DOI: 10.46586/er.15.2025.12176

Entangled Religions 15.3 (2025)
er.ceres.rub.de

The North Meets the South in the Mediterranean

Pre-Modern Literary, Political, and Military Exchanges Across Medieval Europe as Reflected in Poetic and Narrative Accounts

Albrecht Classen
University of Arizona

ABSTRACT Contrary to traditional perceptions, in the late Middle Ages numerous contacts developed between countries north of the Alps, especially the Holy Roman Empire, and the Mediterranean. Economic and political historians have already confirmed the true extent of exchanges; and art historians have added valuable insights as to the many links of communication. To deepen our understanding of this phenomenon, the present paper addresses the evidence of literary history. Fictional or factual narratives do not necessarily provide hard facts but shed relevant light on a broad concept about the foreign worlds (mentality) whereto especially knights and pilgrims were traveling. We can identify numerous poets who talked explicitly about their visits to the Mediterranean or who have their protagonists travel widely both all over Europe and the neighboring countries. With this evidence in hand, we can proceed to reevaluate late medieval culture as having been much more international if not even global than previously assumed. As much as the Alps appeared to be a significant geographical barrier, the Mediterranean *hinterlands* were certainly an intimate part of this significant contact zone where East and West met.

KEYWORDS Mediterranean, travel, globalism, Chaucer, Oswald von Wolkenstein, Georg von Ehingen, Hieronymus Münzer, Buddhism in the West, knights, pilgrims, travelogues

Introduction

Recent research has undoubtedly determined that the Mediterranean was an intensive contact zone of many different cultures, peoples, religions, languages, and political systems already during the Middle Ages. Irrespective of numerous military and religious conflicts, countless Islamic, Christian, and Jewish merchants, diplomats, artists, and scholars were in direct communication with each other already during the pre-modern world. Bigger harbor cities such as Barcelona in the west, Genoa and Venice in northern Italy, Alexandria in northern Egypt, and Constantinople at the eastern end of the Mediterranean were major nodules of a huge network of open-minded, daring, adventurous, and highly educated individuals, extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Isthmus near Constantinople and then the Black Sea (Khvalkov [1]

2018, 2020; Favereau 2021). There, intriguingly, the western merchants encountered new trading partners coming from the Middle East, if not the Far East, since the Golden Horde was the contact point for all those who traveled along the Silk Road set up and maintained by the Mongols since the thirteenth century. Although the Christian crusades ultimately failed when their last fortress of Acre fell into Muslim hands in 1291, this did not mean at all that hence the mercantile and many other interests disappeared (Friedman and Figg 2000; Classen 2018; von Fircks 2024). Instead, as historians have often observed, religious and touristic motivations gained in strength, leading to an ever-growing stream of pilgrims and other travelers aiming for the Holy Land and neighboring countries. The huge number of travelogues and pilgrimage accounts from the late Middle Ages and early modern age confirms that neither the military conflicts nor the religious tensions between Christianity and Islam had any noticeable effect on Christians and Muslims who desired to visit the Holy Land (Halm 2001). But there seems to have been very little interest on part of Arabs to travel to Europe, which appeared inhospitable and hostile to them (Classen 2023).

[2] Many of those aspects have already been discussed from a variety of perspectives, confirming through their own lenses that the Mediterranean was truly a hub of globalism already in the pre-modern period (Horden and Purcell 2000; Abdellatif et al. 2012; Horden and Kinoshita 2014; Jaspert and Kaeuper 2020). This paper, however, intends to investigate the role which the European *hinterlands* played, especially the countries north of the Alps, and the extent to which travelers of all kinds made contacts with the world south of that massive mountain range, demonstrating that they were equally involved in that global communication. Both literary, i.e., fictional evidence and autobiographical accounts, including travelogues, letters, and chronicles, support the argument to be developed here. Whether the statistical data might suffice to strengthen it remains to be seen and cannot be determined here easily. In other words, we have to rely so far on individual voices and texts that reflect on travels from the north to the Mediterranean throughout the late Middle Ages. We can, however, expect to uncover many new documents in the archives confirming these preliminary observations.

Past and New Perspectives

[3] It seems to have been a convenient approach to disregard those northern European countries or individual travelers as partners in the global exchange because they seemingly lacked direct contact points such as harbors or rivers as a means of international commerce or were regarded as uninterested in global outreach. However, as this paper will indicate, what really matters in terms of north-south contacts and exchanges was intellectual curiosity, economic ties, political concerns, sciences, medicine, architecture, and other aspects. The central issue hence will be how to identify specific sources that speak a different language that might shed new light on our traditional and rather limited views of the history of contacts, exchanges, cooperation, trade, and visits. Without going into any details at this point, the stories in Boccaccio's famous *Decameron* (ca. 1350), for instance, are often predicated on international travel, on cultural contacts in the Mediterranean, naval operations, and trade across the sea in all directions (Kinoshita and Jacobs 2007). By the late fifteenth century, the *Decameron* was available in various translations, such as French and German, and numerous poets either modeled their texts after Boccaccio's narratives or employed the same motifs and themes.

[4] We have learned much in recent years about globalism in the pre-modern world, which involved many different active agents or even partners in the Arabic, Christian, Jewish, and

other worlds. Western Europe was only a small part of the global networks spanning from East Asia to the Black Sea, from western Africa to the northern parts of the Atlantic. India and Japan, for instance, certainly would have to be considered seriously in light of our present understanding of the true extent of exchanges throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern age (Heng 2018).[1] Building on major collaborative efforts to lay the foundation for global Medieval Studies (Classen 2023), this paper will focus on literary reflections by northern European writers about their travels abroad, especially into the Mediterranean region, and their personal experiences within that global network. Although it would be impossible to verify the historical background of the fictional statements or narrative comments, poetic reflections allow us to identify the common discourse on the wider world well beyond the Alps, for instance, as a major geographical barrier (Abu-Lughod 1989; Kedar 2006; Classen 2013; Classen 2022; Arsuaga and Weltecke 2020). Literary texts are not necessarily the most reliable or informative sources, but they ingeniously reflect general notions, assumptions, and expectations, and thus provide us with good insight into the history of mentality. For example, based on medieval fictional narratives, we can be certain that there was much more direct contact between the Arabic and the European world than traditionally assumed, and this quite irrespective of the long-term history of the Crusades (Classen 2024) and the subsequent conquest of the remains of the Byzantine Empire by the Ottomans since the middle of the fifteenth century (Constantinople fell in 1453).

[5] We can also argue that the growth of international trade, which certainly connected the countries north of the Alps with those bordering the Mediterranean and further east, carried with it extensive cultural exchanges in literary, artistic, architectural, and other terms (Grabar 1982, 27–34; Katzenstein and Lowry 1983; Baer 1983; Tracy 1990; Hoffman 2001, 2004; Höhl, Prinz, and Ralcheva 2022).

Medieval Knights and Their Travel

[6] Medieval knights notoriously traveled far and wide to join tournaments, battles, war campaigns, or the service of foreign rulers. Famous Geoffrey in the "General Prologue" (*Canterbury Tales*, ca. 1400) comments about his future narrator in the "Knight's Tale," for instance (Chaucer 2012, 47–48, vv. 48–59; Scott 2018, 379–423):

[7]
> And therto hadde he riden, no man ferre,
> As wel in Cristendom as in hethenesse
> And evere honoured for his worthynesse.
> At Alisaundre he was whan it was wonne.
> Ful ofte tyme he hadde the bord bigonne
> Aboven alle nacions in Pruce.
> In Lettow hadde he reysed and in Ruce,
> No Cristen man so ofte of his degree.
> In Gernade at the seege eek hadde he be
> Of Algezit and riden in Belmarye.
> At Lyeys was he and at Satalye
> Whan they were wonne and in the grete see

1 Translation was one of the key components in the creation of a global tapestry well before 1600 (see Beer and LLoyd-Jones 1995; Delisle and Woodsworth 1995; Corbellari and Schnyder 2005; Etherington and Zimbler 2018; Frankopan 2019).

Translation:[2] [8]

> And he had travelled further than all men [9]
> Both in Christianity and in heathendom
> Always being honored for his worthiness,
> He was at Alexandria when it was conquered
> All the time he had sat at the top of the table
> He had travelled across all nations, such as Prussia.
> He had been to Livonia and in Russia.
> More than all other Christian men of his rank.
> He had participated in the siege of Grenada,
> had been at Algier and ridden in Belmarye (Morocco).
> He had been in Libya and Antalye
> when they had been won, and he had been at the great sea.

We do not even need to translate Chaucer's verses to understand how much this knight [10] in fact traversed many parts of Europe and certainly touched on critical points along the Mediterranean coasts. He was not a unique character in that regard, as late medieval nobility found itself constantly on the move to find purpose in life and meaningful employment (perhaps even as mercenaries). Neither linguistic nor religious barriers mattered for this knight and probably most of his colleagues, who profited from the crusades both in northeastern Europe and the continuous Reconquista in the Iberian Peninsula until 1492. Below I will turn to a historical case confirming this literary reflection in a more or less autobiographical account by the Knight Georg von Ehingen.

The other major example of a young knight roaming widely through East and West was [11] Oswald von Wolkenstein, a famous South Tyrolean poet and the second son of a lower-ranked noble family in the vicinity of Bozen. Oswald is particularly famous for his autobiographical songs, which entail references to his global travels, although he does not go into concrete details and rather dabbles with fleeting references to distant locations (Classen 2008; Klein and Wachinger 2015; Müller 2011, 234–39). We should not expect this poet to outline the complete itinerary of his many travels in detail, since he only projects backwards in his autobiographical musings what he had experienced in his youth and contrasts this to his current situation in cold, hostile, and inhospitable Tyrol, the southern parts of the Alps, hence offering nostalgic images of a glorious past. What matters here is not a concrete listing of the specific locations, but the overarching impression of an open world far beyond the limits of the Holy Roman Empire:

> In Frankereich, [12]
> Ispanien, Arrigun, Castilie, Engelant,
> Tenmark, Sweden. Behem, Ungern dort,
> in Püllen und Afferen,
> in Cippern und Cecilie,
> in Portugal, Granaten, Soldans kron— die sechzehen künigreich
> hab ich umfaren und versuecht, bis das ich vand
> mit treuen neur ein stäten hort (Kl. 12, 1–9)[3]

2 All translations by the author unless indicated otherwise.

3 Kl is the acronym for the original editor, Klein, so all songs are numbered accordingly, with Kl 1, for instance, being the first song in the collection. For the present purpose, I offer new translations to work as closely to the original as possible.

Translation: [13]

> France [14]
> Spain [Galicia and Leon], Aragon, Castile, England,
> Denmark, Sweden, Bohemia, Hungary
> in Apulia and Navarre,
> in Cypres and Sicily,
> in Portugal, Granada, the crownland of the Sultan—
> those sixteen kingdoms I have toured and visited until I found
> a place home steady and firm.

He then describes both his marriage and experiences at various royal courts and concludes with reflections upon the need to settle down in his home country, the southern Tyrolean Alps near Brixen/Bressanone and Bozen/Bolzano. [15]

In his famous autobiographical poem "Es fuegt sich, do ich was von zehen jaren alt" (Kl. 18), Oswald tells us more aspects about his life abroad, whether among Christians, Greek-Orthodox Greeks, or Muslims (4). Poverty and hunger tortured him, as he laments in a stylizing fashion, and he often received bloody wounds serving as a squire in a knight's company. But not content with these few references, he then relays that he spent time in Crete (15), that he traveled across eastern Europe, including Lithuania, Turkey, Italy, Spain, and then also "Tartary" (17), whether that entailed modern-day Kazakhstan or Mongolia. He also brags that he could speak ten different languages, could play many different musical instruments, that he was honored by the queen of Aragon, and that he had to suffer many times from miserable conditions and dangers. [16]

This is truly a song mirroring a mid-life crisis, because the poet had been able to travel so widely, had experienced so many highlights previously, and had been honored at various courts, whereas at the present time he faces frustration, boredom, fear, and anger in married life. Ultimately, he chastises himself for having pursued a foolish existence all over the world and having forgotten to take care of his soul in the afterlife: [17]

> ich Wolkenstein leb sicher klain vernünftiklich, [18]
> das ich der werlt also lang beginn zu hellen,
> Und wol bekenn, ich wais nicht, wenn ich sterben sol (107–09)

Translation: [19]

> I, from Wolkenstein, certainly live very unreasonably [20]
> that I was a victim of the world,
> now I realize that I do not know when I will die.

There are many other references in his songs about distant cultures, peoples, and languages. But in Kl 44, above all, he opens yet another window toward the global world, claiming that he had traveled through Arabia, Tartary, Persia, Syria, Romania, Turkey, the Baltic countries, Scandinavia, France, the English countries, the Iberian Peninsula, and other countries (1–17). All that, however, had been in the past and meant very little at his current time. We observe hence Oswald's characteristic strategy to project a more or less glorious, at times also harsh, youth, and this in contrast to his uncomfortable new life back home, being married and stuck at his castle in the South Tyrolean Alps, whether this was just a rhetorical device to cast [21]

himself effectively as a miserable victim at present or a strategy to entertain the audience with his pretend lamentations:

> Wie vil mir eren ie beschach [22]
> von fürsten, künigin gefach
> und was ich freuden ie gesach,
> das büess ich als under ainem dach. (31–34)

Translation: [23]

> For all those honors that I had received [24]
> from princes and queens,
> and all the other joys,
> I have to pay penance now under my roof.

To be sure, behind these fictional verses, this South-Tyrolean poet mirrored general cultural customs by members of the lower nobility to travel widely, to experience the wide world, to make many different contacts, to learn foreign languages, and to participate in military operations wherever they could be found. There were no real barriers. [25]

Georg von Ehingen

Even though Chaucer placed his comments about his protagonist, the knight, in a fictional context, and even though Oswald von Wolkenstein integrated the numerous references to his travels far and wide across the world during his youth into autobiographical songs, we can be certain that both reflected on common experiences of members of the aristocratic class. When we turn to Georg von Ehingen, a fifteenth-century Swabian knight, we gain direct confirmation for these claims because he described, in highly realistic terms, his own experiences as a traveling knight who crisscrossed late medieval Europe in the search for adventures and public honors (Burgtorf and Nicholson 2006). [26]

Georg von Ehingen was born into a noble family in Swabia in 1428 as the son of Rudolf von Ehingen and his wife, Agnes von Heimerdingen. In 1446, he was sent to Innsbruck to gain the best possible education as a squire at the royal court. In 1452 or 1453 he joined the service of Duke Albrecht VI of Austria, with whom he traveled to Bohemia in 1453 where he witnessed the crowning of Ladislaus V Postumus, King of Hungary, on October 28. He himself received the rank of knight on that occasion. From 1454 to 1456, Georg traveled to Rhodes and Jerusalem; shortly after his return, he embarked on a larger journey through southwestern and western Europe from 1457 to 1459, visiting France, the Iberian Peninsula, England, and Scotland. He was also involved in the war by the Spanish crown against Moroccan Islamic forces at Ceuta (Georg von Ehingen 1979). [27]

The Middle High German poet Wolfram von Eschenbach had already presented a prototype of this internationally operating knight in his famous Grail romance, *Parzival* (ca. 1205). There, the protagonist's father Gahmuret searches for and finds military employment in the service of the Baruch, ruler over Babylon. He enjoyed the greatest respect and was honorably buried when he died as the result of treason. The epitaph of his tomb reflects the enormous fame which this knight enjoyed both in the East and the West (Georg von Ehingen 1979; Classen 2020). [28]

Similarly, Georg von Ehingen operated freely in the western Mediterranean and became deeply involved in the war against the Muslim forces. Once he had returned, Georg published an extensive report about his travels which has survived in three manuscripts and in an early modern print from 1600 (see Fabié 1879; Georg von Ehingen 1979).[4] He was certainly not the first or the last knight from north of the Alps to make his way south and to enjoy the various opportunities in the Mediterranean world. [29]

Here we encounter not a literary text but rather an ego-document, i.e., personal autobiographical reflections. Nevertheless, these are just as valuable as the literary projections, or rather, these confirm in a variety of ways that the fictional accounts can be trusted as based on specific experiences about international travels, cultural contacts, and open perspectives toward foreign cultures. Leaving the comments on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land aside, since these appear to be very common for many religious travelers in the late Middle Ages, my interest is here focused on Georg's travels through southwestern Europe and hence the Mediterranean world. While many of the otherwise available travelogues were basically pilgrimage accounts and hence focused primarily on religious sites, this knightly author mostly pursued his worldly interests and thus reflected more specifically on the cultural and historical context. Of course, we can never ignore the religious component in such travelogues, but Georg's text serves as a valuable testimony of the personal contacts between a German knight and his Spanish contemporaries (Classen 2000, 2009). [30]

On his way through France, the author and his companions were well received by the French king and his courtiers, although they did not organize any knightly activities, such as tournaments, to entertain them (41). After six weeks of staying there, the Spanish king[5] sent a message to the French king, announcing his military plans against Ceuta: [31]

> ein grosse herfart wider den heiden küng von Granaten thon wellt. Dann der salbig heidisch küng nitt hillff deß küngs von Tuniß und anderer heidischer küng in Affrica zuo vill mellen dem gantzen Ischpanien schwerlich überzogen war. Zuo besorgen, wa eß nitt virkumen würde, gar bald aber beschehen möcht, zuo Gott verhoffen, durch sollich sinß küng virnemen darvor zuo sind und sin küngrych und der kristenheit deß orts ain grossen nutz zuo schaffen. (42) [32]

Translation: [33]

> he wanted to organize a large military campaign against the heathen king of Granada because that king, with the help of the king of Tunis and other pagan kings in Africa, had attacked all of Spain many times. It would be a matter of great concern that a campaign would be undertaken soon. With God's help, the Spanish king would stand up to them and thus bring about great profit for his kingdom and all of Christianity. [34]

The French king was asked to recruit knights from all over his country to assist in this military operation. Georg and his friends let the French king know that they would be willing to join the war campaign (42). In return, each received a splendid armor and a war horse, along with a pass that would allow them to travel freely all the way to Spain (43). The details of [35]

4 For an older English translation, see Georg von Ehingen (1929).

5 The author does not differentiate between the various Spanish kingdoms and talks only about 'Spain' in general. I follow his practice and refer, like him, simply to the 'King of Spain,' as incorrect as that would be in historical terms.

the journey do not need to be examined here because they are a bit vague and simply trace their way to Pamplona and then further south. The author states, for instance, only that they stayed at the court of the King of Navarre for two months (44), where they were treated well and delightfully entertained "mitt jagen, dantzen, banchaten unnd andern fröden machen" (45, with hunting, dancing, banquets and other enjoyable activities). The next news reported pertain to the King of Portugal, who is in a military conflict with the ruler of the northern African kingdom (Morocco), whom he had, years ago (1415), deprived of a city he calls "Septa" (45; Ceuta; across from Gibraltar today, situated on a peninsula). Since they beg the Spanish king for permission to fight on his behalf, they receive the highest honor in the entire country. Their origin, different language, and culture do not seem to matter at all; on the contrary, they are apparently easily integrated into the courtly festivities and entertainments, and as knights who can fight on behalf of the king they are most welcome guests. Georg does not even comment on any linguistic difficulties, and he has no remarks as to any potential differences between their group of Swabians and the Spanish courtiers.

[36] The German contingent from north of the Alps has arrived in the southwestern corner of Europe, and they perfectly fit into that world, subsequently serving in most important roles for the royal court in its military endeavors against the Muslim forces (Cigni 2010, 74–84; 2018, 47–60).[6] But first, they travel to the holy pilgrimage site of Santiago de Compostela and from there to Burgos (45–46). The itinerary seems a little confused because from there they turn back to Finisterre to take the ship down to Lisbon, where the Portuguese king is very delighted to welcome and invite them to his court, urging them first to take a good rest. The innkeeper is instructed to do his best to treat the guest with the greatest care, until they are then called to the king, who grants them an honorable audience although they do not speak the same language. With gestures, the newcomers pay homage to the king and turn over their letter from the Spanish king (in Latin, 47). A translator then assists with the communication, though he speaks only Dutch or Flemish as his second language (47). The preparations for the war take time, and the German company is invited to enjoy their time, to get to know the country, and to become familiar with the local nobility: "Unß ward so vill ern herzögt und so vil fröd gemecht, alß vor by keinem küng oder fürsten je geschah" (48; They paid so much respect to us and provided us with so much entertainment; no king or prince had ever experienced more).

[37] Moreover, as Georg emphasizes, they were invited to visit the queen in her chamber where dances were organized. Just as at the Spanish court, they spend their time with hunting, athletic activities, fencing, horseback riding (racing?), and other forms of entertainment. The author can only comment, maybe overwhelmed by the royal treatment: "eß weß guott da sin" (48; it was good to be there). One of his companions demonstrates particular abilities in throwing heavy rocks and iron bars farther than anyone else, whereas Georg demonstrates his superior skills as a horseman and fighter (49).

[38] Both the nobility in Portugal and the country itself impress him deeply. Full of delight, Georg describes the marvels of the local fruits: "Eß ist och ein wol herbewen land und wachsend darinn die aller besten siessisten früchten von wein, korn, ell, zucker, hung, winber und hatt vill saltz" (50; It is a well-built country where the sweetest fruits grow, such as grapes, grain, olives, sugar cane, honey, berries, and there is much salt). Turning away from agriculture, the author praises the beauty of the Portuguese cities with their impressive houses, churches, palaces, etc.

6 For the broader context of this autobiographical account, see Müller (2010).

[39] Only thereafter, the report turns to the military situation, since Ceuta was attacked by the Moroccan forces. Georg, his fellows, and their newly appointed servants obtain the king's permission to travel across the Strait and to defend the city, which they ultimately achieve. What matters more for our purposes is the fact that the German knights receive full recognition and are granted the honor of being in the forefront of the battle. The foreigners enjoy so much respect that they are made captains of smaller units. Many of the men speak Dutch and German (52), which confirms that wars anywhere in Europe attracted mercenaries from the entire continent. The Mediterranean was hence closely connected with its *hinterlands*, and this already in the late Middle Ages.

[40] In a joust with a mighty Muslim warrior, Georg emerges victorious and kills his opponent, which basically ends the fighting: "Do die häden sachen, daß ich gesigtt, rugktan sie mitt irrem huffen hinweg. Aber die Portigalläß und Kristen ruckten ettlich her zuo und huwen dem helden sin haupt ab, namen sin spieß und stackten daruff" (60; When the heathens saw that I had gained the victory, they moved away with their horses. But the Portuguese and Christians approached me and decapitated the heathen [warrior], took his lance, and placed the head on top of it).

[41] Obviously, Georg then enjoys the greatest honor by the commander and the entire army as he is led through the city in a triumphal procession: "Und geschah mir die aller gröst er, der ich nitt wart wer" (61; they granted me the greatest honor which I was not worthy of). His deliberate humbleness does not hide his pride over his victory. The narrator emphasizes in clear terms how much this Swabian hero is praised by everyone and recognized as the decisive factor in winning the joust, which ends the siege and ensures that the Portuguese can hold on to this north African city.[7] Georg's triumphal victory certainly reminds everyone of the biblical account of David and Goliath, since the Muslim opponent was much stronger and taller than the German knight (61). The author himself thanks God for His help in that dangerous situation, although he does not refer to the Old Testament in explicit terms. At the Portuguese court, Georg's accomplishment became deeply ingrained in common memory as a most honorable deed, as Hieronymous Münzer, a Nuremberg medical doctor who also traveled through the Iberian Peninsula in 1494 (see below), reported: "anno domini 1458 surrexit rex de Fes, rex de Tunis, rex de Oran…Erunt autem octo centum christiani in civitate inter quos duo Almani unus Georgius de Echingen…" (Georg von Ehingen 1979, 2:97; in the year of the lord, 1458, the King of Fez, the King of Tunis, and the King of Oran rose up…). There were, however, 800 Christians in the city, among whom there were two Germans, one of them was Georg of Ehingen. Although details are not mentioned, recollections of Georg's accomplishments were still fresh decades later.

[42] Subsequently, the Portuguese king asks Georg and his companions to return to his court, where they receive even more honor. Although they are foreigners, their knightly accomplishments guarantee that they are fully recognized as knights, irrespective of their ethnic, political, or national origin. The specific military operations as reported about by Georg do not all seem to confirm with other historical accounts, but what matters for us here is that this German author demonstrated through his autobiographical account that there was no real

7 In historical terms, the situation was quite complex. Decades before, the Portuguese had attacked the city and conquered it from the Muslims in 1415. Georg, however, reports about the opposite case many years later when Ceuta was already in their hands and when they were forced to defend it against the Moroccan troops. As to the first battle of Ceuta which ended victoriously for the Portuguese, see Fitz (2010, 359–60). For recent research on this topic, see, for instance, Duarte (2016). The defense of Ceuta against the Moroccans in 1457 finds much less attention; see, for instance, Coelho and Homem (2018).

barrier between the *hinterlands* and the Mediterranean (Fabié 1879, vii–viii; cf. Jaspert and Kaeuper 2020).

In short, during the high and particularly the late Middle Ages, if an opportunity arose for knights, or merchants, etc., to travel, visit foreign countries, they pursued it, and, as Georg demonstrates, there were no major cultural differences between the Portuguese and Spanish court and the German and other courts in northern Europe. But, insofar as Georg and his friends had contributed in a significant manner to the victory over the Moroccans, they were invited by the various courts to join them and were honored publicly: "By disen zweyen fürsten wurden mir gantz über die maß woll gehelten" (63; We were treated exceedingly well by these two princes). [43]

Once they moved to the Spanish kingdom, they experienced the same treatment, which indicates that in the late Middle Ages, knighthood still or already operated on an international level and hence German aristocrats could find a warm welcome in the Mediterranean countries (Duggan 2000). Whenever a war arose, all Christian knights were asked to join the efforts against the Muslims, which happened in Spain as well where they had to defend themselves against a large army by the King of Tunis (64).[8] The victory over Granada granted them even more honour, and during their eleven months at the Spanish court they enjoyed great respect: "Da geschah unß gar vil eren mitt bancketen, dantzen, jagen, rennen der jenneten und anderm" (67–68; They honored us greatly with banquets, dances, hunting, horse racing, and other entertainments—certainly the same formula as above!). Moreover, the Spanish king bestowed upon them royal medals of honour and gowns, horses, and money (68). [44]

Subsequently, we are quickly informed about the company's return home, leaving Spain, crossing France, and then, as a huge detour, making its way to England for further travel experiences. In Zaragoza they sold many of their horses, gifts, and exchanged money because they needed to cover the high cost of their travels, "dan der weg ist ver" (69; the way is very long). Georg even turned to Scotland, where the king, the brother of his own lord's wife, welcomed him equally friendly and showered him, along with the queen, with valuable gifts (70). [45]

Altogether, we can confirm that Georg von Ehingen's travelogue demonstrates an amazing open-mindedness, a global perspective, and a strong determination to travel wherever a worthy knight might be able to gain honour, rewards, and triumph in warfare. The author clearly indicates that the cultural conditions at the various courts were mostly very similar, whether back in Germany or in Spain, Portugal, France, England, and Scotland. Linguistic difficulties did not matter for him; he was always surrounded by competent translators or other knights or soldiers who could communicate in Dutch, German, Spanish, Portuguese, or French. Knighthood as practiced by Georg was an international matter, and to travel to Jerusalem or to Lisbon was not a major challenge or problem for him and his companions. [46]

In short, here we encounter an example of a German globetrotter whose travels closely correspond with those by poets such as Chaucer and Oswald von Wolkenstein, who mentioned these in their fictional works. It would not be correct to identify Georg as a knightly mercenary since that term would cheapen or belittle his actual contributions. He went around southwestern Europe, visited the various aristocratic courts, and volunteered as a leading warrior in the Portuguese or Spanish army against the Muslim opponents. The fact that he received permission [47]

8 Many of those historical details are discussed by Gabriele Ehrmann (1979, 2:95–99), but she draws mostly on Georg's own report without adding contemporary Spanish or Portuguese sources for confirmation. See now, at least for the global framework, Latham (1986), Disney (2009), Birmingham (2018).

to enter the joust against the Moroccan warrior demonstrates that Georg enjoyed high respect and was trusted as a skilled knight. His victory tremendously increased his reputation. No one, however, was concerned with the fact that he originated from Swabia, could not communicate with the other members of the Christian army and the courtiers back in Lisbon and elsewhere well, and hence was a foreigner in their country. Knighthood did not know any real 'national' or territorial borders, since the feudal and courtly ideals were mostly the same everywhere (Keen 2005; Kaeuper 2016; Dörschel 2023).

[48] We never hear a word in Georg's report about the exceptionality of traveling all the way toward the Iberian Peninsula during the middle of the fifteenth century, here disregarding the quite common travel to the third-holiest pilgrimage site of Santiago de Compostela. Only a few decades later, another travelogue author from Germany toured that world and also confirmed that Germany as a *hinterland* was not disconnected from the Mediterranean. Of course, numerous pilgrims from the countries north of the Alps, such as Margery Kempe (ca. 1373–after 1438) and Arnold von Harff (1471–1505), had already reached that holy site, but their intentions were mostly religious and not focused on the country itself, i.e., its people, cities, agriculture, etc.

Hieronymus Münzer

[49] Medical doctors, scientists, artists, diplomats, architects, and other professionals commonly traveled throughout the entire Middle Ages. Sciences, politics, the arts, trade, or architecture were never limited by artificial boundaries, and certainly not by physical barriers such as the Alps or a body of water such as the North Sea. A good number of German travelers, driven by a variety of interests, found their way to the Iberian Peninsula already well before the early modern period, one of whom was the Nuremberg medical doctor Hieronymous Münzer (1437/47–1508). He was born in Feldkirch (Vorarlberg, Austria) and studied at the University of Leipzig from 1464 to 1470, finishing with a Magister artium degree. He continued studying at Pavia and gained his medical doctorate in 1477. The same year he settled in Nuremberg, opening a practice there, although he gained local citizenship only in 1480. In 1483, the plague broke out in Nuremberg, from which Münzer fled by travelling to Italy for a year. He also visited the Netherlands in 1483. In 1494 he again feared the plague back home and went on a long journey through western Europe, including the Iberian Peninsula. He died in 1508 (Classen 2003, 317–40).

[50] Münzer left behind a major travelogue, his *Itinerarium siue peregrinatio excellentissimi viri artium ac vtriusque medicine doctoris Hieronimi Monetarii de Feltkirchen ciuis Nurembergensis*, which was never printed in his time and has survived as a manuscript copy in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 431, fol. 96–274v). This work was edited critically only recently, which finally makes it possible to examine his observations more carefully (Herbers 2020a; Firth 2014). It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine the minute itinerary, the local elements, or the author's comments and personal experiences. Instead, within the context of Mediterranean Studies, the focus will rest, as in the previous cases, on the unique aspect that here we encounter a German traveler who went all the way to southern Andalusia and even stopped in Granada, which had been conquered by the Spanish forces only recently, in 1492. That conquest had been the final step in the centuries-long *Reconquista*. Münzer stopped in many Spanish cities and each time climbed up to a church tower to gain a bird-eyes' view,

a clear indication that he was already determined by early modern perceptions of the world (Herbers 2005, 293–3038; Herbers 2020b; Biancardi 2021).

[51] For the purpose of this paper, I will focus only on the description of Valencia and Granada to identify Münzer's unique approach and perceptions that all underscore how much the southwestern part of medieval Europe was certainly open to travelers from northern Europe, even though the traffic down to Spain and Portugal was not as intense as that going toward Italy. Münzer's report also proves that religious motivations were not the only factors determining those German travelers. Granted, this author also stopped at many churches, monasteries, and pilgrimage sites, and he especially visited Santiago de Compostela, certainly a place of greatest importance for him as well. But Münzer, quite parallel to Oswald von Wolkenstein and Georg von Ehingen, was mostly determined by touristic interests, that is, by a curiosity regarding the foreign world that he described with utmost attention.

[52] To be sure, in strong contrast to the knightly traveler Georg, Hieronymus was primarily motivated by economic, political, architectural, and other interests, noting, for instance, the typical agricultural products in a specific region, the underground sewer systems, judicial and administrative structures, and urban planning. When he arrives in Valencia, he takes the geophysical dimensions into consideration—a large plane bordered by hills to the west and the Mediterranean to the east—identifies the city as the capital of the region and compares it with other cities such as Milan and Cologne (32). He notes the farmers' products: "olive oil, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, citrus and countless other crops" (32). Subsequently, he comments on the most famous citizens, including counts, barons, and even a duke, and gives the city the highest praise, whereas Barcelona seemed to him much less attractive and populated, especially since internecine strife had forced many merchants to relocate to Valencia (33).

[53] Münzer provides a meticulous description of the various churches and their canons, monasteries, and local customs regarding offerings to God. Then his attention turns to the merchants and their central trading place, to the slave market,[9] which also motivates him to talk about their origin, i.e., the island of Tenerife (west of Morocco or Western Sahara). For him, these "miserable" people used to be nothing but "beasts" who had walked around naked and had finally acquired some features of civilization (34–35). "Now through religion they are made gentler" (35).

[54] From here, Münzer pays close attention to the delightful urban gardens in Valencia, but he also discusses the fertile lands surrounding the city, so he constantly practiced his innovative perspective of zooming in and out of the respective locale. Then we learn a little about the Morranos, i.e., baptized Jews (38), before the author returns to the various monasteries in Valencia. Altogether, this author provides highly detailed information about the wider environment and the urban set-up, commenting a little on the various groups of people and a bit more on agricultural products. Next, he continued with his travel and turns to Alicante and the entire coastal region in the next chapter.

[55] Once he has reached the former kingdom of Granada, the narrator adds more historical comments regarding the recent war between Christians and Muslims. After the defeat of the latter, they were mostly expelled, which left large stretches of land entirely depopulated (46). Here as well, Münzer is deeply interested in studying the agricultural conditions, the supply

9 For more information on this topic, though focusing on the eastern Mediterranean, see Barker (2019) and also the contributions to Amitai-Preiss and Cluse (2018). For western conditions, see Hershenzon (2018), Fromherz (2022) and Classen (2021).

with water, and the fruits of the earth in that region. But in Almería, he has the occasion to reflect on the local mosque, which he calls both the site of devilish worship and extraordinarily beautiful in its architectural features (47). Due to the Christian conquest, that mosque was transformed into a Christian church, and the canons now reap, as the author emphasizes, the same income from their many land ownerships.

[56] In Granada itself, the company of travelers first notices the large Muslim population and then the central mosque, which Münzer describes in astounding detail since he liked it so much. Curiously, he also comments in positive terms on the Muslims' prayer practices and praises them for their piety (53). Whereas Muslims prohibit images in their religious sites or buildings, following ancient Mosaic law, Christians embrace them because they teach the laity fundamental lessons (53). The author does not really pursue religious values and so can criticize Muslims in one part of his account and reject them in another. Regarding their cemetery, he expresses great astonishment about the huge size, which he deems bigger than the city of Nuremberg (54), and then discusses the famous Alhambra, which impresses him deeply (54–55). Modern visitors would fully confirm his impressions: "There is however so much beauty in all the courtyards, with artfully made water channels, as I said, in every place, that nothing could be finer" (55).

[57] Taking into view the entire setting of Granada, Münzer demonstrates his full awareness of geophysical space and the need to address all aspects in an objective manner: "The plain can be fully irrigated on all sides and has such fertile and rich agriculture that a field there bears corn, twice a year (…) At the foot of the mountains on the good land there are, maybe, 1,100 gardens and parks which can all be irrigated with water pipes (…) Towards the north west in particular, we saw these gardens stretch for a large league and more, than [sic] which nothing could be finer" (59).

[58] We also learn about the size of the city (60–61), the position of the kingdom of Granada (61), the history of the conquest in 1492 (64–66), gold mines (67–68), and about the local customs and rituals by the Muslim population (68ff.). The author truly turns into an anthropological observer, while he never ignores the close descriptions of the urban centers and their rural environments. Ultimately, Münzer and his friends reach Lisbon, cross over to the north, and visit Santiago de Compostela, Salamanca, Toledo, Madrid, and so forth. From there, the journey turns to France, Flanders, and Germany on his return home in Nuremberg. Indeed, as scholarship has repeatedly confirmed, and as our discussion has also revealed, this author was highly curious, detail-oriented, an intelligent observer, and a fairly objective narrator. His account can be identified as a roadmap like a modern *Baedeker*, which must have invited countless other travelers to follow his footsteps through the Iberian world (Rosario Torrejón 2012, 121–24; 2021, 183–85).

Further Indications

[59] From here, we could easily include either other northern European travelers who toured the southwestern part of Europe or refer to numerous literary works from the eastern world that found interest among late medieval audiences, whether we think of *Kalila and Dimna* (fables), *Barlaam and Josaphat* (Buddha's live story within a Christian framework), or *The Seven Wise Masters* (or *Seven Sages* or *Seven Wise Men*), all originating either in India or Persia and having migrated through numerous translations to reach western Europe (and China, moving along the eastern routes). Those works would indicate that the Mediterranean was truly a

contact zone, and the translations into German, French, or English could then be understood as indicators of close connections with the *hinterlands* that certainly belonged to the larger context of the Mediterranean (Langermann and Morrison 2016).

[60] A much more powerful piece of evidence for the meeting of northern Europeans and Arabs/Muslims in, for instance, Egypt or modern-day Syria, was produced by an anonymous author from the region of Cologne who spent approx. twelve years in Cairo, Damascus, and other locations and later, after his return home (ca. 1350), produced a fascinating account in Middle Low German, the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (Micklin 2021; for the English translation, see Classen 2024). It has survived only in two manuscripts and was obviously not popular at all in its time, probably written only for the author's patron, perhaps the Archbishop of Cologne, who might have wanted to keep it out of public view. This narrative, however, offers solid proof that the traffic between the lands north of the Alps and the Mediterranean in its wider context was quite intensive, particularly after the end of the crusades in 1291, intensifying further in the following centuries. Here we learn an amazing number of details about the cultural, political, religious, and military conditions on the ground, and are also informed about the various social groups, architecture, and especially the fauna and flora.

[61] The author was likely not a merchant, since he hardly demonstrates any interest in mercantile topics. He might have been a diplomat or emissary, but at any rate he took greatest care to inform his readers as pragmatically and realistically as possible about Egypt, the neighboring countries, including Armenia and Georgia, and added data about Mongolia, Persia, and India that he must have learned from various sources. Most strikingly, he enjoyed a warm welcome at the Sultan's court, was involved in many of the courtly events and entertainments, and observed with great curiosity the ruler's procession, customs, and policies. From here, we could easily extend our discussion by including numerous other sources.

Conclusion

[62] Recent research has made great progress in identifying the true extent to which medieval travelers crossed many borders and were not inhibited by foreign cultures, languages, and powers (see Panarelli et al. 2023). In the late Middle Ages, the interest in traveling increased, as witnessed by the growing number of travelogues, pilgrimage accounts, and also literary works, such as the anonymous *Fortunatus* (1509) and the anonymous *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (1587). Our evidence, drawn from literary and factual texts, clearly indicates that the *hinterland* was really much more than just that. Until the 'discovery' of America by the Europeans, first by Christopher Columbus in 1492 and countless other travelers after him, the Mediterranean was the central contact zone, and it attracted many major individuals—diplomats, rulers, merchants, knights, pilgrims, artists, scientists, scholars, students, architects, etc.—from north of the Alps to Italy, Spain, Portugal, northern Africa (Morocco) and Egypt. Borders have always existed, but they have similarly always been crossed, if not transgressed. The evidence presented here confirms that irrespective of the Alps and other mountain ranges to the east, northern Europeans were certainly committed to the southern regions and strongly engaged with their neighbors, who more often than not welcomed them and engaged with them in a friendly and constructive manner.

References

Abdellatif, Hania, Yassir Benhima, Daniel König, and Elisabeth Ruchaud, eds. 2012. "Acteurs des transfers culturels en Méditerranée médievale." In *Ateliers des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Paris*. Vol. 9. Munich: Oldenbourg.

Abu-Lughod, Janet L. 1989. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Amitai-Preiss, Reuven, and Christoph Cluse. 2018. *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: c. 1000–1500 CE*. Mediterranean Nexus 1100-1700. Brepols.

Arsuaga, Ana Echevarría, and Dorothea Weltecke, eds. 2020. *Religious Plurality and Interreligious Contacts in the Middle Ages*. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 161. Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek.

Baer, Eva. 1983. *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Barker, Hannah. 2019. *That Most Precious Merchandise: The Mediterranean Trade in Black Sea Slaves, 1260–1500*. The Middle Ages Series. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Beer, Jeanette M. A., and Kenneth LLoyd-Jones. 1995. *Translation and the transmission of culture between 1300 and 1600*. Studies in medieval culture 35. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications.

Biancardi, Silvio. 2021. *Il dottor Hieronymus Münzer: un viaggiatore nell'Europa del XV secolo*. Studi 102. Novara: Interlinea.

Birmingham, David. 2018. *A Concise History of Portugal*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burgtorf, Jochen, and Helen J. Nicholson, eds. 2006. *International Mobility in the Military Orders (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries): Traveling on Christ's Business*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. 2012. *The Canterbury Tales*. Edited by Robert Boenig and Andrew Taylor. Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press.

Cigni, Costanza. 2010. "In viaggio per le corti d'Europa: il diario di Georg von Ehingen." In *Hinc illae lacrimae! Studi in memoria di Carmen Maria Radulet*, edited by Gaetano Platania, Cristina Rosa, and Mariagrazia Russo, 74–84. Viterbo: Ed. Sette Città.

———. 2018. "Le parole dell'ospitalità nel diario di Georg von Ehingen." In *L'amicizia nel Medioevo germanico: studi in onore di Elisabetta Fazzini*, edited by Eleanora Cianci, 47–60. Milan: LED, Edizioni universitarie di lettere economia diritto.

Classen, Albrecht. 2000. "Spain and Germany in the Middle Ages: An Unexplored Literary-Historical Area of Exchange, Reception, and Exploration." In *The Lion and the Eagle. Interdisciplinary Essays on German-Spanish Relations over the Centuries*, edited by Conrad Kent, Thomas K. Wolber, and Cameron M.K. Hewitt, 47–76. New York / Oxford: Berghahn Books.

———. 2003. "Medieval Europe and Its Encounter with the Foreign World: Late-Medieval German Witnesses." In *Medieval Cultures in Contact*, edited by Richard F. Gyug, 85–104. Fordham University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780823296064-006.

———. 2008. "Südwesteuropäische Grenzüberschreitungen aus deutscher Perspektive: Fremdbegegnung zwischen deutschsprachigen Reisenden und der iberischen Welt im Spätmittelalter." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 116 (1-2): 34–47.

———. 2009. “España a través del prisma alemán: perspectivas del Medievo y la primera Modernidad e investigaciones imagológicas.” In *Viajes y viajeros entre ficción y realitad: Alemania – España*, edited by Berta Raposo Fernández and Ingrid García Wistädt, 41–59. Valencia: Universitat de València.

———, ed. 2013. *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World.* Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 14. Berlin /Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

———. 2018. *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Explorations of Worldly Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Cultur 22. Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

———. 2020. “Globalism in Medieval Literature? Pre-Modern Perspectives in Poetic Projections: Wolfram von Eschenbach’s Parzival, Konrad Fleck’s Flore Und Blancheflor, and Reinfried von Braunschweig.” *Athens Journal of Philology* 7: 1–29.

———. 2021. *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre-Modern World: Cultural-Historical, Social-Literary, and Theoretical Reflections.* Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 25. Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

———. 2022. “Globale Narrative in Der Spätantike Und Im Mittelalter: Von Den Arabischen Nächten (1001 Nächte) Bis Zum Buch Der Sieben Weisen Meister.” *Kairoer Germanistische Studien* 24: 35–53.

———. 2023. *Globalism in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: Innovative Approaches and Perspectives*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 27. Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

———, ed. 2024. *Der Niederrheinische Orientbericht, c. 1350: An Account of the Oriental World by an Anonymous Low German Writer*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz, and Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, eds. 2018. *As décadas de Ceuta (1385-1460)*. Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio.

Corbellari, Alain, and André Schnyder, eds. 2005. *Translatio Litterarum Ad Penates. Das Mittelalter Übersetzen*. Cahiers Du Centre de Traduction Littéraire 47. Lausanne.

Delisle, Jean, and Judith Woodsworth, eds. 1995. *Translators Through History*. Vol. 13. Benjamins Translation Library. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.13.

Disney, Anthony R. 2009. *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dörschel, Florian Tobias. 2023. *Ritterliche Taten der Gewalt: Formen und Funktionen physischer Gewalt im Selbstverständnis des deutschen Rittertums im ausgehenden Mittelalter*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 233. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Duarte, Luís Miguel. 2016. “Ceuta: Tudo Aquilo Que Sempre Quisemos Saber e Nunca Ousámos Perguntar.” In *Portugal y El Norte de Africa, Historias d’’Aquem e d’Além-Mar: XVII Jornadas de Historia de Ceuta*, edited by José María Campos Martínez, 75–88. Ceuta: Instituto de Estudius Ceutíes.

Duggan, Anne J., ed. 2000. *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations*. Woodbridge / Suffolk / Rochester, NY: Boydell Press.

Etherington, Ben Karl, and Jarad Zimbler, eds. 2018. *The Cambridge Companion to World Literature*. Cambridge companions to literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108613354.

Fabié, Antonio María, ed. 1879. *Viajes por España. Colección Los libros de antaño*. Vol. 8. Madrid: F. Fé.

Favereau, Marie. 2021. *The Horde: How the Mongols Changed the World*. Cambridge, MA / London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Fircks, Juliane von. 2024. *Panni Tartarici: Seidengewebe aus Asien im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft/Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung.

Firth, James, trans. 2014. *Doctor Hieronymus Münzer's Itinerary (1494 and 1495) ; and Discovery of Guinea*. Barbican, London: James Firth.

Fitz, Francisco García. 2010. "Ceuta, Siege and Battle." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology*, edited by Clifford J. Rogers, John Block, and Kristen Mossler Figg, 1:359–60. Oxford: Oxford University Press.Friedman.

Frankopan, Peter. 2019. *Die neuen Seidenstraßen: Gegenwart und Zukunft unserer Welt*. Translated by Henning Thies. rororo 00033. Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag.

Friedman, John Block, and Kristen Mossler Figg, eds. 2000. *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, vol. 1899. New York: Garland Pub.

Fromherz, Allen. 2022. *The Near West: Medieval North Africa, Latin Europe and the Mediterranean in the Second Axial Age*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Georg von Ehingen. 1929. *The Diary of Jörg von Ehingen*. Translated by Malcolm Henry Letts. London: Oxford Univeristy Press.

———. 1979. *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft: Edition, Untersuchung, Kommentar*. Edited by Gabriele Ehrmann. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 262. Göppingen: Kümmerle.

Grabar, Oleg. 1982. "Trade with the East and the Influence of Islamic Art on the 'Luxury Arts' in the West." *Atti del XXIV congresso internazionale di Storia dell'Arte* 2: 27–34.

Halm, Christian. 2001. *Deutsche Reiseberichte. Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters*. Edited by Werner Paravicini. 2nd revised. Vol. 1. Kieler Werkstücke. Reihe D, Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters 12. Frankfurt a. M. / Berlin / Bern: Peter Lang.

Heng, Geraldine. 2018. *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Herbers, Klaus. 2005. "Die 'ganze' Hispania: Der Nürnberger Hieronymus Münzer unterwegs, seine Ziele und Wahrnehmung auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (1494–1495)." In *Grand Tour: Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini, 293–308. Ostfildern: Thorbecke Verlag.

———, ed. 2020a. *Der Reisebericht des Hieronymus Münzer: ein Nürnberger Arzt auf der „Suche nach der Wahrheit" in Westeuropa (1494/95)*. Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag.

———, ed. 2020b. *Itinerarium. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Reiseberichte Des Mittelalters*. Vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Hershenzon, Daniel. 2018. *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hoffman, Eva. 2001. "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century." *Art History* 24: 17–50.

———. 2004. "Christian-Islamic Encounters on Thirteenth-Century Ayyubid Metalwork: Local Culture, Authenticity, and Memory." *Gesta* 43: 129–42.

Höhl, Claudia, Felix Prinz, and Pavla Ralcheva, eds. 2022. *Islam in Europa 1000–1250*. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner.

Horden, Peregrine, and Sharon Kinoshita. 2014. *A Companion to Mediterranean History*. Wiley Blackwell companions to world history. Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell.

Horden, Peregrine, and Nicholas Purcell. 2000. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Jaspert, Nikolas, and Richard W. Kaeuper. 2020. *Movilidad y religiosidad medieval en los reinos peninsulares, Alemania y Palestina*. Granada: Universidad de Granada.

Kaeuper, Richard W. 2016. *Medieval Chivalry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Katzenstein, Ranee A., and Glenn D. Lowry. 1983. "Christian Themes in Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork." *Muqarnas* 1: 53–68.

Kedar, Benjamin Z. 2006. *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant: Studies in Frontier Acculturation*. Variorum Collected Studies Series 868. Aldershot: Hampshire.

Keen, Maurice. 2005. *Chivalry*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Khvalkov, Evgeny. 2018. *The Colonies of Genoa in the Black Sea Region: Evolution and Transformation*. Routledge Research in Medieval Studies 11. New York and London: Routledge.

———. 2020. "Population de Caffa Génoise à La Lumière Des Livres Comptables Des Années 1423-1424 Et 1461-1462." *Mediaevistik* 33 (1): 155–66. https://doi.org/10.3726/med.2020.01.08.

Kinoshita, Sharon, and Jason Jacobs. 2007. "Ports of Call: Boccaccio's Alatiel in the Medieval Mediterranean." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37 (1): 163–95. https://doi.org/10.1215/10829636-2006-014.

Klein, Karl Kurt, and Burghart Wachinger, eds. 2015. *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein*. 4., grundlegend neu bearbeitete Auflage. Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, Nr. 55. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Langermann, Tzvi Y., and Robert G. Morrison, eds. 2016. *Texts in Transit in the Medieval Mediterranean*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Latham, J.D. 1986. *From Muslim Spain to Barbary: Studies in the History and Culture of the Muslim West.* Collected Studies Series. London: Variorum Reprints.

Micklin, Anja. 2021. *Der "Niederrheinische Orientbericht": Edition und sprachliche Untersuchung*. Rheinisches Archiv 163. Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau.

Müller, Ulrich. 2010. "Georg von Ehingen, 'Reisen nach der Ritterschaft': Eine Autobiographie des 15. Jahrhunderts." In *Gesammelte Schriften zur Literaturwissenschaft*, edited by Margarte Springeth, Gertraud Mitterauer, and Ruth Weichselbaumer, 2:507–17. Göppingen: Kümmerle.

———. 2011. "Oswald von Wolkenstein, Seine Reisen und Reiselieder." In *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Leben – Werk – Rezeption*, edited by Ulrich Müller and Margarete Springeth, 234–39. Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Panarelli, Francesco, Kristjan Toomaspoeg, Georg Vogeler, and Kordula Wolf, eds. 2023. *Von Aachen bis Akkon: Grenzüberschreitungen im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Hubert Houben zum 70. Geburtstag*. Online-Schriften des DHI Rom. Neue Reihe 9. Heidelberg: University Publishing.

Rosario Torrejón, Carme. 2012. "Viatge per Espanya i Portugal de Hieronymus Münzer: Una aproximació a l'estudi dels camins en Espanya des dels romans fins la Baixa Edat Mitjana." In *Nuevos estudios multidisciplinares sobre historia y cultura medieval: fuentes, metodología y problemas*, edited by Jerónimo Méndez Cabrera and Diego A. Reinaldos, 121–24. Murcia: Murcia Centro de Estudios Medievales de la Universidad de Murcia EDITUM.

———. 2021. "Hieronymus Münzer al seu pas pel Camp de Morvedre." *Braçal: revista del Centre d'Estudis del Camp de Morvedre* 63: 183–85.

Scott, Anne. 2018. “Spatial Configurations, Movement, and Identity in Chaucer’s Romances.” In *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time*, edited by Albrecht Classen, 379–423. Walter De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110610963-013.

Tracy, James D., ed. 1990. *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.