

Writing the Orient
Johannes Schiltberger's *Reisebuch* (1394–1427)

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Abstract

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This thesis is the first book-length study of Johannes Schiltberger’s *Reisebuch*, the German-language account of the Bavarian crusader’s approximately 30-year captivity and enforced travels in the Middle East under the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1403), the Turko-Mongolian warlord Timūr (r. 1370–1405) and his successors. It investigates the *Reisebuch*’s representation of the Orient. My reexamination of the manuscript and print transmission from c. 1450 to 1600 has shown that there were various versions of the *Reisebuch* in circulation, and I base my reading of the work on this basic multiplicity and variety. This variance is pertinent for a literary interpretation of the *Reisebuch* because the manifest narrative and material transformations go hand in hand with differing thematic foci, narratological and representational strategies, so that one can confidently contend each version of the *Reisebuch* negotiates a distinct relationship with the eastern ‘other’. I argue that the transmission diverges into three strands as (1) an abridged chronicle that emphasises the complexity of political and military relations in the East; (2) a proto-ethnographic account with a focus on religious diversity; and (3) six paratextual reconceptualisations of the *Reisebuch* as *Turcica* in early print. In short, my study engages with the transmission and transformation of material, on the one hand, and with the consequences of this creative process for cultural ideas, on the other: it asks what role ‘rewriting’ – deliberate and inventive adaptation – plays in the *Reisebuch*’s portrayals of the East. My thesis therefore provides not only the first in-depth reading of Schiltberger’s *Reisebuch* as a “medieval multi-text”¹ but highlights its representational process as multiple, polyvocal and dynamic.

¹ This term is used by Iain Macleod Higgins to indicate both the *inter*-textuality and *intra*-textuality common to the medieval travel account, namely the traveller’s “dialogic manner of overwriting his precursors and sources, but also [...] the ways in which the resulting text was itself rendered and rewritten” (Iain MacLeod Higgins. *Writing East: The ‘Travels’ of Sir John Mandeville*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997, p. viii).

Long Abstract

“Writing the Orient: Johannes Schiltberger’s *Reisebuch* (1394–1427)”. Friederike J. M. Wolpert, Somerville College. Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval & Modern Languages, Trinity Term 2016.

This thesis is the first book-length study of Johannes Schiltberger’s *Reisebuch*, a vernacular account first put to paper in c. 1450 that tells of the Bavarian’s approximately 30-year captivity as a foot soldier in the army of Bayezid I and – after the Ottoman sultan’s defeat at the Battle of Angora in 1402 – in the service of the Turko-Mongolian warlord Timūr, his sons and grandson. It provides the first analysis of the *Reisebuch*’s representation of the Orient that places the full multiplicity and variety in the work’s manuscript and print transmission from c. 1450–1600 at the centre of its investigation, arguing that this diversity is essential to a historically sensitive interpretation of the work’s portrayal of the East.

Chapter 1 describes the aims and methodology of my thesis. In this study, I expose how the book’s representation of the East operates, uncovering the *Reisebuch*’s particular structures, images and strategies of ‘othering’. In particular, I demonstrate how this representation is affected by the common premodern practice of rewriting: the *Reisebuch* repurposes elements from other travel accounts and is itself repeatedly adapted for new situations, audiences and in accordance with new ideas and ideals over the course of its circulation. This rewriting is both narrative and material, and it produces shifts in focus that significantly affect the depiction of eastern difference. I argue that the *Reisebuch*-transmission as a result diverges into three distinct strands as: (1) a proto-ethnographic account with a focus on religious diversity; (2) an abridged chronicle that emphasises the complexity of political and military relations in the East; and (3) in early print, six paratextual reconceptualisations of the *Reisebuch* as *Turcica*. With my thesis, I aim to encourage an awareness of this ongoing and dialogic transformation for the study of the *Reisebuch* by supplying a much-needed discussion of the rewriting that I assert is central not only to the work’s transmission history but also to its literary and cultural representations. My thesis thus augments analyses of the work to date, which have either not recognised the significance of these versions or not examined them extensively with respect to their different representational strategies.

The chapter outlines my theoretical approach to representations of the East and justifies why it is necessary both to heed the lessons of Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) as well as to broaden and partially complicate his representational model for an analysis of the *Reisebuch*’s portrayal of eastern difference that is mindful of the work’s specific (historical, textual, material) contexts and strategies. I discuss the

centrality of variety and polyvocality to medieval textuality, and I define rewriting as a creative process that is characteristic of premodern literature and vital to the *Reisebuch's* texts and transmission.

Further, I briefly address rewriting in premodern travel literature. I outline why evidence of the practice has been misinterpreted (if not totally ignored) in studies of travel writing and detail how my investigation fits into the contemporary research context that incorporates rewriting into a literary understanding of the genre for the premodern period. Specifically, I redress the persistent conviction that premodern travel texts that contain recycled and adapted material from other texts, and are themselves recycled and adapted in circulation, are as a result inauthentic or of inferior value as documents of travel and cultural encounter, a stance that results from a perceived contradiction between real experience, 'original' authorial telling and evidence of 'derivative' or non-authorial rewriting. I argue that a singular focus on authenticity – of voice or of authorial text – while appropriate in some research contexts should be revised for literary readings of premodern travel writing not only "weil damit die Traditionsgebundenheit der Mittel des literarischen Ausdrucks und Gestaltens verkannt wird" but also because the essential creativity of this rewriting is disregarded.¹ I contend that rewriting is not purely a narrative phenomenon but frequently involves significant material reworkings.

I go on to supply an overview of existing scholarship on the *Reisebuch* in order to illustrate how my study will – by examining the plurality of texts and voices in the travel book's surviving material witnesses – go further and contribute a truly differentiated reading of the work. I also provide a tabular summary of the *Reisebuch's* content and an indication of the narrative make-up of the three strands of the account's fifteenth- and sixteenth-century transmission. Instead of overlooking the material conditions of the book's production and transmission, I assert that a reading of the *Reisebuch's* representation of the East must remain sensitive to all these variations or risk a reductive conflation that ultimately obfuscates the divergence of text and point of view. The three body chapters address the *Reisebuch* versions in this light.

In chapter 2, I analyse the abridged version. I discuss the version's manuscript transmission, the significance of its inclusion in manuscript collections, and its particular representation of the Ottoman Turks and the Timūrids. I supply a close reading and place the narrative in its contemporary literary context. The chapter illustrates how Strasbourg BNU, ms. 2119 and St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 628 include the abridged version in two very similar collections that both support the *Reisebuch's* reworking as chronicle – as expressed by the version's focus on time in the form of dynastic succession – and interpret the text in the context of a world history: in these codices, the traveller's crusade and captivity are considered as part of a perennial and eschatological conflict with the Muslim 'other'. By contrast, the

¹ Gerhard Wolf. "Die deutschsprachigen Reiseberichte des Spätmittelalters". In: *Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*. Ed. by Peter J. Brenner. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989, pp. 81–116, p. 85.

narrative version itself describes the East in a secular fashion as a diverse political space, providing a picture of the largely fraught relationships among eastern dynasties. In particular, the narrative focuses on detailing the empire-building in the East by Bayezid I and Timūr. As a consequence, these leaders – and by extension, the Turks and Mongols – are ‘othered’ not by virtue of their Muslim faith but as a direct result of their brutality and systems of rule. The chapter shows that this profane representation not only reformulates the long version of the *Reisebuch* but also departs considerably from other contemporary German captivity narratives; these tend to thematise Ottoman conflict with the West, foregrounding religious difference and characterising the Turk as the *Erb- und Erzfeind* of Christendom. Even more unusual in this literary context is the narrative’s extensive consideration of the Timūrids; in fact, the *Reisebuch* occupies a unique position as one of only a handful of European accounts based on firsthand experience of Timūr’s court, whereby the *Reisebuch*’s representation forms a response to established polemics. In contrast to the majority of contemporary commentaries, however, the narrative does not provide a reflection on the significance for the Christian West of the Mongols’ empire-building or, after Timūr’s death, the outbreak of civil war.

Chapter 3 demonstrates how the delineation of diverse religious difference first and foremost characterises the long version’s portrayal of the East. After a brief discussion of the version’s transmission and contextualisation in manuscript collection, I illustrate how John Mandeville’s best-selling *Travels* is used in the long version to create an independent representation of eastern difference. The chapter shows how rewriting of the *Travels*’s description of the Holy Land forms the means by which a contrast between Latin Christianity and Islam is established, characterising the latter as a ‘false’ faith against which war should be waged by all means possible, including (highly unusually) ‘from within’ via conversion to Islam. While never questioning the fundamental falsity of Islam or indeed the inherent primacy of Latin Christianity, the text further recycles passages borrowed from the *Travels* that deal with Islamic beliefs and rituals to complicate this opposition through a relativisation of Islam as Christological heresy: the text outlines doctrinal similarities and examples of Muslim moral integrity to criticise contemporary Latin Christian behaviour. Finally, the version moves beyond this comparison to include also a critique of other ‘heretical’ forms of Christianity in the East, using Mandeville’s *Travels* as the source for a polemic description of the Greek Church and as prototype for an independent portrayal of the Armenian Church that highlights a shared ecclesiastical and national past. In other words, the eastern ‘other’ is not only defined predominantly via the diversity of his religious difference in the long version, but this alterity is conceptualised on a sliding scale allowing for shared features while still maintaining divergence in a manner that I have described using Bernhard Waldenfels’s concept of *Verschränkung*. The version’s representation thus constitutes a markedly different approach from the abridged version’s depiction of political diversity and from the prints’ polemics in that it supplies a proto-ethnography, in which religious diversity forms the key component in its varied and occasionally ambiguous notion of ‘difference’.

Chapter 4 investigates how the *Reisebuch* is rewritten in early print. I supply an overview of the transmission and a brief examination of continuities between the media of manuscript and print, particularly addressing the so-called ‘instability’ of the early printed book. After a brief discussion of the paratext as a common method of rewriting in print, I analyse the three main strands of paratextual reworking in the versions: (1) the illustrations, (2) the preface and (3) the reformulation of the book as *Flugschrift*. With the exception of Anton Sorg’s edition, these versions reconceptualise the *Reisebuch* as polemic *Türkendruck*. By broadening my literary analysis to include elements traditionally regarded as ‘marginal’ to the text, I assert that the process of rewriting during the premodern period crucially involves the (re-)framing of texts with verbal and non-verbal paratextual material. Commonly transformed in transmission, this supplementary material structures, mediates and produces meaning without a work’s editors needing to modify the ‘core’ text in order to communicate new and independent perspectives and agendas.

The addition of images in the full-length print editions of the *Reisebuch* by Anton Sorg, Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber, Hermann Gülfferich and Weigand Han fulfil exactly this function. Sorg frames the long version’s informative, ethnographic narration with imagery that instead characterises the East as the locus of the adventurous and marvellous. Berg and Neuber systematically delineate difference by introducing ‘orientalising’ costume details; the illustrations communicate a monolithic image of the ‘other’ as Ottoman and Muslim that modifies the long version’s nuanced portrayal of diversity. Lastly, Gülfferich and Han recycle a number of Jörg Breu’s illustrations for Ludovico Varthema’s *Reyß* and thus insert a polarising polemic to the long version that, in reproducing a number of scenes of graphic violence, marginalises the ‘other’ who is comparably reductively (re-)defined as Muslim.

This polemic (re-)framing of the *Reisebuch* in print is advanced with the addition of a preface in Berg and Neuber as well as in Gülfferich and Han’s roughly contemporaneous reproductions. In addition to continuing the imagery’s portrayal of Turkish barbarity and role as religious adversary of Christendom, the preface further delineates the Turks as a punishment inflicted for the moral corruption in Europe, i.e. as a ‘Scourge of God’.

The three pamphlet versions of the *Reisebuch* produced by the Han-Erben, Gregor Hübner and Adam Berg continue this reconceptualisation of the travel book as *Türkendruck* by emphasising the military, spiritual and eschatological nature of the threat posed by the Turks. This characterisation is only partly produced by the abbreviation of the narrative to fixate on Islam. By additionally casting the polemic in the form of a *Flugschrift*, these printers underline their propagandistic intentions, aiming to achieve wide distribution and thus support for their messages. Further, these reworkings are realised by placing the extracts alongside an assortment of anti-Turkish material. The Han-Erben characterise the *Türkengefahr* as sign and instrument of the Apocalypse, warning in particular against the seductive, deceptive character of Islam and encouraging the reader to trust in prayer and Christian salvation. Hübner likewise understands the *Türkenfurcht* in apocalyptic terms, but he instead advocates crusade against the Turks. Berg also promotes outright war,

but he does so by providing firsthand ‘evidence’ of the Turks’ horrific cruelty to captives and Christians in territories under their control.

Finally, a brief conclusion summarises my findings and outlines the chief contributions of my thesis to scholarship on the *Reisebuch*. In addition to providing the first book-length reading of the work that considers all its versions, my study has shown this textual, visual and material variety to be essential to a historically and textually appropriate analysis of the *Reisebuch*’s representation of the East. My investigation has demonstrated that a concentration solely on authorial voice does not adequately reflect the prevalence and the importance of rewriting to the genre of premodern travel writing and, more specifically, to the work: the practice is an integral part of how the author and the subsequent redactors of the *Reisebuch* constructed their representations, reconciling inherited ideas and stereotypes with firsthand experiences of cultural ‘others’. Furthermore, I have demonstrated that the *Reisebuch* is an Orientalist work, and I have elucidated how the versions’ diverse representations function by exposing their strategies of ‘othering’. All versions assume a normative distinction between East and West; all define and delineate the alterity of the East; all produce a portrayal of the East in order to inform a German-speaking and Christian audience, refracting the ideas, customs, values and interests of this culture in narrating the encounter with another; and all assert intellectual authority over the Orient. However, my thesis has also reaffirmed (drawing on the extensive body of scholarship that complicates Said’s concept for the premodern period and Germany) that it is absolutely necessary to situate these Orientalist texts in their specific local, historical and literary contexts. As a consequence, I have stressed the fundamental multiplicity, diversity and polyvocality of the *Reisebuch*’s representations. The reader is not only confronted with the voice of the first-person narrator but equally with the viewpoints and agendas of the travel book’s sources, redactors, compilers, printers and the diverse creators of the work’s paratextual matter. In sum, the thesis presents an argument for the equal consideration of all versions (and contextualising ‘voices’) of the medieval and early modern travel account – for the *Reisebuch* as dynamic and polyvocal corpus, rather than as single text and argument conceived of by a single, authoritative author.

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1 Introduction

In 1394 Johannes Schiltberger set out at about fifteen years of age as a squire to the Bavarian nobleman Linhart Reichharttinger to join King Sigismund of Hungary (1368–1437) in a crusade against the Turks. When the crusaders suffered an overwhelming defeat against the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (c. 1360–1403) at the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396, Schiltberger – probably a member of the eponymous Bavarian nobility from Schiltberg near Aichach who held the hereditary *Marschalkenamnt* to the Wittelsbach dynasty – was wounded and taken captive.¹ Over the next three decades, he would experience firsthand a volatile and expanding Middle East, first as a foot soldier in Bayezid’s army and after the sultan’s defeat at the Battle of Angora in 1402 in the service of the Turko-Mongolian warlord Timūr (1336–1405), better known in popular discourse as Tamerlane, and his sons Miran Shāh (r. 1405–1409), Shāhrukh Mirza (r. 1405–1447) and grandson Abū Bakr (dates unknown). Schiltberger eventually managed to escape his captors and in 1427 return home to the Munich court of Duke Albrecht III of Bavaria (1401–1460), where he is documented as being active and where the autobiographical report of the crusader’s captivity and enforced travels was in all likelihood first put to paper in the mid-fifteenth century.² The

1 Valentin Langmantel, ed. *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*. Stuttgart: Litterarischer Verein, 1885, p. 162; and Hans-Jochen Schiewer. “Leben unter Heiden: Hans Schiltbergers türkische und tartarische Erfahrungen”. In: *Daphnis* 21 (1992), pp. 159–178, p. 171.

2 The events recounted in the *Reisebuch* constitute the bulk of what we know about Johannes Schiltberger’s biography. Upon his return, Schiltberger appears to have been employed as *kemerling* to Albrecht III (Langmantel, *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, p. 161). Further, a Friedrich Schiltberger makes an appearance in a 1407 record as *prokurator und sekretär des herzogs Ludwig von Baiern-Ingolstadt* in possession of an estate at Hollern, Unterschleißheim

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resultant *Reisebuch*, one of the very earliest German-language accounts of Ottoman captivity, is the subject of this thesis, which is also the first book-length study devoted to the work.³ The principal aim of my investigation is to provide an analysis of the *Reisebuch*'s representation of the East.

In this study, I expose how this representation operates, uncovering the *Reisebuch*'s particular strategies of 'othering', i.e. the means by which one sociocultural group marginalises another. My reading serves to both complicate and extend current scholarship on the *Reisebuch*. It is the first analysis to consider the full extent of rewriting in the *Reisebuch*'s manuscript and print transmission from c. 1450 to 1600 as essential to an interpretation of the work's portrayal of the East. I demonstrate how the *Reisebuch* repurposes elements from other travel accounts and is itself repeatedly adapted for new situations, audiences, and in accordance with new ideas and ideals over the course of its premodern circulation. This rewriting is both narrative and material, and it produces shifts in focus that significantly affect the depiction of eastern difference. I argue that the *Reisebuch*-transmission as a result diverges into

(Langmantel, *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, p. 162). Valentin Langmantel hypothesises that Friedrich could perhaps be Johannes's older brother and, albeit tentatively, draws a conclusion about Johannes's motivation in joining the crusade: following the contemporary example of the sons of Duke Stephan II of Bavaria (1319–1375), Langmantel argues that the younger brother would have been forced to seek his luck abroad as a 'soldier of fortune', whereas Friedrich would have inherited the title and wealth of their father as the 1407 record indicates (cf. also Diane Summerhays Strachan. *Five Fifteenth Century German Reisebeschreibungen: A Study in Genre*. 1975, p. 6). Hans-Jochen Schiewer notes that scholarship on Schiltberger's biography still rests almost entirely on Langmantel's nineteenth-century investigation, the salient points of which have been outlined here (Schiewer, "Leben unter Heiden", p. 160).

³ Further notable (and later) captivity accounts include Georg von Ungarn's *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum* (1481), circulated in Germany with a preface by Martin Luther and translated into German by Sebastian Franck (c. 1530); German translations of various publications by Bartholomej Georgijević (c. 1558); Jörg von Nürnberg's pamphlet-length *Geschicht der Turkey* (c. 1482); as well as reports by Melchior von Seidlitz (c. 1591), Michael Heberer (c. 1610) and Johann Wild (c. 1623) (cf. Ralf C. Müller. *Franken im Osten: Art, Umfang, Struktur und Dynamik der Migration aus dem lateinischen Westen in das Osmanische Reich des 15./16. Jahrhunderts auf der Grundlage von Reiseberichten*. Leipzig: Eudora Verlag, 2005, pp. 370ff.). The popularity of these texts in Germany reflected the fact that Ottoman captivity was a very real and serious concern: the captives were imperial soldiers taken as prisoners of war or – for the readers of these narratives even more worryingly – civilians sold into slavery from Ottoman occupied regions like Hungary, the Balkans, Poland and Russia (ibid., p. 358 and p. 369).

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three distinct strands as: (1) an abridged chronicle that emphasises the complexity of political and military relations in the East; (2) a proto-ethnographic account with a focus on religious diversity; and (3) six paratextual reconceptualisations of the *Reisebuch* as *Turcica* in early print.⁴ My thesis thus augments textual analyses of the work to date, which have either not recognised the significance of these versions or not examined them extensively with respect to their representational strategies.

I therefore also highlight that the book's representation of the East is multiple, polyvocal and dynamic. I call attention to the fact that the travel book's rewriting is a common, integral and fundamentally creative aspect of late medieval travel writing, rather than constituting in a modern sense plagiarism or contributing to a devaluation of the traveller's real experience, his book or its versions. I argue that rewriting in the *Reisebuch* should not be discounted as historically invaluable – as has often been the case in past scholarship – but instead should form part of our understanding of how the premodern traveller and author related to the East, constructed an Orientalist representation in his text, and reconciled his own inherited cultural ideas and stereotypes with his experience of 'others'. I also establish that the travel book's reception in manuscript and print likewise demonstrates the creative agency of its various redactors: the book's communication involved its reformulation and the development of new images and arguments. With my thesis, I aim to encourage an awareness of this ongoing, dynamic and dialogic transformation for the study of the *Reisebuch* by supplying a much-needed discussion of the rewriting that is central not only to the work's transmission history but also to its literary and cultural representation(s).

This introductory chapter lays the theoretical and methodological groundwork for

⁴ First established as a catch-all reference in Carl Göllner's seminal three-volume bibliography and investigation of sixteenth-century material (publ. 1961–1978), the term *Turcica* is used in the field to refer to heterogeneous, largely printed sources relating to European contact with the Ottoman Turks. Karoline Döring has provided an important supplementary bibliography and study of *Turcica* produced before 1500 (publ. 2013).

my analysis of the *Reisebuch*. First, the chapter outlines my theoretical approach to representations of the East and justifies why it is necessary both to heed the lessons of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) as well as to broaden and partially complicate his representational model for an analysis of the *Reisebuch*'s portrayal of eastern difference that is mindful of the work's specific (historical, textual and material) contexts and strategies of 'othering'. Next, it provides a discussion of the importance of variety and polyvocality to medieval textuality. I define rewriting as a creative process that is characteristic of premodern literature and vital to the *Reisebuch*'s texts and transmission. Further, the chapter briefly addresses rewriting in premodern travel literature: it outlines why evidence of the practice has been misinterpreted, if not totally ignored, in studies of travel writing and details how my investigation fits into a contemporary research context that acknowledges and incorporates rewriting into a literary understanding of the genre for the premodern period. The chapter goes on to supply an overview of existing scholarship on the *Reisebuch* in order to illustrate how my study – by examining the plurality of texts and voices in the book's surviving material witnesses – goes further and contributes a truly differentiated reading of the work. It then provides a tabular summary of the plot of the *Reisebuch* and an indication of the narrative make-up of the three strands of the account's fifteenth- and sixteenth-century transmission. Finally, I supply a brief rundown of my thesis's chapter structure.

1.1 Representing the East: German Premodern Orientalism

In the formulation of my research question, which constitutes a direct response to the subject matter of the travel account, I am aware of using problematic, even 'loaded' terminology. Reference to 'the East' and 'the Orient' could imply a stance that is

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both reductive and essentialising. The terms if left unqualified would homogenise a culturally diverse region, convey an exoticism associated with European colonialism and reflect a Eurocentric worldview by implicitly inscribing an opposition to ‘the Occident’ or ‘the West’.⁵ Acknowledging these difficulties, I nonetheless use ‘the Orient’ and ‘the East’ interchangeably and deliberately in my study because these terms best register the representation provided by the *Reisebuch* itself. The account produces just such a reductive, ethnocentric binary: the narrative draws a frontier between *miner haymat* and *die haidenschaft*, i.e. between the traveller’s homeland and unbelievers that populate the lands to the East.⁶ An asymmetric notion of the Orient is thus created and intellectually circumscribed that serves as a “stage” for Western curiosity, desires and fears.⁷ Essential to my understanding of how the *Reisebuch* represents the East is the recognition of this constructedness, which is connected to the travel account’s status as a narrative. As Barbara Korte has argued, “reports of travel necessarily *re-create* the experience of the journey on which they are based.”⁸ The traveller – purportedly the author and certainly embodied by the first-person narrator – is an observer of the ‘other’ and thus necessarily “selbst Teil seiner Zuschreibung, er spricht nicht nur aus der Beobachter-, sondern zugleich aus der Mitspielerperspektive. Er kann nicht sicher sein, was er beobachtet und was er beim Beobachten bzw. Beschreiben selber konstituiert.”⁹ The travel book’s ethnographic representation is therefore unavoidably a construction with no objective, neutral correspondence to the ‘real’ Orient. Actual experience is filtered through personal interests and biases, influenced by established cultural traditions and stereotypes,

5 Kim M. Phillips. *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014, p. 1.

6 Johannes Schiltberger. *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger aus München in Europa, Asia und Afrika von 1394-1427*. Ed. by Karl Friedrich Neumann. München: Karl F. Neumann, 1859, p. 51.

7 Edward Said. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books, 2003, p. 63.

8 As cited in Tim Youngs. *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 5.

9 Anja Becker and Jan Mohr, eds. *Alterität als Leitkonzept für historisches Interpretieren*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011, p. 42.

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and “made” (to use Peter Hulme’s turn of phrase) in the act of narration, which although factual in nature shares a great many of its textual strategies with works of literary fiction.¹⁰

This approach to the *Reisebuch*, like that of so many other scholars who similarly try to understand the phenomenon of cultural encounter and its literary portrayal, has been influenced by the concept formulated by Edward Said as and in *Orientalism* (1978), which surveys the development of Western representations of the East as one of Europe’s “deepest and most recurring images of the Other.”¹¹ I utilise Said in investigating “representations *as representations*, not as ‘natural’ depictions of the East.”¹² Further, I illustrate in this thesis that Schiltberger’s *Reisebuch* is best characterised as an Orientalist representation, with reference to Said’s threefold definition.

Said defines Orientalism as an academic label characterising any form of teaching, writing and researching about the Orient. The Orient is defined as a geographical region synonymous with the modern nation-states usually referred to collectively as the Middle East and the Far East (Mongolia, China, Japan, Southeast Asia and India). The *Reisebuch* supplies an account with an especial focus on the Middle East – in particular, on regions corresponding to modern-day Turkey, Georgia, Iran, Iraq, Uzbekistan and to the Levant – with the aim to both inform and entertain.

Secondly, Orientalism is distinguished by Said as a “style of thought” that has as its basis a normative distinction between the Orient and the Occident.¹³ This dichotomy is central to the *Reisebuch*, which reduces the East to the site of the ‘other’ and handles the West as the locus of the German Christian ‘self’. As Said remarks, “geographical sectors as ‘Orient’ and ‘Occident’ are man-made. Therefore

10 Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, p. 5.

11 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 1.

12 Ibid., p. 21.

13 Ibid., p. 2.

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as much as the West itself, the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West.”¹⁴ Thus, a text about the Orient like the *Reisebuch* is much more likely to inform the critic about the author’s own ideas and ideals than about his subject matter, the Orient. While a real Orient exists, its actual geographies, cultures and nations are of secondary concern to Orientalism, which depends “on institutions, traditions, conventions, agreed-upon codes of understanding for [its] effects, not upon a distant and amorphous Orient.”¹⁵ In fact, the binary opposition of East to West that Said identifies as a fundamental characteristic of Orientalism is principally understood as a means by which the West has constructed its own identity: “The Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience.”¹⁶

As a mode of explaining the eastern ‘other’ for a German-speaking audience, the *Reisebuch*’s representation further constitutes a form of power, exercising control over the Orient by exerting

power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any other modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values) and power moral (as with ideas about what “we” do and what “they” cannot do or understand as “we” do)

in a reflection of the third and final component of Said’s definition.¹⁷ Said claims that Orientalism, as a discourse in a Foucauldian sense, is “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.”¹⁸ At the heart of Said’s theory is the idea that a Western subject creates an Oriental object for a Western audience; Said argues that this discursive practice is not simply an exercise in academic abstraction but instead involves “the disposition of power and

14 Schiltberger, *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*, p. 144; Said, *Orientalism*, p. 5.

15 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 22.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

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powerlessness” within society.¹⁹ With the publication of *Orientalism*, Said revealed and unsettled the manufacture of this essentialising West–self/East–other dichotomy and its attendant discourse of Western domination.

In these three ways, Schiltberger’s *Reisebuch* instantiates Said’s definition of an Orientalist text. However, the *Reisebuch*’s strategies of managing the eastern ‘other’ to construct Western authority are more complex than Said acknowledges for the premodern period and Germany in particular in *Orientalism*. Said’s study deals first and foremost with the post-Enlightenment discourse resulting specifically from British, French and, after World War II, American colonial and imperial projects.²⁰ While Said acknowledges the existence of an Orientalist ‘style of thought’ during the Middle Ages, medieval Orientalism is neglected in his deliberations because he considers it not to have had any direct agency: as predominantly ‘imaginative’ and ‘scholarly’, medieval Orientalism did not exercise power in a material or colonial sense. Moreover, Said understates historical specificity and complexity, for he “is concerned with the medieval manifestations of his subject only insofar as they fit into his genealogy of an imperialist, post-Renaissance scholarship.”²¹ Similarly, Germany and German-language scholarly and literary writing about the East are completely cut out of *Orientalism*, as Germany never had a “protracted sustained *national* interest in the Orient.”²² The exclusion of German Orientalism has (likewise) been much criticised, but Said continued to express scepticism when addressing his detractors.²³

19 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 332.

20 Ibid., p. 4.

21 Iain MacLeod Higgins. “Shades of the East: Orientalism, Religion and Nation in Late Medieval Scottish Literature”. In: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38.2 (2008), pp. 197–228, p. 201.

22 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 19.

23 “I have grasped some of the problems and answers proposed by some of my critics, and because they strike me as useful in focusing an argument, these are the ones I shall be taking into account in the comments that follow. Others – like my exclusion of German Orientalism, which no one has given any reason for me to have *included* – have frankly struck me as superficial or trivial, and there seems no point in even responding to them” (Edward Said. “Orientalism Reconsidered”. In: *Cultural Critique* 1 [1985], pp. 89–107, pp. 89–90).

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My analysis of the travel book therefore also necessarily draws on the extensive body of scholarship that reconsiders and ultimately complicates Said's concept in these two respects.

It bears stressing that a revisionary discussion of *Orientalism* is not a central aim of my thesis. Nor do I try to achieve a reading that, in reassessing some of Said's arguments, could be described as explicitly 'postcolonial', an approach first articulated for the premodern period in Jeffrey Jerome Cohen's *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (2000). As exemplified by the fifteen essays collected in the volume, proponents of postcolonial medieval studies challenge periodisations that contrast the medieval and the modern in terms of a teleological narrative of progress. They broaden the scope of study beyond medieval Europe to incorporate global topics. They investigate 'border' areas and intercultural exchange, and they question the status of Christianity as the dominant frame of reference in the study of medieval Europe, i.e. encourage research into European Jews, Muslims and all manner of hybrid identities.²⁴ While such postcolonial approaches are clearly productive for certain premodern texts and subject matters, these particular categories are not suitable for the study of the *Reisebuch*. The work does not supply the material for these broader challenges; instead, it defines eastern difference in a manner that, despite a surprising degree of nuance, inherently stresses the superiority of the Occident over the Orient.

Thus, the *Reisebuch* is best served by a specific – if equally critical – response to Orientalism. The studies on which I base my understanding of premodern German Orientalism may, however, themselves fall under the rubric of 'postcolonial' criticism, which Sharon Kinoshita has shown frequently calls Said's Orientalist model into question by encouraging scholars "to see beyond the binary, to encounter an 'Other'

²⁴ For an overview of the topics of these essays, see Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ed. *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*. New York: Palgrave, 2000, pp. 6–14.

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whose alterity may reside precisely in its different conception of difference.”²⁵ Accordingly, I adjust Said’s model to respond to the *Reisebuch*’s specific representational strategies. The arguments that form the foundation for my reading of the travel book are as follows.

The Orient played a significant role in Germany’s cultural imagination from the Middle Ages.²⁶ It is inaccurate to characterise Germany’s (medieval) engagement with the East as purely scholarly or imaginative, even though one cannot talk about national interest in a modern sense, for Germany did not become a nation-state until 1871. As Todd Kontje has contended, “if, however, we define national interest more broadly as an intellectual effort to locate and preserve a sense of communal identity, then we can indeed speak of a German national interest in the East.”²⁷ Schiltberger, for example, characterised himself as a Christian, a Bavarian and a *tütscher* in the *Reisebuch*, indicating personal identification with several interconnected communities that speak to a sense of religious, regional and linguistic belonging.²⁸ It is this specific identity that is contrasted with diverse eastern ‘others’ in the *Reisebuch*, which is itself the product of actual cultural encounter and stands in an established tradition

25 Sharon Kinoshita. “Deprovincializing the Middle Ages”. In: *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization*. Ed. by Rob Wilson and Christopher Leigh Connery. Santa Cruz, CA: New Pacific Press, 2007, pp. 61–75, p. 75.

26 This is true even with respect to the mid-nineteenth century that chiefly interested Said in *Orientalism*. For one, Germany produced the leading Orientalists in Europe with academic figures like Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900), professor of Comparative Philology at the University of Oxford, and Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930), chair of Oriental Languages in Strasbourg and an eminent scholar of Islam and the Koran. The foundation of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* in 1845 with the aim “die Kenntnis Asiens und der damit in näherem Zusammenhang stehenden Länder nach allen Beziehungen zu fördern und die Theilnahme daran in weitem Kreisen zu verbreiten” moreover marked a serious scholarly and, if not strictly speaking national, an officially institutionalised commitment to contact with and the study of the Middle and Far East (Holger Preißler. “Die Anfänge der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft”. In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 145.2 [1995], pp. 241–327, p. 286). Nor did Germany lack actual colonial interest and engagement in the East post-Enlightenment, although on a much smaller scale to the British and French. From 1898 to 1914 Wilhelmine Germany occupied territory in Jiaozhou Bay, near Qingdao in China.

27 Todd Kontje. *German Orientalisms*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004, p. 2.

28 Schiltberger, *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*, p. 144.

of concrete German contact with the Middle East.²⁹

As such, the *Reisebuch* belongs to a considerable body of factual and fictional vernacular literature that responded to real experience of the Orient.³⁰ As a result of this engagement, a distinct discursive tradition unique to Germany developed during the Middle Ages. German speakers did not focus solely on marginalising the eastern ‘other’ but rather – and unusually, when compared with other medieval European traditions – to an equal extent on “allying themselves with selected parts of the East

²⁹ German experience of the Orient during the Middle Ages was acquired on mass pilgrimages to Jerusalem, which by the twelfth century formed such “a highly codified and widespread feature of medieval German society” that it was even possible to purchase German bread and beer en route to the Holy Land (Nina Berman. *German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practices, 1000–1989*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011, p. 25). The German connection to the East was also formulated as a political interest: since Otto I (r. 962–973), the Holy Roman Empire invoked a religious as well as a jurisdictional claim to the Holy Land as site of Christian salvation history and historically part of the Roman Empire. This assumed authority over the Middle East, which the Germans shared with all of Christendom, found its logical expression in participation in the Crusades and the prominence of Germans – notably, the Teutonic Order at Acre (1190–1291) – in the Crusader States (ibid., p. 27). This military and indeed colonial engagement in the Levant was founded on imperialist ambitions and thus resembles the imperialism and colonialism of later epochs, as defined by Said as “the practice, theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory” and the “implanting of settlements on a distant territory” respectively (Edward Said. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1993, p. 8). As David Abulafia has contended, trade links also connected Germany to the East, so that “the political, cultural and religious barriers across the Mediterranean proved permeable; cotton, indigo and alum were the agents binding together East and West” (as cited in Berman, *German Literature on the Middle East*, p. 29).

³⁰ For the German Middle Ages, this collection of works notably included: versions of the *Alexanderstoff*, e.g. by Pfaffe Lambrecht, Rudolf von Ems, Meister Wichwolt and Johannes Hartlieb; the so-called *Spielmannsepen*, e.g. *Herzog Ernst*, *König Rother*, *Salman und Morolf*, *Orendel*; Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzival* and *Willehalm*; and a sizeable group of firsthand travel accounts, e.g. by Wilhelm von Boldensele, Bernhard von Breydenbach, Felix Fabri, Konrad Grünenberg. (For discussion of these works, see Florian Kragl. *Die Weisheit des Fremden: Studien zur mittelalterlichen Alexandertradition*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2005; Annette Volting. “Orientalism in the Straßburger Alexander”. In: *Medium Aevum* 79 [2010], pp. 278–299; Sarah Bowden. “A False Dawn: The Grippia Episode in Three Versions of *Herzog Ernst*”. In: *Oxford German Studies* 41.1 [2012], pp. 15–31; Rabea Kohnen. *Die Braut des Königs: Zur interreligiösen Dynamik der mittelhochdeutschen Brautwerbungserzählungen*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014; Arthur Groos. “Orientalising the Medieval Orient. The East in Wolfram von Eschenbach’s ‘Parzival’”. In: *Kulturen des Manuskriptzeitalters*. Ed. by Arthur Groos and Hans-Jochen Schiewer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004, pp. 61–86; Paul Kunitzsch. “Der Orient bei Wolfram von Eschenbach – Phantasie und Wirklichkeit”. In: *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter*. Ed. by Albert Zimmermann and Ingrid Craemer-Ruegenberg. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985, pp. 112–122; and Christian Halm. *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters. Eine analytische Bibliographie*. Vol. 1: *Deutsche Reiseberichte*. Ed. by Werner Paravicini. Kieler Werkstücke. Reihe D: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters 5. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994).

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against the West.”³¹ As Nina Berman has convincingly shown, these texts can be described as Orientalist in the Saidian sense because they not only frequently “use the Middle Eastern setting more or less as a staging ground” – to discuss domestic politics, for example – but also to communicate fantasies “about ruling Oriental territories.”³² In addition, Berman writes that they also often “articulated a critique of crusader ideology and expressed shared ideals through the figure of the noble heathen, male and female, especially in secular texts.”³³ The discourse that emerged in premodern Germany was in other words remarkably diverse and, in contrast to Said’s model, not limited to the construction of a pure opposition to the Orient.³⁴ Berman’s claim constitutes one of the central critiques of Said’s analysis by recent scholarship, which repeatedly highlights that “views such as those of Edward Said, which paint an unsustainable picture of a uniformity of views among Europeans in the modern period, are read back into earlier centuries.”³⁵

It is consequently necessary to question the rigidity of Said’s categories with respect to the *Reisebuch*, which does not conform to his monolithic, unambiguous model of ‘othering’ for the period. Said’s conflation of the Orient with a deviant Islam for the Middle Ages overrides abundant evidence that premodern, not to mention German, writers fully recognised and clearly differentiated among a diversity of ‘other’ religions in the East. In the *Reisebuch*, an intertitle programmatically asserts the narrative’s consideration of *Wie vil die heiden glouben habent*.³⁶ Moreover,

31 Kontje, *German Orientalisms*, pp. 2–3.

32 Berman, *German Literature on the Middle East*, pp. 39–40.

33 Ibid., p. 58.

34 In premodern texts, Said identifies the basic thematic patterns that he considers to be characteristic of Orientalism in the modern era: the East is conceptualised as not only inferior to the West – distant, primitive, sexualised, feminised and irrational – but inherently dangerous, particularly with regard to “those mysteriously attractive opposites to what seem to be normal values” (Said, *Orientalism*, p. 57).

35 Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran Cruz. “Popular Attitudes Towards Islam in Medieval Europe”. In: *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Ed. by David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto. London: Macmillan Press, 1999, pp. 55–81, pp. 55–56.

36 Schiltberger, *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*, p. 121.

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premodern representation of eastern difference was not exclusively carried out in terms of religious difference, as Said claims, but also considered secular categories such as race, nation and ethnicity.³⁷ The *Reisebuch* demonstrates an equal interest in, and a heightened sensitivity to, the complexity and alterity of eastern political and ethnic structures, histories and conflicts.

Further, I argue that the character of the *Reisebuch*'s representation of the East should be reflected against the work's specific historical circumstances. Orientalism during the premodern period – and this is pertinent for the analysis of the *Reisebuch* as an account of defeat and captivity – was generally speaking not “a discursive formation deployed in the service of an expansionist ideology in which the Orient inevitably gave way to the Occident.”³⁸ In his genealogy of Orientalist discourse, Said overlooks the fact that for a large part of the Middle Ages and early modern period the East, rather than the West, was dominant and expanding.³⁹ The Christian West lost its stronghold of Acre to the Mamluk Sultanate in 1291. Constantinople was later lost to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. These territorial losses represented major blows to Christendom, constituting the loss of a foothold in the Middle East and, in the case of Constantinople, marking the end of the Eastern Roman Empire. In particular, during the time of the *Reisebuch*'s circulation in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Turks not only controlled much of Asia Minor and the Balkans, but they were successfully advancing westwards, reaching and beleaguering Vienna in 1529. For the next 150 years, Eastern Europe saw fighting, until the

³⁷ In *Orientalism*, Said argues that European exploration, colonial expansion and the Enlightenment drive to scientifically classify mankind first “had the effect of releasing the Orient generally, and Islam in particular, from the narrowly religious scrutiny by which it had hitherto been examined (and judged) by the Christian West” (Said, *Orientalism*, p. 120.). A number of studies have since reassessed this assertion (see for instance Robert Bartlett. “Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity”. In: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31.1 [2001], pp. 39–56; and Linda Lomperis. “Medieval Travel Writing and the Question of Race”. In: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31.1 [2001], pp. 147–164).

³⁸ Higgins, “Shades of the East”, p. 202.

³⁹ Suzanne Conklin Akbari. *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009, p. 9.

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Schlacht am Kahlenberg in 1683 ended the second (and last) siege of Vienna by the Turks and also further westward expansion by the Ottomans.

Therefore, Orientalist representations produced in this context like the *Reisebuch* are not an accompaniment to Western domination, which Said has argued is a property of the discursive practice. Rather, they are an expression resulting from an awareness of Western vulnerability. As such, they attempt to reconcile Muslim successes with God's plan for the Christian people and frequently to maintain a narrative that assures them of Christendom's basic superiority.⁴⁰ John V. Tolan writes of these literary responses: "if the Muslim 'other' could not be eliminated through war or conversion, at least he could be intellectually and socially conscribed."⁴¹ In this respect, premodern German textual representations are indeed often predominantly 'imaginative' and 'scholarly' forms of Orientalism in Said's terms, as authority over the East is constructed discursively from a position of actual weakness. Nevertheless, it should be recognised that such representations amount to a legitimate discourse of power, "if by discourse we mean a system of classification that establishes hierarchies, delimits one category from another, and exercises power through that system of classification."⁴²

With respect to my objective of elucidating the *Reisebuch*'s representation of the East, Said thus does not adequately recognise the diversity of approaches to the Orient for the premodern period, which differ from place to place, time to time and situation to situation.⁴³ *Orientalism* proposes too strict a model of binary opposition coupled with a reductive and essentialising approach, whereby Said fails to satisfactorily acknowledge the complexity of premodern and, by way of complete omission, German Orientalist representations. As Gyan Prakash has noted, "Said wove the 'knitted

40 John Tolan. *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002, p. xiv.

41 Ibid., p. xvii.

42 Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p. 7.

43 Higgins, "Shades of the East", p. 202.

together strength' of the Orientalist discourse too tight, [...] he allowed little room for variation, change, ambivalence, [...] he essentialized the Orientalists" and the West.⁴⁴ Put differently, it has been claimed that Orientalism is misrepresented by Said as "always and everywhere the same."⁴⁵ The reality, by contrast, is plural, polyvocal, local and dynamic.

1.2 Medieval Textuality: Variety, Polyvocality and Rewriting

Recognition of this specificity, variety and polyvocality is the methodological cornerstone of my interpretation of how the *Reisebuch* represents the East. My reexamination of its late fifteenth and sixteenth century transmission underscores that the *Reisebuch* is not a single, authoritative text. On the contrary, the material recognised as Schiltberger's *Reisebuch* comprises a number of equally legitimate variant forms: their composition will be addressed in a later section of the chapter, suffice it to say now that the travel book corresponds to a diverse, divergent body of seven manuscripts and six prints, some incorporated in collections and some transmitted as single volumes.⁴⁶

44 Gyan Prakash. "Orientalism Now". In: *History and Theory* 34.3 (1995), pp. 199–212, p. 206.

45 Valerie Kennedy. *Edward Said: A Critical Introduction*. Oxford: Polity Press, 2000, p. 30.

46 I use the term 'collection' as defined by Erik Kwakkel, who effectively combines codicological with textual considerations: Kwakkel describes collections as composite manuscripts (volumes made up of self-contained codicological units) that are simultaneously "well-planned compilations" and "compilations with a pronounced focus" with respect to their particular genres, themes and functions (Erik Kwakkel. "Late Medieval Text Collections: A Codicological Typology Based on Single-Author Manuscripts". In: *Author, Reader, Book: Medieval Authorship in Theory and Practice*. Ed. by Stephen Partridge and Erik Kwakkel. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012, pp. 56–79, p. 56). Following Kwakkel, the term collection thus affords more theoretical precision than the commonly encountered miscellany or, in German, *Sammelhandschrift*: Stephen Nichols has stressed that these terms do not provide a precise enough taxonomy to explain the "relationship of texts to their codicological context" and could also inaccurately indicate an "arbitrary principle of organisation for a manuscript in which there may be a perfectly clear guiding principle" (Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds. *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996, p. 3). Kwakkel's definition addresses both of the concerns voiced by Nichols. It is therefore the most suitable term to describe the *Reisebuch*'s surviving witnesses, whose various (material and

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These versions represent a challenge to modern conceptions of authorship and textuality. The mutability of the *Reisebuch* destabilises our contemporary idea of an author as “an individual who is solely responsible – and thus exclusively deserving of credit – for the production of a unique, original work” for the Middle Ages.⁴⁷ This observation is a familiar one to the medievalist, who from the beginning of the subject, the study of a “*manuscript culture*”,⁴⁸ has rarely been confronted with an authoritative autograph manuscript,⁴⁹ let alone with the (re-)production and reception conditions corresponding to the textual and formal integrity – i.e. the mass reproduction of identical and immobile artefacts – of our modern publishing and book culture. Instead, medievalists have had to grapple with the sheer multiplicity, individuality and variety of medieval textual witnesses.⁵⁰ This textual instability is not exclusively tied to the medium of the manuscript. A flexible attitude to textual transmission continues to affect early print, a practice that will be addressed with respect to its particular qualities and associated scholarship in chapter 4.

textual) transmission contexts I will investigate.

47 Andrew Bennett. *Author*. London: Routledge, 2005, p. 7.

48 Stephen G. Nichols. “Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture”. In: *Speculum* 65 (1990), pp. 1–10, p. 1.

49 A notable exception in the German tradition is the copy of Otfried von Weißenburg’s *Evangelienharmonie* held in the Austrian National Library (Cod. 2687). Autographs by Elsbeth of Oye, Hugo von Montefort, Oswald von Wolkenstein, Michel Beheim and Willehalm von Orleans have also survived (Rüdiger Schnell. “Was ist neu an der ‘New Philology’? Zum Diskussionsstand in der germanistischen Mediävistik”. In: *Alte und Neue Philologie*. Ed. by Martin-Dietrich Glessgen and Franz Lebsanft. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1997, pp. 61–96, p. 89).

50 This is not, however, to imply that an ideal of authorial and textual integrity did not exist at all during the Middle Ages. On the contrary, as Klaus Grubmüller has shown, “es gibt nicht geringe Zahl von Autoren, denen die Behandlung ihrer Werke im Zuge von deren Weitergabe und Verbreitung nicht gleichgültig ist. Sie widmen ihr ihre Aufmerksamkeit, geben Anweisungen zum richtigen Überliefern und warnen vor dem falschen. Das bestätigt zunächst – selbstverständlich – die grundsätzliche Verfügbarkeit von Texten in einer Manuskriptkultur und ihre Ablösung von Autor. Aber: Veränderung und Veränderlichkeit werden – unter jeweils zu beschreibenden Bedingungen – nicht als selbstverständlich hingenommen” (Klaus Grubmüller. “Verändern und Bewahren: Zum Bewusstsein vom Text im deutschen Mittelalter”. In: *Text und Kultur: Mittelalterliche Literatur 1150–1450*. Ed. by Ursula Peters. Stuttgart: Metzler Verlag, 2001, pp. 8–33, p. 31). In other words, “‘Textoffenheit und Textfestigkeit’ schließen einander nicht aus” (Jan-Dirk Müller. “Textkonstitution und Vermittlung: Einleitung”. In: *Text und Kultur: Mittelalterliche Literatur 1150–1450*. Ed. by Ursula Peters. Stuttgart: Metzler Verlag, 2001, pp. 3–7, p. 5).

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Once neglected in favour of reductively reconstructing the authorial *codex archetypus*,⁵¹ a more recent positive refocus by scholarship on the multiplicity and variety of medieval transmission has been informed by the arguments of New Philology, as notably expounded in Bernard Cerquiglini's *Éloge de la Variante* (1989) and the now famous 1990 *Speculum* volume. Contributors stress that the variety so characteristic of medieval textual production and transmission needs to be acknowledged to achieve a historically sensitive understanding of the alterity of premodern textuality. They advocate a "return to the medieval origins of philology, to its roots in a *manuscript* culture where, as Bernard Cerquiglini remarks, 'medieval writing does not produce variants; it is variance.'"⁵² New Philology maintains that "we need to embrace the consequences of that diversity, not simply to live with it, but to situate it squarely within our methodology."⁵³ Sharing the aim to accommodate the multiplicity of the *Reisebuch*'s material witnesses in its literary analysis, I take up New Philology's approach to medieval textual variety in my study: I situate the transformative transmission of the *Reisebuch*, and in particular the consequences of this diversity

51 This reconstructive approach was importantly influenced by Karl Lachmann's model of textual ('stemmatic') criticism. Through the systematic examination of material transmission, the reconstruction of genealogical relationships via *Bindefehler* and *Trennfehler* as well as the correction of 'mistakes' (*emendatio*), Lachmann's method strove to create the best and most correct version of a medieval work by effectively 'reversing' the process of transmission (Peter F. Ganz. "Lachmann as an Editor of Middle High German Texts". In: *Probleme mittelalterlicher Überlieferung und Textkritik*. Ed. by Peter F. Ganz and Werner Schröder. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1968, pp. 12–30, p. 17). By ahistorically delimiting the aims and scope of editorial work, however, Lachmann's methods (and those of his followers) precluded the investigation of the variety of material transmission as an important characteristic of medieval textuality. Lachmann's method also did not actively recognise the collective activity associated with producing a manuscript, which involved the independent work of poet as well as scribe, illuminator, rubricator and commentator (Nichols, "Philology in a Manuscript Culture", p. 7). In an attempt to amend particularly this oversight of traditional textual criticism, New Philologists have stressed the return to the manuscript as not only the source of authorial texts but as a unique historical artefact in its own right: "this view sees the manuscript not as a passive record, but as an historical document thrusting itself into history and whose materiality makes it a medieval event, a cultural drama" (Stephen G. Nichols. "Why Material Philology? Some Thoughts". In: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 116 [1997], pp. 10–30, p. 11).

52 Nichols, "Philology in a Manuscript Culture", p. 1.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

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for cultural ideas, at the very heart of my project.⁵⁴

My approach to the *Reisebuch* is informed by revisions that foreground that there is often no indication that any one version of a work is most original, authoritative or best.⁵⁵ Even in cases where an author *has* explicitly expressed a desire for the textual fixture of his particular version, this did not consistently prevent others from repurposing the narrative for their own ends: “so wenig jeder Schreiber schon ein Autor ist, so wenig kann der Verfasser eines Textes verhindern, daß andere diesen Text für ihre besonderen Bedürfnisse bearbeiten.”⁵⁶ Further, a concept of an authorial original did not form a criterion that determined a rewritten text’s value: “das Produkt ist dem Produzenten vorgeordnet.”⁵⁷ A premodern work – in this thesis I adopt the definition provided by Paul Zumthor as “the sum of material witnesses” – may be transmitted in any and every form within a wide spectrum, ranging from the autography and the copy with minor and ‘meaningless’ scribal errors to major and ‘meaningful’ rewritings, in which the narrative is independently and inventively altered in such a way that “considerable stretches of text may be added, suppressed, modified or transposed.”⁵⁸ Therefore, if one is to appropriately respond to the material evidence of variety in the *Reisebuch*’s transmission history,

54 For approaches that push for the integration of the (traditionally separate) tasks of *Textkritik* and *Hermeneutik*, cf. Martin Baisch. *Textkritik als Problem der Kulturwissenschaft: Tristan-Lektüren*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006; and Jerome McGann. *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

55 Joachim Bumke. “Der unfeste Text: Überlegungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und Textkritik der höfischen Epik im 13. Jahrhundert”. In: *‘Aufführung’ und ‘Schrift’ im Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller. Stuttgart: Metzler Verlag, 1996, pp. 118–129, p. 123.

56 Müller, “Textkonstitution”, p. 5.

57 Jan-Dirk Müller. *Mediävistische Kulturwissenschaft: ausgewählte Studien*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010, p. 18; cf. also Hans-Jochen Schiewer. “Fassung, Bearbeitung, Version und Edition”. In: *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters zwischen Handschriftennähe und Rekonstruktion*. Ed. by Martin J. Schubert. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005, pp. 35–50, who argues “ Fassungen sind text- und literaturgeschichtlich äquivalent zu behandeln, denn zur dynamischen volkssprachigen Textualität der Vormoderne gehört auch, dass der Autor keine Authentisierungsinstanz, sondern eine Autorisierungs- und Auratisierungsinstanz ist. Das philologische Bemühen um den einen Autortext Hartmanns, Wolframs, Gottfrieds etc. ist zwar berechtigt, wird aber der Polyphonie vormoderner Textualität nicht gerecht” (pp. 49–50).

58 Paul Zumthor. *Toward a Medieval Poetics*. Ed. by Philip Bennett. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992, p. 73.

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the notion of a fixed text attributable to a single author must be replaced with that of a polyvocal, dynamic corpus.

Though more equally the object of study than ever before, not *all* variants are equally meaningful or equally relevant to the interpretation of a work.⁵⁹ In this thesis, I distinguish between *variant* ('minor' differences in orthography, presentation etc.) and meaningful *version* ('major' revisions that impact the reading of the text) for the *Reisebuch*. In line with my research question, I only consider modifications to the content that have noteworthy ramifications for representational strategies. I argue that the resultant variety in the *Reisebuch* transmission is significant for a historically sensitive and even-handed interpretation of the *Reisebuch* and of the work's Orientalism: "nur wenn alle in der Überlieferung eines Textes auftretenden Varianten gleichmäßig und gleichzeitig Gegenstand der Beobachtung sind, kann man sich ein angemessenes Urteil über den Text bilden."⁶⁰

This variety in the *Reisebuch* transmission is the consequence of continuous, independent rewritings. The methods of manuscript transmission – characterised by copying by hand, i.e. very literally 'writing again' – inherently permit variance, which may be the result of unintentional or deliberate scribal alterations; as Derek Pearsall asserts, "each act of copying was to a large extent an act of recomposition."⁶¹ However, I adopt a definition of rewriting in my study that goes beyond the purely mechanical to describe a process of deliberate and creative adaptation.⁶² Most basically, rewriting

59 This has been highlighted by Karl Stackmann, whose differentiation between "iterierende Varianten" and "Präsumtivvarianten" underlined the existence respectively of both 'meaningless' and 'meaningful' variants (see Karl Stackmann. "Mittelalterliche Texte als Aufgabe". In: *Festschrift für Jost Trier zum 70. Geburtstag*. Ed. by William Foerste and Karl Heinz Borck. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1964, pp. 240–267).

60 Karl Stackmann. "Neue Philologie?" In: *Modernes Mittelalter: Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche*. Ed. by Joachim Heinze. Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1994, pp. 398–427, p. 419.

61 Derek Pearsall. "Texts, Textual Criticism and Fifteenth Century Manuscript Production". In: *Fifteenth-Century Studies: Recent Essays*. Ed. by Robert F. Yeager. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1984, pp. 121–136, pp. 126–127.

62 My definition is based, in particular, on characterisations by Franz Worstbrock, Ursula Peters, Joachim Bumke and Douglas Kelly, cf. footnote 64 for (brief) synopsis.

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constitutes textual production that retells, reuses, and/or reconceptualises another text or other texts. I formulate rewriting as a practice that not only preserves and transmits but also expands, generates or even censors literary and cultural ideas. Rewriting is the intentional and hermeneutically significant adaptation of a text (or texts) in order to address a new audience, situation or context and with the express aim of influencing the text's interpretation.⁶³

Rewriting has been identified by a number of influential studies as a first and foremost literary process that is constitutive of German medieval literature across a wide variety of genres.⁶⁴ In fact, rewriting formed so essential a feature of medieval European understandings of how literary production functions that the practice

63 André Lefevere. "Mother Courage's Cucumbers: Text, System and Refraction in a Theory of Literature". In: *Modern Language Studies* 12.4 (1982), pp. 3–20, p. 4.

64 Franz Josef Worstbrock argues that rewriting, which he refers to as *Wiedererzählen*, "könnte die fundamentale allgemeinste Kategorie mittelalterlicher Erzählpoetik sein, eine, die noch die Unterscheidung von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit, mündlichem und schriftlichem Erzählen übergreift" (Franz Josef Worstbrock. "Wiedererzählen und Übersetzen". In: *Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit: Übergänge, Umbrüche und Neuansätze*. Ed. by Walter Haug. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999, pp. 128–142, p. 130). For Worstbrock, rewriting should be regarded as "eine Art erzählerischen Verhaltens" (ibid., p. 130). Similarly, Joachim Bumke and Ursula Peters argue in the introduction to their important supplementary volume to the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* for an understanding of "mittelalterlich[e] Textproduktion als literarischer Umschreibepaxis" (Joachim Bumke and Ursula Peters. "Einleitung". In: *Retextualisierung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*. Ed. by Joachim Bumke and Ursula Peters. Vol. 124. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2005, pp. 1–5, p. 2). The contributors discuss cases of *Retextualisierung* – the neologism coined by Bumke and Peters to describe the productive interaction between "Prätex" and "Retext" – with the aim to revise approaches that privilege the "Idee des originalen Kunstwerks, der gegenüber alle Prozesse der literarischen Reproduktion als sekundär, abgeleitet, 'unecht' und zweitklassig erschienen" (ibid., p. 10). Elsewhere, Bumke contends that "Mehrfachfassungen sind geradezu ein Kennzeichen mittelalterlicher, vor allem volkssprachlicher Textüberlieferung" (Bumke, "Der unfeste Text", p. 123). The premodern practice of rewriting has also been discussed under the term *Übertragungen* in a collection of articles edited by Bettina Bußmann that consider transformative "Reproduktionsprozesse, bei denen von einer Vorlage [...] ein Reprodukt hergestellt wird, um Inhalte, ggf. aber auch Form und Gestalt der Vorlage an einem anderen Ort, in einem anderen Medium oder in einem anderen gesellschaftlichen Kontext verfügbar zu machen" (Britta Bußmann et al., eds. *Übertragungen: Formen und Konzepte von Reproduktion in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005, p. xi). Finally, Douglas Kelly has influentially highlighted that "scribal copying, glossing and commenting, translation or re-writing [...] imply some kind of 're-creation'. By recreating, the new author refashioned, revised, corrected, reinterpreted, or otherwise adapted an antecedent work" (Douglas Kelly. "Introduction". In: *The Medieval Opus: Imitation, Rewriting and Transmission in the French Tradition*. Ed. by Douglas Kelly. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996, pp. 1–14, pp. 5–6).

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was explicitly enshrined in the discourse of medieval poetics, which distinguished between preexisting subject matter (*materia*) and the result of literary activity as the individual form of a specific text (*artificium*).⁶⁵ This attitude to textuality had its origins in classical antiquity, at which time – although it was recognised that writers invented their own material – it was not uniformly considered to be advisable, for the perceived veracity of a text was contingent on the authority of its source or of universally recognised truths.⁶⁶ Rewriting describes the common medieval practice of gathering material from different sources in order to create new, distinct texts; compilation was typical of medieval academic activity, which by selecting and arranging its source texts into a meaningful whole constituted a creative achievement equivalent to authorship.⁶⁷ The creative use of sources is as significant for understanding the *Reisebuch* as an overview of its versions. The repurposing of passages from John Mandeville’s *Travels* (c. 1370), the Bible, Bartholomej Georgijević’s anti-Turkish tracts (c. 1550) and the recycling of imagery from Ludovico de Varthema’s *Ritterliche vnd Lobwirdige Reyß* (c. 1515) helped – as I shall show in the body of my thesis – to create the travel account’s shifting portrayals of eastern alterity.

Further processes of *Weiterverarbeitung* commonly affected a work in circulation during the Middle Ages and have been comprehensively listed by Joachim Bumke.⁶⁸

65 Worstbrock, “Wiedererzählen und Übersetzen”, p. 137.

66 Joachim Bumke. “Retextualisierung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur, besonders in der höfischen Epik: Ein Überblick”. In: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 124 (2005), pp. 6–46, p. 11.

67 Bumke, “Retextualisierung”, p. 37; cf. on compilation also Undine Brückner. *Dorothea von Hof: Das bu(o)ch der götlichen liebe und summe der tugend Studien zu einer Konstanzer Kompilation geistlicher Texte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2015; Hans-Jochen Schiewer. “Uslesen. Das Weiterwirken mystischen Gedankenguts im Kontext dominikanischer Frauengemeinschaften”. In: *Deutsche Mystik im abendländischen Zusammenhang: neu erschlossene Texte, neue methodische Ansätze, neue theoretische Konzepte*. Ed. by Walter Haug. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000, pp. 581–603; Alastair J. Minnis. “Late-Medieval Discussions of *compilatio* and the Rôle of the *compilator*”. In: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 101 (1979), pp. 385–421; and Neil Hathaway. “*Compilatio*: From Plagiarism to Compiling”. In: *Viator* 20 (1989), pp. 19–44.

68 Bumke, “Retextualisierung”, pp. 24–43.

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These extend from a redactor's creation of a *mise en page* to the composition of *Kurzfassungen*,⁶⁹ *Fortsetzungen*,⁷⁰ *Umarbeitungen* and *Prosaauflösungen*.⁷¹ Additionally, Bumke includes in his typology *Gattungssprünge*, *Mediensprünge* and, most inclusively of all, the emulation of literature in social practice (e.g., the adoption of first names and the staging of public spectacles such as feasts based on the courtly romance tradition).⁷² Bumke differentiates “zwischen der Arbeit der Dichter, die eine *materia* bearbeiten, und der Weiterarbeit an den Dichtungen durch Redaktoren, Bearbeiter, Fortsetzer, Zudichter, usw.”⁷³ This division is not, however, deployed in order to establish a severance between the tasks of author and redactor, as in practice both work with *materia*: rather, “diese Unterscheidung soll dem Verdacht entgegenwirken, hier würden die mittelalterlichen Autoren zu Redaktoren und Bearbeitern herabgewürdigt werden.”⁷⁴ Bumke aims instead to positively acknowledge the creative work of redactors in order to lift their traditional reputation as “Textverschlechterer.”⁷⁵

Likewise, the transformative, interpretive and inventive aspect – the rewriting – of premodern transmission is key for my understanding of the varied communication of the *Reisebuch*. My reevaluation of the travel book's rewriting goes hand in hand with

69 See also Nikolaus Henkel. “Kurzfassungen höfischer Erzähldichtung im 13./14. Jahrhundert: Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Textgeschichte und literarischer Interessenbildung”. In: *Literarische Interessenbildung im Mittelalter. DFG-Symposium 1991*. Ed. by Joachim Heinze. Stuttgart: Metzler Verlag, 1993, pp. 39–59; Peter Strohschneider. “Höfische Romane in Kurzfassungen: Stichworte zu einem unbeachteten Aufgabenfeld”. In: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 120.1 (1991), pp. 419–439.

70 The discussion of ‘sequels’ has concentrated on Wolfram's *Willehalm*, *Titarel* and Gottfried's *Tristan* by Ulrich von Türheim and Heinrich von Freiburg. See in particular Baisch, *Textkritik als Problem der Kulturwissenschaft*, pp. 274ff. and Monika Schausten. *Erzählwelten der Tristangeschichte im hohen Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zu den deutschsprachigen Tristanfassungen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Fink, 1999.

71 See especially Jan-Dirk Müller. “Volksbuch/Prosaroman im 15./16. Jahrhundert: Perspektiven der Forschung”. In: *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur Sonderheft* 1 (1985), pp. 1–128.

72 Bumke, “Retextualisierung”, p. 43.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

74 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

the valorisation of its versions and the recognition of the substantial interpretative work of its compilers and/or redactors. Rewriting in the *Reisebuch* involves the narrative's repeated and substantial adaptation in order to communicate diverse ideas about the East to new audiences. As this thesis will make plain, rewriting affects the form, the content, the thematic emphasis and thus the representation of the East over the course of the work's circulation: each manuscript and print version of the *Reisebuch* constitutes the negotiation of a unique relationship with eastern difference, characterised by "thematisch-semantische Veränderungen [...], die zu Neufokussierungen bzw. Fokusverschiebungen führen."⁷⁶ The different versions of the *Reisebuch* are therefore to be treated as equally relevant, i.e. each is essential to a complete understanding of the work and its representational strategies. In this view, a single authoritative authorial voice (or text) is replaced by a multiplicity of historically and culturally significant voices (or texts). My project reflects this plurality and variety of text and voice by foregrounding how the *Reisebuch*'s versions transformatively (re-)construct and thus (re-)represent the Orient.

1.3 Rewriting and Premodern Travel Literature

Given the outlined attitude to text production, it is unsurprising that premodern travel narratives frequently exhibit strategies of rewriting; in fact, rewriting is so common that it can, and has been, described as a basic characteristic of the genre.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Schiewer, "Fassung, Bearbeitung, Version und Edition", p. 41.

⁷⁷ Gerhard Wolf describes "die Quellengebundenheit der Texte und die dadurch bedingten inhaltlichen Übereinstimmung" as "gattungskonstitutiv", in Wolf, "Die deutschsprachigen Reiseberichte des Spätmittelalters", p. 85. Further, the author of the medieval travel narrative has been characterised "als eine Art Bastler [...], der die mannigfaltigen Elemente aus dem Arsenal der Repräsentation soziokultureller Andersartigkeit der eigenen Kultur zu Darstellungen tendenziell vollständiger Bilder zusammenbaut und diese Darstellungen mit einem Bericht über die Begebenheiten der Reise selbst umrahmt" in Michael Harbsmeier. "Reisebeschreibungen als mentalitätsgeschichtliche Quellen: Überlegungen zu einer historisch-anthropologischen Untersuchung frühneuzeitlicher deutscher Reisebeschreibungen". In: *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte: Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung*. Ed. by Antoni Maćzak and Hans Jürgen. Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1982, pp. 1–31, p. 16.

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Rewriting forms an essential element of how texts and ideas were (re-)produced, and the practice constitutes a central aspect of premodern German Orientalism(s). In this section, I make a case for why the (literary) study of premodern travel writing, and in particular of its representational strategies, needs to take rewriting into account. I explain why evidence of the practice has in the past been misunderstood, if not outright neglected, and I position my study of Schiltberger's *Reisebuch* in the recent research context that addresses this lacuna. Ultimately, my perspective involves a reassessment of traditional notions of authenticity and originality, and of the role of the traveller's eyewitness claim. I will briefly address these categories here.

The literary nature and merit of travel narratives like the *Reisebuch* for a long time went unappreciated by philologists. Instead, they were regarded as primarily historical documents. This is reflected by the widespread, if largely fleeting references to the *Reisebuch* in historical scholarship and the comparatively negligible investigation of the work's literary qualities until recently.⁷⁸ Studies of premodern travel texts also often failed to accommodate the pervasive evidence of rewriting, so that

die meisten Texte doch wieder nur an ihrer Originalität und Individualität gemessen [werden], und viele Interpreten konzentrieren sich gerade auf jene Textpassagen, in denen sich anscheinend die unmittelbare Beobachtung und Erkenntnis der Reisenden niederschlägt.⁷⁹

For example, Frances Wood has disputed that Marco Polo (1254–1324) really travelled as far as China by concentrating on perceived omissions, inconsistencies and inaccuracies in his account, which are ascribed in part to the influence of Polo's collaborator, the romance writer Rustichello da Pisa (c. 1250–1300). Wood questions Polo's status as an eyewitness as a result of the 'dilution' of the traveller's voice

⁷⁸ The following provide examples of mention of the *Reisebuch* in order to address historical questions: Kenneth M. Setton. *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*. Vol. 1. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1976; Aziz Suryal Atiya. *The Crusade of Nicopolis*. New York: AMS Press, 1978; and Beatrice Forbes Manz. *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

⁷⁹ Wolf, "Die deutschsprachigen Reiseberichte des Spätmittelalters", p. 85.

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through Rustichello's interpolations and thus adds to a long line of attempts to distinguish between these voices, between the 'fact' of the traveller-author and the 'fiction' of the auditor-editor.⁸⁰

This emphasis on authenticity is the chief reason that rewriting generally posed such a significant sticking point in research on premodern travel writing. The application of this bias – influenced by modern hermeneutic ideas about aesthetic originality and innovation as well as the preeminence of the author over translator, editor and compiler – is most markedly encapsulated in critical approaches to Mandeville's *Travels*. The *Travels* is the main source rewritten in the *Reisebuch* and arguably the most widely read travel account of the Middle Ages, with nearly 300 surviving manuscripts and versions in all the major European languages.⁸¹ During the Middle Ages hardly anyone doubted the veracity of Mandeville's experience, but the account is a fabrication, a compilation of older travel accounts, encyclopaedic and scientific knowledge put together by an author who may never have travelled anywhere at all. At the end of the nineteenth century, Mandeville's rewriting was revealed: the travel book was considered to be a fraud, Mandeville a liar and plagiarist, and the work consequently demoted to worthless compilation. In 1888 Albert Bovenschen voiced this consensus:

Als einer Reisebeschreibung sollte man eigentlich von vornherein annehmen dürfen, dass der Verfasser den einfachen, wahren Verlauf seiner Reise [...] schildert. [...] Freilich werden wir bei der Beschreibung von Mandevilles angeblicher Reise [...] arg in unsrer Annahme getäuscht, da sich herausstellt, dass Mandeville seine Quellen mit so grosser Selbstverleugnung benutzte, dass er auf eigne, selbständige Zuthaten fast ganz verzichtete und dadurch in uns den Verdacht erweckt, er habe die von ihm beschriebenen Länder überhaupt

80 Frances Wood. *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* London: Secker & Warburg, 1995.

81 Iain MacLeod Higgins, ed. *The Book of John Mandeville*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2011, pp. xii–xiii.

nie besucht.⁸²

Similar judgement was passed on the *Reisebuch* by its editor Valentin Langmantel, who perceived the account as partly “unselbständig”, a fact that meant that the “reisebuch einen teil des ihm früher beigelegten wertes einbüßen muß.”⁸³ While these are nineteenth-century evaluations, even as recently as the 1990s the *Travels* and texts like it have been characterised in a comparably value-loaded manner.⁸⁴

The (re-)use of source material, however, constitutes an independently creative act; authenticity is not a useful category for evaluating the value of a medieval travel text, as the practice of rewriting in these accounts demonstrates not only a literary achievement on behalf of translator, editor and compiler, but also a standard means by which cultural difference was negotiated in (and through) texts, whether or not based on real experience. As Klaus Ridder has since illustrated for the *Travels*, the author innovatively arranged disparate sources into an itinerary that, more than a merely derivative exercise, is evidence of the deliberate “Transformation wissenschaftlicher Ausführungen und Theorien in eine populär-literarische Form.”⁸⁵ In addition, the *Travels* was adapted in transmission.⁸⁶ There are, for instance, two fourteenth-century German translations of Mandeville’s account by Otto von Diemeringen (d. 1389) and Michel Velser (dates unknown). Diemeringen substantially rewrites the *Travels* on a structural level by reconfiguring the narrative into five books, of which the last two

82 In Klaus Ridder. “Werktyp, Übersetzungsintention und Gebrauchsfunktion. Jean de Mandevilles Reiseerzählung in deutscher Übersetzung Ottos von Diemeringen”. In: *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Ed. by Xenja von Ertzdorff and Dieter Neukirch. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992, pp. 357–388, p. 361.

83 Langmantel, *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, p. 165.

84 Although recognising the complexity of the author’s role as “neither a liar nor simply a poet” (p. 137), Mary Baine Campbell contradicts her own problematisation with reference to the work as “a literary hoax” (p. 126), an “aesthetically justified lie” (p. 145) (in Mary B. Campbell. *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

85 Klaus Ridder. “Übersetzung und Fremderfahrung. Jean de Mandevilles literarische Inszenierung eines Weltbildes und die Lesarten seiner Übersetzer”. In: *Wolfram-Studien* 14 (1994), pp. 231–264, p. 234.

86 See Higgins, *Writing East*, pp. 21–23.

gather information about eastern religions. His rewriting “deutet auf ein besonderes religionskundliches Interesse.”⁸⁷ Velser transmits the Continental French Version, which he renders in minimally abridged form.⁸⁸ These translations comprise not only linguistic transfer from one language (i.e., French, Latin) to another (German) but also the interpretive communication of information; in Ridder’s analysis, the German translation of the *Travels* involved “der kritische Umgang mit Mandevilles Weltbild” and responded to “einen vollständig anderen Kommunikationszusammenhang.”⁸⁹ Moreover, “eine Verpflichtung gegenüber dem Autortext steht für den Übersetzer hier nicht im Vordergrund, sondern er verfügt in der Übersetzung, die zur Textredaktion gerät, nahezu souverän über das Werk Mandevilles.”⁹⁰

The *Travels* presents a particularly extensive case of rewriting, but evidence of the practice is not limited to similarly fictional travel documents.⁹¹ Instead, rewriting is equally prevalent in accounts of actual travel, in which recycled passages are often seamlessly combined with firsthand observations.⁹² The experience and authority of

87 Ridder, “Werktyp”, p. 379. These particulars are dispersed throughout the text in the *Interpolated Continental* or *Liège Version* on which the translation is based. Cf. also Klaus Ridder. *Jean de Mandevilles ‘Reisen’: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der deutschen Übersetzung des Otto von Diemerigen*. Munich: Artemis, 1991.

88 See Eric John Morrall. *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung in deutscher Übersetzung von Michel Velser*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1974.

89 Ridder, “Übersetzung und Fremderfahrung”, p. 261.

90 Ridder, “Werktyp”, p. 379.

91 Cf. Scott D. Westrem. *Broader Horizons: A Study of Johannes Witte de Hese’s Itinerarius and Medieval Travel Narratives*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 2001, for a study of Johannes Witte de Hese’s fifteenth-century *Itinerarius*, which (like Mandeville’s account) recounts an entirely imaginary journey by means of extensive compilation.

92 Bernhard von Breydenbach (c. 1440–1497), a leading lawyer and cleric from Mainz, travelled through the Holy Land in 1483–1484 with a caravan that included the nobleman Johann zu Solms-Lich (1464–1483), the artist Erhard Reuwich (1445–1505), the Dominican friar Felix Fabri (1441–1502) and the Franciscan Paul Walther von Guglingen (born c. 1442), of whom the last two likewise composed descriptions of their journeys (Bernhard von Breydenbach. *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam: eine Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land. Frühneuhochdeutscher Text und Übersetzung*. Ed. by Isolde Mozer. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010, p. xiii; cf. also Stefan Schröder. *Zwischen Christentum und Islam: Kulturelle Grenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten des Felix Fabri*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009; and Ursula Ganz-Blättler. *Andacht und Abenteuer: Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320–1520)*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1990). Breydenbach integrated the accounts of his fellow travellers, notably incorporating and extending Guglingen’s Arabic glossary, as well as content from other sources to create his *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (1486; GW: 05077) (Frederike Timm. *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht*

real historical figures did not discourage a text's reworking by others.⁹³

Moreover, travel narratives habitually stress the experience, gained *in situ*, and resultant eyewitness authority of their travellers. This claim by the narrators within medieval and early modern travel texts should not, however, be considered at odds with the practice of rewriting basic to the genre. A narrator's claim of eyewitness authority is, by contrast, a narrative strategy: a compilation may, as exemplified by Mandeville's *Travels*, still assert that it is the result of real travel, and Schiltberger's *Reisebuch* also builds on the assertion in the preface that the narrative is a faithful and reflective record of the traveller's actual experience.⁹⁴ While authenticity cannot be a valid category to determine the ascribed *value* of a premodern travel account

des Bernhard von Breidenbach von 1486 und die Holzschnitte Erhard Rewwichts: Die Peregrinatio in terram sanctam (1486) als Propagandainstrument im Mantel der gelehrten Pilgerschrift. Stuttgart: Dr. Ernst Hauswedelle & Co. Verlag, 2006, pp. 80–84; and Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, pp. xxiv–xxvi, provide comprehensive catalogues of Breydenbach's sources. See also Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran. "Das arabische Vokabular des Paul Walther von Guglingen und seine Überlieferung im Reisebericht Bernhards von Breidenbach". In: *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 12 [1994], pp. 153–182). As Timm has illustrated, "die Zusammenstellung der Quellen hat gezeigt, dass nur ein sehr geringer Teil des Textes – in 1. Linie der zweite Itinerarabschnitt – auf Reisenotizen Breidenbachs beruht" (Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach*, p. 96). Nor is the narrative's final form exclusively attributable to the traveller, for the cleric's collaboration with the theology professor Martin Rath resulted in the provision of extensive explanatory excursus on the "erroribus et perversitatibus et moribus" of the inhabitants of the Levant (Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, p. xxvi).

93 The brief and dispassionate *Geschicht von der Turckey* (c. 1482; GW: M12694) by Jörg von Nürnberg, a weapons expert who like Schiltberger was a former captive of the Turks from c. 1460–1480, was adapted during its transmission. The 1496 edition (GW: M12696) by the Memmingen printer Albrecht Kunne combined the account with an assortment of texts about the Turks to create a "Sammelsurium" that "mit dem ursprünglichen Text des Büchsenmeisters nur noch wenig gemein [hat]" (Karoline Dominika Döring. *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel im 15. Jahrhundert, mit einem Katalog der europäischen Türkendrucke bis 1500.* Husum: Matthiesen Verlag, 2013, p. 159). Kunne introduced an anti-Islamic polemic to accompany a call to crusade in the name of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (ibid., pp. 159–163). This tendency to reformulate and reconceptualise continued in the third edition of the work printed by Peter Wagner or Hans Mair in Nuremberg c. 1500 (GW: M12698), in which the *Geschicht's* chronology of the Ottoman Empire is extended with a report of the Turkish conquest of the Venetian colony Modon. Instead of Kunne's new additions, the narrative is further supplemented by a lengthy extract from the vernacular version of Breydenbach's account. It is clear that the redactor's aim was to augment Jörg's brief and neutral historical text with extra, up-to-date detail (ibid., pp. 163–164).

94 *Ich Johans Schiltberger zoch uß von miner haymat [...] in der zyt als kunig Sigmund zu vngern in die haidenschafft zoch. [...] Und was ich die zit in dem land der haidenschafft strites und wunders herfahren. Und och was ich hopstett und wassers gesehen und gemercken mügen hab, Davon vindent ir hienach geschriben* (Schiltberger, *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*, p. 51).

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as a cultural document, it thus nonetheless constitutes an important aspect of understanding how the travel account functions as a narrative.

On a diegetic level, a claim of personal experience serves as a rhetorical strategy to authenticate a text's content. Here, it is important to differentiate between the narrator as "erzählenden bzw. schreibenden Ich" and the traveller as "das beschriebene Ich, das erlebt hat und dessen Erlebnisse im Text präsentiert wird", even when the first-person narrator claims to be the traveller and thus by extension the author.⁹⁵ In travel texts "[kommt] nie das vollständige Autor-Ich zum Ausdruck [...], sondern immer nur das Ich eines Erzählers."⁹⁶ Further still, as a result of the fact that travel texts incorporate other texts and are habitually rewritten themselves, that the traveller may not be the author, and that texts are constructed in order to communicate specific content for specific purposes, it is the case that "der 'gelebte Augenblick' der Reise nicht rekonstruierbar und der Versuch, über die Darstellung auf die subjektive Einstellung des Verfassers und dessen individuelle Persönlichkeit zu schließen, kaum erfolgsversprechend [sei]."⁹⁷

Travel narratives rely unreservedly on this illusion of lived experience to generate plausibility for the information they present. Extensive rewriting of material is often deliberately played down and would presumably not even have been recognised as such: the explorers Christopher Columbus (c. 1451–1506), Martin Frobisher (c. 1535–1594) and Walter Raleigh (c. 1554–1618) as well as the cartographers Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) and Gerardus Mercator (1512–1594) read and were convinced by Mandeville's compilation.⁹⁸ As 'early' as the mid-fourteenth century, individual experience was a benchmark for the convincingly mimetic and didactically valuable narrative.⁹⁹ A rhetoric of personal experience and individualised observation

95 Schröder, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam*, p. 30.

96 Ibid., p. 30.

97 Ibid., p. 29.

98 Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, p. 10.

99 In Campbell's view, during the late medieval and early modern period vernacular travel writing's

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is thus a key component in the process of representing and validating knowledge in a premodern travel document: as Scott Westrem has argued, “the burden of establishing a credible narrative voice rests equally on writers of real and fictional travel [...] [Travel narratives] depend for their textual lives on the voice of someone who pauses occasionally to assert: *Et hoc vidi*.”¹⁰⁰

It follows that the traveller’s identity as personally experiencing subject plays a rhetorically significant role, irrespective of a travel account’s actual veracity. By way of the personal voice and eyewitness assertions of the traveller, the reader is vicariously transported, informed and, crucially, asked to accept the details the narrator relates.¹⁰¹ Credibility and authority are constructed in the late medieval

interest came “to lie largely in the sensibility of the particular writer” (Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, p. 167). This valorisation of personal experience and observation demonstrates what Hans Blumenberg programmatically termed “theoretische Neugierde” in his seminal *Die Legitimität der Neuzeit* (1966). With this term, Blumenberg argued that the transformation of curiosity about the external world “from a vice associated with the *concupiscentia oculorum* into a legitimate mode of inquiry” during this period was indicative of a general epistemological development and a progression away from the forms of knowing common in the Middle Ages (Jeffrey F. Hamburger. “Idol Curiosity”. In: *Curiositas: Welterfahrung und ästhetische Neugierde in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*. Ed. by Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Klaus Krüger. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002, pp. 21–58, p. 21. On the medieval concept of *curiositas*, see Christian K. Zacher. *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976). Indeed, evidence of the heightened significance of an experience-based approach to depicting the world is not restricted to the travel genre on which I concentrate but has been observed across a spectrum of fictional and factual texts. Jan-Dirk Müller has discussed this tendency to display *Weltneugierde* both for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *Prosaromane* as for the writings of Renaissance humanists like Konrad Gesner (1516–1565) and Paracelsus (1493–1541), for whom personal observation occupied a central and indispensable role in their investigations of the natural world (Jan-Dirk Müller, ed. *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Nach den Erstdrucken mit sämtlichen Holzschnitten*. Bibliothek der Frühen Neuzeit. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990, pp. 993–999. Cf. also Jan-Dirk Müller. “Rationalisierung und Mythisierung in Erzähltexten der Frühen Neuzeit”. In: *Wolfram-Studien* 20 [2008], pp. 435–456; Jan-Dirk Müller. “*Curiositas* und *erfahrung* der Welt im frühen deutschen Prosaroman”. In: *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Reformationszeit*. Ed. by Karl Stackmann und Ludger Grenzmann. Stuttgart: Metzler Verlag, 1984, pp. 252–271; and Almut Suerbaum. “Augenschein und inneres Sehen in Thürings von Ringoltingen *Melusine*”. In: *Sehen und Sichtbarkeit in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters: XXI. Anglo-German Colloquium London 2009*. Ed. by Ricarda Bauschke, Sebastian Coxon, and Martin H. Jones. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011, pp. 425–440). Paracelsus, for instance, explicitly criticises reliance on book knowledge in favour of “die lender durchwandern und specierum diversitates erkündigen” (Jan-Dirk Müller. “*erfahrung* zwischen Heilssorge, Selbsterkenntnis und Entdeckung des Kosmos”. In: *Daphnis* 15.2 [1986], pp. 307–342, p. 330).

¹⁰⁰ Westrem, *Broader Horizons*, p. 42.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

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and early modern travel narrative not solely on the basis of the authority of the sources the text may have tacitly sampled, nor on reference to lived experience alone, but also through the portrayal of the traveller as a historically tangible and authentic figure who has personally seen or heard that which he describes.

The significance of the persona for the vernacular travel narrative can be illustrated by the history of its titles. There were no fixed, consistent titles within the manuscript transmission of travel accounts during the Middle Ages. The title's modern identificatory role was instead fulfilled by the preface, which commonly functioned to introduce the traveller and establish him as an eyewitness. Marina Münkler has shown that the travel book was chiefly identified by the traveller's name: "Der Name des Autors, nicht der Name des Textes bildet das Überlieferungskontinuum in den *incipites* der spätmittelalterlichen Orientreiseberichte."¹⁰² The traveller stood, metonymically, for his book and his experience, a static and substantiating element in the dynamic transmission of premodern travel writing. The traveller-persona 'Sir John Mandeville', for example, not only validates his unacknowledged compilation but serves as a fixed authority for *all* the travel account's adaptations and translations.

The same holds true for the *Reisebuch*, albeit on a much smaller national scale. The traveller as the embodiment of *auctoritas* is most apparent in the *Reisebuch*'s print transmission, in which title pages develop to advertise, in succinct language, what the book's preface delineates. The Frankfurt printer Hermann Gülfferich published an edition of the *Reisebuch* in 1553 entitled, with the traveller's name enlarged and rubricated, *Schildtberger*, and in a smaller subtitle *Ein wunderbarliche / vnd kurtzweilige history / Wie Schildtberger / einer aus der Stadt München inn Beyern / von den Türcken gefangen / inn die heydenschafft gefüret/ vnnd wider heim kommen ist*. Gülfferich's title lays stress specifically on the traveller, hinting at a focus on

¹⁰² Marina Münkler. *Erfahrung des Fremden: Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000, p. 241.

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the ‘juicy details’ of his captivity. Gregor Hübner’s 1596 *Erzelung eines Bürgers Sohn* contains, instead of the advertised complete report of Schiltberger’s travels, a collection of prophecies relating to the Turks and a short excerpt about Islam (*Wie der Machmett vnd sein glaub auff kommen sey*). These texts are supported by the authority of Schiltberger who, as Hübner’s title page also asserts, experienced firsthand *Türcken Ceremonien in Kirchen, Schulen und Heusern*. This exemplifies, as Joan-Pau Rubiés and Jan Elsner have concisely contended, how “after Marco Polo the authority of the traveller replaced that of the book; the book was only authoritative if the traveller whose report it contained was authoritative too.”¹⁰³

Thus, I argue that a singular focus on authenticity – of voice or ‘authorial’ text – while appropriate in some research contexts should be revised for literary readings of premodern travel writing not only “weil damit die Traditionsgebundenheit der Mittel des literarischen Ausdrucks und Gestaltens verkannt wird” but also because the rhetorical role of the eyewitness claim and the essential creativity of this rewriting is disregarded.¹⁰⁴ By considering this practice in its historical context, recent scholarship has lifted the expectation that travel writing exclusively expresses true lived experience. These studies respond to the fact that no clear, consistent distinction was made between rewritten fictional and authentic factual travel accounts during the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁵ For this type of textual approach, it is further inconsequential whether a work is the result of real travel or not, as both factual and fictional texts function in the same way: they incorporate source material, may involve collaboration and are themselves regularly rewritten in transmission. As historical artefacts in their own right, travel accounts promise to inform modern scholarship about the

103 Jan Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, eds. *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*. London: Reaktion Books, 1999, p. 37.

104 Wolf, “Die deutschsprachigen Reiseberichte des Spätmittelalters”, p. 85.

105 For example, the entirely ‘fictional’ Mandeville’s *Travels* is bound with the *Reisebuch*, Marco Polo’s *Il Milione* and Odorico de Pordenone’s *China-Reisebericht* in *Munich, Cod. L 1603*, whereby all are handled as equally factual/informative by the volume’s compiler (section 3.1).

making of images of cultural alterity.

In particular, Iain Macleod Higgins has influenced my reading of the *Reisebuch* as the first scholar to fully embrace the concept of the travel account as a “medieval multi-text”, namely the writer’s “dialogic manner of overwriting his precursors and sources, but also [...] the ways in which the resulting text was itself rendered and rewritten.”¹⁰⁶ Higgins’s object of study is Mandeville’s *Travels*. My study is inspired by Higgins’s “principal innovation”, i.e. Higgins’s response “to the alterity of its [a work’s] multiple textual existence.”¹⁰⁷ Moreover, I similarly understand the *Reisebuch*’s various representations of the East as the consequence of the “active and engaged nature of cultural production and reproduction.”¹⁰⁸ With Higgins, I argue that these rewritings are “not simply a gathering up of existing lore, but a deliberately dialogic response to previous and contemporary writings about the East.”¹⁰⁹ In this research context, rewriting is a strategy used by premodern writers to negotiate ‘other’ cultures in their texts; as Higgins puts it, rewriting is integral to both “textmaking and worldmaking.”¹¹⁰

Although I concur with Higgins’s argument that rewriting plays a central role in the construction of cultural representations in premodern travel writing, my methodology departs from his study in two important ways. First, Higgins considers a selection of versions of the *Travels* within a structure that, despite his assertion that scholarship “need[s] to go beyond the idea of one authentic Mandeville”, nonetheless upholds modern assumptions about the authority of the authorial version.¹¹¹ Higgins places the Continental and Insular versions of the *Travels* at the core of his study, for he considers these to be the versions “which preserve the best traces of the presumed

106 Higgins, *Writing East*, p. vii.

107 Ibid., p. viii.

108 Ibid., p. vii.

109 Ibid., p. 11.

110 Ibid., p. i.

111 Joan-Pau Rubiés. “Review of *Writing East: The ‘Travels’ of Sir John Mandeville* by Iain Macleod Higgins.” In: *The Modern Language Review* 94.3 (July 1999), pp. 780–781, p. 781.

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original.”¹¹² Consequently, Higgins examines the versions of the *Travels* against the narrative of these ‘best texts’: the chapters follow their plot sequence, from prologue to epilogue, as Higgins analyses how the author rewrote his sources as well as how the versions serve to reflect and adapt the main themes of these ‘original’ texts.¹¹³ Consequently, as much as Higgins insists on the equality of textual plurality, he ends up not only emphasising but “reconstructing authorial voice.”¹¹⁴ By contrast, I have organised my study of the *Reisebuch* in order to communicate the equivalent status of the distinct voices and strategies of all surviving manuscript and print versions in transmission; unlike Higgins, I do not structurally privilege any one version – each rewriting is assigned separate discussion – nor am I interested in reconstructing the original form of the narrative. I instead aim to best register the lack of authorial control and largely unstable conditions of the work’s transmission and reception during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Secondly, while Higgins focuses exclusively on narrative transformations, my thesis also takes into account the significance of *material* reworkings. The practice of rewriting is ultimately not only transformative on a diegetic level but may also involve the insertion of a work into new textual, historical and cultural contexts, accompanied by interpretive changes or additions in material form or media. A manuscript is not only the carrier of texts but historicises and contextualises texts according to an “own agenda, as worked out by the person who planned and supervised the production of the manuscript.”¹¹⁵ In the *Reisebuch*’s transmission, this involves the binding of manuscripts alongside other texts in collections that provide

112 Higgins, *Writing East*, p. 20.

113 Rubiés, “Review of *Writing East*”, p. 781. Rubiés further argues that there is “a distinct lack of precise contextualisation in the discussion of variant readings or isotopes: the different voices keep appearing with their distinctive ideological accents, but they have been fragmented according to a thematic progression (which follows the book’s itinerary), and no sufficient effort has been devoted to flesh them out in place and time.”

114 *Ibid.*, p. 780.

115 Nichols and Wenzel, *The Whole Book*, p. 2.

deliberate and interpretive recontextualisations of the work. In print, the *Reisebuch*'s transformation is even more markedly fuelled by materiality, as the work's rewriting is characterised not only by repeated (re-)framing with other texts but also with woodcut images. In this case, the *Reisebuch* is significantly reinterpreted without any remarkable changes being made to the narrative itself.

1.4 Schiltberger's *Reisebuch* in Scholarship

By understanding the work as a dynamic, polyvocal corpus that portrays, and exercises authority over, the East in multiple, divergent ways, my approach in this study constitutes a significant reevaluation and extension of current scholarship on the *Reisebuch*.

For one, my thesis marks a return to the *Reisebuch*'s (surviving) manuscript and print transmission, with the aim to accommodate the work's material and textual variety in its literary analysis. Critics have relied particularly on Valentin Langmantel's 1885 edition, the most recent academic edition of the *Reisebuch*, in their readings. This reliance has perpetuated a singular idea of the work that does not correspond to the material evidence of a varied transmission. Langmantel championed one manuscript (Munich Stadtbibliothek, Cod. L 1603) as the 'best text':

diese handschrift schließt sich an den bis jetzt nicht bekannten *codex archetypus* unbedingt weit so näher an, als die übrigen, indem sie bessere lesarten, besonders bei den eigennamen, und eine größere vollständigkeit des textes biete und überdies bei ihr die einzelnen kapitel in einer mehr systematischen ordnung auf einander folgen.¹¹⁶

The remaining manuscripts known to Langmantel are judged as providing 'lesser' examples of the *Reisebuch*, and these have predominantly not been analysed. A return to the material transmission is thus both desirable and necessary if we are to

¹¹⁶ Langmantel, *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, p. 149.

move beyond Langmantel and toward a more complete, multifaceted understanding of the *Reisebuch*'s representations.

Important work has already been carried out in this direction. Langmantel's collation of the *Reisebuch*'s transmission has since been outstripped by more recent contributions by Hans-Jochen Schiewer, Elisabeth Geck, Samuel Willcocks, Karoline Döring and online databases like the *Handschriftencensus* and the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, which revisit, reassess and are able to extend the catalogue of the book's material transmission.¹¹⁷

Schiewer (1992) is the first to survey and significantly update the *Reisebuch*'s manuscript transmission. In addition to the manuscripts located by Langmantel at Karlsruhe, St. Gallen, Heidelberg and Munich, Schiewer adds a fragment held in Berlin and a further two manuscripts housed in Strasbourg and Wolfenbüttel (see Appendix A). Schiewer is, moreover, also the first to highlight the existence of equally valuable manuscript versions of the *Reisebuch* – identifying “zwei Langfassungen und einer anonymisierten Kurzfassung” – but does not provide an in-depth analysis nor recognise the full diversity of the work's print transmission.¹¹⁸

Geck (1969), on the other hand, focuses on reexamining the print editions of the *Reisebuch* and identifies editions by Anton Sorg, Hermann Gülfferich, Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber as well as Weigand Han; Geck considers these briefly in terms of their relationship to *Herzog Ernst* and *Sankt Brandans Meerfahrt*, as these narratives were often reproduced together in early print.

¹¹⁷ Schiltberger, Hans: “*Reisebuch*”. URL: <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/3859> (visited on 07/2016); Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*. URL: <http://www.vd16.de/>; Hans-Jochen Schiewer. “Schiltberger, Hans”. In: *Verfasserlexikon*. Ed. by Burghart Wachinger et al. Vol. 8. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992, pp. 675–679; Schiewer, “Leben unter Heiden”; Elisabeth Geck. *Buchkundlicher Exkurs zu Herzog Ernst, Sankt Brendans Seefahrt, Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*. Wiesbaden: Pressler, 1969; Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*; and Samuel Willcocks. “Schiltberger's Travels, 1396–1597”. In: *Authority in European Book Culture 1400–1600*. Ed. by Pollie Bromilow. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013, pp. 85–96.

¹¹⁸ Schiewer, “Schiltberger, Hans”, Sp. 676.

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Döring (2013) provides an analysis solely of Sorg's reproduction of the *Reisebuch* in the context of her study of *Türkendrucke* before 1500.

Similarly, Willcocks (2013) mainly considers the prints. Willcocks's article is the closest to my undertaking in terms of its approach, as it examines the long version briefly and the prints' reworkings more extensively. Contrary to my endeavour, however, Willcocks is principally interested in tracing the development of Schiltberger as an authority on the Turks, and he therefore does not provide a detailed analysis of the versions' representations of the East. As a result, Willcocks reaches different conclusions in his individual readings of the versions. He surmises that the long version's rewriting of Mandeville's *Travels* is evidence of an "amanuensis" and functions primarily to add authority to the account; he does not investigate the impact this rewriting has on the version's representational strategies.¹¹⁹ Further, although Willcocks also concludes that Sorg's woodcuts independently foreground specific aspects of the narrative, he stresses that the addition of imagery is evidence of a desire to minimise "the trauma of captivity and battlefield atrocity by assimilating the Asian episodes to known chivalric imagery."¹²⁰ Willcocks maintains that Berg and Neuber, Gülfferich and Han emphasise the "fantastic and entertaining aspects" of the book with their titles, woodcuts and preface.¹²¹ By contrast, I argue that the imagery in these editions communicates a proto-ethnographic interest in 'exotic' costume and inserts an explicitly polemic perspective. In an extension of Geck's catalogue, Willcocks additionally includes pamphlet editions of the *Reisebuch* produced in Frankfurt and Vienna between 1565 and 1597 in his analysis. Willcocks recognises the polemic nature of these versions, but he does not investigate their strategies of 'othering' in great detail, instead once more demonstrating that their transformations mark Schiltberger's emergence as a valued authority.

119 Willcocks, "Schiltberger's Travels, 1396-1597", p. 88.

120 Ibid., p. 90.

121 Ibid., p. 91.

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The *Handschriftencensus* logged a further manuscript in 2012, namely *Privatbesitz Antiquariat Dr. Jörn Günther Rare Books AG, Schweiz, Nr. 2013/13,12*.¹²²

Finally, I am able to include for the first time the 1598 print version by Munich publisher Adam Berg in an analysis of the work: this pamphlet constitutes a further unique reworking of the *Reisebuch*.

The multiplicity and variety of the *Reisebuch*'s transmission is, with the above exceptions, unreflected in literary scholarship about the *Reisebuch*. All other commentators, few of whom supply more than a passing mention, have relied without explanation on a nineteenth-century edition (either Langmantel or Neumann), and if they have not wholly neglected the variance of the *Reisebuch*'s transmission, it has been unhelpfully conflated. The text has been mined as a source of historical fact, and Schiltberger has been quoted as, if fallible and liable to exaggeration, an eyewitness authority on the Battle of Nicopolis and the court of Timūr.

Using Neumann's edition, Marija Wakounig (1992) approaches the *Reisebuch* from just such a historical perspective and appraises to what degree Schiltberger's subjective experience reflects historical reality: "Das persönliche Schicksal wurde auch zum Wegweiser dessen, wie es angeblich war."¹²³ As such, the article offers little more than a summary of the events of the *Reisebuch*, although historically critical annotations advise caution if referencing the narrative's (inflated) numbers and (imprecise) terminology in describing eastern rulership roles in a factual context.¹²⁴

Irrespective of the historical reality of its narrative, however, the continued transmission of the *Reisebuch* has formed real historical, literary and cultural artefacts. The communicative and transformative reworking of the *Reisebuch* implies a continued cultural and literary significance independent of any consideration of the text's

¹²² Schiltberger, *Hans: "Reisebuch"*, added by Klaus Graf, Sine Nomine, Max Schmitz and Helen C. Wüstefeld.

¹²³ Marija Wakounig. "Das Bild der Türken und Tataren bei Johannes Schiltberger". In: *Studia Polono-Danubiana et Balcanica* 5 (1992), pp. 117–124, p. 118.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

originality or historical authenticity. This refocus on the narrative's significance as a culturally informative representation, if not on the *Reisebuch's* multiplicity, is reflected by Marija Javor Briski (2007) who investigates the strategies used to depict the Muslim 'other' in the long version of the *Reisebuch* and the influence of the "Zweckgebundenheit des Textes in einer [sic] konkreten historischen Gebrauchszusammenhang" in this portrayal.¹²⁵

Briski concludes on the basis of the narrator's detachment and the combination of manuscripts in Munich, Cod. L 1603 that "Schiltbergers Bericht sollte vornehmlich der Belehrung und Unterhaltung dienen und nicht als Hetzkampagne gegen die Heiden fungieren."¹²⁶ Schiltberger's piece is contrasted with Bernhard von Breydenbach's "militant[es] Werk."¹²⁷ However, Briski does not accommodate the evidence of rewriting in her analysis, which results in several conclusions that require finer distinction. Briski's argument that the text is not a "Hetzkampagne" is entirely appropriate for the version she analyses, but it cannot stand as the only explanation, for the work's adaptation in print demonstrates a polemic comparable in vitriol to Breydenbach's text. Further, although aware of the *Reisebuch's* recycling of Mandeville's *Travels*, Briski misleadingly accounts for the neutral tone in segments about Muslim beliefs and rituals, rewritten verbatim from the *Travels*, with reference to Schiltberger's life and his (presumed) assimilation to Turkish culture and conversion to Islam.

Finally, the focus of Diane Summerhays Strachan's dissertation (1975) is principally on "defining [the] *Reisebeschreibung* as a genre."¹²⁸ Strachan sees the *Reisebuch* as part of a literary continuum, which develops "from [...] the tersely objective works of

125 Marija Javor Briski. "Kulturkonflikte in Hans Schiltbergers *Reisebuch* und Bernhard von Breidenbachs *Bericht über die Fahrt ins Heilige Land*". In: *Akten des XI. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses Paris 2005*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2007, pp. 279–286, p. 279.

126 Ibid., p. 283.

127 Ibid., p. 283.

128 Strachan, *Five Fifteenth Century German Reisebeschreibungen*, p. v.

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Schiltberger and [Bernhard von] Breitenbach to the more author-orientated ones of [Georg von] Ehingen and Faber [Felix Fabri]”, and her method “involves a structural and stylistic analysis of each text and an evaluation of the particular literary and ideological traditions influencing them.”¹²⁹ Strachan concludes that these accounts share certain genre-defining characteristics, i.e. “cyclic structure, [varying degrees of] author-hero relationship, and [a literary emphasis on] authenticity.”¹³⁰ She identifies three textual types which she considers to have directly influenced the formation of the *Reisebeschreibung* as a genre: the courtly romance, the chronicle and the pilgrimage account, the latter a “staid tradition” differing topically from the ‘plain’ travel account.¹³¹ Strachan argues that the *Reisebuch* is an example of the chronicle’s influence, in particular of the ‘entertaining’ rhyme chronicle versus the ‘pedagogical’ prose chronicle as represented by Georg von Ungarn’s captivity account.

A differentiated view of the entire material transmission of the *Reisebuch*, however, serves to problematise also Strachan’s analysis, which rests on an understanding of the *Reisebuch* as a single text and argument conceived of by an authoritative author. Contrary to Strachan’s claim, I argue that the manuscript transmission of the *Reisebuch* centrally prioritises the informative transfer of ethnographic knowledge, and that this intention is distinct from that in the sixteenth-century print versions which, by contrast, chiefly aim to agitate and polemicise. In her comparison of the *Reisebuch* with Georg of Ungarn’s *Chronica*, Strachan however uses the titles of the *Reisebuch*’s prints to underline the “difference of intent” of the two authors.¹³² Stemming from an author-centric concept of the text, this argumentation demonstrates a lack of sensitivity for the significant rewriting represented by these prints, the role played by a redactor’s agenda, and the prints’ rootedness in a specific historical and cultural

129 Strachan, *Five Fifteenth Century German Reisebeschreibungen*, p. vi.

130 Ibid., p. vi.

131 Ibid., p. 95.

132 Ibid., p. 74.

context.

1.5 Summary and Versions of the *Reisebuch*

My thesis aims to redress this type of reading by not only preserving but fleshing out exactly these distinctions. Before I move on in my central chapters to in-depth discussion of the manuscript and print versions of the *Reisebuch*, I think it useful to provide a tabular summary of the travel book's content and a digest of the versions' textual composition. I will discuss the versions in their specific historical, textual and material contexts at length in my respective chapters, so the aim here is simply to provide an overview – and a touchstone for reference – of the narrative's transmission and transformation(s).

1.5.1 Content Summary

In all versions of the *Reisebuch*, the narrative is divided into chapters marked by (often rubricated) intertitles and incipit letters. In the table below, I supply a plot summary, grouping chapters together if they consider a common subject. I refer to the chapter and page numbers in Karl Friedrich Neumann's 1859 edition of the manuscript today housed in Heidelberg (Cod. Pal. germ 216). I have chosen to reference this particular edition in my thesis not only because it is the scholarly edition of the *Reisebuch* that demonstrates the most minimal qualitative intervention to the text, but also because the manuscript version Neumann reproduces is the most frequently transmitted, either whole or in part, in both media from c. 1450–1600. Quotations from the *Reisebuch* are cited parenthetically – from Neumann, with shorthand N – throughout.

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Chapters	Content	Page ref.
Preface	The preface introduces the reader to Johannes Schiltberger; provides his reasons for journeying, i.e. to fight against the ‘infidel’; and details the length of his captivity in the East (c. 30 years). The narrator outlines the intention to relate <i>vil hupscher vnd fremder abentur</i> (N 51).	N 51
1–13	<p>The chapters outline the traveller’s experience of the Ottoman Turks under Bayezid I; they provide, in addition to sparse autobiographical detail, a catalogue of Turkish military and political conquests.</p> <p>The narrator supplies an account of the Battle of Nicopolis and the crusader’s defeat by Bayezid I. Schiltberger was taken captive by the Turks and imprisoned in a tower in Gallipoli before being transported to Bayezid’s capital at Bursa, where he was kept on as a servant to the sultan; many of his fellow captives were sent as gifts to serve other eastern rulers (e.g., in Egypt, Babylon, Persia, and Greater Armenia). Schiltberger spent twelve years in Bayezid’s service, and the travel book provides a report of <i>was der selb türkisch künig in den zwölf iaren volbracht hat</i> (N 58).</p> <p>Briefly, this chronicling account includes details of: Bayezid’s battle with and execution of his brother-in-law and competitor Karaman; his war against the king of Sebast (Sivas); an escape attempt by Schiltberger and 60 Christians; their recapture, imprisonment and rehabilitation (with pay rise); the sultan’s conquest of the city of Samsun and the wondrous events that occurred nearby; Ottoman conflict with Otman, a Turkish vassal of the Turko-Mongolian warlord Timūr, who conquered Sivas; Bayezid’s battle with the ‘king-sultan’ (i.e. the Mamluk ruler of Egypt); Bayezid’s war with the ‘White Tartars’; information about the role of the ‘king-sultan’ in the Muslim world; Timūr’s conquest of Sivas; Bayezid’s seizure of Lesser Armenia from Timūr; and, finally, Bayezid’s defeat by Timūr at the Battle of Ankara and the Ottoman sultan’s death in captivity.</p>	N 51–73

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Chapters	Content	Page ref.
14–20	<p>The chapters detail Schiltberger’s captivity under Timūr.</p> <p>Rather than supplying autobiographical information, they outline: Timūr’s war with the ‘king-sultan’; his brutal conquest of Aleppo and Damascus; Timūr’s conquest and destruction of Babylon; Timūr’s march on Lesser India and defeat of the Indian king’s army of elephants (with a horde of flaming camels); the theft of tribute by a vassal; the warlord’s slaughter of innocent children and the incineration of Isfahan; Timūr’s desire to go to war with China and the Great Chan; Timūr’s betrayal by his favourite wife; and lastly, the warlord’s premature death.</p>	N 73–83
21–26	<p>Following Timūr’s death, Schiltberger passed into the service of his son Miran Shāh and, after his death, of Miran Shāh’s son Abū Bakr.</p> <p>The chapters report on the various deeds of Timūr’s descendants – of <i>die strit vnd die vechten, die by den ziten, so ich in der heidenschafft gewesen bin, geschehen sint</i> (N 92). They outline: Miran Shāh and his brother Shāhrukh Mirza’s defeat of the vassal Joseph, who had forced Miran Shāh from his inherited lands; Joseph’s return and execution of Miran Shāh; Joseph’s conquest of Babylon; Schiltberger’s travels with Abū Bakr, who accompanied a Mongolian prince in service to the chief of the Golden Horde to the wild ‘edge’ of the world (Siberia). They also include a brief passage that depicts the violence of dynastic succession in Mongolian society.</p>	N 83–91
27	<p>The chapter describes Sadurmelick, a powerful Mongolian warrior queen.</p>	N 91–92
28–29	<p>These chapters detail the traveller’s itinerary – <i>in welchem land ich gewesen bin</i> (N 92). They list Schiltberger’s route from his home in Bavaria to the Donau, and from the Donau to the Black Sea.</p>	N 92–96
30–32	<p>The chapters tell the legend of the <i>sperwer burg</i> (N 96).</p>	N 96–99

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Chapters	Content	Page ref.
33–36	These provide more of the traveller’s itinerary, from Persia to India. The narrator further describes: Babylon and its famous tower; countries that belong <i>zu der Tartarien</i> (N 105); and some Mongolian customs.	N 99–108
37	The chapter outlines how many ‘king-sultans’ there were during the period of the captive’s travels; the ritual around greeting the ‘king-sultan’; his collection of carrier pigeons and their function; and an Arabian bird called the <i>sacka</i> (N 54).	N 108–111
38–41	The chapters describe important sites (and miracles) in the Holy Land. They include: St. Catherine’s at Sinai; the Dry Tree; Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre; the Four Rivers of Paradise.	N 111–118
42–44	The three chapters provide miscellaneous information and anecdotes. They detail: how pepper is grown in India; a Christian monk’s conversion to Islam in order to facilitate the conquest of Alexandria by Cyprus; and finally, the location of the shin-bone of an Egyptian giant that serves as a bridge.	N 118–121
45	The chapter lists the diversity of ‘heathen’ beliefs in the East.	N 121–122
46–56	These chapters supply an (ethnographic) account of Islam. They inform about: how Muhammad became prophet; Muslim holy days (<i>Eid al-Fitr</i> , <i>Eid al-Adha</i>); Muslim beliefs; the reason for Muhammad’s prohibition of wine; the Assassins, a murderous Muslim sect; the ritual of conversion to Islam from Christianity; what Muslims believe about Christ; what Muslims think about Christians; how Christians don’t follow the example of the Gospels; and, finally, the length of Muhammad’s reign.	N 122–135
56–60	The chapters provide an account of the ‘Greeks’, i.e. members of the Byzantine Church. They include a description of: the many languages spoken in the Greek faith; Constantinople and how it was built; the Greeks’ beliefs and rituals.	N 135–142

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Chapters	Content	Page ref.
61	The marriage rituals of the <i>Jassen</i> and <i>Gorgiten</i> (N 143).	N 142–143
62–66	The chapters supply information about Armenian Christians: their beliefs and rituals; the story of the patron saint and first head of their church Gregory; a fantastic tale of a fight between a dragon and unicorn in Rome that was ended by the king of Armenia; and lastly, the historical reason why the Greeks and the Armenians are enemies.	N 144–157
67	The last chapter is a final itinerary describing the traveller’s escape from captivity and route home to Germany. The narrative concludes with thanks to God, who spared the traveller <i>verderbens an lib vnd an sel</i> (N 161).	N 157–161
Appendix	Two phonetic transcriptions of the Lord’s Prayer in Armenian and ‘Tartar’.	Not reproduced in either Neumann or Langmantel. ¹³³ However, the passage has been printed in J. Buchan Telfer’s English translation of Neumann’s edition for the Hakluyt Society (p. 102).

¹³³ As a reason, Neumann writes: “Die am Ende des Reisebuchs hinzugefügten armenische und türkische Vaterunser, in den ältesten Incunabula-Ausgaben mit bewunderungswürdiger Genauigkeit abgedruckt, sind jetzt überflüssig. Hingegen muß Schiltberger [...] das Verdienst bleiben, daß er es war, welcher zuerst auf den Gedanken kam, das Vaterunser als Sprachprobe auf- und hinzustellen” (N 161).

1.5.2 The Versions

As briefly indicated at the start of this introductory chapter, the *Reisebuch*'s surviving material witnesses diverge into three distinct strands, a tabular digest of which I provide in Appendix A.

The full table in the previous section gives the narrative make-up of one strand of this transmission: the so-called long version.¹³⁴ This version is contained in four fifteenth-century manuscripts kept in libraries in Munich, Heidelberg and Karlsruhe and in the private collection of the Swiss antiquarian Dr Jörn Günther, Rare Books AG. The text consists of an autobiographical account of the traveller's captivity, a chronicle of the deeds of his captors (ch. 1–26) and an itinerary-based, ethnographic section (ch. 27–67, appendix). The narrative in the Munich manuscript differs minutely from the other three copies in that it situates Schiltberger's escape and part of his voyage back to Germany in ch. 30 rather than at the end in ch. 67.¹³⁵ The long version is the most prevalent in the history of the *Reisebuch*'s transmission, and it most probably represents the 'original' form of the narrative (see chapter 3 for further elaboration on the last point). The version also rewrites extensively from Mandeville's *Travels* in the German translation by Michel Velser. This is true especially of ch. 30–60 and therein in the sections that discuss the Holy Land and the religious 'other' (Islam, Greek Orthodoxy).¹³⁶ The version is distinguished by its proto-ethnographic focus, and particular weight is given to detailing diverse religious communities in the East (ch. 38–66).

Another narrative version is represented by two fifteenth-century manuscripts, housed in St. Gallen and Strasbourg. This version constitutes a major revision of

134 Schiewer, "Schiltberger, Hans", Sp. 676.

135 Cf. Schiltberger, *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*, 136ff. and Langmantel, *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, pp. 43ff. and pp. 111–112.

136 Rosemary Tzanaki. *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences: A Study on the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville (1371–1550)*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003, 114ff.

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the long version in length as well as thematic focus. The so-called abridged version reproduces only ch. 1–26 to report exclusively the exploits of Bayezid, Timūr and the Turko-Mongolian warlord’s successors. There is no suggestion of fragmentation or incompleteness: the abridged version is not the result of bad or lazy copying on the behalf of its scribes. Instead, it forms a deliberate and inventive choice to prioritise both the chronicle form and secular content by purposefully omitting the itinerary-based, ethnographic chapters that make up the latter half of the long version (ch. 27–67, appendix).

The third and final strand of the *Reisebuch*’s transmission is formed by a group of six print editions produced in the printing houses of Anton Sorg, Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber, Hermann Gülfferich, Weigand Han and his heirs, Gregor Hübner, and Adam Berg. The *Reisebuch* made the transition into print in the early fifteenth century (c. 1476) and continued to be reprinted until the end of the seventeenth century (1598). Four of the printers – Sorg, Berg and Neuber, Gülfferich, and Han – published the long version according to the Heidelberg manuscript. Their editions, if only in terms of their narrative composition, match the full table above. Han-Erben, Hübner and Berg, on the other hand, produced pamphlet editions of the travel book, which publish only two brief passages that deal with Islam: with the rise of Muhammad as prophet (ch. 46, N 122–127) and with events at Muhammad’s birth that prefigure the contemporaneous suffering of Christendom at the hands of Muslim empires (ch. 56, N 134). All the prints reframe the narrative – or narrative excerpts – with paratextual material: with various woodcut imagery, a preface and various other texts. These additions are briefly outlined below and in Appendix A. This reworking results in (re-)conceptualisations of the *Reisebuch* as *Turcica*.

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Version	Content	Paratexts
‘Long Version’ (LV)	Preface Ch. 1–67 Appendix	Munich Stadtbibliothek, Cod. L 1603 — assorted travel accounts (cf. Appendix A)
‘Abridged Version’ (AV)	Ch. 1–26	Strasbourg BNU, ms. 2119 & St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 628 — assorted historiographical texts (cf. Appendix A)
Anton Sorg	Preface Ch. 1–67 Appendix	15 woodcuts by the <i>Sorgmeister</i>
Johann vom Berg & Ulrich Neuber	Preface Ch. 1–67 Appendix	Preface 15 woodcuts (unknown artist), modelled on the woodcuts by the <i>Sorgmeister</i>
Hermann Gülfferich	Preface Ch. 1–67 Appendix	Preface 37 woodcuts by Jörg Breu, recycled from Ludovico Varthema’s <i>Ritterliche vnd Lobwürdige Reyß</i> (Johann Miller: Augsburg, 1515)
Weigand Han & Han-Erben (1)	Preface Ch. 1–67 Appendix	Preface 37 woodcuts, same as Gülfferich
Weigand Han & Han-Erben (2)	Ch. 46 (N 122–127) Ch. 56 (N 134)	Biblical quotations (Mt 24:15; Mk 13:19–20; Lk 21:22, 21:36; Dn 9:27, 12:1) Cautionary poem (Georg Witschel von Breslau) Christian song (\approx Ps 46)
Gregor Hübner	Ch. 46 (N 122–127) Ch. 56 (N 134)	Biblical prophecy (Mt 4, 24:15, 13:25; Mk 13:19–20; Lk 21:22; 21:36, Dn 9:27, 12; Ps 79:7) Turkish prophecy (Bartholomej Georgijević)

Version	Content	Paratexts
Adam Berg	Ch. 46 (N 122–127) Ch. 56 (N 134)	Description of the treatment of Christians in Turkish captivity (Bartholomej Georgijević) Postface

1.6 Thesis Structure

In sum, in this introductory chapter I have made a case for acknowledging rewriting as a deliberate and creative process that characterises textual production in the premodern era. I have described a cultural attitude to text and transmission that departs from modern notions by privileging instability without considering the resulting multiplicity and variety of textual witnesses as at all undesirable, inauthentic or corruptions of esteemed ‘originals’: quite the contrary, “mittelalterliche Texte sind nicht zuerst fixiert und dann nachträglich verändert worden, sondern der ‘Text’ is von Anfang an eine veränderliche Größe.”¹³⁷ The polyvocality that is the result of this inherent flexibility not only generally distinguishes travel writing of this period but is important specifically for my study of the *Reisebuch*: rewriting affects the form and thematic focus of the book’s versions, i.e. it constitutes a means by which images of the ‘other’ are continually (re-)negotiated. This rewriting thus represents the concretisation – the literal, material implementation – of Said’s concept of Orientalism as a “system for citing works and authors.”¹³⁸ Further, the practice attests to Said’s contention that the discourse is both self-affirming and self-perpetuating, as the representations (at least in part) respond to and are informed by European texts and established traditions.¹³⁹ On the other hand, however, this recycling and reworking

¹³⁷ Bumke, “Der unfeste Text”, p. 125.

¹³⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 22.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

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moves beyond Said by demonstrating concretely how this discourse is neither static nor singular: the productive act of transforming a representation of the East in a work's transmission is evidence of premodern German Orientalism as a dynamic, ongoing and polyvocal cultural project.

The following main chapters will examine the *Reisebuch*'s manuscript and print transmission in order to illustrate in particular this last point. I will ascertain what impact rewriting has on the versions' representational strategies. Each strand provides the subject matter of one chapter (2, 3 and 4) of this thesis.

In chapter 2, I analyse the abridged version. I have chosen to address this version first – although it is reasonably assumed to be an adaptation of the long version – as this sequence allows me to draw comparison with the long version most easily, which includes also this content (ch. 1–26) but demonstrates a different thematic emphasis. I provide (1) a discussion of the significance of the abridged version's inclusion in collections and (2) an analysis of the version's representation of the Ottoman Turks and the Timūrids. I supply a close reading and place the version in its contemporary literary and discursive context. Without the chapters that provide ethnographic detail especially about eastern religions (ch. 38–66), the text takes on a predominantly secular focus. I show that the narrative depicts the East as first and foremost a diverse political space, providing a picture of the fraught relationships between various eastern dynasties – between different Turkish principalities, between Turks and Mamluks, between Turks and Mongols, and among Mongol clans. The representation of Ottoman Turks and Timūrid Mongols is transformed in the version, as they are examined, not as also belonging to religious communities, but solely as important historical figures who engaged in building formidable empires in Anatolia and Central Asia at the turn of the fifteenth century. The text focuses on their involvement with each other and with other eastern dynasties, rather than on their

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contest for power with the West. This portrayal is, I will further show, unusual for the narrative's genre (captivity account) and subject matter (Turks and Mongols). The abridged version's reworking of the *Reisebuch* as a chronicle – as expressed by its focus on time in the form of dynastic succession, rather than on place and (religious) custom, the long version's dominant interest – is emphasised by its transmission in collections that constitute universal, world histories.

In chapter 3, I demonstrate how the delineation of diverse religious difference – the relationship between *unsers glaubens unnd irs glaubens* (N 151) – by contrast characterises the long version's portrayal of the Orient. The long version displays a chiefly ethnographic emphasis on religious diversity, which I will illustrate is the consequence both of excerpting verbatim from the *Travels* and of the addition of independent passages that engage with this rewriting. The text's chronicling chapters (ch. 1–26) contribute to the version's ethnographic focus and its portrayal of cultural diversity by reflecting on the complexity of the political situation in the East. Bayezid, Timūr, his descendants and above all their (military) activities are additionally contextualised by the long version's extensive discussion of Islam (ch. 46–56) as, respectively, the proponents and actions of the Muslim 'other', whose belief system is characterised as simultaneously diverging and overlapping with the traveller's own Christianity. The long version overall supplies an ambivalent, nuanced image of eastern alterity that connects as well as divides East and West. Taking into account the book's rewritten and independent passages, I analyse the representation of the Holy Land, of Islam and of non-Latin Christianity practised in the East (in the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Churches). Referencing Bernhard Waldenfels' theory of *Verschränkung*, I argue that the long version's model of alterity describes not an extreme binary relationship of the diametrically opposed but a sliding scale that allows for shared features while maintaining difference. I also discuss the version's

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transmission and contextualisation in collection: the version's ethnographic emphasis is underlined by its inclusion in a collection (Munich, Cod. L 1603) that aims to provide a comprehensive summary of geographic and cultural knowledge about the world.

Chapter 4 is a discussion of how the *Reisebuch* is rewritten in early print. I supply (1) an overview of the transmission and a brief examination of continuities between the media of manuscript and print, particularly addressing the so-called 'instability' of the early printed book. After a brief discussion paratexts as a common method of rewriting in print, I provide (2) an analysis of the three main areas of verbal and non-verbal paratextual reworking in all the print versions – namely, an investigation of the illustrations, the preface and the reformulation of the travel book as *Flugschrift*. Commonly transformed in transmission, this supplementary material structures, mediates and produces meaning without the work's redactors having to modify the core text in order to communicate new and independent perspectives and agendas. With the exception of Anton Sorg's print – which frames the long version's ethnographically informative narration with woodcut imagery that instead presents the East as the locus of the adventurous and marvellous – the print versions all reconceptualise the *Reisebuch* as polemic *Turcica* or *Türkendrucke*. The consequence of this reworking is that the focus of the print versions shifts onto the deviance of Islam and particularly the contemporary threat posed to the West by the empire-building of the Ottoman Turks. In contrast to the *Reisebuch*'s manuscript transmission, the book's print transmission strips the narrative of its emphasis on political, ethnic and religious diversity and ambivalence. Instead, the prints fixate – in the pamphlets, even to the exclusion of all other topics – on Islam, the Turks, their brutality and religious deviance.

2 Schiltberger's *Reisebuch* Abridged: Turks and 'Tartars'

The abridged version of the *Reisebuch* reproduces ch. 1–26 of the long version. The narrative omits the ethnographic and itinerary-based segments (ch. 27–67), the preface and the appendix to transmit an eyewitness chronicle of events that relate to the Ottoman Turks under Bayezid I (until c. 1402) and the Turko-Mongolian Timūrid dynasty (until c. 1427). Detached from the ethnographic content, these chapters are cast in a different light. In the long version, ch. 1–26 complement the text's representation of diverse religious sites and customs (ch. 38–66) with a corresponding image of ethnic and political variety to form an ambivalent image of eastern alterity that highlights similarities as well as differences. The long version's discussion is predicated on a basic distinction between *unsers glaubens unnd irs glaubens* (N 151), i.e. between the narrator's Latin Christianity and the beliefs of a variety of eastern 'others'. However, in the abridged version I analyse in this chapter

the travel book's representation of the Turks¹ and the 'Tartars'² stands on its own, constituting a shift away from the conceptualisation of alterity in terms of faith: the text thematises political relations in the East from a secular point of view. While the narrative depicts the clash between Europeans and the Ottoman Turks at the Battle of Nicopolis, it chiefly provides a remarkably nuanced picture of the conflict-ridden interactions among heterogeneous eastern dynasties. The consequence is a model of oriental 'otherness' that (with its profane, chronicling focus) is not only distinct within the rest of the *Reisebuch's* transmission but also notably unorthodox in its wider literary context.

This chapter illustrates in what manner the version achieves this independent perspective. In my analysis, I do not aim to determine in how far the eyewitness chronicle accurately reflects historical reality; instead, I investigate the chronicle as a narrative, taking a philological approach that foregrounds the fact that, regardless of the text's facticity, "the writer's 'voice' pervades and situates."³ To this aim, the following sections provide (1) an overview of the version's transmission in collection and (2, 3) an investigation of its representation of the Turks and Timūrids. I argue that the version's framing within these codices contributes to its reconceptualisation

1 The descriptor 'Turk' was not used by the Ottomans to describe themselves during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as it was considered to convey a derogatory meaning: they referred to themselves instead as *Osmanlı* after Osman, the first ruler of the Ottoman dynasty (r. 1299–1326). However, I follow Margaret Meserve in using 'Turks', 'Ottoman Turks' and 'Ottomans' interchangeably in this study. This equivalence reflects the usage in the *Reisebuch* – Bayezid is simply referred to as the *türkisch kunig* (N 53) – not to mention in the majority of contemporaneous European texts: on the whole, premodern writers were not aware of any terminological distinction. This unfamiliarity with Turkish usage was often compounded by the assumption – contrary to the empire's actual constituent multi-ethnicity and multi-culturality – "that the Turks were members of a single genetic race whose history could be traced back across the centuries to a genesis in remote antiquity" (Margaret Meserve. *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008, p. vii).

2 In the Latin West, the Mongols were collectively denoted as 'Tartars' in a pejorative reference, first employed by Quilichinus of Spoleto (1236), to *Tartarus* or the Hell of Classical Antiquity (Peter Jackson. *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*. London: Pearson Education Limited, 2005, p. 59).

3 James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1986, p. 12.

as a chronicle. Further, the chapter shows how politics – in particular, a description of these two dynasties brutal expansionism and destructive in-fighting – defines the version's secular image of the East. Moreover, I situate the abridged version in its contemporary literary context(s) in order to highlight the unconventionality of its representational strategies.

2.1 Transmission: The *Reisebuch* as Chronicle

The abridged version of the *Reisebuch* is transmitted in two late fifteenth-century manuscripts: in Strasbourg Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire (BNU), ms. 2119 and St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 628. Both of these manuscripts position the version in collections. In this section, I present information about the codices relevant to my analysis of the version's strategies of 'othering'.⁴ In the following, I describe the textual composition of the codices, illustrating that the abridged version's incorporation in these two collections forms a significant feature of its rewriting.

2.1.1 Strasbourg BNU, ms. 2119

The compiler of Strasbourg BNU, ms. 2119 included the *Reisebuch* in a collection of seven other texts to create "ein Kompendium des Weltwissenssumme im Sinne des enzyklopädischen Gedankens des Vinzenz von Beauvais."⁵ The codex begins with

⁴ I do not provide a full formal description for each manuscript but rather supply only details that are pertinent to this research question. Since the manuscripts have been described comprehensively elsewhere, my overview collates information gathered both from these descriptions and from my own viewings. The sources of these descriptions are listed for further reference in a table that also condenses the information considered here in Appendix A.

⁵ Gabriele von Olberg-Haverkate. *Zeitbilder und Weltbilder: Volkssprachige Universalchronistik als Instrument kollektiver Memoria. Eine textlinguistische und kulturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung*. Berlin: Weidler Buchverlag, 2008, p. 484. Cf. also Ridder, *Jean de Mandevilles 'Reisen'*; Jürgen Wolf. *Die sächsische Weltchronik im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften. Überlieferung, Textentwicklung, Rezeption*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1997; and Rudolf Kilian Weigand. *Vinzenz von Beauvais: Scholastische Universalchronistik als Quelle volkssprachiger Geschichtsschreibung*. Hildesheim: Olms, 1991.

a German translation of an extract from Vincent of Beauvais's thirteenth-century *Speculum Historiale* that chronicles events from the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden to the rule of the first Roman emperor Augustus (r. 27 BC–14 AD).⁶ This text is followed by the so-called *Sächsische Weltchronik*, which continues on roughly from where the previous excerpt left off to span the period from the birth of Christ and the reign of Tiberus (14–37) to the year 1225. It is independently extended to provide a chronicle until circa 1400/1411 and the dethronement of the *Rex Romanorum* Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia (1361–1419).⁷ The compiler further incorporates: Hans Mair von Nördlingen's fifteenth-century prose *Buch von Troja*; a popular translation of Guido de Columnis's *Historia destructionis Trojae* (c. 1270–1287); and the fifteenth-century *Cronica Allexandri* by Meister Wichwolt, which represents a fairly faithful vernacular translation of the *Historia de Preliis*, the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*, the *Secreta Secretorum* and Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*.⁸ These four texts are followed in the codex by fifteenth-century reproductions in German of Johannes von Hildesheim's *Historia trium regum* (1364), Mandeville's *Travels* in the reworking by Otto von Diemeringen and the abridged *Reisebuch*.⁹ The last text in the collection is a German translation of the widely circulated prophetic treatise *Vade mecum in tribulatione* by Jean de Roquetaillade (1356).¹⁰

6 Weigand, *Vinzenz von Beauvais*, pp. 147–164.

7 Wolf, *Die sächsische Weltchronik im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften*, pp. 59–61.

8 See Hans-Hugo Steinhoff. "Hans Meir von Nordlingen". In: *Verfasserlexikon*. Vol. 5. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985, pp. 1180–1183; Karin Schneider. *Der "Trojanische Krieg" im späten Mittelalter*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1968, especially pp. 9–27; Hans-Hugo Steinhoff. "Meister Babiloth". In: *Verfasserlexikon*. Vol. 1. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978, pp. 577–579; Kragl, *Weisheit des Fremden*, pp. 394–415; and Herwig Buntz. *Die deutsche Alexanderdichtung des Mittelalters*. Stuttgart: Sammlung Metzler, 1973.

9 See Sylvia Harris. "The *Historia Trium Regum* and the Medieval Legend of the Magi in Germany". In: *Medium Aevum* 28 (1959), pp. 23–30; Alexander Markus Schilling. *Mögliches, Unwahrscheinliches, Fabelhaftes: die "Historia trium regum" des Johannes von Hildesheim und ihre orientalischen Quellen*. Stuttgart: Steiner Franz Verlag, 2014; Ridder, *Jean de Mandevilles 'Reisen'*, pp. 91–92.

10 See Hubert Herkommer. "Johannes de Rupescissa (Jean de Roquetaillade or Rochetaillade)". In: *Verfasserlexikon*. Vol. 4. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1983, pp. 724–729; and Leah DeVun.

2 Schiltberger's Reisebuch Abridged

The volume thus provides its readers with encyclopaedic knowledge by reproducing chiefly historiographical texts in the vernacular that encompass not only what was held to be all of historical time – from the beginning of mankind (Vincent of Beauvais) to the world's prophesied end (Jean de Roquetaillade) – but also all of the known geographical world. In particular, Meister Wichwolt's *Cronica*, Johannes von Hildesheim's *Historia*, Otto von Diemeringen's *Travels* and the abridged version of the *Reisebuch* supply information with an emphasis on the East from before the birth of Christ (Wichwolt) to the compiler's present day (Schiltberger) that complements the volume's delineation of the history of western society in the *Speculum* and the expanded *Sächsische Weltchronik*.

Jean de Roquetaillade's *Vade mecum* is further significant because scholars have been able to reconstruct – or at the very least conject – dating, location and late medieval ownership of the volume from this copy. This information stems from the fact that the (purported) copyist of the *Vade mecum* documents his responsibility for the version on 279^{rb}: *Das hant geschriben volk Landsperger von kaufbeieren*.¹¹ Volk Landsperger is recorded as being an active scribe in Augsburg from 1455 to 1462.¹² The texts in ms. 2119 have, however, been written by three different copyists: the same hand responsible for the *Vade mecum* is also considered to have copied the *Speculum* and according to Rudolf Weigand possibly the *Buch von Troja* and part of the *Cronica Allexandri* (fols. 187^{ra}–210^{vb}), although Weigand stresses that none of these sections of text demonstrate the Swabian linguistic influences that are typical for Landsperger's work.¹³ For this reason, Weigand considers Landsperger's role to have

Alchemy and the End of Time: John of Rupescissa in the Late Middle Ages. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009, pp. 32–51.

11 Olberg-Haverkate, *Zeitbilder und Weltbilder*, p. 485.

12 In Augsburg, Landsperger produced a *Stadtrecht*, an *Historienbibel* and a collection comprising the *Spiegel menschlicher Behaltnis*, an *Etymachietraktat*, the *Ars moriendi* and Johannes Hartlieb's *Alexander* (Johannes Janota and Werner Williams-Krapp, eds. *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996, pp. 22–23).

13 See Ridder, *Jean de Mandevilles 'Reisen'*, p. 92.

been owner of the collection, which is rendered plausible by evidence of the volume's intensive use by Landsperger. In a similar vein, Gabriele von Olberg-Haverkate, while not negating Landsperger's role as at least copyist of the *Vade mecum*, has argued for Landsperger as likely candidate for commissioner and owner of the volume.¹⁴ The remaining texts have been written by copyists about whom nothing is known other than that one hand was responsible for the *Sächsische Weltchronik*, the *Historia trium regum*, Mandeville's *Travels* and the *Reisebuch*, whereas another contributed the continuation of the *Sächsische Weltchronik* (fols. 108^{va}–109^{ra}) as well as the first pages of the *Cronica Allexandri* (fols. 184^{va}–186^{vb}).

Despite the difference of opinion with respect to the extent of Landsperger's involvement in the production of the codex, these details – taken into consideration alongside watermarks dating circa 1450 to 1464 – have allowed commentators to date the compilation to the second half of the fifteenth century and locate it in southern Germany, if not specifically in Augsburg due to the participation of Landsperger. In fact, only Jürgen Wolf argues for the volume originating in Nuremberg, quoting as justification the codex's similarity to a 1463 manuscript that belonged to the patrician Hans Tetzl.¹⁵ The next evidence of the collection's provenance presents itself in the late nineteenth century, when the codex is recorded as being in the possession of the Leipzig antiquarian T.O. Weigel who put it up for sale in 1872; it was bought by the city of Strasbourg in 1876 from Fidelis Butsch, an Augsburg antiquarian.¹⁶

The codex was compiled strategically to emulate the structure and content of Vincent of Beauvais's history.¹⁷ The first six books of the *Speculum Historiale* form the beginning of ms. 2119. The codex is concluded with Jean de Roquetaillade's

14 Olberg-Haverkate, *Zeitbilder und Weltbilder*, p. 486.

15 Wolf, *Die sächsische Weltchronik im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften*, p. 313.

16 Olberg-Haverkate, *Zeitbilder und Weltbilder*, p. 486.

17 Ibid., p. 490.

apocalyptic prophecy that reflects Vincent's own epilogue, which similarly presciently addresses the end of the world. Furthermore, the scribe omitted the sections on Troy and Alexander the Great from his copy of the *Speculum*, only for this subject matter to be reinstated later in the volume with contemporary and more extensive texts on the same themes by Meister Wichwolt and Hans Mair.¹⁸

However, the collection does not simply represent a slavish replication of this prototype. The compiler's interventions equally indicate an independent interest: there is considerably greater emphasis placed on the geography, natural history and ethnography of the East.¹⁹ This focus is most evident in the incorporation of Mandeville's encyclopaedic *Travels* and the abridged version of the *Reisebuch*. It is also pronounced in the translation of Johannes von Hildesheim's *Historia trium regum*, which relates the story of the Three Kings based on Matthew 2:1–12 but extends the legend with information about the kings' eastern origins, the history of their relics housed at Cologne, Prester John and the practice of Christianity in the Orient.²⁰ Likewise, Meister Wicholt's *Cronica* informs of Alexander the Great's travels and empire-building in the East, especially foregrounding the king's contact and conflict with the Archaemenid ruler of Persia Darius III (380–330 BC).²¹

Additionally, the compiler made a concerted effort to construct a topical contribution to this prototype via additions and adaptations that are of relevance specifically to the late fifteenth century. The conflict between Alexander and Darius in Wicholt and the crusading history detailed by Mandeville are therefore quite logically followed by an account of the contemporary conflict with the Muslim 'other' – the Ottoman Turks – in the abridged *Reisebuch*.²² The discursive prominence of the

18 Olberg-Haverkate, *Zeitbilder und Weltbilder*, pp. 489–490.

19 Ibid., p. 489.

20 See Max Behland. *Die Dreikönigslegende des Johannes von Hildesheim: Untersuchungen zur niederrheinischen Übersetzung der Trierer Handschrift 1183*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1968, pp. 132ff.

21 Cf. Sigmund Herzog, ed. *Die Alexander-Chronik des Meister Babiloth*. Stuttgart: Liebich, 1897.

22 The Battle of Nicopolis, the starting point of Schiltberger's captivity, constituted a reaction to

Ottoman threat in Europe during the fifteenth century, and especially within the German-speaking territories of the Holy Roman Empire in which the *Reisebuch* was circulated, is highlighted by the sheer number of publications produced on the topic in another medium: print.²³ There thus clearly existed a large contemporary audience in Germany – predominantly among courtiers, the curate and the urban

substantial territorial gains made by the Turks in Bulgaria, which had the consequence that the long-standing 'buffer' between the Islamic and the European Christian states was considerably reduced. In response to the Turkish threat, Pope Boniface IX (r. 1389–1404) proclaimed crusade in 1394. A couple of years later troops consisting of Hungarians, Bulgarians, the Knights Hospitaller, Venetians, Genoese, Wallachians, French and Germans fought and lost against the army of Bayezid I at Nicopolis, the Bulgarian tsar's last remaining stronghold (Klaus-Peter Matschke. *Das Kreuz und der Halbmond: Die Geschichte der Türkenkriege*. Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler, 2004, pp. 74–74; cf. also Norman Housley, ed. *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004; and Norman Housley. *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). These gains on behalf of the Ottoman sultanate produced a collective fear of the Turks in Europe (see chapter 4 for a discussion of this anxiety with particular respect to the sixteenth century); in fact, “mit der Schlacht bei Nikopolis [...] verliert das Türkenkriegsgeschehen seine regionale Begrenzung und wird zu einem Ereignis von europäischer Dimension” (Matschke, *Das Kreuz und der Halbmond*, p. 76). The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 to Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481) placed this antagonism firmly at the forefront of popular discourse about the Orient across Europe (cf. Erich Meuthen. “Der Fall von Konstantinopel und der lateinische Westen”. In: *Historische Zeitschrift* 237 [Aug. 1983], pp. 1–35).

²³ The concept of a Europe united against a shared Muslim enemy first voiced by spokesman for the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (r. 1452–1493) and bishop of Siena Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini – later Pope Pius II (r. 1458–1464) – at the imperial diets convened in 1454–1455 at Regensburg, Frankfurt and Wiener Neustadt gained traction particularly in Germany (Almut Höfert. *Den Feind Beschreiben. Türkengefahr und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2003, p. 69). The Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1486–1519) and his court, for example, championed a joint European operation at the 1490 *Türkenkongress* in Rome, which never materialised (Höfert, *Den Feind Beschreiben*, pp. 68–69; see also Dieter Mertens. “Sebastian Brant, Kaiser Maximilian I., das Reich und der Türkenkrieg”. In: *550 Jahre Sebastian Brant. Sebastian Brant und die Kommunikationskultur um 1500*. Ed. by Klaus Bergdolt et al. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010, pp. 172–218; and Norman Housley. *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat, 1453–1505*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). The statistical evidence compiled by Karoline Döring in her comprehensive catalogue of pre-1500, pan-European *Turcica* gives the best available indication of the public interest in, and increasing demand for, texts on this subject in Germany. There has, to the best of my knowledge, not yet been a comparable survey of manuscripts of this kind of material. The majority of extant prints – according to Döring, approximately 70% – are administrative material produced in a clerical setting like indulgences, bulls and briefs; these texts are thus also mostly composed in Latin (Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, pp. 32–33). The remainder comprises historiographical accounts and religious tracts by humanists and theologians; eyewitness narratives by captives and travellers; news reports of recent battles; rhetorical and epistolary calls to war; speeches; as well as wholly fictional works (*ibid.*, p. 32). After Latin (748), the most common language for these publications was German (65), followed at considerable remove by Italian (18); barely any translations, and even fewer original compositions, exist in English (1), French (3) or Dutch (5) before 1500 (*ibid.*, p. 34).

political elite – for the kind of ethno-historiographic information provided by works like the *Reisebuch* in the second half of the fifteenth century.²⁴ The compiler of ms. 2119 appears to have responded to this atmosphere with his integration of the abridged version. In the extension of the *Sächsische Weltchronik* into the compiler's present, a similar attempt is made to provide up-to-date information about 'western' history. These efforts to provide topicality are only underlined by the fact that blank space was left for future additions after this independent extension of the *Sächsische Weltchronik* (fols. 109v–115v).²⁵

2.1.2 St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 628

The same basic prototype that the compiler follows in Strasbourg BNU, ms. 2119 is replicated in St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 628. The codex reproduces an almost identical collection of manuscripts and demonstrates a comparable interest in constructing an up-to-date world history from diverse texts. The volume includes Meister Wichwolt's *Cronica Alexandri*, Johannes von Hildesheim's *Historia trium regum*, Mandeville's *Travels* in the translation by Otto von Diemeringen as well as an identical copy of the abridged version of Schiltberger's *Reisebuch*. The codex does not, however, contain Jean de Roquetaillade's *Vade mecum* or any comparable text. Further, it independently reproduces – in place of the *Speculum* and the *Sächsische Weltchronik* – an abridged version of Johannes Platterberger and Dietrich Truchseß's *Exzerpta Chronicarum* that is referred to as the *St. Galler Weltchronik*.²⁶

Platterberger, active in Nuremberg as scribe in the service of the city, and Truchseß, a *Kanzleischreiber*, completed their two-volume chronicle of the world in 1459. The

24 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, p. 34.

25 Olberg-Haverkate, *Zeitbilder und Weltbilder*, p. 488.

26 The *St. Galler Weltchronik* formed an important source for a number of better-known German historiographical works like Sigmund Meisterlin's *Nürnberger Chronik* (1488) and the *Schedelsche Weltchronik* (1493) (Lotte Kurras. "Johannes Platterberger". In: *Verfasserlexikon*. Vol. 7. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987/89, pp. 726–728, Sp. 727).

work is a compilation and translation into German of a number of authoritative works, notably incorporating excerpts from Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum*, Martin of Troppau's *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* and the *Flores temporum*.²⁷ The *Exzerpta Chronicarum* addresses events from the Creation to the death of Ruprecht III von der Pfalz (1352–1410).²⁸ The shortened version in Cod. 628, however, ends with the reign of the Holy Roman Emperor Karl IV (1316–1378). According to Peter Kesting, the *St. Galler Weltchronik* also developed “einen ganz eigenen Charakter durch ihr Bemühen, Geschichte nicht nur als politische, sondern auch als Kulturgeschichte darzustellen.”²⁹

Cod. 628 was the work of two unidentified scribes – one of whom was responsible for the majority of works in the volume and the other exclusively for the latter half of the *St. Galler Weltchronik* (pp. 371^a–796^a).³⁰ The codex has been reliably dated to the second half of the fifteenth century.³¹ Preserved in its original fifteenth-century binding, it was completed only a short while after the Strasbourg collection, with watermarks dating c. 1440–1460 and 1475–76. Due to their remarkable similarity, it is not unlikely that the St. Gallen codex is a partial copy of the Strasbourg volume.³² The codex was marked in the late sixteenth century as belonging to a certain *Luzy Rinck von Baldenstein* (Luzius Ringg), a member of the nobility from Sils im Domleschg in the Canton of Graubünden and the brother-in-law of Diethelm Blarer who was abbot of St. Gallen from 1530–1564.³³ A further seventeenth-century notation documents the volume's transfer to the *Liber Monasterij S. Gallj.*, where pencil pagination was added by the monk, historiographer and monastery librarian

27 Kurras, “Johannes Platterberger”, Sp. 726–727.

28 Ibid., Sp. 727.

29 Peter Kesting. “St Galler Weltchronik”. In: *Verfasserlexikon*. Vol. 2. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980, pp. 1058–1061, Sp. 1059.

30 Ridder, *Jean de Mandevilles 'Reisen'*, p. 87.

31 Ibid., p. 87.

32 Ibid., p. 87.

33 Ibid., p. 87.

Ildefons von Arx (1755–1833).³⁴

2.1.3 Manuscript Context: (Re-)Framing in and as a History

The abridged version's inherent historiographic focus on warfare and dynastic succession in the East is highlighted by its reception contexts in ms. 2119 and Cod. 628, which emphasise the chronological passing of time. The version's inclusion in these two very similar codices further contributes to the work's rewriting as a chronicle, as these volumes frame the text as part of a broader history – a universal history.

A collection is – in Stephen Nichols's neat formulation – not a “transparent or neutral vehicle.”³⁵ Rather, it “contextualises the text(s) it contains in specific ways”, often according to the particular agenda(s) of its compiler(s), and can therefore supply the researcher with important clues as to the manner in which these narratives were received and (re-)interpreted.³⁶ The Strasbourg and St. Gallen collections contain no direct explanation of their aims by their compilers; nonetheless, the texts appear to have been purposefully selected, and the volumes are structured around a clear, shared agenda. In both codices the various texts are ordered to reflect the chronology of their content, from the Creation or Fall to fifteenth-century rulership and (only in ms. 2119) the imminent Apocalypse. This does not, however, result in either codex rendering a totally linear account, as the texts are additionally grouped according to their subject matter. The narratives that chronologically address the history of the West are located in the first half of both volumes (G 3^a–796^a; S 1^{ra}–184^{ra}). The texts that communicate a focus on the East are positioned in the latter half (G 809^a–940^a; S 184^{ra}–291^{rb}), likewise in order of time. The Strasbourg codex in particular adheres quite closely to the structure and themes of Vincent of

34 Jürgen Sydow. “Arx, Ildefons von”. In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 1. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1953, pp. 404–405.

35 Nichols and Wenzel, *The Whole Book*, p. 2.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*. Olberg-Haverkate, Weigand and Kurt Gärtner assert its “[planvolle] Zusammenstellung.”³⁷ In both cases, the outcome of this structured composition of separate historiographic texts is to generate volumes that constitute universal world histories if their parts are taken in sum.³⁸

But what, then, is a universal history and what consequence does this context have for the reception of the *Reisebuch*? A universal history is a form of historiography in which global events are recorded from the perceived beginning of time to (oftentimes) the world's prophesied end in as encompassing a manner as the writer's access to reference resources would allow. Usually divided into Six Ages (Augustine of Hippo) or Four Empires (Book of Daniel), this type of history writing was particularly prevalent during the European Middle Ages.³⁹ It is characterised in the Christian tradition by a linear progression from Creation to the Last Judgement, in which the intermittent events are read in terms of a preordained divine plan – a teleology.⁴⁰ The Strasbourg and St. Gallen codices embed (and thus attempt to explain) the events documented in the abridged *Reisebuch* within the sequential and providential histories told across the volumes. Centrally, the conflict with the Ottoman sultan

37 Weigand, *Vinzenz von Beauvais*, p. 163.

38 Olberg-Haverkate, *Zeitbilder und Weltbilder*, p. 490.

39 In particular, there was a strong both Latin and vernacular tradition of universal historiography in Germany, notable chroniclers including Otto von Freising (c. 1114–1158), Rudolf von Ems (c. 1200–1254) and Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514) (See Alastair Matthews. “Otto of Freising”. In: *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*. Ed. by Graeme Dunphy. Brill Online, 2012. URL: http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2134/entries/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle/otto-of-freising-EMCSIM_01985; Nikolaus Henkel. “Hartmann Schedel”. In: *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*. Ed. by Graeme Dunphy. Brill Online, 2012. URL: http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2134/entries/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle/schedel-hartmann-EMCSIM_02273; and Dorothea Klein. “Rudolf von Ems”. In: *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*. Ed. by Graeme Dunphy. Brill Online, 2012. URL: http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2134/entries/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle/rudolf-von-ems-EMCSIM_02231).

40 Universal histories with related traits can likewise be found in Jewish and Muslim traditions, both of which share a “view of history which is linear and providential, with a creative act of God at beginning and end” (Graeme Dunphy. “World Chronicles”. In: *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*. Ed. by Graeme Dunphy. Brill Online, 2012. URL: http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle/world-chronicles-EMCSIM_02577).

Bayezid I is positioned in both collections in a series of past confrontations with the Muslim 'other' and consequently implicated as the most recent phase of an enduring battle between fundamentally opposed religions and cultures.

In ms. 2119, the events are additionally contextualised as a sign of the approach of the end of time as foretold in the reproduction of Jean de Roquetaillade's *Vademecum*: Jean envisioned the last days as filled with a multitude of disasters in the form of violent tyrants, widespread plagues, famines and – notably – large-scale wars against an infidel army consisting of Turks, 'Tartars' and Saracens.⁴¹ The latter hypothesis was an especially prevalent interpretation of the significance of the Turks' military campaigns at the time of the codices' compilation after the Fall of Constantinople (1453). In Europe, the invading Ottomans were widely considered to be a manifestation of the Antichrist, the threat of whom only a much hoped for (and variously identified) Last World Emperor could nullify to establish a final period of Christian sovereignty and peace.⁴² In the eschatological context provided by Jean de Roquetaillade, the actions of Timūr and his successors are similarly framed with respect to this notion of the apocalyptic threat of Islam.⁴³

The outcome of this incorporation of the abridged version in these universal models of history is, therefore, that the narrative and the events it describes are considered within a theological conception of time and fate. In particular, the crusaders' defeat and Schiltberger's ensuing captivity under the Turks and later 'Tartars' are contextualised as significant illustrations not only of the perennial struggle between Christianity and Islam, but of the final confrontation with the Antichrist. The abridged version's historical value is thus foregrounded by its manuscript contexts, an emphasis that complements the text's reworking as chronicle: the aim of narrating

41 DeVun, *Alchemy and the End of Time*, pp. 34–37.

42 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, pp. 187–188.

43 See Felicitas Schmieder. "Christians, Jews, Muslims – and Mongols: Fitting a Foreign People into the Western Christian Apocalyptic Scenario". In: *Medieval Encounters* 12.2 (2006), pp. 274–295.

a history that is established on the macro level of the codices also describes the text of the abridged version of the *Reisebuch* on the micro level.

However, the abridged version otherwise departs considerably from the approach of its manuscript context. The narrative does not share the codices' tendency to universalise, nor does it conceptualise historical events in the East predominantly in religious terms. The former is due in large part to the version's status as an eyewitness chronicle, which has the effect that a circumscribed period of roughly 30 years is addressed from a personal, rather than an 'omniscient' perspective. The narrative does not provide its readers with a complete history of the Turks and 'Tartars', nor does it attempt to embed these communities and events within a larger historiographical scheme. Instead, it supplies an account of recent events from an experiential point of view, especially recording the shifts of power observed firsthand by the traveller over the course of his captivity. The text details the relationships among, and in particular the extensive military exploits of, the various eastern rulers that held Schiltberger captive: the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1403); the Turko-Mongolian warlord Timūr (r. 1370–1405); his sons Miran Shāh (r. 1405–1409) and Shāhrukh Mirza (r. 1405–1447); Timūr's grandson Abū Bakr (dates unknown); and lastly, the Mongolian prince Chekre (dates unknown) and the emir of the Golden Horde Edigü (1352–1419).

Thus, the version's provision of a secular chronicle that defines the East as an arena of military and political manoeuvring ultimately demonstrates a divergent strategy to the eschatological framing in ms. 2119 and Cod. 628. The text's focus on secular historiography also diverges from the long version's dominant diegetic interest in (religious) place and custom by emphasising dynastic succession and delineating eastern customs only as they apply to political and military matters. The next two sections of this chapter illustrate how the version achieves this focus – how the East

emerges as socially complex and distinguished by a sustained process of territorial and political expansion, contest and negotiation.

2.2 The Turks: Bayezid I and Ottoman Expansion

The narrative of the abridged version begins with Schiltberger setting out on his journey in 1394 as a page boy to the nobleman Lienhart Richartinger in the ranks of the European crusaders who had gathered under King Sigismund of Hungary and Croatia (r. 1387–1437) and later Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1433–1437) to fight against the troops of Ottoman Turks encroaching on territory along the Danube in Eastern Europe. After initial successes in *Pudem* (N 52; Vidin, Bulgaria) and another unnamed city (likely Oryahovo, Bulgaria),⁴⁴ the Europeans were defeated by the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I and his Serbian vassal Stefan Lazarević (r. 1389–1427) at the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396. On account of Schiltberger's firsthand experience of this and other historically significant confrontations, the *Reisebuch* has been frequently exploited by modern historians to reconstruct past events.⁴⁵ However, it

44 John Buchan Telfer, ed. *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger: A Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396-1427*. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1859, pp. 107–108. In his translation of Neumann's edition of the *Reisebuch*, Telfer supplements the Orientalist's notes with a nineteenth-century commentary by P. Brunn that identifies the two cities; Brunn's assertion is likely to be accurate due to the cities' location directly en route along the Danube to the fortress of Nikopol. This commentary deciphers the writer's phonetic transcriptions in order to assign more modern place names and, despite its age, is thus an invaluable first reference for identifying the traveller's path through Anatolia and the Middle East.

45 The historiographical passages, for example, formed an important source for Kenneth M. Setton and Aziz Suryal Atiya who pieced together the circumstances of the Battle of Nicopolis by extracting details from the *Reisebuch* as well as from other eyewitness descriptions contained in works like the *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis* (c. 1420) and *Le livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut* (c. 1400–1450) (see Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, especially pp. 341–370; and Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis*). Similarly, the chronicle section of the *Reisebuch* reproduced by the abridged version is of particular value for the study of the Timūrid Empire (c. 1370–1405) and dynasty because it is one of only a handful of notable European accounts based on personal experience of the Timūrid court. These include texts by the Italian merchant Beltramo Mignanelli (c. 1370–1460), the Spanish envoy Ruy González de Clavijo (d. 1412) and the Italian archbishop John of Sulṭāniyya (d. after 1412). The *Reisebuch* therefore features, if typically only briefly, in numerous studies on the subject, not least Beatrice Forbes Manz's seminal *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*.

bears stressing that the *Reisebuch* does not provide unfiltered access to the events it describes, which are mediated instead through narrative and an individual agenda with the consequence that the text constitutes a constructed, literary representation of these experiences.⁴⁶ This section is concerned with uncovering the chronicle's representational strategies with respect to its portrayal of the Turks; it shows how Ottoman expansion is a theme of central significance to the abridged version. In order to contextualise the abridged version's secular focus, it also considers the text against the backdrop of two contemporaneous captivity accounts in circulation in Germany with a comparable historiographical focus on the Turks – Jörg von Nürnberg's *Geschicht von der Türckey* (GW: M12694, c. 1482) and Georg von Ungarn's *Tractatus de Moribus, Conditionibus et Nequitia Turcorum* (GW: 10653, c. 1481).

2.2.1 Crusade and Identity

Turkish territorial gains in Eastern Europe, and in particular the fact that *die heiden grossen schaden taten in dem land zu hungern* (N 51), are cited in the text as main reason for the crusade that ultimately culminated in the Battle of Nicopolis and Schiltberger's subsequent captivity. Ottoman expansion is therefore a subject thematised by the *Reisebuch* from the very start. The crusade represented a pan-European venture to counteract the Turks' successes.⁴⁷ Although the nature of

⁴⁶ As Alastair Matthews has pointed out, medieval historiography need not conform to our modern distinction between writing a fiction and writing a history. A medieval historical text may instead blur this divide between modes of fact and fiction by (non-oppositionally) combining narratological features from both literary and historical contexts (Alastair Matthews. *The Kaiserchronik: A Medieval Narrative*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 16). Following Matthews, I distance myself from the idea that a historiography is necessarily "different from other kinds of narrative" (ibid., p. 17). Matthews argues, "it is a commonplace that telling about the historical past involves imposing an interpretation on it, and that it is possible to describe this interpretation with reference to an underlying field of historical events that is absent from fictional narratives, but it is debatable whether an analysis on this basis alone can do justice to the whole range of techniques that are used in a text" (ibid., p. 17).

⁴⁷ The united nature of this endeavour is reflected in the narrative by the characterisation of the crusading army as comprising men *vß allen landen* (N 51). They were led by a distinguished and

crusade as religious struggle is addressed by the narrator, distinctions based on faith are not the chief concern in the text's description of the battle. Rather, the narrator emphasises the brutality of the conflict and its aftermath. Moreover, the text centrally aims to justify the crusaders' defeat. Yet, the abridged version does not reason that failure to beat the Turks was the result of God's wrath for the sins of Christendom, as outlined in the long version in *Was die heiden sprechen von den cristen* (ch. 54; N 133–134). Instead, the abridged version describes the loss pragmatically in national terms, especially as a consequence of French hubris.

The Battle of Nicopolis is characterised in the *Reisebuch* as a bloodbath, with both sides suffering heavy losses. Although King Sigismund briefly gained the upper hand in an onslaught in which a purported 12,000 of Bayezid's *fußgengel all erschlagen wurden* (N 53), the timely assistance of 15,000 of Lazarević's men meant that Bayezid was able to defeat the king's banneret. Sigismund was forced to retreat and flee. As the king's men became aware of his desertion, the scene descended into chaos. Even more blood was spilled as the crusaders attempted to beat a retreat: the narrator reports that a great number desperately tried to board the already overloaded ships on the Danube, but *wann sie doruff wolten, so schlugen sie [their comrades] in die hend vff den scheffern ab. Die ertruncken denn in dem wasser* (N 54). Those who did not make it to the ships were either slaughtered on the battlefield, resulting in the loss of *vil ander guter ritter vnd knecht* (N 54), or taken prisoner, as was the fate of the majority, including our eyewitness.

Enraged by the large amount of casualties among his own ranks and eager to exact revenge, Bayezid ordered all captives brought before him and commanded that *ein yeglicher sin gefangen tötten must, vnd wer das nit tun wolt dem hat der künig ander*

above all multinational group of commanders including the Duke of Burgundy Jean the Fearless (1371–1419), the Marshal of France Boucicaut (1366–1421), the Count of Celje Hermann II (early 1360s–1435), Ivan Sratsimir of Bulgaria (r. 1356–1396) and a certain *Werterwaywod* (N 52) who is identifiable as Mircea I of Wallachia (d. 1418) (Schiltberger, *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*, pp. 52–54).

zu geschafft, die in das an ir statt tetten (N 55). The outcome of this directive was that *das plut vergiessen weret von morgen bis uff vesper* (N 55). Schiltberger, who had received three serious wounds in the fray, was spared execution because of his young age, for the Turks *nyemant töttet vnder XX iaren* (N 55); the merciless slaughter of 10,000 of his older brethren and compatriots in the space of just one day, on the other hand, was only halted when Bayezid's advisors expressed their concern that God *och rauch über in verhenget, Wann des plut vergiessens gnug wär* (N 56).

This emotive account of the Turks' brutality is intended to shock. In the midst of the executions, a moment of fervour and clarity is reported to have been provided by Hannsen Greiff, a Bavarian who explained the slaughter of the crusaders in terms of its religious significance:

Der schrey vff mit luter stim vnd tröstet die ritter vnd die knecht, die da zu dem tod stunden. Vnd sprach, gehapt uch wol, wann unser plut hüt von cristenlichs globens wegen vergossen würt, vnd sin ob got wil himelkint vor got. vnd als bald das beschach do knyet er nider vnd ließ sich enthopten vnd sin gesellen (N 55).

This scene is the only instance in the abridged version where difference of faith is as explicitly addressed as a component of Europe's military engagement with the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁸ In addition to supplying the book's Christian readers with the comfort of a greater purpose in an utterly desperate situation, Greiff's proclamation is significant because it represents the assertion, if only rhetorically, of agency after the crusaders had been rendered powerless: Greiff kneels of his own accord and

⁴⁸ The two other, if considerably less prominent, examples of antipathy between the religious communities in the abridged version are: (1) the unsuccessful escape attempt of the sixty enslaved crusaders (ch. 6; N 61–63); and (2) the capture and death in prison of *Schuffmanes* (ch. 8; N 64–65), the ruler of a Christian city located literally a stone's throw away from the Muslim city of Samsun and, according to Colin Imber, very likely a member of the Bulgarian Shishmanid dynasty (Colin Imber. *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650: The Structure of Power*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p. 167). In what constitutes a complete antithesis to Hannsen Greiff's resolution to die for his religious convictions, this ruler's son *bekert sich zu heidenischen globen, Dorumb das man in leben ließ* (N 65) and received another territory from Bayezid, which he is instructed to consider *sin leptag für sins vaterland* (N 65).

lets himself be martyred. Even so, the narrator's representation cannot be said to handle this alterity with any depth; instead, the narrative couples its portrayal of martyrdom with a secular, nationalist agenda.

Specifically, Greiff's martyrdom is a means by which the narrator reflects on the exemplary piety and virtue of the German crusaders, drawing a comparison to the disastrous French behaviour he outlines as contributing to the European's defeat. Thus, the narrator places particular emphasis on the roles and fates of Schiltberger's German compatriots. Lienhart Richartinger, Werner Pienzenauer, Ulrich Kuchler and a Klammstein fall during the battle. Further, *Hanns Burggraf zu Nuremberg* (N 54) – the Hohenzollern Johann III (r. 1397–1420) – contributed in a similarly laudable fashion to Greiff by getting King Sigismund onto a ship that set sail to safety in Constantinople.

The French, by contrast, are characterised as self-important, foolhardy and disobedient. These failings are embodied in the figure of the Duke of Burgundy, who, as a relatively new arrival, is represented as having arrogantly commandeered the honour of fronting the battle with his 6,000 men against the wishes of Sigismund. The commander had personally selected *Werterwaywod* (N 52) – Mircea I of Wallachia (d. 1418) – to conduct reconnaissance and spearhead the attack, for the Wallachian soldiers *hetten vorhin mehr mit inen [the Turks] gefochten, vnd wisten ir manier vnd gewonheit baß weder andere* (N 53). The total failure of the Duke of Burgundy's assault, above all caused by his hubris, put the crusaders at a devastating tactical as well as numerical disadvantage: surrounded and unhorsed, he *mocht nicht davon vnd ward gefangen* (N 53).

The allocation of blame for this fiasco was a topic also debated in other eyewitness accounts, notably the *Chronique de religieux de Saint-Denis* (c. 1420). In this text, the narrator lampoons the French for throwing lavish banquets, sporting frivolous

dress with excessively long sleeves and pointy-toed shoes, frequenting prostitutes and gambling at the camp. The narrator contends that even Bayezid – whom the chronicler characterises as “God-fearing” – believed that the Christians were deliberately provoking God’s wrath.⁴⁹ By contrast, an equivalent assessment of the crusaders’ defeat as divine punishment (N 133–134) has been omitted in the abridged version of the *Reisebuch*, so that only the national nature of this misbehaviour is explored. However, like in the *Reisebuch* the French – specifically the Count of Eu Phillip of Artois (r. 1387–1397) and the Marshal Boucicaut – are reported in the *Chronique* to have resented and ultimately declined Sigismund’s tactical suggestion that they follow the Hungarians, Germans and Vlachs into battle. They charged into the fray with little knowledge of Turkish battle strategies.⁵⁰ As Geraldine Heng has argued, the French approach was indebted to a by then outdated and unsuitable “[chivalric] ideology that created fractious rivalry, disputes, and furious indiscipline among the knights of the van, each of whom was determined to outdo the others, as demanded by chivalric ideals of winning glory.”⁵¹ The chronicler relates that the French, instead of winning acclaim, either lost their lives or suffered the ignomy of surrender and servitude.⁵²

The assertion of French misconduct shared by this account and the *Reisebuch* was not consensus. For example, the author of Boucicaut’s biography *Le livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Boucicaut* (c. 1400–1450) supplies a totally divergent version of the events, in which the Hungarians are cast as cowardly villains who desert their posts; the French are in turn praised exuberantly for their perseverance and valour against the Turks.⁵³ Nonetheless, the description of the

49 Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, p. 350.

50 Ibid., p. 350.

51 Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003, p. 145.

52 Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, p. 354.

53 Ibid., p. 354.

battle and its aftermath contained in the *Reisebuch* has a number of things in common with this purportedly firsthand account, especially with regard to the kind of answers it tries to provide. All three texts work hard to lay out the reasons for the crusaders' defeat for their respective audiences, and their conclusions uniformly mix moral with 'nationalist' agendas, either praising the virtues or lamenting the failings of 'their own' in the face of Turkish brutality and expansionism.

In this context, the *Reisebuch* is notable for its secular emphasis on the valuable service of individual Germans. Especially Bavarians like Hannsen Greiff, the *Burggraf zu Nürnberg* (N 54) and Schiltberger's superior Richartinger get a positive billing in a provision that reflects the author's own national prejudices. The flexible interpretation of the role of different European nations in the defeat at Nicopolis in these accounts makes plain that their characterisations convey more about their authors and their (political) agendas, than perhaps about the actual event. The identification of the narrator of the *Reisebuch* not only with other Christians but predominantly with Bavarians would have appealed to the audience at the Munich court, where the *Reisebuch* was presumably composed and first received (see chapter 3).

The pressing subject of Turkish encroachment on the Holy Roman Empire's Hungarian borders is, thus, flanked by a portrayal of brutality, of martyrdom and, still more prominently, of national identity. The discussion belies an interest not only in defining crusader identity in terms of religion but also with respect to 'nation' – via linguistic and regional belonging. Further, the Battle of Nicopolis is not described as the confrontation of a homogenous Christian group with an equally homogenous cohort of Muslims. The Ottoman Turks are supported in their onslaught by the Eastern Orthodox Serbs under Stefan Lazarević; the various European powers are identified as separate and, although they share the same goal, their divergent (moral) characters are stressed. This nuance sets the version apart particularly from its

rewriting in print and also from contemporary accounts of the Turks.

2.2.2 Bayezid I: Conquests, Character and System of Rule

Even as direct conflict with Christian Europe is taken out of the equation, a dual focus on Turkish expansion and internal politics is retained by the narrative in the abridged version. Even more than contest with the West, the text foregrounds the Ottomans' quest for power and territorial gain within Asia Minor.

This emphasis is exemplified by the narrator's account of Bayezid's dispute with his brother-in-law Karaman, head of the eponymous Anatolian principality – or *beylik* – of Karaman (1250–1487).⁵⁴ Karaman, who *nit vnderthänig wolt sin* (N 58), was challenged by Bayezid who commanded a reportedly 150,000-strong army. The rivals clashed at *Konia* (N 58; Konya), a major Karamanid city and formerly the capital city of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm (1077–1307). While Karaman celebrated the truce declared for the night *mit trummeten, mit paucken vnd mit sinem wachen, dem weysit zu ainer schreckung* (N 58), Bayezid ordered all fires but those for cooking to be extinguished and sent 30,000 of his men to surround Karaman's camp covertly from the rear. At daybreak Bayezid attacked from both sides, forcing Karaman to flee with his remaining cavalry into the city. After 21 days of ineffectual siege, Bayezid made a deal with the city to spare *lib vnd gut* (N 59) in exchange for cooperation. Karaman was forced out of the city by its inhabitants with the consequence that the

⁵⁴ After the collapse in 1307 of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm that had ruled most of Anatolia, the peninsula was divided up into numerous Turkmen principalities. One of these was the *Osmanoğulları* founded by Ertuğruloğlu Osman Gazi in 1299, which just two centuries later was to rule all of Anatolia as the Ottoman Empire. Further principalities included the territories of the *Karamanoğulları* as well as the *Hamidoğulları*, *Menteşe*, *Sâhipataoğulları*, *Pervâneoğulları*, *Karesioğulları* and *Eretnaoğulları*. The Karamanid principality was one of the most powerful, and its leadership “considered itself to be the legal heir of the Seljuks as suzerain over the other Turkomen principalities, so that it bitterly opposed the Ottoman claims to rule that were based primarily on the success of their *gazi* [i.e., military] advances in Europe” (see Stanford Shaw. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976–1977, p. 30).

entire province of “Karaman became an Ottoman territory, and a base for further conquest in the north-east.”⁵⁵

The episode shows the extent of the sultan's expansionist ambitions, which are represented as transcending even close family ties. It constitutes an instructive reflection on the sultan's temperament and system of establishing rule. The narrator also reinforces the characterisation, established in the preceding report of Nicopolis (ch. 1–2), of Bayezid as a wrathful leader (albeit with a sense of justice). When Karaman asserted that he resisted Bayezid only because he was *als wol ein herr als du* (N 59), Bayezid flew into a rage and demanded three times that someone execute his brother-in-law. An anonymous man finally complied. Rather than celebrate the removal of his rival, however, the sultan's reaction to this execution was to behead the beheader, justifying his actions with the explanation that *sich keiner eines sollichen ma(e)chtigen herren ze töten solt so bald vnderwinden* (N 59). This was a consideration that was also shown to the Duke of Burgundy and fourteen of his comrades in the aftermath of Nicopolis (N 55). Thereafter, Bayezid placed Karaman's head on a spike that he carried with him to encourage other cities – notably, the Karamanid capital at *Karanda* (N 60; Karaman) – to submit to his will and rule.

This passage not only illustrates the sultan's propensity to gruesome displays of savagery but also the concept of ruling by the sword that the narrator consistently attributes to the Ottomans, who are depicted as building an empire to rival all other powerful dynasties in the Middle East. The use of force is an approach Bayezid shares with the so-called *künig Soldan* (N 107), whom the narrator characterises as *ein künig über all heidisch künig [...] vnd ein herr über all heidnschafft* (N 107–108). Identifiable as the head of the Mamluk sultanate at Cairo, the *künig Soldan* (N 107) insists that, as he had himself conquered territory *mit dem swert* (N 69), the person(s) who would

⁵⁵ Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650*, p. 16.

want to take land from his dominions *müsts och mit dem schwert gewinnen* (N 69). Of the same mind (see N 71), Bayezid challenged the Mamluks over *Malathea* (N 69; Malatya), laying siege to the city for two months with an army of 200,000 men before capturing and occupying the region. The Ottoman sultan also fought for and won the Mamluk city of *Adalia* (N 70; Antalya), located on the Mediterranean coast *nit ferr von zypern* (N 70) in a region notable to the narrator for its camel breeding.

Yet, Bayezid's imperial aspirations were not confined to making inroads into Mamluk and Karamanid territory. The narrative thematises Ottoman empire-building in Asia Minor by detailing Bayezid's numerous military campaigns against a variety of different ruling dynasties. The Ottoman sultan also notably expelled the Muslim ruler of Samsun, a former Genoese colony on the Black Sea: *und do die statt hort, das ir herr vertriben was, da gaben sie sich dem weyasit. Der basatz die statt vnd das gantz land mit sinem volk* (N 63).⁵⁶ Moreover, Bayezid – with grievous consequences for the future of his own objectives in the Middle East – waged a successful war against Otman, a Turkish vassal of the Turko-Mongol warlord Timūr, who had conquered the city of Sivas. Otman previously captured, beheaded and displayed the dismembered body of its Etenid ruler Kadi Burhan al-Din (1345–1398).⁵⁷ Bayezid sent his eldest son with a purported 20,000 cavalymen and 4,000 infantrymen that included Schiltberger to free the town from Otman. After Bayezid's son was successful in retaking Sivas, the Ottoman sultan secured his rule over the kingdom by appointing his other son *Machmet* (N 69) – Mehmed (1389–1421) – as its governor. This method of consolidating power after conquest is frequently recorded by the narrator.

According to the *Reisebuch*, Bayezid favoured installing governors from his own

⁵⁶ P. Brunn assumes this ruler to be the Isfendiyarid *Kötürüm Bayezid* ('the Lame'), who reportedly died in battle against the Ottoman Bayezid I who was nicknamed *Yıldırım* or 'Thunderbolt' (Schiltberger, *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*, p. 119).

⁵⁷ According to P. Brunn, Otman may be identified as *Kara Yelek*, a leader of the Turkic tribal federation "Horde of the White Sheep" or *Ağ Qoyunlu* (ibid., p. 120).

ranks to rule his subjugated territories over relying on the loyalty of foreign vassals. This practice goes hand in hand with the “tendency [...] to appoint members of deposed dynasties, or at least those who had survived the conquest and did not flee, to provincial governorships within the Empire, far from their hereditary lands.”⁵⁸ For instance, Bayezid deposed his sister and the wife of Karaman alongside his two nephews from rulership at *Karanda* (N 60), sending them to live at his capital Bursa and instating his own governor in their place: *da nam er die statt in vnd besetzt die mit sinem herren ainem* (N 61). This pattern is again repeated when Bayezid assisted his vassal *Mirachamat* (N 61) to unseat Burhan al-Din from the city Amasya – a vital military and political post for the Ottomans, not least as the established training ground for their future sultans – by sending his son Mehmed to fight for him. The victorious Mehmed was entrusted the city to govern, and Bayezid gave *Mirachamat* (N 61) another territory within his empire to rule in its stead.⁵⁹ This system of governance stands in sharp contrast to Timūr's more destructive methods, as I shall illustrate later in the chapter. After conquest, Timūr is portrayed as uninterested in establishing his own government; rather, he ransacked and typically razed conquered cities before returning to his capital at Samarkand.

As a final point, the magnitude of the sultan's desire to increase Ottoman dominions is cogently stressed with the retelling of a *gros wunder* (N 63) of snakes and vipers at Samsun. Thousands of vipers are reported by the narrator to have emerged from the woods and from the sea to do battle not long after Bayezid had conquered the city. In doing no harm to people or livestock, the vipers were interpreted as *ein zeichen vnd ein verhengnus von dem almächtigen got* (N 64). The vipers of the sea lost against the vipers of the forest. The narrator relates how Bayezid understood

⁵⁸ Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650*, p. 167.

⁵⁹ Hasan Karataş. “A Shaykh, a Prince, and a Sack of Corn: An Anatolia Sufi Becomes Ottoman”. In: *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*. Ed. by Christine Isom-Verhaaren and Kent F. Schull. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2016, pp. 79–94, p. 83.

this occurrence to be a positive premonition for his expansionist politics. The sultan *hoffet als er ein gewaltiger herr vnd künig des lands by dem mer wär, also wolt er och mit hilff gots des almächtigen des meres gewaltiger herr vnd künig werden* (N 64).

This aspiration was, however, to remain only a fantasy for Bayezid, as his continued occupation of new lands was cut short by his military engagement with Timūr, who responded to his vassal Otman's complaint that he was forced out of his territories by Bayezid. The narrative details how Timūr conquered Ottoman-held Sivas, burying 5,000 of Bayezid's cavalry alive *vnd das beschach dorumb. Da der tämerlin die Stat gewan, da batt in der hoptmann, das er ir plut nit vergüß. Das verlieh er im* (N 71). Timūr then levelled the city and transported its inhabitants, including 9,000 virgins, as captives to his country (N 72). In retaliation, Bayezid subjugated Lesser Armenia and its capital *Ersingen* (N 72; Erzincan), defeating Timūr's vassal *Tarathan* (N 72). Finally, Bayezid and Timūr personally clashed at Ankara in 1402. With 32 trained war elephants, Timūr triumphed and took Bayezid prisoner (N 72). Timūr subsequently continued his campaign in Anatolia for a further eight months, even occupying and looting the Ottoman capital at Bursa (N 73). The Mongolian warlord had intended to transport Bayezid to his territories in Central Asia after the campaign, but the sultan died on the journey. Schiltberger thus became Timūr's property *vnd ward mit im geführt in sin land; vnd rait dornach mit im* (N 73). The captive's subsequent experience of the 'Tartars' will be discussed in depth in section 2.3.

The abridged version's representation of the Turks is ultimately largely secular, documenting the Ottoman sultan's character, political customs and military campaigns. With the exception of the Battle of Nicopolis, it emerges that the central preoccupation of the text's representation of the Turks is Bayezid's expansion eastward, i.e. his conflict with the Mamluks, with other Turkish tribes and with the

Mongols under Timūr. The result is a differentiated view of oriental society that mirrors the narrator's assertion of national differences among the Europeans. The narrator does not expand on the Turks as a religious 'other'. The version's secular emphasis instead coincides with an awareness that the East is multicultural and in a state of near constant territorial competition; by distinguishing among rival Turkmen principalities, the Turks are more specifically not homogenised in the *Reisebuch* as "members of a single genetic race" that share the single aim of conquering the West.⁶⁰ This complexity and the version's focus on the political (rather than the religious) character of Ottoman imperialism stands in sharp contrast to the portrayal of the Turks in the rest of the *Reisebuch*'s transmission. For the same reason, the version also diverges significantly from the majority of texts in contemporary circulation in Germany that likewise document Turkish captivity, as the following shall briefly illustrate.

2.2.3 Context: Accounts of Turkish Captivity

The captivity narrative most similar to the abridged version of the *Reisebuch* is the account penned in Rome, after 30 years of servitude under Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481), by the cannon founder Jörg von Nürnberg.⁶¹ Jörg's *Geschicht von der Türckey* was first printed c. 1482 by Albert Kunne in Memmingen (GW: M12694).⁶² As Karoline Döring has shown, the *Reisebuch* and Jörg's *Geschicht* share a common chronicling approach to recording their firsthand observations: Jörg von Nürnberg documented

⁶⁰ Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, p. vii.

⁶¹ Jörg von Nürnberg. *Geschicht von der Türckey*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1482. URL: http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00031023/image_1.

⁶² For textual analysis, see Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, pp. 155–164; Günter Prinzing. "Zu Jörg von Nürnberg, dem Geschützgießer Mehmeds II. und seiner Schrift "Geschichte von der Turkey"". In: *Sultan Mehmed II. Eroberer Konstantinopels – Patron der Künste*. Ed. by Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger and Ulrich Rehm. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2009, pp. 59–76; and Peter Johanek. "Jörg von Nürnberg". In: *Verfasserlexikon*. Vol. 4. Walter de Gruyter, 1983, pp. 867–870.

2 Schiltberger's Reisebuch Abridged

Informationen über seinen Herrn, Mehmed II., und die unmittelbar selbst erlebte Geschichte der Osmanischen Reiches zwischen 1464 und 1480 [...]. In dieser Hinsicht ist Jörg sehr gut mit Schiltberger, dem Chronisten Bayezids I. für die Zeit zwischen 1396 und 1402, vergleichbar.⁶³

The *Geschicht*, however, also diverges significantly from the abridged version because it foregrounds religious difference and Ottoman conflict with the Christian West. In fact, the characterisation of the Ottomans as ‘religious enemy’ was a vital component in the vast majority of fifteenth-century European publications on the Turks.⁶⁴ Islam was a central marker of Turkish alterity and concomitant to the threat they embodied, not least in the long version of the *Reisebuch* (see chapter 3). The *Geschicht* therefore not only provides an overview of the tenets and ritual practices of the faith (6v–7r) that is wholly absent from the abridged version but portrays the Muslim Ottomans as a military power that, emerging from an inferior class of Anatolian farmers (1r), had been fundamentally opposed to and in combat with Christian communities since the nascence of the tribe.

The founder of the dynasty *Ottmann* (1r; Osman I, r. 1299–1326) is described as engaging in battle with the neighbouring Byzantine Greeks. The Ottomans plundered the Greeks’ homes for riches, razed entire cities and, perhaps worst of all, kidnapped young children to serve as slaves (1r).⁶⁵ This inherent antagonism is further emphasised by a description, recycled from Georg von Ungarn’s *Tractatus*, of the abuse suffered by Christian captives at oriental slave markets, where they are

63 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, p. 158.

64 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, especially pp. 136ff., and for an analysis of the chief themes of sixteenth-century *Turcica*, see Carl Göllner. *Turcica: Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert*. Vol. 3. Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1978, pp. 171ff.

65 The text’s portrayal of Turkish brutality reflects the widespread association in contemporary discourse of the Turks with the ancient Scythians. From the publication of Herodotus’s *Histories* (c. 440 BC), the Scythians formed a universally recognised shorthand for savagery. Herodotus characterised the tribe as comprising unusually fierce warriors that were infamous for consuming (the blood of) their enemies, for subjecting their captives to gruesome sacrificial rites and for ransacking cities (Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, p. 71). This purported ancestry substantiated the prevalent notion in Europe of the Turks “as a barbarous race, ferocious, uncultured, and illegitimate, with no claim to rule over or even reside in any part of the civilised world” (Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, p. 3; see also Höfert, *Den Feind Beschreiben*, pp. 185–187).

treated by their Muslim slavemasters as little better than *die unvernünftigen tyer* (7r). Finally, Jörg von Nürnberg portrays the Ottomans' rise to power – outlined from *Sulenmenbeg* (1v; Orhan I, r. 1326–1362) to *Ottmanogel Emhemmet* (2r; Mehmed II) – as affecting primarily Christian territories and cultures, i.e. the Eastern Roman Empire, Lesbos, Euboea, Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Wallachia, Crimea, Serbia and Bosnia (1v–6r).

The differing foci of these two captivity narratives with respect to the Turks' regional aims are naturally indebted to the captives' individual experiences under discrete regimes: Mehmed II was more involved in expansion into the Balkans and Mediterranean than Bayezid I, and this fact is reflected in Jörg's narrative.⁶⁶ This alone, however, does not adequately explain the *Geschicht's* emphasis. In the *Geschicht*, Turkish imperialism at the expense of Christian territories has also been mapped subjectively onto the past to constitute a dominant pattern for all historical periods and erstwhile sultans. In contrast to the abridged version's preoccupation with defining the relationships among various Muslim dynasties, the *Geschicht* represents the Turks monolithically as the primary *Erb- und Erzfeind* of Christendom.

Georg von Ungarn's *Tractatus de Moribus, Conditionibus et Nequitia Turcorum* (GW: 10653, c. 1481) is another significant captivity account that diverges from the abridged version by thematising Ottoman imperialism in close conjunction with the alterity of Islam. The aim in this instance was to provide, in addition to an autobiographical account of Georg's approximately 20-year captivity as a household slave, a "theologische Auseinandersetzung mit dem Islam und ein Rüstzeug für die Standhaftigkeit im christlichen Glauben."⁶⁷

Taken captive at Sebeş, Romania when the city fell to the Ottomans in 1437 and returning to Rome c. 1458, the former student and Dominican priest came to be

66 Matschke, *Das Kreuz und der Halbmond*, pp. 214–220.

67 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, p. 157.

regarded as a foremost authority on the Turks – Georg's account was a bestseller and a widely quoted reference on the subject.⁶⁸ Originally composed and circulated in Latin, the narrative was transmitted in Germany in vernacular translation, most notably in an edition by Sebastian Franck published by the Nuremberg printer Friedrich Peypus in 1530 (VD16: G 1382).⁶⁹ The bulk of the narrative provides an extensive record of Turkish customs, character and religion, and it therefore came to constitute "eine der wichtigsten oder gar die wichtigste europäische Quelle über die Lebensverhältnisse im Osmanischen Reich im 15. Jh."⁷⁰ The account also includes a comparably brief historiographic discussion of the Turks' origins and rise to power.⁷¹

According to this text, the growth of the Muslim faith – polemically described as *bu(e)berey und sect* built on *falschen wunderzeichen* – is directly linked to the territorial expansion of the Turks, who since the foundation of the Ottoman dynasty had *yn ein unsegliche anzal und greulicheit gewachsen wider die kirchen Gottes*.⁷² The narrative catalogues how the Turks managed to extend not only their political power and territory but also their religion by tricking credulous Christians into subjugation and apostasy. In fact, renunciation of faith is claimed by the narrator to be by far the greatest danger posed by Ottoman imperialism. This argument is lent particular authority because Georg almost converted to Islam himself during

68 See Carl Göllner. "Die Auflagen des *Tractatus de ritu et moribus Turcorum*". In: *Deutsche Forschung im Südosten* 3 (1944), pp. 129–151.

69 Stephen Christopher Williams. "'Cronica der Türckey': Sebastian Franck's Translation of the 'Tractatus de Moribus, Conditionibus et Nequitia Turcorum' by Georgius de Hungaria". PhD thesis. Leeds: The University of Leeds, 1991, p. 30. See Reinhard Klockow's Georgius de Hungaria. *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum: Traktat über die Sitten, die Lebensverhältnisse und die Arglist der Türcken*. Ed. by Reinhard Klockow. Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1994, for an edition and translation of the Latin text. Williams has further provided a comparison of these versions in his doctoral study, see especially pp. 35–66.

70 Hungaria, *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum*, p. 12. Various aspects of Turkish religious life – from a delineation of their *glauben, gesatz und gebet* to *der Türcken fürnemesten heiligenn, nothelffern und yhren wunderzeychen* – are handled from pp. 182ff. in Williams, "'Cronica der Türckey'".

71 Williams, "'Cronica der Türckey'", p. 150; Hungaria, *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum*, pp. 156–162.

72 Williams, "'Cronica der Türckey'", pp. 150–151.

his captivity: in the *Tractatus*, the former slave “expresses his great fear about the intellectual, religious, and cultural attractiveness of the enemy which targets people’s souls and seems to have the power to convert them to their own religion.”⁷³

The narrative recounts that Georg witnessed many Christians surrendering to the invading Turks in order to avoid persecution and – treated kindly, tricked by false miracles and conscious of the material gains to be made – eventually converting of their own free will.⁷⁴ Conversion is encouraged by the fact that the Turks seem in many respects admirable, and the former slave acknowledges having developed a personal fascination with the dervishes. He experienced a mystical vision during the ritual Sufi whirling dance and received such good counsel from a travelling order of dervishes that he “could not help but to worship them as angel-like.”⁷⁵ The text details how the Turks – in a parallel to Christian models of virtue – reject worldly luxury. Accordingly, all social classes reportedly live an admirably clean, ascetic and devout existence. Even the sultan is described by the narrator not only as intelligent and charitable but also so modest in manner and attire that he is indistinguishable from his subjects when in public.⁷⁶ The commendable aspects of Turkish society the narrator registers, however, are polemically interpreted as a clever deception to attract followers to Islam, the growth of which was held by Georg to signify its status as the ‘Church of the Antichrist’ and proof of the imminence of the Apocalypse.⁷⁷

Further, the military and political achievements of the Turks against the West are attributed in this eschatological context not to any superiority on behalf of the religious ‘other’ but to “failures by the Christians themselves to maintain their traditional values and ideals, and especially to uphold their solid Christian faith.”⁷⁸

73 Albrecht Classen. “Life Writing as a Slave in Turkish Hands: Georgius of Hungary’s Reflections about his Existence in the Turkish World”. In: *Neohelicon* 39 (2012), pp. 55–72, p. 61.

74 Williams, “‘Cronica der Türckey’”, p. 153.

75 Classen, “Life Writing as a Slave in Turkish Hands”, p. 275.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

77 Williams, “‘Cronica der Türckey’”, p. 45.

78 Classen, “Life Writing as a Slave in Turkish Hands”, p. 61.

In Georg of Ungarn's *Tractatus*, then, religion and conflict with the Latin West again play essential roles in the characterisation of Ottoman imperialism.

The focus on the diversity of a political East the reader encounters in the abridged version of the *Reisebuch* is therefore atypical for the genre of the Turkish captivity account. These other fifteenth-century texts customarily focus on the Ottoman 'other' in relation to Christendom. Reflecting a profound fear of the Turks, they emphasise military successes in and around Christian territories in Eastern Europe and draw attention to the "seductive force exerted by the Islamic religion."⁷⁹ Even more unusual in the context of this relatively slim collection of German works, however, is the version's equally extensive chronicle of the Timūrid dynasty that I will now examine.

2.3 The 'Tartars': Timūr and his Sons

The *Reisebuch* occupies a special position in the context of the premodern captivity narrative due to the book's provision of an eyewitness record of the life and deeds of Timūr and his successors.⁸⁰ This subject matter is unusual in the genre, for the

79 Albrecht Classen. "The World of the Turks Described by an Eye-Witness: Georgius de Hungaria's Dialectical Discourse on the Foreign World of the Ottoman Empire". In: *Journal of Early Modern History* 7.3 (2003), pp. 257–279, p. 266.

80 Timūr – better known in Europe as Tamerlane, a phonetic rendering of Timūr and his Persian epithet *i-Lang*, 'the Lame' – was a member of the Barlās, a Turkicized Mongol nomadic confederation which ruled the region around the city of Shahr-i Sabz (in modern Uzbekistan). Timūr first rose to power in 1370 when he assumed rulership of the western Chaghadayid khanate, establishing his capital at Samarkand. During his 35-year rule, Timūr extended his territories to include all of Central Asia, greater Iran and Iraq as well as parts of southern Russia and the Indian subcontinent (H. R. Roemer. "Timur in Iran". In: *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*. Ed. by Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart. Vol. 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 42–97). Timūr claimed descent from Chinggis Khan. Despite permanent settlement and an impressive building programme at Samarkand, Timūr made a point of living like a nomad, setting up a camp of luxurious tents outside the gates of his capital in which he lived, in reference to his ancestry, "als Exponent der Steppe" (Felicitas Schmieder. *Europa und die Fremden: Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994, p. 36). He legitimated his rule and explained his numerous conquests as the restoration of Chinggis Khan's expansive empire, which constituted the "largest continuous land empire in world history" stretching from the Pontic steppes in the West to Manchuria in the East (Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*, pp. 31–57 and p. 235). After Timūr's death, however, his empire gradually disintegrated, so that by c. 1500 the Timūrids had lost control of most of their territories. Timūr's bloodline,

most common experiences of captivity were under the Turks, Africans or Native Americans.⁸¹ However, there was a rich and varied body of narratives about the 'Tartars', or Mongols, in circulation during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Europe.⁸² These texts constituted some of the first attempts by Europeans to make sense of – to classify and describe – the Mongols, and they thus contributed substantially not only to contemporary knowledge about other cultures and regions of the world but also to the development of stereotypes that were to typify the Mongols in Western discourse for many centuries to come.⁸³ The *Reisebuch* shares, and builds upon, a number of these established stereotypes. Schiltberger's eyewitness report of the Timūrids is a rarity even among similar documents as a firsthand perspective that is communicated by only a handful of travel texts, none of which constitutes a captivity account: the few other notable European travel texts based on personal experience of the Timūrid court comprise the documents by the Italian merchant Beltramo Mignanelli (c. 1370–1460), the Spanish envoy Ruy González de Clavijo (d. 1412) as well as the Italian archbishop and Timūrid ambassador to Europe John of Sultāniyya (d. after 1412).

This section examines the abridged version's representation of these fifteenth-

however, lived on in the Indian Mughal dynasty founded by his great-great-grandson Babur (1526–1857), and his successors in Persia also left an enduring mark with their intellectual and cultural contributions (H. R. Roemer. "The Successors of Timur". In: *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*. Ed. by Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart. Vol. 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 98–146).

81 For studies of early modern captivity narratives, cf. Daniel J. Vitkus and Nabil I. Matar. *Piracy, Slavery and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001; Paul Baepler, ed. *White Slaves, African Masters: an Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999; and Pauline Turner Strong. *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999.

82 These included Marco Polo and co-writer Rustichello da Pisa's *Il Milione* (c. 1300), Odorico da Pordenone's *Relatio* (c. 1330), Hayton of Corycus's *Flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient* (c. 1307) and John of Plano Carpini's *Ystoria Mongalarum* (c. 1247). The latter was incorporated in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (redacted c. 1244 to 1253) and thus formed a fundamental component of one of the "weitverbreitetsten und meistbenutzten Schriften des späten Mittelalters" (Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden*, pp. 202–203).

83 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

century *Tartar[en]* (N 91). On the one hand, I illustrate how the secular emphasis on the political East established with respect to the Ottoman Turks is continued in the abridged version with its delineation of the ‘Tartars’. The narrative highlights the – more often than not violent – military and political engagement of the Timūrids in the East. The version makes no attempt to explain the significance of this community with respect to the Latin West or indeed to contextualise the Mongols from a religious point of view; instead, it describes only how brutal Mongolian expansionism affected other dynasties in the East, not least – as we have seen already – the Ottoman Turks. On the other hand, I situate the central components of the image of the Mongols developed in the *Reisebuch* against the backdrop of accounts that similarly discuss the Mongols and Timūr in particular in order to illustrate in what respects the version’s portrayal aligns with, or departs from, its contemporary literary context.

2.3.1 Destruction

Timūr and his empire-building in the Middle East are characterised in the *Reisebuch* first and foremost by extreme acts of brutality and treachery. This is clearly demonstrated in the account’s descriptions of the Timūrid conquest of four eastern cities: Aleppo, Damascus, Baghdad and Isfahan.

After conquering the Syrian city *Hallopp* (N 74; Aleppo) from the Mamluks, the text relates how Timūr – in conduct that parallels his barbaric behaviour with respect to the Ottoman troops at Sivas – forced the city’s inhabitants into its moat, burying them alive under timber and dirt before filling the structure with water (N 74).

The narrator also describes the savagery of Timūr’s invasion of Damascus, another city governed by the Mamluks, and the conqueror’s duplicity in achieving his ultimately destructive aim.⁸⁴ When Timūr entered Damascus, the imam of the city’s

⁸⁴ Cf. Walter J. Fischel. “A New Latin Source on Tamerlane’s Conquest of Damascus (1400/1401): (B. de Mignanelli’s “Vita Tamerlani” 1416)”. In: *Oriens* 9.2 (1956), pp. 201–232, pp. 208ff.

most renowned and ancient mosque begged the conqueror to spare the holy site, his life and that of his priests. Timūr acquiesced and ordered the men into the mosque, into which the imam and his priests also took women, children and the elderly *von schirms wegen* (N 75). However, according to the narrator Timūr's assurances had been a disingenuous act: he locked the doors, piled wood high around the structure's walls and burnt the mosque down, slaughtering the 30,000 helpless civilians that had gathered inside (N 75). He further instructed each of his soldiers to bring him a decapitated head, out of which Timūr made *dry türn vnd zerstört die statt* (N 75–76).

Moreover, it is reported that Timūr razed Jalayirid *Babylon* (N 76; Baghdad) and planted barley in its place, for *er wölt sie brechen, das niemand west ob hüser oder nüntz da gestanden wer* (N 76).⁸⁵

Finally, Isfahan – a town under the rule of the Persian Muzaffarid dynasty (1314–1393) – was seized by Timūr. On his departure its citizens murdered the 6,000-strong occupying force the conqueror had left behind (N 80). Timūr consequently returned to besiege the town for fifteen days, eventually agreeing to a truce on the condition that he would be lent 12,000 archers for his further conquests. On their arrival at his camp, Timūr cut off the archers' thumbs, returned them to the city and invaded. He commanded that all inhabitants over the age of fourteen were to be beheaded. Timūr then constructed a tower out of their skulls *mitten in die stat* (N 80). He also instructed his cavalry to trample to death the city's 7,000 children under the age of seven. When they hesitated an enraged Timūr started the charge, *also musten sie all riten* (N 80). Afterwards Timūr set fire to the city and took all survivors to his own capital, presumably as slaves (N 80).

Thus, Timūr and the Mongols are depicted in the *Reisebuch* as even more blood-

⁸⁵ Telfer, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, pp. 129–130. The Jalayirid sultanate ruled over large parts of modern Iraq and Iran from 1335 to 1432. The sultan Timūr temporarily displaced was Ahmad Jalayir (r. 1382–1410).

thirsty, treacherous and wicked than Bayezid and the Ottoman Turks. Timūr is characterised as chiefly interested in looting, in callously decimating local populations and in destroying cities. He is not depicted as setting up local government in the same systematic manner as Bayezid, who is contrastingly portrayed as intending to rule the regions he occupied with the aid of select and trusted administrators. Timūr instead transported goods and captives back to his capital at Samarkand (N 76–78), and he relied on vassals to collect tribute from the conquered territories he did not raze (N 79): Timūr departed with *dry blyen truchen vol silber vnd gold [...] yeglicher trog was zweyer claffter lang vnd ainer claffter breit* (N 78) from a decimated Baghdad, and he attempted to bring tribute from *perssia vnd ermenia* (N 79) to Samarkand.

According to the text, Timūr constituted a ‘scourge’ of these various cities and their communities. A further consequence of the narrator’s detailed sketch of these conflicts is that the version again stresses the political diversity of eastern society: Timūr’s marauding not only affected the Ottoman Turks under Bayezid but in equal measure the Egyptian Mamluk, the Mongolian Jalayirid and the Iranian Muzaffarid dynasties. The text portrays this rampant destruction at Timūr’s behest exclusively as part of a secular sketch of the political scene in the East. The narrator does not comment directly on the character of Timūr, rather he illustrates his ferocious nature in a chronicle of his atrocious deeds. The version also does not expound on what the ruler’s greater aims could have been, other than simply and self-servingly – and certainly with no mention of any religious motivation in either a pro- or an anti-Christian sense – to expand his territory and power.

2.3.2 Disintegration

After Timūr’s demise following an attempt to mount an attack on China and the Great Khan (N 81), the narrative describes the disintegration of his empire. Timūr’s

sons and grandson are reported as having been involved in battles to try to defend, and to a much lesser extent expand, their territories against outsiders and also each other. These last passages of the abridged version (ch. 21–26) thus form a final illustration of the complexity of political relationships in the East that the text centrally thematises: the image of the Timūrid dynasty as communicated by the narrative is one of both military contest and political instability, as the East more generally undergoes rapid and violent upheaval.

This period of political turbulence is depicted as starting even before Timūr's premature death. The Mongols' defeat of the Ottomans at Ankara in 1402 disrupted the Turks' empire-building endeavours. Further, a series of betrayals by close associates are presented as contributing directly to Timūr developing a fatal illness in 1405. First, Timūr's vassal *Chebakh* (N 79) ran off with the tribute he was supposed to collect at Soltaniyeh. Secondly, the conqueror's youngest (and favourite) wife had an affair with a vassal while Timūr was away on campaign (N 81–82). And lastly, while her lover escaped judgement by fleeing to another ruler's territory, Timūr was forced to execute his wife (N 82).

The betrayals and concomitant breakup of the Timūrid empire continued during the reign of Timūr's son Miran Shāh, under whom Schiltberger likewise served (N 83). Soon after taking possession of his territories, Miran Shāh was attacked by a vassal called *Joseph* (N 83) who expelled the Timūrid from his lands.⁸⁶ With the help of his brother Shāhrukh, Miran Shāh was able to reclaim the lands as well as take control of the territories of *Churten* (N 84; Kurdistan) and Lesser Armenia that *Joseph* (N 83) had subdued. Their conflict with *Joseph* (N 83), however, did not end with this victory. After approximately one year of peace, he returned to fight, capture and behead Miran Shāh (N 84). Despite this act of deposition, *Joseph's*

⁸⁶ According to P. Brunn, the narrative's *Joseph* (N 83) is likely to be Qara Yusuf (d. 1420), ruler of the Black Sheep Turkomans (Telfer, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, p. 134).

claim to rule is portrayed as similarly precarious: he was forced to fight the King of Baghdad Ahmad Jalayir who laid claim to Miran Shāh's kingdom *wann es zu sinem küngrich gehört vnd sin stul dorinn wär* (N 85).

After Miran Shāh's death, Schiltberger again changed hands and entered the service of Miran Shāh's son Abū Bakr, who is described as possessing extraordinary physical strength (N 86). In another example of the Mongols' internal contest for power, the narrator describes how Abū Bakr ruthlessly killed his own brother *Mansur* (N 86), who refused to accept his supremacy: *also zoch er uff in vnd vieng in vnd hett in ain wil in vancknust vnd tett in würgen vnd nam sin land in* (N 86).

Thereafter, Schiltberger travelled as one of a group of five to China with *Zeggra* (N 90; Chekre), a Mongolian prince who was recalled from Abū Bakr's court to serve the chief of the Golden Horde Egidü (N 87).⁸⁷ The text reports how they together subdued *Issibur* (N 88; Siberia), a remote country populated by a wild and hairy race of men and geographically defined by a mountain range *das ist zwo vnd drissig tagweid lang* (N 88) at the end of which lies a desert. Uninhabitable and full of dangerous animals, this desert supposedly forms *ein ende des ertrichs* (N 88). The Mongol quest for power is thus styled as taking them quite literally to the perceived ends of the earth.

Similarly, Egidü's reign is also not marked by continuous and uncontested expansion but instead by constant territorial and political competition. First, Egidü is reported to have fought the Mongolian *Sedichbechan* (N 90; Schadi Beg, r. 1401–1407) for his territory, who fled and fell in battle. Egidü installed *Polet* (N 90; Pulad, r. 1407–1410) in his place, who the narrator claims reigned for only one and a half years. Pulad was then expelled by *Segelladin* (N 90; Jalal al-Din, r. 1411–1412). Pulad's brother ruled the kingdom for fourteen months, before *Thebachk* (N 90; Kebek Khan

⁸⁷ See Bertold Spuler. *Die goldene Horde: die Mongolen in Rußland 1223–1502*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965, pp. 136–153 for a historical account of the Mongols under Egidü.

ibn Tokhtamysh, r. 1414–1417) invaded. Kebek's brother *Kerumberdin* (N 90; Karim Berdi ibn Tokhtamysh, r. 1412–1414) ruled for five months. Kebek then deposed him and took the seat of power for himself. Egidü and Chekre intervened at this point and dethroned Kebek. Chekre was made king by Egidü, ruling for nine months before he was challenged by *Machmet* (N 91; Ulugh Muhammad, r. 1419–1420 and 1427–1433). Chekre had to flee, and Ulugh Muhammad became king. His rule, in turn, was contested and the territory won by *Waroch* (N 91; Baraq, r. 1422–1427). Ulugh Muhammad reclaimed the throne but was swiftly deposed by *Doblabardi* (N 91; Dawlat Berdi, r. 1420–1422). Dawlat Berdi ruled for three days. Then Baraq took the throne, then Ulugh Muhammad again. The latter killed Schiltberger's master Chekre as he attempted to regain his position (N 91).⁸⁸ With the death of Schiltberger's last master, the abridged version's reproductions in the St. Gallen, Cod. 628 and Strasbourg, ms. 2119 conclude.

In this way, the Mongols are described in the abridged version of the *Reisebuch* as particularly aggressive 'career' invaders. The version's representation is defined by the savagery of Mongol empire-building, on the one hand, and by political instability and civil war, on the other. This chronicle of Timūrid military activity takes precedence over the provision of any other category of ethnographic information.⁸⁹ A reflection on the significance of the historical events for the Latin West is, notably, not provided by the narrator.

88 The sketched conflict reflects the dispute between two arms of a powerful Mongol family, the descendants of Urus Khan (d. 1377) and his nephew Tokhtamysh (d. 1406); Schadi Beg, Pulad, Chekre and Baraq were the successors of Urus, whereas Jalal al-Din, Karim Berdi, Kebek, Dawlat Berdi and Ulugh Muhammad were offspring of Tokhtamysh (Langmantel, *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, p. 41).

89 The information is, at any rate, limited to reporting that the Mongols are nomads that live *winter vnd sumer mit sampt irem vich ze veld* (N 88).

2.3.3 Context: Timūr and the 'Tartars' in Premodern Literature

This portrayal aligns the abridged version with an established body of texts that similarly vilifies Timūr and the 'Tartars'. I will now briefly identify the appraisals the *Reisebuch* shares with, as well as the strategies that set the version apart from, this literary context.

While the historiography of the *Reisebuch* deals with a later period of Western contact with the Mongols, two earlier encounters established the 'myths of the Mongol' that form the frame of reference for the travel book's representation. First, Europeans learned of the existence of the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century when reports of Chinggis Khan's conquests in the Muslim Khwarazmian empire reached the West via the Fifth Crusade (1221). The Mongols were thought to be the descendants of Prester John,⁹⁰ and they were therefore held by the crusaders to be fellow embattled Christians in the fight against Islam.⁹¹ The crusaders hoped that, if an alliance with the Mongols could be forged, together they could once and for all quash their Muslim enemies. Second, as the grandsons of Chinggis Khan (d. 1227) attacked Eastern Europe in 1241–1242, Europeans encountered

90 First associated with crusading hopes by Otto of Freising in *De duabus civitatibus* (c. 1145) and in the *Epistole presbiteri Johannis* (c. 1165), Prester John was a mythical figure considered to be a descendant of the Magi; he was also connected to the mission of St Thomas the Apostle and believed to be the ordained Christian ruler of a vast and enormously wealthy Asian empire that encompassed the vaguely-defined 'three Indies' (cf. Peter Jackson. "The Letter of Prester John". In: *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. Ed. by David Thomas and Alex Mallett. Vol. 4. Leiden: Brill, 2012, pp. 118–123; Ulrich Knefelkamp. *Die Suche nach dem Reich des Priesterkönigs Johannes: dargestellt anhand von Reiseberichten und anderen ethnographischen Quellen des 12.–17. Jahrhunderts*. Gelsenkirchen: Müller, 1986; and Bettina Wagner. *Die Epistole presbiteri Johannis lateinisch und deutsch: Überlieferung, Textgeschichte, Rezeption und Übertragungen im Mittelalter*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000). The legend claimed that the *Priesterkönig* fought successfully against the Muslim rulers of Media and Persia on a prematurely abandoned journey to rescue Jerusalem from the infidel.

91 Their troops were believed to be headed by the mythical King David, identified by Jacques de Vitry as a son or grandson of the legendary Prester John, and on their way to aid their Western coreligionists in Egypt; the explanation was exploited to "boost crusader moral" (Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*, p. 48). Crusading prophecies also foretold the collaboration of Western and Eastern Christians to defeat a common Islamic foe (ibid., p. 59).

the Mongols on European soil and in a very different light.⁹² By the end of June 1241 the Mongols had occupied and laid waste to the bulk of Hungarian territory east of the Danube, but due to the death of their Great Khan Ögedei (1186–1241) a full-scale Mongolian invasion of western Europe never materialised.⁹³ However, the Mongols overwhelmed Poland and Hungary with such ruthless brutality that eyewitness descriptions frequently impressed on the reader that “kein Stein sei auf dem anderen geblieben, kein Mensch noch Tier haben überlebt.”⁹⁴ These two initial experiences of the Mongols – illustrative of Western hopes and, after the devastatingly brutal invasions of the 1240s, also their fears – form the foundation for the two divergent responses to this community in western European literature. The Mongols were interpreted either as potential allies or as a deviant and violent threat. These approaches were subsequently mapped onto Timūr in fifteenth-century written discourse and thus serve as a significant backdrop for the *Reisebuch*'s tropes.

As illustrated, the *Reisebuch* falls into the category of texts that emphasise the abhorrent brutality of the warring ‘Tartars’. This kind of polemic representation typically constructs the Mongols’ deviance based on their religious beliefs, origins, eating habits and battle tactics. The Mongols did not have a preordained place in Scripture, so these texts represent attempts to assign them a position within Christian history and, perhaps more importantly, a role in a Christian future.⁹⁵ At the same time, the texts equally highlight a moment of “revolutionary” expansion of European knowledge about the world and its inhabitants; they sparked further “knowledge collection” in the form of religious, political and commercial missions to

92 Under Batu Khan (c. 1207–1255), the ruler of the Golden Horde, the Mongols conquered Kiev and reduced the city to ashes in December 1240. A few months later in April 1241, the army of Henry II of Poland (1196–1241) was defeated near Legnica and Henry was killed, his head reportedly paraded on a spike as a trophy by the victorious Mongols (Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden*, p. 28). The forces of King Béla of Hungary (1206–1270) were nearly obliterated at the Battle of the Sajó River, and the king was forced to flee as far as the Adriatic coast.

93 Ibid., p. 28.

94 Ibid., p. 239.

95 Schmieder, “Christians, Jews, Muslims – and Mongols”, p. 274.

Mongolian territories.⁹⁶ Despite sharing an unfavourable portrayal of the Mongols, the abridged version differs from most of these polemic texts in its contextualisation of the Mongols' alterity: their 'otherness' is rendered exclusively in political terms rather than with reference to either their aberrant religious beliefs or cultural customs. The abridged version does not situate the Mongols within a Christian framework, although the text certainly contributed an important, profane picture of the Timūrid dynasty.

In contrast to the abridged version, most polemic accounts addressed 'Tartar' religion. The Mongols were generally held to be, if not wholly Godless, undoubtedly unbelievers who "set great store by divinations, soothsaying, auguries and incantations."⁹⁷ In William of Rubruck's *Itinerarium* (c. 1253–1255), their nomadic lifestyle mirrors a similar "lack of rootedness in any salvific belief."⁹⁸ One annalist even postulated that the Mongol's religion was "to deny Almighty God and to kill men."⁹⁹ While the Mongols' nomadism was also mentioned in the *Reisebuch* (N 88), the abridged version interpreted their lifestyle in an altogether secular fashion as a function of social hierarchy: kings like Schiltberger's master Chekre serve *einen obman* (N 88) like Egidü, and the followers of the king in turn set up camp *wa der künig ligt* (N 88).

Even further, the Mongols were typically integrated into a Christian eschatological understanding of history. They were seen as descendants of Gog and Magog (Eze 38–39 and Rev 20:7–10) and thus regularly associated with the Apocalypse. A ferocious and uncivilised horse-riding nation of incalculable size, the Mongols' purported

96 Schmieder, "Christians, Jews, Muslims – and Mongols", p. 274. In the aftermath of the Mongol invasions of Christian lands, for example, Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–1254) and Louis IX of France (r. 1226–1270) sent the Franciscans John of Plano Carpini (1182–1252) and William of Rubruck (1220–1293) respectively to meet the Great Khan. They were to gather as much information as possible about these new and potentially threatening 'others', including in the case of Carpini advice – obtained by spying – on how they may be defeated at war.

97 Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*, p. 141.

98 Ibid., p. 139.

99 Ibid., p. 141.

ancestors were believed to have been imprisoned by Alexander the Great behind colossal gates in the Caucasus. Their escape and subsequent descent on Europe in the guise of the 'Tartar' hordes were considered to signal the advent of the End Times.¹⁰⁰

This rationalisation of the Mongols' hostility in terms of religious deviance and apocalyptic function – neither of which feature in the abridged version's characterisation – was supported by travellers' accounts of the Mongols' eating habits. These further aligned the Mongols with the enclosed nations, who were thought to dine on all manner of 'unclean' fare like dogs, snakes, rats, carrion and even aborted foetuses.¹⁰¹ According to firsthand reports, the Mongols were not only indiscriminate about what they consumed, but their 'otherness' was also compounded by the fact that they did not eat bread or fish, nor drink wine – three staple European foods that were of symbolic importance to the Latin Church.¹⁰² Some accounts even accused the Mongols of cannibalism. John of Plano Carpini documents that the Mongols "ate human beings only in emergencies."¹⁰³ Simon of Saint-Quentin (fl. 1245–48) went even further, writing that they practiced cannibalism not only out of necessity but for pleasure and in order to instil fear in their enemies.¹⁰⁴

However, while comparable eschatological interpretations are not part of the abridged version's representation, the violence and brutality of these polemic depictions feature prominently. In particular, the *Reisebuch's* portrayal corresponds to these

100 Schmieder, "Christians, Jews, Muslims – and Mongols", p. 280; cf. also Scott D. Westrem. "Against Gog and Magog". In: *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*. Ed. by Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998, pp. 54–75.

101 Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*, p. 143; see also Mary Douglas. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966, especially pp. 41–57.

102 Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*, p. 140.

103 Ibid., p. 140.

104 Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*, p. 140; see also Felicitas Schmieder. "Menschenfresser und andere Stereotype gewalttätiger Fremder – Normannen, Ungarn und Mongolen (9.–13. Jahrhundert)". In: *Gewalt im Mittelalter: Realitäten – Imaginationen*. Ed. by Manuel Braun and Cornelia Herberichs. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2005, pp. 159–180, pp. 169–176.

texts' reports of the savagery of Mongol warfare, in which horsemen are said to leave trails of decimated, smouldering cities and defiled holy sites in their wake. From the thirteenth century onwards, the Mongols were considered in Europe to be the perpetrators of "alle erdenklichen und auch unvorstellbaren Grausamkeiten."¹⁰⁵

This general understanding of Mongolian violence was later transposed to portrayals of Timūr, which often described the conqueror as an exceptionally cruel and brutal man. In particular, the conqueror's unchecked pillaging and destruction are common characterisations in this discourse and are echoed in the *Reisebuch*. Beltramo Mignanelli, for instance, provided an account of Timūr's campaign in Anatolia and Syria in his *Vita Tamerlani* (1416), which portrayed the conqueror as achieving victories chiefly by committing appalling acts of brutality. An Italian merchant who had settled and made his fortune in Damascus, Mignanelli describes the horror of the Mongols' sacking of the city in 1401, during which Timūr – a greedy and "most wicked man" – extorted and tortured its citizens for their riches before burning the city to the ground.¹⁰⁶ In fact, ruthless brutality became a byword for all of Timūr's conquests, which are marked in this and similar western accounts as "Episoden voller List, Grausamkeit, Reichtum und riesiger Macht."¹⁰⁷

A similar emphasis on violence can also be found in the historiography of the Middle East. All the major Arabic historians of the period documented the destruction and great suffering as result of Timūr's conquests, prompted "by a deep-seated hatred of Tamerlane, the 'tyrant', the 'scourge of the earth'."¹⁰⁸ In particular, these accounts log the towers of severed heads that Timūr erected after successful invasions, and which came to stand for his conquest and cruelty in East and West alike. They are not only described by Schiltberger but also the Persian historian Hafiz-i Abru (d.

105 Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden*, p. 105.

106 Fischel, "A New Latin Source", p. 208.

107 Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden*, p. 240.

108 Fischel, "A New Latin Source", pp. 202–203.

1430), who counted 28 such towers of 1,500 skulls each after the Mongolian siege of Isfahan in 1387.¹⁰⁹

The *Reisebuch* therefore stands in a long literary tradition of denouncing Timūr's savagery, the main gestures of which continued to be propagated across Europe far into the modern era. This idea is communicated in works by Giovanni Cornaro (1402), Jacopo Delaito (c. 1409), Giorgio Stella (1435) as well as in Josse van Ghistele's *Tvoyage* (1557), Christopher Marlowe's *Tamerlaine the Great* (c. 1587), Georg Friedrich Händel's *Tamerlano* (1724) and Antonio Vivaldi's *Bajazet* (1735), among others.¹¹⁰ Indeed, one still encountered Timūr "reviled in history books and on the London stage as a cruel tyrant and, in Toynbee's words, a 'homicidal madman'" in Victorian and Edwardian England.¹¹¹

Thus, that the abridged version does not approach the Mongols in religious terms is unusual given that the majority of commentators try to assign them a definitive role within the Christian worldview as either ally or foe. While the portrayal of Timūr as brutal conqueror is partially grounded in observed historical fact and similarly present in the abridged version of the *Reisebuch*, the thematisation of his brutality in these other premodern European texts marks a deliberate choice to cast the conqueror as an enemy of Christendom. Equally deliberately, the Mongols (and Timūr specifically) were constructed elsewhere as at the very least the lesser of two evils, if not outright allies against a common Muslim opponent.

For example, in the *Livre de Sidrac* (c. 1270–1300) the philosopher predicts that the Mongols, although they are even greater infidels than the Muslims, will help to weaken Islamic sovereignty in the East so that Christendom may eventually erase it entirely. Afterwards there will be a period of war between the Christians and

109 Roemer, "Timur in Iran", pp. 54–55.

110 Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, pp. 206–208.

111 Adam Knobler. "Timur the (Terrible/Tartar) Trope: A Case of Repositioning in Popular Literature and History". In: *Medieval Encounters* 7.1 (2001), pp. 101–112, p. 102.

the Mongols, but they will emerge as good friends so that “unter allen Herren der Welt herrscht Frieden unter lateinischer Vorherrschaft, bevor schließlich nach einiger Zeit der Antichrist kommt.”¹¹² Still other texts “tried to prepare the ground for real cooperation by attempting to build confidence in a true military alliance.”¹¹³ Reports of the Second Council of Lyon (1274) eagerly transmitted that several ‘Tartar’ emissaries had agreed to a public baptism; their authors aimed to supply an argument against religious objections to an alliance by hinting at the potential of further conversions to Christianity.¹¹⁴

Building on this earlier signification, Timūr was likewise constructed as an unexpected figure of hope. In particular, his defeat and capture of Bayezid at the Battle of Ankara in 1402 gave rise to positive portrayals. Bayezid’s defeat resulted in disarray within the Ottoman dynasty and therefore also prompted a brief period of respite in the westward ambitions of the Turks, whose leaders focused in the immediate aftermath on rebuilding a stable state in Anatolia.¹¹⁵ Timūr was consequently celebrated – and in sharp contrast to the *Reisebuch*’s hostile interpretation despite the text’s provision of a brief account of the Turks’ defeat at Ankara – as a considerably romanticised “crypto-Christian champion in the mould of Prester John.”¹¹⁶

This perspective was communicated in the propaganda produced by the Italian John of Sultāniyya, who was archbishop at Soltaniyeh in modern-day Iranian Azerbaijan and served as an envoy to Europe on behalf of Timūr. Between 1398 and 1413, John transported letters from the Mongolian ruler and his son Miran Shāh to Charles VI of France (1368–1422), Martin of Aragon (1356–1410), Henry IV of England (1399–1413) and Konrad von Jungingen of Prussia (c. 1355–1407); he also penned an influential biography of Timūr and a text with an ethnographic focus about eastern

112 Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden*, p. 269 and p. 270.

113 Schmieder, “Christians, Jews, Muslims – and Mongols”, p. 287.

114 Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden*, pp. 274–275.

115 Matschke, *Das Kreuz und der Halbmond*, pp. 106ff.

116 Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, p. 203.

communities and their customs entitled *Libellus de notitia orbis*.¹¹⁷ In these, John portrays Timūr not only as a possible ally but as a potential convert to Christianity, describing in particular that Timūr is sympathetic towards Christians and his son already a devout follower.¹¹⁸ This argument was reflected by a number of authors across Europe like Dietrich von Nyem (c. 1345–1418), Thomas Walsingham (d. 1422), the author of the *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis* (c. 1420) and the Spanish ambassador Ruy González de Clavijo. Dietrich argued Timūr would have spared Hospitaller-held Smyrna in 1403 if the city's inhabitants had followed the advice of a bishop and displayed a Timūrid banner on the battlements.¹¹⁹ Walsingham transmitted the rumour that Timūr had conquered Jerusalem and converted to Christianity.¹²⁰ Finally, and in flat contradiction of Schiltberger's biography, the anonymous chronicler reported that Timūr had released all of Bayezid's Frankish captives after the Battle of Ankara in a show of good will.¹²¹ Ruy – who travelled to Timūr's court at Samarkand in 1403 on a diplomatic mission to forge an alliance between the Mongols and the King of Castile and Léon Henry III (1390–1406) – emphasised numerous positive aspects of the Timūrid court, noting the incredible wealth, luxury and extravagance of feasting and drinking.¹²²

Thus, the abridged version of the *Reisebuch* both overlaps with and deviates notably from contemporary literary representations of the Mongols and Timūr. While the version adopts the well-established trope of Mongolian savagery, it emphasises only

117 John of Sulṭāniyya. *Der "Libellus de notitia orbis" Johannes' III (de Galonifontibus?) O.P. Erzbischof von Sultthanyeh*. Ed. by Anton Kern. Rome: Istituto storico domenicano di S. Sabina, 1938, pp. 88–90; see also Chiara Casali. "John of Sulṭāniyya". In: *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. Ed. by David Thomas and Alex Mallett. Vol. 5. Leiden: Brill, 2013, pp. 291–297, p. 292.

118 Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*, p. 244.

119 Ibid., p. 244.

120 Ibid., p. 244.

121 Ibid., p. 244.

122 During this time, Ruy kept a diary that was first published in 1582 by Gonzalo Argote de Molina (1548–1596) (Clements R. Markham, ed. *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand, 1403–6*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1859, pp. i–x).

its military and political character. Contrary to the portrayal in the majority of these accounts, Timūr's brutality in warfare is not explained with respect to its signification or utility for Western society: the Mongols' devastation of other eastern communities is not depicted as having religious character, as presenting a direct apocalyptic threat to Europe, nor as promising to serve the crusading, collaborative or proselytising aims of the Latin West. While the version's description of destruction has a discursive history in premodern Europe, its representation of the disintegration of the Timūrid dynasty after the conqueror's death is a further feature of the text's unorthodox, pragmatic focus. As a brutal enemy and harbinger of the Apocalypse or as a welcome ally of Christendom in the fight against Islam, the Mongols are more commonly understood to operate from a position of cohesive strength. In this manner, the version continues the characterisation of eastern dynasties that also defines the text's portrayal of the Ottoman Turks: it focuses on clarifying the relationships of the eastern empires to each other and therefore represents an attempt primarily to reflect their historiography for its own sake, without applying a Christian schema or agenda.

2.4 Conclusion: The Political East

In the abridged version of the *Reisebuch*, the East is discussed first and foremost in secular terms as the site of rapid political upheaval: the version chronicles the empire-building – the frequent battles, territorial acquisitions and losses – of the Turks and the Mongols within the Orient. The consequences of this focus are as follows.

First, the political and ethnic diversity of the East is stressed. The text differentiates between discrete communities, demonstrating an advanced sensitivity to the complexity of the political scene. The version not only draws broad distinc-

tions among Turks, Mongols, Indians, Persians, Egyptian Arabs and Siberian wild men, but also precisely identifies rivalries within these communities. The narrative distinguishes between competing Turkmen principalities (e.g., the rivalry between the Ottomans and the Karamanids), details in-fighting between the Timūrids and their vassals, and describes the to-and-fro conflict among Egidü, Urus Khan's and Tokhtamysh's successors.

Secondly, this nuanced political focus sets the version apart from its contemporary literary context. It differs from other Turkish captivity accounts by providing a largely profane description of Bayezid's character as well as the sultan's systematic method of conquest and rule; this replaces the more common thematisation of the Turks' religious alterity and the threat they, as an undifferentiated multitude, posed to Christian territories. Similarly, the text's report of captivity and military service under the Timūrids is exceptional in German premodern travel writing. In line with established polemic patterns, the text vilifies Timūr and the 'Tartars' as ruthless conquerors; however, the version also portrays the disintegration of the Timūrid dynasty and ensuing civil war, and – in contrast to most other firsthand accounts – it does not embed these historical events in a schema that explains this community's function for the West. Rather, eastern military aggression is portrayed across the text as fixated, with the exception of the crusaders' defeat at Nicopolis, on other eastern communities.

Lastly, the version's representation is distinct within the *Reisebuch's* manuscript and print transmission. The text's focus on politics, in particular the depiction of oftentimes brutal warfare as part of these dynasties' empire-building endeavours, deviates from the long version's negotiation of eastern difference based on religious doctrine and practice. The abridged version's elaboration of secular diversity further sets it apart from the travel book's print editions, which are either uninterested

in ethnographic distinctions or focus exclusively on the Turks as a homogeneous religious as well as military threat to the Latin West. Finally, in yet another layer of the work's rewriting, the text is (re-)imagined as part of a universal history in Strasbourg BNU, ms. 2119 and St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 628. This reframing provides an interpretation of the historical events the version chronicles by embedding them in the context of an ultimately eschatological relationship between the Muslim East and the Christian West.

In short, the fifteenth-century rewriting of the abridged version constitutes a deliberate and creative act that affects narrative content and form, thematic focus and the text's representation of the East alike. The next chapters of this thesis will show how this process of adaptation is consistently an integral part of the (re-)construction of eastern alterity, rather than an isolated occurrence.

3 *zwischen irts geloubens vnd des vnsern*: Representing Difference in the Long Version

This chapter investigates how the East is represented in the long version of Johannes Schiltberger's *Reisebuch*. The long version consists of a preface that sets out the text's objective of narrating the traveller's firsthand experience as a captive *in dem land der haidenschafft* (N 51); a chronicle section that describes the military exploits of his Ottoman and Timūrid captors (ch. 1–26); and an itinerary-based, ethnographic section that informs primarily about diverse religious sites, beliefs and rituals in the East (ch. 27–67, appendix). As such, the long version combines a description of secular diversity (identical to the abridged version) with an extensive account of religious variety; consequently, the narrative provides a complex picture of eastern society and culture that places emphasis on its heterogeneity.

However, the long version of the *Reisebuch* differs significantly from the abridged version in terms of its form and aims: the combination of a profane description of eastern politics with a consideration of religious difference produces a text that primarily attempts to provide a broad proto-ethnography. The long version supplies a greater variety of cultural information than the abridged version, which only addresses characteristics of Ottoman and Timūrid warfare and statecraft. Additionally, the long version's itinerary chapters (ch. 28ff.) give the reader a wealth of information about geography, centring mostly on the Levant and regions surrounding the Black

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Sea in modern-day Turkey, and the text supplies many more details about the social customs of the Mongols (ch. 36) and the Mamluks (ch. 37) among others.

In particular, the long version's in-depth commentary on eastern religions (ch. 37–67) constitutes the text's dominant focus both quantitatively and qualitatively. These chapters cast Bayezid and Timūr, and by extension the Turks and Mongols, in a different light not only as worldly conquerors but also prominently as religious 'others': the rulers' brutality is reframed not only as a feature of their empire-building but also as yet another marker of the cultural deviance of their "empires of Islam."¹ The long version is, however, not fixated on the Muslim 'other'. While the text certainly characterises Islam (ch. 37, ch. 43, ch. 46–56), it equally extensively describes the Holy Land (ch. 38–41) followed by the non-Latin Christianity practiced in the East by the Greek Orthodox (ch. 56–60) and Armenian churches (ch. 62–66), with the effect that significant weight is given to detailing diversity.

Furthermore, the chapters dealing with 'other' religions set the long version apart by containing substantial excerpts from John Mandeville's *Travels* (chiefly in N 91–161). The text's primary thematisation of religious diversity is a result of both these verbatim excerpts from the *Travels* and the inclusion of independent passages that engage with Mandeville's representational model. That is to say, this rewriting is integral to the text's portrayal of the East; it produces a concept of alterity as a sliding scale allowing for ambivalence, rather than a binary relationship of the diametrically opposed. Ultimately, it is this negotiation of religious similarity and difference that distinguishes the version in the travel book's transmission history.

In this chapter, I provide an analysis of the sections (ch. 27ff.) that are unique to the long version by examining how it characterises faiths in order to compare and contrast eastern difference in a way that is that idiosyncratic in the *Reisebuch's* transmission history. After (1) a brief discussion of the manuscript transmission

¹ Meserve, *Empires of Islam*.

that places the version in its literary and historical context, I (2) provide a close reading: my investigation is divided into three parts that correspond to the long version's three main descriptive foci – (i) the Holy Land, (ii) Islam and (iii) non-Latin Christianity.

3.1 **Transmission: The Ethnographic *Reisebuch***

The long version of the *Reisebuch* is transmitted in four manuscripts: Munich Stadtbibliothek, Cod. L 1603; Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 216; Karlsruhe Landesbibliothek, Cod. Donaueschingen 481; and Privatbesitz Antiquariat Dr. Jörn Günther Rare Books AG, Schweiz, Nr. 2013/13,12. With the sole exception of Cod. L 1603 housed in Munich, these manuscripts bind the *Reisebuch* by itself. The codices were all produced during the second-half of the fifteenth century in southern Germany, and they are visually as well as textually remarkably similar although, written in four discrete hands, they are evidently the result of the efforts of different scribes: in all four, the prose text is presented in one column of highly legible bastarda script, interspersed with rubricated intertitles and incipit letters that mark chapter breaks and represent the manuscripts' chief decorative features.

A review of the work's transmission reveals that the long version was the dominant narrative version of the *Reisebuch* in circulation during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Out of a sum total of eight surviving manuscript copies of the work, the long version is in the clear majority with four extant copies.² Two manuscripts transmit the abridged version, and an early seventeenth-century manuscript (Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 91.7 Extravagantes) contains a handwritten copy

² This calculation includes *Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Fragm. 73.*, a fragment that comprises eighteen leaves and – as Hans-Jochen Schiewer has argued – appears to follow the long version as contained in the Heidelberg manuscript (see Schiewer, “Leben unter Heiden”, p. 173). This fragment will, however, neither be considered in this chapter nor separately elsewhere, as it does not constitute a meaningful version of the narrative.

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of Gregor Hübner's sixteenth-century print, which reproduces two excerpts from the long version alongside a series of prophetic texts. The long version was also the narrative version reproduced, in full and as selected excerpts, in the book's comparatively extensive print transmission (see section 1.5).

Furthermore, the long version formed the basis for the three nineteenth-century editions of the book. A. J. Penzel's *Reise in den Orient und wunderbare Begebenheiten* (1813) is a loose translation into modern German of fifteenth-century prints that reproduce the long version.³ Karl Friedrich Neumann's *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger auß München* (1859) is the first edition to follow a single manuscript, namely the Heidelberg codex, and to contain a scholarly commentary with additions by fellow Orientalists Jakob Phillipp Fallmerayer (1790–1861) and Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856).⁴ Finally, Valentin Langmantel's *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch* (1885) takes the Munich manuscript – housed at Langmantel's time in the Staatsbibliothek in Nuremberg as Solg. Ms. 34.2° – as *Leithandschrift*. This last edition has the honour of not only being the most recent but also still the most serious critical edition in the modern academic sense, in that it provides a comparative apparatus and an extensive, if now outdated, commentary on the work's transmission:

³ Langmantel, *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, p. 157. Langmantel unearthed a letter in which Penzel reports that he used a Nuremberg (Berg and Neuber), a Frankfurt (Gülfferich) and an unknown Magdeburg print to 'construct' his text. This is in contrast to Penzel's own claim on the title page of his book to have translated "aus einer alten Handschrift."

⁴ This edition interestingly includes an extensive preface by Neumann, which does not pretend to take Schiltberger (or indeed the Middle Ages) as its topic, addressing "mehrere Thatsachen und Bemerkungen [...] welche nicht zur Erläuterung des Schiltberger gehören" (p. v). The preface reveals that Neumann created the edition as a celebration of the city of Munich and its famous citizens, a motivation shared with A. J. Penzel. More unusually, it served as a podium for Neumann to critically discuss the politics around state censorship that resulted from the *Karlsbader Beschlüsse* (1819). Finally, Neumann finds a reflection of his own biography in the personality and life of Schiltberger: Neumann writes that he felt particularly drawn – "schnell und innig befreundet" (p. 17) – to the traveller, for as a convert from Judaism who programmatically changed his family name from Bamberger in 1818, Neumann felt he shared the qualities of being a "selbstgemachter Mann" and a "naiver Mensch" (p. 18). (For a short biography of Neumann, see Julius Jolly. "Neumann, Friedrich". In: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 23. Historische Kommission, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1886, pp. 529–530; and Harald Dickerhof. "Neumann, Karl Friedrich". In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 19. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1999, pp. 147–148).

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Langmantel's edition is thus also the edition referred to by most scholars who have worked on the *Reisebuch*. While I take Langmantel into consideration in my analysis, I depart on the whole from this convention and refer chiefly to Neumann. My rationale is that the Munich copy that forms the basis of Langmantel's edition is a unicum. It differs, albeit minimally, from the rest of the long version's transmission in manuscript and print since it places Schiltberger's escape and part of his subsequent voyage home in the middle of the narrative in ch. 30 (L 43ff.; cf. N 136ff.), rather than at the end of the text in ch. 67 (L 111–112; cf. N 157). The chief effect of this variation in chapter order is to disrupt an otherwise linear narrative that places Schiltberger's capture at *Nicopoli* (L 3) and return to *Freysing* (L 112) at its beginning and end, respectively. By contrast, Neumann took the long version with the widest fifteenth- and sixteenth-century circulation in both manuscript and print as his *Leithandschrift*, which he copied faithfully from Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 216 with little editorial interpretation.⁵

Moreover, the most recent popular translations of the *Reisebuch* are likewise based on the long version. These are Gertrud Siemes's *Eine wunderbarliche und kurzweilige Historie* (1917), Rose Grässel's *Hans Schiltbergers Reise in die Heiden-schaft* (1947), Ulrich Schlemmer's *Als Sklave im Osmanischen Reich und bei den Tartaren: 1394–1427* (1983) and Markus Tremmel's *Johann Schiltbergers Irrfahrt durch den Orient* (2000). On the basis of these editions and translations, the long version is also the narrative version transmitted in other languages than the primary German. There is, for instance, a nineteenth-century English translation of Neumann's edition by J. Buchan Telfer for the Hakluyt Society (republished by CUP in 2010); a recent Turkish translation of Ulrich Schlemmer's book by Turgut Akpınar entitled *Türkler ve Tatarlar arasında* (1995); and a French translation, *Captif des*

⁵ The manuscript is digitally available at <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg216/0001>.

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Tatars (2008), with a preface by the historian Michel Balivet. It can therefore be asserted that the long version dominates the impression of the *Reisebuch* for the reader, then as now.

In particular, the Munich manuscript has occupied a special position in scholarship. The codex was considered closest to the imagined *codex archetypus* by Langmantel, who in line with Lachmannian stemmatics held the abridged version to be a defective fragment lacking “die wichtigsten geographischen partien des werkes.”⁶ The editor also overlooked the significance of paratextual variation in the work’s print transmission, despite providing a now superseded list of various different fifteenth- to sixteenth-century editions.⁷ Langmantel’s focus on the Munich codex as the presumed authorial original has been continued in modern reception and scholarship; as a consequence, literary interpretations of the *Reisebuch* have tended to concentrate on the long version (see chapter 1). This thesis aims to provide a broader view of the work, arguing that the long version was by no means authoritative or immutable as only one of several equally relevant, if not equally prevalent, versions of the *Reisebuch* in circulation.

However, the Munich codex does uniquely offer a historical context for our traveller, a likely site for the composition of the work and a literary context for the version. This is despite the fact that the manuscript of the *Reisebuch* in the Munich codex is, with its unfinished rubricated intertitles, itself demonstrably a copy.⁸ First, the codex provides information about Schiltberger’s life after his return from the Middle East. The codex is a collection of five vernacular travel accounts, compiled around 1488 by Matheus Brätzl who was the *renntmeister* (or receiver of revenues) to Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria (1447–1508, r. 1465–1508). Alongside Schiltberger’s *Reisebuch*, the

⁶ Langmantel, *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, p. 150.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 150–157.

⁸ Samuel Willcocks has incorrectly stated in his recent article that “the most likely candidate for the original MS came from the Munich court”, indicating Cod. L 1603 specifically (Willcocks, “Schiltberger’s Travels, 1396-1597”, p. 87).

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collection contains: an edition of Marco Polo's *Reisen* by the Augsburg printer Anton Sorg (GW: 12843); a manuscript copy of Johannes Hartlieb's *Brandan* in the translation commissioned by the wife of Duke Albrecht III, Anna von Braunschweig (1420–1474); a manuscript copy of Michel Velser's translation of Mandeville's *Travels*; and a manuscript copy of Konrad Steckel's translation of Odorico de Pordenone's *China-Reisebericht*.⁹ These texts are preceded by a table of contents and preface by Brätzl, in which the compiler gives an account of Schiltberger that places the traveller at the court of Duke Albrecht III of Bavaria (1401–1460, r. 1438–1447) as *ain wahrhafftiger frumer edelman* and *diener* (IV) to the duke after his return from captivity in 1427 and still active during Brätzl's time as treasurer, *der unser zeyt gelebt hat* (IV). Schiltberger's presence at the court during the mid-fifteenth century is further documented by the humanist and historian Johannes Aventinus (1477–1534) in his *Annales Boiorum* (c. 1516–1522), *Bayerische Chronik* (c. 1526–1533) and *Ursachen des Türkenkrieges* (c. 1526). The biographical information provided in these texts comprises the traveller's birthplace in Munich, his occupation as *camerer*, *kemerling* to Albrecht III as well as reference to his firsthand experience and book: *lang in der Türckey und Tartarey umbgezogen, hats alles beschriben; sein puech ist druckt*.¹⁰

Second, the contemporaneous literary and cultural interests at the Munich court

9 For more on these works, see Marina Münkler. *Marco Polo: Leben und Legende*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2015, pp. 62–88; Frank Fürbeth. *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992, p. 77 and pp. 183–197; Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*; and Gilbert Strasmann. *Konrad Steckels deutsche Übertragung der Reise nach China des Odorico de Pordenone*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1968, pp. 10–33. A table of contents at the front of the codex lists two further texts that are not, or no longer, bound in the volume. These are: Hans Tucher's *Beschreibung der Reyß ins Heylig Land*, which gives an account of the Nuremberg patrician's 1474 pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and a certain *Meerfahrt Bruder Peters*, which Frank Fürbeth conjectures was likely Ludolf von Sudheim's *Reise ins Heilige Land* (see Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk*, p. 195).

10 Langmantel, *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*, p. 161. This is most likely a reference to a print of the long version. When Aventinus composed his histories, the *Reisebuch* was in print circulation only as the long version – published by Anton Sorg, Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber, and Hermann Gülfferich (cf. section 1.5).

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were conducive to the production of ethnographic texts like the *Reisebuch*: combined with the fact of the traveller's recorded employment, it is likely that Munich was not only the site of the long version's copying but also of its creation. The Wittelsbach court at Munich was an important literary and cultural centre in the fifteenth century, where under Albrecht III and Albrecht IV the focus of patronage was especially on literature in the vernacular.¹¹ In particular, there was an interest in accounts of the exotic and foreign, of which our collection with the *Reisebuch* is just one example. For instance, Brätzl writes in the preface of similar works in his possession not included in Cod. L 1603, such as *Alexander, liberius eyger von Temremarckh, pruder peter des Ordens der myndren prueder, dy merfartt gotfrides, dietmar. dy legend der heiligen drey kunig* (II^r). Most of these texts are not conclusively identifiable, but the *Alexander* can probably be attributed to Johannes Hartlieb who was active as personal physician to Duke Albrecht III at the Munich court. The legend of the Three Kings has been identified by Frank Fürbeth as Johannes von Hildesheim's popular *Historia trium regum* (1364).¹² These texts tell about an exotic East, detailing the mythical exploits of Alexander the Great abroad in Persia and the story of the Three Kings and their connection to Prester John, respectively. Moreover, there had been a collection of exotic animals at the Wittelsbach court since the thirteenth century: Brätzl documents a set of costs for lions and lynxes in 1491.¹³ Finally, as Andrea Klein has argued, there would likely further have been a genealogical as well as topical interest in Schiltberger's text on account of its discussion of Armenia, "da der einst aus Armenien eingewanderte *Bavarus* als sagenumwobener Stammvater des

11 Among Schiltberger's contemporaries were the physician and translator Johannes Hartlieb (c. 1410–1468), Ulrich Füetrer (c. 1450–1500) and Michel Beheim (c. 1420–1470) (Andrea Klein. *Der Literaturbetrieb am Münchner Hof im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*. Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1998, p. 5).

12 Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk*, p. 195.

13 Andreas M. Dahlem. "The Wittelsbach Court in Munich: History and Authority in the Visual Arts (1460–1508)". PhD thesis. University of Glasgow, 2009, pp. 76–77. *4 β 22 ausgeben dem zämmacher umb ettliche arbeit, so er dem lebmaister, dem jungen und alten leben, auch dem luxen gemacht hat, zallt in der wochen vor vor [!] Pfingsten.*

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bayerischen Herzogshauses galt.”¹⁴ Therefore, it is very probable that the Munich court under Albrecht III was the site of the version’s composition.¹⁵

Though not definitively ascertainable due to the close chronological overlap of the surviving narrative versions, it is thus also reasonable to assume that the *Reisebuch* as a text originally took the form of the long version, as this is the version copied in the traveller’s location from an older source by Brätzl’s scribe.¹⁶ The connection of the Munich court to the historical personage of Schiltberger underpins this conjecture, which is shared by the majority of philologists who have studied the *Reisebuch*, including most recently Briski, Willcocks and Schiewer. That is to say, the scholarly focus on the long version as the ‘original text’ appears – to a certain extent – to be justifiable. As a critical approach, however, it fails to adequately take into account the existence of competition from other contemporaneous versions and therefore obscures the literary conditions of the work’s transmission, which result in a text that, rewritten by various redactors, is fundamentally unstable, multiple and polyvocal.

Lastly, an overview of the different manuscripts provides a literary context for the long version. The manuscript copies of the long version are uniquely contextualised by

¹⁴ Klein, *Der Literaturbetrieb am Münchner Hof*, pp. 203–204.

¹⁵ The following can be said about the provenance of the other long version manuscripts. The Heidelberg manuscript was catalogued during the late sixteenth century as part of the Heidelberg Schlossbibliothek (c. 1556/59) and Heiligegeistbibliothek (c. 1581); its brown calfskin binding is decorated with an image in gold cartouche of the prince-electors Ottheinrich von der Pfalz dated 1558 (Matthias Miller and Karin Zimmermann. *Die Codices Palatini germanici in der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (cod. Pal. germ. 182-303)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005, p. 108). The Karlsruhe manuscript was part of the Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek Donaueschingen (Karl August Barack. *Die Handschriften der Fürstlich-Fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek zu Donaueschingen*. Hildesheim and New York, 1974, p. 326). The provenance of the manuscript in private ownership is only known to stretch to the Schenck’schen Fideikommissbibliothek zu Flechtingen, with an owner’s mark from the nineteenth century (1849) (Hauswedell & Nolte. *Auktion 426 (23.-24. November 2010): Wertvolle Bücher und Autographen des 15.-20. Jahrhunderts*. Hamburg: Hauswedell & Nolte, 2010, p. 278).

¹⁶ The oldest extant manuscript of the long version – Privatbesitz Antiquariat Dr. Jörn Günther Rare Books AG, Nr. 2013/13,12 – has been dated via its watermarks to c. 1470, “damit ist sie älter als das Heidelberger Manuskript (um 1480)” (ibid., p. 278). The abridged versions – St. Gallen, Cod. 628 and Strasbourg, ms. 2119 – have been dated, also via watermarks, to the second half of the fifteenth century, c. 1450–1480. The earliest print version is dated to c. 1476. For an overview of the material, see Appendix A.

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their fifteenth-century compilers and librarians, who regarded the value of the version to lie predominantly in the geographical and ethnographical information gathered by the firsthand traveller in unfamiliar, far-flung corners of the world. Nowhere is this evaluation made more explicit than in the Munich codex, which due to Brätzl's explanatory foreword occupies a singular position in the transmission history of the *Reisebuch* as a particularly clear-cut example of a collection deliberately “organised along certain principles” in order to “present its text(s) according to its own agenda, as worked out by the person who planned and supervised the production of the manuscript.”¹⁷

Brätzl placed the long version of the *Reisebuch* alongside a selection of similar accounts that describe, in the compiler's words, *manig wunderlich lannd vnd Insel mit fremden Siten, vnderscheid der glauben, sprach vnd verkerung der menschen vnd Tier* (I^r) that the travellers responsible for these texts were considered to have personally *erfahren vnd gesehen* (I^r). Marco Polo's narrative records the Venetian merchant's observations on his travels across the Middle East and Central Asia to China and the court of the Kublai Khan (r. 1261–1294) between 1276 and 1291. Hartlieb's *Brandan* (re-)tells the widely circulated legend of the Irish monk Brendan, in which Brendan undertakes a mystic sea voyage (or *immram*) to locate the *terra repromissionis sanctorum* in the West.¹⁸ Mandeville's *Travels* provides an encyclopaedic account of the entirety of the known world in the form of a pilgrimage, transmitting knowledge about the cultures in eastern territories as far removed as India and China and as fabled as the fringes of Earthly Paradise. And finally, the Franciscan friar Odorico de Pordenone's account documents his mission to, and impressions of, China (c. 1318–1330).

Brätzl explains in his preface to the volume that he bound these narratives of

¹⁷ Nichols and Wenzel, *The Whole Book*, p. 2.

¹⁸ John D. Anderson. “The *navigatio brendani*: A Medieval Bestseller”. In: *The Classical Journal* 83.4 (1983), pp. 315–322.

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foreign travel together in order to entertain and to satisfy man's natural curiosity about *neue vnd fromde ding* (I^r), so that these texts may *nymbt schberes gemuet vnd erlust dj begirde* (I^r). Furthermore, the collection was regarded by the compiler as an important source of factual information about the world. This is made particularly apparent by Brätzl's commission of a map (now unfortunately lost) to accompany and complement the information provided in the codex. According to Brätzl, this *vast kunstige auch kostliche Mappa* (II^r) was to enable the reader to trace the travellers' itineraries as well as to supplement the texts with further information where they were lacking, *wo der geschrift [...] zw wenig hette* (II^r). Brätzl argues that the geographical and ethnographical knowledge provided by the volume is to serve as *ain pezwecknuss [...] der gewaltigen allmachtigkait gotes* (II^r). With this statement, the compiler echoes the prevalent medieval notion that the *wunder auf wasser vnd land* (I^r) described in these texts are the "keys to scripture, repositories of moral lessons, and testimonies to the benevolence and omnipotence of the Christian God."¹⁹

In short, Brätzl produced the collection in order to supply reasonably comprehensive information about the physical world, which he judged to be edifying, entertaining as well as spiritually enriching for his reader. The incorporation of the long version in this context foregrounds the ethnographic qualities of the narrative, i.e. the text is utilised by Brätzl to contribute – also quite literally – to an 'image' of the world. The other surviving manuscripts of the long version do not incorporate nearly as much contextualising information, but the Heidelberg and Karlsruhe manuscripts nonetheless similarly contain late sixteenth-century labelling that distinguishes the narrative as first and foremost a document of foreign travel and ethnography. For example, the Heidelberg manuscript includes the librarian's title *Schiltberger von*

¹⁹ Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park. *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750*. New York: Zone Books, 1998, p. 39; cf. also Leonard Barkan. *Nature's Work of Art: The Human Body as Image of the World*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1975.

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frembden landen.²⁰ This characterisation differs significantly from the manuscript context provided for the abridged version in St. Gallen, Cod. 628 and Strasbourg, ms. 2119: in the Munich, Karlsruhe and Heidelberg manuscripts, emphasis is placed on movement through unfamiliar geographical space rather than on the passing of time as measured by dynastic succession. Moreover, religious difference is conceived of as being chiefly of ethnographic interest, rather than as a feature of eschatological conflict with the Muslim ‘other’ as in Cod. 628 and ms. 2119. The long version’s binding in these collections also differs from the text’s (re-)contextualisation in print transmission, for all three codices are totally devoid of a polemic fixation on the Turks; instead, the long version’s framing in collection complements (especially in Cod. L 1603) the narrative’s own thematisation of cultural diversity.

These late medieval and early modern characterisations serve to challenge Hans-Jochen Schiewer’s claim – also adopted by Marija Javor Briski – that due to the narrative’s blend of autobiographic, chronicling and ethnographic content “die bisherige Kategorisierung als *Reisebuch* wird Schiltbergers Werk nicht gerecht. Es präsentiert eine eigene Mischung verschiedener Textsorten, die sich an das von Mandeville vorgegebene literarische Muster nur orientierend anlehnt.”²¹ Schiewer further maintains that “Schiltbergers Selbstdarstellung am Beginn seines Berichts empfiehlt den Text weder als Reisebericht noch als Reiseführer,” arguing that “zum *Reisebuch* wurde sein Bericht erst durch die modernen Ausgaben, insbesondere die Editionen Neumanns und Langmantels.”²² This is, however, patently not the case for the following reasons.

First, although the manuscripts themselves do not provide a title for the narrative – the designation of the text specifically as the *Reisebuch* is indeed an invention of the

20 Schiewer, “Leben unter Heiden”, p. 176; also Miller and Zimmermann, *Die Codices Palatini germanici in der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, p. 108.

21 Schiewer, “Leben unter Heiden”, p. 172; and Briski, “Kulturkonflikte”, p. 100.

22 Schiewer, “Leben unter Heiden”, p. 161.

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book's nineteenth-century editors – the traveller's contemporaries certainly viewed the long version as an example of travel writing. This is made particularly explicit by the narrative's incorporation in the fifteenth-century collection of travel texts and map of itineraries compiled and commissioned by Brätzl.

Secondly, the mix of different genres in the long version by no means disqualifies the text as an example of travel writing: quite the contrary, medieval travel writing is a “genre composed of other genres.”²³ It is a form shaped by a variety of literary types, from the encyclopaedia to the courtly romance, and consequently “a genre that confronts, at their extreme limit, representational tasks proper to a number of literary kinds.”²⁴ Indeed, this kind of intergeneric narration characterises Mandeville's *Travels*, which Schiewer correctly identifies as a formative influence within the genre: the *Travels* combines the tasks of geography, ethnography, historiography and the prose romance, resulting in a text that addresses an encyclopaedic breadth of material encompassing the factual, the scriptural, the anecdotal and the mythical.²⁵ By combining various narrative modes and tasks, the long version of the *Reisebuch* is therefore if anything a conventional example of travel writing of this period.

Further, Schiltberger is presented to the reader in the long version's preface as an authentic traveller, as crusader and erstwhile captive. The first-person narrator readily acknowledges that he is unable to give a full account of the East because *ich ain gefangener man vnd nicht min selbs was* (N 51), but he maintains that *was ich die zit in dem land der haidenschafft strites und wunders herfaren. Und och was ich hoptstett und wassers gesehen und gemercken mügen hab, Davon vindent ir hienach geschriben* (N 51). This assertion of firsthand experience is another characteristic of the late medieval travel account: first-person perspective constitutes a key piece

²³ Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, p. 6.

²⁴ Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, p. 5. This hybridity is not an exclusively medieval phenomenon, cf. Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, pp. 1–18.

²⁵ See Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, pp. 122–161.

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of rhetoric that permits the narrators of premodern travel texts to authoritatively communicate foreign geographies and cultures to a European audience (cf. chapter 1). In addition, the fact that Schiltberger did not partake in the majority of the voyage of his own volition does not stand in the way of classifying the *Reisebuch* as a travel account: medieval travellers were men (and very occasionally women) who experienced foreign lands for many different reasons – they were captives, crusaders, missionaries, pilgrims, merchants, diplomats or students.²⁶ Broadly speaking, the hallmark of premodern travel writing as a genre is that the documents relate an experience of the foreign; to be a travel account, a text must simply narrate “the negotiation between self and other that is brought about by movement in space.”²⁷ The *Reisebuch* fulfils this criterion.

Likewise, the thematic centrality of religion in the long version is another commonplace of the late medieval travel text. In fact, the representation of ‘other’ faiths constitutes a significant feature in most major accounts about the East (re-)produced for German-speaking regions, in which the subject forms not only a prominent ethnographic focus for the writers but also a key category in negotiating the ‘otherness’ of these communities. For instance, Islam as practiced by the Mamluks, Saracens, Arabs and Turks makes up a considerable segment of the *Evagatorium* written by the Swiss Dominican monk Felix Fabri (c. 1437–1502), who undertook two separate pilgrimages to the Holy Land in 1480 and again in 1483.²⁸ Fabri provides an account of the laws, practices and beliefs of Islam with the goal to persuade the reader of its fundamental heresy: he portrays ritual fasting – familiar to Christians from their own religious practice as a means of penitence and spiritual communion – as an excuse for unfettered gluttony and sexual activity when practiced by Muslims during Ramadan,

26 Nobert Ohler. *The Medieval Traveller*. Trans. by Caroline Hillier. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989, especially pp. 153ff. and Müller, *Franken im Osten*.

27 Carl Thompson. *Travel Writing*. London: Routledge, 2011, p. 9.

28 Schröder, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam*, pp. 53–57.

i.e. as a “religiös sanktionierter Brauch zur Befriedigung fleischlicher Gelüste.”²⁹ Like the vast majority of his peers, Fabri characterises Islam and its followers “als die größte Herausforderung und als das ‘folgeschwerste Problem’ für die christliche Welt des Mittelalters.”³⁰

Contemporary interest in the religious East, however, is not restricted exclusively to interrogating the ‘problem’ of Islam. For instance, Fabri also addresses Judaism.³¹ Mandeville provides a representation of *manig wunderlich folck* who have a variety of *wunderlich globen [...] wunderlich sytten und gewunhaitt*.³² Similarly, Bernhard von Breydenbach (c. 1440–1497) provides an ethnographic report on a diverse register of religious communities practicing in the East in addition to Muslims in his *Peregrinatio* (1486): he describes the *glauben yrtummen gewonheiten vnnnd haltungen im gots dienst* of the Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians, Georgians, Indians and Maronites.³³ Despite their specific differences, all of these narratives have in common that they chiefly explore “human cultural diversity within a traditional religious framework.”³⁴ In the same vein, religious ‘otherness’ is the main category deployed to define eastern difference in the long version of the *Reisebuch*. The provision of an extensive discussion of a variety of ‘other’ faiths is likewise the version’s dominant narratorial concern.

Lastly, Schiewer’s assertion that the long version is only loosely based on Man-

29 Schröder, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam*, p. 283.

30 Ibid., p. 289.

31 Ibid., pp. 291–303.

32 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 3. For example, Mandeville describes the idolatrous (and in themselves varied) convictions of the inhabitants of *Thana* (Thane) on the west coast of India; he writes that they have a *wunderlich gelouben, wann etlich bettend daz fuer an, etlich die funcken, etlich bo(e)m, etlich schlangen, etliche daz erst daz in kumpt wenn es uff stat des morges. Etlich bettent abgo(e)t an, und ains nit als dz ander: etlich bettent ain bild an, daz ist als ain mensch und hat ain houpt als ein ochse, etlich hont ain pferitz houpt* (p. 105).

33 Bernhard von Breydenbach. *Dis buch ist innhaltend die heilige[n] reysen gein Jherusalem zu dem heiligen Grab vnd furbaß zu der hochgelobten jungfrowen vnd merteryn sant katheryn*. Speyer: Peter III Drach, 1505. URL: http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/bsb00002034/image_1, p. ii.

34 Joan-Pau Rubiés, ed. *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009, p. 45.

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deville's *Travels* is an understatement. The rewriting of a substantial number of passages from Mandeville's *Travels* in the German translation by Michel Velser contributed significantly not only to the construction of the narrative but ultimately also to the version's distinct representation of the East. Leopold Hellmuth has shown how the *Reisebuch* rewrites the *sperwer burg* episode (N 96–99) from the *Travels*.³⁵ Rosemary Tzanaki has established that the long version additionally incorporates the following passages, typically in shortened form: the Tower of Babylon (N 102–104), the rivers of Paradise (N 117), pepper production (N 118), the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem (N 114), and the route to the Jordan River with its numerous holy sites (N 116–117).³⁶ Although highlighting the sheer extent of the writer's copying from the *Travels*, this is by no means an exhaustive summary. Tzanaki does not mention the text's recycling of information about the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai (N 111–113), further holy sites in Jerusalem (N 115), the Oak of Mamre (N 113–114), Constantinople (N 137), Islam (N 132–134) and the Greeks (N 137–141). First evidence of the importance of Mandeville's travel text, and of the process of rewriting, for the long version's representation can therefore be expressed in quantitative terms: a substantial segment of the version is adapted directly from Velser's translation of the *Travels*.³⁷ Moreover, the *Travels*'s usage,

35 Leopold Hellmuth. "Hans Schiltbergers Besuch bei der Sperberburg". In: *Mythos–Sage–Erzählung: Gedenkschrift für Alfred Ebenbauer*. Ed. by Johannes Keller. Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2009, pp. 129–143.

36 See Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences*, pp. 114ff.

37 Likewise, the *Travels* also rewrites from other sources and the practice is similarly integrally connected to its representational strategies. In fact, the *Travels* is a completely rewritten work that borrows from a variety of texts to create a comprehensive and entirely new account of the (known) world without its author having personally travelled to any of the 'exotic' places the narrative describes. Mandeville compiled information from descriptions of the 'scriptural' East – e.g., Burchardus de Monte Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* (c. 1283) and Wilhelm von Boldensele's *Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus* (1336). He also recycled passages from accounts that describe the so-called 'Marvels of the East' like the *Littera Presbyteris Johannis* (c. 1160s) and the *Iter Magni ad Paradisium* (various dates). The Bible is an important and frequently cited source, as are several works with a religious focus – notably, Caesarius von Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* (c. 1219–1223) and William of Tripoli's *Tractatus de statu Sarracenorum* (after 1273), on which the *Travels*'s account of Islam particularly draws. Finally, Mandeville's account makes use of histories, encyclopaedias and scientific treatises: Hayton of

restricted to the second half of the narrative not reproduced by the abridged version (N 91ff.), constitutes a unique textual feature of the long version. These passages are not passively received, but independent material actively added by the writer that engages with and is to a large extent modelled on the *Travels*'s example; that is to say, to understand the long version's representation of the East it is necessary to consider its rewriting of Mandeville.

I examine this rewriting and its effect on the long version's portrayal of the East and the eastern 'other' in the next sections; I show how the narrative adapts its source material from the *Travels* in order to develop a unique, independent representation.

3.2 Establishing Difference: Rewriting the Holy Land

A number of passages from the *Travels* are excerpted and adapted in order to narrate about the Holy Land. These cover the following sites and topics, which also constitute the full extent of the long version's description of the region: St. Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai (N 111–113), the Oak of Mamre (N 113), Jerusalem (N 114–116) and the route to the Jordan River (N 116–117), including details of the properties of genuine balsam (N 117).³⁸ The rationale for incorporating this material is explained (at least in part) in the text: the traveller *die heilligen stet nicht wol gar mocht gesechen, und gesuchen die ettliche, die hernach geschriben steen* (N 114). The rewriting is not acknowledged by the narrator. These passages are not authenticated by any reference to the *Travels*, nor to the authority of Mandeville, but rather by allusion to the experiences of other eyewitnesses the traveller met in the course of his own voyage: *Und wer es tun wil vff den berg Sinay, doruff bin ich nit*

Armenia's *Flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient* (1307), Jaques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis* (c. 1200), Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (c. 1240s–1250s) and Johannes de Sacrabosco's *Tractatus de Sphera* (c. 1200) (Higgins, *The Book of John Mandeville*, pp. 219–221). For a brief discussion of the *Travels*'s rewriting in a theoretical context, cf. section 1.3

³⁸ Cf. Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, pp. 40–43, 46, 51–66, 45 and 34 respectively.

gewesen. Ich hon es aber von cristen vnd heiden gehört, wann die heiden och da hingond (N 111). However, the *Travels*'s description of the Levant is not simply sampled to fill in the blanks of Schiltberger's experience: the comparatively extensive rewriting of passages about the Holy Land underlines the significance of these sites for the long version's portrayal of the East. Indeed, the Holy Land forms an essential part of most contemporaneous German accounts of the Orient, specifically as the destination of Christian pilgrimage.³⁹ By incorporating these sites from the *Travels*, the writer not only engages with this Christian pilgrimage tradition, but he independently extends upon it; the long version diverges from Mandeville's representation by manipulating the borrowed passages to contrast his own Christianity with Islam, the religion of Schiltberger's erstwhile captors.

3.2.1 Parallels: Sacred Space

First of all, incorporation of these passages from the *Travels* in the *Reisebuch* results not only in an obvious overlap of content but also in the alignment of the books' representational strategies, even if only up to a point. Therefore, the long version adopts the *Travels*'s characterisation of major sites in the Holy Land as "holiness solidified" or the "tangible materialisations of sacred stories."⁴⁰

Mount Calvary is described in the *Travels* thus:

In der kirchen uff die rechten hand da ist der berg Calvarie, da unser herre gecrütziget ward. Und ist ain wisser stain und ain wenig rott an etlichen stetten. Und der stain ist zercluben. Und daz haisset man Golgatha. Und in der selben clufft maint man do ran das plüt von unserm herren, do er an dem crütz hieng. In der selben klufft ward Adams höpt funden, und uff dem selben berg opffert Abraham unserm herren. Und da ist ain altar, da ligend cristen

39 Cf. Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte*, especially pp. 25–29 for a comprehensive catalogue of German travel writing c. 1330–1530. By reproducing each traveller's itinerary, this bibliography highlights that the majority of German accounts include a report of, if they are not already exclusively about, the Holy Land.

40 Stephen Greenblatt. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992, p. 39.

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*begraben, die sind kúnig von Jherusalem geweßen.*⁴¹

For the narrator, the cleft rock of Golgotha represents the localisation and symbolic materialisation of the sacred story of the Crucifixion and its prefiguration in the Old Testament. The site serves to prompt the ritualised recollection of the biblical narrative that ultimately shapes and informs the text's representation of the *loca sancta*.⁴² Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac is read typologically as a prefiguration of the Crucifixion, and Christ – the 'last Adam' – bestows the possibility of salvation after the Fall with His death at Golgotha. Monumentalised within the Church, Golgotha thus functions in the *Travels*, as in most medieval pilgrimage accounts, as a repository of collective Christian memory and lesson, as a *lieu de mémoire* made accessible to a wider, non-travelling audience for devotional use as well as entertainment through the medium of the travel narrative:

Pilgrims went to these sites not just to see the actual places but, using it as a powerful cue, to "see", "refresh" and *locate* the recollective images from their reading, which they already carried in their own memories. This is how they could "visit Jerusalem" in places far distant from the actual city.⁴³

Jerusalem and the numerous other sacred locations in the Holy Land that the *Travels* documents – like the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, Bethlehem and Nazareth – are constructed as narrative spaces: the pilgrim's journey from sacred site to sacred site constitutes "a path in physical actuality for 'making ones way through' the Bible readings."⁴⁴

Therefore, these sites are unsurprisingly characterised as locations imbued not only with the past but with the continued presence of the Christian God. The material East supports the memory of historical and scriptural events, providing

41 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 52.

42 In Greenblatt's view, holy places and objects are "transformed into texts by virtue of their embeddedness in sacred stories" (Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, p. 39).

43 Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 269. On the topic of mental pilgrimage, cf. also Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context"; and Lähnemann, "Eine imaginäre Reise nach Jerusalem".

44 Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 43.

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the faithful pilgrim with contemporaneous evidence of God's omnipotence as well as Christianity's truth and status as 'the one true faith' in the Middle East, chiefly in the form of divine signs and reported miracles. For instance, there is a miraculous lamp that hangs in front of Christ's tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre:

*Vor dem hailigen grab da ist ain gros ampel; die erlischt númer denn an dem hailigen karfritag umb die zitt als gott sinen gaist uff gab, so erlischt die ampel von ir selbs und belipt also erloschen byß an die zitt als unser herre erstuond von dem tod, so erzúnt sie sich selber, und ist ain zaichen von gott.*⁴⁵

This miracle illustrates the biblical story of the Resurrection that lies at the core of Christian faith by means of a symbolic reenactment in the pilgrim's present; the lamp annually revivifies and actualises the event, inviting the pilgrim (and reader) to marvel, worship and remember. The report of the miracle in the *Travels*, taken from William of Tyre's thirteenth-century *Continuator*, provides a narrative for the sacred site, explaining its significance in familiar symbolic language.⁴⁶ The extinguished light signifies death, an image made explicit at Mount Sinai where the monks of Saint Catherine's each have a lamp *und wenn dú ampel erlist, so stirpt der des dú ampel ist.*⁴⁷ The lamp's spontaneous ignition on Easter Sunday mirrors the miracle of Christ's Resurrection in the here and now, illustrating the reason that Christ's tomb contains no body. Both the past and present miracle thus point to the omnipotence of the Christian God. In the *Travels*, an abundance of such miracles serves to make salvation history and Christianity's truth tangible and experiential: *wann die zaichen und wunder die got tût die sind ain gezúgnúst sines gewaltes, als David in dem psalter sprichet: 'Mirabilia testimonia tua, domine etc.'*⁴⁸

The same can be asserted for the *Reisebuch's* long version, which reproduces a number of these passages, albeit predominantly in redacted form. For example, a

⁴⁵ Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, pp. 51–52.

⁴⁶ Higgins, *Writing East*, p. 107.

⁴⁷ Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 42.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

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description of Mount Calvary based on the *Travels* is incorporated in the long version: “*Von der kirchen auff die rechten handt ist der perg Calvarie da unser herr gekreutzigt wardt und da ist ein weysser stain; und auff dem selbigen perg ist ein altar, do ligen Cristen, die sein chönig gewesen zu Jherusalem* (L 73–74).⁴⁹ ” In the *Reisebuch*, the source text is shortened and simplified by excising the *Travels*’s typological lesson. Nonetheless, the sentence still transmits the core thrust of the *Travels*’s formulation, also stressing the location and physical manifestation both of salvation history and of Jerusalem’s Christian past. The same tendency to abbreviate – to present only the most essential details of the *Travels*’s description – can further be observed in the long version’s retelling of the miracle of the reigniting lamp at Mount Sinai: *Es ist ein Ampel, die brint über iar bis an den karfrytag, so erlischt sie vnd entzündt sich an den ostern wider* (N 115). That is to say, the long version reflects the *Travels*’s characterisation of the Holy Land first and foremost as a storied space: the version’s portrayal consists of a progression from one scripturally significant location to another in what is only a modest selection of the much more extensive catalogue made available in the *Travels*. The narrative locates and explicates the religious significance of the Church of Our Lady in Jerusalem, *da waren maria magdalena vnd maria Cleophe vnd zugen ir haar vß, da sie got an den crütz sanhen* (N 115),⁵⁰ and the nearby Church of St. Anne, *dorrin ist ein brunn. Wer sich dorinn badet, der würt gesund, er hab was brechen er wöll. Dasselbst macht vnser herr den bettrüsen gesund* (N 115).⁵¹ These reworkings do not radically alter Mandeville’s portrayal

49 I have had to refer to Langmantel here (shorthand L) because Neumann’s edition registers a minor error made by the scribe of Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 216, who left insufficient space for and omitted the latter part of the sentence: *Vff die rechten hand, da ist der berg Calvarie, da ist ein da ligt die sul, da vnser herr angepunden ward, als man in gaislet* (N 114–115).

50 *Da ist zü na(e)chst ain ander kirch, die haisset ouch zü Unser Frowen. Und da warent Maria Magdalena und Maria Cleophe, die zugent sich mit den har, do gott an dem crütz hieng.* (Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 55)

51 *Und da lag ouch Sant Annen, die fürt Sant Helena dannen gen Constantinopel. In der selben kirch da ist ain brunn, der ist ainer cystem glich, und den haissent sie Probatice Piscina. Und man gat an fünf enden in den brunnen, und badet etwan daz folck dar inne, und waz siechtagen ainer ha(e)tt, der vergieng im. Und da selbs machet unser herre den bettryßen gesund, der echt*

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(via Velser) of the Holy Land but rather uphold it in a comparatively condensed and simplified fashion. The long version conveys the *Travels*'s focus on the past events and important figures of the Old and the New Testaments in order to communicate the presence of the Christian God in the Holy Land.

The (omni-)presence of God in the materiality and miracles of the Holy Land is rhetorically significant to both texts' representations chiefly because it does not escape either narrator that these sites are sacred for all the Abrahamic faiths. Christians, Muslims and Jews alike lay claim to the Holy Land, and all possessed the most sacred city at one time or another: *Ir sollent wissen daz Jherusalem in menger vind hand ist komen und geweßen, und von allerlay lút hond Jherusalem gehept gehalt.*⁵² At the time of the *Travels*'s composition c. 1356, Jerusalem had not been in Christian hands for some 60 years, the Crusaders having lost their last foothold in Palestine in 1291. Instead, the Muslim Mamluks held Jerusalem, and they policed entrance to the city's holy sites. For instance, the Mamluks restricted visits to the Temple: *die haiden lond weder cristen noch juden dar in gon, wann sie sprechent also böses folck sol nit gon an als hailig statt.*⁵³ These circumstances had not changed by the time of the *Reisebuch*'s composition, as Felix Fabri has independently documented (c. 1480), so the version's transmission of this assertion reflects contemporary actuality: *Sie laussent och weder christen noch Juden hinin, sie habent dann ein vrlob von dem küng Soldan, vnd sprechen: wir sint nit würtig, das wir an so haillig Stett gangent* (N 117).⁵⁴

In response to this sovereignty over Jerusalem by *unglöbig lút*, the *Travels* is at pains to stress that Christianity has the most legitimate claim to the land.⁵⁵ The long

und trissig jar nie ward gesunt, und sprach zû im: 'Nym din bett und gang mit fryd' (Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 60).

⁵² Ibid., p. 50.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 55.

⁵⁴ See Schröder, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam*, pp. 146–150.

⁵⁵ Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 51.

version follows the *Travels* in asserting Christianity's primacy and superior claim, which is implicitly founded in both texts on the narrative construction of a Christian space in Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Both narratives offer their readers a record of material as well as experiential proof that the Holy Land is predominantly the theatre of a Christian past: the most significant Christian narrative is embodied by these sacred locations, where it is possible as a pilgrim (or crusader) to literally stand in the footsteps of Christ, in *ain lincken füß tritt von unserm herren in ainem stain*.⁵⁶

3.2.2 Divergences: Muslim Deviance

Despite this initial alignment of both word and purpose, the long version ultimately departs from the *Travels*'s representation in its independent framing of these recycled passages.

In the *Travels*, the portrayal of the Holy Land is accompanied by a discussion of geography in which Jerusalem, and particularly Golgotha, are represented as the middle of the earth, both symbolic and literal centre of a circumnavigable globe. The *Travels*'s various references to Jerusalem's geographical centrality are uncommonly elaborate.⁵⁷ The author makes these passages "a significant part of his work's argument about the nature of the world", combining the pseudo-scientific and scriptural to argue his case for a reconquest of Jerusalem.⁵⁸ The pseudo-scientific passages are also coincidentally the sections most frequently altered, if not entirely

⁵⁶ Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 64.

⁵⁷ It is commonplace for scientific, encyclopaedic texts (like Vincent de Beavais's *Speculum maius* and Johannes de Sacrabosco's *Tractatus de Sphera*) to refer to the earth as a globe, but this information's inclusion is more unusual for a vernacular, literary text like the *Travels* (Iain MacLeod Higgins. "Defining the Earth's Center in a Medieval "Multi-Text": Jerusalem in *The Book of John Mandeville*". In: *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*. Ed. by Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998, pp. 29–53, p. 40; and Ridder, "Übersetzung und Fremderfahrung", p. 237).

⁵⁸ Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Center", p. 40. As Higgins has shown, "the *Mandeville*-author regarded physical, historical, political, and theological conceptions of geography as compatible with one another, rather than contradictory" (p. 41).

removed, by the *Travels*'s redactors, translators and compilers.⁵⁹

First, the narrator describes the centrality of Jerusalem in a manner relatively common within the pilgrimage genre. He cites the absolute authority of the Bible, locating the centre at Golgotha.⁶⁰ The *Travels* also mentions an alternative centre within the Holy Sepulchre, namely *die statt da Joseph von Arymathia unsers herren lichnam legt, do er in ab dem crütz nam und wüsch im da sin wunden*.⁶¹ Despite the lack of clarity about its specific location, the centre lies in Jerusalem at the site of Christ's death and mankind's salvation.

In addition to these scriptural arguments, and more unusually, the narrator provides several experiential and pseudo-scientific proofs for his claim. For instance, a spear erected at noon at the earth's centre casts no shadow.⁶² Further, in *Lamonti* the traveller loses sight of the guiding North Star, the *Polus Arcticus* or *Tromotana*, and catches a glimpse of another star that mirrors its position, the *Polus Antarcticus*.⁶³ Both stars are fixed and can thus only be seen in their respective hemispheres. For this reason, the narrator draws the conclusion that *man mag faren umb und umb die welt und wider umb kumen in sin haimet, und man findet all weg ynselen und land*.⁶⁴ This argument for a spherical, symmetrical and wholly inhabited earth is further and independently validated by the narrator who offers not only his own, entirely fictional measurements taken with an astrolabe, but an anecdote of a man

59 Ridder, "Übersetzung und Fremderfahrung", p. 244.

60 *Und da Cristus crützigot ward, da ist geschriben in kriegsche: 'Otheus basitem ysmon proseones ergase sathias eros.'* *Das ist als vil gesprochen in latin: 'Hie deus rex noster ante secula operatus est salutem in medio terre'* (Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 52). The most important scriptural passages that advance the idea of Jerusalem as the centre of the world are Psalm 74:12 and Ezekiel 5.5. These passages were influentially brought together in St. Jerome's much-read and reproduced fifth-century *Commentary on Ezekiel*. The scriptural sources stress that Christ worked salvation in the midst of the earth or the 'nations'. In St. Jerome, the holy city of Jerusalem formed the navel of the earth, the *umbilicum terrae* (Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Center", p. 34).

61 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 54.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 115.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 114.

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who unwittingly circumnavigated the globe.⁶⁵

The experiential evidence provided for the symmetry and circumnavigability of the world is thus merged with the traditional biblical reference to Jerusalem's centrality, serving to advance the narrator's key argument for Christianity's centrality as a faith and Christendom's role as prospective world power in "an implicit demonstration that the entire symmetrical earth is potentially Christian both near and far."⁶⁶ Thus, the *Travels* aims to restimulate Christian expansion and crusade, for which regaining the geographic and salvific centre is of paramount importance:

Das unser herre gott für uns starb zů Jherusalem, das tätte er dar umb das es enmitten in der welt was, als ich vor gesprochen hon, das es solt dester e erschellen uff aller ört der welt. Wann ir wol wissent, wenn man etwas gebietten, beschrien oder ruffen wil, so tüt man es all weg enmitten uff dem platz oder mitten in der statt. Also wolt Cristus sinen tod liden mitten in der welt, das es yederman recht wissen oder hören und sehen möcht und solt innen werden der grossen trú und liebín die er zů uns armen súnner gehept hatt, on das wir es umb in hettend verdienet.⁶⁷

Christian (re-)possession of Jerusalem therefore represents a possibility for widespread conversion and the future supremacy of Christianity around the world. For this reason, the narrator argues that every Christian with the means should *kriegen und fechten umb unser land und unser erbe das uns unser vatter gelaßen hatt.*⁶⁸ In this context, the *Travels* also asserts:

Item da von söllent ir wissen daz von Engelland von den niderosten landen so sie sind gen occident veretz, byß gen Jherusalem, so gat man úmer me gen berg. Also gat man von Jherusalem gen orient vertz úmer me gen tal. Also uff die andern ort vertz, wann ir söllent wissen daz Jherusalem ist mitten in der welt.⁶⁹

Jerusalem's central location is not only stressed (again), but the holy city is also explicitly portrayed as the meeting point between East and West, connecting

65 Higgins, *The Book of John Mandeville*, p. 111.

66 Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Center", p. 44.

67 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 2.

68 Ibid., p. 2.

69 Ibid., p. 115.

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Mandeville's homeland England with Prester John's fabled Christian kingdom in India. The text presents England and India as symmetrical, geographical opposites: *Da von wenn es in India tag ist, so ist es nacht in Engelland; und wenn es tag ist in Engelland, so ist es nacht in Yndia.*⁷⁰ This contrast extends to a moral critique, in which Prester John's kingdom is depicted as the ideal Christian model for the West, despite the fact that the priest-king's Nestorian beliefs and practices deviate from the narrator's own Latin Christian custom. Prester John is represented as a paragon of Christian virtue who puts spiritual concerns before temporal and material desires, in contrast to the narrator's landsmen.⁷¹ For example, although a vessel full of gold and precious stones is conveyed alongside the king to represent his power and nobility, a plain wooden cross and a gold plate full of earth is carried at the front of his retinue to remind him that *sin adel und sin gewalt sol zû erde werden.*⁷² As Akbari has argued, "the encounter with Prester John teaches the narrator (and, consequently, his readers) that spiritual reform must precede military victory."⁷³

This episode implicitly reflects the text's central argument: spiritual reform and devout refocus in the West are key to reclaiming Christianity's rightful territory. By explicitly locating a comparatively dissolute England and a virtuous Prester John's land as geographical mirror images, the narrator underlines this message for his audience. The geographical juxtaposition is, however, not just a point of ethical contrast but also a point of connection: the link to Prester John via a central, 'umbilical' Jerusalem is important in a crusading context, for the Indian king was

⁷⁰ Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 115.

⁷¹ According to the narrator, Jerusalem has only changed hands so frequently in the past for the reason that *gott nit wil liden lange zitt daz das böß folck in der hailigen statt belib, es syge cristen oder waz folck daz sy* (ibid., pp. 50–51). Indeed, the text explicitly states that Christians have lost their rightful territories in the Middle East as a result of their own sinfulness. This criticism is placed in the mouth of the Muslim Sultan of Egypt, who maintains: *dar umb daz ir nit wellent tûn daz úwer gebot ist, so gat úch úwer ding hinder sich, und hond verlorn das land, daz besitzent wir und wissent wol daz wir daz habend von úwer súnd wegen, und nit von unser sterckin wegen* (ibid., p. 90).

⁷² Ibid., p. 156.

⁷³ Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p. 62.

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celebrated (and searched for) from the twelfth century as a hoped-for Christian ally in the campaign to recapture Jerusalem from the Muslim ‘other’.⁷⁴ In line with this tradition, the *Travels* also suggest that if the West could connect with these (mythical) crusaders over the reconquest of Jerusalem, there would be a possibility to create a unified and universal Christendom.⁷⁵

This argument is not replicated in the *Reisebuch*. The text excludes any reference to Jerusalem’s situation and significance as the ‘navel’ of the earth; in fact, all geographical elements are omitted that make the *Travels*’s account of the Holy Land meaningful in its particular narrative context, i.e. as the centre from which the conversion to Christianity of, and concomitant dominion over, the globe would be possible. While Mandeville’s description of the Holy Land is situated within a theo-geographical crusading discourse, in the long version the rewritten passages are instead framed by a series of exempla: with an allegorical description of an Arabian bird (N 111), the legend of the Oak of Mamre (N 113–114) and a tale of a magic mirror at Alexandria (N 119–120). With the exception of the Oak of Mamre, these brief anecdotes are independent contributions, which engage with the borrowed passages to establish the fundamental difference between Christianity and Islam.⁷⁶ Rather than constructing a message about the necessity of crusade to regain Jerusalem, the long version thus highlights a polemic message about the falsity of Islam and reconceptualises the *Travels*’s traditional notion of crusade by expanding its scope.

The first of these exempla is a description of an Arabian bird called a *sacka* (N 111). According to the long version, the *sacka* (N 111) is a large bird the colour of a crane with a long neck, a long and wide black beak, large webbed feet like a goose

74 Cf. Charles E. Nowell. “The Historical Prester John”. In: *Speculum* 28.3 (1953), pp. 435–445; and Wagner, *Die Epistole presbiteri Johannis*.

75 Higgins, “Defining the Earth’s Center”, p. 45.

76 Cf. Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 46.

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and a crop, *dorin gat wol ein fiertal wassers* (N 111). It is the bird's custom to fill its crop with water and fly to a desert, where it deposits the water upon finding a suitable crack in a rock. Then, other birds flock to the watering hole to drink. Lying in wait, the *sacka* (N 111) catches three to kill and eat. The bird lives *in der wüst, da man zu des machmets grab zucht, da er begraben ist* (N 111) at Medina, a detail that establishes the story's anti-Muslim slant.

The designation of the bird as a *sacka* (N 111) has been explained etymologically, as “literally, in Turkish, a water-carrier.”⁷⁷ In particular, *sakka* is the word used to describe men who carried out the indispensable role in medieval middle-eastern societies of transporting and selling water in the desert. However, it is also conceivable that the name given to the desert bird is a transliteration of the Arabic *sagr* for falcon. Indeed, there is a falcon species called the *saker*, scientifically *falcon cherrug*, that is prevalent in the areas noted in the traveller's itinerary. This fairly large bird is a desert hunter of small rodents or, if active near water, of other smaller birds.⁷⁸ The species was known in Europe around the time of the *Reisebuch*'s composition, featuring in the Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich II's twelfth-century *Falkenbuch* where it is described as being marginally larger than other falcon species; the *Falkenbuch* further describes how to capture and train the *saker* for heron hawking.⁷⁹ The *Falkenbuch* does not, however, constitute a source for the long version's allegory. Rather, the physical description of the *sacka* (N 111) seems to support the argument that the text provides a Turkish term: the bird could only be considered falcon-like in that it is also a bird of prey, and its most notable feature is the *grossen kropff*

77 Karl Friedrich Neumann, ed. *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger: A Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396-1427*. Trans. by J. Buchan Telfer. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1879, p. 193.

78 Birdlife International. *Species Factsheet: Saker Falcon Falco cherrug*. URL: <http://www.birdlife.org/> (visited on 06/17/2014).

79 Cf. Frederick II. *The Art of Falconry: Being the De arte venandi cum avibus of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*. Ed. by Casey A. Wood and F. Marjorie Fyfe. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1943, p. 121 and pp. 309 ff.

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vor an sinem hals (N 111) that allows it to transport water. Together with its long neck and webbed feet, this characteristic suggests that the narrator is describing a bird that is, or is like, a pelican: moreover, pelican is *sákà kou'tchou* in Ottoman Turkish.⁸⁰

The *sacka* (N 111) is deployed allegorically in the text and represents an independent contribution, even though it is not entirely without parallel in the *Travels*, which describes the phoenix in a lengthy allegory.⁸¹ Like the phoenix, the pelican is a well-known allegorical image for Christ. Konrad von Megenberg (1309–1374), for instance, writes in his c. 1350 *Buch der Natur* that *pei dem pellicân verstê ich unsern herren Jêsum Christum*.⁸² The allegory presents the pelican, struck in the face by its young, striking back and killing its offspring. In remorse, the pelican beats open its breast and lets its blood cover the chicks, so raising them from the dead.⁸³ The bird thus represents both Christ's sacrificial love and his Resurrection. The *sacka*'s (N 111) behaviour in the long version, however, is not at all in line with this traditional image of the pelican; instead, this bird is characterised by its treachery, luring smaller birds to their deaths by offering false sustenance in the form of water in barren lands. Further, there is no resurrection for the small birds that fall into its trap. Thus, the *sacka* (N 111) is constructed as a mock pelican and, by contrast with the expected allegorical story, also as a false version of Christ. In conjunction with the reference to the bird's location on the desert route to Muhammad's grave in Medina, the

80 Telfer, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, p. 193. This is confirmed by J.W. Redhouse. *Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary*. London: Bernhard Quaritch, 1880, p. 224. The modern Turkish, however, is *pelikan* or *kaşıkçıkuşu*.

81 In the *Travels*, a phoenix *verbrent sich uff dem altar zû äschen* in the temple in *Elyapole* (Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 33). On the first day after the phoenix's immolation, the ashes have transformed into a worm. On the second day, the priests of the temple find the whole bird intact before, on the third day, it flies away: *Und den fogel möcht man got gelichen, da von daz sin nit me dann ainer ist. Also ist ouch nit me dan ain gott. Unser herre erstünd am dritten tag. Also flúgt der fogel an dem dritten tag enweg* (ibid., p. 33).

82 Konrad von Megenberg. *Das Buch der Natur*. Ed. by Franz Pfeiffer. Stuttgart: Verlag von Karl Aue, 1861, p. 210.

83 Ibid., pp. 210–211.

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sacka (N 111) can be understood to stand for the false prophet Muhammad himself. Thus, the passage provides a representation of the false salvation, and of the inherent danger, believed by medieval Christians to be embodied by the rival faith Islam.

This passage forms a significant component of the long version's juxtaposition of Christianity and Islam. Specifically, the route to Muhammad's tomb at Medina is contrasted with the route to the Holy Sepulchre. Whereas the former involves the treacherous *sacka* (N 111), the latter passes through the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. The long version's description of Sinai is rewritten from the *Travels*.⁸⁴ For all three Abrahamic religions, Mount Sinai is important as the place where Moses received the Ten Commandments, and for the long version it is accordingly a site imbued with God's presence in *grosses wunderzeichen* (N 112). However, the long version does not completely replicate the *Travels*'s catalogue of the site's relics, and the resultant emphasis produces an independent representation that prompts comparison with the allegory of the *sacka* (N 111), i.e. between Christianity and Islam.

The long version especially foregrounds two sights. One of these is the Well of Moses, or *der brunn, den moyses macht, da er mit der gerten vff den stein schlug, davon das wasser heruß flos* (N 112). This explanatory note references a passage from Exodus (17:1-7): when the people of Israel thirsted in the desert, Moses was directed by God to strike a rock, from which water then flowed. This kind of imagery – namely, unbearable thirst and the gift of sustaining water – is a common scriptural metaphor for the spiritual sustenance provided by Christ.⁸⁵ Read metaphorically, then, the Well of Moses is deployed in direct contrast to the account of the *sacka* (N 111), whose provision of water for the thirsty desert birds is, like Muhammad's

⁸⁴ Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, pp. 39–43.

⁸⁵ This can be illustrated by another example: “But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life” (John 4:14).

promise of salvation, hostile trickery.

The second miracle the narrator describes is the remarkable behaviour of the birds at Sinai, who bring olive tree branches to the monks at the monastery so that the holy men have enough to eat and to burn for light (N 112). This report forms yet another contrast to the Arabian bird, i.e. Sinai's holy birds bring support for life in the desert, providing the monks with the means to serve God, whereas the *sacka* (N 111) only brings death. Thus, according to the long version the pilgrimage route to the Holy Sepulchre is littered with miracles and signs of the Christian God's will and omnipotence; by contrast, the route to Medina is described as treacherous, characterised by natural signifiers of Islam's deceptive 'untruth'. In the long version, the birds at Mount Sinai function both traditionally, to supply proof of Christianity's 'truth' like in the *Travels*, and innovatively, to cast Islam and devotional pilgrimage to the prophet's tomb in Medina in a negative light by comparison.

Yet another version of this strategy is offered by the legend *von dem durren bom* (N 113), retold almost verbatim from the *Travels*.⁸⁶ The narrator relates that the Dry Tree flourished until *vnser herr an dem crütz gestorben ist. Nach sinem sterben ward er dürr* (N 113). Christian prophecy anticipates that it will turn green and bear fruit once the Holy Sepulchre is recovered and Christian mass held at the tree's base: *Nu vindt man in der prophecy, das ein fürst gen Occident wertz der sunnen das haillig grab mit den cristen gewinnen vnd meß vnder dem durren bom haben laussen, so sol dann der bom grün werden, vnd frucht bringen* (N 113). That is to say, the narrator contends that true sustenance – resurrection, even – is only possible through Christ and for Christians. This assertion is further underlined in

⁸⁶ See Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 46; the long version transmits the *Travels*'s conflation of the Oak of Mamre (Gen. 18:1–18) with the Dry Tree, which Marco Polo located in the otherwise barren deserts of northern Persia as marking the site where Alexander the Great fought against Darius III (r. 336–330 BC). Also Higgins, *The Book of John Mandeville*, p. 41; and Rosanne Gasse. "The Dry Tree Legend in Medieval Literature". In: *Fifteenth Century Studies* 38 (2013), pp. 65–96.

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the text by the fact that Muslims also venerate the Dry Tree, but they value it principally for its ability to heal the *vallenden siechttag* (N 113) or epilepsy, an illness Christian polemic notoriously ascribed to Muhammad. In this tradition, Muhammad is portrayed as a duplicitous figure who falsely claimed to have experienced divine communication after suffering a seizure and continued to trick people into converting to Islam by fabricating miracles.⁸⁷ Islam is painted as a ‘false’ faith because the tree remains desiccated under Muslim rule. Christianity, on the other hand, is portrayed as the only ‘true’ religion, its primacy established by the (inter-religious) claims of the tree’s miraculous healing properties that are directly linked to the Crucifixion and the promise of its equally marvellous reanimation upon the Christian reconquest of Jerusalem.

The Dry Tree episode also represents the only inclusion of the *Travels*’s advocacy of crusade in the Holy Land. In fact, the long version is not at all focused on promoting the reconquest specifically of Jerusalem: instead, the narrative reinterprets crusade as a broader set of aims, i.e. as any action Christians undertake in the fight against a spreading Islam. Crusade is just as important a topic for the *Reisebuch* as it is for the *Travels*: Schiltberger’s contribution to the crusade to challenge the invasion of the Turks in Bulgaria is the cause and catalyst for his further voyage in the East. These events further illustrate the widening of the geographical scope of crusade that the long version advocates, which reflected historical necessity as the Turks were a direct, proximate threat to the Holy Roman Empire at the end of the fourteenth century (N 51–56).⁸⁸

However, a comparatively unconventional notion of crusade is thematised not only in terms of the location of conflict, but also with respect to the lengths to which

⁸⁷ See John Tolan. “European Accounts of Muhammad’s Life”. In: *The Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*. Ed. by Johathan E. Brockopp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 226–250.

⁸⁸ Cf. also Matschke, *Das Kreuz und der Halbmond*, pp. 15–104.

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the narrator argues Christians may go to secure victory against the religious ‘other’. This message is particularly imparted by the last of the narrative’s independent contributions, which describes an attempt by Christians to reclaim Alexandria. In the *Travels*, Alexandria is surveyed as another station on Mandeville’s route through the Holy Land, and it is therefore characterised primarily in terms of its significance for Christian history: as the site where St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 287–305) was beheaded, and where St. Mark (d. 68) was *gemarteret und begraben* and a church built in his honour.⁸⁹ By contrast, Alexandria serves as a stage for the direct confrontation between Christianity and Islam in the long version, and this ‘crusade’ is facilitated – highly unusually – by conversion to Islam: the vast majority of texts written at this time assert the perils of apostasy in that they endeavour to contain conversion by explaining Islam’s military successes in terms of a preordained divine plan and by illustrating the errors of Muslim doctrine.⁹⁰

The narrator writes that in Alexandria, an important trading post for the Venetians and Genoese, there was *ein schöner hocher turn* (N 119) on which a great mirror was mounted that reflected approaching ships and protected the ruling Mamluks from the *künig von zipern* (N 119), likely Pierre I de Lusignan of Cyprus (r. 1358–1369), who had at one time conquered the city (in October of 1365).⁹¹ According to the long version, a Cypriot priest was tasked to break this mirror for the King of Cyprus in exchange for a bishopric of his choice. The priest travelled to Rome in order to ask the Pope for permission to renounce Christianity in service of this aim. The most remarkable aspect of the anecdote is that the Pope agreed to the priest’s request,

89 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, pp. 38–39. The *Travels* emphasises Alexandria’s status as an important city for Christendom: as the seat of the Coptic Church that regarded Saint Mark as its first head (c. 33), the city was historically speaking an important early centre of Christianity until its conquest in 645 by the Rashidun Caliphate.

90 John Tolan, ed. *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1996, p. xiii.

91 This is likely a reference to the Lighthouse of Alexandria, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World (Telfer, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, p. 215).

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arguing that a conversion did not in this instance constitute a trespass against the Church nor a break with the faith because the priest would convert *mit worten vnd nit mit wercken noch mit dem hertzen*. *Nun tett er das von cristenliches gelouben wegen, Wann die cristen von den heiden durch den spiegel vff dem mer grossen schaden empfiengent* (N 120). In Alexandria the Cypriot became a respected *heidenischer priester* (N 120) who preached the *heidenschen glouben wider cristenlichen gelouben* (N 120), which in turn led to him being held in particularly high esteem by the Mamluks: as a convert from Christianity, they *truweten vnd gelubten im gar wol* (N 120). The priest used this trust to gain access to the tower and to destroy the mirror, before jumping to his death in the sea (N 120). This act allowed the King of Cyprus to sack Alexandria, although the crusaders' victory was short-lived as after just three days the Mamluk Sultan *brennet die statt vß vnd vieng das volk vnd fürt wib vnd kint mit lib vnd mit gut mit im hin* (N 120). Therefore, the long version communicates that conversion – so vehemently opposed in contemporaneous German-language travel writing and notably in Georg of Ungarn's c. 1480 captivity account that characterises the danger presented to the soul by conversion as the greatest threat posed to Christendom by a 'seductive' Islam (see subsection 2.2.3) – can be considered acceptable if it is a military act, a weapon against Islam: as a means to infiltrate Muslim society and destabilise it from within, conversion may even – according to this example – be considered a heroic deed.

Thus, the long version utilises Mandeville's *Travels* in the translation by Velsler to thematise the alterity of Islam. The rewriting of select passages about the Holy Land establishes that Christianity is the 'one true faith' by locating the primacy and authenticity of the salvation story in the materiality and miracles of the East. The contrast produced by the largely independent framing of these recycled passages results, in turn, in the portrayal of Islam as a 'false' faith against which war should

be waged on all fronts and by all means possible. Consequently, the groundwork is laid in this segment of the narrative for an unmitigated anti-Islamic invective. Yet, the long version's portrayal is nevertheless tempered by the further description of Muslim doctrine and customs, in which the text not only maintains the differences between the faiths, but also considers the similarities and even acknowledges positive aspects of Muslim beliefs and practices. Rather than transmitting a solely polemic message, this representation of Islam is ultimately more ambivalent in its evaluation of this particular religious 'other'.

3.3 Ambivalence: In Dialogue with Islam

The passages that interpose this moderating assessment of Islam are primarily the products of a selective rewriting of Mandeville's *Travels* (N 132–134).⁹² The excerpts from Velsler's translation cover the following topics: the biography and rise of Muhammad as a spiritual and secular ruler (N 122–124); Islamic doctrine, with a focus on *was die heiden von cristo geloubent* (N 132–133); and lastly, how Muslims regard the behaviour of the Latin Christian community (N 133–134).⁹³ Yet, these extracts do not constitute the full extent of the long version's representation of Islamic customs. The narrative also incorporates information, independent of the *Travels*'s delineation, that considers: the Five Pillars of Islam (N 124); the two main annual Islamic celebrations, *Eid al-Fitr* (N 127) and *Eid al-Adha* (N 127–128); an explanation for the prophet's prohibition of *win* (N 129–130); a murderous Muslim sect (N 130); and the ritual surrounding the conversion to Islam (N 130–132). The latter are comparatively standard themes that would likely have been familiar to the reader from other travel texts, and – even if these segments do not consist of direct rewriting from any one source – they reflect a reliance on, as well as an engagement

92 Cf. Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, pp. 88–92.

93 See *ibid.*, pp. 91, 86–89 and 89, respectively.

with, established European discourse.⁹⁴ Although there certainly would be much to analyse also in this respect, I concentrate in the following section specifically on the long version's utilisation of the *Travels*. The extracts from the *Travels* are themselves part of a long-standing discursive tradition: the *Reisebuch* adopts the *Travels*'s content and interpretation of Islam in these passages, just as Mandeville's text borrows from William of Tripoli's *De statu Saracenorum* (1273) that, in an unusually positive portrayal, "argues that Islam is so close to Christianity that the conversion of Muslims by peaceful means should be an easy task."⁹⁵ Here, the use of the *Travels* produces nuance in the long version's portrayal of Islam. Consequently, Islam is characterised as a Christological heresy, its similarities with Christianity are concisely explored, and the resulting comparatively favourable account is utilised as a point of contrast to criticise misguided and sinful Christian behaviour.

However, a reversal of the essential alterity of Islam that the long version has established by this point is not put forward. This is a consequence of the fact that medieval Christians – in fact, all three Abrahamic faiths – considered their own belief system to be the only 'true' creed; there was no modern notion of pluralism, insofar as there was no acceptance that another religion could be just as valid as one's own.⁹⁶ Both Muslims and Latin Christians, for example, assert their presumed divine right to world domination. We have seen how this was the case for Latin Christians in the previous section of this chapter, in which the *Travels* was shown to advocate crusade to seize the 'centre' at Jerusalem in order to facilitate the Christian

94 The sect, by which the *Nizari Ismailis* are likely indicated, is similarly described in Marco Polo's *Il Milione* (c. 1298) as infamous for espionage and politically-motivated murder (Marco Polo. *The Travels of Marco Polo*. Trans. by Ronald Latham. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1958, pp. 41–42). Furthermore, information about the Five Pillars is relatively common in fifteenth-century German travel writing, e.g. Felix Fabri, Bernhard von Breydenbach and Georg von Ungarn all provide topical details in their respective accounts (see Schröder, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam*; as well as Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach*; and Williams, "Cronica der Türckey").

95 Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 204. A "hostile view" of Muslims was, according to John Tolan's study of Western images of Islam, much more commonly taken up by commentators (p. 213).

96 *Ibid.*, p. xv.

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conquest of the globe. For Muslims, a similar impetus is embodied by the concept of *dar al-harb*, “a licit – indeed holy – part of the Muslim’s spiritual struggle (*jihad*) to expand the domain of Islam by war.”⁹⁷ As a result of this religious exclusivism, Muslims as well as Latin Christians actively marginalised entire communities on the basis of their religion.⁹⁸

Despite this consensus on its fundamental difference, there existed no single monolithic discursive approach to the ‘problem’ of Islam in medieval Europe. As John Tolan has shown,

polemicists wrote theoretical refutations of Islam; historians attempted to explain Islam’s origins and expansion; lawyers defined the legal status of Muslims living in Christian lands; exegetes defined Islam’s role in the divine plan; diplomats vilified or apologised for Muslims, depending on what kinds of alliances they were trying to justify; epic poets imagined Muslim warriors as embodiments either of demonic hostility or of chivalric ideals.⁹⁹

Thus, Tolan both revises Said’s reductive account of medieval Orientalism and supports his claim that the Western image of Islam was “integral and self-sufficient.”¹⁰⁰ Tolan has illustrated in his influential study how a polyvocal discourse developed in order to serve diverse agendas, which in turn shared a common desire to uphold a European and Latin Christian “intellectual construction of the world.”¹⁰¹ As religious ‘other’, Islam was constructed in literature from the eighth to the fif-

97 Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 35.

98 For instance, Christians and Jews were given the legal status of *dhimmi* if they lived in Muslim territories, by which they had to pay a tax called *jizya* from which all Muslims were exempt; this policy allowed for the practice of comparative tolerance, but it also established these communities as ‘second class’ and was one reason why conversion to Islam was, historically speaking, high in these regions (ibid., p. 35). The systematic ‘othering’ of Muslims and Jews in Europe, on the other hand, has been shown to equally pervade day-to-day life: for example, Jews were required to wear distinctive dress and forbidden from owning property, holding office or marrying outside their faith (see Kenneth Stow. *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992, in particular pp. 131ff.).

99 Tolan, *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, p. xi.

100 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 60.

101 Tolan, *Saracens*, p. xxiii. A similar development was born out of a real investment in understanding Islam better, as exemplified by the Latin translations of the Koran by Mark of Toledo (active 1193–1216) and Robert of Ketton (1110–1160).

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teenth century, with direct reference to the tenets of monotheistic Christianity, as either pagan idolatry or heresy; these portrayals constituted the two predominant (mis-)interpretations of Islam, and they were used in order to further individual, often quite divergent, aims.¹⁰² For example, the representation of Islam as idolatry was implemented to justify the First and Second Crusade (1095–1099, 1147–1149) in the French *chanson de geste*. By contrast, a number of thirteenth-century disputations – for instance, by the Catalan theologian Ramon Martí (1215–1285) – characterised Islam as a heresy, acknowledging a correspondence between the doctrines of Islam and Christianity that aimed not at war but conversely at mission, conversion and eventual assimilation.¹⁰³

The reactions to the Muslim ‘other’ during this period might therefore be expressed as the rejection, elimination or (in the most extreme case) extermination of the unfamiliar, on the one hand, or as its similarity, adoption and internalisation within a familiar system, on the other.¹⁰⁴ The alterity of Islam is conceptualised by Christian writers as falling on a spectrum, rather than in terms of a simple binary relationship of the diametrically opposed. This is described by Bernhard Waldenfels in his seminal *Topographie des Fremden* (1997) as *Verschränkung*, a term the philosopher borrowed from Helmut Plessner and Viktor von Weizsäcker that is based on a concept more recognisably encountered in the work of Norbert Elias and Maurice Merleau-Ponty as *Verflechtung*, *Überkreuzung* or *Chiasmus*:

Diese Denkfigur widersetzt sich dem extremen Gegensatz von vollständiger Deckung oder völliger Fusion einerseits und vollständiger Disparatheit andererseits. Wenn wir sie auf den Gegensatz von Eigenem und Fremdem anwenden, so besagt *Verschränkung* zum einen, daß Eigenes und Fremdes *mehr oder weniger* ineinander verwickelt sind, so wie ein Netz sich verdichten oder lockern kann, und es besagt zum anderen, daß zwischen Eigenem und Fremden immer nur *unscharfe Grenzen* bestehen, die mehr mit Akzentuierung, Gewichtung

102 Tolan, *Saracens*.

103 *Ibid.*, p. 106 and pp. 234–242.

104 Bernhard Waldenfels. *Topographie des Fremden: Studien zur Phänomenologie des Fremden I*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997, pp. 45–50.

und statischer Häufung zu tun haben als mit sauberlicher Trennung.¹⁰⁵

In other words, this model describes the possibility – and even the necessity – of overlap between ‘counter-concepts’ that nevertheless retain their divergence. Representative for Western discourse on the subject of Islam in general, *Verschränkung* also describes the character of the long version’s representational strategies, as I will now illustrate. This approach not only allows me to preserve the inherent ambiguity of the text but is also a significant contribution to scholarship on the long version of the *Reisebuch*: although the version’s ‘neutrality’ on the subject of Islam has been noted and interpreted to explain the function of the text as a primarily informative rather than polemic document, the ‘negative’ characterisations of this religious ‘other’ in the text are at the same time reductively downplayed so as to ultimately misrepresent the character of the version’s ambivalent model of alterity.¹⁰⁶

3.3.1 Differences

That Islam represents a force directed against Christendom is not open for debate in the *Travels* nor in the long version of the *Reisebuch*. The narratives clearly define the two chief ‘errors’ of Islamic doctrine that mark the faith as an unacceptable heresy to Christians.¹⁰⁷ For one, Muslims do not give credence to the Christian account of the Crucifixion; it was not Jesus who died on the cross *sunder es sy ein ander der sy im glich gewesen*, for Jesus *der hepst fründ gotes gewesen sy vnd hett nie kein sünd geton. Dorumb wär got nit ein rechter richter gewesen, wann ihesus solt crütziget sin worden vmb vnschuld* (N 132).¹⁰⁸ Secondly, Muslims do not believe in the Trinity:

105 Waldenfels, *Topographie des Fremden*, p. 67.

106 “Eine Polemik stünde auch im Widerspruch zu der ansonsten eher sachlichen Beschreibung mohammedanischer Riten und Bräuche, die sich jeglicher negativer Wertung entziehen” (Briski, “Kulturkonflikte”, p. 282).

107 These constitute an accurate representation of Muslim beliefs, see Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 34–35.

108 Cf. Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 87. *Item ir büch spricht daz Jhesus nit ward gekrütziget, und er für gen hymel; es wa(e)r ain andere der gekrütziget wurd, und der hett sich verwandelt in sin gestalt [...] Und da von sprechent sie daz die cristen habent ainen bo(e)sen*

So sprechent sie es sind dry person vnd nit ein gott, Wann ir buch Alkaron sagt nit von der dryvaltigkeit (N 133).¹⁰⁹

This doctrinal opposition is further emphasised in the long version by a brief biography of Muhammad (N 122–123), in which the prophet is described as emerging from lowly origins – *sin vater vnd mutter ist ein arms volk gewesen* (N 122) – only to rise to ultimate power in the East after meeting an Armenian priest who offered shelter to the caravan of merchants who had employed Muhammad to look after their horses.¹¹⁰ The priest recognised the future prophet by the dark cloud that floated above his head and informed Muhammad that according to prophecy he was destined to become a spiritual and political leader, founder of *einen globen wider cristenlichen globen* (N 122) that *solt och die cristenheit vast beschwa(e)ren* (N 123).

This priest played an important part in many polemic biographies of the prophet: referred to in medieval European discourse variably as Bahira, Sergius or Nestorius, he was considered to have been jointly responsible for the development of Islam, taking Muhammad as his protégé and teaching him either a heretical form of Christianity or the orthodox Christian doctrine that was later misconstrued by the idolatrous Arabs and ‘corrupted’ by Jewish influence.¹¹¹ As Barbara Roggema has shown, there were many versions of this legend in circulation in Europe. Despite their differences, all convey the notion that Islam does not have divine source – i.e., the faith is not actually predicated on divine communication with the archangel Gabriel – nor is

globen, daz sie wenent daz Jhesus würd getöttet, der unsers herren als gütter frúnd waz. Und sprechent daz unser herre nit wer ain rechter richter geweßen, und wa(e)r es war, wann Jhesus wa(e)r unschuldig und hett nie kain boßhait begangen.

109 Cf. Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 88. *Und wenn ainer mit in redt von dem vatter, und von dem sun, und von dem hailigen gaist, so sprechent sie, es sient try personen und nüntz ain gott, wann ir Alkoren seyt in nit von der hailigen trifaltigkait.*

110 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 91. *Machometh [...] waz ain armer knecht, und für mit koufflúten, vnd wartet den koufflúten der pferid.*

111 See Barbara Roggema. *The Legend of Sergius Bahira: Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 2009; and Krisztina Szilágyi. “Muhammad and the Monk: the Making of the Christian Bahira Legend”. In: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 34 (2008), pp. 169–214.

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the Koran an entirely original text: Islam was held to be derivative, a “travesty of Christian law, a negation of it, an anti-Christianity.”¹¹²

The Christian Bahira legend, by making the doctrines of Islam originate from the distorted teachings of a Christian monk [...] transformed Islam into a Christian heresy, thus perfectly matching a well-known concept of Christian theology. The familiar category to which Islam was assigned neutralised the impact of its dramatic novelty, and gave hope that the perfidious doctrine of the Ishmaelites would prevail no longer than that of Arius.¹¹³

The long version transmits a different version of the legend of Bahira to the *Travels*, but both accounts uphold this generic agenda. In the *Travels*, Muhammad’s contact with the *ainsydel* is linked to the prophet’s enactment of false miracles, not least with respect to the revelations inspired by the prophet’s visitation by Gabriel that lie at the heart of Islam and which are characterised by the *Travels* as fabricated by Muhammad in order to cover up epileptic fits.¹¹⁴ In the long version, Islam is described as originating with the prophecy of the heretical priest, who makes a deal with Muhammad to spare his country from the prophesied wars with Christendom (N 123). Thus, Islam is connected to the practice of non-Latin Christianity in the East, which provides additional evidence for its status as an erroneous excrescence of the familiar and ‘true’ Latin orthodoxy. These doctrinal issues aside, the long version also highlights the military antagonism between Muslims and Christians: the version not only provides a detailed report of the crusade at Nicopolis, but it additionally describes the Assassins, a Muslim sect that was instructed to murder any Christian it encountered (N 130).

112 Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 146.

113 Szilágyi, “Muhammad and the Monk”, p. 205.

114 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 91. *Nun hett Machometh den bo(e)ßen siechtagen daz er ouch viel. Da was der frowen laid daz sie in genumen het. Do gab er der frowen zû verstond daz der engel Gabriel mit im redt, und wenn er in sa(e)he, so mu(e)st er vallen von der scho(e)nin und dem schin den er an im hette, also das er nit mo(e)cht beston, wenn er in sa(e)he. Und da von sprechent die hayden das er ouch mit dem engel redte.*

3.3.2 Similarities

Waldenfels's concept of *Verschränkung* helps me to articulate that in the long version the borders between these categories of 'self' and 'other' are muddled, even though the relationship between Christianity and Islam is delineated as a contrast. There is an emphasis on similitude alongside – and overlapping with – difference. This ambivalence is what distinguishes the long version in the transmission history of the *Reisebuch*, and it is also what the narrative preserves from the *Travels*: the passages that outline shared features of Christian and Muslim doctrine paraphrase Velser's translation of the *Travels*.

For one, the version outlines that Muslims believe in the Immaculate Conception: *Es ist och ze mercken das die heiden den gelobent des ihesus von einer Junckfrowen geporen sy, vnd sy nach der purt junckfrow beliben* (N 132).¹¹⁵ Further, Muslims are reported to share a comparable esteem for a number of the most significant Old and New Testament figures, and – even if he is not considered an incarnation of God – Jesus is accorded the highest rank also in Islam, even surpassing Muhammad, as the word of God and the future judge of mankind:

Sie sprechent das abraham gottes fründ vnd moyses gottes propheten gewesen sy vnd ihesus sy das wort von got. So sy machmet gewesen der ware bott gots. Sie sprechent och das ihesus von den vieren wirdigsten sy vnd der höchst by got. Vnd er sol och das jüngst gericht gottes richten über all menschen (N 133).¹¹⁶

It is moreover notable that the version accurately recognises Muhammad's role in Islam as merely a prophet, rather than reproducing the common assumption that he is to Islam what Jesus is to Christianity, a misconception that resulted in the frequent

¹¹⁵ Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 86. *Item ir so(e)llent wissen daz si gern ho(e)rent sagen von unser frowen und sprechent wol daz unser frow gegru(e)ssett ward von dem engel, und daz er ir verkunt daz sie schwanger solte werden von dem hailigen gaist, und daz sie solt ain kind gebern und junckfrow beliben nach der gebúrdt; und das seyt ouch ir Alchoren.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 88–89. *Item sie sprechent das Abraham sy gottes fründ geweßen, und Moyses gottes prophet; Jhesus sy das wort von gott, Machomet sy geweßen der war bott von gott. Ouch sprechent sie, von den vierden Jhesus sy der wirdigost und der ho(e)st.*

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representation of Muhammad as the Antichrist or a false Messiah.¹¹⁷ The placement of Muhammad alongside these biblical figures, likewise venerated by Muslims, instead continues the interpretation of the (new) faith as a Christian heresy: the teachings of Muhammad are indicated to be an unoriginal, proximate outgrowth developed after the story of ‘true’ salvation had been written, and Islam therefore conforms in the long version to the very definition of heresy, i.e. “an opinion chosen by human sense, contrary to Holy Scripture, taught openly, defended pertinaciously.”¹¹⁸ Islam is constructed as the knowing rejection of Latin orthodoxy, the “stubborn adherence to errant belief even after being told that belief is errant.”¹¹⁹ However, the text also stresses that Islam fully recognises not only the primacy but the superior position of Jesus. Islam accepts that *ihesus das wort got sy*, that *die wißheti sy der sun gotz* and *das wider das wort gotz nieman gesin mag* (N 133).¹²⁰ This strategy of ‘othering’ the Muslim thus necessarily acknowledges the propinquity of Islam, as a system based on Christianity naturally features many of the same beliefs. In the *Travels*, this stance is translated into a call, based on William of Tripoli’s argumentation in *De statu Saracenorum*, for renewed efforts to convert Muslims, for they are *licht ze bekeren, wann sie vil habent unser artickel*.¹²¹ This sentiment is not conveyed in the long version, but the text nevertheless works to portray the correspondence between the faiths by transmitting from the *Travels*’s this brief catalogue of overlapping convictions.

Additionally, the long version thematises the good moral character of Muslims, even if the view professed by the ‘other’ contradicts Christian practice. For example,

117 Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 92.

118 Christine Caldwell Ames. *Medieval Heresies: Christianity, Judaism and Islam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, p. 9.

119 Ibid., p. 8.

120 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 88. *Jhesus sy wort von gott [...] die wißhait des vatters daz ist der sun gotz [...] so sprechent sie, es sy war das wider daz wort gotz niemen múg wider ston.*

121 Ibid., p. 89.

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the narrative details how Muslims preach against vanity. Muhammad forbade his followers from cutting their beards

wann es wider das gebot gots sy, Wann er Adam den ersten menschen in siner göttlicher gestalt beschaffen hat. Vnd sprechent och die heiden wer sich anders dann als in got geschaffen hat sich verkert, der tut wider das gebott gots, er sy jung oder alt (N 128).

Customary in medieval Europe, the removal of the beard is interpreted by Muslims as a sign of Christian *übermut vnd hochfart* (N 128), as they *verschmahen das geschöpfft gottes* (N 128) to instead pander to worldly fashions and in particular the tastes of women. The reverse is considered to be the case in Latin Christendom, where profuse body hair was typically linked, at least in a religious context, to sinfulness as a marker of uncivilised animality and potent masculinity. The removal of hair signified a controlled purification, as exemplified by the clerical tonsure that constituted a physical sign of the “denial of selfhood and sexual status connected above all to the vow of chastity.”¹²² The long version, however, contains no explicit contradiction of this Muslim assertion about Christian immorality, i.e. the narrator makes no argument for shaved faces, which suggests a comparatively progressive openness to the idea that the religious ‘other’ may have justifiable reasons to consider Christian behaviour deviant. This assumption is underlined by the fact that the text represents Muslims as following a moral code that mirrors Christian ideals, even if its manifestation deviates. Christians shave for the same commendable reasons as Muslims let their beards grow – to indicate, as the hagiographer Jacobus de Voraigne (c. 1230–1298) argued, a “clean, artless way of life, an interior cleanliness of mind and a lack of concern for external fashion”, demonstrating that “there should be nothing between the cleric and God.”¹²³ A similarly positive reflection on Muslim

¹²² Robert Mills. “The Signification of the Tonsure”. In: *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*. Ed. by P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004, pp. 109–126, p. 111.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

moral integrity is provided by a depiction of how faithfully and piously they follow their law, which reproduces Latin Christian values with respect to the notion of reciprocity (Matt 7:12, Lk 6:31), almsgiving and generosity to the poor (Lk 19.8), and obedience.¹²⁴

3.3.3 Criticism of Christians

By foregrounding these similarities as well as the exemplary virtue of Muslims within the framework of their own religious practice, the long version lays the groundwork for an effective criticism of Christian morality that is broadly adopted from the *Travels*. According to the long version, Muslims argue that Christians do not act in accordance with *die gebott des buchs Inzil, das da heist ewangely, noch die recht die in dem buch stond* (N 134), which is considered to be *all haillig vnd gerecht* (N 134) also in Islam.¹²⁵ Christians are accused of not following the commandments by living primarily for temporal gain and personal pleasure, *wann die recht die sie gemacht habent das ist nur von guts wegen vnd von gunst, das doch alles ist wider got vnd wider sin lieb propheten* (N 134). In sharp contrast to the Muslim behaviour observed and reported by the traveller, rich Christians do not help the poor and are therefore guilty of not adhering to the principles *den in Mesias gesetzt hat* (N 133). By contrast, Muslims *got fürchten vnd tun alweg vnserm gelouben zugehörd recht vnd redlich vnd würdiglich got zu lieb vnd ze ere vnserm prophehten machmetten* (N 132).

Nonetheless, Muslim prophecy predicts that *die cristen sie noch von iren landen vertriben werden* (N 133), though this is contingent on Christendom's moral reform:

¹²⁴ *Och sagent in ir priester allweg voran ir predig, das sie hilfflich aneinander sigent vnd iren obersten vnderthänig. Und die richen gegen den armen demüntig. Und wenn sie das tünd, so git in der allmächtig got crafft vnd macht gegen iren vinden. Und was in och ir priester von götlichen dingen vorsagt, des sind sie gehorsam vnd vnderthänig* (N 132).

¹²⁵ Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 90. *Das geho(e)rt úch núntz zú, wann ir soltent demu(e)ttig und ainfaltig sin ander gen dem andern, als úwer Jhesus was und och in sinen ewangelien gesprochen hatt, und an den ir geloubent. Und was er úch gebotten hatt, so tünd ir daz ander.*

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in fact, Muslims admit that they do not hold their lands because of any especial strength, wisdom or holiness but purely because of *christen vngerechtigkeit vnd widerwertigeit vnd übermut* (N 133). This reflects the *Travels*'s argument, which claims that Jerusalem has only changed hands so frequently in the past because *gott nit wil liden lange zitt daz das böß folck in der hailigen statt belib, es syge cristen oder waz folck daz sy*.¹²⁶ According to both the *Travels* and the long version, Muslims are not yet worried about this inevitable end of their political and religious sovereignty, which is calculated to last approximately 1,000 years (N 123), for Christians remain too sinful and absorbed in profane matters and battles among themselves to focus on the devout endeavour of reclaiming these lands from the Muslim 'infidel' (N 134).¹²⁷

For all that, the long version does not provide an entirely straightforward criticism here. By framing his account of the moral failings of Christians in the form of a dialogue with *die heiden* (N 133), the narrator implements a dual-purpose strategy. On the one hand, the narrative encourages actual reform by means of such drastic comparison: if even heretical Muslims behave in a more virtuous fashion than their Christian counterparts, moral improvement is certainly required. On the other hand, Muslim recognition of the limited nature of their success "drives home the superiority of Christianity", as it involves Muslim voices acknowledging Christianity's essential supremacy.¹²⁸ That is to say, the Latin West was not in a position of power – exemplified in the text by the defeat at Nicopolis that is interpreted here as the result of European society's moral decline – but the successfully advancing Muslims are still cast as the ultimately weaker party. According to the text, the Muslims are made strong only by Christian sinfulness and consciously await the day when God, placated by reform, would again correct the balance.

An acknowledgement of superiority by the 'other' is a relatively common strategy

126 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, pp. 50–51.

127 *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

128 Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 119.

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in European discourse, employed by Petrus Tudebodus (twelfth century) in his *Historia*, by Caesarius von Heisterbach (1180–1240) in the *Dialogus miraculorum* and by Mandeville in the *Travels*, in which the pilgrim discusses the inevitable return of the Holy Land to the Christians with the Sultan of Egypt.¹²⁹ According to the *Travels*, the Holy Land – *gesegnot und gehailigt [...] mit dem kosperen und haligen plüt unsers herren Jhesu Christi* – can be regarded as *unser land und unser erbe*, as a Christian *Terra Promissionis*.¹³⁰ In the long version the same notion of (re-)possession is transmitted: the Muslims have been allowed to conquer *den cristen ir land* (N 133). The geography of this statement has, however, been extended to include territories in Eastern Europe in response to attacks launched on the borders of the Holy Roman Empire by the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century. At a time when the threat of Islam was on Europe's doorstep, an argumentation that explained Christendom's failures, assured readers of the Latin community's basic supremacy, and promised certain victory after internal reforms provided important consolation; this is compounded by the fact that these claims were emphasised in the *Reisebuch's* sixteenth-century print transmission (see subsection 4.2.3). In short, these passages illustrate what Said termed 'scholarly' or 'imaginative' Orientalism: even if the West does not actually have power or authority over the East, the Orient may still be dominated and controlled on an intellectual and narrative level.¹³¹

Thus, in this section I have illustrated how the version describes Islam as a Christian heresy, adopting in large part the *Travels's* portrayal. The relationship between the faiths is characterised by *Verschränkung*, i.e. neither "vollständiger Deckung" nor "vollständiger Disparatheit."¹³² The religious 'other' is thus contained, in that its similarity is both recognised and explained as a perversion of the one 'true' faith, a

129 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, pp. 89–91.

130 Ibid., p. 1.

131 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 19 and pp. 58–59.

132 Waldenfels, *Topographie des Fremden*, p. 67.

tactic that simultaneously maintains the primacy of Christianity.¹³³ Therefore, the narrative's criticism of Christian morals transpires as yet another means to construct this underlying superiority.

3.4 Beyond Dichotomy: Non-Latin Christianity in the East

The long version's representation of 'other' religions is, however, not restricted to the characterisation of Islam, but further includes an extensive account of non-Latin Christian communities, so that – instead of a binary relationship – the version communicates the diversity of religious difference, and ultimately of Latin Christian heresies, in the East.

The long version's representation of the East as the site of diverse religious difference is once more significantly indebted to the *Travels*. The text incorporates much of the *Travels*'s account of the *Griechen*, i.e. followers of the Byzantine Church who conducted the Liturgy in Greek (N 137–141).¹³⁴ The version also transmits an independent description of the Armenian Church (N 144–157). After extensive discussion of Islam, these parts form the largest block of information about any religious 'other' supplied by the version. Although not directly rewritten from the *Travels*, this representation is carried out entirely in the spirit of Mandeville's account and therefore likewise emphasises diverse and ambivalent difference.¹³⁵ However, unlike its source that also depicts the beliefs and customs of pagan idolators like the *Bragine* and *Genosoph*, the long version's representation addresses only the so-called *orientalium nationes*, i.e. non-Latin Christian communities in the Orient.¹³⁶ This documentation of alterity within Christendom completes the narrative's ethnographic

133 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 59.

134 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, pp. 12–14.

135 Higgins, *Writing East*, pp. 246–247.

136 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, pp. 175–177.

investigation of religious variety that sets the version apart from the abridged version and the prints in the *Reisebuch*'s transmission history.¹³⁷

3.4.1 The 'Greeks'

The *orientalium nationes* were divided in contemporaneous discourse into one of two camps as either Chalcedonian or non-Chalcedonian; this distinction was based on their respective acceptance or rejection of the definition of the Incarnation formulated at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.¹³⁸ The interpretation of the council was recognised by the five main episcopal sees of the Roman Empire: by Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.¹³⁹ It was rejected by Armenians, Copts, Ethiopians, Nestorians and Jacobites.¹⁴⁰ Although the Greeks adhered to the teachings of the Council of Chalcedon and were therefore in agreement with the Latin Church on a number of important doctrinal points, they were not viewed favourably in the West, for their Church was held to represent the point of origin for all eastern heresies: “die Lateiner sahen sie alle, Chalkedonenser wie Nicht Chalkedonenser, als

137 The text also, if only briefly, describes the West Syrian Jacobites in a passage not borrowed from Mandeville (N 135), and it acknowledges the existence of *zweyerley juden* (N 106) with no further clarification given.

138 Chalcedonians supported the teaching that there are two natures, the divine and the human, in the person of Christ that subsist “without being mixed, transmuted, divided or separated. The distinction between the natures is by no means done away with through the union, but rather the identity of each nature is preserved and comes together into one person and being” (Jaroslav Pelikan. *The Melody of Theology: A Philosophical Dictionary*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988, p. 141). By contrast, the non-Chalcedonians – who are additionally referred to as Monophysites or, in their own discourse, Miaphysites – championed the view that Christ has only one nature that combined the human and the divine. From Rome’s perspective, the problem with this approach was that “if the Divine and Human Natures are united in the Word into one Nature, it is impossible to avoid one of two conclusions, either that the whole Divine Nature became man and suffered and died, or else that each of the three Persons had a Divine Nature of His own” (John Chapman. “Monophysites and Monophysitism”. In: *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 10. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911. URL: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10489b.htm>). This judgement led to the categorisation of the non-Chalcedonian churches as Christian heresies.

139 See Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken. *Die “Nationes Christianorum Orientalium” im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1973, pp. 15–177.

140 Ibid., pp. 178–367.

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Zweige am griechischen Stamm.”¹⁴¹ The representation of the Greeks in the long version follows the *Travels* closely, and Mandeville’s text itself mirrors this polemic perspective, detailing key issues in wider European discourse.¹⁴² As a result, both texts address essential differences between the Greek and the Latin Church with regard to ecclesiastical authority, to doctrine and to morality.

After centuries of increasing estrangement, the Greeks officially repudiated the authority and claim of preeminence of the Pope in Rome with the Schism of 1054, asserting instead the equal status of their Patriarch in Constantinople: *Sie geloubent och nit an den stul zu Rome noch an den Bapst. Sie sprechent ir patriarchen habint als vil gewalts als der Baupst zu rome.*¹⁴³ A significant contributing factor to the mutual excommunication by the Patriarch of Constantinople Cærolarius (r. 1043–1059) and Pope Leo IX (r. 1049–1054), only lifted in 1965, was disagreement about the omission of the filioque clause by the Greeks from the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, which had been inserted by Rome in the sixth century: according to Rome, the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, whereas the Greeks maintain the original creed that the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father and viewed the clause as an unauthorised and erroneous addition.¹⁴⁴ In turn, the Catholic Church regarded the clause’s omission as a deliberately malicious act. Thus, this issue naturally came to lie at the heart of Western polemic writing about the Greeks, for as a result the Greeks did not agree on the nature of the *heilig dryvaltigkeit* (N 138).¹⁴⁵

This central point of difference is followed in the long version by a catalogue of dissimilarities in doctrine and ritual to Latin convictions and practice that confirm

141 Brincken, *Die “Nationes Christianorum Orientalium”*, p. x.

142 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 73 for a list of the most common points of disagreement.

143 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 12. *Und woltend ouch nit underta(e)nig sin dem bapst von Rome und sprechend daz ir patriarch hab als grossem gewalt als unser bapst.*

144 Brincken, *Die “Nationes Christianorum Orientalium”*, pp. 15–17.

145 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 12. *Sie sprechent das der hailig gaist nit kum von dem sun, besunder von gott dem vatter allain.* Cf. also Brincken, *Die “Nationes Christianorum Orientalium”*, pp. 15–17.

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the Greeks' heresy. The Greeks do not believe in purgatory: *es kom och niemant gen himel noch gen hell vntz an den jüngen tag* (N 139).¹⁴⁶ They use unleavened bread, *erhabem brot* (N 138), in the Eucharist.¹⁴⁷ They do not use *haillig öl* (N 139) and hold only one mass a day.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, this mass cannot be said in Latin, *wann die kriechischen sprach sy in dem glouben, Sie sprechent och das ir gelob der recht cristenlich geloub sy vnd die andren sind nit gerecht* (N 139).¹⁴⁹ The version also asserts that the Greeks only give mass on feast days because their priests are *handwercklüt* (N 139) and must work during the week. They also take wives and have children like Muslims but in contrast are only allowed to marry once (N 129). Moreover, priests' wives enjoy special social status, so *es hyroten och die besten vnd die richesten zu den priestern* (N 139).¹⁵⁰ Finally, like Muslims *sie sprechent och vnser priester sündent tötlich, daz sie den part abscheren wann es nit götlich sy, wann es von vnküsch vnd den frowen ze gefallen geschach* (N 140).¹⁵¹ This partial summary gives some sense of the text's delineation of the doctrinal gulf between the Latin and Greek Church.

Furthermore, the Greeks' behaviour is portrayed as falling short of Christian moral standards; even in comparison with the Muslims, who are characterised in the text as pious if mistaken in their beliefs, the Greeks fare badly. For example, the narrative documents that the Greeks *sprechent mit ledigen frowen sy nit sünd ze schaffen*

146 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 13. *Ouch sprechent sie daz kain wiß noch kain fegúr nit sy, und sprechent daz den selen weder wol noch we sy byß an daz jüngst gericht.*

147 Ibid., p. 12. *Das sacrament des altars segnent sie mit erhabem brott und sprechent, wir tu(e)get nit recht das wir unsers herren lichnamen nit segnent und wandelent mit erhabnem brott.*

148 Ibid., p. 13. *gebend kainem daz hailig o(e)le and sie sprechent daz man uff ainem altar nit me dann ain mesß laussen lesen sol den tag.*

149 Ibid., p. 13. *Ouch wellent sie kain lattinische mesß nit laussen leßen uff kainem iren altar. Wer aber daz ain lattinische mesß uff irem altar gesprochen wúrd das es also von geschicht gescha(e)che, so weschent sie den altar gar und gar mit dem hailigen o(e)le und hettent es gar für ain groß schamhait.*

150 Ibid., p. 13. *All ir pfaffen hond wib.*

151 Ibid., p. 13–14. *Sie sprechent das to(e)tlicher sünd sy wenn wir unsern bart scherent, und wir tu(e)gent es dar umb daz wir der welt und den frowen wol gefallen.*

haben, vnd sunder es sy nit ein tod sünd wann es sy natürlich (N 139).¹⁵² Further still, their priests practice usury: *Vnd sprechent wenn man ainen monat von hundert pfennigen zwen pfennige zu gewin niem, das sy ein götlicher gewin vnd sy nit wucher* (N 139).¹⁵³ They *kouffent vnd verkouffent [...] als ander kofflut* (N 140). Relying heavily on the *Travels*'s delineation, the long version thus transmits a thoroughly polemic image of the Greeks as particularly sinful heretics.

3.4.2 The Armenians

The contrast between Greek and Muslim character and conduct is only drawn implicitly within the text, but an explicit comparison is carried out with the Armenian Church. The Church was established in the first century, following conversion by the apostles Bartholomew and Thaddeus (N 145), and is “die älteste christliche Kirche, die es zugleich zur Staatskirche eines Reiches brachte.”¹⁵⁴ Under Gregory the Illuminator (c. 257–331) and King Tiridates III (r. 287~330), Armenia became a Christian kingdom c. 300, developing its own alphabet and a literature initially based on translated Christian theological texts; although the kingdom fell and was divided under the Persian Sasanians, specifically Bahram V (r. 420–438), and Byzantium in the fifth century, the Armenians were able to preserve their culture and religious practices.¹⁵⁵ Around the time of the *Reisebuch*'s composition, the Church established itself with the formation of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1461 under the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481), who permitted that “[religious minorities] govern their own affairs according to their own laws and customs, and making the religious head of the sect responsible for its administration

152 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 13. *Ouch sprechent sie daz ebrechen und unkúschhait nit kain tod sünd sy, wann es sy ain natürlich ding.*

153 Ibid., p. 13. *Item sie sprechnt daz wúchern nit ain tod sünd sy.*

154 Brincken, *Die “Nationes Christianorum Orientalium”*, p. 181.

155 Ibid., p. 181.

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and its good behaviour towards the paramount power.”¹⁵⁶

As already intimated in section 3.1, the long version’s manifest interest in Armenia is directly linked to its writer’s roots in Bavaria, where there was a well-established tradition, starting with Anno II von Köln (r. 1056–1075), that claimed that “die Bayern [sind] aus Armenien gekommen, dem Land in dem Noah die Arche verlassen hatte.”¹⁵⁷ The long version stresses that these purported indigenous links are remembered and maintained by Armenians: *zu den Armenier hett ich allweg min wonung, wann sie den tütschen gar hold sint. Und dorumb das ich ein tütscher was, hetten sie mich gar schon. Und sie lerten mich och ir pater noster vnd ir spaüch* (N 144). This national amity is just one point of similarity and mutual solidarity among several that the version emphasises exist between the Latin West and this religious ‘other’.

Latin Christians and Armenians are portrayed as further united in a shared anti-Greek stance. For the Armenians, this animosity is characterised in the long version as having a political rather than a doctrinal origin in an account of Greek treachery *von armenischen wol gehört* (N 155). According to the version, Armenia sent its best 40 knights to aid the Greek emperor engaged in battle with the *tartharen* (N 155) who had besieged Constantinople; these 40 knights alone defeated the 40,000-strong Mongolian army (N 155). After they had driven the Mongols out of the country, they asked to be allowed to return home, but the Greek emperor, more unnerved than pleased by their prowess, instead plotted to kill the men and thus subjugate Armenia. He invited the Armenians to spend three days and nights in luxury at his court, sending each knight *ein küsche junck frowen [...] vnd das tett der dorumb, das die ritter die junckfrowen beschlieffint vnd das sie iren samen liessint da* (N 156):

156 Steven Runciman. *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968, p. 167.

157 Statement from the *Annolied* in Kurt Reindel. “Die Bajuwaren: Quellen, Hypothesen, Tatsachen”. In: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 37 (1981), pp. 451–473, p. 457.

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the emperor *wolt die frucht von den bomen nemen vnd wolt die bom nider howen* (N 156). On the third night, all but one of the Armenian knights were slaughtered (N 156). The knight who escaped reported the betrayal of the emperor to the Armenian king, who took revenge with the help of the Caliph of Baghdad. With 400,000 men, they drove the Greeks out of Constantinople, and the Armenian king had 40 times 40,000 Greeks killed, *vnd machet den arm von dem mer rotvarb mit blut, als er dann geschworen hett, er wölt das mer blutfarw machen* (N 156–157). This episode not only explains the antipathy between the communities but also foregrounds, by way of polemic comparison with the militarily ineffective and disloyal Greeks, two further positive attributes of the Armenians. First, although they have since lost most of their territories and their patriarch must pay *grossen zins* (N 146) to the sultan, the Armenians are essentially *doch strytbar lüt* (N 146), who once *gewunnen den heiden vil land ab vnd zwungen sie zu cristenlichem gelouben mit dem swert* (N 146). Secondly, they are *getrűw lüt, wa sie by cristen oder by heiden wonent* (N 157).

Thus, the Armenians are considered in the long version to be closer to the Latin Christian ideal than the Greeks, even though they rejected the Council of Chalcedon. This portrayal of difference may again be characterised by Waldenfels's *Verschränkung*. There is no question that the Armenian Church is a heretical sect, but there is certainly enough evidence of commonality and piety to position these 'others' closer to the Latin 'self' than is the case for the Greeks. For example, the Armenians believe in the Trinity (N 145) and celebrate mass with *vnerhaben brot* (N 149) like Rome, but it is simultaneously recognised *sie habent sich widervmb offft gehapt verkert* (N 145).

The latter is exemplified by the origin myth of the Armenian religious state. King *Derthatt* (Tiridates) renounced his Christian faith and *vieng sinen vettern Gregorium vnd sprach zu im er solt sin abgot anbetten* (N 145). Gregory refused and was

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imprisoned in a pit of poisonous snakes, but he remained unharmed during his twelve-year captivity (N 145). When Gregory heard that Tiridates had attempted to rape one of seven *haillig jungkfrauen kumen in ermenia von welschen landen, vnd predigten cristen gelouben von der ermenen gelouben* (N 145–146), albeit unsuccessfully as she too was protected by her adherence to Christian doctrine, Gregory cursed the king and, by God's will, Tiridates was transformed into a pig. The kingdoms of Armenia – Tbilisi, Cilicia and Erzincan (N 144) – descended into chaos, and the king's vassals promised to convert to Christianity if Gregory would pray for the restoration of their leader. After the king's transformation back to human form and the conversion of the entire kingdom, Tiridates became a model ruler who concentrated on fighting infidels and spreading his newly confirmed faith (N 146).¹⁵⁸ He appointed Gregory as head of the Church, and Gregory in turn brought Latin Christian teachings and Rome's authority to the Armenians by arguing that the religious jurisdiction he received from the king was meaningless unless he also had the blessing of the Pope in Rome. Pope Sylvester (d. 335), after testing the authenticity of Gregory's holiness (N 148), granted him the status of Patriarch and *wer den gewalt haben wolt, der solt in, anderswa niemen nemen, dann zu rom vnd in dry iaren solt er sin botschafft zu rom haben* (N 148). This close relationship with Rome lasted for 300 years, *dornach sint sie nit mer zu dem stul komen, vnd welent in selber ainen patriarchen* (N 148). Further, although *gregorius leret den cristenlichen glouben als im der von dem bapst gegeben was* (N 149), over time *der artickel habens vil verkert [...] vnd also sind sie yetzo verteilt von der kirchen zu rom* (N 149).

Consequently, the long version catalogues both the interconnectedness and the disjunct between the Armenian and the Latin Church. On the one hand, the narrative describes how the Armenians broke with the Latin Christian lessons they inherited

¹⁵⁸ Tiridates *zoch gein babiloni an die heiden vnd gewan babilonia vnd das gantz land, vnd bekert die zu cristenlichem gelouben, drü küngrich* (N 146).

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from Gregory. For example, they celebrate the sacrament with wine, not wine mixed with water as in the Roman rite (N 150). Instead of sacramental oil, they use balsam (N 150). Like the Greeks, they do not cut their beards or their hair (N 150). The Armenians further do not allow any imagery in their churches (N 153), and they permit only one representation of the Crucifixion because *sie sprechent man sünd das man vnsers herren crütz mer dann einest in der kirchen* (N 153). Finally, they venerate a number of their own saints: they hold feast days for Gregory as founder of the church, for Auxentius who was martyred by Diocletian (284–305) at Sebaste and for *Zelichis* (Sergius; N 151), to whom they pray in times of need.

On the other hand, however, the narrative stresses that the Armenians are nevertheless still comparatively close to the Latin tradition – the Armenians are portrayed as reinforcing this commonality themselves while distancing their beliefs and practices from those of the vilified Greeks. The version reports that

sie machent vil gevariezi vnsers geloubes. Sie gond och gern in vnser kirchen zu der meß, das tund die kriechen nit. Sie sprechent zwischent irs geloubens vnd des vnsern sy nur ein har etzwischen. Aber zwischend der kriechen gelouben vnd irs gelouben sy ein gros preach (N 151).

They celebrate many of the same feast days – notably Easter and Ascension – with Latin Christians, *mit vns* (N 151), unlike the Greeks who celebrate in particular the Ascension *nit mit vns* (N 140). Their churches are not owned by individuals like in the Greek tradition, in which churches are inherited and sold *als ein ander hus* (N 139). Like Latin Christians, the Armenians argue *ein yetlich gotzhus söl fry sin* (N 152). Finally, the Armenians are depicted as practicing their heresy in a manner that aligns with Latin Christian moral values; for example, *sie stond mit grosser andacht in ir kirchen. Sie lügent nit hin vnd her vnd redent och nit in ir kirchen, Sunder die wil sie by der meß stond* (N 153).

Although not rewritten from the *Travels* like the section about the Greeks that

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demonstrates a polemic focus on the church's sinful divergence from Latin rite, this by contrast relatively tolerant account of the Armenian Church is nonetheless modelled on the *Travels's* representation. For one, the version deploys the same categories evident in the recycled discussions about the Greeks and the Muslims to describe the Armenians: the narrative addresses their standpoint concerning the authority of the Pope; compares their doctrine and customs with Latin rites and traditions; and gauges the virtuousness of their behaviour within the framework of an ideal Christian moral code. Secondly, the long version's ambivalent construction of religious difference reflects the *Travels's* approach by adopting a similar strategy of emphasising the integrity and moral authority of the heathen 'other'. This is most notably encapsulated in the *Travels's* depiction of the Gymnosophists and Brahmans.¹⁵⁹ The *Travels* contends that these pagan idolators may, despite their polytheistic beliefs, practice a faith that naturally mirrors the Ten Commandments and therefore appropriately and adequately serve God.¹⁶⁰ The *Travels* suggests that *ist güt volk da, wann sie hu(e)ttend sich von aller boßhait und vor sünden. Sie sind nit hochfertig noch gitig noch unkúnisch, und als vere ich mich verston, so behaltend sie baß die zehen gebott unsers herren wann kain volck das in der welt sy.*¹⁶¹ As a result, no one dies of hunger, there are no natural disasters, nor any wars: *Da von ist es wol ain zaichen das sie gott lieb hat, und im ir werck wol gefallend.*¹⁶² This portrayal is simultaneously a rebuke of the West, which according to the narrator suffers because of Christian sinfulness: *das kumpt uns alles widerwa(e)rtig, und das ist unser sünd schuld.*¹⁶³ The *Travels* makes the bold claim that "good faith, then, is a matter more of practice than belief, since doing what nature teaches amounts

159 This portrayal, in turn, is a (re-)telling from the medieval Alexander legend, see Kragl, *Weisheit des Fremden*, pp. 295ff.

160 Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, p. 174.

161 Ibid., pp. 174–175.

162 Ibid., p. 175.

163 Ibid., p. 175.

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to doing what God requires.”¹⁶⁴ This characterisation, in turn, serves “to bring the apparent idolators within the fold of monotheism, placing them (like the Saracens) closer to the Christian Truth than one might have suspected.”¹⁶⁵ Thus, these passages are at their core a celebration of the “underlying unity of (Christian) monotheism”, and the narrator’s apparent tolerance of the non-Christian and non-Western “is also an appropriation of it.”¹⁶⁶

A similar strategy is evident in the long version of the *Reisebuch*. Though not venturing beyond a portrayal of Islam and a handful of non-Latin Christians, *all* religions addressed by the narrator are characterised as Christian heresies. Christianity is styled in a similar fashion to the *Travels* as the one universal truth that forms the foundation for a variety of different persuasions. Further, the long version comparably emphasises the importance of good religious practice: both Muslims and Armenians are described as practicing their faith in an admirably pious manner that emulates the Christian ideal, whereas the Greeks are dreadful sinners and Latin Christians likewise fall short of their own cultural expectations. This moral failure is directly linked to Christendom’s lack of success against their Muslim military foes. Finally, the long version also mirrors, albeit in a comparably limited form, the *Travels* with respect to its portrayal of eastern religious diversity. The East is described as populated by Muslims, by Jews and by a variety of oriental Christians, who all have their own convictions and religious structures. In Kaffa or modern-day Feodosia, for instance, it is reported there live

vilerley cristen römischer kriescher armenischer vnd Surian. Es sind och dry bischoff dorinne. Ein römischer, ein krieischer vnd ein Ermanischer. Es sind och vil haiden da, die haben iren besondern tempel. [...] Es sind och zweyerley juden in der Stat vnd habent zwo Samlung dorinn (N 106).

This section has illustrated how the long version is – yet again – indebted to the

164 Higgins, *Writing East*, p. 229.

165 Ibid., p. 226.

166 Ibid., p. 244.

representation of the East provided by Mandeville's *Travels*, which, as I have shown, plays a significant role in the development of the version's depiction of non-Latin Christianity: the long version both directly paraphrases its source and adopts Mandeville's portrayal as a model for its own independent narration. The result is a description of these 'others' that matches Waldenfels's concept of *Verschränkung*. The text elaborates on the similarities as well as differences of the *orientalium nationes* to Latin Christian practice, so that it would be inaccurate to describe the version's portrayal in terms of a straightforward binary opposition. Despite contemporaneous disagreement on elements of their rites and practices, the Armenians emerge as kindred spirits with a shared ecclesiastical and national past. By contrast, the Greeks are delineated as doctrinal foes, both source and apex of Christian heresy and sin.

3.5 Conclusion: Eastern Diversity

My analysis has highlighted that religion is the central category deployed to characterise eastern difference in the long version of the *Reisebuch*. A clear dichotomy between East and West is expressed through the text's contrast of Latin Christianity with 'other' religions: in the version, the East is portrayed as the site of cultural diversity more generally and – uniquely in the work's transmission – specifically of religious variety. The version's representation constitutes a markedly different approach from the abridged version's depiction of political diversity and the prints' polemics in that the long version supplies a proto-ethnography, in which religious diversity forms the key component in its notion of difference. The relationship between *irs geloubens vnd des vnsern* (N 151) is not defined exclusively as antagonism towards a deviant Islam, as is the case in the sixteenth-century print versions: instead, the doctrinal 'otherness' of the Muslims, Greeks and Armenians is characterised also via similarities with Latin Christian practice, as a relationship between the Catholic Church and diverse versions

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of Latin Christian heresy. The resulting representation marks a confirmation of the ‘universalism’ of Christianity, a concept adopted from Mandeville’s *Travels* in which Christianity’s essential authority is reflected in marvels, miracles and the symmetry of ‘other’ religions. This characterisation is the consequence of a “general desire to find a common moral ground with alternative religious traditions.”¹⁶⁷ Further, the version’s portrayal of cultural diversity – which includes the secular discussion of empire-building and statecraft in ch. 1–26 – registers what Joan-Pau Rubiés has termed the “ethnographic impulse” of pre-Enlightenment travel writing, by which the systematic observation and categorisation of communities according to a structured model is indicated.¹⁶⁸ As I have shown, the long version adheres to the same pattern in all its descriptions of eastern ‘others’, outlining the beliefs and customs of Islam, the Greeks and the Armenians with respect to the central sacraments of the Catholic Church.

From a thematic point of view, the long version is therefore a typical example of late medieval German travel writing about the East. During the Middle Ages, writing about the East often had a religious focus; this is true for the late medieval German travel book, in which religion was a category regularly exploited to negotiate cultural difference (cf. section 3.1).¹⁶⁹ The East was significant for Christians as the

167 Joan-Pau Rubiés. “The Emergence of a Naturalist and Ethnographic Paradigm in Late Medieval Travel Writing”. In: *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond*. Ed. by Joan-Pau Rubiés. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009, pp. 43–64, p. 214.

168 Joan-Pau Rubiés. “Travel Writing and Ethnography”. In: *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Ed. by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 242–260, p. 242.

169 Although the discussion of religion dominates, the long version also describes foreign statesmanship, food, marriage and burial customs (cf. in particular, N 88–89). This type of proto-ethnographic narration aligns with late medieval travel writing more generally, cf. Bartlett, “Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity”; Thomas Hahn. “The Difference the Middle Ages Makes: Colour and Race Before the Modern World”. In: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31.1 (2001), pp. 1–37; Joan-Pau Rubiés. *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India Through European Eyes, 1250–1625*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Phillips, *Before Orientalism*; and Rubiés, *Medieval Ethnographies*, p. xiii. That is to say, the emergence of “empirical ethnographies” and the development of a “scientific” discourse in the late Middle Ages led to a broadening of the ethnographic categories used to describe ‘otherness’ (p. xiii).

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geographical location not only of the most important sites and events in the Christian past but also of the future Apocalypse.¹⁷⁰ For a society that thus understood history and geography in terms of a predetermined divine plan beginning with Creation and ending with the Last Judgement, religion unsurprisingly constituted an important lens through which oriental cultures were understood. Consequently, not only were representations developed that were contingent on established European traditions, as Said first argued in *Orientalism* and John Tolan has more recently substantiated, but “Latin Christianity came to define and know itself above all through its vexed relations with religious ‘others.’”¹⁷¹ The self-referential nature of this Orientalism is underlined by the practice of recycling text and ideas as evident in both Mandeville’s *Travels* and the *Reisebuch*, a process which conveys the writers’ engagement with European discourse about – and the “internal consistency” of – eastern alterity.¹⁷²

The two narratives were composed for Latin Christian audiences with the shared aim to inspire crusade and reform within European society, on the one hand, and to provide ethnographic confirmation for this readership of Christian superiority in the face of the West’s consistent failure to subdue the Muslim ‘other’ by military means, on the other. That is to say, the rewriting of Mandeville’s *Travels* in the long version of the *Reisebuch* plays an integral role in the version’s construction of an ‘Orientalist’ representation of the East; in order to understand the long version’s representational strategies, it is therefore essential to consider the way in which the text adapts its main source – a consideration until now largely unexplored in scholarship on the *Reisebuch*. This chapter has illustrated how Mandeville’s account was utilised in order to construct the long version’s systematic proto-ethnography of the East. The

170 Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p. 3.

171 Higgins, “Shades of the East”, p. 205. See also Tolan, *Saracens*, in which the author is able to demonstrate that “by the end of the twelfth century, European writers had created the essential portrayals of Islam that would be elaborated upon, reworked and deployed for different purposes for centuries to come” (p. 70).

172 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 5.

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version's portrayal is not only indebted to content directly copied from the *Travels* but more broadly also to the *Travels*'s representational strategies, with which the text demonstrably engages in independent passages. Islam is established as a 'false' faith that poses a threat to Christendom through the adoption as well as pointed departure from the *Travels*'s traditional depiction of the Holy Land as a sacred space. This representation of Islam is further qualified ambivalently by passages again borrowed from the *Travels* that stress the faith's status as Christian heresy and highlight Muslim moral integrity. Finally, the *Travels* provides the model for the version's depiction of religious diversity, supplying the text for the version's description of the Greeks, and the pattern for its independent portrayal of the Armenians. In other words, the *Travels* is not only used to describe but also to negotiate difference in the long version in a process that involves more than simply excerpting material; its rewriting is instrumental in the formation of an independent representation.

4 From Manuscript to Print: The *Reisebuch* and its Paratexts

In this chapter, I turn my attention to the *Reisebuch*'s circulation in print. As I have shown in the previous two chapters, the processes of rewriting evident in the *Reisebuch*'s manuscript versions directly affect the shape and thematic focus of the work, in the long version by the incorporation and adaptation of passages from Mandeville's *Travels* and in the abridged version by the copyist's prioritisation of secular content and the chronicle form. Rewriting and its resultant textual variations are integral aspects of the book's manuscript distribution, illustrative generally of textual and even narrative instability within the scribal culture of the late Middle Ages.

By contrast, the transmission of texts in early print has traditionally been described in terms of fixity: the ability of the printing press to mass produce, disseminate and preserve identical and 'stable' artefacts has been emphasised and even ascribed epoch-making consequences, most influentially by Elizabeth Eisenstein and Michael Giesecke.¹ In their view, the emergence and growth of print cultures in Europe in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are situated within a linear narrative of media and historical supersession. The newly invented medium of print is understood to be in direct competition with – and indeed in opposition to – the medieval manuscript

¹ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein. *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; Michael Giesecke. *Der Buchdruck in der frühen Neuzeit. Eine historische Fallstudie über die Durchsetzung neuer Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991.

and its methods of (re-)producing and communicating knowledge.

In this chapter, however, I follow more recent studies that reassess and fundamentally moderate this approach by attending to evidence of overlap and continuity between the two media as well as to discontinuities.² In particular, I discuss what can be characterised as the instability of the early printed book with regard to the *Reisebuch*. I show how the travel book, instead of becoming stable or ‘fixed’, continued to be rewritten in early print in a manner that represents a continuation of the way information was constructed and conveyed in the work’s manuscript transmission. The *Reisebuch*’s six printers modified the work both through the omission of significant sections of text and the addition of new material (often borrowed from other sources) in order to communicate distinct, independent ideas about the Orient. In contrast to the manuscript versions, however, it is not primarily the text of the *Reisebuch* that underwent alterations; rather, these printers adapted the work via verbal and non-verbal paratexts, subsumed under the title and authority of Schiltberger’s text, with the result that the *Reisebuch* is variously (re-)framed and thus (re-)interpreted by its publishers.

I aim to elucidate what consequences these modifications have for the discrete versions’ respective representations of the East. As the unique and defining feature of the book’s rewriting in early print, paratexts will be paid particular attention. This chapter provides (1) an overview of the book’s print transmission and justification for my approach. After a brief discussion of the paratext as a common method of

² Cf. Frieder Schanze. “Der Buchdruck als Medienrevolution?” In: *Mittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit: Übergänge, Umbrüche und Neuansätze*. Ed. by Walter Haug. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999, pp. 286–311; Gerd Dicke and Klaus Grubmüller, eds. *Die Gleichzeitigkeit von Handschrift und Buchdruck*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003; Jürgen Wolf. “Von geschriebenen Drucken und gedruckten Handschriften: Irritierende Beobachtungen zur zeitgenössischen Wahrnehmung des Buchdrucks in der 2. Hälfte des 15. und des beginnenden 16. Jahrhunderts”. In: *Buchkultur und Wissensvermittlung in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Ed. by Andreas Gardt, Mireille Schnyder, and Jürgen Wolf. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011, pp. 3–22; Adrian Johns. *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998; and David McKitterick. *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

rewriting, it also supplies (2) an analysis of the three main strands of paratextual reworking in the print versions of the *Reisebuch* – (i) the insertion of illustrations, (ii) the introduction of a preface and (iii) the reformulation of the *Reisebuch* as pamphlet.

4.1 Print: Transmission and Continuities

We know of six early printed editions of the *Reisebuch*, dating from the late fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth century, published by six different printing houses spread predominantly across southern Germany and Austria – in Augsburg, Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Munich and Vienna. These prints represent six distinct material interpretations of the *Reisebuch*, and they constitute the versions analysed later in the chapter. First, however, it will be useful to provide a brief overview of the travel book's print transmission. In general, the descriptions I supply conform to a common schema. I outline the printer, the printing house location and, as far as ascertainable, the date(s) of each version. For reference purposes, I provide each print's catalogue number in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW), the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC), the *Inkunabelkatalog der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (BSB-Ink), the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in the German-Speaking Countries and German Books Printed in Other Countries from 1455 to 1600* (BL STC), and the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD16). Finally, I list specifics concerning the content of each edition, with emphasis placed on identifying adaptation(s) by the printer, including the addition of illustrations and other material alongside the core text of the *Reisebuch*. A tabular summary is provided in Appendix A.

1. Anton Sorg (Augsburg: c. 1476, 1480 and 1486. GW: M40832, M40833 and 12536; ISTC: is00319700; BSB-Ink: S-201; BL STC: IB. 5832 (3) (impf.), G

6776 (1) (impf.)).

Anton Sorg (c. 1430–1493) was one of the most prominent and productive printers in late-fifteenth-century Augsburg, at the time a leading centre of early print and the site of a lively literary scene predominantly shaped by the interests of “ein selbstbewusstes bürgerliches Laienpublikum.”³ In particular, the presses in Augsburg were the foremost publishers of vernacular works – specifically prose fiction (*volkssprachliche Erzählliteratur*) – in Germany until the mid-sixteenth century. Sorg, together with Johann Bämle (1440–1503) and Johann Schönsperger (1455–1521), was responsible for the development of this printing programme, which chiefly reproduced works already popular in manuscript circulation.⁴ A large number of these texts were furnished with woodcut images; the art historian Norbert H. Ott estimates that more than 100 of the approximately 240 prints published by Sorg were illustrated.⁵

Against this backdrop of vernacular print production, the *Reisebuch* began to be circulated c. 1476 in print, typically identified by the incipit *Ich Schildtberger zoche auß von meiner heimet mit Namen auß der stat münchen gelegen in bayern*. Sorg’s edition was reprinted at least twice over the next decade and reproduces, in folio format with 48 or 58 leaves, the long version according to the manuscripts housed in Heidelberg and Karlsruhe (cf. section 1.5). As

3 Hans-Jörg Künast. “Entwicklungslinien des Augsburger Buchdrucks von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges”. In: *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Ed. by Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997, pp. 3–21, p. 10; cf. also Janota and Williams-Krapp, *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*.

4 Jan-Dirk Müller. “Augsburger Drucke von Prosaromane im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert”. In: *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Ed. by Helmut Gier und Johannes Janota. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997, pp. 337–352, p. 338 and p. 346; and Johannes Janota. “Von der Handschrift zum Druck”. In: *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Ed. by Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997, pp. 125–140, p. 125.

5 Norbert Ott. “Sorg, Anton der Jüngere”. In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*. Ed. by Bernhard Ebner. Vol. 24. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2010, pp. 598–599.

such, it contains a chapter sequence that positions the captive's escape at the conclusion of the narrative, rather than in the middle. Moreover, Sorg's version of the *Reisebuch* is illustrated with fifteen woodcuts, attributed to the *Sorgmeister* and most heavily distributed throughout the narrative's chronicle chapters (ch. 1–26).⁶ The text was transmitted both on its own and as part of collections alongside other, likewise illustrated prints by Sorg. For instance, the version appears in a volume with Sorg's *Herzog Ernst* and *Sankt Brandans Meerfahrt* (GW: 12537), whose printer's label-title stresses that these works all narrate *von den selczsamen wundern* their protagonists experienced *auf den mo(e)re vnd auf dem land*. This combination of texts was also occasionally produced with the addition of an unillustrated vernacular version of Ludolph von Sudheim's *Libellus de itinere ad terram sanctam* (GW: M44173).

2. Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber (Nuremberg: c. 1548 and c. 1549. VD16: S 2875 and S 2876).

The partnership of Johann vom Berg (d. 1563) and Ulrich Neuber (d. 1571) is most notable for its production of printed music, mathematical texts and theological, predominantly Lutheran works.⁷ However, the press also published a version of Schiltberger's *Reisebuch*, sold under the title: *Schildtberger / Ein wunderbarliche / vnnd kurzweylige / Histori / wie Schildtberger / eyner auß der stadt München / in Bayren / von den Türcken gefangen / in die Heydenschafft defüret / vnnd wider heim kommen / Item was sich für Krieg / vnnd wunderbarlicher thatten / dieweil er inn der Heydenschafft gewesen / zugetragen / gantz kurtzweylig zu lesen*. This version, in quarto format with

⁶ Geck, *Buchkundlicher Exkurs*, p. 17; cf. also Helmut Schmid. *Augsburger Einzelformschnitt und Buchillustration im 15. Jahrhundert*. Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1971.

⁷ Christoph Reske. *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet, auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007, pp. 676–678.

approximately 63 leaves, shares features with both Sorg's edition and Hermann Gülfferich's roughly contemporaneous print (see below). Berg and Neuber also reproduce the long version according to the Heidelberg and Karlsruhe manuscripts (cf. section 1.5). Furthermore, the account is illustrated by fifteen woodcuts that are modelled on those by the *Sorgmeister* but cut in a markedly different style by another, unidentified artist. This artist was more ethnographically interested than the *Sorgmeister*, taking pains to depict details of foreign dress in an "oriental(ising) mode."⁸ Lastly, Berg and Neuber include an anonymous thirteen-page preface, *Ein gu(e)tlicher vnterricht / denen / so dis Bu(e)chlin lesen zuvermercken*, that is also incorporated in Gülfferich's version.

3. Hermann Gülfferich (Frankfurt am Main: 1549 and 1553. VD16: ZV 13880 and S 2877; BL STC: 789.a.13, G. 7331).

In 1542, Hermann Gülfferich (d. 1554) established a printing house in Frankfurt, the fourth after Christian Egenolff (1530), Cyriacus Jacob (1533) and Peter Braubach (1540).⁹ The city became the dominant commercial centre for both the production and the sale of print in late-sixteenth-century Germany.¹⁰ Approximately 146 prints are attributed to Hermann Gülfferich, the majority of which are popular, vernacular works: Frankfurt, and especially Gülfferich's press, took over from Augsburg as the foremost publisher of vernacular prose in Germany during the second half of the sixteenth century.¹¹

Like the two previous printers, Gülfferich reproduces the long version according

⁸ Julian Raby. *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*. London: Sotheby Publications, 1982, p. 17.

⁹ Imke Schmidt. *Die Bücher aus der Frankfurter Offizin Gülfferich-Han Weigand Han-Erben: eine literarhistorische und buchgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Buchdruck in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996, pp. 20–21.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

¹¹ Schmidt, *Die Bücher aus der Frankfurter Offizin Gülfferich - Han Weigand Han-Erben*, p. 38; cf. also Müller, "Augsburger Drucke von Prosaromane", p. 338.

to the Heidelberg and Karlsruhe manuscripts as a quarto with roughly 60 to 70 leaves (cf. section 1.5). He illustrates the narrative with 37 woodcut images recycled from his 1548 print of the Italian traveller Ludovico Varthema's *Ritterliche vnd Lobwirdige Reyß* (VD16: ZV 15159). These were originally created by Jörg Breu the Elder (c. 1480–1537) for Johann Miller's edition (Augsburg: 1515; VD16: ZV 15156).¹² Breu's illustrations depict episodes from Varthema's travels in Egypt, Syria, Arabia, India, Persia and Southeast Asia, and they primarily consist of battle scenes, cityscapes and representations of exotic plants, animals and figures. Further, Gülfferich's version is given a title – *Schildtberger / Ein wunderbarliche / vnd kurtzweilige History / Wie Schildtberger einer aus der Stadt München inn Beyern / von den Tu(e)rcken gefangen / inn die Heydenschafft gefu(e)ret / vnnd wider heim kommen ist / sehr lu(e)stig zu lesen* – which appears, partially rubricated, on a separate title page with a woodcut depicting a ship at sea. Lastly, the narrative is preceded by a preface that is also found, more or less verbatim, in Berg and Neuber's version. On account of the proximity of the production dates, it remains unclear which press was originally responsible for the *gu(e)tlicher vnterricht*.

4. Weigand Han and Han-Erben (Frankfurt am Main: c. 1560, c. 1570 and, as pamphlet, 1595. VD16: S 2878, S 2879 and, as pamphlet, ZV 16786, ZV 13881; BL STC: 789.a.7).

Hermann Gülfferich's stepson Weigand Han assumed leadership of the printing house in Frankfurt after his stepfather's death. He continued to publish his stepfather's titles alongside new acquisitions and similarly concentrated on distributing vernacular works.¹³ Unlike Gülfferich, however, who had run

¹² Lisa Voigt and Elio Brancaforte. "The Travelling Illustrations of Sixteenth-Century Travel Narratives". In: *PMLA* 129.3 (2014), pp. 365–398, p. 368.

¹³ Schmidt, *Die Bücher aus der Frankfurter Offizin Gülfferich - Han Weigand Han-Erben*, pp. 38–39.

a *Verlagsdruckerei* tasked with both producing and selling prints, Han was principally a *Verleger* and thus concerned chiefly with the marketing and selling of books produced for his company by professional printers.¹⁴ In 1563, Han's sons Killian and Hartmann inherited the business, and they are documented – with the imprint *Weyandt Hanen Erben* – as active printers and publishers until around 1580.¹⁵ From its foundation by Gülfferich, the press printed a total of six travel accounts.¹⁶ These are: Ludovico Varthema's *Ritterliche vnd Lobwirdige Reyß* (VD16: ZV 15159); Johannes Tucher's *Gründtlicher vnd Eigentlicher Bericht der Meerfahrt* (VD16: T2164); Stephan von Gumpenberg's *Warhafftige Beschreybung der Meerfahrt* (VD16: W 207); John Mandeville's *Reysen vnd Wanderschafftten* (VD16: J 627); Hans Staden's *Warhafftige Historia vnnd beschreibung einer Landtschafft der Wilden, Nacketen, grimmigen Menschenfresser Leuthen, in der Newen Welt America gelegen* (VD16: S 8445); and lastly, Johannes Schiltberger's *Wunderbarliche vnnd kurtzweilige History* (VD 16: S 2878, S 2879).¹⁷ Of these, Schiltberger's *History* was reproduced the most often.¹⁸

In addition to the print runs by Gülfferich, Schiltberger's account was further (re-)printed in an undated run by Han (c. 1560) and once again, likewise undated, by *Weyandt Hanen Erben* (c. 1570).¹⁹ These editions are an identical reprint of Gülfferich's version, with the single exception of the title page woodcut of Han's print (VD16: S 2878), which depicts three male figures in exotic travelling dress preparing to board a ship.

However, in 1595 *Weyandt Hanen Erben* also published an eight-page *Flug-*

14 Schmidt, *Die Bücher aus der Frankfurter Offizin Gülfferich - Han Weigand Han-Erben*, p. 27.

15 Ibid., pp. 38–39.

16 Ibid., p. 184.

17 Ibid., pp. 184–189.

18 Ibid., p. 185.

19 Geck, *Buchkundlicher Exkurs*, p. 26.

*schrift*²⁰ (or pamphlet) that departed considerably in form and content from that version and was distributed under the title: *Vom Türcken vnd Machomet / Ein warer gründtlicher bericht / aus dem Geschichtschreiber / Johan Schiltberger / bürtig aus der Stadt München in Bayern / so vom Türcken in vngerland gefangen worden / Anno 1394*. The unillustrated pamphlet excised from the long version, reprinting only two brief passages: *Zu was zeiten der Machomet geboren / und sein Regiment angefangen* (ch. 46) and *Wie der Machomet auffkommen sey* (ch. 56).²¹ These excerpts are positioned alongside: three short biblical quotations – namely, Matthew 24:15, Mark 13:19–20 and Luke 21:22, 21:36 – and further references to similar passages from Daniel (9:27, 12:1); *Ein kurtzer einfeltiger Vnterrichte* by Georg Witschel of Breslau; and *ein schöns christlichs Lied zu singen* that corresponds, albeit in parts only loosely, to Psalm 46.²²

5. Gregor Hübner or, in a common alternate spelling, Georg Hieber (Vienna: 1596 and 1597. VD16: S 2880 and S 2881; BL STC: 1312.c.4).

Gregor Hübner, a Viennese block-cutter (*Formschneider*), is recorded as being active as a printer between 1594 and 1598.²³ There are twelve publications attributed to Hübner, the majority of which provide brief reports on the events of the Long War between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires (1593–1606).²⁴ All of Hübner’s publications are *Kleindrucke*, a term denoting

20 “Eine Flugschrift ist eine aus *mehr als einem Blatt* bestehende, *selbstständige, nicht periodische und nicht gebundene* Druckschrift, die sich mit dem Ziel der *Agitation* (d.h. der Beeinflussung des Handelns) und/oder der *Propaganda* (d.h. der Beeinflussung der Überzeugung) an die *gesamte Öffentlichkeit* wendet” (Hans Köhler in Johannes Schwitalla. *Flugschrift*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999, p. 5).

21 Schiltberger, *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*, pp. 122–127 and p. 134.

22 The scriptural references (and all further in this chapter) refer to Martin Luther’s *Die gantze Heilige Schrift* (1545), available through www.biblegateway.com.

23 Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, p. 974.

24 Gedeon Borsa. “Georg Hieber, ein Wiener Formschneider am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts (1594–1598)”. In: *Festschrift Josef Stummvoll, zum 65 : Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Mitarbeitern*. Ed. by Josef Mayerhöfer and Walter Ritzer. Vol. 2. Wien: Gesellschaft der Freunde der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 1970, pp. 661–666.

short, cheap and topical non-book print media like the *Einblattdruck*,²⁵ the *Flugschrift* and the *Neue Zeitung*.²⁶

In accordance with this specialisation, Hübner prints the *Reisebuch* as an unillustrated pamphlet, distributed under the title: *Erzählung eines Bürgers Sohn aus der Stadt München im / Beyerlandt Hans Schielborg genandt. So von dem Türcken 32. jahr gefangen / in Eysen umbher gangen / vnd mitler zeit des Machomets anfang / Türcken Ceremonien in Kirchen / Schulen / vnd Heusern erfahren / nach seiner erledigung / zur trewen warnung an alle gleubige geschrieben / so da sprechen / das der Türcke die Christen ihres glaubens frey vnter seinem Tribut wohnen lesset*. In fact, Hübner (re-)publishes, in quarto format with four to six leaves, what is in many respects a copy of the pamphlet printed a year earlier by the *Weyandt Hanen Erben* in Frankfurt. He (re-)prints the same two excerpts from the *Reisebuch*, and he places these alongside a similar collection of biblical quotations. These incorporate the same passages from Matthew (24:15), Mark (13:19–20) and Luke (21:22, 21:36) with the same references to Daniel (9:27, 12) alongside a handful of independent additions (Ps 79:7, Matt 13:25 and reference to Matt 4). However, the excerpts from the *Reisebuch* are integrated within a framework that is unique to Hübner in its particular emphasis on prophecy. The biblical quotations appear as *Propheceyung der*

25 “Als Einblattdruck definiert die Forschung das einseitig bedruckte und publizierte Einzelblatt beliebigen Formats” (Volker Honemann, Sabine Griese, and Falk Eisermann. “Zu Wesen und Bedeutung des textierten Einblattdrucks im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert”. In: *Schriftlichkeit und Lebenspraxis im Mittelalter. Erfassen, Bewahren, Verändern*. Ed. by Hagen Keller, Christel Meier, and Thomas Scharff. Munich: W. Fink, 1999, pp. 333–348, p. 335; cf. also Volker Honemann, ed. *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000).

26 The *Neue Zeitung* is characterised chiefly by its emphasis on reporting current events; it represents an early form of the modern newspaper (see Kristina Pfarr. “Die Neue Zeitung. Empirische Untersuchung eines Informationsmediums der frühen Neuzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Gewaltdarstellungen”. PhD thesis. Universität Mainz, 1994; and Helmut Lang. “Die Neue Zeitung des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Vorläufer, Konkurrenz, Ergänzung?” In: *400 Jahre Zeitung: Die Entwicklung der Tagespress im internationalen Kontext*. Ed. by Martin Welke and Jürgen Wilke. Bremen: edition lumière, 2008, pp. 117–122).

Heiligen Schrift wider Machomet; these are given a counterpart by way of an ostensibly Turkish prophecy – *Der Tu(e)rcken gar alte Prophecey* – commonly attributed to Bartholomej Georgijević (VD16: D 3039).²⁷ In Hübner’s pamphlet, this prophecy is rendered both in transliterated Turkish and in Latin and German translation. A manuscript copy was made of this version in the early seventeenth century (91.7 Extravagantes, Herzog August Bibl., Wolfenbüttel).²⁸

6. Adam Berg (Munich: 1598. VD16: ZV 13882).

Adam Berg was court printer to Duke Albrecht V and his son Wilhelm V of Bavaria between 1564 and 1609, and the foremost publisher of the Counter Reformation in southern Germany.²⁹ As well as producing works of Catholic theology, the press was also notable for printing sheet music and German translations of French and Spanish authors.³⁰

Adam Berg prints an unillustrated, six-leaf pamphlet version of the *Reisebuch* with the title: *Trewhertzige warnung / vnd erzelung eines burgers Sohn auß der Statt Munchen im Ba(e)yerland Hans Schiltberger genant. So von dem leidigen Erb. und Ertzfeind dem Tu(e)rcken 32. Jahr gefangen / und inn den Eysen gantz Arabien, Medien, Persien, Babilonien, Asiam, Pamphilien, Syrien, Cilicien, Ægipten, Indien, Thratien, Affricam, Macedonien, Epiren, Moream,*

27 Cf. Kenneth M. Setton. *Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Turkish Doom*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1992, pp. 29–46.

28 See Wolf-Dieter Otte. *Die neueren Handschriften der Gruppe Extravagantes*. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1987, p. 8.

29 An enthusiastic patron of the arts, Albrecht V established his court in Munich as an important centre of culture and learning in Germany. He developed large collections of antiquities, coins, curiosities and – not least – books. In 1558, Albrecht V acquired the library of Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter – a lawyer, diplomat and one of the first Orientalists – to found the *Hofbibliothek*. This collection forms the basis of the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* (cf. Helga Rebhan. “Die Bibliothek Johann Albrecht Widmanstetters”. In: *Die Anfänge der Münchener Hofbibliothek unter Herzog Albrecht V*. ed. by Alois Schmid. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2009, pp. 112–131; and Maximilian Lanzinner. “Das Ringe um den Münchener Renaissancehof unter Herzog Albrecht V. Fürstliche Repräsentation oder Wandel politischer Kultur?” In: *Die Anfänge der Münchener Hofbibliothek unter Herzog Albrecht V*. ed. by Alois Schmid. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2009, pp. 59–95).

30 Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, p. 624.

vnnnd Griechenland durchzogen / mittler zeit aber / des Machomets anfang der Tu(e)rcken Ceremonien in Kirchen / Schulen vnnnd Heusern erfahren / jetzt aber nach seiner (von Gott) erledigung / an alle glaubige Christlen / so da sprechen / das der Tu(e)rck die Christen / ired glaubens in erledigung eines guldens frey / sicher vnder seinem Tribut jarlich wohnen lasse / zum vnderricht trewlich geschriben. As is the case for the other pamphlet versions, Berg (re-)produces the same two segments of the long version (cf. section 1.5). Unlike the others, however, he explores the topic of Ottoman captivity. Berg puts the extract from the *Reisebuch* next to a passage entitled *Volget / ob der Tu(e)rck die Christen vnder seinem Tribut in erlegung eines Guldens ja(e)rlich wohnen lasse?* that describes what happens to Christians captured by the Turks. This passage is based on Bartholomej Georgijević's widely distributed Ottoman captivity narrative (VD16: D 3016, D 3021, D 1383, ZV 25383, ZV 4808), though Berg attributes the section to Schiltberger in a closing address to the reader (*Anhang zum Schluß*).

On the one hand, this overview of the *Reisebuch*'s print transmission highlights developments that are unique to the print medium. First, there was a steep increase in the number of exemplars of the *Reisebuch* in circulation.³¹ This development was facilitated by Johannes Gutenberg's mid-fifteenth-century invention of printing with cast-metal moveable type, a technology that outstripped the scribe by allowing printers to mechanically reproduce many copies in a short period of time.³²

³¹ The rapid growth of book production in general may be indicated, albeit only indirectly, by current library holdings. German libraries preserve approximately 60,000 medieval manuscripts; however, this figure pales in comparison with their incunabula holdings, which amount to a total of 135,000 printed copies of 28,000 works dating from the first 50 years of print activity in the second half of the fifteenth century (see Bettina Wagner, ed. *Als die Lettern laufen lernten: Medienwandel im 15. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2009, p. 15; and Uwe Neddermeyer. *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch: Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Quantitative und qualitative Aspekte*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998, who devotes a number of chapters to quantitative analysis.).

³² For separate (and much earlier) traditions of printing with moveable type in the Far East cf.

Secondly, the printed *Reisebuch* was a commercial product for the literate masses, a status reflected in changes to the book's basic format, the most notable of which was the introduction of a title page. This was a printer's invention that not only functioned to inform the reader of the book's content, author and publisher, but that also doubled as an advertisement.³³ The *Reisebuch*'s various titles marketed the text as alternately entertaining, *sehr lu(e)stig zu lesen* (Gülfferich), and instructive, *zum vnderricht trewlich geschriben* (Berg). The addition of illustrations to the full-length editions by Sorg, Berg and Neuber, Gülfferich, and his stepson Han also served to make the previously unillustrated book more attractive to buyers. These titles introduce emphases specific to the work's print circulation; they establish a particular – and more often than not polemic – focus on the Turks, who are characterised as the *Erb. und Ertzfeind* (Berg). They highlight Schiltberger's captivity and enslavement in the East: *von den Türcken gefangen* (Berg and Neuber, Gülfferich), *in Eysen vmbher gangen* (Hübner), *inn den Eysen* (Berg). They also communicate a growing fear of the Turkish 'other', which can be observed in the shift from a descriptive stress on *selczamen wundern* (Sorg) and *Krieg / vnnd wunderbarlicher thatten* (Gülfferich) to the assertion that the text is addressed *zur trewen warnung an alle gleubige* (Hübner, Berg).

Lastly, several abridged versions of the *Reisebuch* were printed as *Flugschriften*, a genre that flourished in print. As a media form, the pamphlet typically published

Kai-Wing Chow. "Reinventing Gutenberg: Woodblock and Moveable-Type Printing in Europe and China". In: *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*. Ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007, pp. 169–192.

³³ Hans E. Braun. "Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch". In: *Buchkultur im Mittelalter: Schrift, Bild, Kommunikation*. Ed. by Michael Stolz and Adrian Mettauer. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006, pp. 215–242, pp. 237–238; cf. also Ursula Rautenberg. "Das Titelblatt. Die Entstehung eines typographischen Dispositivs im frühen Buchdruck". In: *Alles Buch. Studien zur Erlanger Buchwissenschaft* 10 (2004), pp. 5–33; and Ursula Rautenberg. "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchtitelblatts in der Inkunabelzeit in Deutschland, den Niederlanden und Venedig. Quantitative und qualitative Studien". In: *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 62 (2008), pp. 1–105.

topical material with a propagandistic agenda and therefore relied on the speed and substantial production numbers of mechanical printing for its effect.³⁴

On the other hand, however, the material equally provides evidence of continuity in the *Reisebuch*'s transition from manuscript to printed edition. In outlining this evidence, my first intention is to stress that, although I have divided the media forms into separate chapters for interpretation, it would be inaccurate to imagine the print versions as hermetically sealed off from manuscript transmission, and vice versa. Their relationship is instead marked by coexistence and a number of commonalities that extend from basic questions of material form to the way texts themselves were conceived of and (re-)produced.

Developments on the part of the print, although integral to its separate character, thus do not amount to “eine schöne scharfe Scheidung zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit, als einer Zeit vor der Erfindung des Buchdrucks und einer Zeit danach.”³⁵ Rather, the shift from manuscript to print constituted “[eine] konsequente Fortsetzung der intensivierten Schriftlichkeit des 15. Jahrhunderts mit veränderten Mitteln, in quantitativer Steigerung und mit zunehmender Eigendynamik.”³⁶ I aim to reflect both this *Eigendynamik* and the continuities in the *Reisebuch*'s form and content in its circulation in early print in my analysis. My second objective is to show that it is possible to continue to talk about the category of rewriting with regard to early print. Both of these observations are representative of general trends. Print might have rapidly surpassed manuscripts in sheer rate and volume of text production, ultimately emerging as the principal purveyor of books, but the new technology did

34 Cf. Schwitalla, *Flugschrift*; and Braun, “Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch”, pp. 238–240.

For a discussion of handwritten communication of this type, cf. Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik. “The Coexistence of Manuscript and Print: Handwritten Newsletters in the Second Century of Print, 1540–1640”. In: *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Ed. by Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp. Leiden: Brill, 2011, pp. 247–368; and Thomas Schröder. *Die ersten Zeitungen: Textgestaltung und Nachrichtenauswahl*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1995, pp. 10–13.

35 Schanze, “Der Buchdruck als Medienrevolution?”, p. 286.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 302.

not simply supplant manuscript culture in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

4.1.1 Continuities

For one, there was already a heightened demand for books in the fifteenth century. In fact, this period is by far the most prolific with respect to the production of manuscripts, so that – combined with nascent print – more books than ever before became available to the reading public.³⁷ To meet the existing demand, some fifteenth-century *scriptoria* created manuscripts in an organised and commercialised manner that prefigured the mass production of print technology.³⁸ These *scriptoria* did not immediately disappear with the spread of the printing house, though their numbers dwindled significantly.³⁹ As a consequence of the expansion of print as the standard medium for commercial book (re-)production, however, the role of the manuscript was transformed:

Der Druck übernimmt jetzt nahezu ausschließlich (wie im Mittelalter der große handschriftliche Codex) die Bewahrung und Verbreitung der Literatur schlechthin, und zwar der wissenschaftlichen Standardwerke wie auch der

37 Considering exclusively the territories of the Holy Roman Empire, Uwe Neddermeyer estimates that approximately 75,000 manuscripts survive from this century alone, a figure that accounts for just over half of the estimated total of extant medieval manuscripts from this region (Braun, “Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch”, pp. 229–230).

38 This is the case for the Hagenau workshop of Diebold Lauber (active 1427–1471). The manuscripts that were produced in this workshop, via an efficient and cost-effective system of delegating labour to professional scribes and illuminators, were not only written to fulfil customers’ orders but also “on spec” to be kept as stock, a custom more readily associated with the publishing house (Dicke and Grubmüller, *Die Gleichzeitigkeit von Handschrift und Buchdruck*, pp. 12–13; cf. also Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch. “Der Einzelne im Verbund: Kooperationsmodelle in der spätmittelalterlichen Buchherstellung”. In: *Wege zum illuminierten Buch: Herstellungsbedingungen für Buchmalerei in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Ed. by Christine Beier and Evelyn Theresia Kubina. Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014, pp. 177–201).

39 For instance, the monastery of St. Ulrich and St. Afra in Augsburg ran an active workshop alongside a printing press well into the sixteenth century (Hans Lülfiing. “Die Fortdauer der handschriftlichen Buchherstellung nach der Erfindung des Buchdrucks – ein buchgeschichtliches Problem?” In: *Buch und Text im 15. Jahrhundert: Arbeitsgespräch in der Herzog Augustbibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 1. bis 3. März 1978*. Ed. by Lotte Hellinga and Helmar Härtel. Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung. Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981, pp. 17–26, p. 24; and Rolf Schmidt. “Die Klosterdruckerei von St. Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg (1472 bis kurz nach 1474)”. In: *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Ed. by Helmut Gier und Johannes Janota. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997, pp. 141–152).

Gebrauchs- und Unterhaltungsliteratur.⁴⁰

Even this did not, however, immediately spell the end of the manuscript as a medium. Some scribes began to specialise in luxury and typically extensively illuminated codices – the manuscript became a prestigious collector’s item.⁴¹ The *pragmatisches Schrifttum* of city, legal and trade administration also remained.⁴² Finally, manuscripts continued to be produced for private use.⁴³

Accordingly, manuscript and print coexisted as two options for the transmission and preservation of text.⁴⁴ There was no clean break or media revolution. The *Reisebuch*’s transmission history, due to the temporal overlap of its media use, further

40 Cf. Brandis, “Die Handschrift zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit”, p. 55; and Müller, “Formen literarischer Kommunikation im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit”.

41 These luxury books were commissioned by the likes of Matthias Corvinus (1443–1490), the King of Hungary and a bibliophile primarily interested in “kostbar ausgestattete Handschriften alter Machart” (Severin Corsten. “Die Erfindung des Buchdrucks im 15. Jahrhundert”. In: *Die Buchkultur im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. Ed. by Vorstand der Maximilian Gesellschaft und Barbara Tieman. Hamburg: Maximilian Gesellschaft, 1999, pp. 125–202, p. 128; cf. also Otto Mazal. *Königliche Bücherliebe: Die Bibliothek des Matthias Corvinus*. Graz: Akademische Druck, 1990). In this form, the manuscript was not just a repository for text but simultaneously an artefact with a representative function. For instance, the *Ambraser Heldenbuch* was commissioned by the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) and completed by the *Zollschreiber* Hans Ried and a separate illuminator between 1504 and 1517. Written on oversized parchment in a calligraphic *Kanzleischrift*, the *Heldenbuch* was “bewußt als antiquarisch-bibliophile Kostbarkeit, als elitäres unikales Buch mit Blick nach rückwärts auf die Vergangenheit initiiert und hergestellt worden” (Brandis, “Die Handschrift zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit”, p. 48). This was so much so the case that the finished manuscript was not stored in a library, as one might expect, but in Maximilian’s *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* at Ambras Castle (cf. Johannes Janota. “Ambraser Heldenbuch”. In: *Verfasserlexikon*. Vol. 1. 1978, pp. 323–327, Sp. 323–327).

42 This continuity can be exemplified by the *Fuggerzeitungen*, a collection of handwritten *Kaufmannsbriefe* or early newsletters dating from between 1568 and 1605. The newsletters entered periodical production in the sixteenth century and were in some respects more successful than contemporaneous printed newspapers; their effectiveness was chiefly due to their production process, which permitted greater currency and circumvented the censorship common to print (Braun, “Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch”, p. 229; Schröder, *Die ersten Zeitungen: Textgestaltung und Nachrichtenauswahl*, pp. 10–12). In other words, “die geschriebenen Zeitungen waren nicht nur Vorläufer der [gedruckten] Wochenpresse, sondern auch eigenständiges Medium” (Schröder, *Die ersten Zeitungen: Textgestaltung und Nachrichtenauswahl*, p. 13).

43 For example, the Augsburg merchant Claus Spaun is notable as the copyist of several sixteenth-century collections of popular texts – mainly, *Fastnachtspiele* and *Spruchdichtung* – that he produced for his personal library and illustrated with a combination of printed cutouts and ink drawings (Brandis, “Die Handschrift zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit”, p. 48; cf. also Rolf Kully. “Claus Spaun (Span)”. In: *Verfasserlexikon*. Vol. 9. 1995, pp. 32–35, Sp. 32–35).

44 Wolf, “Von geschriebenen Drucken und gedruckten Handschriften”, p. 5.

demonstrates this continuity. Seven of the eight surviving manuscript copies of the *Reisebuch* were written in the fifteenth century, several after the European invention of printing with cast-metal moveable type c. 1450; the remaining manuscript copy was produced even later, in the second half of the sixteenth century (see Appendix A).

Further, hybrid books existed that made undifferentiated use of manual and mechanical processes.⁴⁵ Manuscript and print were bound together without distinction or indeed any indication that the contemporary compiler “regard[ed] one as being superior to the other, or one as being more old-fashioned.”⁴⁶ This attitude is illustrated by Cod. 198.1 Hist. 8° (Herzog August Bibl., Wolfenbüttel), in which the 1549 Berg and Neuber edition is found alongside a later manuscript, *Alexandri Sardi Ferrariensis liber de numis* (1579). Similarly, the manuscript of the *Reisebuch* today housed in Munich is bound together in a volume with Anton Sorg’s 1481 print edition of Marco Polo’s travel account (GW: 12843).

Additionally, manuscript copies were made of prints during this period, just as prints were made of manuscript sources. 91.7 Extravagantes (Herzog August Bibl., Wolfenbüttel) is a folio-sized manuscript that contains a fragmentary chronicle of the Turkish Wars (1594–1598) alongside a handwritten copy of Gregor Hübner’s 1596 print edition of the *Reisebuch*.

Moreover, the earliest printed books chiefly continued, and expanded upon, the successes of late medieval texts.

Buchdruck bedeutete in seinen Anfängen die Fortsetzung der handschriftlichen Tradition in einen neuen Medium. [...] Das schlägt sich auch in der Auswahl der Titel nieder, die zum Druck kamen: Sie lagen allesamt bereits in

⁴⁵ For a discussion of hybridity, cf. Ursula Rautenberg. “Medienkonkurrenz und Medienmischung – Zur Gleichzeitigkeit von Handschrift und Druck im ersten Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts in Köln”. In: *Die Gleichzeitigkeit von Handschrift und Buchdruck*. Ed. by Gerd Dicke and Klaus Grubmüller. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003, pp. 167–202.

⁴⁶ McKitterick, *Print*, p. 52.

handschriftlicher Überlieferung vor.⁴⁷

The *Reisebuch*, which was only modestly popular in manuscript, first became a real commercial success in print. An inventory taken of Gülfferich's press after the printer's death, for instance, registers approximately 800 exemplars of his illustrated, full-length version of the *Reisebuch*, of which about 100 were sold in 1568–69.⁴⁸

Another indication of the overlap between the two media is the influence of manuscripts on the printed book's material form. Early books look like, and follow the same structural logic as, manuscripts.⁴⁹ They adopt rubrication and, to varying degrees, illumination, both added by hand to paper or (more unusually) parchment after the printing process.⁵⁰ The woodcut images in Anton Sorg's *Reisebuch* reproduction, for example, were occasionally hand-coloured (GW: M40832). Further, early prints advance structural elements like table of contents, divisional headings and alphabetical indices that were used more sporadically, if at all, in manuscripts.⁵¹ The rubricated chapter headings in the *Reisebuch* are preserved in print, albeit only in black and white. Lastly, even the first typefaces were modelled on handwritten forms, resulting in the development of a number of different types in the early years of print. In Germany, these included *Textura*, *Gotico-Antiqua*, *Schwabacher* and *Fraktur*.⁵² Gregor Hübner's version of the travel book exhibits several examples of

47 Janota, "Von der Handschrift zum Druck", p. 125.

48 Schmidt, *Die Bücher aus der Frankfurter Offizin Gülfferich - Han Weigand Han-Erben*, p. 185.

49 Janota, "Von der Handschrift zum Druck", p. 125.

50 Braun, "Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch", p. 230.

51 See Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse. "The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century". In: *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991, pp. 221–255; Martina Backes. "Geordnete Texte: Zur Geschichte und Entwicklung von Rubriken in deutschen und französischen Romanen des Mittelalters". In: *Wolfram-Studien* 19 (2006), pp. 301–315; and Nigel F. Palmer. "Kapital und Buch: Zu den Gliederungsprinzipien mittelalterlicher Bücher". In: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 28 (1989), pp. 43–88.

52 Otto Mazal. "Paläographie und Paläotypie. Zur Schriftgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts". In: *Buch und Text im 15. Jahrhundert: Arbeitsgespräch in der Herzog Augustbibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 1. bis 3. März 1978*. Ed. by Lotte Hellinga and Helmar Härtel. Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981, pp. 59–78, p. 65; cf. also Jan Tschichold. *Die Neue Typographie*. Berlin: Brinkmann und Bose, 1987, pp. 15–19; and Jan Tschichold. *Meisterbuch der Schrift*. Hamburg: Nikol

these types, which are deployed to visually distinguish languages: *Fraktur* has been used for all text in German, and *Antiqua* for Latin and transliterated Turkish.

Finally, and of most significance for the analysis in this chapter, there is also demonstrable continuity in the way texts themselves were conceptualised during this period. Just as observed in the previous chapters for manuscript transmission, in early print “Texte sind ‘offen’, ‘unfest’ – und mindestens in der Volkssprache nur zum geringen Teil in der Verfügungsgewalt ihrer Verfasser.”⁵³ By contrast, a printed book today can be expected to be an authorial, unified and static whole.⁵⁴ The *Reisebuch*’s print (re-)production in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, involved frequent changes in material, if not always in narrative composition.

This observation necessitates the reassessment of an approach to the print medium that has been very influential. In her seminal yet controversial study *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (1979), Elizabeth Eisenstein proposes that stability is one of the key features that distinguishes early modern print from medieval manuscripts, print culture from scribal culture, contending that “of all the new features introduced by the duplicative powers of print, preservation is possibly the most important.”⁵⁵ According to Eisenstein, print’s “typographic fixity” transformed Western society by allowing text and image to be “duplicated without being blurred or blotted out over the course of time” by the variance she considers to be “corruption” typical of scribal transmission.⁵⁶ While recognising that initially this “age-old process of corruption was aggravated and accelerated after print”, Eisenstein attributes evidence

Verlagsgesellschaft, 2011, pp. 19–25.

53 Jan-Dirk Müller. “Literarischer Text und kultureller Text in der Frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel des *Narrenschiffs* von Sebastian Brant”. In: *Zwischen den Disziplinen? Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*. Ed. by Helmut Puff and Christopher Wild. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003, pp. 81–101, p. 82.

54 Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, pp. 1–2.

55 Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution*, p. 113.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

4 From Manuscript to Print

of early print variance to bad copying and sloppy printing, arguing that mechanical reproduction “provided a way of transcending the limits which scribal procedures had imposed upon technically proficient masters in the past.”⁵⁷

For Eisenstein, print culture also fundamentally revolutionised the way knowledge was preserved and conveyed, thus engendering the large scale intellectual and social changes of the Renaissance. Print provided, via the steady accumulation of these static texts, the “basic prerequisite for the rapid advancement of learning.”⁵⁸ This notion of print’s fixity in particular underlies her

claim that the Renaissance and Reformation were rendered permanent by the very permanence of their canonical texts, that nationalism developed thanks to the stabilisation of laws and languages, and that science itself became possible on the basis of phenomena and theories reliably recorded.⁵⁹

In other words, Eisenstein presents the emergence and growth of print cultures in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in terms of an “unacknowledged revolution” replacing old-fashioned medieval ways of making and understanding texts. Eisenstein thus puts manuscript and print in opposition to one another. This conclusion is likewise reached by Michael Giesecke in *Der Buchdruck in der frühen Neuzeit* (1991), which not only perceives a radical break between manuscript and print culture but also attributes the emergence of new forms of knowledge like ethnology to the development of the print medium, the new technology acting – as for Eisenstein – as the revolutionary “Katalysator der Systemveränderung.”⁶⁰

Yet, while the social and cultural significance of the invention of printing these studies stress is not up for debate, many scholars have since voiced disagreement with the linear narrative, determinism and monocausality of Eisenstein and Giesecke’s analyses.⁶¹ In particular, the idea of a ‘print revolution’ has proven problematic:

57 Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution*, p. 82.

58 Ibid., p. 113.

59 Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, p. 11.

60 Giesecke, *Der Buchdruck in der frühen Neuzeit*, p. 47 and pp. 338–341.

61 See especially, McKitterick, *Print*; Johns, *The Nature of the Book*; Schanze, “Der Buchdruck als

“Das Interesse richtet sich demgemäß auf das Neue, das Alte wird als Vergangenes ausgeblendet, das Alte aber des Neuen und das Miteinander des Neuen und Alten kommen nicht in den Blick.”⁶² As I have already suggested, it has been argued that the print medium is not as inherently ‘fixed’ as Eisenstein argues in *Agents of Change*; instead, evidence indicates that textual instability was a common feature of the transmission of early print, and it extended from straightforward *errata* to more radical and extensive ideological modifications.⁶³ Variance occurred, as in manuscript, with very little regard for the intentions of authors “who before 1709 enjoyed neither a copyright nor a recognised moral right in the printed copies of their works.”⁶⁴ Stability was not an intrinsic quality of print production but rather a literary convention that had to be negotiated later on, “the *result* of manifold representations, practices and conflicts, rather than just the monolithic *cause*.”⁶⁵ Further, by considering examples of print variety as purely obstructive “corruptions” and “degradations” Eisenstein overlooks the productive, creative and adaptive nature of this instability, which may involve deliberate choices by a printer. Contrary to Eisenstein’s claims, instability may thus function as a means to develop and communicate new ideas.

4.1.2 Rewriting in Early Print

This is the case for the *Reisebuch*. The Han-Erben, Hübner and Berg all reproduce excerpts from the long version, which they place alongside various other texts in pamphlet form. The excised passages address the origins and laws of Islam, and the additions by these printers both complement and (re-)interpret this topic. These

Medienrevolution?”; and Wolf, “Von geschriebenen Drucken und gedruckten Handschriften”.

62 Schanze, “Der Buchdruck als Medienrevolution?”, p. 301.

63 Müller, “Literarischer Text und kultureller Text”, p. 95.

64 Harold Love. “Fixity versus Flexibility in “A Song on Tom of Danby” and Dryden’s *Absalom and Achitophel*”. In: *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*. Ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007, p. 142.

65 Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, p. 20.

three sixteenth-century adaptations reconceptualise the *Reisebuch* in response to a prevalent fear of the Turks and their expanding empire. Further, the *Flugschriften* – although the most radical – are not the only representatives of variety in the book’s print transmission. While Sorg, Gülfferich, Han, and Berg and Neuber all print an identical full-length (and therefore more or less ‘fixed’) narrative version, they nonetheless add new and independent layers of meaning to their reproductions. All four insert sets of images to the long version; Gülfferich, Han, and Berg and Neuber include a printer’s preface. These additions affect each print’s representational strategies: with the exception of Sorg, who transforms the text into an adventure story, these editions thematise the conflict with the Turks. That is to say, the *Reisebuch* is intentionally and inventively (re-)interpreted, not only in its reproduction as excerpts, but also because it is repeatedly recontextualised in both its full-length and abbreviated pamphlet form. The six printers adapted and (re-)framed the text to respond afresh to contemporary discourses and tastes. This does not represent a “corruption” of the *Reisebuch* but rather a rewriting in the broadest sense, as “the adaptation of a work of literature to a different audience, with the intention of influencing in which way the audience reads the work.”⁶⁶

And the *Reisebuch* is certainly not an isolated case; in fact, adaptations of this type are frequent in vernacular print during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶⁷ Jan-Dirk Müller provides another example in his analysis of the transmission history of Sebastian Brandt’s *Narrenschiff*, which was first published by Johann Bergmann von Olpe in Basel in 1494. In addition to a second extended edition authored by Brandt and again printed by Bergmann von Olpe in 1495, the *Narrenschiff*

66 Lefevere, “Mother Courage’s Cucumbers”, p. 4.

67 Müller, “Literarischer Text und kultureller Text”; for a similar discussion, cf. Luisa Rubini Messerli. “Textvarianz im frühen Buchdruck. Boccaccios *Dekameron* in deutscher Sprache als Fallstudie”. In: *Stimmen, Texte und Bilder zwischen Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Ed. by Luisa Rubini Messerli and Alexander Schwarz. Bern: Peter Lang, 2005, pp. 15–52.

was independently adapted by a number of its printers.⁶⁸ Müller asserts that “der Buchcharakter war [...] alles andere als sakrosankt.”⁶⁹ The (unauthorised) variation in the *Narrenschiff*'s transmission was not accepted without negative comment by Brandt, which highlights that although instability was part of textual transmission in the print medium, it was not necessarily always a desired outcome. The book retained its underlying flexibility, as the authorial adaptation by Brandt demonstrates, but there was a concurrent interest in maintaining the integrity of the authorised text(s).⁷⁰ As Müller writes, Brandt

legt Wert darauf, der Erfinder der *Narrenschiff*-Idee zu sein, allein das Recht zu besitzen, den Text zu verändern, und allein über die poetische Kompetenz zu verfügen. Dahinter steht das Selbstbewusstsein des Rechtsgelehrten und Humanisten, der seine eigene geistige Leistung vor fremder Verunstaltung und Ausbeutung schützen will.⁷¹

Much like the late medieval *Reisebuch* author, however, Brandt ultimately had little control over what happened to his texts once they had passed out of his hands and into circulation. The subsequent adaptations of these works in early print are indicative of a continuation of traditions of transformative transmission that are more commonly associated with scribal culture and the manuscript as medium, in which the unstable text may be repeatedly rewritten for new situations, audiences and in accordance with new ideas and ideals. In this regard, the shift from a

68 Johannes Grüninger published unauthorised additions to the text's list of fools in around 1495 that served to sharpen the book's satire. Hans Hörburger reproduced an abridged and unillustrated list without referencing Brandt as his source in 1531. Jakob Cammerlander printed a much extended version in 1545 that was tailored to meet the expectations of a Protestant readership (Müller, “Literarischer Text und kultureller Text”, pp. 86–92).

69 Ibid., p. 85.

70 For a discussion of both attempts at preservation and the continued revisions of text through correction in the early modern period, see Ann Blair. “Errata Lists and the Reader as Corrector”. In: *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*. Ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007, pp. 21–41; and Anthony Grafton. *Humanists with Inky Fingers: the Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2011, the latter arguing that the corrector did much more than proofread, instead carrying out a variety of philological tasks – drafting prefaces, coming up with intertitles – that resulted in what I term rewriting.

71 Müller, “Literarischer Text und kultureller Text”, p. 89.

manuscript to a predominantly print culture comprises an overlap – rather than a revolutionary break – in the way textual knowledge was constructed and conveyed.⁷² The relationship between manuscript and print in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was therefore considerably more interlaced than Giesecke and, in particular, Eisenstein acknowledge. It is characterised by continuity, coexistence and cooperation – both media share a similar ‘open’ textuality. Thus, one can continue to talk about rewriting in early print.

Yet, these rewritings differ from those encountered in manuscript transmission in two significant ways. First, variation now occurs per edition, of which there were many identical copies in circulation; by contrast, each individual manuscript copy represents a unique artefact. Identical copies substantiate the claim that the new technology could facilitate a “higher level of fixity than all but the most scrupulously supervised kinds of scribal transmission”, but – as Harold Love further writes – “the difficulty is that the existence of a capacity does not mean that it was always exercised or that it can be assumed to have been operative in any given historical instance of authorship, publishing or reception.”⁷³ Although there were stable copies of the *Reisebuch*’s six printed editions in circulation, these editions all represent variant versions of the work. One cannot talk about fixity in the early stages of the print medium in terms of an established (literary) attitude towards textual integrity; however, mechanical reproduction did enable the rapid manufacture of identical books, so that a unique characteristic of rewriting in the print medium is that any major variance takes place from edition to edition, not on a copy-to-copy basis.

Secondly, the methods used to adapt the *Reisebuch* do not predominantly involve narrative modifications. Instead, the account’s transmission in print included

⁷² See Karina Kellermann. “Zwischen Gelehrsamkeit und Information: Wissen und Wahrheit im Umbruch vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit”. In: *Artes im Mittelalter*. Ed. by Ursula Schaefer. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999, pp. 124–140, for a general discussion of continuities between medieval and early modern ways of knowing about the world.

⁷³ Love, “Fixity versus Flexibility”, p. 140.

paratextual supplements in the form of woodcut illustrations, a preface and other extraneous textual material subsumed under the work's title. In fact, although there were only two narrative versions in print circulation, all six editions of the *Reisebuch* differ: this diversity is due chiefly to these paratextual reworkings, which serve to (re-)frame and (re-)interpret the text. In other words, the use of paratexts is a fundamental characteristic of the *Reisebuch*'s rewriting in print; before progressing, it is therefore necessary to say a few words about this phenomenon.

4.2 Paratexts and Rewriting

Paratext is a term coined by the French literary theorist Gérard Genette and discussed at length in his *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1987). In this study, Genette defines text as a “more or less long sequence of verbal statements that are more or less endowed with significance.”⁷⁴ Paratext, in turn, is defined as any accompanying, supporting element to this sequence of statements. These typically liminal components may be verbal – encompassing features like a book's title, dedication, inscription, epigraph, pre- and postface, intertitles and notes – as well as visual (e.g. book illustration). Further, paratexts may be physically unified with the text (*peritexts*), or they may be text external (*epitexts*), comprising separate public or private statements related to the work.⁷⁵ Genette's definition of the paratext is, however, not simply descriptive; instead, the study unifies these disparate elements under one conceptual rubric in order to argue that these components – often overlooked in literary analysis – perform an important interpretative function in that they actively mediate the relationship between the text and its reader. Paratexts form

⁷⁴ Gerard Genette. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 1.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 344.

a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of transaction: a privileged place of pragmatics and strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that – whether well or poorly understood and achieved – is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it.⁷⁶

That is to say, paratexts fundamentally influence how readers read and thus interpret texts. They constitute “a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one’s whole reading of the text.”⁷⁷

Genette’s concept of the paratext was developed with the modern printed book in mind, but the theory is equally applicable to earlier periods of book production. In fact, the paratext is not even an exclusive attribute of the print medium, and the term has been used to describe features of the medieval codex, most recently in studies influenced by “new attitudes to the page.”⁷⁸ A number of scholars have analysed the history and development of paratexts that serve to structure the medieval manuscript, and all draw the conclusion that these elements influence a reader’s understanding of a text. Nigel Palmer has highlighted that peritextual divisions like the rubricated intertitle, the illuminated initial and the image serve not only as useful markers and memory aids for the reader but also have “literarische Bedeutung.”⁷⁹ Similarly, Martina Backes has argued that structuring devices like “Rubriken gehörten [...] zu einem Layout, das sich mehr und mehr an Leser wandte, denen man mit einer graphischen Gliederung der Buchseite auch optisch das Verständnis des Textes erleichtern wollte.”⁸⁰ Further, Bernhard Pabst has illustrated that the evolution of the gloss in the manuscript involves this paratext taking on a role equal to that of the ‘core’ text it aims to explain, insofar as “der Kommentar stellt nun den

76 Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 2.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

78 Backes, “Geordnete Texte”, p. 304; cf. also Nichols and Wenzel, *The Whole Book*; and Nichols, “Why Material Philology? Some Thoughts”.

79 Palmer, “Kapitel und Buch”, p. 47.

80 Backes, “Geordnete Texte”, p. 314.

eigentlichen Unterrichtsstoff dar.”⁸¹ Finally, Michael Stolz and Gabriel Viehhauser have noted that, as well as providing a legible order to the manuscript, paratexts have a “deutende Funktion”: they serve to interpret the manuscript text “in dem sie erläutern, gewichten, gegenbenenfalls reletivieren oder sogar korrigieren.”⁸²

Likewise, paratexts in the early printed books of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries boast an “erkenntnissteuernde Leistung.”⁸³ The elements not only function to guide the reader, but “the paratexts of early-modern books partly *offer* the interpretation” of these texts.⁸⁴ This can be illustrated with a brief example also from the genre of travel writing, with Hans Staden’s *Warhaftig Historia* (VD16: S 8448). The *Historia* contains the account of Staden’s experience of captivity under the cannibalistic Tupinambá Indians in South America. The first edition of the narrative was printed by Andreas Kolbe in Marburg in 1557, and it was accompanied by “unusually long prefatory material.”⁸⁵ As Luciana Villas Boas has shown, this material is significant because it directly influences the interpretation of the ‘core’ text of the travel account. Specifically, the introduction written by the celebrated physician Johann Dryander (c. 1500—1560) portrays the text as the outcome of the religious interrogation of the traveller by the local Protestant authorities in Hessen

81 Bernhard Pabst. “Text und Paratext als Sinneinheit? Lehrhafte Dichtungen des Mittelalters und ihre Glossierung”. In: *Wolfram-Studien* 19 (2006), pp. 117–145, p. 120.

82 Michael Stolz and Gabriel Viehhauser. “Text und Paratext: Überschriften in der *Parzival*-Überlieferung als Spuren mittelalterlicher Textkultur”. In: *Wolfram-Studien* 19 (2006), pp. 317–351, p. 319.

83 Karl Enenkel and Wolfgang Neuber. “Einleitung”. In: *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period*. Ed. by Karl Enenkel and Wolfgang Neuber. Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 1–5, p. 2; cf. also Ursula Kocher. “Bilder als Mittel der Erkenntnissteuerung. Text und Bild in Boccacios *Decameron*”. In: *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period*. Ed. by Karl Enenkel and Wolfgang Neuber. Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 313–332; and Wolfgang Neuber. “Der geschlachtete Kannibale. Zu einigen niederländischen Ausgaben von Hans Stadens *Reisebericht*”. In: *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period*. Ed. by Karl Enenkel and Wolfgang Neuber. Brill, 2005, pp. 333–368.

84 Karl Enenkel. “Florentius Schoonhiovius’s *Emblemata partim moralia, partim etiam civilia*: Text and Paratext”. In: *Glasgow Emblem Studies* 8 (2003), pp. 129–170, p. 129.

85 Luciana Villas Boas. “Wild Stories of a Pious Travel Writer: The Unruly Example of Hans Staden’s *Warhaftig Historia* (Marburg 1557)”. In: *Daphnis* 33.1/2 (1557), pp. 187–213, p. 190.

upon his return to Europe.⁸⁶ Dryander's introduction frames the travel text as a salvation narrative and therefore "allows the first person travel report to function as a profession of faith."⁸⁷ It thus inserts another voice into the book that is separate from the traveller's, not least in that it follows an altogether independent agenda compared to the profane proto-ethnography of the firsthand, first-person account. By directing the reader to consider the text in another light, the introduction offers an autonomous interpretation of the account with the "intention of influencing in which way the audience reads the work."⁸⁸ It therefore also constitutes an example of rewriting by paratext.

Further, paratexts continue to play a central role in the *Historia*'s reconceptualisation in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, demonstrating the paratext's fundamental ability to influence the reception of texts for this period and medium. As Wolfgang Neuber has established, printers' alterations to the book's images form a particularly important factor in this rewriting. In the first edition of the *Historia*, the illustrations largely reflect Staden's narrative. However, a disjunct between the text and its illustration developed in the account's later Dutch transmission: "Anstelle der *Wahrhaftigen Historia*, die das Interesse an dem Bericht in der deutschen Tradition regiert hatte, rückt nun die Beschreibung einer Landschaft in den niederländischen Drucken in den Vordergrund."⁸⁹ This has an effect on the reader's impression of the book as a whole, for the thematic emphasis shifts perceptibly from exploration and adventure to chorography; as Neuber writes, "über die Bilder wird eine neue Argumentation bzw. ein neues Thema eingeführt."⁹⁰

As this proliferation of fundamentally unstable paratext in the original and sub-

86 Bôas, "Wild Stories of a Pious Travel Writer".

87 Bôas, "Wild Stories of a Pious Travel Writer", p. 200; see also Michael Harbsmeier. *Wilde Völkerkunde. Andere Welten in deutschen Reiseberichten der Frühen Neuzeit*. Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 1994, especially pp. 112–119.

88 Lefevere, "Mother Courage's Cucumbers", p. 4.

89 Neuber, "Der geschlachtete Kannibale", p. 365.

90 Ibid., p. 365.

sequent editions of the *Historia* suggests, in early print “kommt es zu einer Multiplikation und Diversifikation paratextueller Formen und Funktionen in einem bis dahin ungekannten Ausmaß.”⁹¹ Frieder von Ammon and Herfried Vögel provide in support of this claim a collection of poems by the Freiherr von Canitz, which contained over 300 pages of paratextual supplementation, ranging in type from title page to aesthetic treatise.⁹² Although less extreme, this quantitative intensification can also be observed in the *Reisebuch*'s transmission. Whereas the manuscripts of the text transmitted peritextual material chiefly in the form of rubricated intertitles, all of the six print editions contain a fairly wide variety of paratexts under the travel book's title that serve to contextualise the narrative anew (cf. section 1.5). These paratexts are repeatedly transformed over the course of the book's circulation, resulting in the six versions already introduced.

Thus, these verbal and visual components represent one of the chief means by which authors, editors and publishers shaped the reception of a work in early print. This was the case for the production of first editions as it was for the (re-)production of older texts in print, in which the use of new framing elements made it possible “bereits vorliegende Texte [...] neu zu perspektivieren, sie in dieser Form zu edieren und auf diese Weise zu instrumentalisieren.”⁹³ Texts are (re-)interpreted to suit divergent interests and agendas – at least in part – via their paratexts. The paratext was key to mediating meaning in early print; commonly transformed in transmission, it moreover formed an integral part of the process of rewriting. Via paratext, early modern editors could contribute to a narrative's meaning without necessarily modifying the

91 Frieder von Ammon and Herfried Vögel. “Einleitung”. In: *Die Pluralisierung des Paratextes in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Ed. by Frieder von Ammon and Herfried Vögel. Berlin: Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2008, pp. vii–xxi, p. xiii.

92 Ibid., p. xiii.

93 Ammon and Vögel, “Einleitung”, p. xiii; cf. also Hilmar M. Pabel. “Credit, Paratexts and Editorial Strategies in Erasmus of Rotterdam's Editions of Jerome”. In: *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period*. Ed. by Karl Emenkel and Wolfgang Neuber. Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 217–256.

‘core’ text.

Following studies that demonstrate the suitability of Genette’s theory for the analysis of the premodern text, this chapter adopts an approach that reads the verbal and non-verbal paratext in the early printed book as a communicative mode of structuring, mediating and producing meaning. In particular, I will now investigate what effect the specific peritextual additions and modifications made by the six printers of the *Reisebuch* have on the representational strategies of the work’s printed versions; I examine how these paratexts (re-)frame, and thus in the broadest sense rewrite, the narrative in order to negotiate a distinct representation of the East and the eastern ‘other’.

4.2.1 Illustrating the *Reisebuch*

This section examines the illustrations in the print versions of the *Reisebuch*. It does not attempt to provide an art-historical analysis but instead investigates how these images work as paratexts, elucidating how the pictures interpret the narrative and contribute to (re-)shaping the book’s representation of the East. The insertion of woodcut images into a more or less identical print of the long version by the presses of Anton Sorg, Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber, Hermann Gülfferich and Weigand Han represents an independent addition that is exclusive to these versions.⁹⁴ Each

⁹⁴ These illustrations have no manuscript prototypes; in fact, the most any of the eight surviving manuscript reproductions evince by way of decoration is the rubrication of chapter headings and incipit letters. Indeed, the illustration of the vernacular travel account was uncommon in Germany during the Middle Ages. Illustrated pilgrimage accounts, the most prolific form of travel document, were the exception rather than the rule (see Andreas Betschart. *Zwischen zwei Welten. Illustrationen und Berichte westeuropäischer Jerusalemreisender*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996). There was, however, a notable increase in imagery in travel texts during the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as the transmission history of Schiltberger’s travel book testifies. Georg von Ehingen, Bernhard von Breydenbach, Hans Staden and Konrad von Grünenberg are a further few of the travellers whose reports were also furnished with, often extensive, illustrations (cf. Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach*, pp. 102–106; Susanna Schmidt. “Georg von Ehingen ‘Reisen nach der Ritterschaft’: Stil und Deutungsmuster einer Ritterbiographie am Übergang vom späten Mittelalter zur frühen Neuzeit”. PhD thesis. Bonn: Universität Bonn, 1997; Andrea Denke. *Konrad Grünenbergs Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land 1486. Untersuchung, Edition, Kommentar*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2011; Michael

of the printers had specific ideas about how to ‘appropriately’ illustrate the text, resulting in three sets of divergent images.

The first to publish and to illustrate the *Reisebuch*, Sorg incorporated woodcuts by the so-called *Sorgmeister* that add their own emphasis while responding specifically to the book’s storyline: the *Sorgmeister*’s illustrations characterise the East as the locus of *streyt vnd wunder* (1r; N 51). As Karoline Döring has argued, they demonstrate a “ritterlich-abenteuerlichen Tenor” rather than mirroring the narrative’s informative, ethnographic manner.⁹⁵

Berg and Neuber modelled their version’s images on Sorg’s prototype, but cut by a different and as yet unknown artist they have a distinct style and focus. These images represent a systematic attempt to visually delineate the eastern ‘other’, especially with regard to ethnographic costume details. Consequently, they align the travel text with the contemporaneous genre of the *Türkendruck*.⁹⁶ The genre is defined broadly by Thomas Kaufmann as “im Druck verbreitete Texte zur Türkenfrage aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert”, by which a diverse range of textual types is indicated, encompassing “Predigen und Traktate, ‘neue Zeitungen’, Lieder, Reise- und Gesandtschaftsberichte, polemische und chronistische Quellen.”⁹⁷ These prints are

Jacobs. *The Painted Voyage: Art, Travel and Exploration, 1564–1875*. London: British Museum Press, 1995; and Norbert Ott. “Zur Ikonographie der Reise. Bildformeln und Strukturprinzipien mittelalterlicher Reise-Illustrationen”. In: *Reisen und Welterfahrung in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Ed. by Dietrich Huschenbrett and John Margetts. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1989, pp. 35–53).

95 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, pp. 140–141; see also Uwe Meves. *Studien zu König Rother, Herzog Ernst und Grauer Rock (Orendel)*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1976, pp. 204–208, who comparably argues that Anton Sorg adapted a number of his prints “in Richtung ‘abenteuerlicher Reiseroman’” (p. 205).

96 See in particular Carl Göllner. *Turcica: Die europäischen Türckendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 2. Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1968, whose seminal bibliography catalogues approximately 2,400 printed *Türkenschriften* produced in Europe post-1501; although Göllner’s 1961 work no longer constitutes an entirely accurate reflection of current archival holdings, it still represents the most recent and extensive collation of *Türkendrucke* for this period and is therefore an indispensable resource. Döring provides a list of 841 pre-1500 *Türkendrücke* in her *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel* (2013).

97 Thomas Kaufmann. “*Türkenbüchlein*”. *Zur christlichen Wahrnehmung “türkischer Religion” in Spätmittelalter und Reformation*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008, p. 17.

informative and typically polemic accounts of the Turk made in response to Ottoman military advances, particularly in the Danube River Basin and the Mediterranean, during the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁹⁸ These conquests inspired a pervasive *Türkenfurcht* in Europe, which found its expression in the *Türkendrucke* and, by extension, the *Reisebuch*'s sixteenth-century print versions. The majority of commentators assessed “the Turkish danger not merely as a political and military problem but as an aspect of the moral and spiritual crisis of their age”, and they almost uniformly regarded the Turk as a “Scourge of God.”⁹⁹

Lastly, both Gülfferich and Han recycled and consequently repurposed a number of Jörg Breu the Elder's illustrations for Ludovico Varthema's *Reyß* in their editions of the *Reisebuch*.¹⁰⁰ The printers' selection and placement of the borrowed images is demonstrably deliberate. The woodcuts underline the brutality of the Turks and the diabolical nature of their religion and customs. As a result, they provide a trenchant

98 The symbolically significant conquest of Constantinople, capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, by Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481) in 1453 was the first defeat to be widely understood in Europe to signal not only the terrifying possibility of the loss of political power, religious sovereignty and security to an overwhelmingly powerful Muslim Ottoman Empire but also, metaphorically, the beginning of the Apocalypse. Mehmed II's reign, in which also the Duchy of Athens (1458) and the Kingdom of Bosnia (1464) came into Turkish possession, was followed by a period of respite under his successors Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) and Selim I (r. 1512–1520), both of whom were more interested in waging campaigns to establish the sultanate's dominance in the Middle East (John W. Bohnstedt. “The Infidel Scourge of God: the Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era”. In: *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 58.9 [1968], pp. 1–58, p. 6). The assault on the West was, however, continued by Sultan Suleiman I, under whom Belgrade (1521), Rhodes (1522), Mohács (1526), Buda and Pest (1541–1542) were captured and Vienna besieged (1529) (*ibid.*, p. 6). Further skirmishes took place in the second half of the sixteenth century under Selim II (r. 1566–1574), Murad III (r. 1574–1595) and Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603), which involved some successes for the Europeans – the ‘Holy League’ defeated the Ottoman fleet at the Battle of Lepanto (1571) – as well as many battles that ended with little notable gain for either side: the Long Turkish War (1593–1606) saw frequent, if ultimately ineffectual, clashes in the Balkans and in Hungary. Only with the defeat of Mehmed IV's grand vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha (c. 1635–1683) at the Battle of Vienna in 1683 and the (re-)establishment of Habsburg rule in Hungary and Transylvania did the threat posed by the Ottoman Empire finally subside for Europe, and the feared ‘terrible’ and ‘apocalyptic’ Turk of cultural discourse was replaced with *Turquerie* or *Turcomania* (Bohnstedt, “The Infidel Scourge of God”, p. 10. On the phenomenon of *Turquerie*, see Berman, *German Literature on the Middle East*, pp. 104–143).

99 Bohnstedt, “The Infidel Scourge of God”, p. 11 and pp. 25–31.

100 Voigt and Brancaforte, “Travelling Illustrations”, p. 368.

polemic that contrasts sharply with the relative ambivalence of the long version text the printers reproduce. This representation similarly characterises the account as a *Türkendruck*.

In short, the long version of the *Reisebuch* is interpreted visually by these printers, all of whom utilise the convergence of words and pictures in order to identify and define the alterity of the East in line with their own ideas and interests, with new audiences, and with new historical situations and discourses. Accordingly, these images “often tell more about the cultures that produced and consumed them than they do about the cultures they purport to depict.”¹⁰¹ I will now illustrate in more detail how these pictures achieve this rewriting.

Anton Sorg: *streyt vnd wunder*

Anton Sorg’s version of the *Reisebuch* contains a total of fifteen woodcuts by the *Sorgmeister*, of which two are duplicated (Fig. B.4 and Fig. B.5). As is the case for the majority of book illustration produced in Augsburg in the late fifteenth century, Sorg’s imagery in the *Reisebuch* “will gar nicht Kunstwerk sein, sondern nur der Unterstreichung des Textes dienen.”¹⁰² The illustrations were developed specifically for the narrative, and they do not function independently of the text as a self-supporting representation of the East, which is chiefly a result of their comparatively schematic and undifferentiated portrayal. Nonetheless, the pictures are not without comment of their own. Taking his cue from the preface (cf. section 1.5), Sorg adds his own layer of emphasis to the text through the woodcuts, which serve to characterise the East particularly as the locus of *streyts vnd wunders* (1r; N 52) and *vil hübscher vnd fremder abenteür* (1r; N 52).¹⁰³

101 James G. Harper. “Introduction”. In: *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750. Visual Imagery before Orientalism*. Ed. by James G. Harper. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011, pp. 1–18, p. 1.

102 Schmid, *Augsburger Buchillustration*, p. 29.

103 The citations in this chapter are taken from their respective print editions. I also provide where appropriate reference to Neumann’s edition, as it – like the late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century

This visual emphasis is the outcome of a specific pictorial strategy: the illustrator's interpretation of the text privileges the depiction of plot action over any concerted, systematic attempt at proto-ethnographic detail. The illustrator's focus is thus a direct response to narrative content, but it does not consistently reflect what can be characterised as the central preoccupation of the text. The long version is primarily interested in describing the various communities encountered by Schiltberger in the East: the narrator's chief concern is defining the relationships *zwischen ired gelaubens vnd des unsers* (44r; N 151). It is specifically this proto-ethnographic interest that is *not* mirrored in the *Sorgmeister's* woodcuts, which do not concentrate on systematically marking this discussion of religious difference visually. The illustrations can therefore be classed as a significant intervention by the printer and artist. They do not have a merely decorative function but instead promote a particular characterisation of the East by independently foregrounding certain textual aspects over others.

The account of Sadurmelick's revenge is a prime example of this narrative interest, which does not find translation in its respective illustration (Fig. B.9). The text describes how Schiltberger witnessed the arrival of a formidable 'Tartar' woman called Sadurmelick at the court of Egidü and Chekre. The woman was accompanied by 4,000 *junckfrawen und frawen* (19r; N 91) and was seeking these rulers' aid in order to avenge her husband's death at the hands of another *tartarschen herrn* (19r; N 91). The narrator characterises Sadurmelick and her maidens as Amazon-like, a mythical categorisation suggested by the fact that they carry bows and arrows and are proficient in battle. They destabilise medieval gender norms by acting like men: *ir solt auch wissen das sy und ir frawen an den streit riten vnd schussen vnd vachten mit den handbogen als die man vnnd wenn die fraw an einen streyt ryt so band sy an yegklich seiten ein schwert vnd ein handbogen* (19r; N 91–92). Even

prints – takes the Heidelberg and Karlsruhe version as its source.

more remarkably, when the culprit is finally captured in battle and brought before Sadurmelick, she *hieß [...] in nider knieen vnd zoch ir schwert auß und schlu(o)g im sein haubt in ainem streych ab* (19r; N 92). The passage thus references a frequently made connection between the matriarchal and martial Amazons and the Mongols.¹⁰⁴

In the long version, Sadurmelick's revenge forms part of the description of the eastern, religious 'other'; more specifically, it represents an attempt to position the Mongols within this particular discussion. The text reflects the ideological ambiguity with which the Latin West regarded the Mongols' place within Christian history and their role in a Christian future (cf. chapter 2). On the one hand, the text reports that there are Mongols who are Latin Christians living in a mountainous country called *Stzulet* (17v; N 87): *[es] sind auch vil Cristen und haben ain pistumb dorinn* (17v; N 87). The community consists of not only believers but active missionaries, who preach effectively in their own language: *es werden auch vil hayden bekert zu(o) cristenlichem gelauben, darumb das sy die wort vernemen die die priester singen und lesen* (17v; N 88). On the other hand, the text renders the Mongols as a cultural, religious 'other' – the tribes' brutality, nomadic existence (17v; N 88) and the proximity of their territories to the ends of the earth (17v; N 88) are described and mark this difference. The account of Sadurmelick's revenge contributes to the specification of the Mongol's fundamental alterity within the text's overall ambivalent representation. The women are explicitly identified as *heydnisch* (19r; N 91), their behaviour marked out as notably different from Christian expectations of

¹⁰⁴ Christine Reinle. "Exempla weiblicher Stärke? Zu den Ausprägungen des mittelalterlichen Amazonenbildes". In: *Historische Zeitschrift* 270.1 (2000), pp. 1–38, p. 22. Reports of Mongol women who were armed and fighting on horseback alongside the men emerged in Europe after the Mongols' invasion of Poland and Hungary in 1241–42. The explanation for this observation was found in the link to the mythical Amazons, who unlike the Mongols already had a fixed place in the European imagination at the time and were not only thought to fight and rule *als die man* (19r; N 92) but to populate equally remote and unfamiliar, if not wholly uncharted, territories. As Reinle explains, "je nach Standpunkt des Verfassers wurden [die Amazonen] dabei gern im äußersten Europas oder Asiens, etwa in Kolchis oder am Schwarzen, alternativ am Kaspischen Meer, mithin im Skythenland bzw. im Orient lokalisiert" (p. 20).

devout femininity, and their bellicosity and the grotesque violence of the encounter are emphasised.

The beheading – an example of *streyt* (1r; N 52) – is taken up for illustration by the *Sorgmeister*, so that the representation of plot action takes precedence over proto-ethnographic detail. Neither figure is depicted in what Julian Raby terms an “oriental(ising) mode”, which is to say the image is devoid of orientally inspired costumes, architecture and beasts.¹⁰⁵ Sadurmelick has been drawn instead in the stereotypical manner well-established in Augsburg book illustration of this period, which tended to recycle a common set of generic types. As Helmut Schmid writes, “neben die Typen des Textes tritt – oft in unveränderter Wiederholung – der Typ des Heiligen, des bärtigen Königs mit der Krone, der Frau mit den gewundenen Flechten und des Jünglings.”¹⁰⁶ Sadurmelick is depicted by the artist as this female type, i.e. with heavy braids wrapped around her head. She is the only female figure illustrated in this way in Sorg’s edition, which corresponds to the fact that she is the only woman picked out by name in the text. The type does not, however, have any distinctly ‘oriental’ features, and it certainly does not mark the figure out as heathen.

Similarly, Sadurmelick’s victim is represented in a comparably generic manner. The figure, posed with hands clasped as if pleading or in Christian prayer, is furthermore nearly identical to the kneeling figure in the print’s other illustrated execution scene, which accompanies the report of the massacre of crusaders after the Battle of Nicopolis (Fig. B.2). This woodcut likely represents the moment when Hannsen Greiff, after extolling the virtue of the crusaders’ deaths as *von christenlichs gelaubens wegen* (3r; N 55), knelt and *lyeß sich enthaubten und sein gesellen* (3r; N 55). The passage characterises the eastern ‘other’, here the Ottoman Turk, as religious ‘other’ as well

¹⁰⁵ Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ Schmid, *Augsburger Buchillustration*, p. 29; see also Albert Schramm. *Die Drucke von Anton Sorg in Augsburg*. Vol. 4. Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1921.

as both wrathful and especially bloodthirsty. Contrary to the text's preoccupation with identifying difference, a Christian lord executed in the context of holy war is portrayed in an identical fashion by the *Sorgmeister* to a heathen Mongol ruler beheaded as a result of a tribal feud. In both images, the artist is principally concerned with illustrating the narrative elements that emphasise a belligerent East. In the case of the portrayal of Sadurmelick's revenge, it is the violence of the act of beheading that is highlighted; likewise, Bayezid's action is depicted first and foremost as a massacre. The description of religious and cultural difference that is fundamental to the long version's characterisation of the eastern 'other', and of which these two passages form a part, is thus not equally reflected in their illustrations, which are schematic and provide little evidence of systematic differentiation between cultures and religious communities.

There are, nevertheless, a couple of exceptions to this general tendency in the artist's iconographic programme for the *Reisebuch*. The group of camel riders (Fig. B.8) and the inclusion of a single scimitar (Fig. B.11) are, for example, a nod to the exotic East. Even more significantly, Bayezid and Timūr are both cut as separate and distinguishable figures (Fig. B.2 and Fig. B.7, respectively). Bayezid is portrayed as a variation on the Augsburg type of the bearded king, recognisable by the twin attributes of bushy facial hair and crown. Timūr is likewise bearded. They are depicted either on their own – typically on one side of the frame – or as prominent within a group and thus additionally identified spatially as important within the frames.

Bayezid and Timūr also both boast an attribute that visually distinguishes them as the eastern 'other': headgear. Here the illustrator engages, albeit fleetingly, with a long history of identifying cultural and religious alterity in European art. The coding of difference extended from the characterisation of the 'other' as monstrous to,

especially in later periods, the depiction of alterity primarily through exotic clothing, with headdress playing a particularly central role.¹⁰⁷ This is the consequence of an ideology formulating that “those who thought differently should look different,” which found its perhaps most famous expression in the introduction of clothing regulations for communities of Jews and Muslims living in Europe by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, a mandate added to canon law by Pope Gregory IX in 1234.¹⁰⁸ The pointed Jewish hat as well as the Jewish *rota* are two of the most commonly occurring symbols of this system of ‘othering’ in contemporaneous art.¹⁰⁹ The Muslim, on the other hand, was traditionally represented with turban, beard and scimitar.¹¹⁰

In line with this practice, the *Sorgmeister*’s Bayezid wears an elaborate headdress that is similar to the hat with pointed brim and rounded crown in which the Italian artist Pisanello (c. 1395–1455) clothed the penultimate Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaeologus (compare Fig. B.2 and Fig. B.17). This style of hat came to mark foreign kingship and was used by artists to characterise a wide variety of cultural

107 Cf. Debra Higgs Strickland. *Saracens, Demons and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003; Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills, eds. *The Monstrous Middle Ages*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004; John Block Friedman. *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981; Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch. “Muslime im Bild des Spätmittelalters. Unterschiedliche Blicke auf die ‘Anderen’”. In: *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Ed. by Nikolaus Henkel Ludger Grenzmann Thomas Haye and Thomas Kaufmann. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012, pp. 209–245; Charlotte Colding Smith. *Images of Islam, 1453–1600: Turks in Germany and Central Europe*. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014; Ruth Mellinkoff. *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993; and Joyce Kubiski. “Orientalizing Costume in Early Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript Printing (Cité des Dames Master, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicaut Master, and Bedford Master)”. In: *Gesta* 40.2 (2001), pp. 161–180.

108 Heinz Schreckenberg. *Die Juden in der Kunst Europas: ein historischer Bildatlas*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996, p. 15.

109 Schreckenberg, *Die Juden in der Kunst Europas*, p. 15 and p. 214; and also Bernhard Blumenkranz. *Juden und Judentum in der mittelalterlichen Kunst*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965.

110 Saurma-Jeltsch, “Muslime im Bild des Spätmittelalters”, p. 214; and Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch. “The Metamorphic Other and the Discourse of Alterity in Parisian Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century”. In: *Images of Otherness in Medieval and Early Modern Times: Exclusion, Inclusion, Assimilation*. Ed. by Anja Eisenbeiß and Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2012, pp. 37–56, p. 38.

and religious ‘others’ such as Pontius Pilate, Herod and the Ottoman sultan.¹¹¹ Timūr wears a hat resembling the type commonly drawn on Mongols, an example of which can also be found in Pisanello’s work (Fig. B.18).¹¹² However, this delineation of the ‘other’ through costume is not consistently or systematically carried out by the *Sorgmeister*. In Fig. B.3 Bayezid is depicted in just a crown, and in Fig. B.5 Timūr is portrayed in full western-style armour. Furthermore, all other figures are clothed uniformly – i.e., irrespective of cultural or religious identity – in plate armour, bare-headed or wearing a rounded cap: both the Christian captives (Fig. B.2) and the camel riders (Fig. B.8), for instance, are portrayed with the latter.

This lack of a consistent systematic visual demarcation of the eastern ‘other’ suggests that the visual representation of cultural difference is not of prime importance, or indeed of chief interest, to the *Sorgmeister* or to his commissioner Sorg in the illustration of this text, especially as this pictorial marking of ethnic and religious identity is something both explored elsewhere. Sorg’s 1481 print of Mandeville’s *Travels* (GW: M20408), for example, contains representations by the *Sorgmeister* of both the monstrous races (Fig. B.12) and exotic oriental peoples (Fig. B.13), who are identified by their long robes, beards and elaborate headdress. These figures are presented to the reader in front of a blank background specifically as exotic types, and it is clear that the artist is in this instance primarily concerned with illustrating the text as a proto-ethnography. The printer also illustrates his 1488 vernacular edition of Bernhard von Breydenbach’s *Peregrinatio* (GW: 05078) with a series of woodcuts based on Erhard Reuwich’s original illustrations for the account, which

111 Kubiski, “Orientalizing Costume”, p. 163; and Joyce Kubiski. “Alterity and the Palaiologan Hat: Dress and Otherness in the Portraits of the Byzantine Emperor John VIII by Pisanello and Filarete”. In: *Images of Otherness in Medieval and Early Modern Times: Exclusion, Inclusion, Assimilation*. Ed. by Anja Eisenbeiß and Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2012, pp. 73–87, p. 73 and p. 80. Roberto Weiss. *Pisanello’s Medallion of the Emperor John VIII Palaeologus*. London: British Museum, 1966, provides a comprehensive summary of the hat’s further use in art.

112 For more examples see Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden*, between pp. 208–209.

likewise show a marked proto-ethnographic interest in eastern costume (Fig. B.16).¹¹³ As a result of the relative absence of exactly this kind of ‘oriental’ detail in the *Sorgmeister’s* illustrations for the *Reisebuch*, the reader’s attention is instead directed straight to the action depicted in the frame.

A large number of the fifteen frames in Sorg’s *Reisebuch* depict scenes of, or related to, *streyt* (1r; N 52), in which the figures’ actions are privileged over marking cultural and religious difference on these figures. In addition to the two images already discussed in more depth, they portray: the clash of crusaders and the Ottoman Turks at the Battle of Nicopolis (Fig. B.1); Bayezid’s destruction of the duchy of *Petaw* by fire (4r); Bayezid deliberating whether to spare the Christian captives (portrayed with bound hands) from execution after a failed escape attempt (Fig. B.3); Timūr on his way to fight against the Sultan of Egypt, preceded by fleeing men and women (11r); Timūr in armour after the defeat of Babylon (Fig. B.5); and finally, Timūr riding over the prostrate bodies of children (Fig. B.7).¹¹⁴ The East is thus depicted as the locus of violence; it is also the site of the adventure of the protagonist and traveller Schiltberger, who in Fig. B.1, Fig. B.2 and Fig. B.3 witnesses the illustrated deeds of these two rulers as a pictured captive.

The remaining seven images, located chiefly in the latter half of the long version (ch. 28–67), similarly omit the text’s proto-ethnographic interest in the religious and cultural ‘other’, focussing instead on the East as the site of wonder and the wondrous: “der Herausgeber ging mit der Auswahl der Illustrationen [...] auf die nach Vorlagen mittelalterlicher Reiseberichte, gestaltete Landeskunde (chorographischer Teil) des Textes ein, die Wunder, Monster und Fantastisches ins Bild setzte.”¹¹⁵ The term

113 For a discussion of Reuwich’s imagery, see Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach*; and Elizabeth Ross. *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach’s Peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014.

114 Illustrations of the Turk frequently depicted attacks on women and children, see Erhard Schoen’s *Türkische Grausamkeiten* (1530) or his *Türke mit zwei Gefangenen* (1530) (Smith, *Images of Islam, 1453–1600*, p. 3 and p. 44).

115 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, p. 140.

wunder indicates for the medieval and early modern period a continually expanding variety of rare and mysterious phenomena, i.e. from bizarre plants, strange animals, unfamiliar races, rare minerals and man-made structures to holy relics, miracles and prophecies.¹¹⁶ This disparate collection, which owes many of its types to Greek and Roman paradoxography, is in turn qualified by the emotion of wonder – a reaction of amazement, pleasure or fear that is inextricably connected to the experience of the novel, the unexpected or the inexplicable object or phenomenon.¹¹⁷ As a result of the imagery in Sorg's edition, Schiltberger's itinerary is presented as a *hübsche vnd fremde abenteür* (1r; N 52) qualified by wonder; this emphasis overlays the experience of a diverse religious space that is consistent with the long version's main textual focus.

The shift of focus is demonstrated by the fact that the *Sorgmeister* only makes visual reference to the East as the site of biblical events once, with a picture of the Tower of Babylon (Fig. B.4). Moreover, there is only one image that thematises the beliefs of eastern 'others' (Fig. B.10). The *Sorgmeister*'s pictorial programme thus stands in sharp contrast to his programme for Sorg's edition of Mandeville's *Travels*. In the latter, the passages describing the Holy Land – many of which are rewritten verbatim in the long version of the *Reisebuch* and therefore reproduced in Sorg's print (ch. 38–41) – receive illustration. They serve to characterise the Orient also visually as the site of Christian miracle and martyrdom, stressing the (omni-)presence of the Christian God in the materiality of the East (see Fig. B.14, which illustrates the story of the miraculous behaviour of birds at the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai). Further, there are a number of images in Sorg's edition of the *Travels* that depict 'others' at worship (Fig. B.15). The description of the diversity of heretical religions in the East, a key component of the *Travels*, is

116 Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750*, p. 20 and p. 23; Caroline Walker Bynum. "Wonder". In: *American Historical Review* 102.1 (1997), pp. 1–17, p. 3.

117 Bynum, "Wonder", p. 3.

visually detailed and the narrative's emphasis maintained by the artist and printer. The *Sorgmeister's* programme for the *Reisebuch*, however, appears to represent a considered choice not to implement this kind of imagery both for these rewritten and other comparable passages in the travel book.

Even the *Sorgmeister's* illustration of the Tower of Babylon – while referencing the biblical ruin – does not primarily depict the site as a religious space. In the long version, the passage supports the text's thematisation of diversity because, as well as representing a marker of the physicality and thus authenticity of biblical history, the Tower stands for the “origins of cultural difference.”¹¹⁸ Genesis 11:1–9 explains how, through the Tower's destruction by God, there came to be such a diversity of peoples, faiths and languages scattered over the earth. Albeit obliquely, the narrative makes reference to the biblical account, alluding to the Tower's construction by the giant Nimrod and its ultimate destruction (23r; N 103). The *Sorgmeister's* image, however, stresses the inaccessibility of the Tower's location by picturing the narrator's claim that no one can safely travel to the desert in which the Tower lies due to a multitude of dragons, serpents and other *böesen würmen* (23r; N 103). That is to say, the *Sorgmeister's* woodcut reflects the obviously fantastical by foregrounding these animals and the site's geographical isolation in a manner that is largely disconnected from biblical history and its significance in the long version.

Similarly, the fantastic and mythical is emphasised in a woodcut that depicts a battle between a unicorn and a dragon (Fig. B.11). This picture illustrates a section (ch. 65) detailing the conversion of Armenia to Christianity under Tiridates III (287–330) and St. Gregory the Illuminator (c. 257–331), the first Patriarch of the Armenian Apostolic Church. The *Sorgmeister* pictorially (re-)focuses the passage from a history of religion in the East onto mythical beasts and the ensuing battle

¹¹⁸ Theodore Hiebert. “The Tower of Babel and the Origin of the World's Cultures”. In: *Journal of Biblical Literature* 126.1 (2007), pp. 29–58, p. 33.

with Tiridates in Rome, who is portrayed beheading the dragon.

As a last example, the artist's focus on wonder is also evident in his illustration of a passage that describes a bridge made out of the shinbone of a giant knight called *allenklayser* (30v; N 120), which allows travellers to cross a deep ravine, *und wer dahin kompt er sey reytenant oder geend der mu(o)s durch daz schinbein auß ziehen* (30v; N 121). The woodcut portrays a schematic rider pointing to the entrance of the cylindrical bone, which is wedged between craggy rocks over sweeping water (Fig. B.6). The picture is not used to illustrate the corresponding passage in the text but another description of a difficult mountainous crossing in *klein inndiea* (12v-13r; N 77), a region traditionally thought to be the location of the most fantastical wonders.¹¹⁹ The illustration serves primarily to amplify the impression of the marvellous by drawing attention to the existence of monstrous races, which do not feature extensively in the text; giants were frequently identified as *wunder* in both encyclopaedic and travel texts during this period, and the discovery of their bones – most famously by St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) – common in the teratological tradition.¹²⁰ Like the previous two woodcuts, this image thus functions to characterise the East as a region in which these kinds of unusual, fantastical discoveries can be made by the intrepid traveller – as the locus of profane *wunder*.

What is, then, the consequence of this dual visual emphasis on *streyt vnd wunder* (1r; N 52)? With Karoline Döring and Uwe Meves, I argue that this focus contributes to the printer's presentation of the account as an entertaining adventure story.¹²¹ This characterisation was applied by the two scholars to Sorg's edition of the *Reisebuch*

119 As a geographical term, India described a vague and shifting space during the Middle Ages. Typically, it was divided into three parts, with Lesser India indicating the northern half of the subcontinent, Greater India the southern half, and Middle India the Horn of Africa, including Ethiopia (Phillips, *Before Orientalism*, pp. 19–20).

120 John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg, eds. *Trade, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages*. New York: Garland Publishing, 2000, p. 230; and on the subject of giants in medieval literature more generally, cf. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters and the Middle Ages*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

121 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, pp. 140–141.

in large part due to its transmission in collection. The print version was routinely published by Sorg in combination with other narratives of predominantly fictional travel to exotic and faraway lands, in particular with *Sankt Brandans Meerfahrt* and the prose version F of *Herzog Ernst* (in GW: 12536, 12537) as well as, considerably less frequently, with Ludolf von Sudheim's *Buch von dem weg zu(o) heyligen grab* (GW: 44173). In fact, copies, now bound separately, of *Herzog Ernst* (GW: 12534), *Brandan* (GW: 05004) and the *Reisebuch* (GW: M40832) were demonstrably once a single volume, a fact indicated by the consecutive numbering of the pages by a single, contemporaneous hand.¹²² As Döring has argued, this collection appears to have been conceived of as an "Orientlesebuch" by its printer and illustrator: the theme of adventure in the East is privileged in all three editions.¹²³

This independent focus is achieved via the woodcuts provided for each of these editions by the *Sorgmeister*. The images function "als unterhaltsame Ausstattung eines Abenteuerromans."¹²⁴ Like in the *Reisebuch*, the *Sorgmeister*'s illustrations for *Herzog Ernst* and *Brandan* are schematic and concentrate on depicting the texts' plot action and aspects that accentuate the impression of an adventurous journey.¹²⁵ The illustration of these two narratives thus likewise involved their interpretation by the printer and xylographer, with the result that it is possible to assert with Döring and Meves that there is a comprehensive shift away from religious and/or proto-ethnographic interest with respect to these texts.¹²⁶

For instance, Uwe Meves has established for *Herzog Ernst* that, whereas the narrative itself extends a "Sicht der Orientfahrt Ernsts unter dem Aspekt der Bußfahrt", Sorg gives prominence to the traveller's adventures in the Orient.¹²⁷

122 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, p. 143.

123 Ibid., p. 144.

124 Ibid., p. 144.

125 Ibid., p. 144.

126 Ibid., p. 144.

127 Meves, *Studien zu König Rother, Herzog Ernst und Grauer Rock (Orendel)*, p. 205.

The woodcuts depict the stations of Ernst's voyage as well as a number of the marvels Ernst encounters, like the crane-headed *Grippiâns* (GW: 12534, fol. 16r) and an assemblage of *wunderlich gefangen leut* (GW: 12534, fol. 31r). The same pictorial emphasis on marvels, adventure and voyage is evident in Sorg's *Brandan*. The text tells, in vernacular prose, the legend of St. Brendan's sea voyage to the *terra repromissionis sanctorum*, and it "reveal[s] lessons concerning faith in God, avoidance of sins, and obedience to the monastic rule" that are of secondary concern in the *Sorgmeister's* illustrations.¹²⁸ The two editions therefore provide a visual interpretation similar to the suppression of the narrator's proto-ethnographic and religious emphasis I have shown for the *Reisebuch*. The exclusion of Ludolf von Sudheim's unillustrated pilgrimage account to the Holy Land, with its concomitant focus on the main religious sites and the topic of crusade, in Sorg's 1480 and 1485 print runs of this collection of travel writing is yet another indication of the profane direction of the printer's presentation of these texts.¹²⁹

If seen in this transmission context, the long version can therefore be said to be adapted "in die Richtung des Abenteuer-, Ritter- und Reiseromans."¹³⁰ This concept is produced in large part by the *Sorgmeister's* images and their foregrounding of plot action, and underlined further by the label-title added to Sorg's 1486 collection of *Herzog Ernst, Brandan* and the *Reisebuch* (GW: 12537), which stresses that these works all principally narrate *von den selczsamen wundern* their protagonists experienced *auf den mo(e)re vnd auf dem land*.¹³¹ This characterisation of the East as the locus of battles, marvels and adventure sets Sorg's version of the *Reisebuch*

128 Dorothy Ann Bray. "Allegory in the *Navigatio sancti Brendani*". In: *Viator* 26 (1995), pp. 1–10, p. 1.

129 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, p. 144; for a discussion of Ludolf von Sudheim's account, see Anne Simon. "Of Smelly Seas and Ashen Apples: Two German Pilgrims' View of the East". In: *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050–1550*. Ed. by Rosamund Allen. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, pp. 196–220, pp. 199ff.

130 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, p. 140.

131 Meves, *Studien zu König Rother, Herzog Ernst und Grauer Rock (Orendel)*, pp. 205–206.

apart from the rest of the narrative's transmission in print, the reconceptualisation of which I will now investigate further.

Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber: Dressing the Orient

Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber's print version of the *Reisebuch* includes fifteen woodcuts, two of which are reused several times (Fig. B.22 and Fig. B.24). The images are based on the *Sorgmeister's* illustrations: they depict almost all of the same scenes – with the exception of Fig. B.10 and Fig. B.11, which are omitted in this print edition – and they more often than not follow the composition of the *Sorgmeister's* imagery. As a result, Berg and Neuber's illustrations share a similar emphasis on *krieg, streyt vnd wunder* (8r; N 52). However, as the work of another artist the illustrations have their own distinct style, and they add an independent layer of meaning in their reworking of the *Sorgmeister's* model. In particular, they indicate an interest in depicting “Eastern, or Easternising, motifs capable of evoking a vision of the Orient” as opposed to the *Sorgmeister's* largely schematic, culturally unspecific and undifferentiated portrayal of plot action.¹³² Berg and Neuber's illustrations represent a consistent, systematic attempt to introduce visual distinctions that mirror the narrative's thematisation of eastern difference. This agenda finds its most significant expression in the extensive portrayal of a variety of oriental costumes, a choice that ultimately reflects “the transformative power of costume to integrate or to alienate a figure in a work of art.”¹³³ The manner of this visual delineation of the ‘other’ functions to align the edition with the imagery and aims of the sixteenth-century *Türkendruck*.

The printers' interest in costume constitutes a response to contemporary tastes. This is not to suggest there was no enthusiasm for portraying the dress of eastern

¹³² Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, p. 78.

¹³³ Amanda Wunder. “Western Travelers, Eastern Antiquities, and the Image of the Turk in Early Modern Europe”. In: *The Journal of Early Modern History* 7 (2003), pp. 89–119, p. 114.

‘others’ before the sixteenth century, but its representation became marked by an ethnographic impetus based on first-person observation during this time, with the result that visually speaking “der eine Topos weicht einer Vielfalt von Topoi.”¹³⁴ This development goes hand in hand with the valorisation (if only rhetorically) of travellers’ eyewitness experience of other regions and cultures over textually mediated information that is symptomatic for travel writing during the late medieval and early modern periods (see chapter 1). As Julian Raby puts it, “the intellectual investigation [of the Middle East] was to have its counterpart in the growing record of the physical appearance of the Islamic world.”¹³⁵

The emergence of greater variety and cultural specificity in the artistic portrayal of the Orient as evident in the illustrations in Berg and Neuber’s print version of the *Reisebuch* is usually studied with respect to Italy and specifically to Venice, which as a cosmopolitan trading centre and the starting point for the majority of European voyages eastwards had extensive contact with Byzantium and the Muslim world unparalleled in northern Europe.¹³⁶ In particular, this mode of illustrating the East was propagated by Gentile Bellini (1429–1507) – often referred to as the “Father of Venetian Orientalism” –, his pupil Giovanni Mansueti (1465–1527) as well as the painter and engraver Cesare Vecellio (1530–1601): their knowledge and imagery derived from personal experience and firsthand observation gathered on voyages to the East or from visits to Venice by eastern diplomats and traders.¹³⁷ In turn, these images ‘drawn from life’ became the sources for types used all over Europe by artists like Vittore Carpaccio (1465–1525) and Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), who incorporated oriental detail gained from the study of the Venetian masters in their

134 Saurma-Jeltsch, “Muslime im Bild des Spätmittelalters”, p. 227; cf. also Kubiski, “Orientalizing Costume”, who likewise argues for a noticeable increase in the frequency and specificity of costume portrayal during the late Middle Ages, especially after the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396 (p. 162).

135 Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, p. 18.

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid., p. 19.

own work.¹³⁸ In fact, especially with regard to the depiction of costume, “most artists [...] relied on images brought back from the Ottoman Empire as models.”¹³⁹ This movement towards variety and specificity therefore does not concurrently represent a shift away from stereotypes in the portrayal of the eastern ‘other’ during the sixteenth century; rather, the tendency involved the development of a new visual vernacular to describe this ‘other’, whereby in the majority of cases “the artist has taken care to particularize [...] through details of appearance and manner.”¹⁴⁰

In the regions that make up modern-day Germany, there was a comparable interest in depicting the costume of the eastern ‘other’ that coincided with a broad enthusiasm for documenting the peoples and customs of other lands.¹⁴¹ This ethnographic impetus existed alongside propagandistic efforts to inform and warn the reading public about the military and religious threat of the Turks.¹⁴² Nuremberg, the location of Berg and Neuber’s press, played a significant role as an important centre for the production of this kind of printed material.¹⁴³ As in Venice, the visual emphasis in Nuremberg shifted from generic to realistic types characterised by the

138 Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, p. 66.

139 Smith, *Images of Islam, 1453–1600*, p. 124.

140 Heather Madar. “Dürer’s Depictions of the Ottoman Turks: A Case of Early Modern Orientalism?” In: *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750. Visual Imagery before Orientalism*. Ed. by James G. Harper. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011, pp. 155–183, p. 164.

141 This interest extends to travels to the New World – for example, by Hans Staden (c. 1525–1579) and Ulrich Schmiedel (1510–1580). The travellers’ representations of this even more unfamiliar ‘other’ have been extensively analysed (cf. Harbsmeier, *Wilde Völkerkunde*; Christian Kiening. *Das wilde Subjekt: Kleine Poetik der neuen Welt*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006; Wolfgang Neuber. *Fremde Welt im europäischen Horizont: zur Topik der deutschen Amerika-Reiseberichte der frühen Neuzeit*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1991; and, especially with respect to imagery, Stephanie Leitch. *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 147–176).

142 This practice has been most recently and comprehensively surveyed from an art historical perspective by Charlotte Colding Smith (see Smith, *Images of Islam, 1453–1600*, which addresses the variety of different visual representations – e.g., military, apocalyptic, courtly – of the Turk across a number of genres during this period; and also Charlotte Colding Smith. ““Depicted with Extraordinary Skill”: Ottoman Dress in Sixteenth-Century German Printed Costume Books”. In: *Textile History* 44.1 [2013], pp. 25–50, which specifically deals with the illustration of the Turk in sixteenth-century costume books).

143 Alexandrine N. St. Clair. “Türkengefahr”. In: *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Ed. by Richard Ettinghausen. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972, pp. 315–332, p. 318.

particularity and diversity of costume depiction.

This attention to detail especially affected the portrayal of the turban, which was the most established identifier of the eastern ‘other’ in European art and an actual marker of ethnicity, gender, wealth and social status in the Middle East; its socio-cultural significance is reflected in the existence of a corresponding variety of different styles.¹⁴⁴ The turban’s diversity is documented in images from the fifteenth century onwards and can even be observed in the *Sorgmeister*’s largely schematic woodcuts.¹⁴⁵ In the Nuremberg artist Albrecht Dürer’s turn of the sixteenth century engravings, however, a substantial increase in the specificity and the sheer amount of oriental detail is evident: Dürer’s figures wear various styles of Ottoman headgear – from the turban wrapped around a ribbed cap called a *tāj* to the *börk* of the janissary, the elite foot soldier in the Ottoman army – and they also occasionally carry banners decorated with the star and crescent that further identify them as Ottoman Turks (see Fig. B.19).¹⁴⁶ As Raby has shown, Dürer in particular “transformed the northern European visual platitude of a Muslim into a more specific Ottoman image that mirrored contemporary reality.”¹⁴⁷ Other significant contributors to the representational mode with a connection to Nuremberg include Erhard Schoen (1491–1592), Melchior Lorck (c. 1527–1594) and Jost Amman (1539–1591), who depicted the exotic elegance and opulence of the Ottoman sultans and their court (Fig. B.20).¹⁴⁸ They also stressed the rumoured barbarity and brutality of this

144 Charlotte Jirousek. “More Than Oriental Splendor: European and Ottoman Headgear, 1380–1580”. In: *Dress* 1 (22), pp. 22–33, p. 24. Bronwen Wilson. “*Foggie diverse die vestire de’ Turchi*: Turkish Costume Illustration and Cultural Translation”. In: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37.1 (2007), pp. 97–139, similarly writes that “Ottoman attire adhered to strict rules and these visual codes organized social exchanges in terms of rank and status” (p. 97). Cf. both Leo Ary Mayer. *Mamluk Costume: A Survey*. Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1952; and Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, eds. *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*. Istanbul: Eren, 2004, for illustrations of this coding.

145 Cf. p. 202.

146 See Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, pp. 22–30.

147 Julian Raby. “Picturing the Levant”. In: *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*. Ed. by Jay A. Levenson. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1991, pp. 77–82, p. 79.

148 Jost Amman’s illustrations for the *Habitus Praecipuorum Populorum* printed by Hans Weigel

military and religious foe, not least by regularly portraying the maltreatment of captives, women and children (Fig. B.21).¹⁴⁹ It is this kind of locally available imagery that Berg and Neuber's illustrator emulated in reworking the *Sorgmeister's* pictorial model, by means of which the artist aligns the text with the contemporaneous *Türkendruck*.

The portrayal of the 'terrible' Turk in these illustrations constitutes a response to the increased unease in Europe spawned by successful Ottoman military campaigns in the Danube River Basin during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁵⁰ The

the Elder (c. 1520–1577) in Nuremberg in 1577 (VD16: W 1488) are an example. In this book, Amman portrays the Turkish *Kayser* (164r, 165r), his *Hohepriester* (166r), *Zuchtmeister* (167r), *Büchsenmeister* (176r), a *Lakeyen* (168r), a *Stallknecht* (178r) as well as various Ottoman *Kriegsknechte* (169r, 170r, 174r, 175r, 177r) and women of different rank (181–190r), a number of whom are clothed in notably extravagant robes. These costumed figures of different genders, social ranks and occupations provide the reader with not only a notion of the appearance and wealth of Ottoman court society, but also with ethnographic information about its configuration. Placed alongside illustrations of the garments of different social strata in Europe, these representations mirror the reader's "own hierarchies of monarch, officials, soldiers, and staff" and thus "solicit Western viewers to consider how they are both different from but also similar to the Turkish other" (Wilson, "Turkish Costume Illustration", p. 130 and p. 131). This style of imagery presents the Ottomans as a comparatively unthreatening entity, "as an exotic curiosity for collection, study and display" (Smith, "Ottoman Dress", p. 44).

149 Erhard Schoen's illustration of a brief poem by Hans Sachs provides an example of a polemic portrayal of the (alleged) savagery of the Ottoman military. Printed in Nuremberg in 1530 by the *Briefmaler* Hans Guldenmundt (d. 1560), the broadside was produced and distributed in response to the 1529 Siege of Vienna by Sultan Suleiman I (r. 1520–1566) and was clearly designed to generate a strong emotional reaction with its incendiary depiction of Turkish atrocities, i.e. the impaling and butchering of innocent babies (St. Clair, "Türkengefahr", p. 318). Rather than representing the Turks as members of an approximate courtly society, the woodcut "zeigt [...] die Türken als Zerstörer des Sozialen" (Christiane Ackermann and Rebekka Nöcker. "Wann gantz gefeulich ist die zeit: Zur Darstellung der Türken im Werk des Hans Sachs". In: *Texte zum Sprechen bringen: Philologie und Interpretation*. Ed. by Christiane Ackermann and Ulrich Barton. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2009, pp. 437–497, p. 445). The image was one of several produced by Schoen for Guldenmundt on this topic: another comparably gruesome illustration pictures a Turkish rider wearing a *börk* leading a shackled and wailing couple into slavery, their baby impaled on his flagstaff as a monstrous trophy.

150 See Winfried Schulze. *Reich und Türkengefahr im späten 16. Jahrhundert: Studien zu den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer äußeren Bedrohung*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1978, for a discussion of the political and social impact of Turkish military expansion on the Holy Roman Empire. See Kaufmann, "Türkenbüchlein"; and Thomas Kaufmann. "Aspekte christlicher Wahrnehmung der "türkischen Religion" im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert im Spiegel publizistischer Quellen". In: *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Ed. by Ludger Grenzmann, Thomas Haye, and Nikolaus Henkel. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012, pp. 247–277, for (exhaustive) comment on the textual representation of Islam in the *Türkenbüchlein*.

conflict is typically referred to by scholarship as *Türkengefahr*, *Türkengreuel* and *Türkenfurcht*, and it was, although not the only, certainly the dominant discursive current about the Turks in Germany.¹⁵¹ In fact, this atmosphere of terror was so pervasive that to a large extent any “Interesse an den kulturellen und religiösen Gewohnheiten der Türken ist von der Türkenangst nicht zu trennen.”¹⁵² The *Türkenproblematik* was omnipresent in the form of (polemic) texts and images, the daily *Türkenglocken* under Pope Callixtus III (r. 1455–1458), the *Türkenmessen*, the *Türkenpredigten*, and the *Türkensteuer* levied by the Holy Roman Emperor and the Catholic Church.¹⁵³ Consequently, the Turk was so fundamentally ‘othered’ during this period that his image could easily be appropriated to indicate a variety of opponents: Albrecht Dürer portrays the Roman Emperor Domitian as a beturbaned sultan in his *Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist* (c. 1496–1498) to signify the ruler’s violent opposition to Christianity, and Martin Luther (1483–1546) equates the Pope to the Turk since both were, he argued, “seeking to extirpate the Christian faith and Church by physical violence as well as by false doctrine.”¹⁵⁴

Thus, during the sixteenth century the Turk was arguably the dominant cultural and religious ‘other’ in popular German imagination, and the portrayal of his costume played a significant role in the delineation of this ‘otherness’ in the *Türken-druck*. Costume was an expression of social status, of national and religious identity during this period, in Europe as in the Middle East: “Clothes did not conceal the body, but reproduced and multiplied it.”¹⁵⁵ Interest in the costumed Oriental in

151 Höfert, *Den Feind Beschreiben*, p. 51.

152 Kaufmann, “Aspekte christlicher Wahrnehmung der “türkischen Religion””, p. 267. Nina Berman. “Historische Phasen orientalisierender Diskurse in Deutschland”. In: *Orient- und Islambilder: Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Orientalismus und antimuslimischen Rassismus*. Ed. by Iman Attia. Münster: UNRAST-Verlag, 2007, pp. 71–84, similarly contends that this ethnographic interest stemmed from an attempt to find a social explanation for Turkish success (p. 74).

153 Höfert, *Den Feind Beschreiben*, p. 58.

154 Bohnstedt, “The Infidel Scourge of God”, p. 24.

155 Valentin Groebner. “Inside Out: Clothes, Dissimulation and the Arts of Accounting in the Autobiography of Matthäus Schwarz, 1496–1574”. In: *Representations* 66 (1999), pp. 100–121, p. 112.

Germany was, therefore, never purely one of style or aesthetics. Instead, artists “use costume as a means to order an expanding and increasingly unruly image of the world”, whereby these images facilitate comparison by presenting a system of legible bodies.¹⁵⁶ Ottoman and Mamluk costume, in particular, “became a *topos* that could be used as a foil to Christian civilization.”¹⁵⁷ In this respect, medieval and early modern use of costume remained at its core the same, even as its particular visual expression changed: the aim in the thirteenth and the sixteenth century was to mark identity, similarity and difference. This movement to visually particularise and categorise can be observed in Berg and Neuber’s version of the *Reisebuch*, which utilises an array of specific costumes to mark the ‘other’. In particular, the edition reflects the dominance of the ‘terrible’ Turk motif.

This concern is apparent already in the first image in Berg and Neuber’s version, which portrays – as in Sorg’s print – the clash of crusaders and Ottoman Turks at the Battle of Nicopolis (Fig. B.1 and Fig. B.22). The image has a unique status in the version as the woodcut selected for the title page, where it functions like Sorg’s image to stress the print’s thematisation of *krieg vnnd wunderbarlicher thatten* (1r). In contrast to Sorg’s prototype, however, the two armies are clearly differentiated in Berg and Neuber’s illustration. Whereas the crusaders are clothed in plate armour, the Turks wear ethnic dress and a variety of headgear, including types that resemble the turban and *tāj* and the shaggy Mamluk *tāqiyya* that was incorporated into Ottoman military uniforms under Suleiman I.¹⁵⁸ They also wield scimitars and carry banners decorated with the crescent moon, a symbol that additionally identified the figures as Ottoman soldiers and connoted Islam to the contemporary reader, particularly (as here) after the 1529 Siege of Vienna.¹⁵⁹ As a result of these changes, a contrast

156 Wilson, “Turkish Costume Illustration”, p. 100 and p. 109.

157 Ibid., p. 109.

158 Smith, *Images of Islam, 1453–1600*, p. 50.

159 Ibid., p. 50.

is established that complements, rather than suppresses, the text's delineation of these opposing groups on both ethnic and religious grounds: Berg and Neuber's illustration explicitly depicts crusade in a significant reworking of Sorg's visually unspecified battle.

Moreover, the *Sorgmeister's* illustration has been adapted by these new printers and their illustrator so that the image can easily be read within the context of the *Türkengefahr*. The image provides more lurid detail than the *Sorgmeister's* woodcut in the form of severed heads and limbs. This associates the woodcut with the theme of the 'terrible' Turk by stressing the Turks' much feared military prowess and brutality, a characterisation only underlined by the corresponding intertitle that reminds the reader that the leader of the crusaders *nicht vil gewindt* (8v). Additionally, the age-old opposition of Christianity and Islam, embodied in the *Türkendruck* by the conflict between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, is brought to the fore by these costumed and thus clearly demarcated figures. In fact, the identification of the cultural and religious 'other' through costume constitutes an important aspect of the illustrator's programme.

For example, the *Sorgmeister's* schematic representation of Sadurmelick's revenge is also modified in Berg and Neuber's version to reflect the narrator's proto-ethnographic interest (Fig. B.29). Although the composition of the woodcut with its focus on the act of beheading is the same, in Berg and Neuber Sadurmelick's victim is bearded and clothed in long 'orientalising' robes. He is clearly differentiated from the kneeling crusader in Fig. B.23 who is dressed in western-style hose and doublet. As we have seen, this is a contrast that was nonexistent in the *Sorgmeister's* imagery, and these changes serve to mark the different qualities and contexts of the two scenes, i.e. martyrdom and tribal feud.

Fig. B.26 and Fig. B.27 are two further examples of the illustrators' inclination

to ‘dress’ the Orient. If in Sorg’s edition individualised headdress was reserved for Bayezid and Timūr, in Berg and Neuber all eastern figures are given much more specific clothing and weaponry. These ‘others’ are drawn riding camels as well as horses. They carry scimitars, a bow and arrow, and in Fig. B.27 even large wooden clubs, the latter a weapon typically associated with savagery and the (medieval) figure of the ‘wild man’.¹⁶⁰ The artist is also clearly at pains to portray a diversity of headdress with each figure depicted wearing a different variant of the Ottoman turban and *tāj*.

The representation of Timūr in Ottoman dress in Fig. B.26 is, however, at odds with the narrative’s characterisation of the ruler: the *Reisebuch* understands Timūr and the ‘Tartars’ to be separate from Bayezid and the Ottoman Turks, but this textual distinction is not visually supported in Berg and Neuber’s print version. Likewise unreflected is the cultural and religious diversity of the eastern ‘other’ that is key to the long version’s portrayal of the East. The illustrator’s reworking of the *Sorgmeister*’s imagery neither features eastern Christians nor differentiates consistently between oriental communities with divergent agendas: Timūr is depicted similarly to *Joseph* (27v) in Fig. B.27, who defeats and beheads Timūr’s son Miran Shāh, and to Bayezid in Fig. B.23. In these illustrations, the variety of Turkish costume thus seems to function principally as an ‘othering’ strategy by the illustrator – as a ‘topos’ that is meant to suggest the alterity of the East to the reader.¹⁶¹ The images “conjure up what is exotic, and what is exotic, in turn, can be applied to a variety of distant locations.”¹⁶²

However, as used in Fig. B.26 and Fig. B.27 predominantly Ottoman costume details also have the effect that these woodcuts echo the imagery of the ‘terrible’

160 Timothy Husband. *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980, p. 2.

161 Wilson, “Turkish Costume Illustration”, p. 109.

162 Voigt and Brancaforte, “Travelling Illustrations”, p. 366.

Turk. The eastern ‘other’ is visually characterised as primitive and savage by the attribute of the wooden clubs and as bloodthirsty by the plot action depicted in these scenes, which represent respectively *wie Temerlin vor der stat Hispahlen/ 7.000 junge kindern / vnter 14. jarn/ jemmerlich vmbbracht* (25v) and *wie der landßherr Joseph den Miranschach vber zeg / im sein landschafft einnam/ vnd in ko(e)pffen ließ* (27v). The atrocities, especially the slaughter of children, that the narrative and the printers’ intertitles ascribe to Timūr and the Mongols are also commonly associated with the Turks. Via costume detail which serves to ‘other’ but also to blur any distinction between the Mongols and the Ottomans, these deeds are visually, if not textually, brought in connection with the Ottomans.

A further consequence of this imagery is that the Orient is characterised as the locus of *krieg* (1r). Berg and Neuber’s print thus reveals a visual strategy comparable to Sorg’s version. Yet, the characterisation of the East as the site of aggressive military activity that is reflected in the *Sorgmeister*’s images takes absolute precedence across Berg and Neuber’s illustrations: the representation of the wondrous that provides another dimension to the *Sorgmeister*’s visual interpretation is significantly reduced in Berg and Neuber’s imagery, although the East is likewise not drawn to reflect the narrative’s diverse religious space. For example, the bone of the giant knight is no longer recognisable as such, rendered instead as an overgrown and rocky passage (Fig. B.25). The *Sorgmeister*’s depiction of the combatant dragon and unicorn is also not replicated in the unknown illustrator’s programme. The images that do remain stress – instead of a sense of the marvellous and of adventure – the dangers of the eastern ‘wilderness’, markedly in the illustrator’s adoption of the *Sorgmeister*’s Tower of Babylon woodcut. An additional image that does not have an equivalent in Sorg customises this ‘topos’ of impassability due to a multitude of dangerous reptiles (Fig. B.28). The wilderness stands in contrast to the equally menacing civilisation of

the East, which is visually characterised by the war and brutality that is underscored in the accompanying intertitles: *to(e)dten ließ* (10r), *gewan vnd zersto(e)rt* (22r), *einnam* (22v), *kriegt* (21r), *umbbracht* (24v), *ko(e)pffen ließ* (26v) etc.

How, then, do Berg and Neuber's illustrations represent the alterity of the East? The unknown illustrator introduces realistic, if chiefly 'orientalising', details in his reworking of the *Sorgmeister's* woodcuts, and he depicts this clearly identified 'other' as first and foremost a military foe, who is brutal, merciless and even savage; in Fig. B.22, this 'other' is also explicitly identified as Muslim. These illustrations consequently reflect the wider representational aesthetic in Nuremberg in the mid-sixteenth century. Indeed, the artist evokes a negative stereotype of the 'terrible' Turk in these fifteen images that is especially prevalent in the contemporary *Türkendruck*. This characterisation corresponds to aspects of the long version's representation of the East: it mirrors the text's interest in military exploits and eastern alterity, at least insofar as the illustrations represent a consistent attempt to mark the eastern 'other'. By contrast, Berg and Neuber's imagery transmits a relatively monolithic concept of this 'other': they portray only Ottoman costume and the Muslim 'other'. This represents a reduction of the considerably more complex concept conveyed by the long version Berg and Neuber (re-)printed, which instead stresses the diversity of 'others'. The images therefore function to independently frame the narrative in response to the sixteenth-century *Türkengefahr*. The paratextual reworking of the *Reisebuch* for these historical circumstances and an audience that was eager to be informed about the Ottoman Empire is furthered by the insertion of a preface by the printers that likewise explicitly engages with the *Türkenfurcht* and consequently defines the 'other' comparatively narrowly as Ottoman and Muslim. Thus, Berg and Neuber's edition of the *Reisebuch* reproduces this particular 'other' as characteristic for the period and the *Türkendruck*.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Berman, "Historische Phasen orientalisierender Diskurse in Deutschland", pp. 73–75; see also

Hermann Gülfferich and Weigand Han: The ‘Terrible’ Turk

A similar focus is also maintained in Hermann Gülfferich and his heir Weigand Han’s roughly contemporaneous illustrated print of the long version, albeit in a distinct fashion. The images in Gülfferich and Han’s edition were not created in response to the narrative content; instead, Gülfferich and Han recycled the pictures, cut by the prominent Augsburg painter and xylographer Jörg Breu, from Ludovico Varthema’s *Ritterlich vnd Lobwirdig Reyß* (Augsburg, 1515).¹⁶⁴ The printers illustrate the long version of the *Reisebuch* with a total of 37 impressions of 25 different Breu woodcuts, more than doubling the number of illustrations in comparison to the other versions in print circulation. This practice of recycling images, both within a single work and across different texts, is not at all unusual in early print and can be explained in terms of printer’s economics. “Printers capitalized on the repeatability of images to minimize the extra expense of printing illustrations.”¹⁶⁵ Breu’s woodcuts for Varthema’s *Reyß* were, for example, (re-)used comparatively widely during the sixteenth century: they appear in Sebastian Franck’s edition of Georg von Ungarn’s *Cronica, Abconterfayung und entwerffung der Turkey* (Augsburg, 1530; VD16: G 1381) and in Weigand Han’s version of Staden’s *Warhaftig Historia* (Frankfurt, 1557; VD16: S 8445).¹⁶⁶ In particular, “Gülfferich and Han clearly found it expedient and economical to avail themselves of the Breu images for the various travel and captivity accounts that they were printing in the mid-sixteenth century, regardless of the texts’ geography.”¹⁶⁷ With Voigt and Brancaforte, however, I argue that Gülfferich and Han have nonetheless been deliberate in placing the borrowed images in their new context, so that they also represent a paratextual rewriting with regard to the *Reisebuch*.¹⁶⁸

Berman, *German Literature on the Middle East*, especially pp. 62–104.

164 Voigt and Brancaforte, “Travelling Illustrations”.

165 Ibid., p. 366.

166 Ibid., p. 369.

167 Ibid., p. 369.

168 Ibid.

The illustrations introduce a strong visual polemic to the *Reisebuch*.

The term ‘polemic’ describes “strong and hostile language, suggestive of violence and warfare.”¹⁶⁹ Further, “this verbal aggression is directed at an ‘Other’ in a form of direct or indirect encounter.”¹⁷⁰ The definition can be applied laterally to the visual language of illustrations, and as such appropriately describes the point of view the reader encounters in Gülfferich and Han’s full-length version of the *Reisebuch*. In this version, a visual polemic against the eastern ‘other’ is established through the printers’ usage of illustrations that portray atrocities ostensibly committed by this same ‘other’. The Turks and the Mongols are not distinguished, i.e. they are tarred with the same brush. The illustrations are therefore consistent with the two previously discussed illustrative programmes insofar as they also foreground the often brutal bellicosity of the East, but they intensify this idea further by portraying violence in a manner that extends well beyond “the commonplace horrors of war.”¹⁷¹ The consequence is a clearcut anti-East, anti-Muslim polemic.

This polemic is underpinned by the visual thematisation of firsthand travel and cross-cultural encounter. Jörg Breu’s images communicate the traveller’s eyewitness perspective: the Orient pictorially describes Mary Louise Pratt’s “contact zone”, i.e. a “space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations.”¹⁷² The traveller is physically placed in the East, pictured in some of the frames as bystander and observer (see Fig. B.36). Further, the artist stresses the traveller’s movement through geographical space.¹⁷³

169 Almut Suerbaum, Benjamin Thompson, and George Southcombe. “Introduction”. In: *Language as Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Discourse*. Ed. by Almut Suerbaum, Benjamin Thompson, and George Southcombe. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015, pp. 1–14, p. 6.

170 Ibid., p. 4.

171 Heather Madar. “Dracula, the Turks, and the Rhetoric of Impaling in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Germany”. In: *Death, Torture and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300–1650*. Ed. by John R. Decker and Mitzi Kirkland-Ives. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015, pp. 165–190, p. 179.

172 Mary Louise Pratt. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Second. London: Routledge, 2008, p. 8.

173 Stephanie Leitch. ““Better than the Prodigies”: The Prints of Hans Burgkmair, Jörg Breu, and the Marvels of the New World”. PhD thesis. Chicago: The University of Chicago, Aug. 2005,

This strategy is much more developed in the full 46 woodcuts that constitute Breu's original programme, only part of which is reproduced by Gülfferich and Han.

Nonetheless, the reuse of these illustrations still conveys the theme of travel for this new textual context via the portrayal of luggage-laden travellers (Fig. B.33) and the reproduction of a variety of boat imagery (see Fig. B.35).¹⁷⁴ Inserted at regular intervals, the latter in particular indicates the traveller's movement from site to site, albeit rather incongruously for the *Reisebuch* – the document of a journey that occurs predominantly on land. For example, Fig. B.35 accompanies a passage with the intertitle *Inn welchen landen ich gewesen bin / die zu der Tartarey geh(e)ren* (38r; N 105), which outlines a section of itinerary.

Moreover, as Stephanie Leitch has demonstrated in her study of Jörg Breu's print *oeuvre*, in these illustrations Breu explicitly represents the traveller's "sight lines; his eye taking in parts of cities, segments of harbors and views of people. Breu illustrates moments of lived experience by positing a viewer with a circumscribed field of vision."¹⁷⁵ This is most apparent in Breu's woodcut of a generic cityscape (Fig. B.34) that is used five times by Gülfferich and Han to represent the cities of Samson (17r), Babylon (36v), Jerusalem (43r), Alexandria (46v) and Constantinople (56v). The image functions, again largely incongruously, to communicate the traveller's arrival in these cities. The artist depicts an eyewitness perspective, i.e. the traveller's own view from onboard a boat, from which the front tip of another boat's prow and only a segment of city is visible. Thus, even if they do not exactly 'fit' the new plot setting, these illustrations convey "a seeing eye who took in views and scenarios through realistic and plausible angles of perception."¹⁷⁶ The consequence of this representational strategy is, as Leitch has argued, that these images function as

p. 209.

174 See Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany*, pp. 101ff. for an analysis of Breu's imagery in its original context.

175 Leitch, "Better than the Prodigies", p. 210.

176 *Ibid.*, p. 207.

an additional assertion that the traveller really did see everything he reports: the illustrations reproduce, if only abstractly, the narrator's first-person point of view and thus also the authority of the traveller, likewise established by the text through the verbal rhetoric of the 'eyewitness' (cf. chapter 1).¹⁷⁷

Further, this representation of firsthand travel and personal perspective advances a witnessing western 'self' to counter the eastern 'other'. The depiction of the traveller and the traveller's viewpoint *in situ* often provides critical comment to guide the reader in the evaluation of the textual content. This is, for example, the case for Breu's illustration of Muhammad's tomb at Medina (Fig. B.36), in which Varthema is portrayed gesturing ironically at his beturbaned companion, embodying a listener who "refuses to be duped by an extortionist priest outside a mosque who maintains that the flames coming from the sepulchre attest to the presence of the prophet's body there."¹⁷⁸ Varthema's *Reyß* details that the traveller could not see these flames – *ich sych gar nychtz* (10r) – and the composition of the illustration emphasises that their representation is "not the product of his own vision, but someone else's."¹⁷⁹ Breu's image thus reflects a discourse that is common to medieval European biographies of Muhammad, which tend to polemically characterise the prophet as author of false miracles designed to trick people into worshipping him and abiding by his heretical law. Specifically, the illustration echoes the prophet's most notable, and indeed posthumous, 'deception' (at least according to this textual tradition), i.e. arranging for his iron coffin to be placed in a magnetic tomb so that his holiness and the veracity of his faith may be 'proven' when his body appears to "float through divine favour."¹⁸⁰

177 Leitch, "“Better than the Prodigies”", p. 208.

178 Ibid., p. 208.

179 Ibid., p. 208.

180 John Tolan. "Introduction". In: *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*. Ed. by John Tolan. New York: Garland Publishing, 1996, pp. xi–xxi, p. xv; see also Tolan, "European Accounts of Muhammad's Life".

In Gülfferich and Han's *Reisebuch*, this woodcut has been recycled to illustrate the passage *Wie der Machmet vnd sein glaub auffkommen sey* (49r; N 122); here, the utilisation also highlights the alterity of Islam. This difference is legible even without knowledge of the image's original transmission context. The architectural structures that dominate the frame are recognisably Islamic. The main building resembles the mosques drawn by Breu's contemporaries – notably Erhard Reuwich and Melchior Lorich – and the crescent-shaped finial on the minaret-like tower on the far left conclusively signifies Islam.¹⁸¹ The image thus independently evokes the Muslim 'other' and contrasts this 'other' to a European 'self' as embodied by the figure of the traveller who is depicted at odds with the explanation of his Muslim guide and with what these structures represent. The illustration of the traveller's viewpoint therefore represents a "visual device" that encourages the reader, in this case of the *Reisebuch*, to regard Islam with similar scepticism.¹⁸²

Indeed, Gülfferich and Han recycle a number of Breu's illustrations in order to emphasise the perceived deviance of Islam. They go beyond simply marking difference to provide an explicitly polemical visual commentary on the subject. Fig. B.32 is a particularly unequivocal example of this representational strategy: in its original setting in Varthema's *Reyß*, this scene of devil worship is attributed to the people of Calicut, modern-day Kozhikode on the Malabar coast of India. The seated demon represents the Devil of Calicut, a figure first introduced to Northern Europe by Varthema and thereafter enjoyed a certain currency in sixteenth-century Reformation works.¹⁸³ The king of Calicut and his people are described as idolaters by Varthema,

181 See Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's Peregrinatio*, especially, pp. 143–157; Alexandrine N. St. Clair. "A Forgotten Record of Turkish Exotica". In: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27.2 (1969), pp. 411–423, p. 422; and Michael Fazio, Marian Moffett, and Lawrence Wodehouse. *A World History of Architecture*. Boston: McGraw-Hill Education, 2008, pp. 154ff.

182 Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany*, p. 103.

183 Jennifer Spinks. "The Southern Indian 'Devil in Calicut' in Early Modern Northern Europe: Images, Texts and Objects in Motion". In: *Journal of Early Modern History* 18 (2014), pp. 15–48, pp. 16–22.

and the illustration depicts *ain über grosser teyfel zu(o) wo(e)lchem sy gond so vil ir dar kunnen knyend fyr in nider vnd betten in an* (45r).

The woodcut is (re-)used by Gülfferich and Han to illustrate the chapter with the intertitle *Von dem anderen Ostertag* (52v; N 127–128): the section outlines the Muslim customs of celebrating *Eid al-Fitr* to mark the end of Ramadan, *Eid al-Adha* to commemorate Abraham’s obedience and of making the yearly pilgrimage to Muhammad’s grave at the Prophet’s Mosque at Medina (i.e. the *Hajj*). Consequently, Islam is characterised as idolatrous devil worship. This, in turn, represents the addition of an independent layer of meaning to the text by the version’s printers. As I have shown already, the narrator of the long version highlights both the deplorable and the admirable, the differences and similarities of Islam to his own Latin Christianity, so that – to speak with Stephen Greenblatt – “a peculiar blend of estrangement and familiarity” is developed and transmitted in the text.¹⁸⁴ Gülfferich and Han, however, (re-)frame this textual ambivalence with a polarising binary via the imagery, in which Islam is (re-)conceptualised as not only absolutely and totally ‘other’ to Christianity but also as fundamentally wicked and aberrant.

Such characterisation is particularly distinguished in this version by the frequent coupling of religious ‘otherness’ with extreme, depraved violence. This tendency is evident in the illustration the printers’ selected for the already gruesome passage describing the Timūr’s slaughter of 7,000 children at Isfahan (Fig. B.31). In Varthema’s *Reyß*, the image depicts the now obsolete Indian funerary custom of *suttee*, in which a recently widowed woman commits suicide by throwing herself on her husband’s pyre: *wie sych die weyber nach dem todt irer man also lebendig verprennen* (51r). The men portrayed bludgeoning the burning woman with clubs are therefore not administering a punishment but rather do so mercifully, *da mit sy do(e)ster ee ir end nem* (51v).

184 Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, p. 44.

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In the *Reisebuch*, however, the illustration was “presumably selected to convey the horror and immorality of Tamerlane’s action.”¹⁸⁵ In fact, the new context reduces the image to a scene of barbarous violence against a helpless woman, analogous to the text’s similarly impotent and innocent children, perpetrated by a savage ‘other’. Moreover, visual judgement is passed on Timūr’s brutality by the hairy, cloven-hoofed and long-horned devil on the far left-hand side of the frame, thus both morally condemning and directly linking the Mongol’s actions to his deviant Muslim faith.

This conflation of Islam and violence affects not only the representation of the Mongols but also of the Turks, notably in a disturbing image that depicts a group of naked men impaled on stakes (Fig. B.30). In Varthema’s *Reyß*, this woodcut illustrates a passage delineating *gerechtigkait die gehalten wirt* in Calicut (38r–v). The picture is (re-)used by Gülfferich and Han to illustrate two passages in their *Reisebuch* edition, both of which make reference to the brutality of the eastern and Muslim ‘other’.

For one, the image is inserted to reflect a textual detail in a chapter that describes a gruesome Egyptian custom:

wenn zwen mit einander kriegen vmb daz ko(e)enigreich / welcher denn dem andern obligt / vnnd jn in daz gefencknus bringt / So nimpt in der der ob ist gelegen / legt im ko(e)nigliche kleider an / fu(e)rt in in ein hauß / das dar zu gmacht ist / darin sind eisene stecken / setzt in auff einen darauff muß er erfaulen (40r; N 108).

Egypt is identified by the narrator as the seat of the sultan who is *ein Ko(e)nig vber all heydnisch Ko(e)nig [...] vnd ein herr vber all Heidenschafft* (39r; N 107–108). At the time of the version’s circulation in the mid-sixteenth century, this leadership was held by the Ottomans: Selim I (1470–1520) had not only taken land in the Middle East from the Persian Safavid Empire (1501–1736) but obliterated the Mamluk sultanate

¹⁸⁵ Voigt and Brancaforte, “Travelling Illustrations”, p. 384.

(1250–1517), acquiring Syria, Palestine, Egypt and western Arabia (including Mecca and Medina) with the consequence that “the Turkish ruler became the leading sovereign in the Moslem world, with both religious and political hegemony.”¹⁸⁶ For the early modern readers of Gülfferich and Han’s full-length *Reisebuch* version, therefore, this custom explicitly ascribed to the Islamic cultural sphere could be easily transferred onto the behaviour of the Egyptian Sultan’s subjugators and successors, the Muslim Turks. The usage of this specific Breu woodcut also affirms that Gülfferich and Han were attentive to the text in their selection and placement of images. They make an effort to align text and image, which both characterise the leaders of the Muslim world as ‘impalers’. The depravity this passage relates is heightened by the incorporation of Breu’s lurid illustration, the already extant polemic detail pulled to the fore and given prominence by being ‘doubled’ in image.

The same woodcut is also used to illustrate Bayezid’s massacre of the defeated crusaders after the Battle of Nicopolis, visually overriding the text’s description of beheading. The printers were thus no doubt responding to contemporary representations of the Turks: as the art historian Heather Madar has shown, in particular “impaling became a key signifier of Turkish atrocities in later German propaganda prints.”¹⁸⁷ This utilisation of the image constitutes a more explicit interpretation of the text by the printers, representing a visual amplification of the narrator’s description of Ottoman cruelty, literally *wie der Tu(e)rcksich ko(e)nig Weyasit / die gefangnen erba(e)rmlich to(e)dten ließ* (9v). The visual vilification is seemingly all the more appropriate given the narrative context of crusade and martyrdom, and it serves to incontrovertibly ‘other’ the Turks. This image worked to confirm and strengthen public fears about the militant Ottomans in the *Reisebuch*, aiming to stir anti-Turkish (and anti-Muslim) sentiment.

186 Bohnstedt, “The Infidel Scourge of God”, p. 6.

187 Madar, “Dracula, the Turks, and the Rhetoric of Impaling”, p. 175.

Ultimately, the addition of illustrations by the Frankfurt printers Gülfferich and Han introduces a visual polemic to the *Reisebuch* that centres specifically on the portrayal of “Grausamkeiten”, reflecting the tendency of a “allgemeine Perhorreszierung” in German art and literature portraying the eastern ‘other’, and particularly the Turk, during the sixteenth century.¹⁸⁸ Breu’s imagery is repurposed in order to echo the prevalent representation of this ‘other’ as extraordinarily brutal; the printers indulged in reproducing graphic imagery of hacking, bludgeoning and impaling that parallels Erhard Schoen’s illustrations in terms of pictorial style and content (see Fig. B.21). In short, much like Berg and Neuber, Gülfferich and Han also promote an image that evokes the trope of the ‘terrible’ Turk. This characterisation is likewise applied explicitly and exclusively to Muslim communities. The Frankfurt printers’ portrayal, however, is much more extreme: its imagery is not restricted to marking this difference but patently sensationalist in nature. In Gülfferich and Han, the eastern ‘other’ is very literally ‘demonised’.

4.2.2 The Preface: A ‘Scourge of God’

Polemic (re-)framing of the *Reisebuch* narrative is supported both in Gülfferich and Han’s full-length edition and in Berg and Neuber’s version by a preface that advances and complements these printers’ visual interpretations. Although there are a couple of minor omissions and slight differences in orthography, the preface is virtually identical in both of these roughly contemporaneous versions of the work. Its author is not identified in either print with the consequence that it remains unclear which of these two presses was initially responsible for adding the piece to the narrative of the *Reisebuch*. The temporal proximity of the versions’ earliest print runs means that this information also does not help to provide a conclusive answer to the origins or authorship of the paratext.

¹⁸⁸ Schulze, *Reich und Türkengefahr*, p. 365.

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What can be said with confidence, however, is that the preface has been composed in direct response to the *Reisebuch* text and serves chiefly to (re-)frame and thus (re-)interpret the work in light of the contemporary fixation on, and in line with prevailing discourse about, the Turks: like the illustrations, the preface functions to repurpose the narrative as a *Türkendruck*. It performs a polemic function as *ein gu(e)tlicher vnterricht / denen / so diß bu(e)chlin lesen / zu vermercken* (1v), insofar it is addressed specifically to a Christian readership, *der jenigenn so Christen gnant / vermeldet* (1v). The preface provides an invective *wider den Tu(e)rcken* (2v) and their *Mahometischen vn glauben* (5r).

The denunciation of this ‘other’, however, receives yet another level of nuance in these editions via this paratext; in addition to continuing the imagery’s portrayal of Turkish barbarity and role as the chief religious adversary of Christendom, the Turk is further described by the preface as a veritable ‘Scourge of God’ – a punishment inflicted for the moral corruption ‘at home’ in Europe. The characterisation is played out in how the writer justifies the continued usefulness – the *nutz vnd gut* (1v) – of both (re-)publishing and (re-)reading the *Reisebuch* in the mid-sixteenth century when the events related by the text lie approximately a century in the past, i.e. can no longer be considered of ‘current’ pertinence. This justification in itself constitutes a major preoccupation and function of the preface, and it provides the framework with which the printers would like the reader to approach the travel book.

The writer of the preface argues that the *Reisebuch* is a document well worth *vnder die Leut zu bringen* (1v) because it not only imparts ethnographic information about the Turks – *der lands art / der Leute gewonheit / gbrauch vnd sitten* (2r) – but also supplies the reader with insight into why the Christians have thus far had so little military success against the Ottomans, who defeated King Sigismund at the Battle of Nicopolis at the turn of the fifteenth century (7r) and had established a

foothold in the Kingdom of Hungary at the time of the versions' publication circa 1550 (2v). According to the writer, the reason for this failure is located, as the Ottomans themselves recognise, not in any superiority of the Turk but alone in *Christen farlessigkeit / vnd bo(e)sem liderlichen vntugendlichem leben* (2v). The Turkish advance into the West is considered to be a divine punishment, particularly encouraged *durch zweispalt* (2v) in Europe. The character of this disunity, whether chiefly religious or political, is not further specified by the writer.¹⁸⁹

The narrative should therefore inspire *meniglich zu buß / besserung su(e)ndliches lebens vnd rechtem glauben* (2r); in fact, the writer particularly urges the reader to *beker vnd wende sich noch meniglich / vnnd such gnad bey dem barmhertzen Gott / die weil die zu finden* (2r). The Christian God punishes those who treat his *warheit / vnnd seins heiligen worts* (2r) with contempt, and the demonstration of the consequences of this by then historical failure to defeat the Ottomans the writer hopes will serve to strengthen *die warheit / vnd der recht Christlich glaub* (2r). The writer also anticipates, somewhat contradictorily for his thesis that the Turks are a *Gottesgeisel*, that the Ottomans – *wu(e)tenden / blutigirigen / vnmeßlichen wesen* (2r) – will themselves arouse God's wrath, in that *des gewalts mechtige erbreyterunge / ihnen zu verdamnilichem schade / vnd entlichem nachtheil vnd verderben gerathen*

¹⁸⁹ Bohnstedt, "The Infidel Scourge of God", outlines that this critique of the Ottoman Turks as a divine scourge had both a political and a religious dimension in the sixteenth-century German-language *Türkenbuch(-lein)*. The laxity and falsity of Christian beliefs and practices in the East, the conversion of many of these 'false' Christians to Islam in the lands conquered by the Ottomans, and the disunity of Christendom in Northern Europe as a consequence of the Protestant Reformation were all cited as possible causes of this divine punishment. The existence and persistence of 'false doctrines', in particular, was an argument brought by virtually all Christian commentators, irrespective of denomination: "Catholic writers attribute the Turkish menace in large measure to the doctrinal errors and general iniquity of the Lutheran heretics; their Protestant counterparts reply that there is no worse sin than the false doctrines of the 'Papists'" (p. 25). Disunity in a chiefly political sense was further provided as a reason for the *Türkenfurcht*. Writers like Benedict Curipeschitz (c. 1490–1532) and Joachim Greff (c. 1510–1552), for instance, criticised the depravity of all social classes and professions; in particular, the ruling class was accused of not fulfilling its social duty, i.e. by waging war against other European heads of state and "thus killing more Christians than the Turk himself has done", they failed to adequately protect their subjects – and Christendom more broadly – against the imminent threat of the Turkish infidel (p. 27).

muß / zu bestetigung irs gotlosen wandels / vnd heuffung der su(e)nd (2r). The writer concludes that God has provided *ein grossen behelff / vn rathe* (2r) in works like the *Reisebuch* that tell of *vorgesehener dingen / vnd ergangnen sachen vnd hendel* (2r), the knowledge of which may enable a defeat of the Turk. According to the preface, the *Reisebuch* communicates both the unbearable continuity of losses against this foe and that a victory over the Turks must have two prongs as both the result of European, Christian betterment as well as of the continued wickedness and depravity of this eastern ‘other’. This framework thus reflects some of the major themes of the *Türkenbuch* during this period.

The Turk is posited as Christendom’s chief ‘other’. Although the long version of the *Reisebuch* itself exposes the diversity of cultural and religious ‘otherness’ in the Middle East and in particular explores the ‘grey zones’ of this difference, the preface writer reduces this plurality to concentrate exclusively on the binary opposition of a monolithic Christendom to an equally monolithic and aggressive Muslim and Turkish ‘other’. The writer’s characterisation is a polemic: Islam is described as an *vn glauben* (5r), and the Turks are characterised as *Gottlosen* and *Hayden* who spurn *die gnad Christi* (2r).

In fact, both the origins and the history of the Turks are inextricably linked to the emergence of a deviant and threatening Islam by the writer, a relationship that not only reflects the mutual referentiality of the figure of the Turk and Islam during this period, but that is also couched in pejorative language: *das sich also das vngeziffer fast mit einander ereignet / vnnd der Mahometisch vn glaub vnnd Tu(e)rkischer nam / schier zu einer zeit bekant worden sind* (5v–6r). This type of wording and aggressive ‘othering’ is common to the *Türkenschrift*, in which the Turks are frequently defamed, e.g. as *Bluthund, blutdürstiger Hund, türkischer Hund*.¹⁹⁰ Traces of this practice still

¹⁹⁰ Şenol Özyurt. *Die Türkenlieder und das Türkenbild in der deutschen Volksüberlieferung vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Munich: Fink, 1972, p. 72.

remain in, predominantly offensive, modern German usage as linguistic witnesses to the historical antagonism: in the verb *türken*, the phrase *einen Türken bauen/stellen*, or the swear word *Kruzitürken*. The writer moreover portrays the Ottomans as posing a very real and direct military threat to the Holy Roman Empire, both in the printers' present and in historical terms. He describes their extensive territory (7v–8v), updating the *Reisebuch's* firsthand account of the same, and stresses that *bißher die Christenheit wenig siges wider den Tu(e)rcken / vnd die vnghaubigen ghabt* (2v).

The writer's argument that Christians were at fault for this Turkish military success is common: as John W. Bohnstedt writes, "almost every pamphlet discusses the sins of the Christians, especially the Germans, sometimes in general terms and sometimes in specific detail."¹⁹¹ Notably, Martin Luther (1483–1546) asserts in *Krieg wider die Türken* (VD16: L 7044; Wittenberg: Hans Weiß, 1529) that the Turks are "a scourge of God and a servant of the devil."¹⁹² His criticism goes hand in hand with an appeal to "repentance, reform and prayer."¹⁹³ In fact, according to Bohnstedt's investigation of the *Türkenbuch*, Luther's representation of the threat of the Turkish 'other' as first and foremost retribution for Christian sins to a large extent shaped and defined the contemporary response to the *Türkenproblematik*.

The transmission of this argument, which promoted an 'inward' solution to the *Türkenfurcht*, was especially widespread among Luther's Protestant supporters; by contrast, Catholic *Türkenbücher* tended to concentrate more on 'external' resolutions, mustering support for war and crusade "with such traditional goals as the eviction of the Turk from Europe, the liberation of his Christian subjects, the reconquest of

191 Bohnstedt, "The Infidel Scourge of God", p. 25; see also Kaufmann, "*Türkenbüchlein*", who likewise illustrates that "die meisten Argumentationsmuster koinzidierten darin, dass sie die Uneinigkeit, der Zerstrittenheit, die nationale und konfessionelle Disparität, Konkurrenzialität oder Agonalität als die Hauptsünde der Christenheit diagnostizierten und dafür verantwortlich machten, dass der Türke über die *christianitas* siegte" (p. 43).

192 Bohnstedt, "The Infidel Scourge of God", p. 12.

193 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Constantinople and the Holy Sepulchre, and the extirpation of Islam at the point of the sword.”¹⁹⁴ Fellow Thuringian reformer Justus Jonas (1493–1555), for example, likewise “inveighs against Islam and depicts the Turk as a scourge of God, an agent of Satan and a portent of the impending Last Judgement.”¹⁹⁵ The Lutheran theologian Andreas Osiander (1498–1552) also argues that the victories of the Turks are not owing to their wisdom nor to the strength or size of their armies in his *Vnterricht / vnd vermanung / wie man wider den Tu(e)rcken peten vnd streyten soll* (VD16: O 1116; Nuremberg, 1542). Their success is a consequence of *Gottes ernstlicher zorn vnnde grymm / den wir mit vnsern grossen / greulichen / langwirigen sünden / vnd vnpußfertigen leben erregt / vnnd erweckt haben* (2v), the solution to which is *Pu(o)ß thun / vns bekeren vnd pessern* (8v).¹⁹⁶ Thus, the preface writer, whose own explanation of the *Türkenfurcht* exactly mirrors these Lutheran approaches, is responding to a very specific, if widespread topos; I am thus able to presume that the author was writing as a Protestant and/or for a Protestant audience, an assumption supported by the fact that in particular Berg and Neuber’s press was well known for producing Lutheran literature (see section 4.1).

Such characterisation of the victorious enemy is, however, not new to the early modern period nor to the European discourse about Islam. The portrayal of the Muslim ‘other’ as a divine scourge for Christian sins stretches at least as far back as the Patriarch of Jerusalem Sophronios (c. 560–638). The patriarch’s Christmas sermon in 634 drew on the topos of a vengeful God familiar from the Old Testament to describe the Muslim conquest and dominion of Roman lands, including the holy city of Bethlehem, by the Rashidun caliph Umar ibn Al-Khattab (c. 583–644), remonstrating that “the path to victory, as always, is repentance.”¹⁹⁷ It was a topos

194 Bohnstedt, “The Infidel Scourge of God”, p. 32.

195 Ibid., p. 13.

196 Ibid., pp. 25–26.

197 Tolán, *Saracens*, p. 42.

that was continually “redeployed and reinterpreted to make sense of the Muslim victories.”¹⁹⁸ In fact, this argument was regularly made in the Middle Ages in response to the threat to Christendom by any number of cultural and religious ‘others’ – including the Goths, the Magyars, the Huns and the Mongols –, a practice that was continued during the Renaissance.¹⁹⁹

This theme is present in the *Reisebuch* narrative itself. The *Reisebuch* names the self-importance and disobedience of Europeans, specifically the Duke of Burgundy, as a reason for the loss of the Battle of Nicopolis (see section 2.2).²⁰⁰ Additionally, the sins of Christendom as cause of the expansion of Islam is directly addressed in the passage *Was die heyden sagen von den Christen menschen* (55v; N 133–134), which was rewritten from Mandeville who in turn borrowed from William of Tripoli’s *De statu Sarracenorum* (c. 1273).²⁰¹ This extract details a conversation in which Muslims tell the traveller that, according to Islamic prophecy, Christians will reclaim the Holy Land before the advent of the Last Judgement, but not while they continue to commit sin:

*Die weil nun die Cristen in solcher su(e)nd / vnd widerwertigkeit sind / vnd
ire geistliche vnd weltliche Herrn / in solchem vnordenlichem leben fort faren
/ so fo(e)rchten wir vns nit / dz sie vns von vnsern landen vertreiben / denn
wir Gott fo(e)rchten / thun allweg dz vnserm glauben zu gho(e)rt / recht /
redlich / vnd wirdiglich / Got zu Lob (55v; N 134).*

Although there is never any question that the Muslim faith is ‘false’ in the long version, in this passage the narrator discusses parallels between the tenets and practices of Latin Christianity and of Islam: Islam has a dogma and a moral code that share certain features with Christianity and to which Muslims adhere, often

198 Tolan, *Saracens*, p. xv.

199 Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, p. 78.

200 See Martin Clauss. *Kriegsniederlagen im Mittelalter: Darstellung – Deutung – Bewältigung*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2010, for similar interpretations of the Battle of Nicopolis by Jean Froissart (c. 1337–1405), whereby “als Auslöser für die Niederlage werden explizit Arroganz, Siegesgewissheit und überheblicher Stolz der Franzosen genannt” (p. 88).

201 Higgins, *The Book of John Mandeville*, p. 86.

more faithfully than Christians do to their own commandments (see section 3.3). In considering the closeness of these two faiths the narrator oscillates between a complete rejection and a representation of Islam that at times approaches admiration. In this particular chapter, this similarity is used to amplify the gravity of Christian sinfulness: it must be an exceptionally sorry situation if by comparison the heretical Muslim ‘other’ can appear to be a paragon of virtue and, in a direct role reversal, can accuse Christians that they *halten nicht Messias gebot / nach dem glauben / den in Messias gsetzt hat / sie halten auch nit die gebot des buchs Jugil / dz da heisst Evangeli / noch die recht die in diesem buch stehen* (55v; N 134).

Notwithstanding the thematic overlap, the assertion that the Muslim ‘other’ is a divine scourge is completely different in tone and character in the preface to these two print editions of the long version. This is the result of a distinct representational strategy, through which the Turk and Islam are by contrast exclusively delineated as different, i.e. as the antithesis of Europe and Christianity. The suggestion of the moral superiority of the religious ‘other’, the strategy of constructing a parallel to virtuous behaviour in the Christian faith and the fact that the heathen is allowed to ‘speak’ (let alone critically) are aspects of the travel book that are suppressed in the preface. Thus, the redaction of the long version’s ambivalent attitude – of Islam’s similarities as a rival religion and culture – serves to suggest a reading of the account that limits the impression of the humanity and civilisation of the Turk.²⁰² In the preface, the (notably silent) Muslim Turk is described explicitly as *blutgirig* (2r), *wu(e)tend* (2r), *gotlos* (2r), *grob* (6r), *wild* (6r), *kriegssu(e)chtig* (6v), *a reubisch rott* (6v) etc. That is to say, in line with the thematic focus of the illustrations the barbarity, the savagery and the essential alterity of the Turk and of Islam are stressed. The solution to the expansion of Islam which both the text and paratext

²⁰² Across Europe, the Turks were typically “placed firmly outside the family of historically civilised nations”, chiefly on account of claims of their extreme barbarity and brutality (Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, p. 65).

put forward, however, remains the same: repent, reform and pray to reclaim lands lost to the infidel. This explanation of the *Türkenfurcht* and its concomitant solution as developed in the paratext thus reflect the continuity of a well-established strategy as well as the adaptation of the topos for a specific historical situation in which ambiguity in the delineation of the relationship between Islam and Latin Christianity is patently undesirable.

In addition, justification of the relevance of the *Reisebuch* for a mid-sixteenth century readership is an important concern of the preface. That the *Reisebuch* promotes the basic argument that the Turkish ‘other’ is a punishment for which Christendom must reform is one level of this rationalisation, and it to this end that the power shift from the Mamluk sultan of Egypt as head of Islam and *Gottesrute* (cf. 40r; N 109) to the Ottoman sultan embodying both these roles is documented by the preface writer.

Further, the preface frames the *Reisebuch* narrative as detailing one phase in a long tradition of conflicts with the Turks that extends, with even greater urgency, into the printers’ present. In fact, the situation was particularly charged around the time of these versions’ publication, as the European confrontation with the Ottomans had recently taken place very close to home when Suleiman I laid siege to Vienna in 1529. This siege was

eine Bedrohung, die in ihrer Symbolkraft nur der Konstantinopels von 1453 vergleichbar war, und die die abendländische Christenheit, auch Martin Luther, auf das Tiefste erschütterte, so das hier von weit mehr als “einem großen Thema” für die zeitgenössische Publizistik gesprochen werden kann. Offensichtlich schienen sich die apokalyptischen Ängste, die sich seit Jahrzehnten in zahlreichen Weissagungen und anderen Texten manifestiert hatten, nun in tatsächliche Ereignisse zu verwandeln.²⁰³

203 Michael Klein. “Geschichtsdenken und Ständekritik in apokalyptischer Perspektive: Martin Luthers Meinungs- und Wissensbildung zur ‘Türkenfrage’ auf dem Hintergrund der osmanischen Expansion und im Kontext der reformatorischen Bewegung”. PhD thesis. FernUniversität Hagen, 2004, p. 134.

These contemporaneous and catastrophic events resulted in the widespread portrayal of the Turks' military prowess and their apparently insatiable appetite for brutal conquests against Christians and in turn explain the absence of ambiguous, humanising details in the preface's representation. In line with this idea – complementary to the woodcuts in both editions – of the militaristic and 'terrible' Turk, the writer of the preface values the information provided by documents of historical encounters with the Ottomans, which he holds to be vital to any future success against the Turks. He characterises the account the *Reisebuch* provides as *nu(e)tzlich vnd gut zu wissen meniglich / fu(e)rnehmlich aber den jenigen / sie sind hohes oder nidern standts / so iber lang oder kurtz mit den Tu(e)rcken zuschaffen gewinnen mo(e)chten* (2r).

With a similar aim, the preface provides a 'potted history' of the rise of the Islamic faith and of the Ottoman dynasty as well as a sketch of conquered lands. This serves to bring the reader up to date and align the fifteenth-century work with contemporary ideas about the Turks, all of which are characterised by an awareness of the *Türkengefahr*. Ultimately, the information not only (re-)contextualises but adds new and chiefly polemic details to these editions of the *Reisebuch*.

First, the 'failings' of Christianity held to be at the root of the *Türkengefahr* are contextualised as a historical as well as a contemporaneous problem. The preface writer, for instance, outlines in a wholly independent addition how the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641) failed to recognise the threat presented by an emergent Islam (5v). According to the writer, Heraclius was forewarned by a prophecy to defend himself and his people against *den beschnittenen* (5r), which he interpreted to mean the Jews, and whom he therefore persecuted (5r). In so doing, however, the emperor allowed the Muslims, who likewise practice circumcision (cf. 50r; N 124), to prosper and proliferate: *[es] mag darumb auch des Mahomets fu(e)rnehmen dest baß von staten gegangen* (5v).²⁰⁴

204 This reference to Heraclius in connection with Islam and, in particular, the Turks had its

In the preface to the *Reisebuch*, these historical Turks are identified as *so(e)ldener vnd bstelte* (5v) of the rival Muslim Persians. The effect of this passage is, then, to present the Turks not only as adversaries to the Eastern Roman Empire but also more broadly as opponents of Christendom. They are described as having consistently been part of a general Islamic threat to Western civilisation, even if they were not always the leaders. Consequently, the success of the Muslim ‘other’ against the Roman Empire has always been due to Western sins, the preface writer explains: the Romans made no headway in protecting their territories in the East *wegen der Hauptleut Hoffart / geitz / vnd mutwillen / vnd der Kriegsleut faulheit / verachtung vnd wollust* (6r). The central argument of the preface is thus reinforced by its characterisation as an age-old problem: Christendom was and still is at fault for enabling Islam’s continued domination of the Middle East. The *Reisebuch* supplies further evidence of this argument, and the preface writer hopes that knowledge of these past sins and conflicts provides *behelff / vn rathe zu verhu(e)ten* (2r) against what is characterised as an invariable Turkish threat.

Secondly, the *Reisebuch* material is placed specifically in the context of the *Türkenfurcht* via a genealogy of past and present Ottoman rulers. The writer’s catalogue stretches from the dynasty’s foundation with *Othoman* or Osman I (r. 1299–1326), under whom the Turks first expanded their empire by having *stetigs vmb sich gegriffen* (6v), to Suleiman I (r. 1520–1566), *des jetzigen Tu(e)rckischen Ko(e)nigs* (7r). In

own tradition based on the Byzantine historian Theophanes the Confessor’s (c. 755–818) *Chronographia*, which provided – especially in its Latin translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (c. 810–878) – one of the most important medieval sources detailing early Western contact with the Turks (Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, p. 19). According to this work, the emperor formed an alliance with the Khazars, a nomadic Turkic people from the Caucasus, to protect the empire’s eastern borders along the Black Sea against the Sassanian Persians in c. 626–627 (*ibid.*, p. 19). In the *Chronographia*, the Turks are friends and valuable allies of Christendom (*ibid.*, p. 19). This perspective was, however, often distorted by Renaissance commentators seeking to explain the origins of the Turks using Theophanes in the wake of effective Ottoman attacks: the Italian humanists Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) and Flavio Biondo (1392–1463), for example, each rewrite Theophanes’s account “in such a way that these ancient Turks appear as violent and lawless barbarians” (*ibid.*, p. 92).

this overview, the preface writer thematises both the substantial territorial gains made by the Ottoman sultans and their unmitigated brutality.

Bayezid I (1389–1402) is described polemically by the preface not only as victor over the crusaders under Sigismund I but also as similarly ruthless with respect to his own family, arranging for his only brother and contender to power *Suleiman* (7r) to be strangled.²⁰⁵ His own defeat at the hands of the Turko-Mongolian warlord Timūr as detailed in the *Reisebuch* is, however, not recalled in the preface, which results in the impression that power in the East is lodged, more or less unchallenged, in the hands of the Ottoman Turks (cf. chapter 2).

Bayezid is portrayed by the writer as only one member in a line of equally powerful, successful and ambitious despots. There was, for instance, additionally: Mehmed Celebi (r. 1413–1421), *mit dem sich auch Ko(e)nig Sigmund versucht / aber nichts außgericht / vnnd ist da zumal (wie etlich schreiben) mit no(e)ten end worden* (7r); Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481), *der Constantinopel / Trapezunt / vnnd Hydrunt erobert / vnd gewonnen / vnd bey xxxii. Jarn regiert hat* (7r); and the current sultan Suleiman I, *[der] das Mahometisch Soldanisch reich inn Egypto / vnnd Syria / sampt den genannten Mammalucken / vnder gedruckt / vnnd vertilget hat* (7r–7v). The Turks’ ultimate control of the East is thus established, and the preface writer further stresses that Ottoman territories by now stretch into *Walachey / Bulgaren / vnd Vngern / wellichs herauff streicht an Poln / vnnd Osterreich* (8r). The proximity of the Ottoman Empire to the borders of the Holy Roman Empire is therefore specifically highlighted, and it is suggested that if the Turks are allowed to

²⁰⁵ Bayezid had his brother Yakup Çelebi executed after their father Murad I fell at the Battle of Kosovo (1389). In fact, fratricide was an established Ottoman tradition – even converted into ‘law’ by Sultan Mehmed II – with the aim to prevent rebellion and civil war by removing all competitors to rule, sometimes in great numbers. This was the convention right up until the seventeenth century, when rival siblings were instead locked in Topkapi Palace in a suite of rooms referred to as *kafes* or ‘cages’ (cf. Vernon J. Parry. “The Period of Murād”. In: *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730: Chapters from the Cambridge History of Islam and the New Cambridge Modern History*. Ed. by Vernon J. Parry and Michael Cook. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976, pp. 133–156, pp. 133–134).

continue they will eradicate also the Christian West.

Lastly, despite this impressive catalogue of powerful rulers and successful expansion, the Turks are nonetheless represented by the preface writer as an uncivilised people; on the contrary, their fundamental savagery is further underlined by the historical connection the writer draws between the Ottoman Turks and the ancient Scythians, i.e. *die Tu(e)rcken aber sindt on zweiffel Tartarischer ankunfft die Scythae heissen* (5v). As Margaret Meserve has comprehensively argued, it was a commonplace to identify the Scythian origins of the Ottoman Turks in the early modern *Türkenschrift*; this represented an adaptation for a new foe of a polemic shorthand for barbarity that goes back to classical and biblical texts, notably to Herodotus's *Histories* (c. 440 BC).²⁰⁶ Since antiquity Scythia – a vast, if vaguely defined country extending from north of the Black Sea to the East – connoted savagery and brutality. In this European tradition, Scythia was distinguished by a particularly harsh and cold climate that was believed to have negatively impacted the character and customs of its inhabitants.²⁰⁷ These included a nomadic way of life, unsettling to sedentary Europeans who interpreted this practice as a threat to their own preferred concept of community, and a bellicose temperament coupled with terrible ferocity in battle, which was particularly significant for their citation in the context of the sixteenth-century *Türkengefahr*. According to Herodotus's seminal description, the Scythians “fought on horseback, using bows and arrows, drank the blood of their slain enemies, wore their scalps on their belts, used their skulls as drinking cups, and were known to take captives for use in human sacrifice.”²⁰⁸ The notion of Scythian barbarity was transmitted consistently throughout the Middle Ages, notably in retellings of the legend of Alexander the Great who was believed to have contained the Scythians, also identified as descendants of the uncouth and apocalyptic peoples of Gog and

206 Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, p. 71.

207 Ibid., pp. 71–72.

208 Ibid., p. 71.

Magog, behind the Caspian Gates.²⁰⁹ This traditional image of the Scythians as savage invaders that embody the antithesis, and frequently the apocalyptic end, of Western civilisation was used to qualify many different unwanted aggressors during the Middle Ages and was similarly “invoked by fifteenth-century humanists when describing the origins of the Turks” with the express aim to polemically ‘other’ this invading enemy.²¹⁰

The preface writer’s delineation aligns with this type of polemic characterisation. The harsh conditions of the Turks’ native Scythia are intimated and reported as the cause they themselves give the Byzantine emperor Maurice (r. 582–602) for their opposition to the Roman Empire: *sie hetten hungers halben auß ihrem Landt mu(e)s-sen ziehen / vnd dienst suchen* (5v). As a result, the preface writer intimates, the Turks came to serve various past Muslim foes of Christendom before the foundation of the Ottoman Empire: they fought for the Persians, the Arab Saracens and the *Mahometischen Soldanen* (6v) as *bestellte So(e)ldner* (6r). The Turks always *gedacht / wie sie auß einem gemeinen raub der welt / iren theil auch gewinnen mo(e)chten* (6r). As communicated in the text’s genealogy, their success in this endeavour is emphasised throughout the preface. The reference to the Turks’ origins both explains their bellicosity, their fundamentally *grob* (6r) and *wild* (6r) behaviour, and stresses this savagery by providing another historical layer to the writer’s polemic portrayal of the Turk as *Erb- und Erzfeind*.

The preface is thus an example of rewriting in the print medium. Although the text of the long version itself remains unchanged by the printers, the work is (re-)framed by its paratext with the aim to influence how the reader approaches and interprets

²⁰⁹ Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, pp. 72–73.

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 79. Hartmann Schedel, for instance, wrote in his 1493 *Nürnbergger Chronik* (GW: M40796) that the Turks were *scithe auß den ihenen die der groß Alexander (als sant Iheronimus vnd ettlich ander gschichtsbeschreiber setzen) in die hyperboreyschen berge mit eyßnin rigeln verschloßen hat* (165r). Further, they were *ein grawsams wilds der eren vnd gu(o)ts lewmats vergessens vnzu(e)chtigs vnkeu(e)sch volck* (165r).

the narrative. The preface does not reproduce the ambiguity and the representation of a diversity of ‘others’ that the long version privileges. Instead, the writer focuses exclusively on the Turks, who are characterised as the religious ‘other’, a savage military threat and a ‘Scourge of God’. The writer enhances the import of both sets of accompanying illustrations and reflects the viewpoint of the majority of contemporary commentators that “in all the Turks actions, in his customs and institutions, they saw proof of a mortal hostility to the Christian faith and its adherents.”²¹¹ In particular, the (re-)focus on the Turks as a perennial menace, as Scythian barbarians and soldiers of Islam, as well as a current threat to Christendom serves to frame the *Reisebuch* as a *Türkendruck*. The *Reisebuch* material is understood as an informative account of one stage in this long-standing conflict with the Turks, which in turn justifies the (re-)publication of the account as providing still useful information for the continuing battle against Muslim expansion. This framing of the nuanced travel book as a polarising polemic for the *Türkengefahr* continues in the most radical rewriting of the *Reisebuch* in print, i.e. the long version’s reformulation as circa eight-page pamphlets.

4.2.3 The Pamphlets: (Re-)Framing the Excerpts

The *Reisebuch* was rewritten as a pamphlet during the late sixteenth century by three different printing houses: in Frankfurt by the Han-Erben (1595), in Vienna by Gregor Hübner (1596, 1597) and in Munich by Adam Berg (1598). These three versions are different from the full-length (re-)printings of the work because each adapts the *Reisebuch* to align with the *Türkengefahr* by altering the core text. All exclusively reproduce the same two passages from the long version, both of which take as their topic the emergence and rituals of Islam. All place the excerpts alongside an assortment of anti-Turkish material that serves in all to present the passages in

²¹¹ Bohnstedt, “The Infidel Scourge of God”, p. 19.

the light of sixteenth-century Ottoman expansion. The paratextual material and its foci, however, differ in each pamphlet, so that they represent three fully distinct reworkings of the *Reisebuch* as polemic *Türkenbuch* (see section 4.1 and Appendix A).

This final section of my chapter explores how these versions achieve their individual (re-)framing. In order to do so, the section is divided into two further subsections that reflect the various thematic emphases of the pamphlets' printers. The Han-Erben and Gregor Hübner both incorporate the twinned concepts of prophecy and apocalypse, albeit with different effect, in their representation of the Turkish threat. Adam Berg, on the other hand, uniquely situates the same excerpts in the context of Turkish captivity. Before discussing the pamphlets' diverse paratextual adaptations, however, it is necessary to establish further what these versions have in common and how their shared features also contribute to the reconceptualisation of the *Reisebuch* as a diatribe against the Turks.

As already intimated, all three pamphlet versions overlap with regard to the content they reproduce from the *Reisebuch*. The two passages the printers choose to republish contribute to the overall polemic character of the versions as they thematise Islam's 'otherness' as well as the threat posed by Muslim territorial expansion and the attendant spiritual risk of conversion. The first of these excerpts, *Zu was zeiten der Mahomet geboren / vnd sein Regiment angefangen* (cf. N 134), maintains that at the birth of Muhammad in 609 *Tausent Kirchen vnnnd ein / von ihn selbs nider gangen* (N 134) in a prefiguration of the suffering of Christendom under the prophet and the followers of his (new) faith. The second – and considerably longer – passage entitled *Wie der Machomet vnd sein Glaub auffkommen sey* (cf. N 122–127) expands on the origins and rites of Islam, and it has been discussed in depth already (see section 3.3). Suffice it to say, the excerpt broaches the following subjects: the

identification by an Armenien priest of the prophet Muhammad as destined to be the author of a *Glauben wider den Christlichen Glauben* (N 122); Muhammad's rise to both religious and political power, whereby as *ein gewaltiger Celpha* (N 123–124) he ordered the persecution and forced the conversion of Christians living in Arabia; and lastly, the rules of Muhammad's *Gesetz* (N 124) regarding the rituals of prayer and behaviour permissible in the mosque with particular respect to the ritual ablutions and guidelines for cleanliness. The narrator conveys that this 'external' washing of the body, although it may seem commendable, is not comparable to the real 'inner' cleanliness of the soul achieved through Christian confession. Lastly, the passage echoes the idea that the collective sins of Christendom are essentially at fault for its suffering at the hands of the Muslim foe. In particular, the narrator writes that Muslims pray for Christendom to continue in its present disunity *denn sie sprechen / wenn die Christen mit einander eins sein / und sie fried mit einander haben / so ligen sie vnter* (3v), as it has been prophecied that Islam *solt nicht zu Tausent Jahr gelangen / solt darnach wieder abnehmen* (2v).

The threat of Islam thus foregrounded by these passages is modified in the pamphlets to specifically and exclusively qualify the Turks, who are characterised as the current embodiment of a perpetual Islamic threat, i.e. as Christendom's *Erb- und Erzfeind*. This portrayal is effected by a small yet very significant alteration in terminology made to the long version text by all three printers: in these pamphlets, the term *heyd* and reference to the Koran as the *heidnischen buch* (cf. 50r; N124) has consistently been replaced by *Tu(e)rck* and the *tu(e)rckischen Buch* (cf. Han-Erben and Hübner, 3r; Berg, 2v). This (re-)classification from a general religious to a specific ethnic category has the effect that the polemic details of the passage now describe a particular Muslim foe and his intentions vis-à-vis Christendom, which in turn associates this text with contemporary *Türkenschriften* that likewise fixate on

the Turkish menace.

The method of reformulating the long version as brief, quarto-format pamphlets serves to enhance the polemic character of these editions. The pamphlet is a form that can be regarded – as Johannes Schwitalla has argued in his seminal work on the subject – as the “Leitmedium der Frühen Neuzeit.”²¹² Referred to alternately as *Flugschrift*, *Zeitung*, *Relation* or *Aviso*, Schwitalla has identified six features that characterise the form during the early modern period: a pamphlet consists of more than one page; is produced without a hardcover; is not a periodical publication; contains content of topical interest and is therefore frequently used for propaganda and to agitate; and is mass-produced on a large scale for a non-specific readership and the widest possible circulation.²¹³

In other words, the polemic content of these three versions of the *Reisebuch* is delivered in a form that is associated – by virtue of its brevity, its low price,²¹⁴ and its wide circulation – with public appeal and ‘verbal violence’: the pamphlet played a significant role in stirring public sentiment with regard to virtually all the hot topics and ‘others’ of the German Renaissance, including the Protestant Reformation, the Peasants’ War, witches, the Jews and (not least) the Turks.²¹⁵ Composed in response to topical fears of Turkish expansion, the pamphlet editions of the *Reisebuch* are thus fashioned to reach a mass audience in order to provide, as the titles emphasise, *ein warer gru(e)ndtlicher bericht* (Han-Erben) and *trewen warnung an alle gleubige* (Han-Erben, Hübner and Berg). They bring into focus the danger represented by Islam and the militant Ottoman Turks, the fundamental truth and preordained

212 Schwitalla, *Flugschrift*, p. 1.

213 Ibid., p. 5.

214 “Nach handschriftlichen Notizen auf Flugschriften zwischen 1515 und 1525 kostete eine Flugschrift von 4 Blättern 1 Pfennig und 3 Heller, eine 6-blättrige Flugschrift 2 Pfennige, eine 8-blättrige 3 Pfennige und eine 10-blättrige 4 Pfennige. [...] Aus anderen Preisvermerken hat man einen durchschnittlichen Preis von 8 Pfennigen für eine 16-blättrige Flugschrift errechnet. Das entspricht dem Preis für ein Huhn oder für ein Kilo Rindfleisch oder dem Drittel eines Tageslohns eines Handwerksgelesen” (ibid., p. 31).

215 Schwitalla, *Flugschrift*, pp. 67–73; and Göllner, *Turcica*.

superiority of Christendom, and they agitate for all-out war against this Muslim enemy. This anti-Turkish agenda is achieved particularly through the versions' varied paratextual material, which serves to advance the editions' polemic import. It is this individual reworking and its effect on the representation of the eastern 'other' that I will expound further in the following sections.

Han-Erben and Gregor Hübner: Prophecy and Apocalypse

The Han-Erben and Gregor Hübner frame the excerpts from the *Reisebuch* with material that reflects two fundamentally interconnected key themes of the sixteenth-century *Türkendruck*. In both versions prophetic texts communicate the apocalyptic significance of the Turks, situating their advance into the West against the backdrop of Christian salvation history.²¹⁶ This explanation of the *Türkengefahr* as sign and instrument of the Apocalypse represents the adoption and topical adaptation of a medieval topos that often accounted for those considered to be enemies of Christendom. The Turks are cast in these pamphlets as the army of the Antichrist, an eschatological figure who according to this medieval tradition was expected to appear at the End of Time, perform false miracles, blaspheme against God, mislead the unwary multitudes into worshipping the devil, persecute the remaining faithful Christians, and generally establish a reign of terror.²¹⁷ The sheer indefiniteness with respect to the exact guise and time of the Antichrist in these ancient texts allowed the concept to serve as “ein flexibles Modell zur Diffamierung politischer oder militärischer Gegner” as typified for the early modern period with its use by

216 As Döring and Göllner have illustrated for the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively, the production of texts that exploited this particular characterisation increased in the print medium to a hitherto unparalleled extent from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, i.e. the strategy of explaining the *Türkenfurcht* in terms of eschatology constitutes one of the main strands of contemporary polemic against the Turks (Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, p. 195; Göllner, *Turcica: Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas*, pp. 173ff.).

217 Richard Kenneth Emmerson. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981, pp. 34–107; and Klein, “Geschichtsdenken”, p. 53.

Martin Luther to vilify both the Turks and the Catholic Pope.²¹⁸

In line with this established polemic practice, the Han-Erben and Hübner deploy a number of paratexts in their pamphlet versions of the *Reisebuch* which reproduce this topos in order to malign, warn and – in Hübner’s version – encourage military action against the Muslim Turks. They each establish this apocalyptic scenario by printing a largely overlapping selection of biblical passages (see section 4.1 and Appendix A). This is a commonplace strategy for the *Türkendruck*; indeed, the Old and the New Testament – especially the Revelation of John, the Book of Daniel 7–12, 2 Thessalonians 2:3–11, Revelation 11–22, Matthew 24, Mark 13 and Luke 21 – are the principal sources referenced in support of the argument that the contemporary Turkish foe was the harbinger of an imminent Apocalypse.²¹⁹

Biblical passages were typically interpreted and (re-)framed by early modern writers and printers in order to explicitly characterise this conflict, as can perhaps be illustrated best by the widespread transmission of topical (re-)readings of Daniel. This book was arguably the most significant Old Testament source of the Antichrist tradition and the root of the medieval image of the Antichrist as despot and conqueror of nations that was especially picked up by sixteenth-century commentators to qualify the Turkish military advance. It also provided a system for conceptualising historical progression towards the world’s prophesied end.²²⁰

During the early modern period, such representation of the eschatological progression of history was widely received, notably in the various print versions of Pseudo-Methodius’s seventh-century apocalyptic *Revelationes*. According to Pseudo-Methodius, a Muslim Antichrist was to be fought by a Last Christian Emperor, whom the

218 Almut Höfert. “Das Fremde durch die Brille des Eigenen: Das mittelalterliche Erbe im europäischen Türkenbild der Renaissance”. In: *Pera-Blätter* 4 (1995), pp. 1–18, pp. 10–13.

219 Emerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 37–44.

220 Daniel 7 formed the basis for the medieval concept of *translatio imperii*, i.e. the understanding of history as a linear transfer of power from one world empire to another – typically from Babylon to Persia, Macedonia and lastly Rome – so that the end of the Holy Roman Empire was held by Latin Christian commentators to be synonymous with the imminence of the Last Judgement.

writer identifies as Byzantine and who would establish the promised peace that was to be succeeded by Christ's Second Coming and Last Judgement.²²¹ The Last Emperor was subsequently updated from Pseudo-Methodius's 'King of the Greeks' to indicate a coeval Holy Roman Emperor, typically either the Habsburg emperor Friedrich III (1415–1493) or the King of Hungary and Bohemia Matthias Corvinus (1443–1490).²²² The final battle of Armageddon was similarly relocated from Byzantium to take place in western Europe, whereby Cologne, Strasbourg and the Walsersfeld near Salzburg were suggested by a number of these 'rewritten' prophecies as the predetermined site.²²³

The same strategy of modernising the scriptural account of the Apocalypse for the *Türkengefahr* and the writer's own national frame of reference can likewise be observed in the influential interpretation of Daniel 7 by Martin Luther: in his 1529 *Heerpredigt wider den Tu(e)rcken* (VD16: L 4914), Luther argues that Daniel "had forseen the nature, rise and fall of the Turkish empire."²²⁴ According to Luther, the little horn growing from the fourth beast's head stood for the Turks, who had conquered the three horns he interpreted as Egypt, Greece and Asia. The human-like eyes of this horn represented the Koran and its blasphemous mouth the words of Muhammad, who had arrogantly established himself as a false prophet and denied the divinity of Christ. For Luther, the Muslim Ottomans thus personified *die letzte und ergeste zorn des teuffels widder Christum*; in other words, he impresses upon his readers that "sie befanden sich nicht in irgendeiner Schlacht, sondern im weltgeschichtlichen Endkampf."²²⁵

Accordingly, the Han-Erben and Gregor Hübner frame their selection of quotations

221 Bernard McGinn. *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998, p. 71.

222 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, p. 191.

223 Klein, "Geschichtsdenken", p. 52.

224 Bohnstedt, "The Infidel Scourge of God", p. 23.

225 Klein, "Geschichtsdenken", p. 146 and p. 147.

from the New Testament in a manner that demonstrates a similar movement to apply their content and connotations to the present day and the *Türkengefahr*. On the title page of their pamphlet version of the *Reisebuch*, the Han-Erben reproduce three quotations from Matthew 24, Mark 13 and Luke 21, referencing similar passages in Daniel. These are contextualised by the pamphlet's title, which indicates that the ensuing four segments of text concern the *Tu(e)rcken vnd Machomet* (1r). The title asserts the veracity of the pamphlet's content by presenting the collected material as *ein warer gru(e)ntlicher bericht* (1r), authorised by Schiltberger's firsthand experience as one-time captive of the Ottomans. It prioritises dissuading *vngedu(e)ldigen Christen* (1r) who believe they may continue to live and practice their religion freely under the Turks *mit einem kurtzen bericht / zu vnterscheiden* (1r).²²⁶ The biblical passages serve to establish the Muslim Turks as the manifestation of the Antichrist by stressing, in more than one formulation, that the readers are experiencing the *Tag der Rach* (Luke 21:22) and that there will be *ein solch tru(e)bsal / als nie gewesen ist / von anbegin der Welt* (Mark 13:19). The readers are urged to *seid nun wacker alle zeit / vnd Betet / daß ihr wirdig werden mo(e)get / zu entpflihen / diesem allem / das geschehen sol / vnd zustehn vor des Menschen Sohn* (Lk 21:36).

Gregor Hübner reproduces the same assortment of citations as the Han-Erben with the addition of Psalm 79:9, Matthew 13:25 and an allusion to Matthew 4, all of which similarly serve to underscore the apocalyptic nature of the trials and tribulations brought about by Turkish expansion and therefore the spiritual necessity of remaining steadfast in one's faith in Christ. Hübner frames these as the *Propheceyung der Heiligen Schrift wider Machomet* (1v) and also aims to warn those who believe *das der Tu(e)rcke die Christen ihres glaubens frey vnter seinem Tribut wohnen lesset* (1r). This is, however, where the similarities between the two versions' paratextual material

²²⁶ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 35. A reference to the concept of *dhimmī*, or the legal protection Jewish and Christian minorities living under Islamic rulership benefitted from, albeit as inferior and submissive citizens subject to tax (*jizya*).

end: each printer deploys a further set of paratexts with differing, albeit equally apocalyptic themes with the consequence that the versions have distinct emphases. The Han-Erben warn against the deceptive character of Islam and encourage the reader to trust in Christian salvation, whereas Hübner advocates a more active role for Christendom in these end times, i.e. outright war against the Turks.

The Han-Erben achieve their polemic characterisation of the Turks chiefly through the reproduction of a brief poem by Georg Witschel entitled *Ein kurtzer einfeltiger Vnterricht* (1v). This poem establishes that the Muslim Turks are the champions of the devil's *Gesetz vnd Glauben* (l. 12), which *vor der Werlet ein schein hat* (l. 14). Addressing a Christian audience, Witschel describes how the devil, the master of trickery and illusion, deceived Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden (l. 3–6), tried unsuccessfully to tempt Jesus in the desert (l. 7–10) and now is attempting, with the aid of his Turkish followers, to lead yet more Christians astray as a function of his eschatological role as Antichrist, which the poet alludes to in a marginal reference to Revelation 20.²²⁷ This portrayal of Islam and the Turkish advance as the devil's handiwork with the explicit goal to deceive and thus damn Christendom is an explanation given by many contemporary commentators confronted with the similarity of Islam and Christianity, the experience of commendable aspects of the Ottoman way of life, and the conversion to Islam by a great number of Christians living in conquered territories. In particular, the representation of the Turks' piety, temperance, simplicity, modesty and cleanliness not only served as a critique of the perceived moral decay of European society, but also as an argument for these ostensible virtues marking the deception of the Antichrist, who seeks to lead Christians to apostasy via the seductive illusion of superiority.²²⁸ This characterisation is communicated

²²⁷ *Und wenn tausend Jahre vollendet sind, wird der Satanas los werden aus seinem Gefängnis und wird ausgehen, zu verführen die Heiden an den vier Enden der Erde, den Gog und Magog, sie zu versammeln zum Streit, welcher Zahl ist wie der Sand am Meer* (Revelation 20: 7–8).

²²⁸ Kaufmann, "Aspekte christlicher Wahrnehmung der "türkischen Religion"", p. 256.

in Georg von Ungarn's *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum* (see chapter 2). Like in Georg Witschel's poem, in this seminal text the threat of the Antichrist is not just one of military conquest but also for the salvation of the soul. Addressing this deception, Witschel also stresses that the Muslim Turks deny the divinity of Christ with terrible, if wholly justified consequences (l. 15–16): *Das straffen wird der heilig Geist / Die Su(e)nd Wer nicht wil glauben thun an Christum den wahrn Gottes Son [...] Wo bleibt der Jud vnd auch der Heyd / Sie werden verdampt alle beyd / Mit sampt aller Gottlossen Schar* (l. 23–25). The poet urges his reader to therefore take heed of the fundamental deviance of these religions, admonishing him to *stell dein Glauben auff Christum an / Der Ewigs Leben geben kann* (l. 29–30).

Witschel's argument is only further emphasised by the print of Psalm 46 under the heading *Ein scho(e)ns Christliches Lied zu singen* (4v), which likewise encourages the reader to put his faith in God during these difficult times: *Gott ist der Christen zuversicht / ein hilff vnd stercke das mans sicht / wenn kommen grosse no(e)then*. In fact, the text suggests that trust in God, rather than the prospect of crusade, promises to solve the conflict: *der den Krieg stewrt inn aller Welt / der Bogen zubricht / Spies / Helm vnnd Schild / die Wagen mit fewr verbrennen / Seidt still vnd erkennet allzeit / Gott thut die seinen kennen*, for Christ is *der gro(e)ste Kriegs Herr [...] im Himmel vnd auff Erden / Wo Durch das bitter Leiden sein / wird wider friede werden*. By reproducing Witschel alongside the two *Reisebuch* excerpts on the topic of Islam, the printers advance the assumption – shared by Martin Luther and the majority of his Protestant followers – that first and foremost prayer, an unwavering faith in God's mercy and the prospect of salvation through His intervention can defeat what they characterise as a predominantly spiritual threat to Christendom.²²⁹

²²⁹ Bohnstedt, "The Infidel Scourge of God", p. 32.

Gregor Hübner, by contrast, advocates war to end Turkish domination in his version of the *Reisebuch*. This polemic focus results from the printer's reproduction of *eine gar Alte Tu(e)rckische Propheceyung* (4v–5v) by (re-)printing Bartholomej Georgijević's *Prognoma* (VD16: D 3035). He replicates the *Prognoma* without mentioning his source in a phonetic transcription of the Turkish text as well as in Latin and German translation. Georgijević, who was taken prisoner by the Turks at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 and spent approximately a decade in Ottoman captivity, published his experiences as well as material relating to them in multiple works after his return to Europe. The majority became instant bestsellers and, with them, Georgijević arguably “der erfolgreichste Publizist zur Türkenfrage im späten 16. Jahrhundert.”²³⁰ Some indication of the mass appeal of these texts, and therefore their significance for the contemporary *Türkenbild*, can be gleaned from the fact that Georgijević's prophecy alone appeared in approximately 105 editions from c. 1550–1700.²³¹

The prophecy relates how a Turkish sultan will capture and occupy *des heidnischen Fu(e)rsten Reich* (5r), by which a Christian kingdom is indicated, as well as what is cryptically described as *den Roten Apffel* (5r). It is said that if the Christians do not fight against the usurper in the seventh year of his reign, which Hübner dates as a year after the publication of his pamphlet in 1596, the sultan will rule over them, building houses and cities, planting vineyards and raising children. After the twelfth year of Turkish dominion of the ‘red apple’, the Christians will inevitably take up arms *Vnd werden vnsern Tu(e)rckischen Keyser Anno 1602 gewis In die flucht jagen* (5v). In Hübner's version, Georgijević's prophecy is both preceeded and

230 Kaufmann, “Aspekte christlicher Wahrnehmung der “türkischen Religion””, p. 270. These included an account of the horrors of Turkish captivity (VD16: ZV 4808) as well as the widely circulated *Türckey oder von yetziger Türcken kirchengepräg syten vnnd leben* (VD16: D 3043) that came to represent the standard ethnographic reference work for the late sixteenth century.

231 John Tolan, Gilles Veinstein, and Henry Laurens. *Europe and the Islamic World: A History*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013, p. 184.

followed by independent statements by the printer that aim to validate the argument for the predetermination of Christendom's ultimate triumph and of their temporary subjugation if they do not fight straightaway. Hübner repeatedly stresses that the text represents, as underscored by its reproduction in transcribed Turkish, the Ottomans' *eigene Prophecey* (5v) that they *mit beschwerten hertzen / offt heimlich gedencken* (1r), which is further lent credence by the prophecy's discovery in an old and derelict tower in the vicinity of the Hagia Sophia. This insistence on the text's foreign origins serves to strengthen the prophecy's message of inevitable Christian supremacy in the face of what the printer has established as the advance of an apocalyptic army by means of scriptural prophecy. The success of Christian crusade is depicted as universally recognised and thus as incontrovertible destiny. The necessity of this war with the Turks is thus promulgated by the printer.

With respect to its reference to the myth of conquering the 'red apple' or *Kızıl Elma*, Georgijević's prophecy actually reflects a real Turkish tradition, although this legend's original import is significantly adapted in Georgijević and thus also Hübner. The oldest surviving reference to the *Kızıl Elma* is contained in Abū l-Hayr-er Rūmī's biography of Sarı Saltak (c. 1473), a thirteenth-century dervish and patron saint of the earliest Turkish invaders into Europe. According to this myth, the apple symbolised "any city to be conquered and, in the end, the ultimate city, whose possession would signify that these armies had accomplished their task and their master would now exercise the universal dominion to which he had been called."²³² As these cities remained unspecified, much effort went into identifying their exact location for the purpose of creating topical propaganda, the writer's interpretation depending largely on the current phase of Ottoman expansion westward. Some Turkish commentators argued that the apple stood for Constantinople, due to the copper orb and cross that was held by the equestrian statue of Justinian located

²³² Tolan, Veinstein, and Laurens, *Europe and the Islamic World*, p. 181.

between the Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace.²³³ Others maintained that Buda, Vienna or even Rome was meant.²³⁴ The Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi (1611~1682) wrote that there were six ‘red apples’, some of which had already succumbed to the Turks – Buda, Eger, Esztergom and Székesfehérvár – and others that were destined to soon fall into Turkish hands, namely Vienna and Rome.²³⁵

Georgijević’s prophecy is typically transmitted with a commentary – omitted in Hübner’s reproduction – that demonstrates a knowledge of this Turkish interpretation and the discussion surrounding the identification of the ‘red apple’: the commentary reports that the apple signifies *ein grosse gewaltige feste Statt deß Ro(e)mischen Reichs / oder der Christenheit / vnd derhalben halten die Gelehrte vnd verstendige bey inen grosse Disputation vber disem wort* (62r). Georgijević, however, proceeds to turn the Turkish analysis of this symbol on its head, inverting the concept of the Turks conquering an important centre of Latin Christendom to offer reassurance to his European audience that it would be Christians, and not the Muslim Ottomans, who would emerge finally victorious. This argument mirrors the prophecy in the pamphlet’s *Reisebuch* extract that Muhammad’s rise to power would be circumscribed – *sein Glaub solt nicht zu tausent Jar gelangen / solt darnach wider abnehmen* (2r) – and the subjugation of the empire(s) of Islam would result from the actions of a united Christendom (3v). These texts serve to advance the necessity of collective military action by Christianity to rid society of the Turkish menace. In Hübner’s reproduction of Georgijević, however, the call to arms is particularly explicit, especially effected by the printer’s independent addition of exact dating for these events (1597, 1603). Contending that Christendom will succeed in conclusively overthrowing the Turks only a few years after the pamphlet’s publication, the printer is chiefly concerned with presenting a persuasive campaign for this undertaking, which he contextualises

233 Tolan, Veinstein, and Laurens, *Europe and the Islamic World*, p. 183.

234 Ibid., p. 183.

235 Ibid., p. 182.

as a fight against the armed forces of the Antichrist that is completely assured of success.

Despite their divergent solutions to the *Türkengefahr*, the Han-Erben and Gregor Hübner argue in their pamphlet versions of the *Reisebuch* that Christians should reject the idea of accepting the yoke of Turkish rule in response to the prevalent rumour that they would still be permitted to practice their religion freely, which both printers characterise as fallacious. In contrast to the portrayal of the eastern ‘other’ in the long version, there is absolutely no scope for ambiguity with respect to the Muslim Turks’ relationship to western society for the Han-Erben and Hübner: the Turks are cast explicitly and exclusively as the antagonistic archenemy of Christendom. According to these printers, the Turks are synonymous with the army of the Antichrist and therefore represent a nonnegotiable and very serious spiritual, territorial as well as eschatological threat that must be combatted, whether predominantly with prayer or with sword.

Adam Berg: Ottoman Captivity

Adam Berg focuses on addressing the same concern in his version of the travel book, chiefly through the paratextual reproduction of a passage based on Bartholomej Georgijević’s *Vom jamer vnd elend der gefangnen Christen* (VD16: D 3021) programmatically titled *Volget ob der Tu(e)rck die Christen vnder seinem Tribut in erlegung eines Guldens ja(e)rlich wohnen lasse?* Georgijević’s text communicates a comparably negative response to the favourable perception of Turkish cultural tolerance, which is explicitly described in Berg’s pamphlet as *ein falscher wohn bey den Christen* (4v). Moreover, Berg supplies his own distinct justification for this shared argument: the printer seeks to persuade his readers that it is impossible for Christians to live and practice their faith under Turkish rule by providing graphic details of the horrific maltreatment of those who have experienced and currently

still suffer in Ottoman captivity and servitude. Much like Hübner, Berg's aim in constructing this polemic is to agitate for war against the Turks.

Berg attributes the paratextual frame to *Johan Schiltberger* (6v), although the *Reisebuch* itself contains no equivalent polemic passage. In fact, the details the *Reisebuch*'s first-person narrator provides with respect to the traveller's experiences of captivity are limited compared to Berg's supplements.²³⁶ Berg does not, however, reference any of these specifics in the short biography of the traveller he attaches as an *Anhang zum Schluß* (6v). Instead, he invents an independent backstory for Schiltberger.

According to Berg, Schiltberger was taken prisoner at the Siege of Szigetvár in 1566 *mit anderhalb hundert Christen (deren seelen Gott gnad) gehn Constantinopel gefu(e)hrt / manches Ko(e)nigreich / wie im Titul vermeldt / in Eisen durchzogen* (6v) until he was liberated alongside a further 900 Christians from the *gewu(e)nschten langwirigen lasts der dienstbarkeit* (6v) by the Roman Catholic ruler of Transylvania Sigismund Báthory (1572–1613). The details of this new biography function both to authenticate and to establish the pamphlet's content as topical and newsworthy by embedding the captive and his experiences in the reader's present, the traveller's professed return to Munich in 1598 corresponding with the location and date of the version's publication. Moreover, they reflect the printer's thematisation of the contemporary menace of Turkish invasion, the significance of which is underlined by the sheer number of Christians the writer claims were captured at Szigetvár and freed by Báthory 32 years later. This substitute biography serves to support the printer's polemic aim to convince his fellow Germans to take immediate military

²³⁶ They consist broadly of an account of Schiltberger's capture and injury at the Battle of Nicopolis (N 54ff.); statement of his employment at the sultan's court as infantryman and, after a period of six years, cavalryman (N 57–58); a brief description of a failed escape attempt (N 63); documentation of the change of master to Timūr and his dynasty after Bayezid's defeat and death (N 73); and, finally, the particulars of the captive's ultimate escape over the Black Sea (N 157ff.).

action against the Ottoman Turks in order to prevent the occupation and consequent enslavement of their own territories and communities. Since the city lay on the doorstep of the Holy Roman Empire, the Siege of Szigetvár offers a more current and geographically suitable location to drive home the urgency of this call to arms than the comparatively remote site of Schiltberger's actual fourteenth-century capture at Nikopol in Bulgaria.

Berg argues that it is both imprudent and inadvisable to delay military action until the Turks have occupied all of the neighbouring Kingdom of Hungary, contending that the *fromme Teutsche* (5v) risk by their inactivity that *der Erbfeind von tag zu tag ein land noch den andern einnimpt / vnnd hiemit also leichtlich dz gantz teutschland [...] nach seines hertzens wunsch bezwingt / vnd vndersich bringt* (5v). Berg appeals to the Germans' own expansionist ambitions in order to make a case for their particular involvement: *Treibt zuvor den allgemeinen Erbfeindt auß dem lande [...] damit sie nicht dem tu(e)rcken / sonder ewer Kindern / So(e)hnen vnd to(e)chtern mo(e)gen zum theil werden* (5r). He also speaks to their pride, assuring them *ein ewigen vnd immerwerenden namen / der Mannheit vnd besta(e)ndigkeit bey allen Nationen in der gantzen Christenheit* (6r). He argues that it is simply common sense to head to war immediately if they aim to protect their own territories from the ravages of war, *wann man aber daheim im Vatterland vnderligt / da stehet gemeinlich das verderben vnnd verliering land vnnd Leutte darauff* (5v). The character of the suffering and abuse inflicted on all subjugated Christians constitutes the final and most extensive part of the printer's persuasive campaign, laid out in graphic detail as emotive justification for this war.

Georgijević, whose text on the topic of captivity Berg uses in his pamphlet version of the *Reisebuch*, arguably provides one of the most vivid ethnographic 'snapshots' of the slave trade and the (mis-)use of captives by the Turks during the sixteenth

century.²³⁷ In this respect, Georgijević's text performs not only an ethnographically informative but also a polemic function. This anti-Turkish propaganda is deployed in Berg's reproduction, with a number of independent and largely amplifying additions by the printer, which aim to supply the reader with graphic evidence of the Turks' deviance and brutality. The passage achieves this polemic by highlighting the danger subjugation poses to the physical welfare of the Christian captive and slave. For one, the text posits that captives of the Turks are uniformly dehumanised and treated as little more than useful beasts of burden. It is recalled, for example, that the numerous slave traders who trail in the wake of the marauding Ottoman army carry long iron chains onto which they are able to clamp a total of 50 to 60 captives, and whom they *wie Kuppelpferdt / nacheinander schleppen* (3v). Once the traders have led their weeping and wailing spoils of war to market in the manner of *ein hert schaff oder Geiß* (4r), the captives are paraded naked like livestock, so that their bodies may be inspected for faults by potential buyers; when purchased, they must carry *alle bu(e)rde so ihnen auffgelegt wird [...]* / *oder zusammen gekuppelt an einen Joch am pflug ziehen* (4r). This demeaning experience forms merely the beginning of a captive's tribulations. The passage relates that full-grown men, although typically put to work on the field or *ander posselarbeit* (4r), are sometimes chosen to instead serve the deviant sexuality of the Turks, who *mit grosser Leibs gefahr die mannliche glieder außschneiden / daß er sie zu Sodomei vnd stummen su(e)nden mißbrauchen ko(e)ndte* (3v). Women fare only a little better, tasked with all manner of *abschewlichen wercken* (4r) like the washing of their Turkish mistresses after they have relieved themselves. Finally, those who have no craft or skill to offer are deemed *kein nu(e)tzige leuthe* (4r) and consigned to *ewigwehrendem hunger / durst vnd gestanck* (4r).

All the hardships the captives must undergo are described as distressing and degrading. Berg, however, especially foregrounds the most shocking acts of physical

²³⁷ Kaufmann, "Aspekte christlicher Wahrnehmung der "türkischen Religion"", p. 270.

violence, in particular repeatedly referencing castration and cannibalism. In this respect, the printer provides details that go beyond Georgijević's polemic. In addition to the information about the fate of male castrati that Berg excerpts from Georgijević, the printer incorporates an independent example that characterises the act of castration not as an expression of the Turks' sexual depravity but instead as an explicit threat. He writes that after their success at the Siege of Szigetvár, the Turks castrate and shave 11,000 Christian soldiers, whom they *durch Griechen land hin vnnd wider zerstrewen lassen / damit sie seiner Victori / zeugnuß geben* (5r). This account of the removal of primary and secondary sexual characteristics functions to advance the text's description of the Turks as fundamentally brutal and barbaric. It suggests to the reader the literal as well as figurative impotence and emasculation that can be expected upon Turkish victory and subjugation, both of which therefore must be avoided at all costs.

The topos of cannibalism is similarly utilised: when Berg writes that the impalement of women, children and the elderly by the Turks demonstrates *wie hungerig vnd du(e)rstig das vnbarmhertzige Volck nach Christen fleisch vnd Blut trachte* (4v), the figurative use of the vocabulary of cannibalism only heightens the polemic characterisation of the Turks' brutality and the corporeal danger their expansion represents. Berg also independently references eyewitness testimony to corroborate purported occurrences of cannibalism, especially with regard to the Turks' Muslim allies. For example, the printer describes that a Mongol was discovered after the Siege of Szigetvár with a two-year old child in his bag *welches er umbher benagt / vnnd angebissen hatt* (5r). In fact, the Mongols are characterised by the printer as wholly accustomed to consuming *Christen fleisch* (5r) generally and that of babies more specifically: *die Tartar [haben] die jungen kinder entzwey gschnitten / an die spieß gesteckt / beim fewr gebratten vnnd auffgefressen* (5r).²³⁸ In short, rather than

238 See Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*, especially p. 140.

tolerance and integration, Christians who fall into Turkish hands can expect dreadful suffering, if not death.

Even worse than this corporeal mishandling and butchery, however, is the *gfa(e)rlichkeit des Gwissens* (4r) that the Turks effect. As soon as a young boy or girl is captured and enslaved by the Turks, *setzt man ihnen hart zu / das sie sich beschneiden lassen / vnd den Christen glauben verlaugnen sollen* (4r). Further, the sultan himself selects an elite few *vnd laßt solche im Machometischen Gsetz vnderweisen / das er sie nachmahls zu Janitscharen oder hohen Emptern im Regiment brauchen ko(e)ndte* (4r). These children grow to be *viel grausamer als die Tu(e)rcken vnd Tartar selbs* (4v). This characterisation of Turkish behaviour supplies further evidence that contradicts the rumour of their non-violent tolerance of Christianity in return for tribute: not only are children taken from their families and converted, but those Christians who remain true to their faith after captivity and inevitable enslavement are *desto hefftiger geplaget vnd gepeiniget* (4v) by their masters. Moreover, the Turks only begrudgingly offer dilapidated buildings for Christian worship, forbid Christians to carry weapons and bar them from holding office. Christians who blaspheme against their prophet Muhammad, *dem legen sie gewalt an spissen / braten / oder verbrennen ihm* (4v), while the Muslims themselves *la(e)stern, schma(e)hen vnnnd scha(e)nden [die Christen] ohne schew ihres gefallens* (4v). The catalogue of hardships and the promise of better treatment encourage conversion to Islam. Servitude is therefore characterised by Berg as accompanied by a risk of apostasy, a representation that shares similarities with the Han-Erben's argument but deviates notably by suggesting that conversion is the consequence of the Turks' cruelty and depravity rather than an attraction to an ostensible moral superiority.

Whereas the Han-Erben and Gregor Hübner conceptualise the *Türkengefahr* in terms of the End Times and bank on preordained divine intervention, Adam Berg

communicates a more profane interpretation and solution to the conflict. For Berg, all of Christendom – and particularly the Germans – must take immediate action in order to prevent the subjugation and enslavement of their own territories. The printer does not appeal to prophecies that communicate an assurance of victory due to divine will but to the character of his fellow men, stressing the absolute certainty of Turkish victory if Christians do not act. Berg thus exploits the pity, fear, loyalty and pride of his countrymen in order to advance this agenda. The graphic record of the mistreatment of Christian captives by the Turks is the argument’s absolute *pièce de résistance*.

4.3 Conclusion: The *Reisebuch* as *Türkenschrift*

This chapter set out to show the instability of the early printed book with respect to the *Reisebuch*’s transmission in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: in the preceding sections, I have demonstrated with what effect the six print versions incorporate visual and textual adaptations that reconceptualise the book and communicate independent ideas about the eastern ‘other’. The *Reisebuch*’s repeated rewriting – in which paratexts play a particularly prominent and crucial role – does not represent a ‘corruption’ of the work, as Elizabeth Eisenstein would argue; instead, I have shown how this rewriting is a productive, creative process, in which the presses are at pains to modify and/or (re-)frame the text in order to render an individual interpretation and, more often than not, align the narrative with current events, discourses and representational strategies. The modifications thus directly influence the reception and interpretation of these versions.

On the one hand, this practice typifies a continuity in the manner of constructing and conveying ideas that I have shown also for the manuscript transmission of the travel book, in which rewriting likewise effects the form, content and focus

of the narrative versions. On the other hand, the reformulations have their own “Eigendynamik” in early print.²³⁹ The editions diverge significantly from the long version they reproduce either in full or as brief excerpts in that they render the ethnographic document as polemic *Türkenbuch* or, in one instance, an adventure story. The former is not a far-fetched characterisation for the *Reisebuch*; in fact, Karoline Döring has classified the long version as a *Türkenbuch* for the express reason that the text expounds at length on the Turks in the context of both crusade and captivity.²⁴⁰ However, Döring’s categorisation is ultimately a reductive interpretation of the long version, for it places an emphasis on the Turks and Islam in a manner that the narrator does not.

Having said that, the prints’ focus on the Turks and Islam certainly describes the predominant concern of the five sixteenth-century reworkings of the *Reisebuch*. Whereas the long version remains ambivalent in its portrayal of the diversity of cultures and religions in the East, the printers – with the sole exception of Anton Sorg – adapt this text as a *Türkendruck* by shifting their attention almost exclusively to Islam and the Turks, emphasising their radical deviance with respect to a European and Christian ‘self’. Berg and Neuber define this alterity through costume and visually describe the Turks’ barbaric bellicosity. Gülfferich provides graphic imagery that serves to demonise the customs and religion of this ‘other’. Further, the preface in both of these editions adds yet another dimension by establishing the Turks as part of Islam’s historical threat to Christendom and their expansion as a ‘Scourge of God’. The pamphlets characterise the Turks as the army of the Antichrist (Han-Erben, Hübner) as well as the barbaric abusers of Christian captives (Berg). Thus, each of these prints forms an independent polemic in its own right – the process of rewriting constitutes an integral aspect of the prints’ representation of the East, which is

239 Schanze, “Der Buchdruck als Medienrevolution?”, p. 302.

240 Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel*, pp. 137–145.

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especially visible in the *Reisebuch*'s reconceptualisation and supplementation with various paratexts.

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This thesis has provided the first book-length analysis of Schiltberger's *Reisebuch*; it places the full multiplicity and variety in the work's manuscript and print transmission from c. 1450–1600 at the centre of its methodology. My study has shown this textual, visual and material variety to be essential to a historically sensitive analysis of the *Reisebuch*'s representation of the East. With the New Philologists, I acknowledge variety as inherent to premodern textuality. The consequence of various processes of rewriting, this diversity demonstrates a cultural attitude to text and transmission that privileges the instability of text and meaning in manuscript and early print: premodern writers reconceptualise, recontextualise and retell existing material for new historical situations and, in line with current discourses and redactors' individual agendas, for new audiences (see chapter 1 and section 4.1).

Acknowledging this heterogeneity has implications for the interpretation of the *Reisebuch*'s representation of the East: there was no single immutable, authoritative version of the *Reisebuch* in circulation during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but rather multiple, equally relevant texts that developed divergent representational strategies. My analysis of these versions of the *Reisebuch* has demonstrated that a concentration only on authorial voice – and thus on originality and authenticity – in a literary study of premodern travel writing does not adequately reflect the prevalence and the importance of rewriting in the genre: rewriting is an integral part of how the author and the subsequent redactors of the *Reisebuch* constructed

their Orientalist representations, reconciling inherited ideas and stereotypes with firsthand experiences of cultural ‘others’. With Iain Macleod Higgins, I maintain that rewriting is an important feature of medieval “worldmaking.”¹

Variouly rewritten, the *Reisebuch* – as the “sum of [its surviving] material witnesses” – is fundamentally unstable, multiple and polyvocal.² I have identified three dominant strands in the *Reisebuch*-transmission, each exhibiting a shift in form, content and thematic focus. These strands consist of: a secular chronicle of the complex interrelationships among diverse eastern dynasties; a proto-ethnographic account that focuses on ambivalently describing the religious difference of a variety of eastern ‘others’; and a polemic reworking in print as *Turcica*, in which the assertion of political and religious diversity in the manuscript versions is purposefully diminished to emphasise the deviance of Islam and the Turks instead. In all three instances, however, I have shown how processes of rewriting significantly affect the versions’ representations of the East.

In chapter 2, I have demonstrated that the abridged version constitutes a nuanced secular chronicle of the character, political customs and military exploits of the eastern rulers under whom Schiltberger was captive. That is to say, the version characterises the East first and foremost as a diverse political space, providing a picture of the largely fraught relationships among various eastern dynasties – between different Turkish principalities, between Turks and Mamluks, between Turks and Mongols, and among Mongol clans. The narrative focuses on detailing the empire-building of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1403) and the Mongolian warlord Timūr (r. 1370–1405) in the East, on the one hand, and the political disintegration of their respective kingdoms after their deaths, on the other. Moreover, these leaders – and, by extension, the Turks and the Mongols – are ‘othered’ not by virtue of their

¹ Higgins, *Writing East*, p. vii.

² Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, p. 73.

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Muslim faith, which is not at all addressed in the version, but as a direct result of their extreme brutality. Timūr emerges as an especially polarising figure bent on grisly massacre and the total destruction of occupied territories.

I have shown that this profane representation of these eastern ‘others’ amounts not only to a significant rewriting of the long version but also to a marked departure from its contemporary literary context. In sharp contrast to the abridged version, most contemporaneous German accounts of Turkish captivity instead tend to thematise Ottoman conflict with the West and to link this territorial expansion with a notion of Islam’s spiritual threat; they render the Turk as the *Erb- und Erzfeind* of Christendom. Further, the *Reisebuch* occupies a special position in German premodern travel writing as one of only a handful of European accounts based on firsthand experience of Timūr’s court; the abridged version’s representation constitutes a response to established polemics, but unlike the vast majority of similar texts, it does not provide a discussion of the significance of the Mongols’ empire-building or their infighting for the Christian West. In sum, the abridged version concentrates on describing history for its own sake, without applying any systematic Christian framework. However, a frame is in turn provided by the material context of the version’s binding in St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 628 and Strasbourg BNU, ms. 2119, which both support the *Reisebuch*’s reconceptualisation as a chronicle and interpret the text in the context of a world history; in these codices, the traveller’s crusade and captivity are considered to be part of a perennial and eschatological conflict with the Muslim ‘other’.

In chapter 3, I have shown how the rewriting of numerous passages from Michel Velsler’s German translation of Mandeville’s *Travels* have helped to shape the long version’s representation of the East: the long version of the *Reisebuch* supplies a proto-ethnography that, while also addressing the East’s political diversity, predominantly

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focuses on providing in-depth commentary on a variety of ‘other’ religions. The work’s inclusion in a collection of travel texts (containing a lost map) by Matheus Brätzl in Munich Stadtbibliothek, Cod. L 1603 foregrounds these ethnographic qualities, which Brätzl judged to be entertaining, edifying as well as spiritually enriching for his reader. Through the version’s engagement with the *Travels*, an ambivalent model of eastern religious difference is created that connects as well as divides East and West; the version is additionally distinguished in the travel book’s transmission history by the coexistence of similarities and differences, a strategy I have described using Bernhard Waldenfels’s concept of *Verschränkung*. The incorporation of the *Travels*’s description of the Holy Land forms the means by which the text establishes a contrast between Latin Christianity and Islam, characterising the latter as a ‘false’ faith against which war should be waged by all means possible, including (and highly unusually) ‘from within’ via conversion to Islam. The version’s depiction is achieved both by copying from the *Travels* and by including independent passages that nonetheless directly engage with Mandeville’s model. While never questioning the fundamental falsity of Islam or indeed the inherent primacy of Latin Christianity, the version also includes excerpts from the *Travels* about Muslim beliefs and rituals that complicate this straightforward opposition through the relativisation of Islam as Christological heresy. To this aim, the text outlines doctrinal similarities and examples of Muslim moral integrity to criticise Christian behaviour. Finally, the narrative version moves beyond this comparison to include an extensive critique of other ‘heretical’ forms of Christianity in the East, using Mandeville’s *Travels* as the source for a polemic description of the Greek Church and as the pattern for an independent portrayal of the Armenian Church that underlines a shared ecclesiastical and national past. Thus, the East is defined predominantly as the site of diverse religious difference, and this portrayal is largely indebted to the *Travels*’s example;

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more than straightforward borrowing, however, the version's recycling of parts of the *Travels* forms the basis for the *Reisebuch*'s independent narration, which differs from Mandeville's text notably in terms of its creative manipulation of passages about the Holy Land, its expansion of the concept of crusade, and its elaboration on forms of Christian heresy.

In chapter 4, I investigated how the *Reisebuch* is rewritten in early print. Most of the six print editions of the *Reisebuch* reproduce the long version unchanged; the three pamphlet versions, on the other hand, reprint two excerpts from the long version that address Islam (N 122–127 and 134, cf. section 1.5). With the exception of Anton Sorg's print, these versions reconceptualise the *Reisebuch* as a polemic *Türkendruck*. They do so primarily by modifying the book's material form. By broadening my analysis to include elements traditionally regarded as 'marginal' to the text, I assert that the process of rewriting in print crucially involves the (re-)framing of texts with verbal and non-verbal paratextual material. Commonly transformed in transmission, this supplementary material allows a work's printer(s) to structure, mediate and produce meaning without modifying the 'core' text in order to communicate new, independent perspectives.

The addition of images to the print editions of the long version by Anton Sorg, Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber, Hermann Gülfferich and Weigand Han fulfils exactly this function. Sorg frames the narrative's informative, ethnographic narration with imagery that instead characterises the East as the locus of the adventurous and marvellous. Berg and Neuber systematically delineate difference by introducing 'orientalising' costume details; the illustrations communicate a monolithic image of the 'other' as Ottoman and Muslim and therefore modify the narrative's nuanced portrayal of diversity. Lastly, Gülfferich and Han recycle a number of Jörg Breu's illustrations for Ludovico Varthema's *Reyß*; by reproducing many scenes of graphic

violence, they insert a polarising polemic to the text that visually demonises the ‘other’, who is reductively (re-)defined as Muslim. This polemic reframing of the *Reisebuch* in print is supported by the introduction of a preface in Berg and Neuber as well as Gülfferich and Han’s roughly contemporaneous reproductions. Continuing the woodcuts’ depiction of Turkish barbarity and religious deviance, the preface additionally delineates the Turks as a punishment inflicted on Europe for its moral corruption, i.e. as a ‘Scourge of God’.

The three pamphlet versions of the *Reisebuch* produced by the Han-Erben, Gregor Hübner and Adam Berg continue this reconceptualisation of the *Reisebuch* as *Türkendruck* by emphasising the military, spiritual and eschatological nature of the threat the Turks posed to Europe. This characterisation is partly produced by the abbreviation of the narrative to fixate on Islam. By casting the polemic in the form of a *Flugschrift*, all three printers demonstrate their intention to rewrite the *Reisebuch* as propaganda, aiming to achieve wide distribution and thus support for their messages. This polemic is realised by the placement of the extracts alongside an assortment of anti-Turkish material. The Han-Erben rewrite the *Reisebuch* to characterise the *Türkengefahr* as sign and instrument of the Apocalypse; they warn against the seductive, deceptive character of Islam and encourage the reader to trust in prayer and Christian salvation. Hübner likewise repurposes the *Reisebuch* to describe the *Türkenfurcht* in apocalyptic terms, but he by contrast advocates crusade against the Turks. Finally, Berg similarly promotes outright war in his pamphlet reproduction of the *Reisebuch* by providing firsthand ‘evidence’ of the Turks’ horrific cruelty to captives and Christians in territories under their control.

5.1 The *Reisebuch*'s Orientalisms

In outlining the versions' representational strategies, I have thus also demonstrated how the *Reisebuch* is an Orientalist work: all versions assume a normative distinction between East and West; all define and delineate the alterity of the East; all produce a portrayal of the East in order to inform a German-speaking and Christian audience, refracting the ideas, customs, values and interests of this culture in narrating the encounter with another; and all ultimately assert intellectual authority over the Orient. The long version foregrounds the inherent superiority of the West over the East by having Muslim voices assert the supremacy of Christianity, and it characterises Christendom's sovereignty as guaranteed, if contingent on Christian moral reform. By defining Islam as Christological heresy and therefore aligning the faith with the Eastern Churches – a comparison out of which the Greeks emerge as the most sinful and reprehensible community – the text additionally constructs the primacy and 'truth' of Catholic doctrine. Further, the abridged version represents the East as the locus of fundamentally volatile, self-destructive dynasties; the brutal defeat of the crusaders at Nicopolis is offset by this portrayal of political disintegration, notably by the defeat of Bayezid by Timūr. Lastly, the print versions construct the West's superiority predominantly via the depiction of eastern barbarity and brutality, which in turn underpins a notion of Turks and 'Tartars' as essentially uncivilised. The prints associate the Turks with the Scythians, depict them wielding clubs like 'wild men', revile them for their maltreatment of Christians and consider them to be the manifestation of the Antichrist. If addressed at all, the Mongols are portrayed as complicit allies of the Turks and specifically maligned as cannibals. Although they propose divergent solutions to the *Türkenfurcht*, a number of the prints convey the inevitability of Christian supremacy, maintaining that Christendom's victory is recognised by the Turks themselves as a matter of incontrovertible destiny.

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Additionally, my study has further reaffirmed what others have argued with respect to premodern German Orientalism: the Orient played a significant role in Germany's cultural imagination during this time, and it is necessary to situate these Orientalist texts in their specific local as well as historical contexts so as to accurately capture the "distinctive characteristics of German Orientalism."³

First, the *Reisebuch's* Orientalism is the consequence of actual German engagement in the East, rather than representing a purely "scholarly" exercise.⁴ Notwithstanding its recycling of Mandeville, the travel book is the result of Johannes Schiltberger's firsthand experience and observations during his 30-year captivity. The account was also repeatedly reconceptualised in response to real events affecting German-speaking regions, e.g. the attacks by the Ottomans on the Holy Roman Empire and particularly Vienna (in 1529). These events provide the context for the *Reisebuch's* continued premodern transmission, and they explain the increasing focus on the Turks – on polemics, on providing cautionary advice and prophetic assurances – over the course of the work's circulation.

Secondly, each version of the *Reisebuch* has its own specific model of alterity. The versions' characterisations of the East both complicate the notion of difference as a dichotomy of the diametrically opposed and advance this binary opposition at the same time. That is to say, the manuscript and print versions of the *Reisebuch* showcase a variety of responses to eastern 'others': they highlight objectively (if not outright ambivalently) their political, ethnic and religious diversity as well as vilify specifically the Muslim Turks as impalers, butchers and the army of the Antichrist in a polarising polemic.

While all versions of the *Reisebuch* maintain a normative distinction between East and West, the critique advanced in these texts is not necessarily unidirectional, nor

³ Jennifer Jenkins. "German Orientalism: Introduction". In: *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24.2 (2004), pp. 97–100, p. 97.

⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 19.

is it consistently based on a straightforward opposition. For example, reports of the virtuous behaviour of Muslims facilitate censure of Christian morality in both the long version and the print versions that characterise the Ottoman military advance as a ‘Scourge of God’ (Berg and Neuber, Gülfferich, and Han). Further, the long version’s categorisation of different religions in the East as uniformly Christian heresy permits, through the text’s elaboration on the faiths’ core propinquity, positive identification with Islam and Eastern Christianity, at least to a point.

However, it is equally the case that the threat of Turkish occupation is constructed as a violent opposition to the Latin Christian West; this is observable in the dissemination of a variety of different arguments to convince a German audience of the necessity of war against the Ottomans in early print (Hübner, Berg). In this context, Muslim virtue is by contrast polemically constructed as part of a deception by the Antichrist, who seeks to lead Christians astray to eternal damnation (Han-Erben); in other words, the same motif is utilised to both unite and divide in the book’s transmission history, evidence of the considerable flexibility and variety of possible responses to the ‘other’ during this period.⁵ Therefore, my study has stressed the fundamental multiplicity and diversity of the *Reisebuch*’s Orientalist representations. With Todd Kontje, it is thus not possible to talk about a single Orientalist strategy, but only of multiple, even divergent “Orientalisms”.⁶

Third, my analysis has highlighted the dynamic and dialogic nature of these Orientalisms. The *Reisebuch*’s rewriting is concrete evidence of the engagement of these Orientalist representations with traditions, conventions and contemporary discourses about the East. Thus, the travel book’s transmission history is also material proof of Edward Said’s concept of how these images of the East are ‘made’: Said describes the development of Orientalism as a “*textual attitude*”, and the *Reise-*

⁵ Tolan, *Saracens*.

⁶ Kontje, *German Orientalisms*, p. 12.

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buch's representations are manifestly *textual* constructions as well as reconstructions, insofar as they rewrite other material, incorporate established stereotypes and in turn both produce and perpetuate them.⁷ For example, in rewriting specific passages from the *Travels*, the long version engages with traditional images of the Holy Land as the site of the sacred story and of miracles to assert the status of Christianity as the 'one true faith'. The long and abridged versions also reflect polemic stereotypes of the Mongols in describing Timūr. Lastly, via the addition of various paratextual material the print transmission adopts the prevalent notion of the Turks as a 'scourge' for Christian sins, as Christendom's *Erb- und Erzfeind*.

As well as tacitly drawing on other texts and discourses, the image of the eastern 'other' is in a state of flux in the *Reisebuch*'s transmission – the communication of the text involves not only the integration of contemporaneous ideas but also the deliberate and creative adaptation of these concepts for new audiences, situations and contexts. This rewriting further demonstrates the fundamental discursivity and polyvocality of the work's Orientalisms: when dealing with the versions, the reader is not only confronted with the voice of the first-person narrator but equally with the viewpoints and agendas of the travel book's sources, redactors, compilers, printers and the diverse creators of the work's paratextual matter. Consequently, the reader cannot reconstruct "der 'gelebte Augenblick' der Reise" nor draw conclusions about the traveller's "subjektive Einstellung [...] und dessen individuelle Persönlichkeit."⁸ Awareness of the text's transformations and its attendant polyvocality is therefore crucial for any study of the *Reisebuch*, as the conditions of its material transmission dictate what kind of answers the text is able to provide. In this thesis, I have particularly focused on how the *Reisebuch*'s dynamic polyvocality supplies important clues about the contemporaneous reception of the work, whereby I have shown that the

⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 92.

⁸ Schröder, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam*, p. 29.

book's reception c. 1450–1600 consistently involves the independent interpretation and actualisation of its representation of the East: a study of the *Reisebuch*'s versions supplies concrete information about the ever-changing and varied reception and construction of the eastern 'other' in premodern Germany.

5.2 Contributions

With its reading that addresses the multiplicity, variety and polyvocality as integral for an understanding of the *Reisebuch*'s representation of the East, my study has revised and extended textual analyses of the work to date, which have either ignored the existence of these competing versions or not examined them extensively with respect to their individual representational strategies. In an extension of what Iain Macleod Higgins terms medieval travel narratives' layered multi-textuality, I have shown that this rewriting is not purely a narrative phenomenon but frequently involves significant material reworkings.⁹ Taking the materiality of the *Reisebuch*'s production and transmission into account, I have argued that a reading of the work's representation of the East must remain sensitive to all these variations or risk a reductive conflation that ultimately obfuscates the divergence of text and interpretation.

In my study, I have therefore not only addressed new material, but I have addressed it in a new way. My thesis extends the catalogue of the work's premodern transmission, adding Adam Berg's 1598 print edition of the *Reisebuch* to the list of versions; it has provided the first analysis of Berg's print, which itself supplies further evidence that the *Reisebuch*'s repeated rewriting involved material and narrative modifications that significantly alter the work's representation of the East. Further, I have discussed for the first time in scholarship the abridged version's representational strategies

⁹ Higgins, *Writing East*, p. viii.

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and contrasted these with the version's literary contexts. Moreover, contrary to recent analyses my thesis has supplied a reading of the long version that does not downplay the text's fundamental ambivalence and that examines the involvement of the version's rewriting of Mandeville's *Travels* in its portrayal of eastern difference. I have furthermore provided readings of the print versions of the *Reisebuch* that extend, if not also revise, readings to date.

Most significantly, however, I have provided an analysis that maintains the formal and thematic distinctions between all these versions. My investigation avoids an interpretation of the *Reisebuch* that 'reduces' it to a singular version or 'conflates' its versions, supplying instead an analysis that puts the constitutive role of rewriting in premodern travel literature at its heart. By illustrating the importance of rewriting to the *Reisebuch*'s representations of the East, I have made an argument for the equal consideration of all versions in their distinct narrative and material permutations. It is this assertion that future investigations of the *Reisebuch* would do well to keep in mind regardless of their specific research questions, for the travel book's rewriting is integral to the work's production *and* reception. That such clarification is both timely and necessary is illustrated by the fact that evidence of rewriting is not fully considered in the majority of scholarly analyses, nor – no doubt as a consequence – in popular understanding. Investigations of Schiltberger's *Reisebuch*, and of premodern travel writing more generally, continue to conflate rewritten material with the traveller's own experience and to rest on a reductive perception of the work as a single text, as an argument conceived of by a single, authoritative author.¹⁰ Instead, the *Reisebuch* is the aggregation of a large and varied transmission

¹⁰ In a manner consistent with shortcomings in the scholarly interpretations by Wakounig, Briski and Strachan, Hans Holzhaider writes for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (10.2016) that Schiltberger "konnte seinen Landsleuten aus erster Hand und mit verblüffender Objektivität von der Religion und den Gebräuchen der Muslime berichten" (Hans Holzhaider. *Der Mann, der jede Gräueltat überlebte*. Dec. 2016. URL: <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/bayern/historische-reisen-der-mann-der-jede-graeueltat-ueberlebte-1.3198570>).

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of manuscripts and prints, which all espouse distinct points of view on eastern alterity, and which respond to specific historical and cultural contexts. Ultimately, my study of the *Reisebuch*'s rewriting thus changes the scholarly landscape by considering the *Reisebuch* as a marker for, and multifaceted product of, a historical literary process – the process of production *as* reception – rather than a single, fixed and authoritative text.

Appendices

A The Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Versions of the *Reisebuch*

Version	Date & Origin (if known)	Textual Composition	Peritextual Material	<i>Mitüberlieferung</i>	Bibliographical Sources
Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Fragm. 73	15 th century	Fragment	n/a	n/a	Schiewer, “Leben unter Heiden”
Privatbesitz: Antiquariat Dr. Jörn Günther Rare Books AG, Nr. 2013/13, 12	1470	LV (N 1–67)	n/a	n/a	Nolte, <i>Auktion 426 (23.-24. November 2010): Wertvolle Bücher und Autographen des 15.-20. Jahrhunderts</i> Günther, <i>Brochure No. 13: Discoveries from the Past. A Selection of Illuminated Manuscripts, Miniatures, Early Printed Books</i>

Version	Date & Origin (if known)	Textual Composition	Peritextual Material	<i>Mitüberlieferung</i>	Bibliographical Sources
Strasbourg BNU, ms. 2119	c. 1450–1464	AV (N 1–26)	n/a	Fols. 1r-70v, Vinzenz von Beauvais, <i>Speculum historiale</i> (D) Fols. 71r-108v, <i>Sächsische Weltchronik</i> (D) Fols. 116r-184v, Hans Mair von Nordlingen, <i>Buch von Troja</i> (D) Fols. 184v-210v, Meister Wichwolt, <i>Cronica Allexandri</i> (D) Fols. 212r-235r, Johannes von Hildesheim, <i>Historia trium regnum</i> (D) Fols. 236v-276v, Jean de Mandeville, <i>Reisebeschreibung</i> (D, transl. by Otto von Diemerungen) Fols. 280r-291r, Johannes Schiltberger, <i>Reisen</i> (D) Fols. 292r-297r, Johannes de Repescissa, <i>Vade mecum in tribulatione</i> (D)	Olberg-Haverkate, <i>Zeitbilder und Weltbilder</i> Schiewer, “Leben unter Heiden”
St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 628	c. 1440–1476	AV (N 1–26)	n/a	Fols. 3–796, <i>St. Galler Weltchronik</i> (D) Fols. 809a–815b, Meister Wichwolt, <i>Cronica Allexandri</i> (D) Fols. 816–854, Johannes von Hildesheim, <i>Historia trium regnum</i> (D) Fols. 854–917, Jean de Mandeville, <i>Reisebeschreibung</i> (D, transl. by Otto von Diemerungen) Fols. 918–940, Johannes Schiltberger, <i>Reisen</i> (D)	Olberg-Haverkate, <i>Zeitbilder und Weltbilder</i> Ridder, <i>Jean de Mandevilles ‘Reisen’</i> Schiewer, “Leben unter Heiden”

Version	Date & Origin (if known)	Textual Composition	Peritextual Material	<i>Mitüberlieferung</i>	Bibliographical Sources
Anton Sorg	Augsburg, c. 1476, 1480 & 1486	LV (N 1–67)	15 woodcuts by <i>Sorg- meister</i>	Bound both on its own and with Johannes Hartlieb's <i>Brandan</i> (D); <i>Herzog Ernst</i> (D); and, less often, Ludolph von Sudheim's <i>Libellus de itinere ad terram sanctam</i> (D)	Geck, <i>Buchkundlicher Ex- kurs</i>
Heidelberg Universitäts- bibliothek, Cpg. 216	1480	LV (N 1–67)	n/a	n/a	Schiewer, "Leben unter Heiden" Miller and Zimmermann, <i>Die Codices Palatini ger- manici in der Universitäts- bibliothek Heidelberg</i>
Karlsruhe Landes- bibliothek, Cod. Donaueschingen 481	c. 1450–1500	LV (N 1–67)	n/a	n/a	Schiewer, "Leben unter Heiden" Barack, <i>Die Hands- chriften der Fürstlich- Fürstenbergischen Hofbib- liothek zu Donaueschingen</i>

Version	Date & Origin (if known)	Textual Composition	Peritextual Material	<i>Mitüberlieferung</i>	Bibliographical Sources
Munich Stadtbibliothek, Cod. L 1603	Munich, c. 1490	LV (N 1–67); the order of the chapters deviates from the other LV manuscripts in that the escape and voyage home are placed in the middle of the narrative (L 43ff.). The edition by V. Langmantel, which takes the Munich manuscript as its <i>Leithandschrift</i> , replicates this order.	Preface by compiler Matheus Brätzl	Fols. 1r–59r, Marco Polo, <i>Reisen</i> (Anton Sorg, 1481) Fols. 60r–86r, Johannes Hartlieb, <i>Brandan</i> (D) Fols. 88r–166r, John Mandeville, <i>Reisebeschreibung</i> (D, transl. by Michel Velser) Fols. 168r–186r, Odorico de Pordenone, <i>Relatio</i> (D, transl. by Konrad Steckel) Fols. 190r–249r, Johannes Schiltberger, <i>Reisebuch</i> (D)	Schiewer, “Leben unter Heiden” Morrall, <i>Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung</i>
Johann vom Berg & Ulrich Neuber	Nuremberg, 1548 & 1549	LV (N 1–67)	15 woodcuts (unknown artist), modelled on the woodcuts by the <i>Sorgmeister</i>	n/a	Geck, <i>Buchkundlicher Exkurs</i>
Hermann Gülfferich	Frankfurt, 1549 & 1553	LV (N 1–67)	37 woodcuts by Jörg Breu, recycled from Ludovico Varthema’s <i>Ritterliche vnd Lobwürdige Reyß</i> (Johann Miller: Augsburg, 1515)	n/a	Schmidt, <i>Die Bücher aus der Frankfurter Offizin Gülfferich - Han Weigand Han-Erben</i> Voigt and Brancaforte, “Travelling Illustrations”

Version	Date & Origin (if known)	Textual Composition	Peritextual Material	<i>Mitüberlieferung</i>	Bibliographical Sources
Weigand Han & Han-Erben	Frank- furt (1) c. 1560 & 1570 (2) 1595	(1) LV (N 1–67) (2) Ex- cerpt (N 46, 56)	(1) 37 woodcuts by Jörg Breu, re- cycled from Ludovico Varthema's <i>Ritterliche vnd Lobwürdige Reyß</i> ; identical to Gülfferich but for the titlepage woodcut (2) <i>Propheceyung der Heiligen Schrift</i> <i>Ein kurzer einfeltiger Vnter- richte</i> <i>Ein scho(e)ns Christlichs Lied zu singen</i>	n/a	Schmidt, <i>Die Bücher aus der Frankfurter Offizin Gülfferich - Han Weigand Han-Erben</i> Voigt and Brancaforte, "Travelling Illustrations"
Gregor Hübner	Vienna, 1596 & 1597	Excerpt (N 46, 56)	<i>Propheceyung der Hei- ligen Schrift</i> <i>Der Tu(e)rcken gar alte Prophecey</i>	n/a	Borsa, "Georg Hieber"
Adam Berg	Munich, 1598	Excerpt (N 46, 56)	<i>Volget / ob der Tu(e)rck die Christen vnder seinem Tribut in erlegung eines Guldens ja(e)rlich wohnen lasse?</i> <i>Anhang zum Schluß</i>	n/a	n/a

Version	Date & Origin (if known)	Textual Composition	Peritextual Material	<i>Mitüberlieferung</i>	Bibliographical Sources
Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 91.7 Extravagan- tes	Early 17 th cen- tury, c. 1603	Handwritten copy of Gregor Hübner's print version	<i>Volget / ob der Tu(e)rck die Christen vnder seinem Tribut in erlegung eines Guldens ja(e)rlich wohnen lasse?</i> <i>Anhang zum Schluß</i>	Fol. XIIIr, <i>Verzeichnissen ett- licher geschichten vnd der gele- genhaitt deß Königreichs Vngern, aus etlichen glaubwürdigen His- toricis außgezeichnet</i> Fol. XIXv, <i>Verzeichniß der fürnempsten Statt vnd Vestungen deß Vnger vnd Griechenlandts, wan sie von Türcken sein en- genommen Lautt der Vngerischen Landtaffel</i> Fol. XXv <i>Erzählung eines Bur- gers Sohn auß der Statt München, Im BayerLandt, Hans Schielborg genant, So von den Türcken 32 Jar gefangen, in Eysen umbher gangen, vnd mitler Zeitt deß Machomets anfang, Türcken Ce- remonien In Kirchen, Schulen vnd Heusern erfahren</i> Fols. 1r—290v, <i>Verzeichniß was sich Im Königreich Vngern zu- getragen, als der Türkisch Kayser den Friden mitt dem Römisch- chen Kayser brochen, vnd vnsers kaysers gsandten zum Thail er- mördt, zum thail gfangen gehalten</i> (until Siege of Ofen, 1598) Fols. 107v—122v, <i>Leichenpredigt</i>	Otte, <i>Die neueren Hands- chriften der Gruppe Extra- vagantes</i>

B Illustrations



Figure B.1: *Von dem streyt den künig Sigmund tet mit den Türcken*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1477. Fol. 1r.



Figure B.2: *Wie der Türckisch künig den gefangen tet und hieß to(e)den*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1477. Fol. 2v.



Figure B.3: *Wie unßer Sechßig cristen überein wurden*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1477. Fol. 6r.

B Illustrations

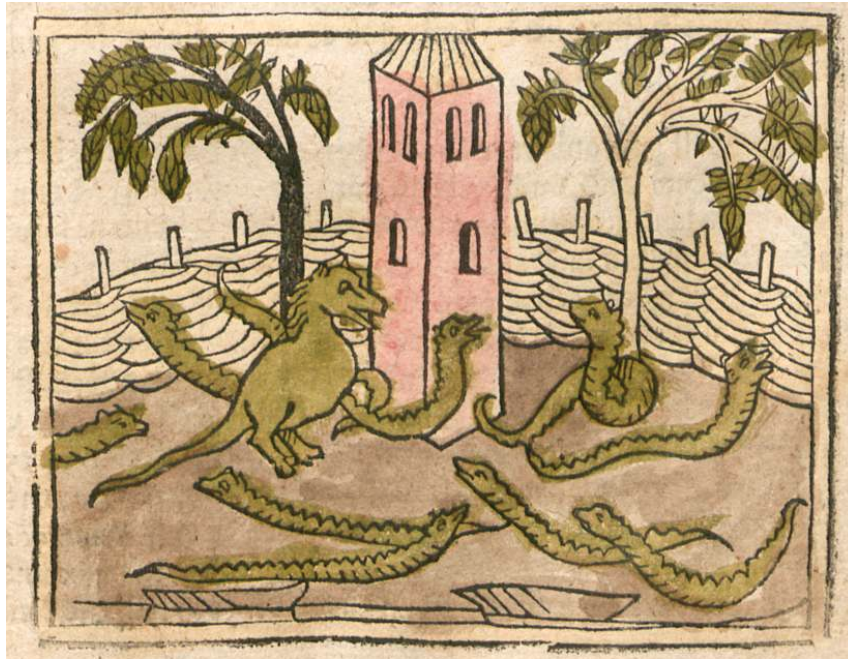


Figure B.4: *Von schlangen vnd natern*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1477. Fols. 7r and 22v.



Figure B.5: *Wie der Ta(e)merlin Babilon gewan*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1477. Fols. 12r and 16r.



Figure B.6: *Wie der Ta(e)mlerin das klein inndiea gewan*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1477. Fol. 12v.



Figure B.7: *Wye der Ta(e)merlin bey sybentausedt kinden to(e)dtet*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1477. Fol. 14r.



Figure B.8: *Von eines künigs Sun*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1477. Fol. 17r.



Figure B.9: *Von einer heydnischen frawen die hett wol viertausent iuncfrawen*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1477. Fol. 19r.



Figure B.10: *Von den kriechen gelauben*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1477. Fol. 38v.



Figure B.11: *Von einem lindwurm und einhiren zu(o) rom*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1477. Fol. 43r.



Figure B.12: *Nun wil ich eüch sagen von leüten die habend kein kopff / die augen steend in an der achseln / vnnnd der mund ist in krumm als ein hu(o)f eijsen*, in: Mandeville, John. *Das buch des ritters herr hannsen von monte villa*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1481. Fol. 65v.



Figure B.13: *Suriens*, in: Mandeville, John. *Das buch des ritters herr hannsen von monte villa*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1481. Fol. 41r.



Figure B.14: *Sant Katherinen grab*, in: Mandeville, John. *Das buch des ritters herr hannsen von monte villa*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1481. Fol. 21r.



Figure B.15: *Der verlaugnoten cristen abgot*, in: Mandeville, John. *Das buch des ritters herr hannsen von monte villa*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1481. Fol. 54v.



Figure B.16: *Hie volget nach von den Sarracenen vnd iren sitten vnd irtummern*, in: Bernhard von Breydenbach. *Peregrinatio*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1488. Fol. 191v.



Figure B.18: Pisanello, “Mongol”, c. 1438, in: Schmieder, Felicitas. *Europa und die Fremden: Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994, Fig. 9.



Figure B.19: Detail from Albrecht Dürer, *The Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1501.



Figure B.20: Jost Amman, *Tracht der Reichen Tu(e)rckischen Weiber / mit ihren Kindern*, c. 1577 in: Weigel, Hans. *Habitus praecipuorum populorum tam virorum quam feminarum singulari arte depicti*. Nuremberg: Hans Weigel, 1577. Fol. 181r.

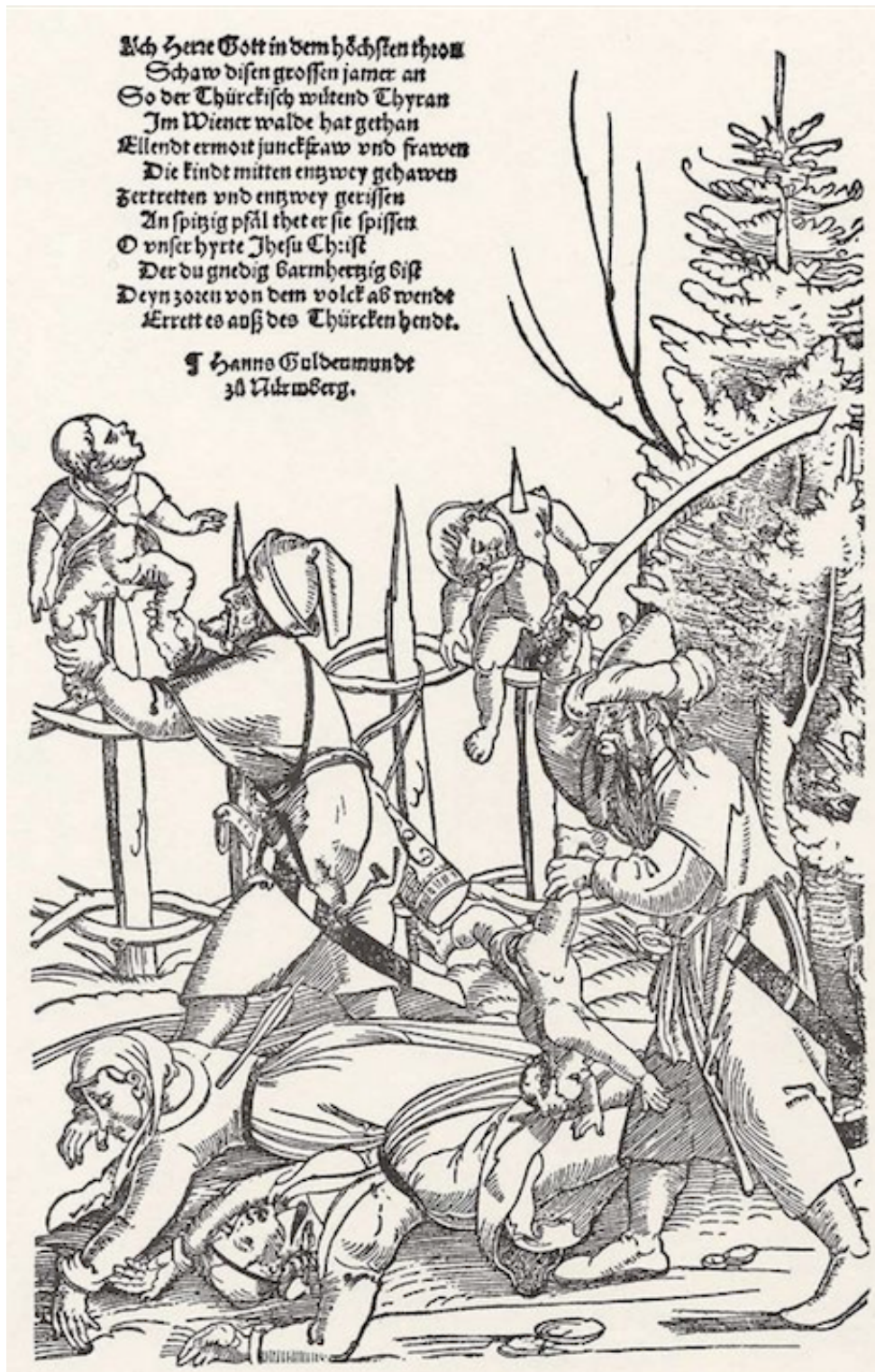


Figure B.21: Erhard Schoen, *Turkish Atrocities in Vienna Woods*, c. 1530.



Figure B.22: *Wie der Ko(e)nig Sigmund wider die Tu(e)rcken zeucht / vnd nicht vil gewindt*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, c. 1548. Fol. 1r and 9v.



Figure B.23: *Wie der Türckisch Ko(e)nig Weyasit / die gefangenen erbermlich to(e)dten ließ*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, c. 1548. Fol. 11r.



Figure B.24: *Ein Wunderbarliche Histori / von Natern vnnd Schlangen / wie sie ein streyt mit einander gehabt haben*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, c. 1548. Fol. 17r.



Figure B.25: *Wie der Temerlin klein Indiam / vnd andere Landschafft mehr einnam*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, c. 1548. Fol. 23r.



Figure B.26: *Ein grausame vnd erbermliche Histori / wie Temerlin von der Stat Hispahlen / 7000. junge kindern / vnder 14. jarn / jemmerlich umbbracht*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, c. 1548. Fol. 25v.



Figure B.27: *Wie der Landßherr Joseph den Miranschlach vberzog / im sein landschaft einnam / vnd in ko(e)pffen ließ*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, c. 1548. Fol. 27v.



Figure B.28: *Von eines Ko(e)nigs Son / Zegra genant / auß der grossen Tartarey / wie er heimgefordert ward / das Ko(e)nigreich einzunemen*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, c. 1548. Fol. 28v.

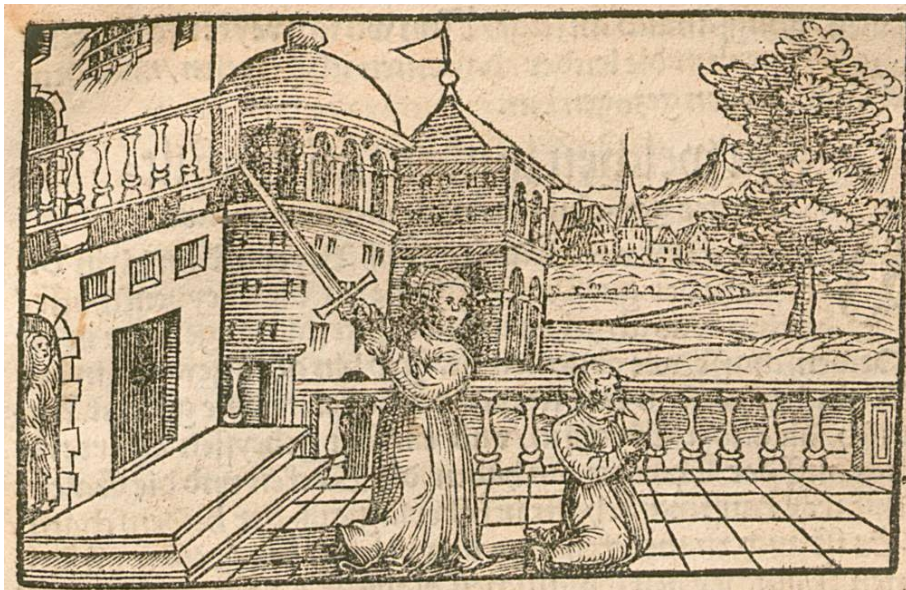


Figure B.29: *Von einer Heydnischen Frawen / die mit irer handt / einem Herrn in eim streych / das haubt abschlug / vnd bey 4000. Frawen / vnd Junckfrawen vnter ir hett*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, c. 1548. Fol. 31r.



Figure B.30: *Wie der Tu(e)rkisch Ko(e)nig Weyasit / die gefangnen erba(e)rmlich to(e)dten ließ*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Frankfurt: Gülfferich, c. 1549. Fol. 11v.



Figure B.31: *Ein grausame vnd erba(e)rmliche History / wie Ta(e)merlin von der Stadt Hispahlen / 7000. jungen kinder / vnder 14. jarn / jemmerlich vmbbracht*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Frankfurt: Gülfferich, c. 1549. Fol. 26v.



Figure B.32: *Von dem andern Ostertag*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Frankfurt: Gülfferich, c. 1549. Fol. 52v.



Figure B.33: *Wie vnser sechtzig Christen vber ein wurden / vnd davon wolten*, in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Frankfurt: Gülfferich, c. 1549. Fol. 15v.

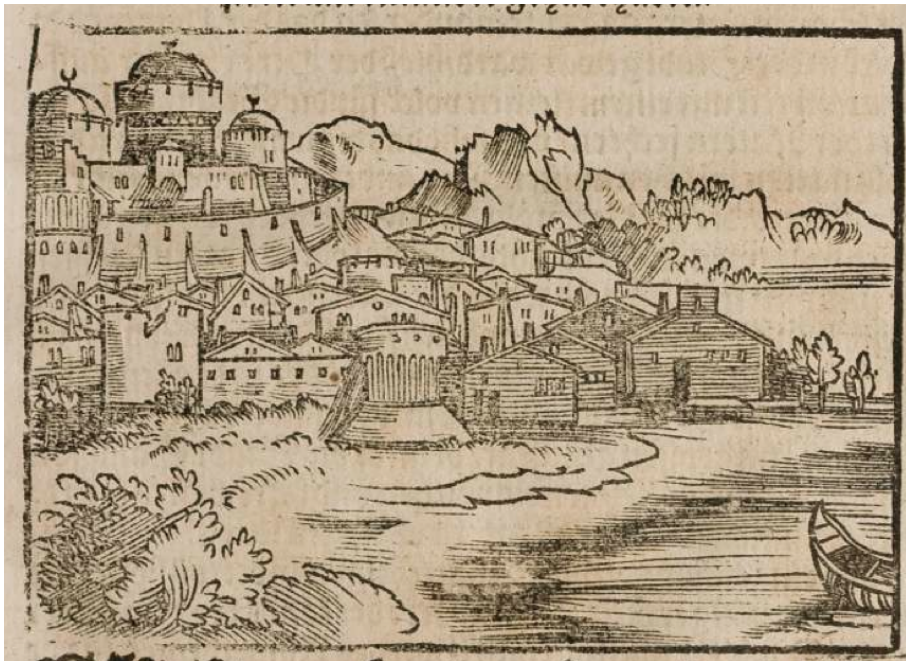


Figure B.34: 'Cityscape', in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch*. Frankfurt: Gülfferich, c. 1549. Fol. 36v, 43r, 46v and 56v.



Figure B.35: *Inn welchen landen ich gewesen bin / die zu der Tartarey geho(e)ren,* in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch.* Frankfurt: Gülfferich, c. 1549. Fol. 38v.



Figure B.36: *Wie der Machmet vnd sein glaub auff kommen sey,* in: Schiltberger, Johannes. *Das Reisebuch.* Frankfurt: Gülfferich, c. 1549. Fol. 49r.

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