived as network and the Mediterranean as it functions in the narrative and structures the text. The examples used by Coulon and Valérian (Messina as city, Cyprus as island) correspond to important areas for the characters in the text and the function of different places in the narrative mirrors their analysis.

Cities and islands appear to structure the Mediterranean network in *Herzog Herpin*, with cities acting as nodes and islands as connecting pathways.[50] Islands fulfil a transitory role, where characters pass on their way to another destination, often defeating an enemy or converting a local king, but without intention of establishing themselves there. Travels

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[48] Coulon, Picard and Valérian, 15.

[49] Coulon, Picard and Valérian, 15.

[50] A question might arise concerning Sicily, an island which is mentioned in the text but is not a narrative node in itself. Rather, Sicily is mentioned in so far as it contains important nodal cities, namely Montluisan and Palermo.

through islands help characters gain recognition or connect to other characters, but islands are never a goal themselves. Lewe, on the search for his parents, first travels through Rhodes, where he helps the daughter of a king defeat the giant who had previously killed her father and was hoping to marry her. The giant is killed and the woman asks to be baptised. Finally, Lewe marries her to Gerna, and they leave Rhodes, never to return. Cyprus, which I have already discussed in relation to the king's function as a connector between Lewe and his parents, exemplifies the role of islands as organisers of flows, as connecting links. In this regard, Cyprus acquires more significance in the narrative than Rhodes but it remains a space through which characters pass, and not somewhere characters go. The journey to Cyprus is necessary for the narrative, as it connects Lewe and his parents, but the island itself is only a point of passage, which helps resolve one specific storyline.

Cities on the other hand function as points of concentration, where important decisions for the narrative are made. Bourges stands out as the only place which is visited by all of the main male characters, as all of Herpin's descendants return to attempt to blow the magical horn and prove themselves to be the true heir to Bourges in the Berry. Yet cities are often contested nodes, and in the case of Wilhelm and Oleybaum, the return to Bourges leads to their imprisonment when the fourteen sons of constable Hermis attempt to steal the seat of Bourges for themselves. Cities in Sicily are strongly associated with Lewe and his family. Montluisan is Lewe's seat, which he wins in a tournament, and Palermo appears as an echo to Toledo in the second part of the narrative, since Lewe's family reunites there. Fleeing from one of the Duke of Calabria's many attempts to abduct her, Florentyne seeks refuge in the city with her son Wilhelm, where Lewe later arrives to help the King of Cyprus who is defending Christianity there. Finally, Oleybaum hears a voice urging him to travel to Palermo where he is to meet his father and mother. Cities are places in which long-lost characters reunite and where information gathered by different family members can be shared, often triggering a new storyline.

In this context, Toledo gains all its significance as a narrative node, as a point of concentration for the characters. An important city in the narrative, Toledo connects the two main parts of the text and is visited by all members of the first generation of protagonists: Alheyt, Herpin, Lewe. Toledo is never the characters' initial goal, and it is never accessed directly. Access to Toledo requires chance, hardship, and passage through other transitory places, such as the island of Cyprus in the case of Lewe and Herpin. Toledo reunites the members of the original family, resolving the initial conflict in the narrative, and as such becomes both a node in the Mediterranean network and in the family conceived as network. It is a city in which faith and marriage bonds are tested, a city which allows malleability and the transgressing of boundaries. In the cyclical family narrative put forward in *Herzog Herpin*, Toledo is the place where the first part of the narrative comes full circle, and whence Lewe departs to claim Bourges, triggering the second wave of family separation and reunion.

In *Herzog Herpin*, Toledo forms part of a complex network established around the Mediterranean through the movement of characters from one place to the next. The city becomes a narrative node intra-textually, one which allows the transgression of boundaries of gender and religion, especially through the character of Alheyt. From a narrative perspective, Toledo also triggers new storylines. Yet the centrality of Toledo in the narrative functions extra-textually, too, as a place of translation. It connects *Herzog Herpin* to a body of traditions and motifs that highlight the multilingual origin of the story and recall Toledo's own story of multilingual knowledge transmission. From the perspective of this project, Toledo embodies the possibilities offered by the Iberian space in medieval German literature and the role this space comes to occupy in the German literary imaginary and, more broadly, the European cultural network.

I refer to the "European cultural network" somewhat provocatively, using the term European as if it stood for a well-defined, clear entity. This is not the case. By exploring the role of Toledo within the intra-textual Mediterranean network and the extra-textual

"European" network, I would like to highlight how both these networks escape fixity. Both sprawl and expand in different ways, be it through the movement of characters or through the cultural memory to which they provide a connection. If the Mediterranean network is a space in constant movement in the narrative, then the European cultural network shows a similar fluidity in our inability to pinpoint the exact sources of literary references. "European" is a geographical denomination which appears to fit the traditions I have explored in this chapter because I have considered languages that develop in the geographical borders of Western Europe – yet the traditions themselves cannot be defined by these geographical borders. Toledo, as a place which provides connections between the intra- and extra-textual networks explored in this chapter, sheds light on the construction of such networks, and with it, the constant movement in which "European" literatures evolve. While considering the depiction of Toledo in the text provides a new and illuminating perspective into the narrative itself, the narrative also helps to understand what role Iberian spaces come to play in late medieval Western European culture. Within the network model set out in my introduction, the city of Toledo affords interactional relations between Toledo and the northern European sphere from which its depiction emanates. Toledo connects southern Europe and the Mediterranean to northern Europe.

Crossing territorial and linguistic boundaries, Toledo sheds light on the construction of a literary culture that relies not just on routes, but rather on networks as forms that lack any kind of centre and exist in constant movement. In other words, it is not solely the depiction of the city which is at stake here, but rather how the representation of this city sheds light on the construction of a shared culture in the narrative. Going back once more to Wallace's analysis of the Council of Constance in 1415 as the beginning of a concept of Europe, an exploration of the role of Toledo in *Herzog Herpin* shows that the project of conceptualising "Europe" can never be resolved. If here, Toledo sheds light on European culture as a network, an interactional framework that is inherently polycentric, Oswald von Wolkenstein's poetry, describing the poet travelling in the context of the Council of

Constance, highlights the polyphonic nature of international court culture as will be discussed in the following chapter.

3. Constructing Poetic Identity in Oswald von Wolkenstein's Songs

Ain künigin von Arragon, was schon und zart,

da für ich kniet, zu willen raicht ich ir den bart,

mit hendlein weiss bant si darein ain ringlin zart

lieplich und sprach: „non maiplus disligaides."

von iren handen ward ich in die oren mein

gestochen durch mit ainem messin nädelein,

nach ir gewonheit sloss si mir zwen ring dorein,

die trüg ich lang, und nennt man si raicades.

Ich sücht ze stund künig Sigmund, wo ich in vand,

der mund er spreutzt und macht ain kreutz, do er mich kant,

der rüfft mir schier: „du zaigest mir hie disen tant,"

freuntlich mich fragt: „tün dir die ring nicht laides?" Kl. 18, 33–44

I knelt before a queen of Aragon, beautiful and delicate,

I willingly pointed my beard towards her.

With small white hands she bound a delicate ring into it

Lovingly and said "non maiplus disligaides."

With her hands she pierced through my ears

With a small brass needle.

Following her custom, she put two rings into them.

I wore them a long time and they are called raicades.

Immediately I went to find King Sigismund. When I found him

He opened his mouth wide and crossed himself as he saw me.

He called out to me at once: “You show me such nonsense!”

And asked in a friendly manner: “don’t the rings hurt you?”[1]

This extract is taken from a well-known song by Oswald von Wolkenstein (1376–1445), the German-speaking nobleman, diplomat, and poet from South Tyrol, a region located in the north of modern-day Italy. In a few lines, it displays many of the characteristics of his songs dedicated to his time in the Iberian Peninsula. Oswald plays with spatial dynamics in order to construct a multi-faceted poetic identity which relies on the poet’s blurring of the boundaries between autobiography, fiction, familiarity and estrangement. The heterotopic space of Iberia, which becomes a stage that accommodates Oswald’s blurring of boundaries, comes to play a central role in the construction of this identity, as becomes clear for example in the extract cited above.

In what seems to resemble a knighting ritual, the poet portrays himself as a lover, kneeling in front of his lady. Alan Robertshaw considers this ritual to be Oswald’s initiation into the Order of the Jar and the Griffon, an order awarded to those who had defended Christianity against the Muslims.[2] Yet this seems unlikely from a historical perspective: there are no documents apart from the songs attesting to Oswald’s possible encounters with Muslims, and the order itself is relatively undocumented.[3] The lack of historical certainty

[1] All primary quotations are from Karl Kurt Klein, ed., *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987). The numbers attributed to the songs stem from this standard edition. Modern German translations can be found in Wernfried Hofmeister, *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Das poetische Werk* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011) and Klaus J. Schönmetzler, *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Die Lieder* (Munich: Emil Vollmer, 1979). I have amended l. 36 “disligaides,” written in the edition as “dis ligaides.”

[2] Alan Robertshaw, “Chivalry, Love, and Self-Advertisement in Oswald von Wolkenstein’s ‘Es fügt sich’,” *MLR* 82, (1987): 890–1.

[3] The Order of the Jar and the Griffon is mentioned as part of a wider interest in orders, and specifically as a possible offspring of the Order of the Sash by Jesús D. Rodríguez Velasco, *Order and Chivalry:*

blurs the boundary between autobiographical truth and poetic fiction, evoked by familiar courtly love topoi. Yet Oswald also hints at the queen's foreign customs, not least by using a language that scholars have identified as an approximate rendering of a mix of Aragonese and Catalan:[4] "non maiplus disligaides," which loosely translates as "do not ever untie it," rhyming with "raicades," earrings. Multilingualism plays a significant role in other songs by Oswald, some of them written entirely in languages other than German, with translations included.[5] Burghart Wachinger, in his analysis of the poem, argues that Oswald does not expect us to focus on the meaning of these words, and uses a foreign language as an exoticising tool: "[die] direkte Wiedergabe der Rede betont […] den exotischen Charakter der Szene; der Inhalt des Satzes ist demgegenüber weniger wichtig." [the direct rendition of the speech emphasises […] the exotic character of the scene; the content of the sentence is in contrast less important.][6] Oswald does indeed qualify the scene he describes through exoticism, for example with the emphasis on the foreign customs of the queen – "nach ir gewonheit" [following her custom] – and bringing back this foreign rhyme into the German language with the negative suggestion that the foreign jewellery might cause "laides" [hurt, pain.] The sentence, however, hints at the construction of a poetic identity which relies on linking himself – being tied – to social and cultural formations. Suggesting that the queen literally and symbolically ties him to her affiliates Oswald with her cultural and social sphere. In turn, "laides" might suggest the difficulty experienced by the poet as he navigates his way through different social and cultural worlds. The occasional hints at the queen's foreignness

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Knighthood and Citizenship in Late Medieval Castile, trans. by Eunice Rodríguez Ferguson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 120–34 (especially 133) and 190.

[4] See for example Leo Spitzer, "Romanisches bei Oswald von Wolkenstein," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 21 (1920): 72–7.

[5] On Oswald's multilingual songs, see David Murray, "Oswald Von Wolkenstein's Multilingual Songs in European Context: Theory and Practice," *German Life and Letters* 66, (2013): 350–67.

[6] Burghart Wachinger, *Lieder und Liederbücher: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 265.

interrupt the otherwise familiar courtly scene Oswald is describing, but they suddenly come to the forefront when Oswald narrates the telling reaction of King Sigismund to his new garb. The first non-Spaniard to witness Oswald's jewellery, he is in complete shock, crosses himself, and worries for the poet's wellbeing. Sigismund's shock functions as a reminder to the audience that the scene Oswald describes is not ordinary – far from it. Sigismund's reaction reinforces the position of the poet as a man in-between, now part of both Sigismund and the queen's courts. The weirdness of the ritual comes to light, and Aragon is revealed as a hybrid space, in which the familiarity of court culture appears alongside a sense of estrangement.

Yet it is not only the depiction of the Aragonese space which is at stake here, but Oswald's poetic identity. At the centre of the ritual remains the lyrical "ich," subject of both the strange customs of the queen and the shocked reaction of Sigismund. The use of the first person gives an autobiographical tone to the strophe, which, juxtaposed with the extraordinary events it narrates, leaves the identity of the poet-character uncertain. Who is this "ich," this poet who seems at ease in the foreign and exotic world of Aragon but simultaneously displays his knowledge of familiar courtly topoi? Therein lies the complexity of Oswald's self-depiction: like the space he describes, the poet's identity is plural and malleable. Different anecdotes play out different facets of his identity, which fluctuates between autobiography and fiction, on the one hand, and familiarity and estrangement, on the other.

The spatial dynamics of Oswald's self-depiction extend beyond Aragon to other regions of Iberia. This chapter queries the depiction of the peninsula as a figurative space that exposes different facets of the construction of Oswald's poetic identity by placing four songs (Kl. 18 "Es fügt sich;" Kl. 19 "Es ist ain altgesprochner rat;" Kl. 20 "Es seusst dort her von orient;" and Kl. 21 "Ir alten weib") within an existing literary discourse that depicts Iberia as a heterotopic space in which to negotiate identities. Oswald describes Iberia as an imagined space onto which he projects an identity that is the product of courtly culture: an identity caught between the need to conform to poetic and social standards and to compete to make

himself stand out. His play with space and identity becomes particularly visible in his depiction of the Peninsula.[7] The depiction of the Iberian space in Oswald's songs not only reflects but also produces his self-depiction in a form of reciprocity that echoes dynamics of othering. The Iberian space, in its hybridity, enables Oswald to create an imagined harmony between familiarity and estrangement. This space is then used as a stage for different performances and characters, which are all projected back onto the poet through the first person in the manner of Foucault's heterotopic mirror, and form part of his self-fashioning. The heterotopia of Iberia brings together Oswald's disparate performances, and thus reveals the constructed and arbitrary character of his poetic identity. In this way, Iberia considered as heterotopia is representative of Oswald's self-depiction as poet: hybrid and constructed. Following Foucault's "Des espaces autres," Iberia becomes an "other space." Iberia's heterotopia is estranged by Oswald in a literal sense, it is being made strange by a poet relying on inherited discourses, but who fully embraces the foreignness he creates as a tool through which he can show himself as a hybrid character, in between social and cultural spheres. In Foucault's words, the mirror "exerts a sort of counteraction on the space that [he, the object standing in front of the mirror] occup[ies]."[8] While this reflects the construction of Oswald's lyric persona through the production of Iberia's heterotopia, the space that Oswald occupies is the social sphere of courtly culture. Therefore, Iberia's heterotopia, as it constructs Oswald's poetic identity, also sheds light on the tension existing within courtly culture, a social space that is being revealed in its own strangeness by being transposed in the hybridity of the Peninsula.

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[7] For accounts of other Mediterranean spaces in Oswald's poetry, see Sieglinde Hartmann, "Oswald von Wolkenstein et la Méditerranée: Espace de vie, espace de poésie," *JOWG* 8, (1994/95): 289–320; for a more general analysis of the role of travels in Oswald's songs, see Alan Robertshaw, "Oswald von Wolkenstein: Pilgrim and Travelling Salesman," *JOWG* 8, (1994/95): 321–39.

[8] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec. *Diacritics*, 16 (1986): 24.

Oswald left behind numerous songs: the standard edition by Karl Kurt Klein contains 134. Klein's edition is based on a parchment manuscript without classmark, dating back to around 1432 and held in Innsbruck (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol), now known as the Wolkenstein Manuscript B.[9] This manuscript indicates Oswald's status and importance: the first folio is decorated with a full-page half-length portrait of the poet, adorned with knightly regalia. The manuscript contains musical notation and red and blue miniatures signposting the beginning of each song. The two other main manuscripts are manuscript A (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2777)[10] which also contains music and a small full-length picture of the poet, as well as manuscript c (Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Cod. FB 1950), which contains text only. Various songs from Oswald's corpus can be found in four other miscellanies and a fragment, held in Berlin, Nuremberg, Vienna and Prague.[11] The unusual autobiographical claims contained in his songs, made alongside extraordinary retellings of events, have fuelled the search for truth about his life, helped by the availability of numerous historical records.[12] The contrast between the records and his seemingly autobiographical songs has sparked many debates amongst scholars and has placed the truth and fiction dichotomy at the heart of Oswald studies. In 1847, the author and theologian Beda Weber published the first modern edition of Oswald's

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[9] Manuscript B has been digitised and is available via the Austrian Literature Online website, accessed 30 May 2019, http://www.literature.at/alo?objid=1049609.

[10] Manuscript A has been digitised and is available via the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek website, accessed 30 May 2019, http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/10048508.

[11] For further reference, see Klein, xiii–xv, Burghart Wachinger and Horst Brunner, *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Lieder* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2007), 315–6 and Hans Moser, "Die Überlieferung der Werke Oswalds von Wolkenstein," in *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Leben – Werk – Rezeption*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Margerete Springeth (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 28–40. For a full list of the manuscript tradition, see Oswald's page in the online German medieval manuscript census (Handschriftencensus), accessed 30 May 2019, www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/4720.

[12] All known historical records are now available in a five-volume edition, see Anton Schwob and Ute Monika Schwob, eds., *Die Lebenszeugnisse Oswalds von Wolkenstein,* 5 vols (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999–2013).

poems, shortly followed by a biography in 1850, *Oswald von Wolkenstein und Friedrich mit den leeren Taschen*, based on the songs, as well as some travel notes.[13] Weber's work contributed to the creation of a myth around Oswald, which endured until new scholarly interest appeared in the 1960s, most notably with Klein's new edition of the songs in 1962. Klein's publication remains the standard critical edition to this day and the numbers attributed to the songs by Klein are still widely used. Oswald's poetry began to be studied as a literary exercise based upon some autobiographical material, as play between truth and fiction, rather than a strictly truthful account.[14] Putting less emphasis on the songs as autobiographical material allowed scholars to produce new biographies, considering historical records corroborating or invalidating Oswald's narration.[15]

The Foucauldian "espace autre" that is the Iberian heterotopia is constructed by the four songs previously mentioned, including the song from which the extract quoted above stems. It may be significant that they are placed together in the manuscript tradition, often in the same order, although Kl. 20 appears once on its own in a miscellany (Prague, Knihovna národního muzea, Cod. X A 12). This sequencing may indicate the scribes' – or indeed,

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[13] See Beda Weber, *Oswald von Wolkenstein und Friedrich mit den leeren Taschen* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1850). The travel notes have never been found, and their existence remains a mystery.

[14] See for example Werner Marold, *Kommentar zu den Liedern Oswalds von Wolkenstein* (Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik, 1995); Johannes Spicker, *Literarische Stilisierung und artistische Kompetenz bei Oswald von Wolkenstein* (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1993); Alan Robertshaw, *Oswald von Wolkenstein. The Myth and the Man* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1977); Ulrich Müller*, "Dichtung" und "Wahrheit" in den Liedern Oswalds von Wolkenstein: Die autobiographischen Lieder von den Reisen* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1968) and Norbert Mayr, *Die Reiselieder und Reisen Oswalds von Wolkenstein* (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1961). For recent analyses of Oswald's poetry considering the contemporary literary context, see Elisabeth Höpfner, ed., *Oswald von Wolkenstein: literarische Tradition, Variation und Interpretation anhand ausgewählter Lieder* (Rome: Aracne, 2009) and Maria Wüstenhagen, Ingrid Bennewitz, and Horst Brunner, eds., *Oswald von Wolkenstein im Kontext der Liedkunst seiner Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013).

[15] See Anton Schwob, *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Eine Biographie* (Bozen: Athesia, 1977) and Dieter Kühn, *Ich Wolkenstein: Eine Biographie* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1988).

Oswald's – desire to generate a narrative progression, or some kind of biographical development. The single appearance of Kl. 20 can be explained by the different character of the song, since it is the only one of the four which does not purport to tell Oswald's autobiography. However, its description of the Iberian space sheds light on Oswald's perception of the Peninsula and on his depiction of his journey there. Due to the songs' proximity in the extant textual witnesses and what I perceive to be their thematic commonalities, I analyse Kl. 18, 19, 20, and 21 below as a narrative cluster. Oswald's four songs, grouped together, recall a broader European poetic practice of self-referential clusters of poems, as seen in the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas* or Petrarch and Guillaume de Machaut's poetry in the Italian and French context respectively, which "coupled with the tendency to give a personal stamp to one's verse by means of characteristic motifs and other devices […], together indicate […] the desire to acquire a poetic identity."[16] Kl. 18, a so-called *Alterslied* [Song of Age], purports to tell the story of Oswald's life and shows the Aragonese stage as a space for courtly motifs derived from the German lyric tradition (*Minnesang*). Kl. 19 builds upon this picture. Oswald states that he will tell of adventures which happened to him in Aragon and *Ispanien* and the song mixes courtly topoi with mentions of peculiar customs and Moorish processions. Kl. 20, moving away from the autobiographical tone, describes the Levant, the eastern wind, burning through Iberia. Kl. 21 echoes topoi from Kl. 18 and 19 to shift their meaning and praise Iberia as a space for worldly pleasures.

3.1. Iberia between Autobiographical Truth, Poetic Fiction, Familiarity, and Estrangement

Oswald travelled to Iberia as part of the retinue of Emperor Sigismund; a letter from Sigismund, dated 16 February 1415, indicates that Oswald entered the emperor's service that

[16] Julian Weiss, "Lyric Sequences in the *Cantigas d'amigo*," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 65 (1988): 26.

same month.[17] Sigismund, determined to end the Papal Schism, negotiated actively in the context of the Council of Constance with the supporters of all the claimants to the papacy. Facing difficult discussions with the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII, to whom Navarre, Castile, León, Galicia and Aragon, the counties of Foix and Armagnac, and Scotland were loyal, Sigismund decided to deal personally with the Iberian kings at the beginning of the year 1415.[18] What happened to Oswald in Iberia remains a source of debate. From Scotland, he would have travelled with Sigismund's court to Portugal, via Ceuta and Granada and then up to Perpignan, which was then part of Aragon. Oswald presents this itinerary as a future travel plan in the song Kl. 26, which scholars have interpreted as a retelling of his journey through Iberia in 1415 (Kl. 44 repeats a similar itinerary but presents it clearly as a past adventure). However, no historical records corroborate his version. If his journey to northern Iberia seems plausible considering Sigismund's stay in the region, the veracity of his travels to Ceuta and southern Iberia can only be deemed certain if the songs are taken as strictly autobiographical and historically accurate.[19]

It seems difficult, however, to see the songs as historical documents when they often present extraordinary retellings of events, blurring the boundary between truth and fiction. As mentioned with regard to Kl. 18, Oswald's play with autobiographical truth and poetic fiction is complicated in Iberia by his depiction of this space as both familiar and foreign. This duality is reinforced in Kl. 20, which sheds light on Iberia's alterity by placing it in a foreign

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[17] Letter 70 in Schwob and Schwob, *Die Lebenszeugnisse,* 1:223.

[18] Schwob, *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Eine Biographie*, 112.

[19] For discussions of the itinerary according to Kl. 26 and Kl. 44, see Müller*, "Dichtung" und "Wahrheit" in den Liedern Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, 100; Schwob, *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Eine Biographie*, 111–3 and Kühn*,* 166–74. Kühn discusses Ceuta in more detail. For a discussion of the trip to Granada from a literary perspective, see also Pino Valero-Cuadra who insists that although Oswald presents the events in Ceuta and Granada as memories, this does not guarantee their historical veracity or the veracity of this journey: "El viaje a Granada de un trobador alemán del siglo XV: Oswald von Wolkenstein," *Sharq Al-Andalus,* 11/12 (1993): 698.

realm. Using the metaphor of two winds in the style of a dawn song and showcasing his knowledge of usual *Minnesang* topoi, Oswald defines the eastern wind as follows:

> Es seusst dort her von orient
> der wind, levant ist er genent,
> durch India er wol erkennt,
> in Suria ist er behend,
> zu Kriechen er nit widerwent,
> durch Barbaria das gelent
> Granaten hat er bald errent,
> Portugual, Ispanie erbrent. Kl. 20, 1–8

> A wind roars from the Orient,
> it is called Levant.
> It knows its way through India well,
> rushes quickly to Syria.
> It does not turn back in Greece.
> Over the land of the Berbers,
> it soon runs all the way to Granada,
> inflames Portugal and Spain.

Although other songs show personified winds helping characters reach their destination (for example, Kl. 17), in Kl. 20 the wind is depicted journeying with haste towards Europe, finally to inflame Portugal and Spain via Granada. Werner Marold interprets this extract as a poetic transcription of a famous 1375 Catalan Atlas, which Oswald might have come across during

his time in Perpignan with Emperor Sigismund.[20] Whether or not such a concrete object lies behind this strophe, Oswald confers a significant location to *Ispanien* as a symbolic point of encounter between Europe, Africa, and Asia (India). The song continues: "schon dringt zu widerstreit ponent / des freut sich dort in occident / das norbögnische geschlĕchte" (Kl. 20, 13–5) [The Ponente [West wind] opposes it, and this makes the people of Narbonne, in the Occident, happy.] By including *Ispanien* in the reach of the Levant wind and designating Narbonne as a space in between Ponente and Levant (West and East), Oswald turns the Pyrenees into a gateway between Europe and everything which lies beyond. Iberia, therefore, becomes a meaningful – if problematic – space: are we, as the audience, to consider every territory south of the Pyrenees as "Other" or even "eastern?" What would the social, cultural, and religious implications of this be? Bearing in mind that this statement situates Aragon on the border between what he establishes as an "oriental" *Ispanien* and Occident, Oswald lends significance to his time in Perpignan, then a part of Aragon and located around seventy kilometres south of Narbonne, his designated point of encounter between the Ponente and Levant.

By placing his adventures within reach of Asia, Oswald unlocks a specific inventory of topoi present in the medieval imaginary which predates Orientalist art and literature. While these topoi could be termed "orientalist," medievalists have often taken issue with Edward Said's strict East/West binary, as discussed in my introduction. To avoid the distraction of the Orientalist debate, I refer to these topoi as "exotic," understood here not only in the strict sense as something foreign, alien, or outlandish, sometimes including an attraction for the strange,[21] but also following the definition established by Paul Freedman. According to Freedman, "the medieval exotic is, at least in part, alluring. It combined the seductive with

[20] Marold, *Kommentar zu den Liedern,* 66.

[21] See Oxford English Dictionary online, "Exotic," accessed 30 May 2019, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/66403.

the frightening and disorienting,"[22] but, and this is an important distinction, "the putative superiority of the West by reason of technology and liberty, the basis for Orientalism according to Said, is altogether absent in medieval Europe."[23] Exotic *Ispanien,* as Oswald defines it, is just that, alluring and disorienting, but not inferior to the familiarity of court culture. Although Freedman analyses the exotic through the example of India, setting up a difference between what he terms "general alterity," which "begins very close to home,"[24] and the true exotic, his definition of medieval exoticism seems fitting for a space such as the Iberian Peninsula, especially in Oswald's representation. Oswald imposes exotic topoi on Iberia, such as associations of foreignness and excitement, danger and eroticism, amongst others, alongside courtly topoi. Doing so, he juxtaposes in this single space several sites that would seem incompatible but that coexist on the Iberian stage, in the manner of a heterotopia.

Oswald's play with these two categories of topoi continues in Kl. 21, in which the second strophe begins as follows:

> Wie vol der gauch von hals nit schon quientieret
> und der franzoisch hoflich discantieret:
> „gug gugk, lieb ruck", der hal mir bas sonieret
> und freut mich vil für Jöstlins saitenspil.
> Hetz jagen, baissen, biersen, schiessen tauben,
> vor grünem wald nach pfifferlingen klauben
> mit ainer mait, beklait von ainer stauden,

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[22] Paul Freedman, "Locating the Exotic," in *Locating the Middle Ages: The Spaces and Places of Medieval Culture*, ed. Julian Weiss and Sarah Salih (London: King's College London, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2012), 23.

[23] Freedman, 26.

[24] Freedman, 23.

den lust ich breis für alle hofeweis. Kl. 21, 39–46

No matter how unpleasant the trill of the cuckoo sounds

compared to French courtly descants,

I welcome more its "coo, coo, come closer love!"

and enjoy it more than Jöstlin's [Giustiniani's][25] harp.

Hunting, hawking, stalking, pigeon shooting,

picking girolles in the green forest,

with a damsel, dressed in a shrub,[26]

I long more for these than all the courtly ways.

Oswald playfully rejects court culture, associated with France via the mention of French courtly descants and with Italy through the hint towards Giustiniani, and clearly identified in the last verse. His preference for hunting, mushroom picking, and rural pastimes, however, recalls traditional bucolic themes associated with love. Oswald echoes a long poetic tradition of Latin bucolic poetry, medieval *pastourelle*, and poets playing with the association of nature

[25] According to Marold, "Jöstlin" is a play with the name of the Italian artist Leonardo Giustiniani. *Kommentar zu den Liedern*, 108.

[26] The exact meaning of "stauden" remains unclear. The word could be a form of either "stûde" (shrub, bush) or "stûche" (hanging sleeve on a woman's dress). For more details on "stûde," see *Lexer*, accessed 30 May 2019, http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer?lemma=stude; for more details on "stûche," see *Lexer*, accessed 30 May 2019, http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer?lemma=stuche. The MHDBDB lists "stauden" as a form of the lemma "stûde," accessed 30 May 2019, http://mhdbdb.sbg.ac.at:8000/mhdbdb/App?action=DicSelect&LemmaSelectAction=Dic&mode=00&LemmaSelectPattern=stauden. In my interpretation, "shrub" indeed better corresponds to the bucolic semantic field developed in this strophe. In their modern German translations cited above, Schönmetzler and Hofmeister agree with this analysis, translating "beklait von ainer stauden" as "bekleidt mit einer Stauden" (Schönmetzler, 63) and "verdeckt durch einen Busch" (Hofmeister, 70) respectively. In the context of Oswald's highly playful and ambiguous poetry, the confusion between the two could be read as a further play on words.

and sex, such as Walther von der Vogelweide in his *Lindenlied*.[27] The positive depiction of country life, which includes a half-naked woman frolicking in the wild with the poet, becomes associated with *Ispanien* in the following extract. Oswald portrays himself drinking with Catalonians and Spaniards, which leads the audience to infer he is still in the region around Perpignan or in northern Iberia:

„trinck tranck Katalon, Spaniol“,
dasselb gesangk und „paga den zol“
der troschel nicht geleichet.
In demselben land so nam ich war,
und secht ir mir icht grawe har,
die trüg ich von den freulin zwar,
die weissen bainlin wolgevar
verdackt mit roten hosen gar
und ire liechte öglin klar
mit swarzer farb bestreicht. Kl. 21, 51–60

“Drink the drink, Catalonian, Spaniard!”
This song and “paga [pay] the toll”
does not resemble the thrush.
I had experiences in the same land
and if you find some grey hairs on my head
I surely got them from the young ladies
with their lovely little white legs

[27] On the general association between love and nature in medieval German lyric, see Wachinger, *Lieder und Liederbücher*, 67–96.

hidden away in red stockings

and their clear bright eyes

painted with a black colour.

The association of the previous pastoral strophe with *Ispanien* sheds new light on the bucolic damsel image by introducing it in a foreign realm. The bucolic topoi are not only recast but, putting Kl. 21 in dialogue with Kl. 20, they are exoticised. These ladies wear red stockings and black make-up and are purposefully dressed to attract male attention. Oswald does not kneel before them; instead, they offer themselves to the poet's gaze and more, fulfilling the fantasy of sexually liberated women. This exotic sensuality is heightened in the next and last strophe, as a woman performs for him:

Gar waidenlich tritt si den firlifanzen,

ir hohe sprüng unweiplich sind zu tanzen,

ouch hat si phlicht, das angesicht zu verglanzen,

dieselbig mait, die ring in oren trait.

Mein langer bart, der hat mir dick verschroten

vil manchen schmutz von zarten mündlin roten,

die schöne wenglin für die hendlin botten,

wenn si die leut empfiengen mit gedreut. Kl. 21, 77–84

She moves preciously in the round dance;

her high jumps are to be danced in an unwomanly fashion.

She must also make her face glow

and this same girl wears rings in her ears.

My long beard, it has often cut me off from

Many kisses from delicate small red lips

from those who offer their beautiful little cheeks instead of their little hands
when they tenderly receive people.

Oswald creates a striking parallel between the ladies' performance and the Queen of Aragon ritual mentioned in Kl. 18 and Kl. 19 by calling upon symbols he previously used and attributing to them a different meaning. The rings recall the queen's foreign customs, and a connection is created in the audience's mind between rings, beard, ladies, and *Ispanien*. Oswald turns the symbol of the ring on its head. The ring, previously linked to the noble elite of Aragon, is now an accessory in a seductive dance, worn by a woman who is only here for temporary entertainment and whose beauty is ephemeral. Oswald's beard, which was at the centre of the Queen of Aragon ritual as a symbol of potent masculinity in a strophe playing with love topoi, becomes an inconvenient sign of his old age, casting him as an outsider to the dance. Topoi which, in the context of a ritual at court, highlighted his status as a nobleman, are now used to emphasise the foreignness of *Ispanien.* The symbolic polysemy deployed by Oswald reinforces the plurality of his status in *Ispanien*, from insider to outsider. This plurality develops around the poet's "ich," and, as previously mentioned with the case of Kl. 18 and the Queen of Aragon episode, forms an integral part of Oswald's self-depiction as a courtier-poet.

The reversal of symbols linked to the ritual plays a role within the "counteraction" exerted by the heterotopia, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. Oswald rejects courtliness, but only in its association to France and Italy in Kl. 21 (ll. 40 and 42). Re-situating the rings and the beard in the foreignness of Ispanien – re-situating what made him an insider in an imagined outside – reflects back onto the "inside" of courtly culture itself. Courtly culture is estranged, made strange and the strict social conventions to which Oswald adheres to in the context of the court are recast as peculiar, undesirable customs. The play on familiarity and estrangement reaches a high point in this poem, through the reversal of the familiar and the strange: the customs of the Queen of Aragon, which seemed foreign in Kl. 18,

are now customs with which Oswald seems more at ease than with French descants or Italian harp.

3.2. Oswald, Self-Fashioning, and the Ideal Courtier-Poet

As a courtier following Sigismund in Iberia, Oswald is required to present himself appropriately in accordance with the situation, since "life at court involved a high degree of role-playing, of taking care to present the appropriate image at the proper time for the benefit of the proper people."[28] The importance of role-playing and the adherence to certain social standards recall, albeit in a different time period, what Stephen Greenblatt famously defined as "self-fashioning," meaning the process through which a public persona is consciously constructed following certain social standards.[29] The necessity to conform to standards and etiquette would have been counterbalanced by the need to stand out, to show one's uniqueness. This paradoxical social mode lays bare the necessity for self-fashioning and self-advertisement in a courtier-poet's work and is translated into Oswald's poetry through his play with traditional topoi, which he recasts in the space of *Ispanien* and thereby makes his own.

The emphasis on self-fashioning in Oswald's work evokes ideas developed in the prologue to the songbook known as *Cancionero de Baena*, the first anthology of Castilian court verse, compiled around 1430 by poet Juan Alfonso de Baena at the court of Juan II of Castile. In his prologue, Baena sets out his ambiguous theory of poetry, laying out the importance of the poetic art as well as the qualities of an ideal poet. Despite its Castilian

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[28] Victoria A. Burrus, "Role Playing in the Amatory Poetry of the Cancioneros," in *Poetry at Court in Trastamaran Spain: From the Cancionero de Baena to the Cancionero General*, ed. by E. Michael Gerli and Julian Weiss (Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998), 111.

[29] For Stephen Greenblatt's analysis, which begins with sixteenth-century authors, see *Renaissance Self-fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005).

origin, Baena’s prologue defines a transnational European framework, testament to the commonality of court culture in western Europe. According to Baena, a poet, having received *graçia infusa*, poetic grace instilled by God, must also comply with certain characteristics, which he enumerates in the final paragraph of the prologue. The art of poetry can only be achieved by a man:

> que aya visto he oído e leído muchos e diversos libros e escripturas e sepa de todos lenguajes, e aun que aya cursado cortes de reyes e con grandes señores e que aya visto e platicado muchos fechos del mundo e, finalmente, que sea noble fidalgo, e cortés e mesurado e gentil e graçioso e polido e donoso, e que tenga miel e açúcar e sal e donaire en su razonar, e otrosí que sea amador e que siempre se preçie e se finja de ser enamorado; porque es opinión de muchos sabios que todo omne que sea enamorado, conviene a saber, que ame a quien debe o como debe e donde debe, afirman e dizen qu’el tal de todas buenas dotrinas es doctado.

> who has seen and heard and read many different books and scriptures and who knows all languages, and who has visited the courts of kings and great lords and who has seen and spoken of many of the world’s events, and finally, who is a nobleman and courteous and measured and gentle and graceful and polished and witty, and who has honey and sugar and salt and wit in his speech, and who is a lover and values and fashions himself to be in love, because it is the opinion of many wise men that any man who is in love, that is to say, who loves whom he should, how he should, and where he should, they claim and say that this same one is endowed with all good doctrines.[30]

[30] Slightly emended from Brian Dutton and Joaquín González Cuenca, eds., *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena* (Madrid: Visor Libros, 1993), 7–8.

Poetic excellence does not rely solely on lyric and literary ability, but is directly linked to and influenced by the poet's personal and social skills, his knowledge of languages, acquired through travelling to many courts, his nobility and rhetorical skills, and finally his ability to "love" the right person at the right moment.[31] Within Baena's framework, especially in the necessity for self-fashioning, Oswald is an ideal courtier-poet.

In Kl. 18, for example, Oswald purports to present his life story. Ulrich Müller sees Oswald's position – looking back on his life as an old man and accounting for his actions – as a factor that places Kl. 18 in the category of "Alterslied" [Song of Age.][32] The first two lines introduce this idea: "Es fügt sich, do ich was von zehen jaren alt, / ich wolt besehen, wie die werlt wer gestalt." (Kl. 18, 1–2) [It so happened that when I was ten years old, I wanted to see what the world was like.] The strophe continues in this style, as Oswald discusses his youth and his decision to leave his home. In the following strophe, he develops the travelling theme through enumerations of the countries he visited, the many languages he spoke, and peculiar anecdotes, describing, for example, how after a shipwreck he and a Russian swam ashore by floating on a barrel. Travels and love go hand in hand, specifically in the enumeration of the countries the poet visited: "Gen Preussen, Littwan, Tartarei, Türkei, uber mer / gen Frankreich, Lampart, Ispanien, mit zwaien kunges her / traib mich die minn auf meines aigen geldes wer" (Kl. 18, 17–9) [Across Prussia, Lithuania, Tartary, Turkey, over sea, across France, Italy, Spain, with the armies of two kings, love drove me at my own cost.] The travelling motif is an integral part of Oswald's self-fashioning as courtier-poet. The qualities Oswald displays correspond to Baena's list: in this case, linguistic knowledge, courtly and practical wisdom, as

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[31] For discussions of the characteristics of the ideal poet according to Baena, see Julian Weiss, *The Poet's Art: Literary Theory in Castile c. 1400–60* (Oxford: Medium Aevum, 1990), 25–54 and Marisa Galvez*, Songbook: How Lyrics Became Poetry in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 167–202.

[32] Ulrich Müller, "'Dichtung' und 'Wirklichkeit' bei Oswald von Wolkenstein: Aufgezeigt im Vergleich mit Altersliedern von Walther von der Vogelweide und Hans Sachs," in *Gesammelte Schriften zur Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Margarete Springeth (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2010), 1:137.

well as rank and gentility through his proximity with two kings. Travelling as a literary device is also an accessory to love, which takes on an important role in Oswald's self-presentation, specifically in the Kl. 18 Queen of Aragon episode.

In this episode, the autobiographical voice serves the purpose of advertisement on both a personal and poetic level, and this becomes visible when looking back at it through the lens of Baena and his emphasis on self-fashioning. Oswald makes use of traditional motifs from *Minnesang* – and to a larger extent, the European courtly love tradition – as he kneels for the queen, placing himself as inferior and recalling a lover kneeling for his lady. The queen is depicted as a courtly lady, most noticeably with her small white hands. The vocabulary used to describe her reinforces this idea: she is "schon und zart" [beautiful and delicate] and she treats him "lieplich" [lovingly]. The queen's hands then reappear as she pierces through Oswald's ears. This ritual incorporates Oswald into her foreign customs, as she seems to introduce him into an Aragonese order. The poet insists on the intimacy between him and the queen; all her gestures and attention are directed towards the main character: Oswald.

The queen can be identified as Margarida de Prades in line 48 of Kl.18 ("die von Praides" [she of Prades]) as well as in line 154 of Kl.19 ("die schöne Margarith" [the beautiful Margarida]). Margarida de Prades married King Martí of Aragon in 1409, only to become a widow in 1410. Following a succession crisis, Fernando de Antequera was crowned King of Aragon and proceeded to try and remarry Margarida to the Comte de Foix. In this context, records indicate that she did indeed spend five months in Perpignan around the years 1415–1417, although she was no longer queen at the time. Margarida's uncle on her father's side was Lluis de Prades, chamberlain to the antipope Pedro de Luna, who figures prominently in Oswald's depiction of Aragon.[33] Margarida, involved in Aragonese political life and with

[33] Francesca Vendrell I Gallostra, *Margarida de Prades en el regnat de Ferran d'Antequera: Discurs de recepció llegit el dia 22 de març de 1984 en la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona per Francesca Vendrell i Gallostra i discurs de contestació per l'acadèmic de número Joan Vernet i Ginès* (Barcelona: Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres, 1984), 11.

distant family ties to important characters in the context of the Papal Schism, becomes an appropriate figure to play the lady character in this seemingly autobiographical *Minnesang* strophe: she, not unlike Oswald who purports to tell of his life but does so in the medium of literarised songs, is suspended in a twilight-zone between social and poetic context, historicity, and literarisation. In the flow of Oswald's purported life story in Kl. 18, this episode is the only one described with precision in an entire strophe. The poet suddenly recounts one scene clearly, whilst refusing to give us a specific context: he describes the ritual with precision by highlighting the extraordinary character of the distinction he receives and his closeness with the queen. The dynamics of truth and fiction at work in Oswald's poetry are laid bare: they serve the purpose of self-advertisement by bringing all potential fictional elements back to Oswald himself, who lends them a tone of veracity using the first-person voice. The development of Oswald's lyrical "I," which shows the poet becoming his lover character by using the biographical framework, is a central part of Kl. 18. The value of these biographical elements in Kl.18 lies in their ability to bring every aspect of the song back to Oswald himself, creating a tension between the general political context and the specific experience of the lyrical "I," between the convention of rituals and the uniqueness of this particular one, between truth and fiction.

In the context of this episode, Aragon participates in Oswald's self-fashioning. This real space, upon which ambivalent topoi are superimposed, becomes "other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous […] as ours is messy."[34] The plurality of Oswald's self-fashioning, and the potential messiness of his constantly changing roles – at once poet, lover, and character – becomes the foundation of his identity as ideal courtier-poet.

[34] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 27.

3.3. Oswald's Performances and their Spatial Context

Discussing the plurality of Oswald's "roles" implies the central role of performance in the autobiographical songs. As C. Stephen Jaeger states in his seminal book *The Origins of Courtliness*, "[…] we should observe that court society always tends to produce an aestheticizing of manners. The exercise of office becomes performance; political and civic activity becomes a work of art. […] In the West during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, this tendency is embodied in the courtier."[35] Baena's emphasis on self-fashioning echoes the key role played by performance since the beginning of court culture. In his songs, Oswald performs in the literal sense. In Kl. 18, the poet boasts of his knowledge of ten different languages (ll. 21–3) and his ability to play the fiddle, the drums, and the flute (l. 24). In Kl. 19, he witnesses performances, as Moors parade before the town, beating drums and singing (ll. 25–32). Kl. 19 describes many scenes at court, involving social role-playing, discussed below. In Kl. 21, Oswald watches women dance for him. These myriad performances acquire a significant meaning, as they define not only Oswald as character, but Oswald as poet.

The Queen of Aragon episode, for example, is not just a performance, but a performative act, an instance of discourse which has a transformative effect on the poet-character.[36] Oswald's performances are meaningful acts, even though their meaning varies, since they are interpreted differently by different people in different contexts (the contrast between the queen's tenderness and Sigismund's shocked reaction in the episode discussed

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[35] C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals 930–1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 13.

[36] For studies of performativity in medieval culture, see Bruce W. Holsinger, "Medieval Literature and Cultures of Performance," in *New Medieval Literatures 6*, ed. David Lawton, Rita Copeland, and Wendy Scase (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 271–311; Cornelia Herberichs and Christian Kiening, eds., *Literarische Performativität: Lektüren vormoderner Texte*, (Zürich: Chronos, 2008), and Manuele Gragnolati and Almut Suerbaum, eds., *Aspects of the Performative in Medieval Culture*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010).

previously, for example). The hybridity of the space of *Ispanien* furthermore makes it a stage particularly suited to variations in interpretation and meaning of these performances. The difficulty of dealing with Oswald and his songs in performative terms, however, is that Oswald "performs" his self and defines his poetic identity on two levels: inside the text, as character, and outside the text, as poet. Outside the text, another difficulty arises, namely the relation between the text and the oral performance to which it is subjected. While no indications relating to the performance of Oswald's songs persist, the orality of medieval culture, echoed by the music contained in the manuscripts, insists on the songs' intended purpose to be staged and recited – that is, performed. The repeatability of the songs implies that the poetic identity, constructed through the lyrical personae and emphasised by the first person, can be constantly renegotiated, depending on the context of performance. Inside the text, Oswald as character constructs his identity by describing his actions, which are often performances in the sense of acting a role or staging oneself.

The fluctuating meanings of Oswald's intra-textual performances come to light in Kl.19, which describes his stay at the court of Aragon in more detail than Kl.18. In ll. 33–64, the poet describes Sigismund's arrival at the court of Aragon, focusing on the king's exchanges with nobles and the description of ladies not dissimilar to the sexually liberated women of Kl.21. In ll. 65–97, however, Oswald contrasts these court scenes with a glimpse "behind the scenes." These lines describe courtiers having to share accommodation and behaving in a drastically different way than at court: they argue, tease one another and throw shoes and even a bucket of urine at each other. The description of such behaviour creates a gap between Oswald's portrayal of himself in front of the king and in his private quarters, and as such throws into sharp relief an element of role-playing in his behaviour, both at court and with his peers. Later in the song, Oswald repeats the Queen of Aragon episode, reiterating courtly love themes:

Noch ist es als ain klainer tadel,

seid mir die schöne Margarith

stach durch die oren mit der nadel

nach ires landes sitte.

dieselbe edle künigin,

zwen guldin ring sloss si mir drin

und ain in bart verhangen,

also hiess si mich prangen. Kl. 19, 153–60

All this is yet a small flaw,

since the beautiful Margarida

pierced through my ears with a needle

according to her land's customs.

This noble queen

put two golden rings through them

and hung one in my beard.

She had me parade this way.

Following the glimpse into the rather uncivilised private life of the courtiers, this episode is recast clearly as part of the role-play of what Burrus calls the "social fiction of courtly love," which "contribute[s] to patterns of thought and behaviour that would form the basis for what has generally come to be regarded as civilised behaviour."[37] Equally, these contrasting performances reinforce Oswald's self-depiction as ideal courtier according to Baena's criteria, here specifically, according to the notion of love as essential to self-fashioning.

The songs, as they describe these performances, "do" something to the lyrical "I," turning him into a lover, a courtier, or a Moor depending on the spatial context in which the

[37] Burrus, 116.

action takes place in the songs. In Kl. 19, for example, Oswald transforms into a heathen nobleman through a title he receives and through his ability to sing and dance – to perform – as a heathen:

> Ain edler nam ward mir gelesen;
> wisskunte von Türkei;
> vil manger wont, ich sei gewesen
> ain haidnischer frei.
> mörisch gewant, von golde rot,
> kunig Sigmund mirs köstlich bot,
> dorinnen kund ich wol swanzen
> und haidnisch singen, tanzen. Kl. 19, 161–8

> A noble title was conferred on me,
> viscount of Turkey,
> many thought I had become
> a heathen nobleman.
> King Sigismund offered me expensive
> Moorish clothes, made with red gold.
> In them I could parade well
> and sing and dance like a heathen.

Oswald's audience, witnessing his title and the gift of the clothes, accepts the effect these elements have on the character. The performative character of the Moorish clothes becomes apparent since they have the effect of transforming the character into a Moor in the space and context in which they are worn. As Oswald arrives in Paris in the following strophe of Kl. 19, he is ridiculed by Parisian crowds. The contrast between Spain and France is particularly

striking, since Oswald uses a similar construction in lines 165–8, quoted above, and lines 173–6, the last four lines of the following strophe:

mörisch gewant, von golde rot,
kunig Sigmund mirs köstlich bot,
dorinnen kun dich wol swanzen
und haidnisch singen, tanzen.

Kl. 19, 165–8

die taten alle schauen an
künig Sigmund, römischen man,
und hiess mich ain lappen
in meiner narren kappen.

Kl. 19, 173–6

King Sigismund offered me expensive
Moorish clothes, made of red gold.
In them I could parade well
and sing and dance like a heathen.

Everyone looked at
King Sigismund, the Roman man,
and called me half-witted
in my fool's motley.

The parallel highlights the distinct effects the clothes have on Oswald as performer, depending on the spatial context. In Aragon, his Moorish performance is a performative act, which transforms the poet into a heathen nobleman who parades, sings, and dances, but the meaning changes once he enters a new space, here France, where he is ridiculed. Oswald is no longer a great performer, using foreign customs to inspire awe; he is now a fool in silly clothes. Yet going back to the reversal of the symbols of the rings and the beard between Kl. 18 and Kl. 20, read through Foucault's heterotopic mirror, the clothes here can be read in a similar way, highlighting not only the foreignness of *Ispanien*, but rather revealing the strangeness of the supposedly familiar sphere of France. The lavish gift of Sigismund is lost on the French audience, and the audience could wonder who is really in the wrong here. Is it Oswald the performer, who appreciated the value of the clothes, or the French audience, who show their ignorance by casting off the garb as fool's motley? On the one hand, Oswald shows the importance of the spatial context for his self-presentation: the same clothes,

located in different spaces, acquire two distinct meanings. On the other hand, he highlights the possible reciprocity of the self-image he constructs, by exposing the contingency of what is defined as strange or foreign.

The following strophe emphasises the importance of spatial context for the effect Oswald's performance has on his audience. The Queen of France, paralleling the Queen of Aragon, places a diamond in his beard. Yet the grandiloquence of the distinction he received in Spain, for which he had to parade and perform, is no more:

> Auf baiden knien so lernt ich gän
> in meinen alten tagen,
> zu fussen torst ich nicht gestän,
> wolt ich ir nahen pagen:
> ich mein frau Elst von Frankereich,
> ain künigin gar wirdiklich,
> die mir den bart von handen
> verkrönt mit aim diamanden. Kl.19, 185–92

> I learnt to walk on my knees
> in my old days.
> I did not dare to stand on my feet,
> if I wanted to pay her a visit:[38]

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[38] "Nahen pagen" remains unclear. Marold argues that the line is to be read as "*nah enpagen*: 'nahe gegenüber' […], mit Ellipse des Verbums der Bewegung nach *wolt*." [*nah enpagen*: "near opposite," with an ellipsis of the verb of movement towards *wolt*.] *Kommentar zu den Liedern*, 59. Schönmetzler translates the line as "um mich vor sie zu wagen" [to venture in front of her], while Hofmeister renders it as "als ich ihr meine Aufwartung machen wollte" [when I wanted to pay her my respects]. In a recent re-edition of the songs, Wachinger comments on the word "pagen" as such: "nicht befriedigend erklärt, es muss sich um eine Aufwartung oder einen Gesangsvortrag handeln" [no satisfactory

I mean lady Isabeau[39] of France,

a queen so honourable,

who with her hands

crowned my beard with a diamond.

The difference between this scene and the scene of his parading at the Aragonese court is striking when taking into consideration Oswald's attitude and the imagery he employs. The scene at the court of Aragon displayed a ritual influenced by a perceived "Moorishness," in which Oswald tied himself to the customs of the queen, which seemed so strange to Sigismund. Yet he employed familiar motifs, portraying himself as a subservient courtier through the image of the lover, inferior to his lady. Here, he re-enacts the familiar topoi, kneeling in front of the Queen of France. He does not explicitly define the setting of France through strange customs or foreignness, yet the final line of the strophe brings a puzzling element, closely resembling the Queen of Aragon's ritual. Similar to the clothes, which shifted meaning not only depending on spatial context, but exposed the peculiarity of customs as contingent cultural elements, the mention of the diamond here places Oswald at the centre of another strange ritual, one that was not introduced as such, but which reveals itself in its strangeness through the connections established with other scenes in Kl. 19 and other songs, especially Kl. 18. Reading Oswald's poems with each other as a narrative cluster brings to light the poet's ability not only to perform different lyrical personae, who are validated by his

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explanation, it must be about a courtesy visit or a recital]. *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, ed. Karl Kurt Klein, rev. Burghart Wachinger (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 60. Overall, translators and commentators seem to agree on the general notion that Oswald comes before the queen, with more or less deference depending on the interpretation. In my own translation, I tried to convey the idea of paying respects to someone but in more neutral tone, hence "pay her a visit."

[39] Marold identifies "Elst" as the original German name of the queen Isabeau of France, wife of Charles VI, who would have been known to a German-speaking audience as Elst or Elisabeth of Bavaria-Ingolstadt. *Kommentar zu den Liedern*, 266.

intra-textual audience, but also to recast the very stage upon which he performs through his performance. Mark D. Johnston, in an essay considering *cancionero* lyric, analyses poetry from a cultural studies perspective, highlighting that poets are not only influenced by their historical and social context, but that they themselves influence the social and cultural sphere in which they work: the poets invest their poetry with the social and cultural characteristics that they need to further their own status within their social and cultural sphere.[40] In the case of Oswald, the fragmentation of his poetic self revolves around the fragmentation of the space in which he writes, the space of the European court culture as a travelling poet. The heterotopic nature of *Ispanien* unveils his extreme role-playing and lays bare the polyphonic construction of his poetic identity: equally, Iberia's heterotopia returns an image that unveils the polyphonic nature of an international court culture that imagines itself to be homogeneous.

Oswald uses space to define himself. Travel, or movement, as well as the means through which a courtier-poet acquires wisdom as defined by Baena, can also be read as a figuration of the ever-changing nature of the courtier, and of Oswald's fluctuating poetic identity. The creation of his own "other" space, his *Ispanien*, benefits Oswald's strategy for self-presentation, since he now possesses a plural space that is specifically his to use as a theatre in which to stage his literary personae. *Ispanien*'s ability to fuse a place for courtly rituals with a world of exotic pleasures reinforces its heterotopic character. In the four songs dealt with in this chapter, the Iberian space synthesises familiarity and exoticism, enabling Oswald to solve the contradictions inherent to his self-fashioning.

As the heterotopia juxtaposes several incompatible sites, Oswald in *Ispanien* juxtaposes several personae, several selves that are foreign to one another. Rather than

[40] See Mark D. Johnston, "Cultural Studies on the *Gaya Ciencia*," in Gerli and Weiss, *Poetry at court*, 235–54.

presenting one facet of his identity after another, the intertextuality within the Iberian songs enables all facets of Oswald's identity to co-exist. The unit of the *Ispanien* songs as preserved in the manuscript tradition lays bare the performative aspects of the songs and enables the complex construction of Oswald's poetic identity. Like the glass fragments within a kaleidoscope, the songs shed light on each other, revealing in turn different aspects of the Iberian space, and progressively exposing different images, helping us to consider this space's malleability. Simultaneously, the heterotopic mirror of Iberia returns an image that questions the supposed homogeneity characterising other European spaces. I discussed in my introduction Bartlett's idea that the extremities of Europe experience homogenisation as polarisation,[41] but here, Oswald provides an example that challenges this perspective. The polarisation of Iberia implies a centre from which it is being polarised, yet Oswald shows through the heterotopic mirror of Iberia that what comes to act as centre varies widely depending on individual perceptions. As well as the construction of Oswald's identity as courtier-poet, it is the very nature of the social world to which courtier-poets belong that is brought to the fore by the heterotopic mirror of Iberia. While *Herzog Herpin* revealed a polycentric European cultural network, Oswald's songs shed light on the polyphonic nature of international court culture. The supposed foreignness of the Iberian world is echoed and turned back onto spaces that are expected to embody a courtly world familiar to our poet. Oswald does not cast the courtly sphere as explicitly strange, but his play with topoi and the symbolic polysemy he deploys over the course of the four songs studied here suggest that European court culture itself, with its customs, rivalries and fragmentation, is as kaleidoscopic as his poetic identity.

[41] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, 313.

4. Knighthood as Family Narrative: Georg von Ehingen's *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft*

The centrality of travelling in constructing identities – as I have just discussed in the case of Oswald von Wolkenstein – is a characteristic shared by the travelogue *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft*, written by southern German knight and political figure Georg von Ehingen (1428–1508). Georg von Ehingen came from Kilchberg, near Stuttgart in modern-day Baden-Württemberg. The travelogue tells of his youth spent in Innsbruck and Rottenburg-am-Neckar (where he served Austrian dukes), his travels through Palestine in 1454 and his journey through western Europe a few years later (1454–1457 according to the travelogue). At the core of the travelogue is the fashioning of Georg's social and cultural identity. This identity is shaped both by the relationship of the self to travels and to foreign countries, as well as a combination of secular and religious motivations. On the one hand, Georg portrays himself as a pious knight, whose travels are prompted by his desire to defend Christianity. On the other hand, the travelogue shows his desire to prove himself worthy of the title of knight on a personal level, in order to satisfy a desire for adventure and social status. Georg evolves between a spiritually-defined Christian duty and a secular desire to prove himself. The personal and political levels anchor him in the framework of southern German nobility, where he seeks validation for his actions, and his claims of religious motivation interacting with secular motives throughout the text link him to the crusading spirit. The conflation of religious and secular motifs in Georg's self-fashioning as a crusader is not Georg's invention, but relies on the very nature of the crusades. Crusading efforts were sanctioned by the papacy as a religious duty, but they were material and secular wars in practice: "[b]y its very nature, crusading was a movement in which the Church drew upon secular military might. In many of the first narratives it was depicted as a religious enterprise – a pro-active defense of

Christianity which took the fight to the Moorish heathens; monastic writers, in particular, emphasised how by participating in the crusade the warrior class could practice their vocation in a worthy, Christian, way."[1] In his self-fashioning, Georg relies on the notion of a justified display of secular military might in the name of the Church. The Iberian space and the events Georg describes in Iberia throw into relief the points of encounter between religious and secular motives and the symbolism of travels in shaping identity. Specifically, the religious and secular interact in Georg's self-portrayal as a form of crusading knight-errant: "[…] in the fourteenth century if not earlier, the literary stereotype of the crusading knight-errant had become very familiar to western European audiences, to the extent that the 'crusader knight' had become a literary ideal as much concerned with conduct, manners, courtoisie and horsemanship as with the practical retaking of the Holy Land."[2] In this context, as a space in which a secular Europe defined by the transnational social model of court culture meets a spiritually-defined Christendom fighting a crusade against its southern neighbours in Granada and Africa, Iberia takes prominence in the travelogue and comes to offer an alternative for the Holy Land within a narrative of European travels. Furthermore, going back to the construction of noble families as discussed in my chapter on *Herzog Herpin*, Georg's knighthood acts as the basis for a dynastic identity reclaimed by his descendants, as

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[1] Matthew M. Mesley, "Chivalry, Masculinity, and Sexuality," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades*, ed. Anthony Bale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 146. Bartlett formulates a similar description of the crusades, which he calls "the best example of a papally orchestrated war of conquest." Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe, Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350* (London: Penguin, 1994), 20. See also *The Making of Europe*, 260–8 for more information on the crusades as a means to assert the authority of Rome while relying on secular powers to fight wars. For a study of the crusades as the introduction of religious motives in chivalry, see Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 44–63. See also Barbara Newman, *Medieval Crossover. Reading the Secular Against the Sacred* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013) for a study of the interaction of secular and sacred in medieval literature more generally, looking at different genres, from Arthurian romances to hagiography.

[2] Anthony Bale, "Introduction," in Bale, *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades*, 4.

evidenced in the manuscript transmission of the travelogue. According to R. Howard Bloch, who discusses the transmission of patrimony in noble families from the end of the eleventh century, "[t]he knight, in turn, was less a retainer than the heir to a domain, function, and title. Chivalry itself, transformed from a relatively open class into a closed and patroclinous caste, was no longer merely an indication of economic status but a hereditary sign of superiority."[3] Joachim Bumke, discussing the situation in German-speaking lands in particular – and at a later date – reaches a similar conclusion, stating that "der Ritterbegriff im 14. Jahrhundert zur Standesbezeichnung des niederen Adels geworden ist." ["in the fourteenth century the term "knight" became the title that designated the lower nobility."][4] By fashioning his knightly identity in Iberia, Georg builds a founding story for his later self (or his present self at the time of composition), legitimising his political and local authority but the insistence on knighthood in the travelogue functions beyond the personal level to build a dynastic legacy.

Georg had some political power at the local level. In 1460, he worked at the service of Eberhard von Württemberg, governor of Tübingen, during which time he occupied different political functions. In his work alongside Eberhard he participated in the founding of the University of Tübingen in 1477.[5] His travelogue, however, remains understudied to this day. After an edition, a Castilian translation in the late nineteenth and an English translation in the early twentieth century, the only modern critical edition of the text was made in 1979 by

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[3] R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies. A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 68.

[4] Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur. Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, 10th edn (Munich: dtv, 2002), 71. Translation from Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture. Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages,* trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 52.

[5] For a detailed biography see Gabriele Ehrmann, *Georg von Ehingen, Reisen Nach Der Ritterschaft. Untersuchung, Kommentar* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1979), 84–116.

Gabriele Ehrmann.[6] Few scholars have dealt with the travelogue, and when they have done so, the focus remains historical or biographical.[7] Some interest has been given to the illustrations present in the manuscript,[8] but the value of the travelogue as literary text remains largely underexplored. In an attempt to rectify this, this chapter offers an analysis of the travelogue through the lens of its representation of Iberia. The Iberian perspective is particularly insightful, since the section of the travelogue dedicated to Georg's travels to the Peninsula appears as the most developed, the most "literary," and the most revealing of the ideological function of the text.

While Oswald used travel as a tool for his poetic self-fashioning, Georg's text relies on travel as a necessary condition for its existence. In that sense, his writings belong to the category of travel literature – following the loose definition of Joan-Pau Rubiés – as "the varied body of writing which, whether its principal purpose is practical or fictional, takes

[6] See Franz Pfeiffer, ed., *Des schwäbischen Ritters Georg von Ehingen Reisen nach der Ritterschaft* (Stuttgart: Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins, 1842); Antonio María Fabié, ed., *Viajes por España* (Madrid: Librería de los Bibliófilos, 1879); Malcolm Letts, trans., *The Diary of Jörg von Ehingen* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929) and Gabriele Ehrmann, ed., *Georg von Ehingen*, *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1979).

[7] See for example Karl Krauβ und Christa Freifrau von Tessin, *Georg I. von Ehingen, 1428–1508: Leben und Taten, Familie und Besitz, Stifter und Schlichter* (Tübingen: Heppler, 1998); Ulrich Müller, "Reisen nach der Ritterschaft, eine Autobiographie des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Literatur und bildende Kunst im Tiroler Mittelalter*, ed. Egon Kühebacher (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, 1982), 111–21 and Hans Jänichen, "Georg von Ehingen, württembergischer Rat und Reiseschriftsteller," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* IV (Berlin: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1959), 343–4.

[8] See Gabriele Ehrmann, "Die Fürstenbilder in den Handschriften der Autobiographie Georgs von Ehingen in der Ehingischen Familienchronik. Die Bildnisse des Ladislaus Posthumus und Karls VIII. von Frankreich in der Bibliothèque Nationale und die Kupferstiche des Dominicus Custodis," in Kühebacher, *Literatur und bildende Kunst im Tiroler Mittelalter*, 123–40 and Wolfgang von Stromer, "Die Bildnisse des Ehinger und des Peter Strohmair und Georg von Ehingens Reisen nach der Ritterschaft." *Zeitschrift für Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 27, (1968): 77–106.

travel as an essential condition for its production."[9] Rubiés refers to travel literature as a "genre of genres" to acknowledge the "variety of kinds of literature defined by a variety of purposes and conventions" included in his purposefully broad definition.[10] Similarly, Jan Borm argues that travel writing is not a genre, but rather a "collective term for a variety of texts both predominantly fictional and non-fictional whose main theme is travel."[11] This general approach allows me to contextualise Georg's text while acknowledging that its scope is more restricted than the body of late medieval literature more frequently analysed by scholarly investigation. Even though Georg does travel to the Holy Land and a few cities in the Middle East, he does not venture into places more geographically distant, such as India or China in the manner of Marco Polo, neither does he include wondrous descriptions of the world like John Mandeville.

Beyond the necessity of travel, the centrality of the first person in Georg's text corresponds to a frequent feature of travel writing. In fact, his text could be an example of Jan Borm's definition of a travel book or travelogue, which Borm defines as a genre belonging to the more general term of travel literature: "*any narrative characterized by a non-fiction dominant that relates (almost always) in the first person a journey or journeys that the reader supposes to have taken place in reality while assuming or presupposing that author, narrator and principal character are but one or identical*."[12] The first person draws attention to the use

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[9] Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Travel Writing as a Genre: Facts, Fictions and the Invention of a Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe," *The International Journal of Travel and Travel Writing* 5, (2000): 6. For a broad study of travel writing in the German language, see Peter J. Brenner, *Der Reisebericht in der deutschen Literatur* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), especially 41–79 for an analysis of late medieval travel writing.

[10] Rubiés, "Travel Writing as a Genre," 6.

[11] Jan Borm, "Defining Travel: On the Travel book, Travel Writing and Terminology," in *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, ed. Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 13.

[12] Borm, "Defining Travel," 17. Italics in the original. Borm considers the French and German differences in *littérature de voyage* or *Reiseliteratur*, defining a general thematic category and the *récits de voyages* or *Reisebuch* and *-bericht*, defining a more specific genre. "Defining Travel," 18–9.

of travel as a tool to define the self. Discussing the use of the first person in travel writing, Peter Hulme highlights how "predictably, therefore, questions of identity are frequently to the fore, suggesting the degree to which physical travel often tends, in its writing, to become symbolic of interior journeys of the mind or soul."[13] Considering Georg in the tradition of travel writing throws into relief the potential symbolism of his portrayal of foreign countries, especially Iberia, the region that takes up the most space in the travelogue, although it is not where he spent the most time. How can his depiction of Iberia shed light on his self-portrayal? What role does his journey to Iberia play in his "travels towards knighthood?" The portrayal of Georg's exterior and interior journey relies on a specific framework in western Europe in the late Middle Ages. Kim M. Phillips discusses late medieval travel writing as a literature "produced within a period on the cusp between a spiritually defined 'Christendom' and a 'Europe' that was primarily secular in conception."[14] While Phillips discusses travel writing on the Orient and considers its role in the construction of a secular Europe, her remarks emphasise the importance of the two motivations in Georg's travelogue: a religious one and a secular one, interacting in his self-fashioning as a crusader in southern Iberia.

Georg's travelogue can be divided roughly into four main episodes: the story of Georg's grandfather Burckhart von Ehingen's life, told in the third person; the story of Georg's youth and his training as knight; his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Jerusalem; and his travels through the Iberian Peninsula. For the sake of clarity, I refer to each part as the Burckhart, youth, Jerusalem and Iberia sections or episodes respectively. The text begins in Georg's home of Kilchberg through the story of his grandfather. Then, Georg narrates his training at the court of Duke Albrecht in Rottenburg-am-Neckar and his knighting in Prague. On the advice and with the help of his father, he travels to Rhodes, to help fight against the

[13] Peter Hulme, "Introduction," *Studies in Travel Writing* 1, (1997): 5.

[14] Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 69.

Turks, although the battle does not happen. From there, he travels through the Holy Land, via Jerusalem, Damascus and Alexandria. He returns home but grows restless and decides to travel through Europe. In France, he learns of an expedition being mounted in Spain against Granada, and then travels through Iberia, fighting in Ceuta alongside the Portuguese army and in Granada alongside the Castilian army.

In the first instance, I will consider Georg's narration of his Iberian journey from a narratological perspective, in order to highlight the specificity of the Iberian travels in the text. From a narratological standpoint, the Iberian episode is significantly more developed than other sections of the travelogue, allowing for a more expansive description of the Iberian space, relying on topoi emerging from pre-existing literary discourses on Iberia. Then, I will look at Iberian historical accounts to shed light on the influence of these literary discourses associating fights against Muslims in Iberia with the crusades. The crusading-like narrative in Georg's text makes use of an enduring association between crusading and the idea of a *Reconquista*, which seems at odds with accounts of the historical situation in Iberia at the time. The text, then, plays with pre-existing perceptions of Iberia in order to build a crusader-like knightly identity for Georg. Finally, I turn to the extant witnesses of the travelogue. An exploration of the manuscript tradition demonstrates that Iberia – as a space in which Georg constructs a knightly identity – becomes equally central to the afterlife of the travelogue, through which Georg's story becomes a family narrative and founding story for southern German nobility.

4.1. Iberia in the Travelogue: A Narratological Perspective

Considering the travelogue from a narratological point of view sheds light on the importance of Iberia for Georg. First, the length of the episode is telling: the narration of the journey to Iberia occupies half of the travelogue, although Georg spent only three years in Iberia –

compared to the narration of the entire life of Burckhart von Ehingen, as well as Georg's youth and travels to Jerusalem. Yet the prominence of Iberia is marked equally through narratological differences. In the Iberian episode, the narration shifts, becoming more developed and more engaging, in a broad sense more "literary." I use the terms "literary" and "literarisation" below to refer to the embellishment of a supposed factual narrative through motifs and topoi stemming from literary discourses. While the term "literarisation" is inspired by the German *Literarisierung*, it does not refer to a function of the process of transferring an oral corpus into a written tradition as it has been used by scholars such as Christian Kiening or Walter Haug.[15] In the case of Georg's travelogue, the Iberian section is more "literary" because rather than simply describing or listing events and facts, it draws more prominently on motifs and topoi from literary texts and develops its language into a more rhetorical and descriptive form.[16] In this sense, the Iberian episode becomes more literary inasmuch as it

[15] See Christian Kiening, "Arbeit am Muster. Literarisierungsstrategien im König Rother," *Wolfram-Studien* 15, (1998): 211–44 and Walter Haug, "Struktur, Gewalt und Begierde. Zum Verhältnis von Erzählmuster und Sinnkonstitution in mündlicher und schriftlicher Überlieferung," in *Idee – Gestalt – Geschichte, Festschrift für Klaus von See*, ed. Gerd Wolfgang Weber (Odense: Odense University Press, 1988), 143–57. For a critique of Haug and Kiening's theories from the perspective of *König Rother*, see Lorenz Deutsch, "Die Einführung der Schrift als Literarisierungsschwelle: Kritik eines mediävistischen Forschungsfaszinosums am Beispiel des König Rother," *Poetica* 35, (2003): 69–90.

[16] Broadly, the literary can be defined following Kurt Ruh: "der Literaturbegriff, der angemessen dem Mittelalter zugrundegelegt wird, alle >geordneten< Texte umfaβt, d.h. das Schrifttum schlechthin auβer dem urkundlichen, soweit es sich auf bloβe Rechtsverbindlichkeit beschränkt." [The term literature, if we are to use it appropriately for the medieval context, encompasses all "ordered" texts, meaning simply all (written) literature except for documentation, insofar as it is limited by mere legal validity.] "Überlieferungsgeschichte mittelalterlicher Texte als methodischer Ansatz zu einer erweiterten Konzeption von Literaturgeschichte," in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Prosaforschung. Beiträge der Würzburger Forschergruppe zur Methode und Auswertung*, ed. Kurt Ruh (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985), 263. Following Ruh, the Iberian episode appears more ordered, more carefully planned and thought through than others. Yet I also mention the prominence of topoi and motifs in making the Iberian sections literary. In that regard, my understanding of the literary aligns with Peter Lamarque and Stein Haugom Olsen, who identify a text "as a literary work by recognizing the author's intention that the text is produced and meant to be read within the framework of conventions defining

relies on existing stylistic and thematic expressions of chivalric ideals and the notion of a supposed religious war being waged in Iberia, as will be discussed with regards to "literarisation" later on.

The most striking distinction between the Burckhart section and the others is the narrator voice shift from external to internal narrator. The Burckhart episode is narrated in the third person by an external narrator, who remains anonymous. The narrator is not identified with any of the characters, meaning he produces the narrative, but is neither an object of this narrator, nor part of this narrative, conforming to what Gérard Genette defines as an extra- and hetero-diegetic narrator.[17] In the opening line of the youth episode, however, the narrator's voice is asserted and identified with Georg himself: "Ich, Jörg von Ehingen, ritter" [I, Georg von Ehingen, knight.][18] The first-person narrator is not only present in the world which he narrates, meaning the narrator becomes homo-diegetic, but considering Georg was mentioned in the Burckhart episode, his intervention shifts the narrative voice to the intra-diegetic level, if we follow Genette's definition.[19] The introduction of such a narrator, identified and individualised, should provide a deeper insight into the story through personal comments but these are virtually non-existent in the youth and Jerusalem sections.

In the Jerusalem episode, the narrator remains focused on the actions of the characters, in a cursory tone, stating in the first person where Georg (ich) went and what he did. As the narrator moves into the Iberia episode, he begins to distil insights into his own

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the practice (constituting the institution) of literature." *Truth, Fiction, and Literature: A Philosophical Perspective* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 255–6.

[17] Gérard Genette, *Figures III* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972), 238.

[18] All primary quotations are from Ehrmann, *Georg von Ehingen*, *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft*. Page numbers are indicated in brackets.

[19] Genette, *Figures III*, 252.

mind. For example, after his return from the Holy Land, Georg decides to leave to travel again and briefly explains his decision:

> [...] inn den zytten begabe sich kain handlung oder kriegisch uffruor by kainem küng oder fürsten, so wytt ich dann mein herfarung haben mocht. Eß war och guotter fried inn allen rychen der kristenhait. Allso ward ich gedenken, das mier nitt nutz wer mein zytt also zuo verlieren und still zuo ligen. […] Und gedacht mir, ich wöllt understen inn die treffenlichsten küngrych der kristenhait ziehen und so lang von aim rych inn daz ander, biß ich zuo ersntlichenn grossen sachen und handlungen kumen möcht. (38–9)

> at the time there was no affair or warlike uproar from any king or prince, as far as I could find out. There was also a good peace in all Christian kingdoms. So I was of the opinion that it was not useful for me to waste my time so and to stay still. […] And I thought, I would undertake to travel through the most important Christian kingdoms, from one kingdom to another, until I might come to some serious and important matters and affairs.

The narrator clearly states Georg's motives: to find a place in which he can prove his knighthood by defending Christianity. While re-affirming the necessity of travel in Georg's identity formation, this statement shows a shift in the narrator's input, who begins to provide more information for the reader, insisting on Georg's – his own – thoughts and decisions. The narrator begins to reflect on his own narration and on the subjectivity of his account, often through formulae such as "wie vor gesagt" (44, 50) [as said before] or "minß bedunckens" (54) [in my opinion.] The first-person narrator reflects on his own story and his involvement as character, reinforcing a sense of veracity in his account. The link between Georg as narrator and character can be usefully described by adopting the terminology used by Mieke Bal, who defines what Genette calls an intra- and homodiegetic narrator as a "character-

bound narrator," insisting that "[t]he difference between an [external narrator] and a [character-bound narrator], a narrator that tells about others and a narrator that tells about him- or herself – such a narrator is personified – entails a difference in the narrative rhetoric of "truth." A [character-bound narrator] usually proclaims that it recounts true facts about her- or himself."[20] The affirmation "Ich, Jörg von Ehingen, ritter" lends veracity to the following story, implying a rhetoric of truth, if not factual truth. The character-bound narrator influences how the story is focalised, by which we might understand how "a point of view is chosen, a certain way of seeing things, a certain angle, whether 'real' historical facts are concerned or fictitious events."[21] When dealing with Georg's account of events in Iberia, the intersection between rhetoric of veracity and focalisation becomes particularly complex, as Georg provides a vision of historical events mediated by an outsider, but given under the cover of truth, leading to a "literarisation" of events.

The characterisation of actors is another element which differentiates the Iberia episode. According to Bal, "*Actors* are agents that perform actions."[22] Bal refines this general definition by creating a sub-category of actors, the characters: "By this, I mean the actor provided with distinctive characteristics which together create the effect of a character."[23] While the travelogue contains many actors, not all of them are fully characterised. Throughout the Burckhart section, the narrator provides many details about each character's life, including the names of their wives and children, and insists on the actions they performed which show them in a positive light. Burckhart, for instance, is defined by his actions but the narrator avoids internal characteristics, feelings or judgments. The depiction of Rudolf von Ehingen (Georg's father) has a similar focus on facts and actions, until the

[20] Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 22.

[21] Bal, *Narratology*, 142.

[22] Bal, *Narratology*, 5. Italics in the original.

[23] Bal, *Narratology*, 114.

narrator explains the special relation between Georg and his father: “wie voll er nun under den allen her Jörgen virbindig lieb hatte, kam her Jörg offt zuo im.” (18) [as he loved Georg most amongst all the others, Georg came to see him often]. The narrator reports a conversation between Georg and his father Rudolf and this sole instance of reported speech coincides with the most striking element of characterisation in the Burckhart story: the strong bond uniting Georg and his father Rudolf. As the Jerusalem section begins and the reader hears about Georg’s youth, the first-person narrator names the different lords he serves: Sigmund, prince of Austria and his wife, a princess from Scotland, as well as Albrecht of Austria, brother of the Roman Emperor Frederick, whose court Georg joins when he decides to pursue knighthood. In this part of the story, these people remain actors, useful to the plot of Georg’s story but without an internal life of their own. The only form of emotion or individual characteristic attached to Albrecht is his laughter, as he helps Georg show himself in a good light to his former Lord, Sigmund.

In the Jerusalem episode, Georg and his father are the two principal characters and their behaviour remains determined by Georg’s desire for knighthood, which his father wholeheartedly supports. They act according to social expectations: since Georg’s only purpose and desire is knighthood, his actions and feelings must lead him to knighthood and portray him as deserving of the title. Georg’s father becomes an instrument in the pursuit of knighthood, helping his son repeatedly. For example, when he hears that Albrecht and other lords will ride to Prague for King Ladislaus’ crowning, Georg asks for his father’s advice, who provides him with money, an armour, a horse and other things, which allows Georg to go to Prague, where he is knighted. This is not to say, however, that Rudolf’s only role in the story is to help Georg. The relation between Georg and Rudolf is an integral part of the characterisation of both and forms a continuity between the Burckhart third-person narration and the Jerusalem episode, highlighting the centrality of family in Georg’s life.

The knighting episode in Prague is not described at length. The only information the narrator provides are the names of four other nobles knighted alongside Georg: “Aber under

minß gnedigen herrn hertzog Albrechten züg sind unser V. zuo ritter geschlagen worden und die ritterschaft angenomen: her Jörg druchseß von Waltze, her Bernhart von Bach, her Conrat von Ramstain, her Sigmund von Thun und ich, Jörg von Ehingen, ritter." (27) [But five of us from my gracious master Duke Albrecht's following were knighted and accepted the knighthood: Sir Georg Steward of Waldsee, Sir Bernhart von Bach, Sir Konrad von Ramstein, Sir Sigmund von Thun and I, Georg von Ehingen, knight.] Considering the numerous references to Georg's desire to become a knight, the lack of reaction on Georg's part and the brevity of the episode are surprising. The first-person narrator insists on his personal achievement by reiterating "ich, Jörg von Ehingen" twice in the space of a few lines, but swiftly moves on to his return to Albrecht's court. The narration follows as Georg, having been accepted into knighthood, now wishes to show his worth by travelling to Rhodes, where the Turks are threatening to attack, an expedition that allows him "nach der ritterschafft mit allem ernst nach zuo ziehen" (30) [to advance towards knighthood in all earnestness.] In this sense the text insists on the importance of knighthood as an active pursuit and as a quality that must continuously be proven in battle, rather than a title alone. Once more, the financial and moral support of his father allows Georg to set off on this journey, leading him to Venice with knights of the Order of Saint John, as well as many knights from France and Spain. Yet Georg hints to the uniqueness of his situation by specifying: "Und wollt kainer von minß gnedigen hern hoff söllich raiß mitt mir ziehen. Eß zoch och sunst kain her oder edellman uß hochdeütschen landen hinin" (31) [And no one from my gracious lord's court wanted to travel with me. Nor did any man or nobleman from the High German lands]. Georg travels with few companions, and only two characters are distinguished in this regard.

One character stands out in the Jerusalem section: a Monk from Basel, who becomes Georg's companion and transforms the 'I' of the narrator into 'we' for a few instances. During their return journey, the monk falls overboard and dies, introducing one of the few elements of self-exploration and emotion in the first-person voice as we hear of Georg's sadness. In the Iberia episode, the Monk of Basel is replaced by a young knight, Georg von Ramsyden from

Salzburg, who demands to travel with Georg. The young knight is characterised to a larger extent than previous actors and the vocabulary used to describe him is inscribed in the knightly tradition: he possesses lands, he is of a reasonable and honest nature, skilful and strong-bodied, wealthy and powerful. It seems significant that Georg is accompanied by a monk during his travels to the Holy Land, reinforcing this journey as a pilgrimage, whereas, during his travels to the Iberian Peninsula, he is accompanied by another knight. In the Iberian section, therefore, the centrality of knighthood – knighthood as defence of Christianity – is brought to the fore.

The King of Portugal Afonso V is another character who stands out in the Iberian episode, and the only king to be characterised to a larger extent. He is described as follows: "Der küng war genant Allfonsuß und war ain hüpscher, wollgestalter fürst und der aller kristelichst, werlichst und gerechtiste küng, den ich je erkentt hab." (49) [The king was called Afonso and was a courtly, well-built prince and the most Christian, truthful, and righteous king that I have ever met]. The description of the king takes part in a large narratological development in the Iberia section, in which descriptions and non-narrative comments appear more frequently. In the Burckhart section, very few such comments appear, with the exception of a few religious notes, such as the last line: "Gott der allmechtig welle im und allen glöbigen selen gnedig unnd barmhertzig sin" (20) [God the almighty may grant his grace and mercy on him and all faithful souls]. In the Jerusalem section, the introduction of the Monk of Basel coincides with the introduction of a few comments describing the places Georg visits, which remain succinct. Damascus, for example, is described briefly as "groß und wolgebawen" (34) [big and populous]. Their journey to Alexandria and to Saint Catherine's monastery is dealt with in similar brief terms. The Iberia episode, however, introduces longer and more complex descriptions. In Portugal, the narrator uses a wider range of adjectives and several superlatives, such as when he describes the King of Portugal. The general description of Portugal follows a similar narratological pattern, with succession of adjectives and, as Georg describes a monastery he visits, the repeated formula: "das schönßt, so ich je gesehen

hab" (50) [the most beautiful I have ever seen.] The duel between Georg and a heathen warrior is the object of a long description, in which the narrator insists on the strength of Georg's opponent, his value in battle and his great armour, which plays a central role in the depiction of Georg as a crusade-like knight, intermingling secular motivations and religious legitimation.

The events in the story are ordered in chronological sequences in all sections, with a few exceptions for brief descriptive pauses and a flashback in the Iberia episode, as Georg reaches Navarre and recalls his journey through Angers, where he met the King of Sicily René of Anjou. The structures of the Jerusalem and Iberia episodes are parallel: in each section, Georg visits his father who gives him advice, then receives some distinction from Albrecht (in Jerusalem he is knighted, in Iberia he receives Orders) and then leaves on a new journey. The rhythm of the narration evolves in the different sections of the story, and the relation between fabula time (the time of the events that are being narrated) and story time (the time in which the events are narrated) changes drastically.[24] In the Burckhart and Jerusalem episodes, fabula time lasts longer than story time. Georg's visits to his father are described with a little more detail, but the travels are narrated briefly. Even adventures such as getting captured in Damascus are narrated in six brief lines (34) before moving on to the next destination.

The Iberia episode is quite different. It is the only section which begins and ends with a precise date (1454–1457) and its fabula time (three years) is significantly shorter than the fabula time of the rest of the travelogue – yet the first-person narrator dedicates half the travelogue to the events in Iberia, making story time much longer. Starting with the description of Georg von Ramsyden, story time slows down. Some scenes are even described

[24] See Bal, *Narratology*, 101–2 for a discussion fabula and story time. Genette similarly discusses differences between the "temps du récit" (narrative time) and "temps de l'histoire" (story time). *Figures III*, 122–3.

through pauses, in which story time is larger than fabula time, and this change in rhythm introduces suspense and a sense of excitement to the narrative. After six uneventful weeks at the court of King Charles of France, a Spanish envoy arrives with the news that the King of Spain ("küng von Ischpanien," 42, i.e. the King of Castile, Enrique IV) is mounting an expedition against Granada. While the announcement of the Turkish attack on Rhodes in the Jerusalem section was made from a distance by Georg's father, who told him that there had been news of a possible expedition by the Turks in "den künfftigen frieling" (28) [the next spring], the arrival of the envoy from the King of Spain adds a dimension of urgency, particularly when he begs the King of France to join in order to do a great service to his country and the Christians living there ("sin künigrych und der kristenhait deß orts ain grosen nutz zuo schaffen," 42) The envoy's words provide Georg with the opportunity he had been waiting for to test his knighthood, as well as a specifically Christian framework for his action. Following the encounter with the envoy, Georg departs for Iberia, first heading to Navarre, where he learns the expedition has been cancelled due to a plague and then to Portugal. In Portugal, the change of narrative rhythm becomes particularly visible as the narrator describes their arrival in detail. As a means of comparison, three folios are dedicated to their arrival in Portugal and their first encounter with Afonso V, the same number devoted to the narration of his entire travels through the Holy Land and other cities in the Jerusalem section of the text. The narration of Georg's month spent in Granada follows a similarly slow pace, but in the final folios, the narrator resumes the style of the Jerusalem travel retelling, giving in quick succession the list of places Georg travels through, to finally end up in Scotland at the court of his former mistress's brother.

The existing differences in characterisation, the presence of non-narrative comments and changes in rhythm point to the Iberian episode as more developed and "literary." As discussed above, the term "literary" is used here in a broad sense, to qualify an episode of the text that moves away from a more factual description of a journey to a text that appears to hint at motifs and topoi recalling pre-existing literary discourses, following Lamarque and

Olsen referenced previously. The travelogue makes use of existing motifs associated with literary texts about the Peninsula, not least the crusading dimension and associated "epic" topoi as discussed with respect to the Roland tradition in Chapter one. In the thick of the battle, for example, the narrator explains the heathens are retreating due to the stench of the rotting bodies: "Allβ nun die häden die dry tag, wie gehörtt, nach ain ander so ernstlich gestürmtt und treffenlich vil lüt verlorn, daß dann ain grüssellicher geschmakg von den dotten war, herhuoben sich die häden und zugen hinweg." (57) [Then as the heathen had stormed us so seriously for three days, as you heard, and had lost a very important number of men, a horrifying smell arose from the dead, and the heathen stopped their attack and withdrew.] Beyond a simple gruesome detail, the attention brought to the smell of rotting bodies recalls comments made in other texts. In Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*, for example, the narrator makes a similar comment on the smell of decomposing bodies in a battle involving Muslim troops from Spain: "der smac von toten was da groz" (222, 12) [The stench of the dead was great there]. Decomposing bodies are also used elsewhere as a topos of differentiation between Christians and heathens; in the *Rolandslied*, for example, the inevitable descent to hell of a heathen after his death is represented physically, as heathen bodies rot on the spot after being killed: "die fûlten dâ ze stunde" (l. 6236). Heathen bodies rotting, and their smell, evokes by opposition the odour of sanctity emanating from saintly bodies. Wolfram describes a true Christian knight's body being miraculously preserved as a sign of divine presence when he tells how the Christian knight Vivianz, fighting against heathens in Aliscans, is fatally wounded. After his death pleasant smells emanate from his body: "reht als lignaloe / al die boume mit viuwer waeren enzunt, / selh wart der smac an der stunt, / da sich lip und sele schiet." (69, 12) [As if all lignum aloe trees had been set on fire, such was the smell at the moment when body and soul separated from one another.] The odour of sanctity motif attributed to a knight fighting a heathen, implying his sainthood, forms part of a network of references linking chivalry and knighthood with religious wars and the possibility of sainthood. While this description remains a small detail in Georg's text, the

mention of foul-smelling bodies on a battlefield in Iberia connects the travelogue with enduring topoi linked to the motif of religious wars, often played out in the Iberian space.

Similarly, the description of the duel between Georg and a North African soldier, which takes place during the battle in Ceuta with the Portuguese army, follows narrative techniques reminiscent of texts I have previously analysed. The heathen is described as a fine warrior, with a good breastplate and great strength ("Der häd hett ain guotte brigenden;" "der häd war mechtiger stark," 59). Georg strikes many blows, which the heathen always returns in equal force. The two fighters fall to the ground and find themselves on their knees, but Georg finally triumphs and is carried in victory through the streets of Ceuta. He acknowledges the worth of his adversary, but concludes: "Gott der Allmechtig stritt uff die stund vir mich, dan in grosser nott kam ich nie." (61) [God Almighty fought for me in this hour, for I never found myself in greater danger.] As in the *Rolandslied*, where the heathen army is depicted as equally strong and mighty as the Christian, but unable to defeat them because they worship the wrong God, Georg needs an enemy worthy of his own strength. When Olivier fights and kills the heathen Margariz, his opponent fights well, but he cannot be defeated for religious reasons:

er [Margarîz] stach ain golt gewunden spiez	Margariz thrusted a gold-encrusted [lance
nâch dem helde Oliviere.	towards the hero Olivier.
er zart im von dem diehe	He tore away a
ain vach der halsberge.	piece of his armour from his thigh.
si wânden alle, er solde ersterbe,	They all believed that he would die,
ienoch behielt in got gesunden	but God still kept him alive,
âne aller slachte wunden. ll. 5068–74	without any battle wound.

In the *Rolandslied*, and Georg's travelogue, duel opponents must be strong and mighty for the hero's victory to be all the more impressive, but the ultimate victory is given through religious righteousness. In Georg's case, although he mentions God's help, time is taken to narrate his parade through the streets of Ceuta and, once his own personal glory has been acknowledged and validated by his peers, he retreats into religious humility. In both texts, a similar structure is used: the narrator describes a powerful heathen – our hero seems to be in danger – the hero triumphs, with help from God. As in the chapter dedicated to *Herzog Herpin*, I do not wish to imply that Georg purposefully imitated *Willehalm* or the *Rolandslied*. Rather, I would like to show that considering the travelogue from a narratological, literary standpoint highlights the recurrence of pre-existing discourses on the stage of Iberia. As Anthony Bale describes it, "the literary construction of the crusades has played a key role in shaping our understanding of what a crusade was; whereas the crusading movement was diffuse and evolutionary, the writing of the crusades has returned time and again […] and thereby gives shape in the Western imagination to what a crusade was, or should be."[25] As well as the interaction of the secular and the sacred in the image of the crusading knight, Georg's account brings to light the use of crusading as a literary motif, and highlights the influence of the literary construction of the crusades on his own account of his fight in Iberia.

4.2. "Literarisation" of the Relations Between Castile and Granada

The use of crusading motifs in the Iberian space in the travelogue relies not only upon pan-European literary models but evokes the idea of the Spanish and Portuguese *Reconquista* as a crusade. Charles Julian Bishko explains that a "new factor after 1095 is the trans-Pyrenean crusading movement, which thenceforth gave the Iberian reconquest its character as the western theater of Catholic Europe's war against Islam, greatly magnifying the peninsular

[25] Bale, "Introduction," 2.

movement's religious objectives and overtones and inspiring increased foreign ecclesiastical and military intervention below the Pyrenees."[26] Yet if Georg's fighting in Iberia was – in his own representation – a form of crusade, it does not mean that there was indeed a concerted effort to fight southern neighbours on religious grounds in Iberia. What has been termed the *Reconquista*, and what Georg paints as a form of religious (re)conquest, obscures a complex history of material and spiritual motives on both sides of the Andalusi border. Discussing Don Juan Manuel's early fourteenth-century work, Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua highlights that the author himself insists on the territorial character of the opposition between Christians and Muslims in the Peninsula at the time: "En el *Libro de los estados* había subrayado que la confrontación entre moros y cristianos persistiría hasta que los últimos hubieran recuperado las tierras que los primeros les tienen forzadas, por cuanto 'por la ley nin por la secta que ellos tienen' no existiría guerra entre ambos bandos, pues Jesucristo 'nunca mando que matasen nin apremiasen a ninguno por que tomasen la su ley; ca el non quiere seruiçio forçado, sinon el que [se] faze de buen talante et de grado'." [In the *Libro de los estados* he had underlined that the confrontation between Moors and Christians would persist until the latter had recovered the lands the former had coerced from them since "for neither law nor sect" would the two sides be at war, because Jesus Christ "never asked for his followers to kill or target each other; he does not want those who follow him to feel coerced into doing so, rather to do so willingly."][27] The materiality of the war described here is far from the religious fervour of the crusading tone of Georg's travelogue. The notion of *Reconquista* I mention regarding Georg is to not to be understood as a historical term, but rather as a term that

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[26] Charles Julian Bishko, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest 1095–1492," in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (London: Madison, 1975), 399.

[27] Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua, "Identidad y alteridad: la representación del Otro musulmán en *El conde Lucanor*," *e-Spania* [Online], uploaded 26 May 2015, accessed 30 May 2019, https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.24697, 31.

encapsulates the association of crusading ideology and the Iberian Peninsula in the foreign knight's imaginary at the time he visited the Peninsula.

The prominence of Iberia in *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft* not only highlights the persistence of the crusading spirit but throws into relief the possibilities that the Peninsula offers to foreign knights. As Martín de Riquer points out, "España tenía para los caballeros andantes extranjeros el doble aliciente de las lucidas cortes de los reyes cristianos y la frontera con los moros, que forzosamente había de reavivar el espíritu de cruzada, tan vinculado a la caballería y a la literatura." [For foreign travelling knights, Spain had the double incentive of the magnificent courts of the Christian kings and the frontier with the Moors, which necessarily revived the crusading spirit, so attached to chivalry and literature.][28] While de Riquer discusses "Spain" and the proximity of the Moors in Granada, the role of Portugal in northern Africa made it an equally appealing destination for knights and Georg's text provides an excellent example. As Roser Salicrú i Lluch writes,

> […] a partir de 1415 el interés caballeresco por el Norte de Africa se canaliza, lógicamente, sobre todo a través de la corte portuguesa. Y, además, en adelante Ceuta concentra y ofrece a la caballería europea todos los alicientes que hasta entonces le había proporcionado Granada. Convertida […] en destino de caballeros que buscaban plaza y juez de batalla, el testimonio de Ehingen es […] el que mejor nos permite ilustrar el papel de Ceuta como escenario donde cristalizar los deseos de enfrentarse al infiel.
>
> From 1415, the chivalric interest in northern Africa is channelled, logically, above all through the Portuguese court. And, moreover, from then on Ceuta combines and offers to European chivalry all the incentives which until then had been provided by Granada. Turned into […] a destination for knights in search of opportunities to be tested in battle,

[28] Martín de Riquer, *Caballeros Andantes Españoles* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1967), 105.

> Ehingen's testimony is […] the one which best allows us to illustrate the role of Ceuta as a stage on which to crystallise desires to confront the infidel.[29]

The possibility offered by the Iberian Peninsula in its duality as a Christian space in proximity to the Moors but also as a gateway to Africa, partly explains the endurance of the crusading spirit in Iberia. The importance of the crusading ethos in Iberia is not only noticeable in foreign accounts such as Georg's, but also plays a role in contemporary Iberian texts. It is of course impossible to know how extensive Georg's knowledge of Iberian literature was or whether he heard any of the stories during his travels. It seems likely that he would not have been able to understand the language in which they were written, considering he never mentions speaking any Iberian language, and even requires the help of a translator to talk with the King of Portugal: "durch ainen dollmetschen in niderlendischer brabendischer sprach mitt unβ vill" (47) [through a translation in Dutch-Brabant he spoke with us a great deal]. Yet looking to Castilian texts shows that the enduring link between chivalry and the idea of the crusade in Iberia is not specific to Georg or German-language texts, but rather that it belongs to a transnational framework that spans across western Europe and influences Georg's self-depiction as a knight.

The structure of Georg's travelogue recalls a Castilian biography of the knight Don Pero Niño, Count of Buelna, protector of Gutierre Díez de Games, who compiled between 1435 and 1448 the biography known as *El Victorial* or *Crónica de Don Pero Niño*. This biography is governed by chivalric ideals; as Alan Deyermond writes, "no solo se dan en [la obra] amplias descripciones de torneos y ejercicios similares, sino que los personajes mismos se encuentran medidos por el patrón de la caballeria." [not only ample descriptions of

[29] Roser Salicrú i Lluch, "Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico," in *„Das kommt mir spanisch vor": Eigenes und Fremdes in den deutsch-spanischen Beziehungen des späten Mittelalters*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Nikolas Jaspert (Münster: Lit, 2004), 241–2.

tournaments and similar exercises are given in the work, but the characters themselves are mediated through the pattern of chivalry.][30] The first part of this text relates the youth of Don Pero Niño and his knightly education, while the second part deals with Castile's fight against corsairs from Maghreb and on the French coast in the context of the Hundred Years War. A third, shorter part, describes a Castilian campaign against Granada and the knight's relationship with Beatriz of Portugal. Although they were produced in different language contexts, *El Victorial* and *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft* portray a similar code of ethics for their heroes.

In the fashion of Baena, who in his *Cancionero* interlaced social characteristics with poetry, highlighting the transnational framework of courtly culture within which Oswald also operates, *El Victorial* outlines chivalric literary ideals inherited from courtliness, which progressively blur into biographies and works purporting to tell the true story of important people, much as is the case in Georg's travelogue. In chapter VI of the prologue, the author exhorts his audience to follow exemplary models: "Y que así bien toméis ejemplo de los caballeros fieles que pelearon por la fe de nuestro señor Dios," [Therefore follow the example of the faithful knights who fought for the faith of our Lord God] and continues citing specific characters who all happen to have played a central role in the literary construction of the crusades, such as Godfrey of Bouillon, Charles Martel, Charlemagne, El Cid, and finally: "[el] muy noble rey don Fernando el Casto, que peleando por la fe, ganó a Córdoba y a Sevilla, donde es santo no canonizado."[31] [the very noble King Fernando the Chaste, who won Cordoba and Sevilla fighting for the faith, where he is a saint not canonised.] Exalting the memory of military men by portraying them as participants in a religious war, the prologue functions ideologically in a similar way to Georg's travelogue. The reference to Fernando III of

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[30] Alan Deyermond, *Historia de la literatura española, La Edad Media* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1999), 272.

[31] Gutierre Díez de Games, *El Victorial, Crónica de Don Pero Niño*, ed. Jorge Sanz (Madrid: Polifemo, 1989), 35–6.

Castile, renowned for conquering large part of the Andalusi territory,[32] alongside figures known for their religious wars in Iberia reinforces the connection between the crusades and the fights between Christian and Muslims powers in southern Iberia. The prologue of Gutierre Díez de Games sets out a framework defining late medieval knighthood as the embodiment of certain secular virtues in the service of God, a framework exemplified in *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft.* Georg's travelogue is the product of a transnational chivalric ethos, which permeated different literary traditions and, considering the history of the Peninsula, found in Iberia a place accommodating its desire for crusade-like battles. A German response to this context, the travelogue shows the intersection of life and literature in late medieval chivalry and the prominence of the spirit of chivalry in a space still imagined through a crusading ethos due to the proximity of Granada and North Africa. From an external perspective, Georg imposes on the situation in southern Iberia his literary perception of a full-scale religious war, but the situation was much more complex.

A testimony to the nuanced and fluid relations between Christians and Muslims on the border between Castile and Granada, the *romances fronterizos* form a literary corpus that directly challenges Georg's perception. The frontier ballads provide a complex image of the border, "recalling as [they do] the encounter between individuals who are not in fact from diametrically opposed cultural backgrounds but who represent what are essentially composite cultural identities that conflict yet overlap."[33] While an expedition against Granada was possible at the time, the Manichean opposition of Christianity and Islam which Georg puts forward is a literarisation of the complex relations between Iberia and its southern neighbours, following a non-Iberian literary model which differs from representations of the frontier to be found both in the *romancero fronterizo* and in contemporary historiography.

[32] See Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 343–57 for more information on Fernando III and his conquests of southern Iberian towns.

[33] Şizen Yiacoup, "Memory and acculturation in the late medieval and early modern frontier ballad," *Journal of Romance Studies* 4, no. 3 (2004): 76.

Calling upon crusading topoi to construct a chivalric code of conduct evokes transnational values and resonates with the historical situation of Iberia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as discussed with respect to the *Rolandslied*. Yet the persistence of Iberia as the western stage of the crusades in the European imaginary facilitates Georg's account, who fashions his knighthood through imagining fights between Christians and Muslims in Iberia as a strict, ongoing religious war effort.

Although Georg makes no direct claim to truth or historicity, the first-person account, alongside the factual tone employed in much of the travelogue, creates an implicit contract between Georg and his audience that he recounts his adventures as they happened. His description of events in Iberia, however, especially his battles in Ceuta and Granada, shows discrepancies with historical and Iberian sources. Both battles appear to have some historical basis, but Georg's account is jumbled. Histories of the peninsula place a possible Spanish expedition to Granada before a Portuguese war in Africa but Georg claims to have fought in Ceuta with the Portuguese before going on to fight against Granada with the Castilian army. It is unclear which specific expedition to Ceuta Georg refers to. According to Gabriele Ehrmann, the Marinids attempted to take back the city in 1457, and King Afonso V himself took part in an expedition to Africa in 1458.[34] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, in his *History of Medieval Spain*, discusses an expedition which seems to correspond to Georg's description and which led to the King of Fez being defeated by the Portuguese in 1458. This expedition took place in Alcácer Seguir instead of Ceuta, however.[35] Georg's account of the fight in Ceuta mentions the King of Fez once before conflating different African armies into one enemy, which Georg defines as "heathen," thereby privileging the religious dimension of an otherwise political struggle. With regard to the Spanish expedition to Granada, O'Callaghan states that regular expeditions to Granada happened between 1455 and 1457, but he describes them as a

[34] Gabriele Ehrmann, *Untersuchung, Kommentar*, 97.

[35] O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 569.

means to keep the peace with Aragon and Navarre and unify and "[divert] the nobility from the intrigues to which they had grown accustomed."[36] Georg paints the picture of a tense political context, one in which the King of Spain sends envoys begging for its neighbouring kings to help them and help Christianity. However, O'Callaghan's description clearly shows that, rather than an attack on purely religious grounds, this expedition had other ideological impulses: it was a strategic internal enterprise. The notion that Granada was a real threat does not conform to the historical accounts of the relation between Castile and Granada, considering the latter's status as client state. The centrality of his fight against the Muslims in Georg's fashioning of his identity leaves little room for nuance in his – and his Iberian hosts' – relation to their enemies.

Beyond his inaccuracy in conveying historical details, Georg either purposefully ignores or lacks awareness of Enrique IV of Castile's reputation. According to Angus MacKay, Enrique's

> Islamophile tendencies revealed themselves to the nobility during his early campaigns against the kingdom of Granada. Large armies were raised, but the king repeatedly refused to commit his troops to battle, withheld permission for raids of destruction, and whiled away the time in ineffectual skirmishes or in admiring the presents and minstrels with which his Moorish enemies regaled him.[37]

This account is in stark contrast with Georg's account, according to which the king does commit his troops to battle and destroys the towns surrounding the city of Granada before reaching it. The king's reluctance to fight against Granada, as well as his lack of motivation

[36] O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 568.

[37] Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500* (London: Macmillan, 1977), 202.

when he did so, led to humorous episodes in Iberian historiography. In his *Memorial de diversas hazañas* (c. 1486), Diego de Valera, writing for Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, narrates two expeditions against the Moors in the region of Jaén, which took place in the summer of 1457. The account is a telling example of Enrique IV's "Islamophile tendencies" and highlights the perceived weakness of the Castilian monarchy against their supposed enemy:

> Y llegaron así con esta gente el rey y la reyna tan cerca de Cambil, que parecía que querían combatir la fortaleza. Y como los moros vieron ansí llegar la gente, salieron a las barreras ; y la reyna demandó una ballesta, la qual el rey le dio armada, y fizo con ella algunos tiros en los moros. Y pasado este juego, el rey se bolvió para Jaén, donde los cavalleros que sabían fazer la guerra y la abían costumbrado, burlaban y reían diziendo que aquella guerra más se hazía a los cristianos que a los moros. Otros decían: "Por cierto, esta guerra bien parece a la quel Cid en su tiempo solía fazer."

> In this manner the king and queen arrived with these troops to a position so close to Cambil that it seemed as if they wanted to combat the fortress, and the Moors, seeing the troops arriving in this manner manned the parapets. The queen asked for a crossbow, and when the king gave it to her ready for action, she fired a few shots at the Moors. After this game was finished the king returned to Jaén where those *caballeros* who knew how to make war and were accustomed to it, laughed scornfully and said that this kind of war did more damage to the Christians than to the Moors. Others said: "There's no doubt about it. This war is certainly like that which the Cid used to wage in his day."[38]

[38] Mosén Diego de Valera, *Memorial de diversas hazañas*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: CCE, 1941), 45. Translation (with minor amendments) from Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages*, 203.

This anecdote, punctuated by the sarcastic remark of the men assembled, ridicules the theatricality and inefficacy of the king and the queen in their actions, and insists on their reluctance to wage "true" war on the Moors. The partisan nature of this account should be taken into account, considering Diego de Valera was adviser to the Catholic Monarchs at the time the *Memorial de diversas hazañas* was compiled and his work was designed to further their *Reconquista* narrative.[39] Yet it remains a testimony to the influence of pre-existing literary discourses linked to the idea of crusade on Georg's account of the Iberian political situation. These contrasting accounts highlight that, even if this attitude does not coincide with discourses coming from Iberia itself, to outsiders the Peninsula remains a space of crusade, a space in which a knight can come to prove and define his knightly identity. While Georg does not mention the *Rolandslied* or other texts dedicated to Iberian crusades, the crusading spirit which framed the Christian/heathen binary shaping the *Rolandslied* is still to be found, albeit in a different manifestation, in Georg's travelogue.

Although the reputation of Enrique IV in Castile makes Georg's account particularly suspect, the journey to Portugal is not spared literary embellishment. His account of his journey to Portugal, if not in direct opposition to historical accounts, contains many exaggerations and hyperboles. Enrique Gozalbes Cravioto highlights the biased nature of Georg's account, stating that he places much more importance on the attack on Ceuta than it has in Portuguese historical sources.[40] Georg fashions the attack as a major event for the King of Portugal and in the meantime gives himself a much more central role than he might have

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[39] For a brief biography, see Cristina Moya García, ed., *Mosén Diego de Valera, entre las armas y las letras* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2014), ix–x.

[40] See Enrique Gozalbes Cravioto, "Viajeros alemanes en la Ceuta del siglo XV," in *Ceuta hispano-portuguesa: libro colectivo en conmemoración del 575° aniversario de la reconquista de Ceuta por Portugal (21 agosto de 1415),* ed. Alberto Baeza Herrazti (Ceuta: Instituto de Estudios Ceutiés), 217–9, as quoted in Salicrú i Lluch, "Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico," 242–3.

had in reality. The Portuguese troops are preparing for battle, and although they can hear the heathen army, they still cannot see them. They decide to send men to spy, and Georg explains that he is chosen to lead a boat, manned with men able to understand Low German. He is then chosen to take part in an expedition to approach the coast: “am fierdten tag […] beschickt der gran kapitanie mich und min gesellen, begert, das mir mitt im sampt andern verstendigen kriegslütten wellten zuo schiff sitzen, uff dem mer farn, daß hädinisch her, daß dann nach by dem mer leg, zuo besehen und zuo überschlahen.” (52) [On the fourth day, the grand captain sent for me and my companions, and requested, that I would, with him and together with other experienced warriors, sail over the sea to observe and evaluate the heathen army, which was camped there by the sea.] Gozalbes Cravioto considers this suspicious and argues that it would have made more sense for the Portuguese captain to rely on his own men in the boat, who likely had more naval experience.[41]

The narration of Georg’s time in Iberia highlights the character of the Peninsula as an imagined space, a heterotopia that is re-imagined by Georg to suit his specific purpose. Georg needs a space for crusade and so the Peninsula remains in his retelling the space of crusade that it had been in early texts, even though Castilian sources seem to portray a different historical context. The influence of pre-existing literary discourses shapes the Iberian episode in the travelogue in such a way as to mark it out as different to the rest of the text. These discourses shape Georg’s retelling of his time in Iberia, creating a narrative that is not representative of contemporary historical reality nor corroborated by Iberian historical accounts, but that stands firmly in a literary tradition of the depiction of crusading in the Iberian space.

[41] Enrique Gozalbes Cravioto, “Viajeros alemanes en la Ceuta del siglo XV,” 217–9, as quoted in Roser Salicrú y Lluch, “Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico,” 243.

4.3. The Manuscripts: Family Book or Founding Story for Southern German Nobility?

Georg's travelogue puts Iberia at the centre of his self-fashioning as a knight. Yet Iberia acquires similar significance for Georg's descendants and for the creation of a family narrative, as becomes clear when considering the manuscript transmission of the travelogue. The extant witnesses place the text in a local and political context, showing the importance of the travelogue as a founding story not only for Georg's family, but equally for the southern German nobility. Georg's text is preserved in three extant manuscripts: Hist. Quart. 141 (manuscript A) and HB V 37 (manuscript B), both at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart and Dip. 583 (manuscript C) at the library of the Ferdinandeum museum in Innsbruck.[42] Manuscript A was initially thought to have been compiled during Georg's lifetime, but analyses of the watermark of the paper used, conducted at the Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart by Gerhard Piccard in the 1970s, seem to indicate that it was more likely compiled between 1543 and 1546.[43]

At the end of manuscript A, however, older parchment bifolios have been added, which display full-length portraits of the nine kings Georg encounters in his travels, together with their coats of arms and titles. According to a note preceding the portraits in the manuscript, these parchment pages were commissioned by Georg himself (fig. 1): "Item diß nach gemaulten figuren der küng haut lassen machen Jörg von Ehingen ritter wann er sy selbs persolichen al gesehen hat in dem jahr alß man zalt von cristy geburt tusent vierhundert

[42] For information on manuscript A, see Georg's page on the German medieval manuscript census (Handschriftencensus), accessed 30 May 2019, http://www.handschriftencensus.de/24748. The Handschriftencensus does not list the other manuscripts, because they date to a period beyond the website's remit. For more information on all manuscripts, see Ehrmann, *Untersuchung, Kommentar*, 6–36.

[43] Ehrmann, *Untersuchung, Kommentar*, 8.

fuffzig und IIIIj jär."[44] [*Item* Georg von Ehingen, knight, had the following painted figures of the kings made as he himself had seen them personally in the year as counted from the birth of Christ one thousand four hundred and fifty-five.] This note is followed by a drawn ribbon in which the year 1455 is inscribed. Marks in the note and the ribbon suggest that some numbers might have been erased, however, and so the year might not be exact.[45] Moreover, as the paintings show all the kings Georg had visited, 1455 would be a strange date for them to have been painted considering the travelogue states he did not leave the Peninsula until 1457. Even if Georg did not commission the illustrations, however, the ideological value of the inscription is not diminished; it could just as well indicate an attempt to reinforce Georg's connection to the material transmission of the manuscript or to add authority to the illustrations and the travelogue.

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[44] Manuscript A is available digitally through the Württembergische Landesbibliothek digital collections, accessed 30 May 2019, http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz312527829.

[45] Ehrmann, *Untersuchung, Kommentar*, 11.

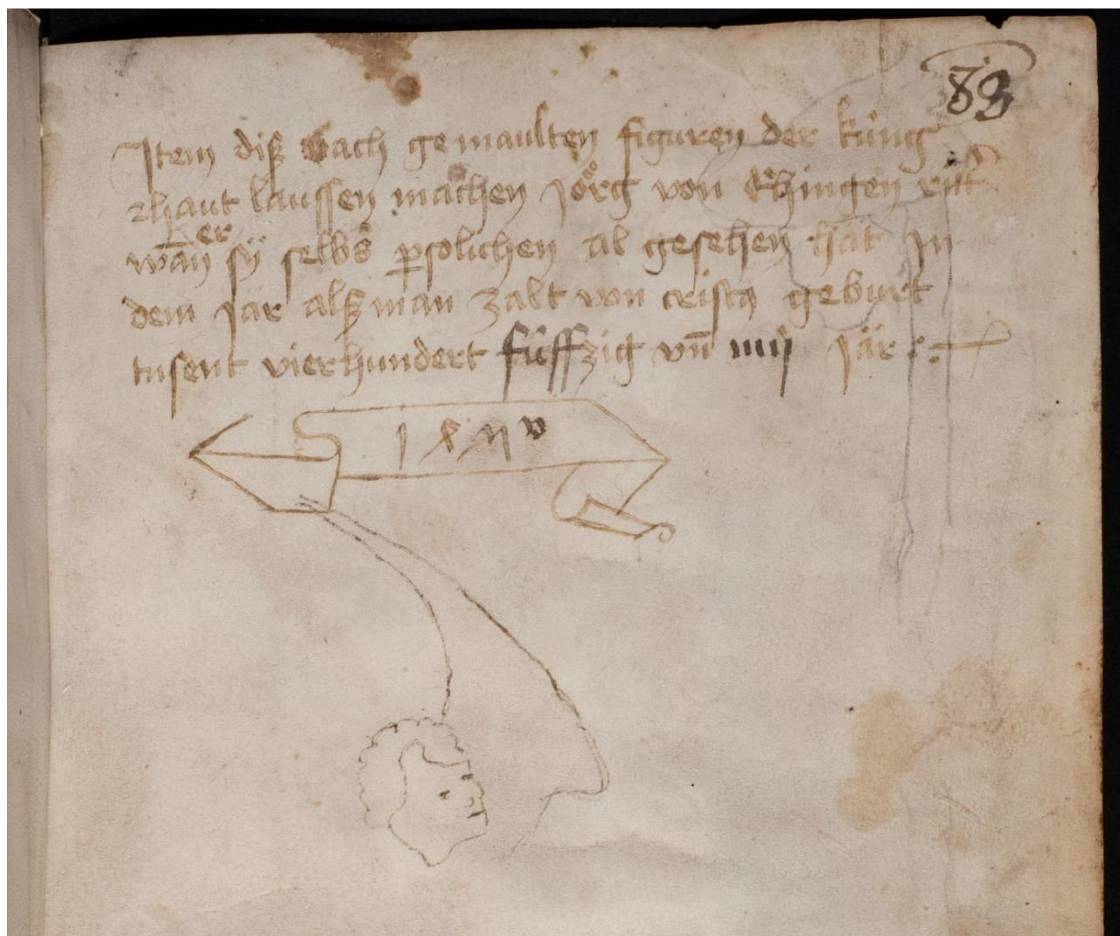

Figure 1. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Hist. Quart. 141, f. 83v. Image cropped, downloaded from the digital collections of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, accessed 30 May 2019, http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz312527829/page/87.

In manuscript B, Georg's text is found after a heraldry book that compiles the coats of arms of southern German and Swiss noble families, including the Ehingen crest (f. 22r). A note at the end of the register of names preceding the heraldry book indicates that the book was finished on 28 March 1591. Similarly, a note at the end of Georg's text, on the last folio, gives the scribe's name and the year 1591: "Diß alles hab ich Georg Han des Raths Allhie zue Uberlingen an Sandt Sebastians (20. Januar) ohn gefahr umb ain Uhr nachmittag biß zur Nacht um 9 Uhr Im 1591. Jar geschriben." [All of this I, Georg Han Councillor here in Überlingen, have written on Saint Sebastian (20 January) from approximately one in the

afternoon until nine in the night in the year 1591.][46] Ehrmann posits that the addition of Georg's travelogue at the end of a heraldry book might be due to a simple desire not to leave the remaining folios unused,[47] but the connection between Georg's writing and local nobility through his family's political functions provides another plausible alternative explanation, as will be discussed below.

Manuscript C copies manuscript A closely and contains the text on paper, followed by the nine paintings on parchment. Ehrmann uses the paper watermarks to date it to the late 16th century, most probably between 1570 to 1573.[48] The note stating Georg commissioned the illustrations – as seen in manuscript A – is paraphrased on folio 42v: "Dise hernachgemelltte Figuren der Königen hatt lassen machen herr Georg von Ehingenn Ritter, wann er sye all persönlichen also selbst gesehenn unnd in seinem vorgeschribnen Raysen an yeren höven Besuocht hatt. Seind allso gestalltt unnd beklaidett gwesen." [The knight Lord Georg von Ehingen had the figures of the kings painted here made, because he saw them all personally and visited their courts in his travels, as written in the preceding pages. They would have figured and been dressed this way.][49] The paintings following the note are very closely copied from A.

The travelogue appears in another manuscript (Sigmaringen, Fürstliche Hohenzollernsche Hofbibliothek, H 67), albeit in a different form. The text transmitted here is known as the Chronik Sigmaringen and tells the story of the Ehingen family, with a focus on Georg through the adaptation of his travelogue in third person. The pictures of the kings are also copied at the end of the text, with the addition of a portrait of the Emperor Friedrich III,

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[46] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB V 37, f. 164v.

[47] Ehrmann, *Untersuchung, Kommentar*, 19.

[48] Ehrmann, *Untersuchung, Kommentar*, 27.

[49] Innsbruck, Ferdinandeum, Dip. 583, f. 42v.

who was in power at the time of Georg's life.[50] Finally, the text was printed in 1600 by Dominicus Custos in Augsburg.[51] The print was clearly made from manuscript C, since some marginalia from the manuscript are reproduced in the edition. Following the text, the portraits of the nine kings, as well as a portrait of Emperor Friedrich III, are reproduced in copper plates, alongside short biographies of the figures portrayed.

The nine images always appear with the text; this is even the case to a certain degree for manuscript B, which – unlike the other witnesses – does not contain full-scale illustrations as such. Ehrmann is correct in stating that the heraldry book occupies folios 1r–130v and the text of the travelogue folios 131r–164v but fails to notice that folio 130 contains coats of arms linked to the travelogue rather than to Swiss and southern Germany heraldry. As shown in fig. 2 and fig. 3 below, the scribe of manuscript B copied the coats of arms represented on the kings' portraits in manuscript A and in doing so provided a connection between the two parts of the manuscript. These coats of arms are drawn schematically, with letters indicating the colours they should contain and inscriptions giving the kings' titles and describing the illustrations from manuscript A. The recurrence of the kings, as well as the possibility that Georg commissioned the portraits himself, reinforces the significance of the illustrations in visually and materially fashioning Georg's identity. By putting the illustrations and the text into dialogue, the manuscripts' compilers inscribe Georg's travels in the context of European nobility. A visual reminder and reinforcement of his encounters with European kings, the portraits (or the coats of arms) provide symbolic authority and reinforce the extraordinary character of his travels. By highlighting the status of those Georg encountered on his travels, the scribes remind the readers of the knight's status. The portraits and the coats of arms

[50] Ehrmann, *Untersuchung, Kommentar*, 34–6. I was unable to see the manuscript myself, and it has not been digitised. For this reason, the following analysis focuses on manuscripts A, B and C.

[51] A copy of the printed edition is held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and has been digitised on the library's website, accessed 30 May 2019, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0007/bsb00074379/images/.

come to form an integral part of Georg's knightly identity and the dynamics of self-fashioning at play in the travelogue. The inscription contextualising the images in manuscripts A and C highlights a continued desire to integrate Georg into a broader European context, and sheds light on dynamics of noble self-fashioning. While it is impossible to determine if the scribe's claim that Georg commissioned the portraits is true, what remains is a clear interest in making these paintings appear authentic. In this context, the portraits acquire significance as a family iconography, in the manner of a relic. The truth of the images' commission is not of interest here, but rather the symbolic iconographic value they possess by being the visual representations of Georg's story and status.

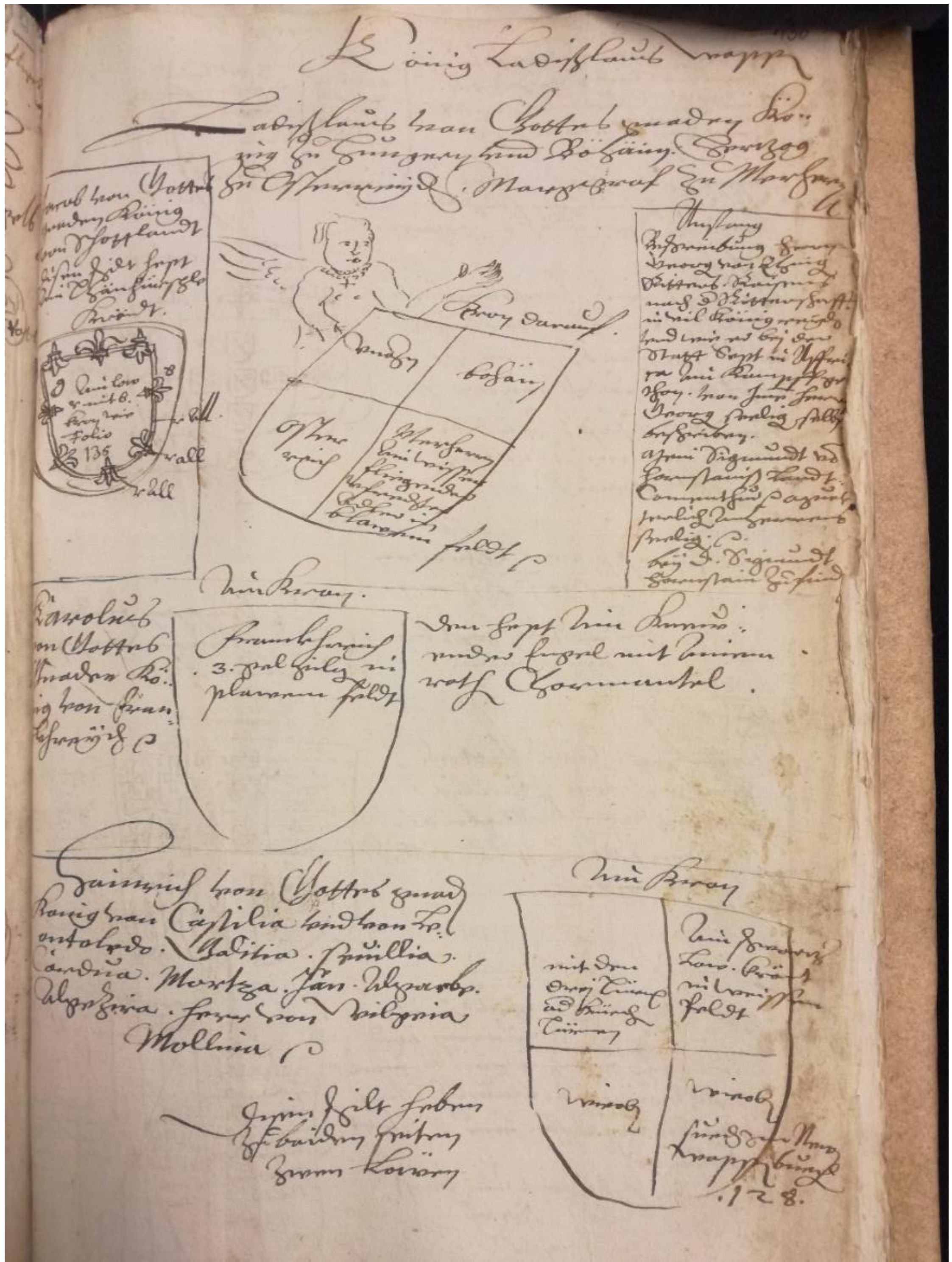

Figure 2. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB V 37, f. 130r.
My own image.

The folio shows the coats of arms and titles of King Ladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia (top), the introduction to the text mentioning Sigmund von Hornstein (top right), the coat of arms and titles of King James of Scotland (top left), the titles and description of the coat of arms of King Charles of France (middle) and final the titles and description of the coat of arms of King Henry of Castile (bottom).

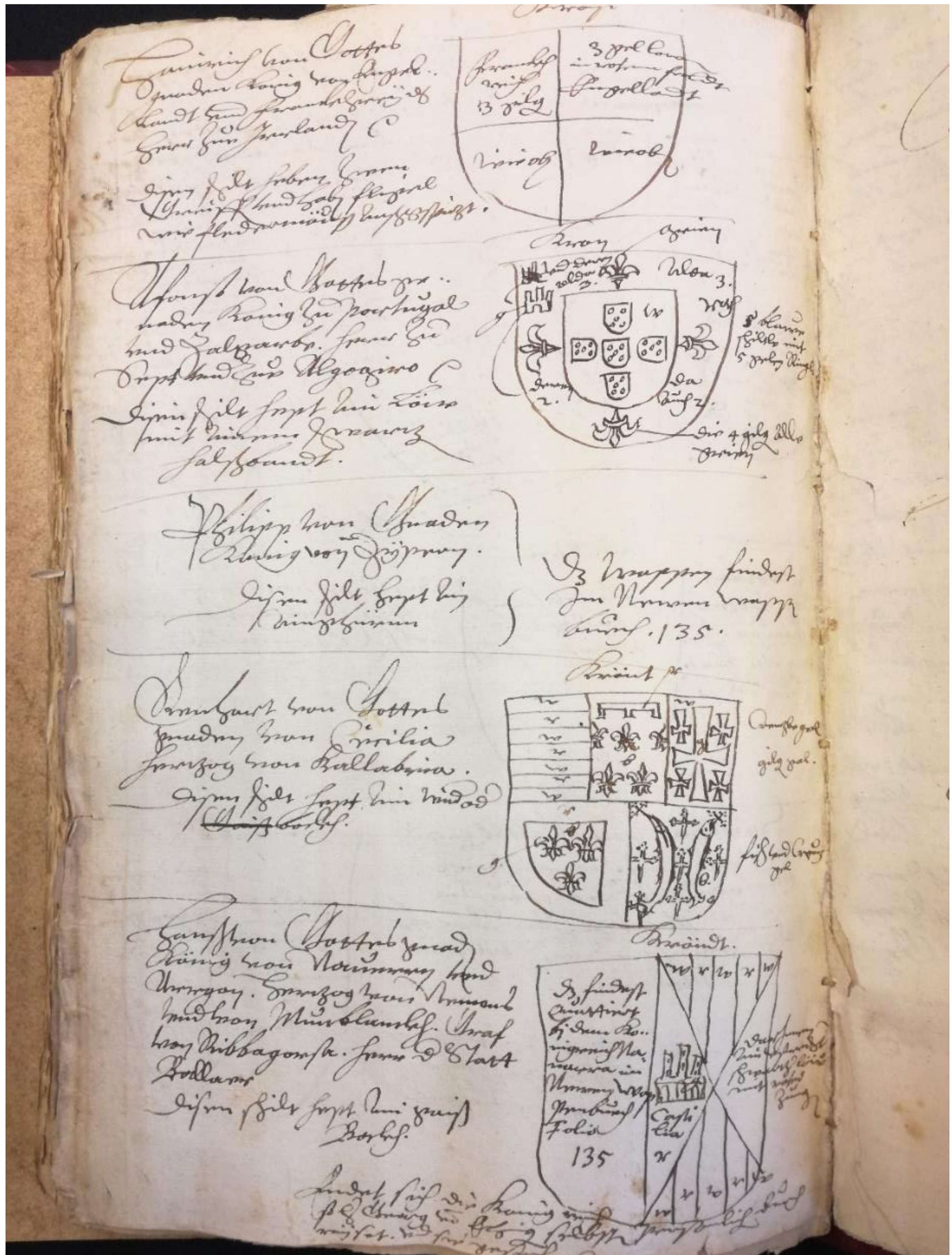

Figure 3. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB V 37, f. 130v.
My own image.

The folio shows, from top to bottom, the titles and coat of arms of King Henry of England, King Afonso of Portugal, King Philipp of Cyprus, King Renatus of Sicily (René of Anjou) and King John of Navarre and Aragon.

Most kings portrayed in manuscript A are dressed similarly, following what looks like patterns of clothes and hats drawn by the painter and reused in different combinations for each of the kings (see for example fig. 4 and 5 and fig. 6 and 7 below). The two exceptions are King Ladislaus Posthumus, who wears a long coat adorned with golden patterns and lined with fur (fig. 8), and the Castilian King Enrique IV, who wears a red hat, a brown coat and boots (fig. 9).

Figure 4. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Hist Quart 141, f. 84v.
Image downloaded from the digital collections of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, accessed 30 May 2019, http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz312527829/page/88.

Portrait of King Charles of France.

Figure 5. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Hist. Quart. 141, f. 89r.
Image downloaded from the digital collections of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, accessed 30 May 2019, http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz312527829/page/93.

Portrait of King Afonso of Portugal and the Algarve.

Figure 6. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Hist Quart 141, f. 88v.
Image downloaded from the digital collections of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, accessed 30 May 2019, http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz312527829/page/92.

Portrait of King Henry of England.

Figure 7. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Hist Quart 141, f. 96v.
Image downloaded from the digital collections of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, accessed 30 May 2019, http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz312527829/page/100.

Portrait of King John of Navarre and Aragon.

Figure 8. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Hist. Quart. 141, f. 80v. Image downloaded from the digital collections of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, accessed 30 May 2019, http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz312527829/page/84.

Portrait of King Ladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia, Duke of Austria.

Figure 9. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Hist. Quart. 141, f. 85r. Image downloaded from the digital collections of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, accessed 30 May 2019, http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz312527829/page/89.

Portrait of King Henry of Castile and León, Toledo, Galicia, Seville, Cordoba, Mortza, Jaen, Algarve, Algeciras, lord of Wisgeia Mollina.

Wolfgang von Stromer comments on Enrique IV's attire as follows:

> Gerade diese Miniatur hat allerdings Bedenken erregt, da seine Tracht, insbesondere der kurze Mantel und die langen, weichen Stiefel nicht der Mode des 3. Viertels des 15. Jahrhunderts entsprächen. Indes, der kastilische König trägt keine modische Hoftracht, sondern offenbar, für den Kriegszug gegen die Mauren, auf dem ihn der reisende Ritter begleitete, den allein für einen Reiter im Feld möglichen kurzen Mantel und Reiterstiefel. Die Kleidung der übrigen Könige entspricht durchaus dem damaligen Modetypus fürstlicher Kleidung in Westeuropa, wie wir sie etwa in König Renés von Anjou Turnierbuch finden.

> This miniature in particular has raised questions, since his costume, especially the short coat and the long, supple boots, would not have corresponded to the fashion of the third quarter of the fifteenth century. However, the Castilian king is not wearing any fashionably court costume, but obviously, the short coat and riding boots which are only possible for a rider afield for the campaign against the Moors, on which the travelling knight accompanied him. The clothes of the remaining kings definitely correspond to the fashion type of the princely clothes in Western Europe at the time, as we seem to find in René of Anjou's Tournament Book.[52]

The choice of a riding outfit would reinforce the claims made in the text by Georg concerning Enrique IV's enthusiasm to fight Granada. Bearing in mind that fact that Georg spends time in Ceuta with the King of Portugal, however, it seems strange that Afonso is not dressed in a similar way, especially since Georg explicitly states that he takes part in the battle in the

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[52] von Stromer, "Die Bildnisse des Ehinger und des Peter Strohmair und Georg von Ehingens Reisen nach der Ritterschaft," 98.

travelogue. There have been some surprising speculations with regards to Enrique's attire. In his Castilian translation of 1879, Antonio María Fabié agrees that the portrait of Enrique differs from the others: "Todos los retratos tienen un traje muy semejante, que parece ahora extraño y feo, pero que era lo que puede decirse la moda de aquel tiempo; el de Enrique Cuarto de Castilla difiere completamente de los demás." [All the portraits have a very similar outfit, which now seems strange and ugly, but which was what can be said to be the fashion of the time; the [outfit] of Enrique the Fourth of Castile differs completely from the rest.][53] Fabié justifies his statement by quoting from Vallet de Virville, who published the following description in 1855, in the *Anales arqueológicos*:

> "La miniatura que lo [Enrique] representa da idea de que el dibujante que hizo el retrato primitivo y el colorista que lo pinto tenian notable habilidad; lleva en la cabeza una gorra semejante á las que usan los mahometanos, llamada fez, de color rojo; el vestido es negro sobre negro realzado con algunos afollados de lienzo blanco, y se compone de una capa elegantemente plegada sobre un coleto de terciopelo; la espada que es ancha, pende de un tahalí en vandolera, y calza botas de piel del color del curtido. Su fisonomía inquieta, apasionada y enfermiza presenta en alto grado el carácter iconográfico y tiene el sello de la personalidad."

> The miniature which represents him [Enrique] gives the idea that the illustrator who did the original portrait and the colourist who painted it had notable abilities; he wears on his head a cap similar to those used by the Mohammedans, called fez, in a red colour; the garment is black on black enhanced with some folds of white linen, and it is composed of a cape elegantly folded on a velvet jerkin; the sword, which is wide, is suspended on a baldric on a shoulder strap, and he wears tan coloured leather boots. His

[53] Fabié, xii.

restless, impassioned and sickly physiognomy presents the iconographic character to a high level and has the stamp of personality.[54]

The description perpetuates the image of Enrique as an Islamophile – not least seeing a fez in the red hat – and seems highly inventive, but it nonetheless highlights the peculiarity of Enrique's portrait. Although it remains difficult to explain the choice of Enrique's outfit, what remains clear is that he is presented differently and that he stands out amongst the other kings.[55]

The printed edition insists on the victories of the Castilian and Portuguese kings in Granada and Ceuta respectively. The short biographies accompanying the portraits of Enrique IV and Afonso V perpetuate Georg's focus on a crusade-style narrative. In the case of Enrique, we learn that "Heinrich der vierdt dises Namens König zu Castilien regiert zwen und zwanzig Jar zu Castilien und Legion war König Johansen zu Castilien und Legion Sohne bekrieget die Saracenen dapffer und siget glücklich da man vierzehen hundert siben und funffzig zehlet zog er selbs eigner Person mit sibenzig tausent Mann in Granata und gewan vil Heidnische Stätt." (f. 14v) [Heinrich the fourth of this name, King of Castile, reigned for twenty-two years in Castile and León; he was the son of King John of Castile and León, he waged war against the Saracens bravely and was happily victorious. In the year fourteen hundred fifty-seven he waged war himself with seventy thousand men in Granada and won many heathen cities.] Similarly, Afonso's biography insists on the difficult but victorious war he waged against the

[54] Vallet de Virville, as quoted in Fabié, xiii.

[55] The miniatures, especially Enrique IV, have peculiarly encountered much more success than Georg's travelogue itself: to this day, the image of the king is used widely online. For example, Google searching for Enrique IV of Castile in Castilian, French, English or German all lead to the portrait from Georg's travelogue. Similarly, the image chosen for the cover of Roger Boase's book *The Troubadour Revival: a Study of Social Change and Traditionalism in Late Medieval Spain* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978) is the portrait of Afonso V of Portugal from the travelogue, and the miniatures are reproduced in the book, although the portrait of Afonso V is mistakenly used for Enrique IV.

heathens in Ceuta: "Alfonsus von Gottes gnaden König zu Portugal und Algarben herr zu Sept und Algo […] Gleich am anfang seiner Regierung bekriegt Er die gewaltige Statt Sept In Affrica […] der König von Fez kam mit einer unzehlichen menge Volck und wolt duse Statt entsezen es kostet ihn aber sehr vil Heyden also das Er letstlich mit grossem schaden und verlust abziehen muste." (f. 15v) [Afonso by the grace of God King of Portugal and the Algarve, lord of Ceuta and Algo […] From the beginning of his reign, he waged war on the powerful city of Ceuta in Africa. […] the King of Fez came with an innumerable amount of people and wanted to take the city, but it cost him very many heathens, so he had to withdraw with great damages and losses.]

Throughout the history of the text and its material witnesses, the association of the Iberian Peninsula with crusading ideology remains. Georg's fashioning of his knightly identity shapes the reception of the text, as well as the text itself, through the emphasis he puts on Iberia as a different space that stands out in the possibilities it offers Georg to satisfy both his secular and religious motives. Georg constructs a crusading ideology in his travelogue, one that relies on the interaction of his military prowess and his religious motives. The construction of Georg's knighthood in the travelogue contributes, on a literary level, to a broader legitimising story for his descendants. Georg's family appears to find an identity in Georg's knighthood. All extant manuscripts remain, to this day, very close to Georg's home. Manuscripts A and B are now in Stuttgart, close to Kilchberg, and manuscript C is in Innsbruck, where Georg served Duke Albrecht in his youth. As far as Gabriele Ehrmann was able to retrace the transmission history of the manuscripts, they appear to have remained in the same region.[56] In manuscripts B (f. 131r, as shown in fig. 10) and C (f. 2r), the text is introduced by a short paragraph, reproduced in Ehrmann's edition: "Beschreibung Herrn Georgen von Ehingen Ritters / Mein Sigmundts von Hornstain Lanndtchommenthurs

[56] See Ehrmann, *Untersuchung, Kommentar*, 6–8, 20, 26–27 for details on the transmission of each manuscript.

Müetterlichen Anherrens seeligen / Raysens nach der Ritterschafft / in vil Königreych und wir Er bej der Statt Sept in Affrica Ain Kampf gethon. / Von imme herren Georgen seeligen selbsten beschriben." [Description of the Travels towards Knighthood, in many kingdoms and how he fought in the city of Ceuta in Africa, of Sir Georg von Ehingen, Knight, blessed maternal ancestor of me, Sigmund von Hornstein, province commander, described by himself, blessed Sir Georg.] Sigmund von Hornstein (1513–1577) was Georg's grandson, son of Georg's daughter Magdalena von Ehingen, and held political functions as commander of various regions around Georg's home town south of Stuttgart. With this paragraph, Sigmund continues the familial chain which already exists in the travelogue with the story of Burckhart and Rudolf von Ehingen's lives. He highlights the fight in Africa as a particularly noteworthy moment of Georg's text and creates a connection between Georg's adventures in Africa and the family history, through himself. While Iberia is not explicitly mentioned, it becomes central to the family narrative in its role as gateway to Africa.

Considering the manuscript tradition in the context in which it appears highlights the role of Georg's travelogue not only as a family story, but potentially as a founding myth for southern German local nobility. The title *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft* attributed to the text in the process of transmission – possibly by Sigmund von Hornstein – is a testimony to the desire to place Georg and the family within the chivalric tradition. Taking into account their status as local nobility, his family reclaims the travelogue as their own in order to define themselves as part of the knightly class, following Bloch and Bumke as cited in the introduction to this chapter.[57]

[57] See also Bumke, *Höfische Kultur*, 70–1 for a brief discussion of the emergence of a knightly class ("Ritterstand").

Figure 10. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB V 37, f. 131r.
My own image.

The family connection to the travelogue does not end at the manuscripts, however. In the printed edition, the title page elaborates on Sigmund's paragraph, to state: "Itinerarium, Das ist : / Historische Beschreibung /weylund Herrn Georgen von Ehinge raißens nach der Ritterschaft / vor 150. Jaren / in X. underschidliche Königreich verbracht. Auch eines Kampfs von ime bey der Statt Sept in Aphrica gehalten. Neben bey gefügten Contrafacturn/deren Potentaten und Könige/an welcher Höfe obgedachter Ritter sich begeben/der Königliche personen bedient und besucht/auch nach irer Tracht und Gestalt ai-gentlich abmalen lassen." [Itinerary, that is: historical description of the late Sir Georg von Ehingen's Travels towards Knighthood, a hundred and fifty years ago, spent in ten different kingdoms. Also [the description] of a fight held him in the city of Ceuta in Africa. Along with the addition of portraits of those potentates and kings to whose courts the aforementioned knight went to serve and visit the kingly persons, and also had painted in their original costume and figures.]

The text is centred and surrounded by the coats of arms of the nine kings painted in manuscripts A and C (fig. 11). The title page shows the continuity between the manuscripts and the printed edition, as well as a continued interest in Georg's trip to Africa and an emphasis on the portraits of the kings and their relation to Georg. As shown in fig. 12, the second page of the edition contains a prologue by Dominicus Custos, who dedicates this print to persons whom he calls his lords: Hans Christoff von Hornstein zu Gröningen and Balthasar von Hornstein zu Hohenstoffeln, two of Sigmund's – and therefore Georg's – descendants, and both men with political functions (privy council to the Holy Roman Emperor, and a baron, member of the Augsburg council, respectively). The dedication, mentioning the Hornstein name, also recalls Sigmund's role in bringing to light the travelogue. This continuing tradition reinforces the image of a family story, a founding myth which is created around the travelogue; it creates simultaneously a political narrative and an adventure story for the Swabian nobility. Considering Georg's descendants mentioned in the extant witnesses all played political roles in Georg's home region, the family myth and political narrative overlap in many different respects. The transmission of the travelogue highlights the importance of

the kings Georg visited in constructing a narrative around the text, which is reclaimed by Georg's descendants as they pass on, edit, and print the travelogue. The travelogue legitimises the dynasty by validating political power through Georg's participation in an international project. The local finds meaning and authority in the international and the transcendental struggle against a Muslim foe.

Itinerarium,
Das ist:

Historische
Beschreibung/weylund Herrn
Georgen von Ehingen raisens nach der
Ritterschafft/vor 150. Jaren/in X.
vnderschidliche Königreich
verbracht.
Auch eines Kampfs von jme bey der
Statt Sept in Aphrica gehalten.
Neben beygefügten Contrafacturn/deren
Potentaten vnd Könige/an welcher Höfe
obgedachter Ritter sich begeben/dero
Königliche personen bedient
vnd besucht/auch nach jrer
Tracht vnd Gestalt ai-
gentlich abmalen
lassen.

Auß deß Wolgebornen Herrn/Herrn
[illegible] Fuggern/Herrn zu Kirchberg vnd W[illegible]
[illegible] fleiß Colligirt/vnd von Dominico
Custode Burgern zu [illegible]/in Kupffer
gestochen/vnd in Truck verfertiget.
Anno M. D C.

Figure 11. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Res/2 It.sing. 20, f. 1r.
Image cropped, downloaded from the digital collections of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, accessed 30 May 2019, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0007/bsb00074379/image_7.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
MÜNCHEN

Den Edlen vnd Gestrengen/
Herren Hans Christoffen von Hornstein/ zu
Gröningen/rc. Röm Key. May. Gehei-
men Rath/rc.
Vnd:
Herrn Balthasarn von Hornstein / zu Hohen-
stoffeln/rc. Fürstl: Augspurgischen Raht/vnd Pfle-
gern zu Füssen/rc Meinen Gnedigen Herrn.

Figure 12. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Res/2 It.sing. 20, f. 2r.
Image cropped, downloaded from the digital collections of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, accessed 30 May 2019, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0007/bsb00074379/image_9.

The description of Iberia in Georg's travelogue belongs to a literary discourse which insists on the Peninsula as a space for crusades in which religious and personal motives are conflated. On a religious dimension, the Peninsula provides Georg with an opportunity to portray himself as a defender of Christianity. As a knight, Georg clearly seeks from the beginning a place for crusade or a space in which he can test himself. While Jerusalem no longer offers this possibility at the time Georg visits, Iberia remains the theatre of a struggle between Christians and Muslims. On a personal dimension, Iberia participates in constructing a knightly identity which will be reclaimed as a family narrative and a political founding story in the region from which Georg originates.

The structure of the travelogue itself stresses the prominence of Iberia in the narrative, and the careful shaping of the material relating to the Iberian journey creates specific meanings, placing Georg in a chivalric and crusading discourse which derives from

exaggeration, embellishment and a distortion of what some Iberian historical witnesses describe as the state of the relations between Christian monarchies and Granada at the time. In turn, the ideological shape Georg gives to his journey is brought to the fore in the manuscript transmission, closely linked to Georg's descendants and perpetuating the idea of Georg as a crusader in Iberia. Georg's descendants are then seen to incorporate themselves in the transmission of the text, proudly stating their names and titles as they introduce his travels. The prominent role of Iberia as an imagined space in the travelogue acquires a new significance as the Peninsula forms the core of a text building a myth of origin for a family with political power.

5. Conclusion

Shortly after the Catholic Monarchs' victory over the last stronghold of Granada in 1492, the Early Modern traveller Hieronymus Münzer visits the Peninsula, going first through Aragon, then via Granada to Portugal, Castile and Navarre – a journey narrated in his *Itinerarium*. During the description of his stay at the court of Portugal, the narrator mentions an expedition undertaken by King João II in Ceuta: "Erant autem octo centum Christiani in civitate, inter quos duo Almani, unus Georgius de Echingen ex comitatu de Wirtenberg, miles in Jerosolimis factus, alter dominus Georius Raimseiner ex Saltzburga. Qui strenue militantes. Georius enim de Echingen quondam Sarracenum, equitem fortissumum, suo gladio per medium divisit et ei gladium abstulit." ["There were 800 Christians in the city, among them two Germans, George of Ehingen from the county of Wurttemberg, who had been knighted in Jerusalem, and Lord George Ramseidner from Salzburg. They fought fiercely. George of Ehingen split both a Saracen and his strong horse in two with his sword and took the man's sword from him."][1]

Hieronymus Münzer's reference to Georg von Ehingen attests to the importance attached to Georg by fellow German-speaking travellers at the end of the fifteenth century. While Georg has not received much scholarly attention, especially in recent years, his journey to Iberia appears to have made a mark on the memory of German travellers entering the Peninsula at the time. On the other hand, the *Itinerarium* brings into question the continued interest in Iberia after the fall of Granada in 1492 and the enduring fascination with the memory of al-Andalus. The mention of Georg occurs in the context of a narrative which, not

[1] Ludwig Pfandl, ed., "Itinerarium Hispanicum Hieronymii Monetarii 1494–1495," *Revue Hispanique* 48, (1920): 89. Translation from James Firth, trans., *Dr Hieronymus Münzer's Itinerary and The Discovery Of Guinea* (London: James Firth, 2014), 95.

unlike the texts studied in this thesis, imagines the space of Iberia though the lens of cultural alterity. Southern Iberia and Granada, in particular, are represented here as "un espacio cultural heterotópico, un microcosmos lejano y hasta hace poco cerrado para la mayoría de los viajeros centroeuropeos." [a heterotopic cultural space, a distant microcosm, until recently closed to the majority of travellers from central Europe.][2] The *Itinerarium* can in this sense be read as an epilogue to this study, one which opens up the possibility of continuing to explore representations of Iberia post-1492, in Latin as lingua franca and through a humanist, Early Modern lens.

Hieronymus' Iberian journey begins in Perpignan, still a part of Aragon and a place that formed part of Oswald's travels. He continues through Granada and Portugal and mentions Georg in his narration of his stay at the court of Portugal. He goes through Toledo, a rich city, and while he acknowledges the multireligious past of the city which played a central role in *Herzog Herpin*, he emphasises the transformation of Toledo into a centre of Christianity under the aegis of the Catholic Monarchs: "Tantum facit hic Rex pro religione, ut alterum Karolum Magnum crederes. Similiter Regina." ["The king does so much for religion that you would adjudge him another Charlemagne; the queen likewise."][3] Finally, Hieronymus leaves the Peninsula via Ronceval, recalling the ambush that led to the slaughter of Roland and his companions, and visiting the chapel in which Roland's horn remains.

The *Itinerarium* can be considered alongside examples mentioned in my introduction (such as the Black Legend or the Oriental Spain of the Romantics) to shed light on the continued ideological negotiations taking place in the imagined space of the Peninsula in texts stemming from northern European regions. Examples from the sixteenth or nineteenth centuries highlight the persistence of Iberia as a space upon which to project ideological

[2] Pedro Martínez García, "El Sacro Imperio y la diplomacia atlántica: el Itinerario de Hieronymus Münzer," in *Diplomacia y comercio en la Europa atlántica medieval*, ed. Jesús Á. Solórzano Telecha, Beatriz Arízaga Bolumburu and Louis Sicking (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2015), 109.

[3] Pfandl, "Itinerarium," 120. Translation from Firth, *Dr Hieronymus Münzer's Itinerary*, 120.

concerns, political or cultural. While Late Antique witnesses characterised Iberia as a liminal and peripheral space in geographical terms, later witnesses highlighted a cultural or ideological alterity, in a similar way to the texts analysed in my thesis, which were compiled during a time in which parts of Iberia were still under Muslim rule.

After 1492 and the conquest of Granada by the Catholic Monarchs, and despite the string of forced conversions and expulsions of Jews and Muslims from Castile, Aragon, Navarre and Portugal, J. N. Hillgarth states that "[i]n the blurred, often distorted, mirror held up by foreigners to Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this perception of the Iberian Peninsula as Moorish and Jewish played a central part."[4] The beginnings of the Black Legend, largely influenced by anti-Spanish sentiment fostered during the Dutch revolt against Philip II, drew on the idea that the Spaniards' cruelty and desire for dominion were linked to the history of religious plurality in the Peninsula. Hillgarth, discussing the use of anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim motifs in anti-Spanish sentiment as a propaganda tool for Protestantism against the Spanish Inquisition, quotes a Calvinist noble who "derived the 'pedigree' of Spaniards 'from the Moors and Saracens, of late through force and vigour of the Inquisition forced unwillingly to professe Christian Religion'."[5] William of Orange, leader of the Dutch revolt, makes similar statements in attributing the cause of the revolt to the beginning of the Inquisition and attacking the Duke of Alba, "whom he labelled (in 1572) both 'this new creature of Jewish unbelief' and 'this Moorish tiger-beast,' echo[ing] earlier racist slurs."[6] Within a context of rebellion against the Spanish Habsburgs, the religious plurality of medieval Iberia becomes a tool to inspire hatred against Spain and paradoxically against the

[4] J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 160.

[5] Philippe de Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde, *A pithie and most earnest exhortation, concerning the estate of Christendome, together with the meanes to preserve and defend the same* (Antwerp, 1853), 14f, as quoted in Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 314.

[6] William of Orange, *Apologie*, ed. A. Lacroix (Brussels, 1858), 114f., as quoted in Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 315.

extreme Catholicism enforced by the Inquisition. In the European politics in play in the Reformation and Counter Reformation movements, the history of Iberia is weaponised.[7]

The interest in the Peninsula extends beyond the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the eighteenth century, the French Enlightenment disregarded Spain as a nation in decline. Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers wrote in his *Encyclopédie méthodique* (1782) a virulent condemnation of the Inquisition, leading to the well-known comments: "Aujourd'hui le Danemark, la Suède, la Russie, la Pologne même, l'Allemagne, l'Italie, l'Angleterre et la France, tous ces peuples ennemis, amis, rivaux, tous brûlent d'une généreuse émulation pour le progrès des sciences et des arts! Chacun médite des conquêtes qu'il doit partager avec les autres nations ; chacun d'eux, jusqu'ici, a fait quelque découverte utile, qui a tourné au profit de l'humanité ! Mais que doit-on à l'Espagne ? Et depuis deux siècles, depuis quatre, depuis dix, qu'a-t-elle fait pour l'Europe ?" [Today Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Poland even, Germany, Italy, England and France, all these peoples, enemies, friends, rivals, all burn of a generous emulation for progress in the sciences and the arts! Each reflects on conquests he must share with the other nations; each of them, thus far, has made some useful discovery, which in turn benefitted mankind! But what do we owe to Spain? And for two centuries, for four, for ten, what has it done for Europe?][8]

The allure of Iberia is reinvented by the Romantics: the famous phrase "Africa begins in the Pyrenees," sometimes attributed to Alexandre Dumas, *Père*, sometimes to Napoleon or others, is symptomatic of their perception of Iberia. In Britain, medieval Iberia gains political symbolism in the context of the Peninsular War, during which the continued hostility between Britain and the French emperor pushed Britain to support the Spanish resistance to

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[7] For an overview of the concept of Black Legend and its characteristics, see Antonio Sánchez Jiménez*, Leyenda Negra. La batalla sobre la imagen de España en tiempos de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2016), 22–60.

[8] Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers, as quoted in Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *Eine Geschichte der spanischen Literatur* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1990), 488.

Napoleon’s invasion and triggered renewed interest in the Peninsula on the part of British writers, who returned to the Visigoth history of Iberia as a metaphor for the Peninsula’s present struggles.[9] Walter Scott’s poem *The Vision of Don Roderick,* published in 1811, constructs a vision based on three moments of Iberian history: the Moorish conquest, the Imperial expansion of Spain, including the Black Legend‘s insistence on the cruelty of Spaniards, and finally the Napoleonic wars and the British rescue.[10] Scott draws a parallel between the Moors’ and Napoleon’s invasion. Lord Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, published between 1812 and 1818, adopts a similar stance and insists in its first canto on Spain as a contested land that must be defended. The image of the Pyrenees as a natural border is also brought to the fore, while strophe 35 exalts the chivalric values of the Spaniards and the memory of the battles waged during the conquest of the Peninsula by northern African troops:

> Oh, lovely Spain! renowned, romantic land!
> Where is that standard which Pelagio bore,
> When Cava's traitor-sire first called the band
> That dyed thy mountain-streams with Gothic gore?
> Where are those bloody banners which of yore
> Waved o'er thy sons, victorious to the gale,
> And drove at last the spoilers to their shore?
> Red gleamed the cross, and waned the crescent pale,

[9] For an overview of the influence of the Peninsular War on the re-evaluation of Spain by British Romantics, see Diego Saglia and Ian Haywood, “Introduction: Spain and British Romanticism,” in *Spain in British Romanticism 1800–1840*, ed. Diego Saglia and Ian Haywood (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 1–16.

[10] See Scott’s own preface in Walter Scott, *The Vision of Don Roderick* (Edinburgh: John Ballantyne, 1811), vii–ix.

While Afric's echoes thrilled with Moorish matrons' wail. (I, 35)[11]

Byron's nostalgic exaltation of the Spanish past highlights his disappointment at finding only "in the Peninsula War, a mere nest of vipers" in his search for the "source and basis of Europe's most cherished social and cultural ideals" during his travels to the Peninsula and Greece.[12] Scott and Byron call upon the past to criticise the present, turning to Iberian history, its chivalric heroes and Moorish exoticism to make a political point, thus giving new significance to medieval Iberia.

In Germany, however, the fascination for the Iberian past intervenes as the Romantics strive to map out national philologies and the national canon. They turn to medieval literature as a form of proto-national culture, a stance that will have a lasting influence on the discipline of *Germanistik*. Between 1801 and 1819 Friedrich Bouterwek published a work in twelve volumes, entitled *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* [History of Literature and Eloquence since the End of the Thirteenth Century], in which he attempts to map out a history of modern European literature, following a chronological and partly teleological order. Bouterwek states in his general preface to the work that he begins with Italian literature, which was born of itself, without external influence, before moving on to Spanish and Portuguese poetry (influenced by Italy), and then to French poetry, which developed as the best period of Iberian literature ended;[13] he wants to produce "eine charakterisirende Geschichte des Geschmacks der verschiedenen neueren

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[11] Jerome J. McGann, ed., *Lord Byron, The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 35.

[12] McGann, *Lord Byron*, xvi. See xv–xvii for more details on *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and Byron's political views.

[13] See Friedrich Bouterwek, *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, 12 vols (Göttingen: Röwer, 1801), 1:vi–vii. For a critical overview of Bouterwek's work, and specifically the volume dedicated to Spanish and Portuguese literature, see Thomas R. Hart, "Friedrich Bouterwek, A Pioneer Historian of Spanish Literature," *Comparative Literature* 5, no. 4 (Autumn 1953): 351–61.

Nationen" [a history that characterises the tastes of the different recent nations.][14] In the volume dedicated to Spanish and Portuguese poetry, published in 1804, he explains that part of his endeavour is to provoke interest in Spanish literature in Germany. Bouterwek insists on the Germanic roots of Spaniards, calling upon the Iberian Visigoth past, and showcases a certain admiration for Spanish poetry. He states: "Deutsches Gemüth und spanische Phantasie in kräftiger Vereinigung, was könnten die nicht hervorbringen! Was der Spanier, seiner Abkunft noch immer gern eingedenk, von dem Deutschen sagt: *Somos hermanos* (Wir sind Brüder) könnte auf eine ganz neue Art in der deutschen Poesie wahr werden." [The German disposition and the Spanish fantasy in powerful union: what could not be brought forth from this association! That which the Spaniard, still gladly bearing in mind his descent, says about the German – *Somos hermanos* (We are brothers) – could come true in a fully new style in German poetry.][15] At the same time, he concedes that Spanish culture remained influenced by al-Andalus. He describes the hybrid character of the Spaniards, at once European and Oriental, as follows: "[s]o entstand der spanische Rittergeist, der im Grunde nur der allgemeine Rittergeist der meisten europäischen Völker jener Zeit in einer besondern Form war, in dieser Form aber den alt europäischen Spanier in demselben Grade zum Morgenländer, wie den spanischen Araber zum Europäer, machte." [In this way the Spanish spirit of chivalry came to be, which was fundamentally the spirit of chivalry of most European peoples of this time in a specific form, but which in this form transformed to the same degree the old European Spaniards into Orientals as it transformed the Spanish Arabs into Europeans.][16] His comments perpetuate the notion of Spain as a gateway, a place of encounter between Europe and, in this iteration, the Orient characterised as Arab. Spain finds itself exoticised, described as a land of *Phantasie*, which is later justified through its historical

[14] Bouterwek*,* 1:3.

[15] Bouterwek, 3:viii–ix.

[16] Bouterwek, 3:4.

links with the Orient, and placed at once in and out of Europe – a term Bouterwek seemingly uses as a clear, fixed notion.

August Wilhelm Schlegel formulates in a similar manner the idea that Spaniards have a semi-Oriental identity in his *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* [Lectures on dramatic art and literature] published between 1809 and 1811. Schlegel, comparing the French and Spanish national character, explains that Spanish culture "hat im entferntesten Abendlande eine orientalische Ader, was sich leicht durch einen Rückblick auf ihre Geschichte begreift." [has in the farthest point of the Occident an oriental core, which is easily understood by looking back at its history.][17] Spain is described as the farthest point of Europe and connected with non-European spaces. In a similar way to Bouterwek, Schlegel transforms the link to Africa into comments on the Oriental character of Iberia. The geographical terms Europe, Africa or Asia are transformed into an ideological division between the Orient and Occident, here labelled with the terms "Morgenland" and "Abendland." Schlegel's comments appear in a set of lectures which attempt to define national characters based on the features of national literatures.[18] He offers an insight into foreign literature to a German audience and defines German culture by thinking through other cultural models. Schlegel, too, showcases a fascination for the literature of Spain: between 1803 and 1809, he published a translation of Golden Age playwright Pedro Calderón de la Barca's play *La devoción de la Cruz*. Alongside William Shakespeare, Schlegel "enthroned […] Calderón as the exemplars of the 'modern' and 'romantic'."[19] While Shakespeare is praised for a sense of Nordic, historical, national poetry,

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[17] August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur,* 2 vols (Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1809), 2:164.

[18] See section 6 "The Role of the Critic and Schlegel's Romantic Nationalism," especially 6.2 "Nationalism versus Cosmopolitanism," in Katia D. Hay, "August Wilhelm von Schlegel," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2017 Edition), Edward N. Zalta, ed., accessed 30 May 2019, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2017/entries/schlegel-aw/.

[19] Roger Paulin, "The Romantic Drama," in *The Cambridge Companion to German Romanticism*, ed. Nicholas Saul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 85.

"[f]or the religious dimension that informs their notion of mythology, the Romantics turn southward to Calderón. Also the product of a golden age, Calderón stands for the world of the southern Renaissance: lyrical, sensuous, colourful, Catholic, imbued with Christian symbolism. Where Shakespeare is firmly rooted in the realities and limits of political power, Calderón points beyond the here and now to the eternal verities of heaven."[20] Schlegel's Iberian culture, then, conjures up, all at once, Oriental roots, foreignness, allure and religious symbolism, being negated as an "Other" while being hailed as a productive example to follow in the re-invention of German culture.

Considering the role of Oriental Iberia in defining national philologies and – in the case of Schlegel – asserting the specificity of German culture, a culture considered to be shaped by medieval literature, parallels can be drawn between the ideological alterity of Iberia for the Romantics and for medieval witnesses. In the nineteenth century, the memory of Iberia's medieval past continues to fulfil a political function as an imagined backdrop for the negotiation of identities. I do not want to imply that later depictions of Iberia are influenced by the medieval texts studied in this thesis, but rather that imagining Iberia as a space of alterity appears to be an enduring, but constantly changing motif in literature written in northern European languages at different times and in different genres. Rather than attempting to trace a narrative or highlight a supposed evolution in the depiction of Iberia in medieval German literature, this study has presented four case studies, highlighting the role of the Iberian space in the construction of a European literary network. The four chapters of this study have analysed texts that do not describe Iberia in the same way and do not make use of the Iberian Peninsula in order to achieve the same purpose – but the centrality of Iberia as a figure of thought through which to negotiate identities binds the corpus of my thesis together.

[20] Paulin, "The Romantic Drama," 90.

All texts analysed here are united by their use of the Iberian space as a figure of thought to think through their own identities; Iberia becomes a heterotopia. Iberia's heterotopia is produced by a flexible and contradictory set of topoi that can be adapted and reformulated according to the ideological needs of the genre and historical occasion. Reformulation does not discard the past. Deliberately or not, the weight of previous discourses can shape the new iteration of each motif. Hieronymus, for example, elicits from his description of Georg's impossible sword-stroke, slicing both man and horse, the image of a Carolingian hero through the conventional topos of the epic blow. The presence of Carolingian discourses associated with Iberia is reinforced by the comparison of Isabel and Ferdinand with Charlemagne and the eloquent setting of Ronceval. In the texts explored in this study, the Iberian Peninsula's liminality affords a connection to Africa and Asia, and its association with Islam forms the background to most of our texts' engagement with the Iberian space, although its heterotopic function varies depending on the text's purpose. Through Iberia's association with Islam or through its connection with non-European geographies, the Peninsula comes to act as an Orient within the geographical borders of Europe. Like the Orient, an imagined version of Iberia is superimposed on a geographical location and is represented through dynamics of othering which, in turn, shed light on the construction of identities in the texts in which the Peninsula is represented. In a volume dedicated to a comparative history of literatures *in* the Iberian Peninsula, César Domínguez reflects on the implication of the preposition: "It is surprising how many nuances this simple use of a preposition can create. Next to the adjective of nationality or some other type of spatial allusion (literature of France, of Germany, of Italy), the construction "literatures-in" seems to highlight both the need to question relationships between literature and sociopolitical structures and a search for the heterogeneity that the national paradigm has

silenced, obscured, and denied."[21] My introduction challenged the overreliance of German studies on the national paradigm, and my thesis is to be considered, in the light of this remark, as a study of literature in Germany. But in order to fully grasp the interactional structure of medieval literature in western Europe, my thesis brings to the fore the importance of questioning literatures "about." What truly brings out the inherent complexity of identity construction in the texts studied here is to consider them as "literature about Iberia" as much as, and perhaps even more than, "literature in German(y)." While further study is required on the importance of the Peninsula in the construction of "European" identities – that is, identities that are multilingual and multicultural while relying on commonality – I hope to have provided an insight into the ways in which representations of Iberia can illuminate dynamics of othering that do not target distant lands but remain within western European geographies.

Equally, while this study focuses on German-language texts, the heterotopia of Iberia does not occur in a strictly German vacuum, but rather in texts that are German versions of stories circulating previously. My corpus contains examples of German-language adaptations of French-language material, which implies that representations of the Peninsula are already mediated through a first layer of tradition. Even in texts attached to one specific individual, such as Oswald's songs or Georg's travelogue, the presence of transnational social models or the explicit centrality of travelling highlights the connections that are made on the Iberian stage not just between German-language texts and the Iberian Peninsula but also between pan-European traditions. The imagined space of Iberia acts as node in a European cultural network that is defined by multilingual traditions appearing in the geographical region of western Europe. Yet defining Iberia in this way poses a considerable challenge since it both

[21] César Domínguez, "Historiography and the geo-literary imaginary. The Iberian Peninsula: Between *Lebensraum* and *espace vécu*," in *A Comparative History of Literatures in the Iberian Peninsula*, vol. 1, ed. Fernando Cabo Aseguinolaza, Anxo Abuín Gonzalez and César Domínguez (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2010), 53.

recognises the centrality of Iberia to constructions of a European cultural network and makes the Peninsula a space of alterity, questioning its "Europeanness." If Iberia is geographically western, does this make it culturally "European?" Rather than looking for an answer, this consideration begs another question: what does it mean to be culturally "European?" As María Rosa Menocal writes, "[a]ny discussion of how different or not Spain and medieval Spanish culture is from the rest of Europe necessarily assumes that there is a distinct 'western' (i.e. Christian and Latin) cultural entity to which it can be contrasted."[22]

The point, then, of drawing into question Iberia and the European cultural network is precisely to highlight the inherent contingency of culture and identity construction. Furthermore, going beyond the date ascribed by Bartlett to the "Europeanization of Europe" reveals that on a literary or cultural level the process of Europeanisation is an ongoing one. "Europe" in the cultural sense – "Europeanness" – is not a fixed entity, nor can it be defined following clear geographical borders. If representations of Iberia in the German language challenge the construction of Europe, then future research avenues could include a study of narratives stemming from Iberia, not only to question how processes of othering are perceived in the Peninsula but also to compare Iberian witnesses' self-perception. On the one hand, the examples mentioned above find echoes and resistance within Spain. The Black Legend, for example, extended beyond foreign discourse and provoked responses in Iberian writings. Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, in a book dedicated to reactions to and effects of the Black Legend during the Golden Age, argues "que los españoles del Siglo de Oro eran conscientes de que existía un sistema de estereotipos antihispánicos muy potente y difundido al que hoy llamamos Leyenda Negra, que ese sistema le preocupaba y que respondieron a estas acusaciones con virulencia e inteligencia, adoptando una perspectiva

[22] María Rosa Menocal, "And How 'Western' Was the Rest of Medieval Europe?," in *Américo Castro: The Impact of His Thought. Essays to Mark the Centenary of His Birth*, ed. Ronald E Surtz and Jaime Ferran (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1988), 184.

autoetnográfica que les hizo cambiar su idea de lo español para adaptarse a los estereotipos de la Leyenda Negra." [that Golden Age Spaniards were conscious of the existence of a system of stereotypes, very powerful and widespread, that we today call the Black Legend, that this system concerned them and that they responded to these accusations with virulence and intelligence, adopting an auto-ethnographic perspective which made them change their idea of the "Spanish" to adapt to the stereotypes of the Black Legend.][23] The idea of auto-ethnography relies on the adoption and assimilation of characteristics of the Black Legend into texts originating in the Iberian Peninsula.

Medieval textual witnesses too provide insightful narratives that shed light on other perceptions of identities within the geographical borders of Europe. The Castilian text known as the *Mocedades de Rodrigo* [The Youthful Deeds of Rodrigo], for example, dated around the first half of the fourteenth century and narrating the youth of El Cid, portrays a hero fighting both Iberian Muslim armies in the south and a coalition comprising the Holy Roman Emperor, the Pope and the King of France in the north.[24] The collection of fables known as *Kalila wa-Dimna* similarly offers an opportunity to question the European literary network by considering a Sanskrit source undergoing several processes of translation and adaption to reach European vernaculars, including Castilian and German, through Arabic and Hebrew versions in the Iberian Peninsula.[25] Suzanne Conklin Akbari, pointing out the lack of counter-discourses in the western European medieval Orientalism that she analyses, concludes that

[23] Antonio Sánchez Jiménez*, Leyenda Negra*, 21.

[24] See Matthew Bailey, ed., *Las Mocedades de Rodrigo, The Youthful Deeds of Rodrigo, the Cid* (Toronto: Medieval Academy of America, 2007) for an edition of the text and an English translation. For a more detailed analysis of the possible composition of the poem, see Leonardo Funes, ed., *Mocedades de Rodrigo, Estudio y edición de los tres estados del texto* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2004), ix–lxxii.

[25] For an overview of the evolution of the text from the Sanskrit, to a sixteenth-century Italian version, see Isidoro Montiel, *Historia y bibliografía del « Libro de Calila y Dimna »* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975).

"[t]he case is significantly different in the literature produced in border territories such as Norman Sicily or post-Reconquista Spain, where 'Oriental' subjects might 'write back' against the dominant discourse."[26] Considering textual witnesses compiled in the Peninsula, then, offers another perspective on both the simultaneity of colonial and postcolonial discourses as well as on the construction of a culturally defined "Europe."

I hope to have shown in this thesis that German-language texts bring a valuable contribution to the study of pre-European identities. Rather than fixed, monolithic entities, the identities constructed in medieval German texts are the networked products of an internal colonisation process of which the Peninsula remains a central, if challenging, part. A contested space, the Iberian Peninsula and its representations highlight an ongoing desire to question and assert the ideological construction of Europe by differentiating it from the Islamicised space of Iberia. Looking at representations of Iberia in medieval German literature, then, throws into relief the necessity for modern audiences to continuously challenge and re-evaluate the meaning we assign to such seemingly self-evident words as "Spanish," "German" and "European."

[26] Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 10.

Abbreviations

DR Douay-Rheims Bible

JOWG *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft*

Lexer Lexer, Matthias. *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*. 3 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1872-1878.

Available online: Wörterbuchnetz. Trier Center for Digital Humanities / Kompetenzzentrum für elektronische Erschließungs- und Publikationsverfahren in den Geisteswissenschaften an der Universität Trier, 2011. Accessed 30 May 2019.

http://woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer/.

LV Latin Vulgate Bible

MHDBDB Mittelhochdeutsche Begriffsdatenbank. Middle High German Conceptual Database. Universität Salzburg, 1992-2018. Accessed 30 May 2019.

http://mhdbdb.sbg.ac.at.

MLR *Modern Language Review*

VL *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*. 2nd edn. 10 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978–99.

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