

NOTES

1 *Ludus* as Prelude

1. Sweet, as a black man, is inevitably the first of the squad to die violently, as has become the norm in such “melting-pot camaraderie” war films ever since the point at which black actors could be included as members of such cinematically integrated combat units. He is the most ecumenical in his use of ethnicity and race as essentialist identifiers: he thus calls Iraqis “rag-heads,” “hajjis,” and “shit-birds,” addresses Flake as “my motherfuckin’ Caucasian” and Salazar as “my motherfuckin’ ese.” Only one other racial epithet is targeted at a non-Iraqi in the film: after Salazar’s death, Flake calls him “a generous spic.”
2. In Arabic, a traditional term of respect that designates a Muslim who has fulfilled the Islamic obligation to make a pilgrimage (الحج *al-ḥajj*) to Mecca, or more generally an elder of the community. The term has been co-opted by the U.S. military as a derogatory term designating all Iraqis or indeed all Muslims.
3. See Darko Suvin, “Can People be (Re)Presented in Fiction?: Toward a Theory of Narrative Agents and a Materialist Critique beyond Technocracy or Reductionism,” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p. 667 [663–96].
4. Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, ed. Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye (Paris: Payot, 1916).
5. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978).
6. Cf. especially Michel Foucault, *L’ordre du discours: leçon inaugurale au Collège de France prononcée le 2 décembre 1970* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971) and *Les mots et les choses: une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966).
7. All examples from the entry مدرسة *madrasa* in the standard mid-sized Anglophone dictionary of Arabic: Hans Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, ed. J.M. Cowan, 4th ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979), p. 321. This dictionary is, not incidentally, itself a translation of a German original: *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1952).
8. Cf. a leaked memo written by then U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld in 2003: “Are we capturing, killing or deterring and dissuading more terrorists every day than the madrassas and the radical clerics

are recruiting, training and deploying against us?"; quoted by Samantha Power, "The Democrats and National Security," *The New York Review of Books* 55/13 (14 August 2008): 68.

2 Discourses of the Muslim Other

1. Unless we countenance the historicity of the Old Norse *Groenlendinga þáttur* and its inclusion in the crew that sailed to Vínland (by scholarly consensus now identified as Newfoundland) of Tyrkir, the *sudmaðr* [German], who participated in the confrontation with Native Americans in the tenth century; text edited by Halldór Hermannsson, *The Vinland Sagas*, *Islandica* 30 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1944). See Jerold C. Frakes, "Vikings, Vínland and the Discourse of Eurocentrism," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 100 (2001): 157–99. Needless to say, that encounter had no effect on the development of a *German* representation of the non-European Other.
2. On the political motivations (papal and otherwise) for the Crusades as the primary military expression of this conflict, see, especially for his focus on the German literary tradition, Wolfgang Spiewok, "Die Bedeutung des Kreuzzugserlebnisses für die Entwicklung der feudalhöfischen Ideologie und die Ausformung der mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur: Vom Dogma zur Toleranz," *Weimarer Beiträge* 9 (1963): 669–83.
3. In general on this topic, see Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960); and R.W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962). The most important work on this specific topic is in the field of art history, the monumental *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, ed. Ladislav Bugner (New York: William Morrow, 1976–199), especially vol. 2: *From the Early Christian Era to the "Age of Discovery"* (New York: William Morrow, 1979); and the likewise exhaustive P. Bancourt, *Les musulmans dans les chansons de geste du cycle du roi*, 2 vols. (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1982). More recently, see also Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Jürgen Brummack, *Die Darstellung des Orients in den deutschen Alexandergeschichten des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1966); John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).
4. This tripartite definition is based on Lucy K. Pick, "Edward Said, *Orientalism* and the Middle Ages," *Medieval Encounters* 5 (1999): 265–6.
5. Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 4–5.
6. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 21; see also p. 14.
7. Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 20–21.
8. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 94.
9. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 21.

10. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 22.
11. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 32.
12. Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 67 and 79.
13. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 71.
14. Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 129.
15. Kathleen Davis, "Time Behind the Veil: The Media, The Middle Ages, and Orientalism Now," in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), p. 113 [105–22].
16. Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "Alexander in the Orient: Bodies and Boundaries in the *Roman de toute chevalerie*," in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 105 [105–26]. She suggests that both Bhabha's concept of "colonial mimicry" and Spivak's "subalternity" were founded on Said's reductionist conception of Orientalism.
17. John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 280–81.
18. James Clifford, "On Orientalism," in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 262 [255–76]. He nonetheless notes: "Though Said's work frequently relapses into the essentializing modes it attacks and is ambivalently enmeshed in the totalizing habits of Western humanism, it still succeeds in questioning a number of important anthropological categories . . ." (271).
19. Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran Cruz, "Popular Attitudes towards Islam in Medieval Europe," in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), pp. 55–6 [55–81]. She also remarks: "On the other hand, it is also the case that many of the most ill-informed views of Islam in the Middle Ages were precisely those that gave rise to legendary and long-lived images and prejudices that have continued to inform European attitudes." Thus while medieval attitudes were not monolithic, modern attitudes have often developed directly from the least informed medieval ones.
20. Dennis Porter, "Orientalism and its Problems," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 160 [150–61].
21. Kabir/Williams, *Postcolonial Approaches*, p.1.
22. Thomas Hahn, "The Difference the Middle Ages Makes: Color and Race before the Modern World," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001): 1–37; on which see, in particular, Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 83–9.
23. Except for a very brief tactical sortie later in this chapter, the reader will notice that I avoid direct engagement with any medieval European

- self-conception as “European,” and thus also with a modern conception of a medieval Eurocentrism, since a justification of that conception would itself require a monographic treatment.
24. Samir Amin, *Eurocentrism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1988), pp. 10–11.
 25. Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), especially chapter one, “Medieval Prelude,” pp. 14–63.
 26. Amin, *Eurocentrism*, p. 75.
 27. See *Eurocentrism*, pp. 74–7. It is, however, strange to find that Sharon Kinoshita approvingly cites Amin’s denial of the legitimacy of Said’s comments on Dante, since she is engaged in a literary analysis quite unconcerned with economic analysis. Concerning Said’s comment, she claims that such “an assertion of intrinsic European superiority... becomes imaginable only in the long sixteenth century, with the global expansion of European commercial capitalism”; see her “The Romance of MiscegeNation,” p. 126.
 28. Referring to Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 22–5; Kathleen Biddick, “Coming out of Exile: Dante on the Orient Express,” in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), p. 36 [35–52].
 29. Cohen, “Introduction. Midcolonial,” in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, p. 3.
 30. See Kathleen Biddick’s useful rebuttal: “The ABC of Ptolomy: Mapping the World with the Alphabet,” in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), p. 291 [268–93]; and also Kathleen Davis, “National Writing in the Ninth Century: A Reminder for Postcolonial Thinking about the Nation,” in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28 (1998): 611–37.
 31. Cohen, “Introduction. Midcolonial,” in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, p. 4.
 32. Suzanne Conklin Akbari, “From Due East to True North: Orientalism and Orientation,” in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, p. 31 [19–34].
 33. There are, of course, other more pertinent reasons for a guarded use of the terms “Eurocentric/Eurocentrism” in premodern studies since they presuppose an understanding of European culture as somehow conceptually unified or unifiable. As intimated above, while I think that this argument can ultimately be made, it is not my purpose here to do so, since the terms are not central to my argument and will thus not be used here except when quoting or discussing the work of other scholars.
 34. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 21.
 35. Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). Aeschylus’ Πέρσαι is edited by Martin L. West, *Aeschylus, Persae* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1991). See also Thomas Harrison, *The Emptiness of Asia. Aeschylus’ Persians and the History*

- of the Fifth Century (London: Duckworth, 2000), and Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
36. Aeschylus would have conceived of himself and his culture as Athenian, and, in terms of the specific conflict with Persia, perhaps as Greek, but not in the sense of a citizen of a Greek *nation* or a unified and shared culture, but rather as an Athenian participant in a primarily Greek-speaking coalition of forces opposing Persia.
 37. On the economic, geographical, and cultural issues that problematize clear distinctions between the Middle Ages and the modern periods, see James Muldoon, ed., *The Expansion of Europe: The First Phase* (n.p.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977).
 38. J.R.S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
 39. The Byzantine emperor Alexius I actually prompted the idea of Crusade by requesting the aid of the West in recovering his own territories newly lost to the invading Turks who had swept through the Middle East displacing the primarily Arabic rulers, during the tenth and eleventh centuries.
 40. "Abenteuerlust, Kampf- und Ruhmsucht sowie Beutegier": Wolfgang Spiewok, "Die Bedeutung des Kreuzzugerlebnisses für die Entwicklung der feudalhöfischen Ideologie und die Ausformung der mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur: Vom Dogma zur Toleranz," *Weimarer Beiträge* 9 (1963): 671; *Reinfried von Braunschweig*, 14, 616ff.
 41. Spiewok, "Die Bedeutung des Kreuzzugerlebnisses," p. 672.
 42. Muldoon insightfully notes that the same process is discernible in England after the end of the conquest of Ireland in the sixteenth century, and in the United States after the War of Independence and then in part also following the Civil War. In all cases such external ventures lead to (state) profit from abroad and peace at home.
 43. See especially the "Einleitung" to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Philosophie der Geschichte*, 2nd ed., vol. 9 of *Werke*, ed. Karl Hegel (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1840), pp. 3–135.
 44. Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), pp. 9–10.
 45. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 122.
 46. In Isidor Pacensis' report of Charles Martel's defeat of a Muslim raiding party near Poitiers: "[P]rospiciunt europeenses arabum tentoria ordinata" [the Europeans saw in the distance the organized tents of the Arabs], *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 96, col. 827.
 47. See especially Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 159–97, and Roy A. Wisbey, "Marvels of the East in the *Wiener Genesis* and in Wolfram's *Parzival*," in *Essays in German and Dutch Literature*, ed. W.D. Robson-Scott (London: Institute of Germanic Studies, 1973), pp. 1–41.
 48. Isaac, Ziegler, and Eliav-Feldon remark: "The supposition that the prejudices and ideas of one period influence those of another is not fanciful

- and cannot be dismissed as a form of essentialist naivety”; Benjamin Isaac, Joseph Ziegler, and Miriam Eliav-Feldon, “Introduction,” in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 14 [1–31].
49. Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. xix and 275.
 50. Tolan, *Saracens*, p. xviii.
 51. Pick, “Edward Said, *Orientalism* and the Middle Ages,” p. 268.
 52. Lynn Tarte Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (New York: Routledge 2001), pp. 35 and 38.
 53. Cf. *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. Cesare Segre (Geneva: Droz, 2003); *Poema de mio Cid*, ed. Ian Michael (Madrid: Castalia, 1976); and the Armenian epic, *David of Sassoun* (extant only in nineteenth-century retellings of the medieval epic tradition); *David of Sassoun: The Armenian Folk Epic in Four Cycles*, trans. Artin K. Shalian (Athens: Ohio State University Press, 1965), especially the lengthy tale of Ismil Khatoun (Muslim) who seduces Medz Mher (Christian) despite his resistance because of her religion; she bears two sons who are the primary heroes (and rivals) of the third cycle: Msrah Melik who is raised Muslim and David who is raised Christian.
 54. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1999), p. 3.
 55. See Southern, *Western Views*, p. 32, on the representation of Muslims as polytheistic idolators. Examples are widespread: before the final battle in Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Willehalm*, for instance, the Muslims idols are pulled to the battleground on a wagon (360, 24–8); on the thirteenth-century Hereford map, the Israelites worship a golden calf (during the Exodus) identified as a “Mahom”; the Council of Vienne (1311) refers to Muslims worshipping Muḥammad; in English plays of the fourteenth century, Alexander the Great, Caesar, and Pontius Pilate all worship “Mahound.” Tolan points out (*Saracens*, p. 133) that as late as the twentieth century in some small towns in Spain, there were annual rituals reenacting the *reconquista*, in which costumed “moros” capture a mock citadel and set up a “Mahoma”—a costumed effigy of Muḥammad; a Christian “siege” takes the citadel and destroys the “Mahoma,” which is sometimes filled with fireworks and explodes. After Vatican II, many of the towns eliminated the “Mahoma” from the celebration.
 56. Cf. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 59. Tolan suggests that in the course of the twelfth century the dominant European Christian discourse of Islam changed at the learned level from Islam as polytheistic idolatry to Islam as heresy (*Saracens*, pp. 133–69, *passim*). Carl Lofmark’s attempt to account for the hybridization of this representation of Islam deflects its political implications: “The oriental heathens of Wolfram von Eschenbach are polytheists, who worship such gods as Jupiter and Juno and make images of them; clearly, Wolfram’s picture of the heathens had not come

- from Islam, but from the idealised antiquity depicted by Heinrich von Veldeke"; in "Anti-Crusade Feeling in German Minnesang," *Trivium* 22 (1987): 24 [19–35]. The fact that Wolfram collapsed two categories of non-Christians (ancient "pagan" and medieval Muslim) is clear; the political implications of that act of cultural effacement and representation do not, however, disappear, simply because the resulting portrayal is "fictive." It has, rather, overlaid a new layer of cultural representation on the dominant discourse.
57. Cf., for instance, the character Rôaz von Glois in Wirnt von Grafenberg's Middle High German *Wigalois*, designated more often than not simply as *der heide* "the heathen"; *Wigalois*, ed. J.M.N. Kapteyn, trans. Sabine Seelbach and Ulrich Seelbach (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005).
 58. Wirnt von Grafenberg, *Wigalois*, ll. 7755–6.
 59. See especially Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 14–36. There is also a growing body of work specifically on the eroticization of the colonial woman; see especially the essays in the section "Theorizing Gender," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 196–267.
 60. In general this mode of metamorphosis, as is discussed in chapter four, parallels the conventional early Christian conception of conversion, which transferred the convert from one identity and ontological state to another, breaking former familial, civic, ethnic, and religious ties and creating new ones in their place; on the conversion imagery, see Denise Kimber Buell, "Early Christian Universalism and Modern Forms of Racism," in *The Origins of Racism*, pp. 111–12 and 116 [109–31]. The imagery associated with such transformation is familiar: the old becomes new, the dead is reborn, the blackness of sin is replaced by the whiteness of purity, and so on.
 61. Wirnt von Grafenburg, *Wigalois*, l. 8219.
 62. Franz H. Bäuml, ed., *Kudrun: Die Handschrift* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969), here st. 583, 3. See below in chapter four and especially the examples analyzed by Alfred Ebenbauer, "Es gibt ain möryenne vil dick susse mynne: Belakanes Landsleute in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 113 (1984): 16–42.
 63. Geraldine Heng, "The Romance of England," in Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, p. 163, n. 7. The issue of race and racism is addressed in more detail in chapter four, where it becomes a focal issue.
 64. Cf. especially Danielle Buschinger, "L'image du Musulman dans le *Rolandslied*," p. 73. One should remember, incidentally, that skin color is a definitional component of racism in only some, not all periods and sites of racism in human history; see Benjamin Isaac, "Racism: A Rationalization of Prejudice in Greece and Rome," in *The Origins of Racism*, p. 49 [32–56].
 65. Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, p. 159.

66. Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre*, pp. 3–4.
67. Representations of Christian warriors knights in courtly epic are, for instance, no more realistic representations of thirteenth-century Christian knights than are representations of Muslims realistic portrayals of thirteenth-century Muslims.
68. Cohen continues: “That stereotypes can be performed, that dominant representations and the bodies grouped beneath them do not necessarily coincide, is dangerous knowledge that can topple whole epistemological systems”; in “Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales,” in Cohen, ed., *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, p. 88 [85–104]. David Goldenberg likewise seems to imagine that “Stereotype disappears with familiarity; in “Racism, Color Symbolism, and Color Prejudice,” in *The Origins of Racism*, p. 106 [88–108]. While that might well be true in particular cases, I know of no evidence from medieval literature, and little from the contemporary world, where the direct confrontation with the artifice of racial stereotypes de–programs the intrained bigotry of racists. The black–face tradition in which light–skinned African Americans performed as white–conceived caricatures of blacks did nothing to undermine either that genre of racist entertainment or U.S. racism in general. The inherent racism of such systems may become obvious to *us*, and perhaps even to *them*, but such realizations rarely suffice to undo systems of thought and practice that codify and ensure cultural codes of privilege and profit.
69. See, for instance, Buschinger, “L’image du Musulman,” p. 73.
70. Genre is, of course, of central importance in determining the parameters of the discourse: just as one finds distinct modes in the representation of Islam in twenty–first–century war film, popular love ballads, *Fox News* or *New York Times* editorials, and الجزيرة *Al-Jazeera* documentaries, so also in medieval genres such as sermons, courtly lyric, Crusader epic, or chronicle, as becomes clear in the present study.
71. Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste* (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 1984), pp. 9–10.
72. Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre*, p. 8. A far more nuanced analysis of the multiplicity of cultures involved and the lack of monolithic culture or a simple binary of Christian–Muslim opposition, is offered by Oleg Grabar, “Patterns and Ways of Cultural Exchange,” in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. Vladimir P. Goss (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 1986), pp. 441–5: neither in the “Christian East” was there a monolithic block, since the churches there were very different and did not imagine themselves as a block distinct from the “Christian West,” but rather conceived of themselves as individually distinct: Byzantine, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac monophysites, and Coptic monophysites. Likewise the Castilians of the *reconquista*, the Normans of Sicily, the Crusaders, and the merchants of Venice and Genoa were not united by any common venture. The same kind of diversity existed in Islamic communities

- among Fatimids, Zenguids, Ayyubids, Zirids, Hammadids, Almoravids, Almohads, Hafsidis. The Muslim military leaders were mostly Kurds, Turks, and Berbers, while the urban populace was Arabicized, and the rural areas were “a mosaic of peoples from many origins.” Thus, the East-West conflict was not really a “meeting of two worlds,” but a clashing of multiple, distinct regions, and ethnic identities.
73. Cohen, “Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands,” p. 88.
 74. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001): 119 and 136, n. 3.
 75. See, for instance, Roswitha Wisniewski, *Kreuzzugsdichtung: Idealität in der Wirklichkeit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), p. 130.
 76. For example, “the crusading poets themselves have little to say of heathen atrocities”; Carl Lofmark, “Anti-Crusade Feeling,” p. 21.
 77. See also most recently, Suzanne Conklin Akbari, whose first use of the term is in quotation marks, indicating her distance from the term; her second use is without such marks; her usage continues to vacillate throughout the book; see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 2–3, and *passim* (e.g., pp. 17, 281).
 78. Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre*, p. 71, quoting Philippe Sénac, *L'image de l'autre: L'occident médiéval face à Islam* (Paris: Flammarion, 1983), p. 86.
 79. The stimulus for Turner’s theorization was Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedon and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 10–24 and 65–8. Turner’s subsequent work over the course of several decades is documented in a wealth of publications, including *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969), and *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal, 1982).
 80. Homi Bhabha, “Frontlines/Borderposts,” in *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Questions*, ed. Angelika Bammer (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1994), p. 271 [269–72].
 81. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1–2.
 82. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, p. 1.
 83. Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre*, p. 83.
 84. On the Hereford map, see especially: Daniel J. Birkholz. *The King’s Two Maps: Cartography and Culture in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York: Routledge, 2004); P.D.A. Harvey, *Mappa mundi: The Hereford World Map* (London: Hereford Cathedral and the British Library, 1996); and Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001). On the Ebstorf map, particularly pertinent to the larger context of the issues analyzed in the present study, see David F. Tinsley, “Mapping the Muslims: The Geopolitics

- of Islam in Texts and Images of Middle High German Literature at the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century,” in *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Judeo-Christian Discourse*, ed. Jerold C. Frakes (New York: Palgrave, forthcoming); and also Hartmut Kugler, “Die Ebtorfer Weltkarte. Ein europäisches Weltbild im deutschen Mittelalter,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 116 (1987): 13–14; Jörg-Geerd Arentzen, *Imago mundi cartographica: Studien zur Bildlichkeit mittelalterlicher Welt- und Ökumenekarten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Zusammenwirkens von Text und Bild*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 53 (München: W. Fink, 1984); and Rudolf Simek, *Erde und Kosmos im Mittelalter: Das Weltbild vor Kolumbus* (München: C.H. Beck, 1992).
85. In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), pp. 271–313.
 86. Chava Turniansky, ed. and trans., 1719–1691 זיכרונות גליקל: (Jerusalem: Merkaz Shazar le-toldot Yisrael, 2006); Elisheva’ Baumgarten, אמהות וילדים בחברה היהודית בימי הביניים, Diss. Jerusalem 2000; revised and translated as *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
 87. Amin Maalouf, *Les croisades vues par les Arabes* (Paris: Lattès, 1983); Eng. trans.: *The Crusades Through Arabic Eyes*, trans. Jon Rothschild (London: Al-Saqi Books, 1984).
 88. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
 89. Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987) and *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2002).
 90. The exceptional status of Sicily under Friedrich II provides a terribly interesting problem here, but one that is beyond the geographical and political scope of medieval Germany, despite its rule by a Hohenstaufen and nominally German sovereign.
 91. A valiant attempt in this vein has recently been made in Old French studies by Sharon Kinoshita, but, as becomes clear through my comments on her argument in the course of the present study, even she—whose objects of analysis originated only a few hundred miles distant from Muslim territory—has very little concrete evidence with which to work: her examples of would-be *Muslim* cultural agency in fact consist of *Christian* literary characters who converted from Islam before the narrative begins or for precisely the conversion motives characteristic of the period’s most blatantly bigoted depictions of Muslims. Through such clichéd characters, whose purported Muslim agency would have to be ventriloquized by a Christian author, the argument becomes problematic indeed. See her *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

3 Muslims in Hrotsvit's "Pelagius" and the *Ludus de Antichristo*

1. See Fidel Rädle, "Hrotsvit von Gandersheim," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed., ed. Burghart Wachinger et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1983), 4:205; citing Friedrich Neumann, "Der Denkstil Hrotsvits von Gandersheim," in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), p. 10: "Es handelt sich bei ihren Texten weniger um Dramen als um dialogisierte Legenden in Reimprosa."
2. The text is extant in two medieval manuscripts: a late tenth or early eleventh century manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14485) and a twelfth-century copy of that same manuscript. Cf. Rädle, p. 199. The text is cited from Walter Berschin, ed., *Hrotsvit. Opera omnia*, Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Munich: Saur, 2001), pp. 63–77; also consulted: Helene Homeyer, ed., *Hrotsvithae opera* (Munich: Schöningh, 1970), pp. 130–46.
3. Maud Burnett McInerney, *Eloquent Virgins from Thecla to Joan of Arc* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), p. 146.
4. Mahmoud Makki, "The Political History of Al-Andalus," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 38.
5. McInerney, *Eloquent Virgins*, p. 147. She there also notes the logical and chronological problems with Recemundus' alleged claim that he was a direct witness of Pelagius' martyrdom. On Recemundus, see especially Enrico Cerulli "Le calife 'Abd ar-Raḥmān III de Cordoue et le martyr Pélage dans un poème die Hrotsvitha," *Studia Islamica* 32 (1970): 69–76.
6. Cf. the *praefatio* and *prologus ad Gerbergam abbatissam* (Berschin 1–3); see Fidel Rädle "Hrotsvit von Gandersheim," p. 198 and Sandro Sticca, "Hrotswith von Gandersheim," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph Strayer (New York: Scribner's, 1985), 6:313–16.
7. Cerulli "Le calife," p. 76.
8. Marla Carlson significantly calls to our attention that, despite Hrotsvit's literary depiction of Roman emperors (Diocletian in "Dulcitus" and Hadrian in "Sapientia") and Muslim caliphs ('Abd ur-Raḥmān in "Pelagius") who attempt forced conversion, historically it was medieval Christian emperors who offered their non-Christian captives the option of conversion or death, while historical Roman emperors and Muslim caliphs did not; see Marla Carlson, "Impassive Bodies: Hrotsvit Stages Martyrdom," *Theatre Journal* 50 (1998): 483 [473–87].
9. Cerulli details the differences between Hrotsvit's and Raguel's versions of the story ("Le calife," p. 73).
10. Homeyer comments on this line (*ad loc.*): "The accounts in the martyrs' legends, distorted by ignorance and hatred, contributed to the identification of Islam with pagan idolatry; there Muḥammad is called the Antichrist and an impure dog, and his teachings are called perverse; his

- followers are denounced as a sect of the devil and ministers of demons” [“Zur Gleichsetzung des Islams mit dem heidnischen Götzendienste haben die von Unwissenheit und Haß entstellten Darstellungen in den Märtyrerberichten beigetragen; dort wird Muhammed als Antichrist und canis impurus und seine Lehre als pervers bezeichnet, seine Anhänger werden als secta diaboli und ministri daemoniorum angeprangert”].
11. John Boswell denies that Hrotsvit’s focus is here on homosexuality as sinful: “Hroswitha does not suggest that homosexual acts are either praiseworthy or especially despicable”; instead the perversity allegedly lies in the sexual union of a Muslim with a Christian; see *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 199–200. As McInerney astutely points out, however, Boswell “is invested in imagining a world in which” male homosexuality was not viewed as unnatural, which ignores Hrotsvit’s claim that both the caliph’s sexuality and religion are “perverse and profane” (“Pelagius” l. 33); thus while Pelagius himself may not recognize the caliph’s sexual intent (which seems unlikely), the narrator does and in addition identifies it as depraved (McInerney, *Eloquent Virgins*, p. 236, n. 19). Boswell thus masks Hrotsvit’s obsession with sexuality as the enemy of virginity. Mark D. Jordan remarks interestingly that “the story of the martyrdom is, through Pelagius’s eyes, the story of a passionate triangle in which all the parties are male. He does not deny same-sex love so much as he redefines it by choosing Christ as his lover”; see “Saint Pelagius, Ephebe and Martyr,” in *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 29 [23–7]. Stephen L. Wailes acknowledges that Hrotsvit depicts homosexuality as depraved: “When she refers to the caliph’s polluted flesh, the immediate reference may be to his pederasty (as also in v. 239), and this sin stands behind his personal dealings with Pelagius when he meets and lusts for him”; but he also cites and agrees with Boswell’s denial of Hrotsvit’s depiction of homosexuality as depraved: “Hrotsvit’s characterization does not point directly to homosexuality, it does not even designate sexuality as the particular evil of Abrahemen”; *Spirituality and Politics in the Works of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2006), pp. 69, 73, and 75.
 12. McInerney, *Eloquent Virgins*, p. 149.
 13. See especially, Jessica A. Cope, *The Martyrs of Cordoba 850–59: A Study of the Sources* (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1962), pp. 41–5.
 14. While Linda A. McMillin gives a reasonably complete list of Hrotsvit’s caricatures of Islam, and at one point even terms the text “the best of ‘cold war’ propaganda” against a “real contemporary Islamic figure,” she

- does not provide a situated political critique, instead simply commenting that Hrotsvit “constructs a surprisingly nuanced portrait of both the general history of Islamic Spain and the life of Christians living there. She conveys to her audience the real political and military threat of Islam to the Christian community.... Hrotsvit’s Muslims—in particular al-Rahman—emerge as a combination of verity and political caricature, an enemy both fearsome and ridiculous who can ultimately be conquered by Christians of strong faith”; in “Weighed Down with a Thousand Evils: Images of Muslims in Hrotsvit’s *Pelagius*,” in *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: Contexts, Identities, Affinities, and Performances*, ed. Phyllis R. Brown, et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 54 and 40–41 [40–55]. In viewing this practice as politically neutral, even while noting that Hrotsvit makes use of “popular but misguided stereotypes,” she facetiously entitles a subchapter [!] of her article “Muslims and Pagans and Bears, Oh My!” (42).
15. McMillin is of two minds about the geographical relations, designating ‘Abd ur-Raḥmān’s court in Córdoba as both the “southern Islamic neighbors” of Hrotsvit’s north German monastic audience (and similarly: “Muslim neighbors”), but, on the other hand, a “rather distant enemy” (see McMillin, “Weighed Down,” pp. 54 and 42).
 16. McMillin, “Weighed Down,” p. 46.
 17. Ronald Stottlemeyer offers the same interpretation of the *virī primi*; see Ronald Stottlemeyer, “The Construction of the Desiring Subject in Hrotsvit’s *Pelagius* and *Agnes*,” in the same volume in which McMillin’s essay appeared; Brown, ed., *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim*, p. 112 [98–124].
 18. Stottlemeyer, “The Construction of the Desiring Subject,” p. 115. Despite recognizing that Hrotsvit is correct in maintaining that Muslim Spain has a mixed population (l. 39), McMillin misses this connection in the narrative itself.
 19. Katharina Wilson, *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: A Florilegium of her Works* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), p. 38; Sister M. Gonsalva Wiegand, *The Non-Dramatic Works of Hrosvitha: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Diss. St. Louis University 1936), p. 149.
 20. Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 108.
 21. Jordan, “Saint Pelagius, Epebe and Martyr,” p. 35.
 22. For a basic orientation, see Wolfgang Hempel, “Ludus de Antichristo,” in *German Writers and Works of the Early Middle Ages: 800–1170*, ed. Will Hasty, *Dictionary of Literary Biography 148* (Detroit: Gale, 1995), p. 208 [208–15]. The text survives in a single manuscript that was copied in that monastery (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 19411).
 23. Probably here, as conventionally in European literature of the period, Babylon = Fustat (Cairo).
 24. Text cited from Karl Young, ed., *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, n.d. [1962]), pp. 369–96. The spoken text of the play, in verse, is cited here according to the numbered

- lines of Young's edition; the often extensive prose stage directions that occur in the text, inserted between speeches, are unnumbered in the edition; they are here cited according to the numbered lines that precede them (e.g., "post-32" for a prose passage following verse line 32). See also the edition by Gisela Vollmann-Profe, ed., *Ludus de Antichristo*, 2 vols. (Lauterburg: Kümmerle, 1981).
25. "Die staufische Reichsidee"; see Friedrich-Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalter. Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und dichterischen Wirklichkeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1960), p. 76.
 26. "[der Kreuzzugsgedanke] gehört als selbstverständliche Voraussetzung zu dem politischen Zeitbild, von dem der Ludus ausgeht"; *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 76.
 27. Vollmann-Profe, "Tegernseer Ludus de Antichristo," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed. Burghart Wachinger et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), vol. 9, col. 676 [673–9]; Klaus Aichele, "Ludus de Antichristo," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph Strayer (New York: Scribner's, 1986), 7:677–9.
 28. Hempel, "Ludus de Antichristo," p. 212.
 29. Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar, "Orientalism and the Jews: An Introduction," *Orientalism and the Jews* (Waltham MA: Brandeis University Press, 2005), p. xiii.
 30. That is, the old antisemitic distortion of the narrative of the New Testament, where it is in fact the Romans who crucify Christ; here the accusation is voiced by the ostensibly Jewish prophets, Enoch and Elijah, who have in fact here become Christian missionaries (340).
 31. Some scholars have nonetheless rather astonishingly suggested that Jews are sympathetically portrayed in the *Ludus*. Gisela Vollmann-Profe, for instance, comments that the play demonstrates "an astoundingly extensive tolerance with respect to the Jews" ("erstaunlich weitreichende Toleranz gegenüber den Juden," *Ludus*, p. viii). John Wright goes further and adds a brief separate chapter on "[t]he sympathetic role played by Synagoga and the Jews" in the introduction to his translation of the text; *The Play of Antichrist* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1967), p. 57. He enigmatically suggests that "Jewish doctrine, though of course attacked by a Christian author, is presented with solemnity and respect" (pp. 58–9). It is implied that that respect is expressed via the medieval author's refraining from "comic" or "vicious" comment on *sinagoga's* explicit rejection of the trinity and divine incarnation (p. 59). Wright then suggests that the Jews' "exile and theological position" are depicted with "sympathy and dignity," even while acknowledging that those who express such notions in the play are not representatives of Christianity but rather the messengers of the Antichrist. Given the succession of events involving the Jews in the play, this construal of their portrayal as tolerant, sympathetic, and respectful seems rather more than macabre.

4 Mandatory Muslim Metamorphosis in Middle High German Epic

1. According to Friedrich-Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert, while the date of *Willehalm's* composition is undetermined, it must have been written sometime during the years of preparation for Friedrich II's Crusade and the discussions thereof at the Thuringian court; see his *Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalter*, p. 247.
2. Spiewok, "Die Bedeutung des Kreuzzugserlebnisses."
3. Jean-Marc Pastre, "L'image du Sarrasin dans le *Willehalm* de Wolfram von Eschenbach," in *Images et signes de l'Orient dans l'Occident medieval: Litterature et civilisation* (Aix-en-Provence: Centre Universitaire d'Etudes et de Reserches Médiévales d'Aix, Univ. de Provence, 1982), pp. 253–65; "Etranges Sarrasins: Le luxe et l'exotisme dans le *Willehalm* de Wolfram: En hommage à Marguerite Rossi et Paul Bancourt," in *De l'étranger à l'étrange ou la conjointure de la merveille* (Aix-en-Provence: Centre Universitaire d'Etudes et de Reserches Médiévales d'Aix, Univ. de Provence, 1988), pp. 329–39; "Les Marques de la filiation dans le *Parzival* de Wolfram von Eschenbach," in *Les Relations de parente dans le monde medieval* (Aix-en-Provence: Centre Universitaire d'Etudes et de Reserches Médiévales d'Aix, Univ. de Provence, 1989), pp. 233–45.
4. Alfred Ebenbauer, "Es gibt ain möryne," pp. 16–42.
5. Carl Lofmark, "Das Problem des Unglaubens in *Willehalm*," in *Studien zu Wolfram von Eschenbach: Festschrift für Werner Schröder zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Kurt Gärtner and Joachim Heinzle (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1989), pp. 399–414, especially 410–13. See below, chapter five in this volume.
6. Numerous comprehensive studies of the Amazon myth in the Greek traditions exist; among the most pertinent analyses of political and gender issues: Wm. Blake Tyrrell, *Amazons: A Study in Athenian Mythmaking* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984) and Page duBois, *Centaurs and Amazons: Women and the Prehistory of the Great Chain of Being* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982). Sheila Rowbotham remarks: "Even the myths of tribes and races of strong women, the golden age of matriarchy, are the creations of male culture. The only means we have of even fantasizing free women is through the projection of male fears"; in "Through the Looking Glass," in *Women's Consciousness, Man's World*, anthologized in *An Anthology of Western Marxism: From Lukacs and Gramsci to Socialist Feminism*, ed. Roger S. Gottlieb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 286 [279–95].
7. Cf. especially Danielle Buschinger, "L'image du Musulman," p. 73, and most recently Tinsley, "Mapping the Muslims" (forthcoming).
8. "In ihrem höfischen Erscheinungsbild sind die Heiden den Christen nicht nur ebenbürtig, sondern übertreffen diese noch durch den Prunk ihrer ritterlichen Ausstattung und durch ihre höfischen Gesinnung"; Joachim Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, 6th ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1991), p. 249.

9. Thus can we also view Feirefiz, the most noble of the non-Christians in *Parzival*, as a manifestation of the European construct of the “noble heathen,” see Helmut Loiskandl, *Edle Wilde, Heiden und Barbaren. Fremdheit als Bewertungskriterium zwischen Kulturen* (Mödlingen bei Wien: St. Gabriel Verlag, 1966), pp. 104–05 on Feirefiz as *edler Heide* [noble heathen] and *Musterbild allen höfischen Rittertums* [model of all courtly chivalry].
10. There are a few medieval European literary characters of note that initially give one pause here, but upon closer examination, their putative resistance to Christian hegemony breaks down and evaporates: in Thomas Malory’s *Le Morte D’Arthur*, for instance, the existence of the Muslim knight, Sir Palomides, is indeed “tolerated” for several hundred pages as he initially courts La Beale Isode (before her entanglements with Tristram) and was to be christened for her sake [ed. Eugène Vinaver, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), VIII.9]; he later vows to complete seven true battles (X.47) before his christening finally takes place (XII.14). Thus even in this character whose narrative existence as a Muslim is surprisingly long-lived, his “will to conversion” is thus both the “personal” and the narrative motor of his character’s existence. On the conversion phenomenon, see Marianne Ailes, “Chivalry and Conversion: The Chivalrous Saracen in the Old French Epics *Fierebras* and *Otinel*,” *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 9 (1996–1997): 1–21.
11. This tenet obviously does not hold for *historical* European territory, whether in the Near Eastern Crusader states or even Europe itself—in the Balkans and within the gradually expanding Christian territories in Spain—for in those places Muslims did live under Christian rule, as long as Christians maintained territory in the Near East, on the one hand, and until the Muslims (and Jews) were forcibly converted or expelled from Spain in 1492 and thereafter, on the other.
12. Two of the three categories of the neutralization of Muslim women in *chanson de geste* identified by Jacqueline de Weever resemble, at least on the surface, categories of metamorphosis proposed in my analysis (her third category is simply a subset of the first category): the alterity of the Other is erased by making the Muslim daughter of black parents white (as in precompositional metamorphosis), who then marries the French hero; the alterity is “inscribed” and annihilated in that the Muslim princess is identified as black and then killed (i.e., the category of metamorphosis through death); see Jacqueline de Weever, *Sheba’s Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic* (New York: Garland, 1998).
13. Alfred Ebenbauer cites several Middle High German examples of this broad and lengthy tradition, in “Es gibt ain mörynnē,” p. 25. Interestingly, in the medieval Welsh *Mabinogion*, there are no black characters in the earlier insular texts; only in the Arthurian tales most likely borrowed from continental sources at a late date do black characters appear, and they are without exception evil. Wolfram’s works are cited from the edition by Karl Lachmann, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, 6th ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1926).

14. See Sharon Kinoshita, "The Romance of MiscegeNation," pp. 118–19.
15. Cohen, "On Saracen Enjoyment," p. 119. The ancient Greeks had held that Africans were black because the sun burned them; Albertus Magnus adopted the idea from the Greeks, but then added the idea that if Africans moved to a more temperate zone they would gradually turn white. Interestingly, أبو زيد عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن خالدون 'Abū Zayd 'Abd ur-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn (1332–1406) held the same belief, but also believed that black Africans living in a temperate zone would not only themselves gradually whiten, but would also produce white children; cf. Geoffrey J. Martin and Preston E. James, *All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas*, 3rd ed. (New York: John Wiley, 1993), pp. 42 and 53. While a curious bit of information in the archive of racist thinking, it at the same time suggests the possibility that lurking behind it is the idea that if skin color is strictly caused by the effects of the sun, then there is no essential moral value inherent in it, a notion whose time, as other evidence makes quite clear, had not yet come.
16. Robert Bartlett points out that it is "in parts of Europe where Europeans were least likely to meet actual black Africans, namely in Germany and Central Europe" that the depiction of black Africans was most exaggerated; see "Illustrating Ethnicity in the Middle Ages," in *The Origins of Racism*, p. 134 [132–56].
17. *Das Rolandlied des Pfaffen Konrad*, ed. C. Wesle, 2nd ed. Peter Wapnewski (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967), see especially ll. 8047 and 8054.
18. *Die Gedichte Reinmars von Zweter*, ed. Gustav Roethe (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1887), No. 130, p. 477; 113, 117; Johann von Würzburg, *Wilhelm von Österreich*, ed. Ernst Regel (Berlin: Weidmann, 1906), l. 8698; Konrad von Megenberg, *Das Buch der Natur*, ed. Franz Pfeiffer (Stuttgart 1861; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1994), cap. 49, p. 43.
19. *Die altdeutsche Exodus*, ed. Ernst Kossmann (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1886), ll. 3043, 3060, 3198, 3256.
20. Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain, ou, Le chevalier au lion*, ed. Michel Rousse (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1990), l. 288; Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein*, ed. G.F. Benecke and Karl Lachmann, 7th ed. Ludwig Wolff (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968), ll. 427–8.
21. Ed. Werner Wolf (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955–1968), ll. 2597ff. and 2636.
22. Ulrich von dem Türlin, *Willehalm*, ed. Samuel Singer (Prague: Verlag des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Boehmen, 1893; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1990), LXXV.14; Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrant*, ed. Samuel Singer (Berlin: Weidmann, 1906), ll. 14,010; Der Stricker, *Die Kleindichtung des Strickers*, ed. Wolfgang Wilfried Moelleken, G. Agler, Robert E. Lewis (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1973–1978), II, no. 30, pp. 236; Hermann von Sachsenheim, *Die Morin*, ed. Horst Dieter Schlosser (Wiesbaden: Brockhaus, 1974), cf. especially ll. 5763. See also Andreas Mielke, *Nigra sum et formosa: Afrikanerinnen in der deutschen*

- Literatur des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Helfant, 1992), who attempts to catalogue all appearances of black females in medieval German literature.
23. Maurice was first depicted as black in the thirteenth-century sculpture in Magdeburg cathedral; see Robert Bartlett, "Illustrating Ethnicity in the Middle Ages," in *The Origins of Racism*, ed. Eliav-Feldon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 134–6 [132–56]; and Gay L. Byron, *Symbolic Blackness and Ethnic Difference in Early Christian Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2002).
 24. Thomas Hahn, "The Difference the Middle Ages Makes," p. 5. See also Paul H.D. Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research, 1985).
 25. Gregory of Elvira, *Commentum in canticum canticorum*, I.23. See also de Weever, *Sheba's Daughters*, p. xi. Even more interestingly, Bernard of Clairvaux and later Thomas the Cistercian suggested that Christ himself was black—*Ipsa Christus niger fuit* [Christ himself was black]—not so clearly in the sense of posited skin color, but rather through the stain of human sin that he assumed; see Thomas Cisterciensis, *Cantica Canticorum*, Migne, PL, vol. 206, col. 73. As Hahn comments, "Christ bears 'the stigma of blackness' as a result of human sin, but also because of his humility and abjections, which furnish the model and incentive for all believers to acknowledge their blackness" (Hahn, "The Difference the Middle Ages Makes," p. 20).
 26. As David Goldenberg points out, this negative moral valuation was also present in the post-biblical Jewish tradition, in the Talmud and midrash; see "Racism, Color Symbolism, and Color Prejudice," pp. 94–5, and his earlier *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
 27. See Isaac, Ziegler, Eliav-Feldon, *Origins of Racism*, p. 16.
 28. Geraldine Heng, "The Romance of England," p. 163 n. 7.
 29. Cohen, "On Saracen Enjoyment," p. 116.
 30. To be recommended here as initial orientations are several articles that accompany *The Image of the Black in Western Art*: Jehan Desanges, "The Iconography of the Black in North Africa," in *From the Pharaohs to the Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: William Morrow, 1976), 2:246–68; and "Mediterranean Christians in Contact with Blacks and Muslims," in *From the Early Christian Era to the "Age of Discovery"* (1979), 2:84–119. And more specifically on medieval literature and the evolving construction of the idea of Muslims as generically black: Brummack, *Die Darstellung des Orients*, pp. 155–63 and Friedman, *The Monstrous Races*, p. 64.
 31. Hahn, "The Difference the Middle Ages Makes," p. 6. He notes further: "Though color seems never to have been a prime term of abuse among Croats, Bosnians, Serbs, Gypsies (Romany), and Jews, these diverse groups clearly thought of themselves as enmeshed in racial conflicts, and race remains an essential tool in exploring the warfare and the identity politics that lay behind the hostilities" (p. 9).
 32. Hahn, "The Difference the Middle Ages Makes," p. 9.

33. In an appendix to his study of the legal relations between Christians and non-Christians in the late Middle Ages, for instance, James Muldoon noted that no comprehensive study of medieval racism had yet been carried out and cautioned against the assumption of the existence of *modern* racism in the Middle Ages; *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250–1550* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), pp. 159–60. The collection of essays edited by Eliav-Feldon, Isaac, and Ziegler, *The Origins of Racism in the West*, on premodern European racism provides a model of investigative rigor for the issue.
34. Lisa Lampert, “Race, Periodicity, and the (New-)Middle Ages,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 65 (2004): 396 [391–421].
35. Robert Bartlett, “Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001): 39 [39–56].
36. Joseph Ziegler, “Physiognomy, Science, and Proto-Racism 1200–1500,” in *The Origins of Racism*, p. 198 [200–216].
37. See Benjamin Isaac, “Racism: A Rationalization of Prejudice,” *passim* on the “logical and presumed scientific grounds” (p. 56) of ancient racism.
38. Goldenberg, “Racism, Color Symbolism, and Color Prejudice,” pp. 4–5.
39. Steven A. Epstein, *Purity Lost: Transgressing Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000–1400* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), especially p. 183.
40. Hahn, “The Difference the Middle Ages Makes,” p. 26.
41. Benjamin Isaac, Joseph Ziegler, and Miriam Eliav-Feldon, “Introduction,” in *The Origins of Racism*, p. 4 [1–31].
42. See, especially his “Racism: A Rationalization of Prejudice,” pp. 32–4.
43. “[L]a valorisation, généralisée et définitive, de différences, réelle ou imaginaires, au profit de l’accusateur et au détriment de sa victime, afin de légitimer une agression ou un privilège”; Albert Memmi, *Le Racisme*, rev. ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), p. 193.
44. “eine Annäherung des Dichters an das Rassenproblem”; Eberhard W. Funcke, “Agelstern Mal (Parz. 748, 7): Zur Begegnung Parzivals mit dem heidnischen Bruder,” *Acta Germanica* 17 (1984): 13 [11–19].
45. Marion E. Gibbs, *Wíplíchez wíbes reht: A Study of the Women Characters in the Works of Wolfram von Eschenbach* (N.P.: Duquesne University Press, 1972), p. 88.
46. Susann T. Samples, “Belacane: Other as Another in Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzival*,” in *On Arthurian Women: Essays in Memory of Maureen Fries*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and Fiona Tolhurst (Dallas: Scriptorium, 2001), pp. 187–8 [187–98].
47. Ebenbauer, “Es gibt ain mörynnē,” p. 26, and “die Mohren des ‘Parzival’ sind zwar *nach der helle gevar*, aber sie sind nicht als Mohren, sondern als Heiden Gefährten der Hölle” (p. 27).
48. “Neger (vermutlich hat der Dichter nie einen zu Gesicht bekommen) waren Menschen wie alle, nur eben schwarz, nicht mehr und nicht

- weniger. Die entscheidende und hier zu besprechende Differenz lag dagegen in ihrem Heidentum"; Funcke, "Agelstern Mal," p. 14.
49. Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p. 263.
 50. Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p. 272.
 51. Southern, *Western Views*, p. 14.
 52. Southern, *Western Views*, p. 25.
 53. Paul Kunitzsch, "Die Arabica im 'Parzival' Wolframs von Eschenbach," in *Wolfram-Studien II*, ed. Werner Schröder (Berlin: Schmidt, 1974), pp. 9–35; Paul Kunitzsch, "Die orientalischen Ländernamen bei Wolfram (Wh 74, 3ff.), in *Wolfram-Studien II*, ed. Werner Schröder (Berlin: Schmidt, 1974), pp. 152–73; Paul Kunitzsch, "Erneut: Der Orient in Wolframs 'Parzival,'" *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 113 (1984): 79–111.
 54. The reason for which, he suggests, is that such research has in large part been conducted by non-Orientalists who themselves have no more access to Arabic and Persian sources than did Wolfram, or on the other hand by trained Orientalists who have little understanding of the mechanisms by means of which Oriental knowledge was transmitted to Europe in the Middle Ages and the use of that knowledge by Europeans; Kunitzsch, "Die Arabica," pp. 9 and 11.
 55. Kunitzsch, "Die Arabica," pp. 13 and 19; "ein bloßes Wortgeklingel ohne jeden näheren geographischen oder historischen Anknüpfungspunkt" ("Die orientalischen Ländernamen," p. 173); the subsequent citations in the text are "Wo die Kenntnis gut zugänglicher, weit verbreiteter Fakten und Namen so schwach repräsentiert ist, wird man ein für allemal davon Abstand nehmen müssen, nach intimeren Zusammenhängen mit verborgenen Subtilitäten fernster orientalischer Mystik, Philosophie oder Glaubenslehre zu suchen" ("Die Arabica," p. 35); "Bei der Aufklärung von Wolframs Orientelementen hat man strikt von den europäischen Orientkenntnissen in seiner Zeit und Gegend auszugehen. Er lebte ja in Mitteldeutschland und hatte keine eigene direkte Berührung mit orientalischen Dingen. Alles, was er über den Orient weiß, mußte ihm also aus westlichen Quellen, die bis zu seiner Zeit vorlagen, zugeflossen sein" ("Erneut," p. 79).
 56. As opposed, for instance, to the Latin translations of Arabic translations of ancient Greek learning.
 57. In *Parzival*, the narrator mentions that Belakâne, whose subjects in Zazamanc are black and Muslim (17, 25), has seen white Muslims (*lichtel* [] *heiden* 29, 5).
 58. Bertau, *Wolfram*, p. 243.
 59. Ed., Karl Bartsch (Vienna: Braumüller, 1869; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1969). Ulrich von Eschenbach [*sic*], *Alexander*, ed. Wendelin Toischer (Tübingen: Literarischer Verein Stuttgart, 1888; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1974), ll. 19,944; 19,147; 20,022. This same motif—the presentation of blacks as a gift—also appears in the *Kaiserchronik*, ed. Edward Schröder,

- MGH, *Deutsche Chroniken*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895; rpt. Dublin: Weidmann, 1969), ll. 14,056 and 14,232.
60. de Weever, *Sheba's Daughters*, p. xvii.
61. "Die Mohren mögen zwar edel, ritterlich, sogar christlich sein, eine exponierte weibliche Heldin und Liebende ist aber doch weiß. Sie wird—gegen traditionelle ethnographische Gegebenheiten—'umgefärbt'"; Ebenbauer, "Es gibt ain mörynnē," p. 29.
62. While the (probably Romance-language) etymology of the name is not clear, for the southern German Wolfram, the name would have resonated as "little Arab."
63. See Annette Gerok-Reiter on the dual secular-religious nature of the Muslim Arabel's transformation into the Christian Gyburc; "Die Hölle auf Erden: Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Weltlichem und Geistlichem in Wolframs 'Willehalm,'" in *Geistliches in weltlicher und Weltliches in geistlicher Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Christoph Huber, Burghart Wachinger and Hans-Joachim Ziegeler (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), pp. 173–4 [171–94].
64. Spiewok, "Die Bedeutung," p. 676.
65. On the Christian conception of Muslims as necessarily sexual depraved, see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 135–61. Rana Kabbani places this ungoverned sexuality in the larger context of imperialistic conquest: "In order to justify such servitude forced upon a people, this kind of narrative stressed the conspicuous cruelty, the lechery, or the perversity of the natives. . . . The forging of racial stereotypes and the confirmation of the notions of savagery were vital to the colonialist world view"; in *Europe's Myths of Orient* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 4.
66. *Heroes and Saracens*, p. 211. Daniel there also observes: "The converted Saracen is not disloyal, because his god has freed him of all obligation in failing him."
67. Amy G. Remensnyder, "Christian Captives, Muslim Maidens, and Mary," *Speculum* 82 (2007): 662 [642–77].
68. Sharon Kinoshita, "'Pagans are Wrong and Christians are Right': Alterity, Gender, and Nation in the *Chanson de Roland*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001): 92 [80–111]. Benjamin Z. Kedar finds clear evidence for multidirectional conversion in the Crusader kingdoms of the eastern Mediterranean, although the numbers involved are quite small: in the Frankish Levant, "on the fringes of Frankish society there was some interfaith mobility, which we cannot measure accurately by the sources at our disposal, but the existence of which cannot be questioned"; see "Multidirectional Conversion in the Frankish Levant," in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Muldoon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), p. 196 [pp. 190–9]; repr. [with the same pagination] in *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant: Studies in Frontier Acculturation* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2006).

69. Among the large and growing body work on the topic of the eroticization of the colonized woman, see the anthologized essays in the section "Theorizing Gender," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), which are to be recommended for their own merits and for their excellent bibliographies enabling access to pertinent publications: Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse," pp. 196–220; Jenny Sharpe, "The Unspeakable Limits of Rape: Colonial Violence and Counter-Insurgency," pp. 221–43; Sara Suleri, "Woman Skin Deep: Feminism and the Postcolonial Condition," pp. 244–56; Mae Gwendolyn Henderson, "Speaking in Tongues: Dialogics, Dialectics and the Black Woman Writer's Literary Tradition," pp. 257–67.
70. Bumke, *Wolfram*, p. 53.
71. *Quaestiones super "De animalibus,"* ed. Ephrem Filthaut, *Opera Omnia* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1955), 12.271.
72. Letter four, to Heloise, J.T. Muckle, ed., "The Personal Letters Between Abelard and Heloise," *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953): 85 [47–94].
73. Hahn, "The Difference the Middle Ages Makes," pp. 23–4.
74. See also Lofmark, "Das Problem des Unglaubens," p. 407. On the constructed sensuality of Muslims, see Rana Kabbani's chapter "Lewd Saracens," in *Europe's Myths of Orient*, pp. 14–36. Lynn Ramey points out other moral issues in the character of Orable/Guibourg in the French Guillaume romance tradition: while she is positive in some texts, in others her image is far less so: she marries Guillaume although he tortures and kills her two children by Thibaut, her Muslim husband; in another texts she is said to have thrown one of her sons by Thibaut from the ramparts. Such elements were eventually excised from the central narrative tradition (Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre*, p. 42).
75. "Das Klischee von der erotischen Aktivität schwarzhäutiger Menschen hat also eine lange Tradition. In der mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur wird es differenziert: die verführerische Mohrin und der sexualaggressive Mohr. Daß diese Differenzierung mit der patriarchalen Struktur der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft zusammenhängt, wird man annehmen dürfen. Zugleich aber läßt sich festhalten: Das Vorurteil, das "die farbigen Männer einer extremen sexuellen Potenz und die farbigen Frauen der Schamlosigkeit" zeugt, ist nicht (nur)—wie oft vermutet wurde—durch soziale Spannungen und Rassenschranken zu erklären, die Wunsch- und Angstphantasien, die sich hier ausdrücken, scheinen nicht aus Herrschafts- und Unterdrückungsstrukturen ableitbar. Ein soziales Negerproblem hat es im mittelalterlichen Europa wohl nicht gegeben. Wo immer die Wurzeln für dieses Vorurteil liegen mögen, sie liegen "tiefer." Und die Klischees sind so konstant..."; Ebenbauer, p. 41. See recently, Peter Biller, "Black Women in Medieval Scientific Thought," *Micrologus* 13 (2005): 477–92.

76. On the “foreign-ness” of Belakâne, see David F. Tinsley, “The Face of the Foreigner in Medieval German Courtly Literature,” in *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 45–70.
77. As with Feirefiz, conversion, and thus erasure of the primary aspect of Muslim cultural identity, must precede marriage. As Bertau points out, “Es scheint auch für Wolfram zu gelten: Außerhalb des richtigen Glaubens gibt es kein Recht” [It seems valid also for Wolfram: outside the true faith there is no law/justice]; *Wolfram*, p. 244.
78. On the function of tears in medieval epic, see Lydia Miklautsch, “Waz touc helden säh geschrei? Tränen als Gesten der Trauer in Wolframs Willehalm,” *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 10 (2000): 245–57.
79. See here Lofmark: “mere poetic baptism does not suffice” (“eine nur poetische Taufe genügt nicht”); “Das Problem des Unglaubens,” p. 400), and Bumke’s more traditional view of the significance of this pseudo-baptism (*Wolfram von Eschenbach*, p. 52): “that her purity of virtue makes her inwardly a Christian (28, 14) is the highest praise for a heathen woman” (“Daß ihre Tugendreinheit sie innerlich zur Christin macht (28, 14), ist das höchste Lob für eine Heidin”). Muslims can thus apparently be conceived as virtuous only insofar as that virtue is expressed as a counterfeit approximation of an idealized Christian behavior.
80. Where race does not, incidentally, appear as an issue.
81. Furthermore, as noted above, Gahmuret actively dislikes bestowing a kiss of greeting on the black wife of Belakâne’s marshal (20, 24–26); Belakâne fears that Gahmuret may be put off by her color (22, 8–9); the unmistakable physical desire of both Belakâne and Gahmuret already noted is inscribed in the tradition of the sensuality of the Other.
82. Attempts to identify the actual historico-geographical sites of action in Wolfram’s fictions can, for obvious reasons, hardly be successful; cf. Hermann Goetz’s attempt to identify Wolfram’s fictionalia on the basis of historical realia: “Der Orient der Kreuzzüge in Wolframs ‘Parzival,’” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 49 (1967): 1–42. See nonetheless Marianne Kalinke’s astute extrapolation that Gahmuret traverses the entire Muslim world from Spain to Persia “apparently without benefit of languages other than his native tongue, to judge by Wolfram von Eschenbach’s silence in this matter”; “The Foreign Language Requirement in Medieval Icelandic Romance,” *Modern Language Review* 78 (1983): 850 [850–61]; see also Kathryn Starkey, “Traversing the Boundaries of Language: Multilingualism and Linguistic Difference in Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Willehalm*,” *German Quarterly* 75 (2002): 20–34.
83. Funcke notes that behind the narrator’s fascination with the exotic beauty of Belakâne’s black skin there constantly lurks *die barbarische Zote* [the barbaric dirty joke]; “Agelstern Mal,” p. 15.
84. “Was ihn wegtreibt, ist das Verlangen nach Ritterschaft (54, 19f.) . . . Er hinterläßt seiner Frau einen Brief, in dem er ihr *vorlügt*, daß er sie verlassen habe, weil sie eine Heidin sei” (*Wolfram*, p. 53, italics mine).

85. "Zum einen wird dadurch das Prologthema schwarz-weiß = Hölle-Himmel wieder aufgenommen, das wie ein Rahmen um die Parzivalhandlung gelegt ist und erst zum Schluß in Feirefiz' Taufe, eine Lösung findet. Zum anderen ist die Argumentation für Gahmuret sehr bequem: nach mittelalterlicher Auffassung war die Ehe mit einer Heidin ungültig und konnte ohne weitere Formalitäten aufgelöst und beendet werden"; Bumke, *Wolfram*, p. 54.
86. "das wahre Motiv seines Handelns, indem er es ohne Notwendigkeit ablehnt" ("Es gibt ain möryne," pp. 21–3).
87. Eva Parra Membrives, "Alternative Frauenfiguren in Wolframs *Parzival*: Zur Bestimmung des Höfischen anhand differenzierter Verhaltensmuster," *German Studies Review* 25 (2002): 40, 44 [35–55].
88. In fact the terms themselves are infrequently mentioned by scholars. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship has generally accepted the medieval tenet noted above, governing interfaith marriage, and thus ignored Gahmuret's transgressive bigamy. Spiwok recognizes it as *Doppelehe* [double marriage] ("Die Bedeutung," p. 680). Blake Spahr calls Gahmuret "a cad, a vain show-off, and a profligate spendthrift," in addition to "a womanizer, a liar, and a deceiver," while also enigmatically claiming that he is "within his legal rights in deserting this Heathen" [i.e., Belakâne]; see Blake Lee Spahr, "Gahmuret's Erektion: Rising to Adventure," *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht, deutsche Sprache und Literatur* 83 (1991): 403–13. Eva Parra Membrives and Klaus Kirchert put the name to the deed, the former designating Gahmuret's state as *Bigamie* [bigamy] ("Alternative Frauenfiguren," p. 38), while Kirchert labels the marriage of Willehalm and Gyburc in Wolfram's *Willehalm* (while she is still married to her Muslim husband) as "Gyburg's Ehebruch" [Gyburc's adultery]; "Heidenkrieg und christliche Schonung des Feindes: Widersprüchliches im *Willehalm* Wolframs von Eschenbach," *Archiv* 231 (1994): 268 [258–70].
89. Ebenbauer, "Es gibt ain möryne," p. 24, notes the similarity in the deaths of Dido and Belakâne as abandoned women. Membrives also astutely characterizes both Belakâne and Dido as effective rulers who welcome, passionately love, and resupply property-less, indigent (but aristocratic) men, before being abandoned by them ("Alternative Frauenfiguren," p. 39). She also notes the utter absurdity of the depicted inferiority complex of Belakâne, the beautiful, wealthy, noble, courtly ruling queen who fears that she may not be good enough for the property-less second-son and homeless knight, Gahmuret (42). Her insecurity can only be understood as a reflection of her own internalization of the Christian valuation of race/religion and participation in her own Otherizing.
90. As she makes explicit after having read Gahmuret's farewell letter: "frouwe, wiltu toufen dich, / du maht ouch noch erwerben mich. / Des engerte se keinen wandel niht. / 'ôwê wie balde daz geschiht!" (56, 25–8) ["Lady, if you will be baptized, / you may also still win me." / She did not wish it otherwise. / "Alas, how quickly that would happen!"].

91. Eberhard Funcke employs another revealing metaphor for Repanse de Schoye as the means of drawing Feirefiz to the baptismal font: Wolfram has quite another *Trumpf* [trump]; in "Agelstern Mal," p. 15.
92. "seine komische Liebesraserei und die Burleske um seine Taufe lassen fast vergessen, daß diese Motive auch eine ernste Seite haben"; Joachim Bumke, "Parzival und Feirefiz—Priester Johannes—Loherangrin: Der offene Schluß des *Parzival* von Wolfram von Eschenbach," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 65 (1991): 242 [236–64].
93. Henry Kratz, *Wolfram von Eschenbach's Parzival: An Attempt at a Total Evaluation* (Bern: Francke, 1973), pp. 541 and 572.
94. "An Feirefiz' Gestalt hat [Wolfram] offensichtlich seine Freude, ähnlich wie er Rennewart mit Wohlgefallen und Humor zeichnet"; Hans-Joachim Kopitz, *Wolframs Religiosität: Beobachtungen über das Verhältnis Wolframs von Eschenbach zur religiösen Tradition des Mittelalters* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1959), p. 189.
95. Hilda Swinburn, "Gahmuret and Feirefiz in Wolfram's Parzival," *Modern Language Review* 51 (1956): 196 [195–202].
96. Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, pp. 24–6.
97. On the liminality of the Muslim princess abducted to Europe, see de Weever, *Sheba's Daughters*, p. 188; see also Jacob Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). In quite a different context, Sharon Kinoshita suggests that converted Saracen queens may function as creative agents of change in literary texts, thus paralleling the liminal function as proposed by Turner's model and elaborated by Bhabha, as outlined in chapter two, above; see her "The Politics of Courtly Love: *La Prise d'Orange* and the Conversion of the Saracen Queen," *Romanic Review* 86 (1995): 275 [265–87].
98. Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre*, p. 63.
99. See Lofmark, "Das Problem des Unglaubens," pp. 404–05. The *Kaiserchronik* rarely passes up an opportunity to report the mass slaughter of Muslims: *Si sluogen in ainer luzelstunt / der haiden mër denne fünfzech tûsent* [they slaughtered in a short while more than fifty thousand heathens] (16676–7); later a hundred thousand die of thirst (16744), which makes the whole land stink of their corpses (16755–61).
100. Examples in *Willehalm* of Christians as *gotes soldiere* 19, 17 and assured of Heaven (14, 10) and of Muslims assured of Hell (20, 12; 38, 25), which delights Hell itself (38, 29); cf. Bumke, *Wolfram*, pp. 245, 247–8. In general on Holy War in the confrontation between Christendom and Islam, see *The Holy War*, ed. Thomas Patrick Murphy (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976), in the introduction to which Stanley Kahrl comments: "Certainly the holy war, as that term is now generally understood, appears to have been an invention of the West. Professor [W. Montgomery] Watt's paper ["Islamic Conceptions of the Holy War," pp. 141–56, in that same volume] makes it clear that the

- usual image of a horde of rabid Muslims sweeping all civilization before them in a war without quarter, a horde crying “Convert or die,” is, like so many faces of the enemy, a caricature. For such warriors one must go instead to the verses of *The Song of Roland* where Roland cries “Nos avom dreit mais cist gloton ont tort” — “We are right but these wretches are wrong” — as he splits a pagan warrior in half. The Jihād succeeded precisely because it was *not* that sort of a war” (p. 4).
101. See, for instance, Lofmark, “Das Problem des Unglaubens,” p. 409.
 102. The same motif is found in Heinrich von Neustadt’s *Apollonius von Tyrlant* (ca. 1300), where Garamant, the son of a mixed race/religion union is bi-colored. Nor is the motif without relation to similar situations beyond the German tradition: in the Middle English romance *The King of Tars*, a similar motif occurs, albeit with a significantly different twist: a Christian princess marries under duress a (provisionally) Muslim king in order to save her people from destruction; their child is born deformed, but is transformed into a healthy infant upon baptism; see J. Ritson, ed., *Ancient English Metrical Romances* (London 1802), and Judith Perryman, ed., *The King of Tars* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1980); Rana Kabbani summarizes the transformations in the *King of Tars* (*Imperial Fictions*, p. 16).
 103. Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, p. 47.
 104. Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, p. 48.
 105. 57, 27 and 748, 7. W.J. Schröder, for instance, suggests that Wolfram’s association of the magpie image with Feirefîz has no religio-ethical dimensions; *Der Ritter zwischen Welt und Gott: Idee und Problem des Parzivalromans Wolframs von Eschenbach* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1952), p. 231; and Henry Kratz comments that “it goes completely counter to Wolfram’s attitude toward the heathen to have him equate heathenism and sinfulness” (*Wolfram*, p. 572).
 106. Sidney M. Johnson comments on the genetic problems with Wolfram’s conception; see “Wolfram von Eschenbach and Medieval Genetics,” in *Blütezeit: Festschrift für L. Peter Johnson zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Mark Chinca, Joachim Heinzle, Christopher Young (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), pp. 384–5 [383–94]. Recently Walter Haug has reexamined the long tradition of scholarly interpretations of the magpie image, but without accounting for Wolfram’s in-corporation of the image in Feirefîz, except to suggest (as have others before him) that there is humor involved; see Walter Haug, “Das literaturtheoretische Konzept Wolframs von Eschenbach: Eine neue Lektüre des ‘Parzival’-Prologs,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 123 (2001): 211–29.
 107. See Elisabeth Schmid, “Priester Johann oder die Aneignung des Fremden,” in *Germanistik in Erlangen. Hundert Jahre nach der Gründung des Deutschen Seminars*, ed. Dietmar Peschel (Erlangen: Universitätsbund, 1983), pp. 75–93. On Feirefîz’s siring of Prester John, Joachim Bumke suggests: “Now it becomes clear that actual redemptive-historical

significance inheres in the baptismal farce in Munsalvæsche, insofar as it initiates the Christianization of the Orient" ("Jetzt wird deutlich, daß der Taufburleske in Munsalvaesche geradezu heilsgeschichtliche Bedeutung zukommt, insofern sie die Christianisierung des Orients einleitet"; Bumke, "Parzival und Feirefiz," p. 244). Far from a positive image of conversions, such a racist and sexualized travesty of baptism as an initiator of a significant phase of redemptive history (the conversion of Asia) seems a cultural suture through which one glimpses the ideological hollowness of the entire enterprise.

108. Otto von Freising, *Historia de duabus civitatibus*, 7.33; ed. A. Hofmeister, *MGH Scriptores (SS) rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (1912), pp. 365–7. On the Prester John phenomenon in general, see Robert Silverberg, *The Realm of Prester John* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972); Vsevolod Slessarev, *Prester John: The Letter and the Legend* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959); and the text collection in Friedrich Zarncke, ed., *Der Priester Johannes*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1876–1879). Most recently see Bettina Wagner, *Die "Epistola presbiteri Johannis" lateinisch und deutsch* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000).
109. Marco Polo, *Il Milione*, cap. lxiv ff. On Marco Polo's representation of the episode, see John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 86. Polo also represents Kubilai Khan as a potential convert to Christianity, who, as a Christian Great Khan of the Mongol Empire, would likely have outdone all other conceptions of the Prester John legend. Beyond Polo's suggestion, however, there is no evidence that Kubilai Khan ever contemplated conversion.
110. Francis M. Roger, *The Quest for Eastern Christians: Travels and Rumor in the Age of Discovery* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962).
111. Pastre calls it a *marque* or *signe* of the essence of his being, or even the "stigmata of his affiliation/relation" ("stigmatas de sa filiation"; "Les Marques," pp. 235–40).
112. The text is edited by Franz H. Bäuml, *Kudrun: Die Handschrift* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969), here st. 580–5.
113. Ebenbauer astutely remarks concerning the racial requirements for marriage partners: "Neger mögen alle Vorzüge und Tugenden haben, ein Ehepartner soll aber doch wohl weiß sein" "Blacks may possess all excellent traits and virtues, but a spouse should really be white"; "Es gibt ain möryenne," p. 29. On this issue, see also my *Brides and Doom: Gender, Property and Power in Medieval German Women's Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), p. 190.
114. On this motif, see Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, pp. 198–9. See also Fritz Peter Knapp, *Rennewart: Studien zu Gehalt und Gestalt des "Willehalm" Wolframs von Eschenbach* (Wien: Notring, 1970), and Carl Lofmark, who suggests that Wolfram would have included Rennewart's marriage in the epic's missing conclusion; in *Rennewart in Wolfram's Willehalm: A*

- Study of Wolfram von Eschenbach and his Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
115. Or be expelled, as was Feirefiz, even after conversion and marriage.
 116. On Rennewart's absence from the poem's conclusion, which Sylvia Stevens posits as fragmentary, see her *Family in Wolfram von Eschenbach's Willehalm: mîner mâge triwe ist mir wol kuont* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), pp. 161–7.
 117. Gabriele L. Strauch, "Incorporating Arab Sources in the Reading of Middle High German Crusade Epics," *Von Otfried von Weîßenburg bis zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1991), p. 18.
 118. Strauch, "Incorporating Arab Sources," p. 21; citing Said, *Orientalism*, p. 60.
 119. In the present context, I bracket the enormously complex and problematic issues of the territorial (not cultural) integration and representation of European Jews by Christians, that complexity depending not least on the fact that for the millennium before the Holocaust, European Jewish populations were indeed *European*, however marginalized culturally they were by the majority population.
 120. Conventionally, scholarship on the texts claims that Willehalm's battles against the Muslims constitute a *bellum iustum* in the Augustinian sense, since he is fighting a defensive war against foreign aggressors and defending the faith and the faithful from annihilation, which quite deemphasizes the fact that it was his own invasion of Muslim home territory and kidnapping of the king's daughter that prompted the Muslim *re-action*; see, for instance, J.A. Hunter, "Wolfram's Attitude to Warfare and Killing," *Reading Medieval Studies* 8 (1982): 101 [97–114].
 121. With astonishing frequency Colón repeats this claim in the logbook of the first voyage, e.g., 27 November 1492: "And later the benefits will be known and efforts will be made to make all these people Christians, because it will be done easily, for they have no cult nor are they idolaters" ("y despues se sabran los beneficiços y se trabajara de hazer todos estos pueblos christianos porque de ligero se hara: porque ellos no tienen secta ningua ni son Idolatras"); for Saturday 22 December: "these people are disposed to become Christian" ("aqueellos pueblos an de ser christianos por la voluntad"); *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1493–1493*, ed. Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), p. 182 (fol. 29v) and 264 (fol. 43v) [abbreviations expanded]. See also the comment by Cabeza de Vaca: "And we told them by signs, so that they would understand us, that in Heaven there is a man whom we call God, who had created Heaven and Earth, and that we worshipped him and held him to be our Lord and did what he commanded us, and that all good things come from his hand, and that if they did likewise, things would go very well for them. And so great did we find their predisposition to this that if there had been a language in which we could have communicated perfectly, we could have converted them

all to Christianity” (“Y diximosles por las señas, porque nos entendían, que en el cielo avía un hombre que llamávamos Dios, el cual avía criado el cielo y la tierra, y que éste adorávamos nosotros y teníamos por Señor y que hazíamos lo que nos mandava y que de su mano venían todas las cosas buenas, y que si ansí ellos lo hiziessen, les iría muy bien dello. Y tan grande aparejo hallamos en ellos, que si lengua oviera con que perfectamente nos entenderíamos, todos los dexáramos christianos”); in Trinidad Barrera, ed., *Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: Naufragios* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1985), p. 154; cf. also Enrique Pupo-Walker, “Pesquisas para una nueva lectura de *Los Naufragios* de Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca,” *Revistas Iberoamericana* 53 (1987): 517–39. The fact that neither Colón nor Cabeza de Vaca could actually communicate with the Americans putatively eager for metamorphosis did not diminish their confidence in the accuracy of their interpretations.

5 Wolfram von Eschenbach, Gyburg, and Tolerance

1. *Willehalm*, in *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, ed. Lachmann, st. 306–10.
2. “[W]eiblich, mütterlich, zärtlich, liebevoll und gleichzeitig auch stark, tapfer, mutig und kampfbereit, sie liebt und leidet, ist schuldbeladen und erlösungsfähig, kurz: sie ist *officina omnium*, ist Mensch im umfaßendsten Sinn, ist—*HOMO MEDIETAS*”; Claudia Brinker-von der Heyde, “Gyburg—*medietas*,” in *Homo medietas. Aufsätze zu Religiosität, Literatur und Denkformen des Menschen vom Mittelalter bis in die Neuzeit. Festschrift für Alois Maria Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Claudia Brinker-von der Heyde and Niklaus Largier (Bern: Lang, 1999), p. 351 [337–51].
3. See David O. Neville, “Giburc as Mediatrix: Illuminated Reflections of Tolerance in Hz 1104,” *Manuscripta* 40 (1996): 111 [96–114] on the manuscript illumination in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hz 1104. See also Lynn Tarte Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre*, p. 43, on Muslim women as opposed to Christian women in *chanson de geste*: “She could be a powerful woman in the text precisely because she was in reality already on the margins of society. The link between her liminal status and her power is manifest.”
4. Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History,” *The National Interest* (Summer 1989): 3–18; see also Perry Anderson’s examination of the broad range of reaction on the part of Cold Warriors to the end of the Soviet era, in “The Ends of History,” in *Zones of Engagement* (London: Verso, 1992), pp. 279–375.
5. Among the many pertinent examinations of these issues in recent decades, there is a variety of interesting contributions in the special issue of the *Monthly Review* devoted to the topic: “In Defense of History: Marxism and the Postmodern Agenda,” ed. Ellen Meiksins Wood and John Bellamy Foster, 47/3 (July–August 1995), especially the essays by Wood, “What Is the ‘Postmodern’ Agenda? An Introduction,” pp. 1–12 and Terry Eagleton, “Where do Postmodernists Come From?” pp. 59–70.

6. Generally the progressive site is in fact more recent chronologically, although sometimes a more complex concept of cultural history enables one to view, for instance, the quasi medieval absolutist serf-state of nineteenth-century Russia as a legitimate site of comparison with the proto-capitalist communes of renaissance Northern Italy in the thirteenth century.
7. It should be noted, incidentally, that in my argument *against* the construction of Wolfram's tolerance, I do not by any means assume or argue *for* intolerance as an intrinsic component of historical German culture. Incidentally, in the course of her brief plot summary of *Parzival*, Suzanne Conklin Akbari seems to imply that in my essay "Race, Representation, and Metamorphosis," I, too, advocate Wolfram's "tolerance," suggesting that she has perhaps not actually seen the essay (*Idols in the East*, p. 193n).
8. "Neu ist im Heidenbild des 'Willehalm' der Verzicht auf die übliche Schwarz-Weiß-Malerei. Zum Erstenmal wird die Welt der Andersgläubigen nicht einfach verteufelt, sondern als ein Bereich eigenen Rechts und eigener Ordnungen außerhalb des Christentums gesehen und anerkannt" (*Wolfram*, p. 250).
9. "Die Begriffe 'Humanität' und 'Toleranz,' auf Wolframs Dichtung angewendet, sind gelegentlich mit Verbotsschildern versehen worden. [...] Solche Verbotsschilder schmücken die Wege der deutschen Literaturgeschichte etwas zu reichlich und erleichtern nicht gerade die Verbindung von einem Ort zum andern. Daß ein Mensch des Mittelalters nicht genau den Bewußtseinsstand der Aufklärung erreicht hat, brauchte doch wohl nicht eigens betont zu werden. Und daß 'Humanität' auch von Zeitgenossen in recht verschiedenem Sinn gebraucht und verstanden wird, sollte man gemerkt haben. Wie nahe aber Wolfram in den Geschichten Parzivals und Willehalm's und der Gyburg an Einsichten herangeführt wurde, mit denen u.a. auch Lessing rang, das sollte man sehen und aussprechen dürfen, sogar als bestallter deutscher Literaturhistoriker"; Wolfgang Mohr, "Willehalm," in *Wolfram von Eschenbach* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1979), pp. 323–4.
10. "Wolfram ist kein moderner Denker, aber er hat mitgewirkt an dem 'langen Prozeß, in dem sich das moderne Denken herausbildete,' dessen, konstitutive Momente schon im Hochmittelalter präformiert wurden"; Joachim Heinze, "Die Heiden als Kinder Gottes: Notiz zu 'Willehalm,'" *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 123 (1994): 301 [301–08], quoting Günther Mensching, *Das Allgemeine und das Besondere. Der Ursprung des modernen Denkens im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1992), p. 11.
11. Lofmark, "Anti-Crusade Feeling," p. 27.
12. Werner Schröder, "Christliche Paradoxa in Wolframs *Willehalm*," *Euphorion* 55 (1961): 90 [85–90]: "Auch Giburc ist nur Sprachrohr des Dichters"; Walter Haug, "Parzivals *zweifel* und Willehalm's *zorn*. Zu Wolframs Wende vom Höfischen Roman zur *Chanson de geste*," *Wolfram-Studien* 3 (1975): 217 [217–31]: "die sogenannte Toleranzrede Gyburgs vermittelt—darüber besteht weitgehend Einigkeit—die Position des

- Dichters"; see also Klaus Kirchert, "Heidenkrieg," pp. 258–9. John Greenfield and Lydia Miklautsch provide an overview of the scholarship on Gyburc's speech (as unacknowledged advocates of the tolerance thesis), in *Der "Willehalm" Wolframs von Eschenbach* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 133–7.
13. Neville, "Giburc as Mediatrix," p. 103; Helmut de Boor, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, II: *Die höfische Literatur: Vorbereitung, Blüte, Ausklang, 1170–1250* (Munich: Beck, 1979; 1994), p. 120.
 14. "Die geistige Richtung des Willehalm ist dieselbe wie im Parzival. Der ritterliche Humanismus und Toleranzgedanke ist auch hier die leitende Lebensansicht, ja, er ist noch stärker ausgeprägt, da er einen wichtigen Grundzug sowohl der gesamten Handlung als auch des inneren Lebens bildet. Denn hier gruppiert sich alles um den Kampf zwischen Heidentum und Christentum, zwischen Glauben und Unglauben. Die zwei Welten treten sich hier unmittelbar in ihrem Dualismus gegenüber, aber dieser Dualismus ist gemildert, wird aufgelöst, indem das Heidentum keine verworfene Masse ist, sondern voll und ganz gültig wird. Humanitas, menschliche Würde, sind in jeglicher Menschennatur anerkannt, Barmherzigkeit wird auch gegen den Andersgearteten und Andersgläubigen geübt, der Mensch wird im Menschen erkannt. So ist Humanität hier der Ausdruck wahrer, ursprünglicher Menschlichkeit. . . . Dieses Bild greift Wolfram schon im Parzival auf, mit größerem Nachdruck, als es je vorher geschah, betont er die Gleichberechtigung der Heiden, die sogar die Ungläubigkeit jetzt durch ihren inneren Wert wettmachen können"; Kurt Schellenberg, "Humanität und Toleranz bei Wolfram von Eschenbach," *Wolfram Jahrbuch* [ed. Wolfgang Stammeler], 1 (1952), pp. 18 and 21 [9–27].
 15. Carl Lofmark, "Das Problem des Unglaubens in *Willehalm*," pp. 399–414.
 16. Jean-Marc Pastre, "L'image du Sarrasin," p. 262: "On est loin de la notion de tolérance qu'on a voulu parfois mettre en avant pour définir l'attitude de Wolfram."
 17. Alois Haas, "Aspekte der Kreuzzüge in Geschichte und Geistesleben des mittelalterlichen Deutschlands," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 46 (1964): 200–201 [185–202]: "Die Rede von mittelalterlicher 'Toleranz', die sich immer wieder an diese deutsche Chanson de geste knüpft, verwässert eher den Sachverhalt als daß sie ihn klärt. . . . Aber auch das ist *nicht* Toleranz, sondern 'theologische' Reflexion eines ritterlichen Laien. . . ."
 18. H.B. Willson, "The Symbolism of Belakâne and Feirefiz in Wolfram's *Parzival*," *German Life and Letters* n.s. 13 (1959): 103 [94–105].
 19. Were we concerned with a field besides medieval studies, where "theory," even in its pre-post-structuralist mode, has yet to become the standard intellectual equipment of all practitioners, we might simply point to the explication of the "intentional fallacy" several generations ago by various schools of formalist criticism. In his brief, witty and irreverent

- history of Anglophone literary studies, Terry Eagleton usefully elucidates formalism's exposition of the "intentional fallacy," as well as situating *that* school's critical ideologies in the larger context of phenomenology and hermeneutics; *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), pp. 17–90.
20. As J.A. Hunter notes: "Wolfram may well have Konrad's *Rolandslied* in mind, for the phrase *alsam ein vihe* evokes the world of the *Rolandslied*, where the heathens are slaughtered like cattle precisely because they are heathens. Wolfram clearly knew Konrad's poem and in certain respects he has composed in *Willehalm* an 'anti-*Rolandslied*'"; in "Wolfram's Attitude to Warfare and Killing," p. 113, n. 33.
 21. "Orat. in conc. Claramont. hab.," in Migne, PL, 151:565d.
 22. "De laude nov. mil.," cap. III, Migne, PL, 182:924a/b. See also Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 23.
 23. Cathrynke Dijkstra and Martin Gosman, "Poetic Fiction and Poetic Reality: The Case of the Romance Crusade Lyrics," *Neophilologus* 79 (1995): 20 [13–24]; see also M. Gosman, "La propagande de la croisade et le rôle de la chanson de geste comme porte-partole d'une idéologie non officielle," *Actes du XIe Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals* (Barcelona 1990), 1:291–306; see also Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, pp. 4, 10, 215–17.
 24. Cf. the bull, *Inter Omnia Quae* in P. Jaffé, ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2 vols. (Graz 1956), I, no. 11637 (7771).
 25. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, eds., *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, 2 vols., 36th ed. (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1977), 99, 18–20; hereafter abbreviated references as MF.
 26. MF 87, 25–8.
 27. 5, 3–4; Ulrich Müller, ed., *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985), p. 34.
 28. "Qui saubes dar tant bon conseil denan," pp. 4, 3; Müller, pp. 75–8.
 29. Werner Schröder, "Die Hinrichtung Arofels," *Wolfram-Studien* 2 (1974): 219–40.
 30. James A. Rushing, Jr., "Arofel's Death and the Question of Willehalm's Guilt," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 94 (1995): 478–80 [469–82].
 31. Gerhard Meissburger in fact wishes to characterize Gyburg as a saint; in "Gyburg," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 83 (1964): 64–99. Werner Schröder is also at pains to sanctify her as the suffering *sueziu* "benevolent, gracious, kind, meek," while retaining her status as *liebender und leidender Mensch* [loving and suffering human being]; in "Süeziu Gyburg," *Euphorion* 54 (1960): 39–69.
 32. Karl Bertau notes, as have few others: „One should not forget: when Gyburg speaks in favor of protection for the heathens, she is speaking in favor of her relatives" ("Man darf wohl nicht vergessen: Als Gyburg für Schonung der Heiden spricht, spricht sie für ihre Verwandten"); in

- Wolfram von Eschenbach: Neun Versuche über Subjektivität und Ursprünglichkeit in der Geschichte* (München: Beck, 1983), p. 253.
33. David A. Wells, "Religious Disputation Literature and the Theology of *Willehalm*: An Aspect of Wolfram's Education," in *Wolfram's "Willehalm": Fifteen Essays*, ed. Martin H. Jones and Timothy McFarland (Woodbridge, England: Boydell and Brewer, 2002), p. 148 [145–65].
 34. Wentzlaff-Eggebert (*Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 254) points out that Guillaume delivers no Crusader speeches in the Old French source text, *Aliscans*; Willehalm's are all invented by Wolfram.
 35. Cf. *Das Nibelungenlied*, ed. Helmut de Boor, 21st ed. (Wiesbaden: Brockhaus, 1979), st. 921–4 and 1509–10; *Kudrun*, expanded 5th ed. Karl Stackmann (Wiesbaden: Brockhaus, 1980), st. 1386, 1–2. On this conventional, gender-based behavior, see my *Brides and Doom*, pp. 109 and 210.
 36. Kirchert, "Heidenkrieg," p. 259; Christopher Young, "The Construction of Gender in *Willehalm*," in Jones and McFarland, *Wolfram's "Willehalm*," p. 268 [249–69]; Martin Przybilski, "Giburgs Bitten: Politik und Verwandtschaft," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 133 (2004): 49–60.
 37. Kirchert, "Heidenkrieg," p. 262.
 38. Marion Gibbs, *Wîplîchez wîbes reht: A Study of the Women Characters in the Works of Wolfram von Eschenbach* (n.p.: Duquesne University Press, 1972), pp. 61–2.
 39. Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 6.10., ed. I. Fraipont and Donatien de Bruyne, *Corpus Christianorum*, ser. lat. 33 (Turnhout: Brépols, 1958), pp. 318–19.
 40. Rushing, "Arofel's Death," p. 480; Hunter, "Wolfram's Attitude to Warfare," p. 101.
 41. Indeed Mireille Schnyder suggests that with Willehalm and Gyburg "the religious war becomes a playful battle of love" ("der Glaubenskrieg wird zum spielerischen Liebeskampf"); see her "*manlîch sprach daz wîp*. Die Einsamkeit Gyburcs in Wolframs *Willehalm*," in *Homo medietas*, p. 519 [507–20].
 42. Kirchert identifies Arabel's crossing to Europe as an *Entführung* [abduction] ("Heidenkrieg," p. 268).
 43. "Es scheint auch für Wolfram zu gelten: Außerhalb des richtigen Glaubens gibt es kein Recht"; *Wolfram*, p. 244.
 44. In 218 and 331, 27–30, in addition to the instance in her speech to the troops.
 45. "[I]n der Tat keine weitere Stelle, die für die Gotteskindschaft der Heiden spricht, und ebenfalls keine, nach der einer, der die Taufe abgelehnt hat, gerettet werden könnte"; Lofmark, "Das Problem des Unglaubens," p. 404. Since Heinzle ("Die Heiden," pp. 304–05) maintains that Gyburc advocates Muslims as *gotes kint*, then one might expect that his acknowledgement of the narrator's opposing opinion would force an admission that the determination of Wolfram's own personal opinion was no longer

- transparent. But Heinze's project in this article is a rear-guard action against the devastating argument of Lofmark and Fritz Peter Knapp's note supplemental to it: "Die Heiden und ihr Vater in den Versen 307, 27f. des 'Willehalm,'" *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 122 (1993): 202–07. He seeks not to refute their arguments but rather to discredit them professionally, especially by questioning their academic credentials and invoking *die gute alte Philologentradition* [the good old philological tradition]. Christoph Fasbender provides a valuable critique of Heinze's position; in "Willehalm als Programmschrift gegen die 'Kreuzzugsideologie' und 'Dokument der Menschlichkeit,'" *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 116 (1997): 16–31.
46. "In 'Willehalm' werden auch die Heiden in die Gotteskindschaft einbezogen: das ist das Neue" (*Wolfram*, pp. 248–9).
 47. Mergell, *Wolfram von Eschenbach und seine französischen Quellen*, p. 1. Teil, *Wolframs Willehalm* (Münster 1936), p. 122; Bumke, *Wolfram*, pp. 248–9.
 48. Knapp: "[W]iderspricht kirchlicher Lehre" ("Und noch einmal," p. 301); Lofmark: "Von einer universalen Gotteskindschaft ist hier nicht die Rede" ("Das Problem des Unglaubens," p. 401); Knapp remarks: "Wer Lofmark in dieser Frage grundsätzlich widersprechen will, hat allein die Beweislast zu tragen" and further notes that Bumke's earlier more nuanced treatment of this issue is compressed in the synthesis of the *Sammlung Metzler* volume into the statement just quoted, which, he plausibly conjectures, will be adopted by a generation of students and scholars as the unreflected orthodoxy, as has indeed happened ("Die Heiden," p. 203).
 49. Spiewok, "Die Bedeutung des Kreuzzugserebnisses," p. 681.
 50. "Même élèves au rang de princes civilisés, il manque aux Sarassin la dimension chrétienne: malgré les vœux de Gyburc, ils connaîtront pour la plupart les flammes de l'Enfer, eux qui se battirent et moururent exclusivement pour l'amour des dames et qui, n'étant pas nés du bon côté, ne pouvaient comme les croisés gagner par leur mort le salut de leur âme"; "L'image," p. 265.
 51. This is a phenomenon on which numerous scholars have remarked; cf. for instance, Haas, "Aspekte," p. 200 and Gabrielle Strauch, "Incorporating Arab Sources," p. 21.
 52. "Die Zeitgenossen Wolframs kannten ihn nicht als einen humanen Aufklärer, der das Heidentum toleriert hätte, sondern als einen frommen Christen.... Wolfram meint nicht, daß die Taufe überflüssig sei und daß Gott auch Ungetaufte retten wird. Er weiß sehr wohl, daß den Ungetauften die Hölle bestimmt ist; deshalb ist er besorgt um sie und möchte sie von ihrem Unglauben abbringen"; "Das Problem des Unglaubens," p. 412.
 53. Heinze, "Die Heiden," 305. Matthias Lexer lists uses of the phrase in several contemporary texts; *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* I: 1576. Fritz Peter Knapp calls attention to the use by the Middle High German

- poet Freidank of concepts similar to those here attributed to Gyburc: *Got hat dr̄ter slahte kint, / daz kristen, juden, heiden sint* “God has three types of children, who are Christians, Jews, and heathens” (v. 10, 17–18); in “Und noch einmal: Die Heiden als Kinder Gottes,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 129 (2000): 296–302. John D. Martin points to other similar passages in Freidank (cf. v. 6, 11ff.), Hugo von Trias, and the *Gesta Romanorum*; in “Christen und Andersgläubige in Wolframs ‘Willehalm,’” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 133 (2004): 45–8. He suggests that Freidank equates the three categories “in a theological sense that has to do with creation but not salvation” (“in einem schöpfungstheologischen ... aber nicht in einem soteriologischen ... Sinn,” 47). On Gyburc’s speech, he claims that Muslims are called “children of God” only in the sense that they are God’s creations (48). See also Knapp, “Die Heiden und ihr Vater,” 209, and Heinze, “Noch einmal: die Heiden als Kinder Gottes in Wolframs Willehalm,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 117 (1998): 75–80.
54. Lofmark, “Das Problem des Unglaubens,” 404; see also on this interpretation, among others, Ralf-Henning Steinmetz, “Die ungetauften Christenkinder in den ‘Willehalm’-Versen 307, 26–30,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 124 (1995): 151–62.
 55. Knapp, “Die Heiden,” 206.
 56. Timothy McFarland, “Giburc’s Dilemma: Parents and Children, Baptism and Salvation,” pp. 127, 132, 135, 141 [121–42] in Jones and McFarland, eds., *Wolfram’s ‘Willehalm’: Fifteen Essays*.
 57. “in ihrer menschlichen Vollkommenheit..., sondern allein in der Tatsache, daß die Taufe die einen in eine Gemeinschaft mit Gott aufgenommen hat, die ihren Kampf bestimmt und ihren Tod überdauert, während die anderen trotz aller irdischen Tugenden dem Tod und der Hölle verfallen sind”; *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 251.
 58. W.J. Schröder, “Toleranzgedanke und Gotteskindschaft im Willehalm,” in *Festschrift für Karl Bischoff zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Günter Bellmann, Günter Eifler, and Wolfgang Kleiber (Cologne/Vienna: Böhlau, 1975), pp. 405–07.
 59. Rushing, “Arofel’s Death,” 481; Christine Ortmann: “Jedenfalls ist nicht die Schonung des Gegners, schon gar nicht ‘Toleranz’ gemeint”; in “Der utopische Gehalt der Minne: Strukturelle Bedingungen der Gattungsreflexion in Wolframs Willehalm,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 115 (1993): 103 [86–117]; Gibbs, *Wipflichez wibes reht*, p. 63; J. A. Hunter, “Wolfram’s Attitude,” 99.
 60. Lofmark, “Das Problem,” 410, especially the examples cited in n. 20.
 61. In addition to the examples cited by Lofmark, in 462, 21 and 465, 19.
 62. Haas, “Aspekte,” 200–201.
 63. “Aber, und das ist entscheidend, die *werdekeit* der heidnischen Helden wird in keiner Weise in Frage gestellt, im Gegenteil, sie wird bei jeder Gelegenheit eigens vermerkt und gefeiert”; Haas, “Aspekte,” 200–201.
 64. Hunter, “Wolfram’s Attitude,” 105.

65. Kirchert, "Heidenkrieg," 270.
66. Cf. Pastre: "This passage, which belongs to the final ones of the epic, provides us with the key to Wolfram's attitude—the respect for Saracens insofar as they are close relatives of Gyburc, Willehalm's wife" ("Ce passage, qui appartient aux tous derniers vers du roman, nous fournit le maître mot de l'attitude wolframienne—le respect des sarrasin en ce qu'ils sont proches parents de Gyburc, femme de Willehalm"); "L'image," 263.
67. This move seems structurally parallel to the quasi-banishment of Feirefiz to "Asia" as the agent of Christian missionizing of that continent at the conclusion of *Parzival*, albeit obviously with different *heilsgeschichtliche* [redemptive] consequences.
68. Those exceptions were often green-skinned, horny-skinned, cow-voiced: as found in Wolfram's mustering of the Muslim army at the first battle (35, 3—36, 4); the troops of King Gorhant from the Ganges have horn—instead of skin—covered bodies and have non-human voices like hunting hounds or a mother cow (36). See above, chapter four, on the "noble heathen," who is sometimes not black or anatomically monstrous.
69. This feature may be a reference to Islam's prohibition of alcohol as well as to the common motif of fermented beverages as a sign of culture as opposed to nature; or perhaps it is simply a harbinger of the common later Eurocentric notion that "primitives" are by nature drunkards.
70. Bertau, *Wolfram*, pp. 248–50. A Muslim priest also appears in the pavilion of the embalmed Muslim kings after the second battle (464, 11).
71. Spiewok, "Die Bedeutung des Kreuzzugerlebnisses," 679.
72. Strauch, "Incorporating Arab Sources," 18.
73. See Lofmark on these standard precedents for the treatment of Muslims in Middle High German literature; in "Das Problem des Unglaubens," 404–05.
74. As noted above, the one potential exception, Rennewart, in *Willehalm* significantly *disappears* from the narrative instead of converting, dying or leaving Europe.
75. Kathleen Biddick remarks—concerning Spain—that "[h]istories of tolerance (*convivencia*) among Christians, Muslims, and Jews are . . . achieved by excluding the ambivalence and hostilities inherent between and across texts and communities"; see her "Coming Out of Exile: Dante on the Orient(alism) Express," *American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 1238 [1234–49]; rpt. in Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, pp. 35–52.

6 Walther von der Vogelweide, Crusader Lyric, and the Discourse of the Muslim Other

1. Dijkstra and Gosman, "Poetic Fiction," 13.
2. Paul Zumthor, *Parler du Moyen Age* (Paris: Minuit, 1980), p. 44; noted by Cathrynke Th. J. Dijkstra, "Les Chansons de croisade: Tradition versus

- subjectivité,” in *Literary Aspects of Courtly Culture*, ed. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 1994), p. 95 [95–103].
3. Dijkstra and Gosman, “Poetic Fiction,” 14.
 4. Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972), pp. 113–16.
 5. Elizabeth Siberry, “Troubadours, Trouvères, Minnesingers and the Crusades,” *Studi Medievali* 29 (1988): 43 [19–43].
 6. Dijkstra and Gosman, “Poetic Fiction,” 14. Several anthologies of crusade lyrics have been collected and published by modern scholars, among them: Joseph Bédier and Pierre Aubry, eds., *Chanson de croisade* (Paris: Champion, 1909); Maurice Colleville, ed., *Les chansons allemandes de croisade en moyen haut allemand* (Paris: Didier, 1931); and Ulrich Müller, ed., *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985).
 7. “Poeme ... die in der Mehrzahl ihrer Strophen oder Verse mit direkten und/oder indirekten Appellen an ein Kollektiv der Wehrfähigen und/oder an einzelne Herrscher, z/T. auch mit dem Exempel der Kreuznahme eines oder mehrerer Herrscher oder eines Dichters oft in Parallele zu Kreuzpredigt zur Kreuzfahrt aufrufen”; Peter Hölzle, *Die Kreuzzüge in der okzitanischen und deutschen Lyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts. Das Gattungsproblem “Kreuzlied” im historischen Kontext* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1980), 1:101–03.
 8. At the other extreme seems the question by Dijkstra and Gosman as to whether lyric, in which extra-textual reference is so limited (as opposed to epic, historiography, and sermons), becomes necessarily propagandistic at the mere mention of the Crusades (“Poetic Fiction,” 20).
 9. Silvia Ranawake, “Walther von der Vogelweide und die Trobadors: Zu den Liedern mit Kreuzzugsthematik und ihrem literarischen Umfeld,” *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 236 (1999): 3 [1–32].
 10. Friedrich Oeding, *Das altfranzösische Kreuzlied* (Braunschweig: Hans Oeding, 1910), p. 10.
 11. Dijkstra and Gosman, “Poetic Fiction,” 18 and 22.
 12. Dijkstra, “Les Chansons de croisade,” p. 96. Dijkstra/Gosman point out that the Crusade lyrics demonstrate the multifunctionality “of medieval formal, stylistic and thematic elements” (“Poetic Fiction,” p. 13).
 13. Cited from Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, pp. 109–11.
 14. See, e.g., Rubin’s “Ich wil urloup von friuden nemen” (Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, pp. 95–6).
 15. “die allgemeine Unlust der nordalpinen, besonders der deutschen Fürsten und Ritter an dem riskanten, zeitraubenden, kostspieligen Unternehmen. Es herrschte in den 20er Jahren allenthalben eine große Kreuzzugsmüdigkeit”; Ferdinand Urbanek, “Rhetorischer Disput im Dienste staufischer Kreuzzugspolitik: Zu Walthers Spruch vom ‘drier slahte sanc,’” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 67 (1993): 243 [221–51]; and Ernst Kantorowicz, *Kaiser*

- Friedrich II*, 6th ed. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980), pp. 128–30. See also Lofmark, “Anti-Crusade Feeling,” and P.A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1940), and S. Runciman, “The Decline of the Crusading Idea,” in *X. Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, Roma 4–11 Settembre 1955. Relazioni* (Florence 1955), III (*Storia del Medioevo*), pp. 637–52.
16. Lofmark remarks: “Repeated failure, and growing doubts as to divine approval and support of the crusader’s cause, now combined with a new respect for a brave enemy that kept defeating him in battle and was acquiring a high reputation for chivalry” (“Anti-Crusade Feeling,” p. 23). Dijkstra/Gosman point out that Crusader panegyrics tend to disappear after the death of Louis IX (“Poetic Fiction,” p. 14).
 17. “In allen Gruppen findet man mit großer Leichtigkeit sowohl in den Texten selber als auch in deren Auslegungen bei Hölzle deutliche Anzeichen von einer “Problematisierung des Kreuzzuges, wenn nicht gar latente Kreuzzugskritik” (Hölzle, *Die Kreuzzüge*, 1:194), die von Propaganda gar nicht die Rede sein läßt”; William E. Jackson, “Das Kreuzzugmotiv in Reinmars Lyrik,” *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 43 (1993): 145 [144–66]; here also the citation of Hölzle’s argument.
 18. Jackson, “Das Kreuzzugmotiv,” p. 145: “übergreifende[n] Charakter der Kreuzzugsbegeisterung.”
 19. *Criticism of Crusading 1095–1274* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), p. 199.
 20. *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 101.
 21. *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. Edmond Faral and Julia Bastin, 2 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1959), 1:476, ll. 157–60 and 193–6.
 22. Even so, we should note, it is possible for the poet to construct such a character and opinion as potentially plausible.
 23. See Lofmark, “Anti-Crusade Feeling,” p. 31.
 24. Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, pp. 114–15). *Bafomet(z)* is an Old French corruption of the name Muḥammad. *Melicadefer* = Baibars الملك الظاهر ركن الدين بيبرس البندقداری *al-Malik uḏ-Zāhir Rukn ud-dīn Baybars ul-Bunduqdāri* (1223–77) was a Kipchak Turk who rose to be the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt and Syria and defeated Louis IX of France in the Seventh Crusade (1250) and Edward I of England in the Ninth Crusade (1271).
 25. Lofmark, “Anti-Crusade Feeling,” pp. 29 and 20.
 26. William Jackson’s essay is particularly useful on such issues: “Das Kreuzzugmotiv,” especially p. 163. Another aspect of the oppositional lyrics has to do with complaints voiced by poets about those who find excuses for not keeping their vows to go on Crusade; cf., for instance, Friedrich von Hausen and Heinrich von Rugge; *MF* 53, 31; 98, 38–99, 3; and *MF* 180, 28; cf. Lofmark, “Anti-Crusade Feeling,” p. 20.
 27. The text in Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, pp. 96–9. One is reminded of the common usage of U.S. veterans of the invasion of Vietnam who referred to life in the United States as “the world,” as in “When I get back to the world ...”

28. See Wentzlaff-Eggerbert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 132.
29. For the biographical interpretation and the identification (on that basis) of which poets were Crusaders, see especially Elizabeth Siberry, "Troubadours, Trouvères, Minnesingers and the Crusades," *Studi Medievali* 29 (1988): 20–36 and Jackson, "Das Kreuzzugmotiv," p. 20.
30. "la possibilité d'une subjectivité personnelle," Dijkstra, "Les Chansons de croisade," p. 99.
31. Elizabeth Siberry's observation—"if one accepts certain qualifications, the poems of the troubadours can provide a useful source for lay attitudes towards the crusading movement"—assumes the relevance of this developed discourse ("Troubadours, Trouvères, Minnesingers and the Crusades" p. 42).
32. Dijkstra and Gosman, "Poetic Fiction," p. 20.
33. Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, pp. 29–32; Wentzlaff-Eggebert notes that the Crusader songs of the *Carmina Burana* date from the period before the Second Crusade (*Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 53).
34. Debra Strickland indicates how Saladin was portrayed negatively as often as positively in contemporary documents: sometimes as a noble, cultured, and worthy enemy, and other times as a "follower of Antichrist"; see her *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, p. 242.
35. The quasi-theoreticians of the Crusades took the fact that it was in Palestine that Jesus lived as a basic tenet of their argument for the Christian right to possession of the land. Bonizo of Sutri (d. 1090–1091), for instance, claims that since that land was hallowed through Christ's life there, it then legally belonged to the Church, and thus its defense as Church property was justified: *quod qui extra ecclesiam sunt, nullo iure bona ecclesiae possidere possidere* [because those who are outside the Church cannot rightly possess the property of the Church]. Pope Urban II claimed that Muslims' mere presence defiled Christian holy sites *in quo Jesus Christus pro nobis passus est* [where Jesus Christ died for us]; ("Orat. in conc. Claramont. hab.," in Migne, vol. 151, p. 565 d; see Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, pp. 4 and 9–10.
36. While Wentzlaff-Eggebert attends briefly to this poem (*Kreuzzugsdichtung*, pp. 161–3), primarily in support of his notion that there is a distinct change in attitude toward Islam in the century following the First Crusade, significantly he does not cite or comment on the lines here quoted, thus effectively eliminating all textual evidence that Muslims were still being construed as the enemies of God and Christianity and thus deserving of annihilation.
37. "überall ist in seinen Kreuzzugsstrophen der Atem der Zeit spürbar"; *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 237.
38. Walther's poems are here cited from the edition by Christoph Cormeau, *Walther von der Vogelweide. Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), identified by his numeration (here: C), but for convenience in comparison with older scholarship, I also include the identifying numeration from Karl Lachmann's edition (L): *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*

- (Berlin: Reimer, 1827); 13th ed. by Hugo Kuhn (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965). In addition to the Crusade poems named above, see also the “Erster Philippston” C9,IV/L19, 29; and “Unmutston, Zweiter Ottenton” C12,XI/L36, 1. Konrad Burdach also makes a strong case for revising the scholarly conception of Walther’s “Elegie” and reclassifying it, too, as a call to Crusade; in “Walthers Aufruf zum Kreuzzug Kaiser Friedrichs II,” *Euphorion* 36 (1935): 50–68; rpt. in *Walther von der Vogelweide*, ed. Siegfried Beyschlag (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), pp. 117–39. The dating of the “Aufforderung zum Kreuzzug” is unclear, as is then whether it was written in response to the catastrophe of 1204 or concerning the Crusade of Friedrich II in 1227–8; Volker Ladenthin has shown that there are Romance models for this kind of *Ritterschelte* that also incorporate elements of Crusade sermon; in “Schelte, Vision und Belehrung. Walther von der Vogelweide 13, 5,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 101 (1983): 96–7. It is then not surprising that Walther refers with some frequency to the Crusades in his poems. The textual tradition of these poems, as of much of *Minnesang*, is troubled, with the ordering of stanzas, their grouping into distinctly identifiable poems under individual titles, and even the authenticity of stanzas disputed by various scholars. Among the many discussions of such issues over the course of generations, see, recently, Günther Schweikle, ed., *Walther von der Vogelweide, Werke, Gesamtausgabe* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1998), p. 789; and Manfred Günter Scholz, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999), pp. 160–9. The poems discussed here are quite complex and have been thoroughly studied by successive generations of Germanists from a variety of perspectives. In the brief remarks here I do not intend either to ignore that body of work or to “correct” it. My purpose is quite distinct from that of the majority of scholarly work on Walther’s Crusade poems: it is a tactical analysis that focuses strictly on the issue at hand, that is, on what ideological basis does the poems’ address of issues pertinent to the Crusades rest? And thus what mode of discourse is employed to address those issues?
39. In the “Kaiser Friedrichston” (“Rich, hêrre, dich und dine muoter, megde kint” C3, II/L10, 9), again, the assumption surfaces that the Muslims are evil and enemies of Christ. But there the speaker of Walther’s poem introduces quite an interesting twist: it is not just Muslims who oppose Christ and do so openly, but some Christians also do so both secretly and in league with Muslims; both deserve Christ’s wrath.
40. Ladenthin reads the poem against the background of Crusade sermon even in its argumentative structure of *narratio, exhortatio, privilegia*, but ultimately denies that it paraphrases that genre or offers *politische oder kirchliche Propaganda* [political or ecclesiastical propaganda]; in “Walthers Kreuzlied 76, 22 vor dem Hintergrund mittelalterlicher Kreuzpredigten,” *Euphorion* 77 (1983): 71 [40–71]. Wentzlaff-Eggebert lists the ten basic items of content in Crusader sermons: (1) the land that Christ sanctified with his life and passion is in danger; (2) God’s omnipotence can also help now; (3)

- only the one who takes the Cross now can stand his ground at the final judgment; (4) God is testing Christians now; now Christians have the opportunity to distinguish themselves; (5) Christians owe everything to God; now they must repay his mercy with their service; (6) God let his son suffer death for humans, who must then be true to him even unto death; (7) Crusaders gain for themselves and their dependents eternal bliss; (8) the day of redemption has dawned for all Crusaders; (9) everyone who can and will must take the Cross; (10) all dependents are under the protection of the church; Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 43.
41. "Das Anrecht auf das Heilige Land"; Franz Viktor Spechtler, "Der Leich, Lieder zum Thema Heiliges Land und Kreuzzug, 'Alterslieder,'" in Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hahn, Ulrich Müller, Franz Viktor Spechtler, and Sigrid Neureiter-Lackner, eds., *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche-Werk-Wirkung* (Munich: Beck, 1996), p. 212.
 42. This line is transmitted in none of the manuscripts in anything like this conventionally reconstructed form; see Cormeau's notes.
 43. Spechtler, "Der Leich," p. 212: "Religion und Politik bzw. Religion im Dienste der Reichspolitik sprechen aus dem Text."
 44. As Wolfgang Haubrichs pointed out some forty years ago ("Grund und Hintergrund").
 45. *Chanson de Roland*, l. 1015. Elizabeth Siberry introduces an interesting notion: that a Crusade to decide possession of Palestine was depicted in Crusade epic as a tournament between Heaven and Hell, in which God called on his friends to help him. Palestine was depicted as Christ's patrimony, the loss of which dishonored God; *Criticism of Crusading*, p. 29.
 46. Cited from Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 22.
 47. Spechtler, "Der Leich," p. 212: "Allerdings in einer Zeit, in der ein Kaiser nicht eroberte, sondern mit den Juden und "Heiden" (Muslimen) verhandelte. Der Kaiser war mit seinem Toleranzgedanken der Zeit und auch dem Dichter und dessen europäischem Publikum weit voraus."
 48. "Gegen biographistische Mißverständnisse braucht man heute nicht mehr anzusprechen. Das *ich* hat zunächst zweifellos den Status einer literarischen Rolle"; in "Zu den *ich*-Aussagen in Walthers Minnesang," in *Walther von der Vogelweide. Hamburger Kolloquium 1988 zum 65. Geburtstag von Karl-Heinz Borck*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller and Franz Josef Worstbrock (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1989), p. 95 [95–104]. Wolfgang Haubrichs likewise rejects the biographical interpretation: in "Grund und Hintergrund in der Kreuzzugsdichtung. Argumentationsstruktur und politische Intention in Walthers *Elegie* und *Palästinalied*," in *Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft*, ed. Heinz Rupp (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1977), p. 33 [12–62]. Surprisingly, however, in his pedagogical introduction to the works of Walther, Hermann Reichert rather surprisingly imagines several modes of interpreting the personal vision of the Holy Land by the speaker of the "Palästinalied," all of them involving Walther's actual participation in Crusade; in *Walther von der Vogelweide für Anfänger* (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1992), pp. 173–5.

49. George F. Jones, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (New York: Twayne, 1968), p. 127.
50. See the discussion by Karl Bertau, "Das Recht des Andern," pp. 241–3 and 246–8, who refers here to Rainer Christoph Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz: Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1977); and Tinsley, "Mapping the Muslims." Likewise, both Rüdiger Schnell and John D. Martin have identified other texts that suggest the possibility of Muslims attaining Heaven by means of divine grace. See Rüdiger Schnell, "Die Christen und die "Anderen." Mittelalterliche Positionen und germanistische Perspektiven," in *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten Kongressakten des 4. Symposions des Mediävistenverbandes in Köln 1991 aus Anlass des 1000. Todesjahres der Kaiserin Theophanu*, ed. Peter Schreiner and Odilo Engels (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993), pp. 185–202; and John D. Martin, "Christen und Andersgläubige," pp. 45–8.
51. Jones, *Walther*, p. 125. Bizarrely, however, in praising Walther's "tolerance," Jones himself chooses to refer to Muslims as "heathens" and "Mohammedans."
52. Jones, *Walther*, p. 125.
53. Wentzlaff-Eggerbert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. iv; and: "die entscheidende Wendung zur Toleranz" (p. 218).
54. Lib. III, c. 1, 2 and 1, 4; Migne, *PL*, vols. 182, 759, 760.
55. His arguments become more impressionistic, indeed dithyrambically and dizzily propagandizing, as the book progresses; see especially *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, pp. 134–5.

7 A Twelfth-Century Paradigm Shift?

1. Vladimir P. Goss, "Preface," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 1986), p. 10; Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927).
2. Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 167.
3. As Walter Berschin indicates, "In the twelfth century, Spain was fully oriented toward Arabic science.... The early translators from Arabic in Spain were interested exclusively in the natural sciences"; Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: from Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, rev. ed. trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1988), pp. 236–7.
4. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 287–8.
5. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, p. 282.
6. Nikita Elisséeff, "Les échanges culturels entre le monde musulman et les croisés à l'époque de Nūr ad-Dīn b. Zankī (m. 1174)," in Goss, *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, p. 43 [39–52].
7. Joshua Prawer, "The Roots of Medieval Colonialism," in Goss, *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, p. 30 [23–38].

8. Praver, "The Roots," pp. 29 and 32. There was not even any interest in the native Christian population, who were treated as aliens and whose clergy was rejected altogether.
9. Praver, "The Roots," pp. 32 and 30.
10. See Praver, "The Roots," p. 35.
11. Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), p. 2.
12. The astonishingly destructive consequences of this conquest of Constantinople were determinative of its remaining two-and-a-half centuries of existence as a Christian city: when the troops of Mehmet II breached the Theodosian walls in 1453 and entered the vast intramural and depopulated territory of the city, what they found consisted in large part of farms, orchards, and pastures among the rubble left by the Crusaders.
13. Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, p. 236.
14. Michael Frassetto, "The Image of the Saracen as Heretic in the Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes," in Blanks, p. 83 [83–96].
15. *Origins of Racism*, p. 22.
16. *Origins of Racism*, p. 23.
17. Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 171.
18. In the world of Western European literature, ironically, Christian armies with very few exceptions defeat Muslim armies (even if there are occasional temporary setbacks), unlike in medieval history, where, outside of Spain, Christians armies were almost always defeated by Muslim armies.
19. Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 133–4.
20. Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 168–9. Daniel J. Vitkus also points to the concrete consequences of the discourses of the Muslim Other in European texts: they "are also 'real' in the sense that any such representation has a material and ideological impact as a historical phenomenon: it is a mode of perception that shapes the way people think and therefore the way they act"; see "Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe," in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 207–08 [207–30].
21. See Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 19–20, 70, 110.
22. Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 70.
23. Tolan, *Saracens*, p. xxi.
24. Tolan, *Saracens*, p. xxi.
25. Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, p. 3.
26. *Aucassin et Nicolette*, ed Jean Dufournet (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1973); *Le Conte de Floire et Blanche-flor*, ed. Jean-Luc Leclanche (Paris: H. Champion, 1983).
27. Philippe Sénac comments on the Muslim Queen Bramimonde in the *Chanson de Roland*: "In changing religion, she transforms: she is assigned a new name. The chasm has been traversed. Bramimonde the Christian

- is no longer of interest. Silence can cover her" ("En changeant de religion, elle se métamorphose: un nouveau nom lui et attribué. Le fossé a été franchi. Bramimonde chrétienne n'a plus d'intérêt. Le silence peut la recouvrir"); *L'image de l'autre: histoire de l'occident médiéval face à Islam* (Paris: Flammarion, 1983), p. 92.
28. Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre*, p. 102.
 29. Comfort, "The Literary Rôle of the Saracens in the French Epic," *PMLA* 55 (1940): 659 [628–59].
 30. Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Muslim Conversion in Canon Law," in *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of Medieval Canon Law, Berkeley 1980*, ed. S. Kuttner and K. Pennington (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985), pp. 321–32; repr. in *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 1993), essay # XIV. See also Muldoon: "This careful arrangement of rights suggests the similar use of hierarchy of rights in marriage law, the so-called Pauline Privilege. By the terms of that privilege, if one of the partners in a marriage converts to Christianity while the other remains an infidel, the marriage ought to remain binding. If, however, the infidel partner interferes with the religious practice of the Christian, the Christian partner can leave the infidel spouse and legitimately remarry, even though the first marriage was a valid one in the eyes of the Church. In both cases, the spiritual welfare of the Christian is superior to the natural-law rights of a ruler or spouse" (*Popes, Lawyers and Infidels*, p. 13).
 31. Cf. the marriage depicted in the *King of Tars*, discussed in chapter four, which in fact takes place between the (unconverted) Muslim king and a Christian bride. The necessary trajectory of such a narrative demands that Muslim metamorphosis and thus that the Muslim convert, which he then does in dramatic fashion.
 32. Ramey, *Christian, Saracen, and Genre*, p. 56.
 33. "Die aus der Wirklichkeit der Kreuzzüge übernommene genauere Kenntnis heidnischer Lebensweise und Kultur, besonders das Vorbild des ritterlichen Saladin, hatte die einheitliche höfische Ebene als Untergrund des Kampfes von Christen und Heiden ermöglicht"; *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, p. 273.
 34. "Das Erlebnis der arabischen Kultur zeitigte die Erkenntnis, daß die angeblich wilden und verworfenen Heiden als Feudalherren in Bildung, Haltung und Lebensweise ihren abendländischen Klassengenossen durchaus ebenbürtig, ja sogar überlegen waren, daß sie—auf Grund der fortgeschrittenen Entwicklung des orientalischen Feudalismus—in dieser Hinsicht einen Stand erreicht hatten, den die westeuropäischen Feudalherren erst anstrebten. Schließlich mußten die Kreuzritter entdecken, daß die verlästerten Heiden einem Glauben anhängen, der eine noch reinere Ausprägung des Monotheismus darstellte als selbst das Christentum, und daß sich dieser Glaube vom Christentum—wie infolge seiner christlichen Verwurzelung ganz natürlich—nicht grundsätzlich unterschied, wie es das Papsttum lehrte" ("Die Bedeutung des

- Kreuzzugserlebnisses,” p. 679). In his assumption that Islam derives from Christianity, Spiewok himself strays rather close to the medieval Christian construction of Islam as a heretical distortion of Christianity.
35. That is, the intellectual culture of what is now, very roughly, Great Britain, France, the Low Countries, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Italy.
 36. Southern, *Western Views*, p. 28.
 37. Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 189.
 38. Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran Cruz, “Popular Attitudes towards Islam in Medieval Europe,” in Blanks, *Western Views*, p. 64 [55–81].
 39. Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 87.
 40. Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 275. Incidentally, he here also makes clear his insistent distinction between fictive “Saracens” and actual Muslims, which cements that political connection between discourse and its effect on the lives of flesh-and-blood humans.
 41. Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, pp. 157–8.
 42. This same kind of social conditioning of what is comic versus what is offensive is a well-known phenomenon in the long history of racist depictions of blacks as humorous in the United States, in nineteenth- and twentieth-century German racist cartoons of Jews, and in recent years in a particularly destructive instance in the racist and religiously offensive cartoons of Muḥammad, published by the Danish *Jyllands-Posten* (30 September 2005), which led to international controversy, riots, and over a hundred deaths.
 43. Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 282.
 44. Blanks and Frassetto, *Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, p. 2. The essays by Gloria Allaire (“Noble Saracen or Muslim Enemy? The Changing Image of the Saracen in Late Medieval Italian Literature,” pp. 173–85) and Nancy Bisaba, Nancy (“‘New Barbarian’ or Worthy Adversary? Humanist Constructs of the Ottoman Turks in Fifteenth-Century Italy,” pp. 185–205) in that same volume provide useful and pertinent examinations of key aspects of the early modern issue.

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INDEX

- 'Abd ur-Rahmān 47–50
Abelard and Heloise 78
Aeschylus 21–4, 161–2, 171
Akbari, Suzanne Conklin 17, 21, 169
Albertus Magnus 78
Amazons 62–3, 75
Amin, Samir 19–20
Anderson, Benedict 20
Aucassin et Nicolette 35, 156
- baptism 79–82
Bernard of Clairvaux 105, 144
Bhabha, Homi 21, 41–2, 97
Biddick, Kathleen 20
biographical criticism 103–4
black race as characteristic of
 Muslims 34, 36, 40, 52–3, 60,
 64–71, 74–91, 100, 119, 162, 165,
 174, 184
Boswell, John 178
Bumke, Joachim 62, 78, 84, 86, 89,
 100, 112
- Cabeza de Vaca, Álvar Núñez 93,
 194–5
Carmina Burana 134–6
Chanson de Roland/Rolandslied 12, 29,
 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 61, 62, 85,
 87, 88, 90, 94–5, 104, 117, 120,
 139, 144, 156, 158, 163
Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome 20, 36, 67–8,
 174
Colón, Cristóbal (Columbus) 26, 93,
 194–5
- Comfort, William Wistar 157–8
conversion 25, 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38,
 42, 49, 56–8, 60, 61, 63, 64, 67,
 69, 70, 75–7, 79–82, 85, 87–8,
 90–4, 107, 110–11, 114, 118–21,
 131, 136, 144, 149–50, 156–8,
 163, 165
Crusades and Crusaders xiv–xvi, 8,
 11, 12, 25, 26, 27, 32, 33, 35,
 36, 40, 43, 44, 45, 53, 54, 55,
 56, 59, 64, 71, 74, 87, 88, 95, 97,
 101, 104, 105, 106, 109, 112–13,
 123–45, 150–3, 156–65
cultural extinction/erasure xv, 35,
 56–8, 63, 87, 120, 141
- Daniel, Norman 72, 75–6
David of Sassoun 172
- Eagleton, Terry 198
Ebenbauer, Alfred 79
European identity 25–6
- Floire et Blancheflor* 35, 156
Foucault, Michel 5
Freidank 201
- globalization 19
Grabar, Oleg 174
- Hahn, Thomas 67–8, 69
Hall, Edith 22–4
Haskins, Charles Homer 147, 148,
 150

- Heng, Geraldine 34, 36, 65–8, 71, 151
 Hoepfner Moran Cruz, Jo Ann 17, 160
 Holy War 25, 34, 65, 86, 88
 Hrotsvit von Gandersheim 8, 9, 40,
 46, 47–53, 72, 123, 161, 162
 “Dulcitius” 52–3
 “Pelagius” 47–53
- Iraq, war in 1–9
- Jameson, Frederic 29
- Kabbani, Rana 187–8
 Kedar, Benjamin Z. 157, 160
King of Tars 66, 91, 192
 Kinoshita, Sharon 76, 151–2, 155–6,
 158, 159, 160, 170, 191
Kudrun 91–2
 Kunitzsch, Paul 73
- liminality 40–3, 45, 86–7, 97, 99
 Liudprand of Cremona 48
Ludus de Antichristo 53–8, 135, 162–3
- Malory, Thomas 35
 Manuel Comnenus 90
 Marco Polo 90
 “Marvels of the East” 31, 64
 metamorphosis 35, 42, 43, 58, 59–95,
 156, 163
 Muldoon, James 24–6
- Neidhart von Reuenthal 132
- Otto I 48, 50
- de Palma, Brian, *Redacted* 1–9,
 40, 46
 periodization, historical 24–6
 plenary indulgence 104–5
 postcolonial theory 11–41
 Praver, Joshua 150
 Prester John 90, 193
- Qur’an 141, 148, 149, 154
- race and racism xii, xiii, 1, 4, 18, 21,
 40, 42, 60, 61, 65–74, 79, 82–4,
 89, 91, 119, 165
 Raguel (Spanish priest) 48–9
 Ramey, Lynn Tarte 32, 35, 38,
 39–40, 42, 87, 157–8
 Recemundus/Rabī’ ibn Zayd 48
 Remensnyder, Amy 76
 Ricaut Bonomel 130–1
 Rutebeuf 130
- Said, Edward 5, 12–16, 21–36,
 71–2, 134
 Saladin 134–6, 144, 158, 205
 Salimbene 130
 “saracen” 38–40
 Song of Songs 65–6
 Southern, R.W. 72, 159–60
 Spiewok, Wolfgang 27, 61, 75, 112,
 120, 158–9, 160
 Strickland, Debra Higgs 35, 160, 165
- Tolan, John 17, 31–2, 52, 144, 147–8,
 152–5, 160, 165
 tolerance xi, xii, 43, 52, 56, 58, 60,
 61, 94, 95, 97–122, 129, 139,
 140, 143–5, 163
 Turner, Victor 40–1, 86–7, 97
- Ulrich von Lichtenstein 127
- Vollmann-Profe, Gisela 55, 180
- Wallerstein, Immanuel 19–20
 Walther von der Vogelweide 8, 9,
 43–4, 124, 136–45, 162–4
 de Weever, Jacqueline 75, 182
 Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Friedrich-
 Wilhelm 55, 115, 137–8, 143–4,
 158, 160, 161
 William of Tyre 143, 150
 Wirnt von Grafenburg, *Wigalois* 34
 wiving/*Brautwerbung* 82
 Wolfram von Eschenbach xii, 8, 9,
 12, 29, 33, 34, 36, 43, 46, 59–61,

- 75–122, 123, 129, 139, 144, 156,
158, 161–4
Parzival 33–4, 43, 59–61, 76–95,
156, 157, 158, 163
Willehalm 12, 33–4, 43, 46, 59–61,
75, 76–7, 79, 88–9, 92, 94–5,
97–122, 144, 156, 158, 163
Wright, John 180