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(Un)stable Identities: Impersonation, Conversion, and Relocation in *Historia del emperador Carlo Magno y los doce pares*

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Literature

by

Ana Grinberg

Committee in charge:

Professor Lisa Lampert-Weissig, Chair  
Professor Nancy Caciola  
Professor Stephanie Jed  
Professor Seth Lerer  
Professor Oumelbanine Zhiri

2013



The Dissertation of Ana Grinberg is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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Chair

University of California, San Diego

2013

## EPIGRAPH

...En este libro no ãtiẽdo d' fazer otra cosa fãlvo boluer los  
verfos frãcefes en profã castellana, fĩguiẽdo el pie d' la letra  
a todo mi poder, fin aÃadir ni quitar cosa algũa.

*Nicolás de Piemonte*

[In this book I will not do anything but translate the French  
verses in Castilian prose, following it to the letter in all my  
ability, without adding or eliminating anything.]

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- “The Lady, the Giant, and the Land: The Monstrous in *Fierabras*,” *eHumanista* 18 (2011) 186-192.
- “Pornografía hoy,” *Desierto Modo: Revista bimestral del Instituto Coahuilense de Cultura* 14 (Winter-Spring, 1998) 51-53.
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- “*Drácula* se desnuda o el análisis estructural de la novela,” *Desierto Modo: Revista bimestral del Instituto Coahuilense de Cultura* 12 (Fall-Winter, 1997-98) 32-35.
- “Después del holocausto nuclear. Reflexiones acerca del cine antiutópico,” *Tramas* 12 (December 1997): 89-97.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

(Un)stable Identities: Impersonation, Conversion, and Relocation in *Historia del emperador Carlo Magno y los doce pares*

by

Ana Grinberg

Doctor of Philosophy in Literature

University of California, San Diego, 2013

Professor Lisa Lampert-Weissig, Chair

This dissertation explores late medieval and early modern representations of racial and religious identity as represented in several renditions of a very popular book of chivalry. Originally composed in French during the twelfth-century, *Fierabras* was translated to Middle English, Castilian, Italian, German, and Latin. Furthermore, it was adapted to different genres and referenced in major works, as Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quijote* and François Rabelais' *Pantagruel*. Some versions have been extensively studied, but the Castilian translation—*Hystoria del emperador Carlo Magno y delos doze pares de Francia & dela cruda batalla que ouo Oliveros con Fierabras, Rey de Alexandria*

(dated 1521)—has received scant scholarly attention. My dissertation addresses this lack, exploring the process of imagining identity—both on an individual and social scale—that is central to the formation of Western European states.

The focus here is a comparative study of three versions of *Fierabras*, engaging on close readings that provide a clear depiction of identity and difference. In examining instances of labeling, religious conversion, “ethnic passing,” and their political underpinnings, I consider some of the intricacies of European representations of Spain and Spain’s self-representation as a religiously and ethnically homogenous nation. The Castilian version of *Fierabras* illustrates the need to imagine Spain as a “pure, contained space”—a concept developed by Barbara Fuchs’ *Exotic Nation*—as a response to the orientalization of Spain by its “European rivals” (3).

Nicolás de Piemonte, the Castilian translator, modified consistently his source (Jehan Bagnyon’s *Histoire de Charlemagne* [c. 1470]). These modifications include the apparent fluidity of identity, the relevance of blood and lineage over dermal differences, and cultural practices that serve to separate religious and ethnic communities. From the sixteenth century on, Piemonte’s translation became very popular in the Iberian colonies in Africa and America. Thus, I assert that this text became the vehicle for the propagation of specific ideas about the Self and the Other, about Christianity and other religions, and about loyalty and allegiance to the sovereign.

## Introduction

Evoking the figure of Charlemagne becomes not only a way of imagining and legitimizing one's origins, but is also a way of doing so in relation to the Other. It is a way of examining and determining the limits between self and other and of affirming or contesting different, and at times even contradictory, solidarities and modes of belonging.  
—Robert John Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France* (xviii)

The debate between constructivism and essentialism is already old news, particularly when it comes to collective identities. On the one hand, constructivists see identity as historically contingent. As Samuel Barkin notes, “constructivism as a specific logic of the study of international relations is about the social, which is to say the intersubjective, construction of international politics” (156). Essentialism, in contrast, “suggests that the members of a given group share one or more defining qualities—‘essence(s)’—that are inherent, innate, or otherwise fixed” (Morning 12). While this debate is not new, both perspectives are still operative in how ethnicity and belonging are asserted today as well as how they were assessed in pre-modern times. This dissertation is a case study that illuminates issues of individual and collective identity in transition between the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Geographically speaking, the focus in this work is the relationship between the Iberian Peninsula and the kingdom of France. Because the borderline between these two regions is a “space where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other,” a “contact zone” as defined by Mary Louise Pratt, it provides us with an understanding of “how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other” (Pratt 7, 8). In other words, this dissertation explores the process of imagining identity—both on an individual and social scale—that is central to

the formation of Iberia as a Western European state vis-à-vis France and the Ottoman Empire.

When I first read Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*History of the Kings of Britain*), Geoffrey Chaucer's "The Man of Law's Tale" and *Chanson de Roland* I was struck by their shared depiction of the Saracens "as a fierce and intractable Other," in Sharon Kinoshita's words ("Pagans" 79).<sup>1</sup> Due to my historical and geographical approach to reading medieval literature comparatively, I was fascinated by the fact that in most cases these Saracens inhabit the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, these three examples are not isolated occurrences in Western European literature of that time. It is not a surprise for any medieval scholar to read, for example, about an army formed by Greeks, Africans, Spanish, Parthians, Libyans, Egyptians, and Syrians (*History of the Kings of Britain* 236). Neither is it unexpected that Laban—the Sultan of Babylon whose "chief cité" is located in Spain, according to the *Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babylone* (hereafter *Sowdone*) (l. 718)—summons his allies all the way to "Inde Major and to Assye, / To Ascoloyne, Venys, Frige and Ethiope, / To Nubye, Turkye and Barbarye, / To Macedoine, Bulgare and to Europe" (ll. 999-1003). The reiteration of this conflation of Iberia with non-European nations is what originally led me to wonder how medieval Christian Iberians would represent themselves vis-à-vis the Islamic Other and the rest of Christian Europe. To address the questions of identity and differentiation I found in the texts above mentioned, and in line with what Morrissey

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<sup>1</sup> I further define what a Saracen is in Chapter 1. I will just mention here that the "Saracen" is an ideological construction of an imaginary foreign, often associated to Islam but also to non-Christian groups (frequently as a pagan).



explains in the epigraph above, I turned to medieval texts where Charlemagne is a central figure and that were geographically located in this contact zone.

From among the corpus that I call the “Matter of Spain,” which includes the better studied *Chanson de Roland* or *Codex Calixtinus* (also known as *Pseudo Turpin*) and deals with Charlemagne’s campaign in the Iberian Peninsula, I selected *Fierabras*.<sup>2</sup> This narrative was very popular during the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Its popularity is demonstrated by the diversity of translations to most Western European vernaculars and Latin, as well as the references in later literature and adaptations still found in some *fiestas de moros y cristianos* in the former Spanish colonies. Because of the panoply of extant versions, *Fierabras* provides a rich basis for understanding identity and alterity during the Middle Ages and early modern times. I decided to pursue a comparative study of several versions of this twelfth-century French romance and to conduct a close-reading of the text’s translation to Castilian, titled *Hystoria del emperador Carlo Magno y delos doze pares de Francia & dela cruda batalla que ouo*

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<sup>2</sup> I use “Matter of Spain” to specifically refer to the romances that take place in the Iberian Peninsula, not necessarily originating in the Iberian kingdoms (and later Spain). This term is based on the classification proposed by the thirteenth-century romance writer Jean Bodel in his *Chanson des Saxons*. The “Three Matters” that we recognized are “those of France, of Britain, and of Rome the great” [“De France, et de Bretainge, et de Rome la grant”] (ll. 7).

The idea of a “Matter of Spain” was coined earlier, by Alan Deyermond, to address the absence of Iberian national epics and ballads in the canon and reclaim the importance of Iberian literature in contraposition to the Matter of England (“Lost Genre” 795). More recently, R. F. Yeager employs the term in his “Chaucer Translates the Matter of Spain,” to refer to “Spanish influences” and references in medieval literature and particularly in Geoffrey Chaucer’s work (189). But, the Other in the Matter of France is a foreigner whereas in the Matter of Spain, as I understand it, it is an intimate stranger. Also, the Matter of France portrays an East-West geopolitical divide, whereas in the Matter of Spain this divide is no longer operative. Because of these reasons, I suggest to separate the romances dealing with French issues from those that take place in Iberia.

*Oliveros con Fierabras, Rey de Alexandria, hijo del grande almirante Balan* (hereafter *Historia del emperador*), dated 1521.<sup>3</sup>

*Historia del emperador* is Nicolás de Piemonte's translation of Jehan Bagnyon's prose version of *Fierabras*. The main focus of my dissertation is this Castilian translation of *Fierabras*, as it provides a provocative reflection on racial and cultural constructions of identity, both within the Iberian Peninsula and in Europe in general. In examining the "limits between self and other and of affirming or contesting different... solidarities and modes of belonging" mentioned by Morrissey (xviii), I find that we can trace the need to imagine Spain as a "pure, contained space" to earlier times (Fuchs, *Exotic* 3). I view this idealized conceptualization of Spain as a response to the orientalization of the region that was produced by its "European rivals in a deliberate attempt to undermine its triumphant self-construction," as Barbara Fuchs has put forth in *Exotic Nation* (3). Throughout this dissertation, I explore this idea of orientalization and the Castilian response to it as it is reflected in *Historia del emperador*.

The intertextual approach to *Historia del emperador* in relation to other versions of *Fierabras* offers a focused intervention in the current conversation about the application of modern and contemporary terms and theories to pre- and early modern realities. I especially engage with the idea of race, an ideological construct which is sometimes imagined to be rigid, stable, and visible. Lisa Lampert-Weissig explains that in pre-modern times conceptions of "human difference were complex and even contradictory" (*Medieval Literature* 69). Among these concepts, race was not used as a

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<sup>3</sup> This is the earliest extant printed edition. According to Marianne Ailes, the earliest version of the French verse version of *Fierabras* is dated around 1190. For further details, see her "The Date of the Chanson de Geste *Fierabras*."

term during the Middle Ages with the same sense we give it today. Though the concept of race was not unknown in the fifteenth century, historian James H. Sweet notes that “the words *razza* in Italian, *raza* in Castilian, *raça* in Portuguese, and *race* in French simply referred to a group of plants, animals, or humans that shared traits through a shared genealogy” (144). Additionally, Teofilo E. Ruiz elucidates the fact that in Iberia, ethnicity or race (*raza*, as Spaniards in the Middle Ages called it), was one of the determining factors in establishing the different categories in social position together with class, wealth, and region (94).

Race as concept can be approached either from a biological perspective or from a more cultural one. A good example of the first trend is Ivan Hannaford’s *Race: The History of an Idea in the West*, where the author claims there is a lack of categorization according to race during antiquity and that faith categories were not based on racial divisions. Furthermore, he claims it “unhistorical to perceive the concept of race before the appearance of physical anthropology proper” (147). David Goldenberg finds that due to the latter’s “philhellenic stance,” Hannaford refuses to see the classical world as contributor to modern racial notions. Indeed, Goldenberg explains that as early as Herodotus there is a direct link between physical and nonphysical characteristics associated to superiority, and “this link is a crucial component of racist thinking” (562). Goldenberg refers here to the environmental theories of differentiation common during antiquity. On the other hand, the cultural approach to race can be found in Robert Bartlett’s *The Making of Europe*. In this key work, Bartlett explains that “while the language of race—gens, natio, ‘blood’, ‘stock’, etc.—is biological, its medieval reality was almost entirely cultural” (197). For Bartlett, the medieval conception of race is much

closer to “ethnicity,” where factors as religion, law, language, and custom are more significant. Current trends among medievalists—such as Suzanne Conklin Akbari, Geraldine Heng, Sharon Kinoshita, Stephen Kruger, and Lisa Lampert-Weissig (among many others)—approach “race critically... [and describe it] as a shifting, ultimately unreifiable category that nonetheless passes itself off as possessing an essence and a historical durability” (Cohen, “Race” 115).<sup>4</sup> The work of these scholars is what informs my approach to racial and religious difference in the Iberian Peninsula as a “contact zone.”

Some other scholars have harshly rejected the application of modern concepts and theories to a pre-modern era. I do not agree with this position. Race is a concept that was already operative in the Middle Ages and before (as Goldberg and Benjamin Braude, among others note) and, yet, we should also accept that we can expand our definition of race further.<sup>5</sup> Jeffrey Cohen has shown that “race is evinced in such highly visible actions as the choice, preparation and consumption of food; patterns of speech and use of language; law; customs and ritual; and practice of sexuality” and that these are “inextricably corporeal” (“Race” 112, 111). Thus the cultural and biological—nurture and nature—are not independent. I find that the critical approach to racial and religious difference in the Iberian Peninsula offers us an understanding of state formation towards the end of the Middle Ages. This approach highlights that our understanding of race and racism is not identical to that of pre- and early modern times.

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<sup>4</sup> I would like to thank Jeffrey J. Cohen for providing me a copy of his forthcoming article, here cited.

<sup>5</sup> Among Braude’s works, see “The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, 54 (1997).

In this dissertation, I show that ethnic difference—particularly in relation to the Muslim Other in pre- and early modern Iberia—is biological but not in terms of skin color or physical traits. Ethnic difference is closely related to blood and lineage, “natura” if you will, as an essential condition to the individual and, hence, to a community. Yet, there is a clear recognition of the function of cultural practices to distinguish the religious Other—the Turk, the Moor, the Saracen—as diet and weaponry, clothing and armor. All these practices are important to denote identity and belonging but can also be used to mimic the Other, to perform an “ethnic cross-dressing” that could undermine differentiation. Yet, we should note that in most cases medieval and early modern depictions of “ethnic passing” are a failure, “natura” or the “true self” of he or she who cross-dresses in the end is evident. In other words, as Lampert-Weissig explains, “medieval contexts are notable for their lack of rigidity and their sometimes inclusive representations of cultural difference” (*Medieval Literature* 71). In sum, the debate between essentialist and constructivist positions only obscures what we find in rich sources as *Fierabras* and its multiple versions.

Among the multiple versions of *Fierabras* analyzed in my dissertation, I focus on three of them. As already mentioned, I center primarily in the Castilian translation of which I am using a digital copy of the second edition.<sup>6</sup> The original of this edition is located in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (R/12097). Because this is Nicolás de Piemonte’s translation of Jehan Bagnyon’s *L’Histoire de Charlemagne*, I use Hans-Erich Keller’s edition of Bagnyon’s first manuscript (housed in the Bibliotheque de Genève,

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<sup>6</sup> I consulted in several opportunities the first edition (dated April 24, 1521), located in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library (E2 47 D, accession number PML 31538). Jacobo Cromberger printed this edition in Seville, and exactly four years later a second one. Due to the slight modifications in typesetting and pagination, it is clear that Cromberger printed two different editions four years apart.

MS fr. 188). Both Piemonte and Bagnyon are prose adaptations of the twelfth century *Ur* text in verse, which no longer exists. The most complete verse manuscript is known as MS E, found in the Biblioteca de El Escorial (M.III.21), and has been edited by Marc Le Person with very useful notes and a glossary. Le Person's edition serves as one of the sources for my comparative study. I have also consulted Auguste Kroeber and Gustave M. J. Servois's edition of *Fierabras*, a collation of several of the earliest verse manuscripts. Finally, I give special consideration to the Middle English manuscript dated around the mid-fifteenth century, known as *Sowdan of Babylon*, which is located today in the Princeton University Library (Garret No. 140). For the translations of certain terms to modern English, I have used both Emil Hausknecht's (which he made for the Early English Text Society) and Alan Lupack's editions as references. All of these versions contribute to a rich network that serves to further illuminate the issues of race and identity in the Castilian translation.

Unfortunately, *Historia del emperador* has not received much scholarly attention. Beyond Francisco Márquez Villanueva's "El sondeable misterio de Nicolás de Piamonte," to which I refer often throughout my dissertation, the text has only been studied in relation to its possible influence on the explorers and conquerors of non-European territories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Jennifer Goodman asserts that Cortés and his men were not only "*au courant* with the most fashionable books of chivalry" but also deeply influenced by older models like those of the Matter of France (*Chivalry* 152). Goodman finds compelling parallelisms between Hernán Cortés's *Cartas de relación* and the Castilian version of *Fierabras*. More recently, Karla Xiomara Luna Mariscal has studied *Historia del emperador* through her exploration of the figure of the

giants, which she claims “permitirá dilucidar cómo cambia el esquema prototípico de la novela de caballerías en las historias breves” [enables us to elucidate how the prototypical scheme of the book of chivalry changes within the chivalry brief stories] (“Gigante ausente” 45).<sup>7</sup> Most scholars have mentioned the Castilian prose version of *Fierabras*, on the one hand, as the translation of Jehan Bagnyon’s work, and on the other hand, as part of their accounts of the dissemination of the *chanson de geste*. But even Márquez Villanueva and Goodman have not read *Historia del emperador* in relation to the French verse or the multiple extant insular versions in Middle English and Anglo-Norman. Neither has Luna Mariscal gone beyond a discussion of these texts. In most cases, Piemonte’s version has been compared to its obvious source, Bagnyon’s manuscripts or incunabula known as *La conquête que fit le roy Charlemagne en Espagne avec les nobles prouesses des douze pairs de France et aussi celles de Fier à Bras* or *La roman de Fierabras*, as it was originally titled (hereafter *L’Histoire de Charlemagne*, after Hans-Erich Keller’s edition). On the other hand, scholars have studied Piemonte’s text as a basis for *Don Quixote*, since Miguel de Cervantes evidently had *Historia del emperador* in mind when writing several passages of his better-known work.<sup>8</sup> This dissertation addresses the lack of current comparative textual analysis of Piemonte’s text, attempting to bring the Castilian translation to the fore and to establish a dialogue with other manuscripts and incunabula of this legend.

I should add here that I approach *Fierabras* as a textual network operating on two different levels. First, I read *Fierabras* as a genealogical system through which I connect,

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<sup>7</sup> All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

<sup>8</sup> The connection between Piemonte and Cervantes’ works is an important part of the Epilogue.

for instance, the Provençal verse version to Bagnyon's prosification and, in turn, to Nicolás de Piemonte's rendition. Therefore, I find that using the term "isotope" as Suzanne Conklin Akbari has done in *Idols in the East*, obscures the intertextuality of the text.<sup>9</sup> Iain Macleod Higgins introduced the term "isotope" in *Writing East: The "Travels" of Sir John Mandeville* to refer to the textual network of John Mandeville's book.<sup>10</sup> Though "isotope" somewhat reflects textual multiplicity, it fails to demonstrate the genealogy of the book, as it implies that all textual adaptations, translations and prosifications are equivalent, or at least very close.<sup>11</sup> I am not doing a *stemma codicum* of *Fierabras*, which would be similar to creating a genealogical tree of the text.<sup>12</sup> Marianne Ailes and Marc Le Person have developed such *stemma*, yet both scholars work only with *Fierabras*' manuscripts. Furthermore, for the concerns of this dissertation, the inclusion of all translations, adaptations, prosifications, and references to this single text in manuscript and printed formats in a *stemma* is not productive.

The second level in my approach is to situate *Fierabras* within an intertextual reference system, relating other epics and chronicles to the events contained in the renditions analyzed. This level facilitates my reading of the socio-political and cultural conditions that are evident, for instance, in the Castilian translation or the Middle English version of the text. The concept of rhizome, developed by Gilles Deleuze and Felix

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<sup>9</sup> In *Idols in the East*, Akbari studies a number of translations or adaptations of *Fierabras*, which support a compelling argument about race and physicality in the Middle Ages.

<sup>10</sup> By "isotope" Higgins means not only variants but a palimpsest that shows, beyond the translation to other languages, "numerous changes in the form of omissions, interpolations, and rearrangements" to fulfill the translators and redactors' own designs (*Writing East* 18).

<sup>11</sup> Isotope is defined as "a chemical element (strictly, of one particular element) which is *distinguished from the other varieties* of the element by a different mass number but *shares the same* atomic number and chemical properties" (*OED*, my emphasis).

<sup>12</sup> Karl Lachmann developed the concept of *stemma* in relation to the study of manuscripts, particularly *Nibelungen Not* and the *New Testament*, and stresses the establishment of an archetype from which to hierarchize the diverse versions (*recensio* and *emendatio*) of the text.



Guattari in *Thousand Plateaus*, could be operative for my study.<sup>13</sup> Yet, the idea of total interconnectedness of the rhizome, as it “ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles,” impedes a clear analysis of such a widespread text as *Fierabras* (Deleuze and Guattari 7). Since in Deleuze and Guattari’s model “there is no unity to serve as a pivot in the object,” it cannot be applied to describe the intertextual connections in *Fierabras* (8). I have used instead the terms “hypotextual” and “hypertextual,” based on Javier Gómez-Montero’s proposal that appears in his *Literatura caballeresca en España e Italia*:

Sin renunciar básicamente al enfoque diacrónico al enfrentar dos o más textos, con esta metodología [de la intertextualidad] se busca superar el concepto de fuente literaria insistiendo en la dinámica latente en función de los impulsos derivados del hipotexto y del acto de creación que supone la configuración peculiar del hipertexto (7).

[Without relinquishing a diachronic perspective in the comparison of two or more texts, we can supersede the concept of literary source through an intertextual methodology to emphasize the underlying dynamic based on the impulses derived from the hypotext and the creation act implied in the peculiar configuration of the hypertext.]

“Hypotext” is, according to Gómez-Montero, inspired by Gérard Genette’s *Palimpsestes*, the original or source text.<sup>14</sup> “Hypertext” here is the new, superposed text. While the *stemma* is grounded on an *Ur* text (the archetype), the use of hypertextuality to describe the interaction between two given works enables to read these works as a chain.

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<sup>13</sup> Deleuze and Guattari explore books and writing as an arborescent phenomenon, where the “first type of book is the root-book” (5). These authors add that this is the “classical book” which imitates the world (5). The second image to explain the book is the fascicular root onto which an “indefinite multiplicity of secondary roots grafts” (5). Deleuze and Guattari try to avoid linearity, reaching then to the idea of rhizome, “a subterranean stem [that] is absolutely different from roots and radicles” (6).

<sup>14</sup> Hypotext is the “earlier text,” according to Gérard Genette (5). In *Palimpsestes*, Genette focuses on the relations between the hypo- and the hypertext: direct transformations, imitations, etc. Hypertext is, in Genette’s words, “any text derived from a previous text either through simple transformation... or through indirect transformation” (7).

Simultaneously, then, I do a transtextual reading to include other works not derived from either the hyper- or the hypotext, but that have “a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts” (Genette 2). In other words, throughout my dissertation I do a synchronic and diachronic reading of the “new text”—“hypertext”—in relation to its “source” and its context, to highlight what is original in the “hypertext” and to describe the interaction and dialogue between these texts as inserted in their historical moment.

In a temporal sense, *Historia del emperador* is a product of a transition. It appeared in Seville after the expulsion of Jews and the fall of Granada (1492), and the forced conversion of Moors in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon (1501). Furthermore, Piemonte’s translation was printed after the death of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon—the Catholic Monarchs (1504 and 1516, respectively)—in the moment when their grandson Charles I (known in Iberia as *Carlos I de España y V de Alemania*) became King of Spain and, few years later, Holy Roman Emperor. The arrival of Charles I to Iberian soil without even a minimal knowledge of Castilian marks a new era. On the one hand, he is a direct descendant of Charlemagne, historically used as paradigm of crusading efforts and an important power figure in *Historia del emperador*. This also means that, for the first time in a long time, the monarch was not cognizant of the political and cultural intricacies of the realm. On the other hand, the political international scene was in turmoil. The Ottoman Empire was gaining power and, in 1454, it captured Constantinople. By the mid-sixteenth century, the Ottomans began to threaten Spanish hegemony in the Western Mediterranean. The Kingdom of France saw the Iberian kingdoms’ unification (which occurred with the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand, in 1469) as a menace. And, last but not least, Spain and Portugal had started a mercantilist

race to the Indies giving rise to the so-called Age of Discovery.<sup>15</sup> All of these geopolitical changes are reflected in the Castilian translation of *Fierabras* and illuminate the construction of the notions of race, ethnicity, and geographical and religious belonging.

In the Iberian Peninsula between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries, religious identity was expressed through a number of labels. A quick look to the terms shows the relative (religious) mobility among the main three “cultures”: Jewish, Muslim, and Christian. Jews are not portrayed nor mentioned in *Historia del emperador*, as a narrative advocating for a crusading effort the conflict centers on Christianity and a polytheist Islam of sorts.<sup>16</sup> Regardless of the conflation of Muslims with pagans and heretics that is common in these texts, I find it necessary to clarify the labels used for each religious condition in late medieval Iberia. Christians who lived in Muslim Iberia are known as *mozárabes*. Some scholars restrict the use of this term to “those culturally Arabized Christians from the south who took refuge in León in the eleventh and twelfth centuries” (Harvey, *Islamic* 2). In contraposition, *cristianos viejos* [old Christians] were Christians with “untainted” lineage. The term *cristiano nuevo* [new Christian] was both applied to former Jews or Muslims who converted to Christianity. While the Inquisition directed their attention to these newly converted individuals, the *conversos* (former Jews) who clandestinely practiced Judaism (in pre- and early modern sources often referred to as *judaizantes*) were their main targets. Especially after the time of the conquest of Granada

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<sup>15</sup> On this term, see among others, Palmira J. Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. Print; Bernard Lewis, *Cultures in Conflict: Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. Print; Ronald S. Love, *Maritime Exploration in the Age of Discovery, 1415-1800*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2006. Print; Nabil I. Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999. Print; and Dan O’Sullivan, *The Age of Discovery, 1400-1550*. New York: Longman, 1984. Print.

<sup>16</sup> Norman Daniel refers to this misrepresentation of Islam in his *Heroes and Saracens*.

and during the first half of the sixteenth century, Christian Iberians labeled *moriscos* “the Moors who remained in Spain after the fall of Granada and were converted, often forcibly, to Christianity” (Fuchs, *Passing* 3). Yet, as Leonard Harvey notes, “it is far more usual to find expressions as... ‘new converts’ or *nuevos cristianos convertidos de moros*” (*Islamic* 3). Finally, *mudéjar* is “a term problematically derived from the medieval Arabic notion of the *mudayyan*, which in turn designated the legal status of those who ‘stayed behind’ after the Christian conquest” meaning Muslims living under Christian rule yet did not convert to Christianity (Fuchs, *Exotic* 52). As evidenced in these labels, religious identity was relatively fluid in the Iberian Peninsula during this period. Conversion and shared cultural practices made racial and religious identity less rigid than we might imagine.

There are several important elements that appear in Nicolás de Piemonte’s translation but not in its hypotext, Jehan Bagnyon’s *L’Histoire de Charlemagne*, or in other versions of *Fierabras*, on which I will focus my discussion in the following chapters. These elements include the apparent fluidity of identity, the relevance of blood and lineage over dermal differences, and cultural practices that serve to separate religious and ethnic communities. I begin this dissertation with a Prologue to provide a summary of the plot, which, in general terms, remains the same in all versions of *Fierabras*. Each chapter focuses on particular scenes where the Christian Self and the religious/racial Other are defined and confronted. These textual moments are normally characterized by modifications made by Piemonte where biological and cultural dimensions of race are

played out in a way that draws upon the cultural knowledge of his Spanish readership regarding racial and religious differences.<sup>17</sup>

A close reading of the textual differences between the diverse versions of *Fierabras* offers modern readers a glimpse of the changing realities in the Iberian Peninsula towards the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance. Because of geopolitical changes, Turks replace the Saracens and Moors in Piemonte's text. In my first chapter, entitled **These are not Moors, this is not Spain: Geographical and Religious Reconfiguration in *Historia del emperador***, I claim that Piemonte's version is a response to the way that other European kingdoms exoticized (or orientalized) the Iberian kingdoms and their inhabitants. Such exoticization appears in literary texts that are part of the "Matter of Spain" as well as in the narratives of travelers to the Iberian kingdoms. Here, I demonstrate how Piemonte uses cultural practices—diet and weaponry, for example—to emphasize the fact that the enemy is no longer a Saracen nor is he indigenous to the Iberian Peninsula. By incorporating these cultural practices that mark collective identity, Piemonte's text dismisses any contention that racial difference is dermal or physiological. These particular textual changes operated in *Historia del emperador* signal to issues of identity—for individuals, religious communities, and the burgeoning Spanish Empire—that were central to the formation of Western European states.

The following chapter, **Sheep in Wolf's Skin: Sartorial Identities in *Historia del emperador***, deals with textual instances where the characters' attire and weaponry

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<sup>17</sup> We should not forget that "Moorishness [was] a habitual presence in Iberian culture, so that Andalusí elements are intimately known and experienced," as Fuchs reminds us (*Exotic* 3).

become markers of their religious and national identity, used deliberately or inadvertently to represent the Other. I propose that the scenes of “ethnic cross-dressing,” as Fuchs calls the use of the garments of the ethnic Other by a member of a different culture, serve to comment on three issues very relevant to the religious and ethnic homogenization of Spain (*Passing* 69). First, “ethnic passing” compromises the ability to differentiate between the diverse ethnic and religious communities on the peninsula. Also, though ethnic sartorial performance is only superficial, it jeopardizes blood purity or cleanliness (*limpieza de sangre*, in Spanish) because of possible “racial” intermixing. The separation of corporeal and cultural markers is blurry, since the “true nature” of the individual—his or her nobility by blood and lineage, reflected in one’s social station and high moral standards—is imagined to be evident regardless of clothes and armor. These three elements—sumptuary laws to separate social position and religious allegiance, efforts to prevent religious crossbreeding, and the association of an essential identity to nobility—are evidenced in the way that Piemonte’s version of *Fierabras* presents ideological changes about “what makes a man” and provides a critique of courtly fashions associated with the Islamic Other.

What is “essential” to an individual is not altered by religious conversion, as I show in my third chapter, **Baptism and Conversion: Religious (Un)stable Identities**. The emphasis in this chapter is not baptism as a physical metamorphosis, but the “natural” conditions that anticipate both Christendom’s acceptance of Fierabras and his sister Floripes as converts, and the siblings’ inclination to convert willingly. Only in Piemonte’s version do both characters demonstrate a conflicted sense of loyalty in relation to their kin and country vis-à-vis their new religion, which I see as evidence of

the convert's hybrid identity. Piemonte depicts these contradictions empathetically, which has led some scholars to claim that Piemonte was a *converso* himself. While there is insufficient information about the translator to confirm or deny this possibility, the insider's perspective enables a commentary on conversion practices and social unrest in the Iberian kingdoms of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon. Furthermore, Piemonte underscores the moral, "essential" demeanor of Fierabras and Floripes and eliminates most of their bodily descriptions. What marks these two characters as *buenos cristianos nuevos* is not a matter of race (as externally marked by their whiteness, for example) but of their nature and comportment, which make their processes of conversion more convincing in a place and time where Muslims were forced to convert.

Finally, in the last chapter **Franks, French, and Christians: Messianism or Francophobia?**, I turn to the political conflicts between the Kingdoms of Spain and France, and the use of books of chivalry (*libros de caballería*) as political propaganda. This chapter deals with the problematic representations of the French as heroes in a Francophobic historical moment. Here I demonstrate that Piemonte's *Historia del emperador* advocates for a unified Christian front. This unified Christendom dismisses the differences between the French and the Spanish armies, enabling a conception of Europe as religiously and racially homogeneous: a *universitas christiana* that prefigures the new Messiah, a Last World Emperor that will defeat the infidels and reach Jerusalem. As I explain in this chapter, the European powers (and particularly those around the Mediterranean) were far from establishing a *pax Christiana*. Only the expansion to new territories beyond the oceans provided some form of temporal truce in Europe.

In the wake of this expansionist impulse, Nicolás de Piemonte's translation of *Fierabras* and other books of chivalry traveled to the overseas colonies. I provide an account of the influence of these texts in my Epilogue, ***Libros de caballerías and Ideological Transference: Historia del emperador and its Hypertexts***. I propose that the continuous propagation of *Historia del emperador* through adaptations, literary references, and versifications is a form of ideological *translatio imperii* from the metropolis to the colonial periphery. Pedro Calderón de la Barca and Miguel de Cervantes are only some of the many authors that reworked or alluded to the Castilian *Fierabras* in Spanish literature. It was translated to Tagalog as *Los doce pares*, and is still represented as “La danza de los doce pares”—a variant of the feast of *moros y cristianos*, where Charlemagne and his paladins appear as heroes of Christendom—in diverse states in Mexico and the United States. In other words, it became the vehicle for the propagation of particular ideas about lineage and racial identity, about Christianity and other religions or practices, and about loyalty and allegiance to the sovereign.

Because of the popularity of *Fierabras*, there is a number of manuscripts, incunabula (texts printed during the fifteenth century), post-incunabula (texts printed between 1501 and 1520), and early printed editions in diverse vernaculars and Latin. As a result of the research required to compile all of this information, I discovered important textual modifications in several versions of *Historia del emperador* that reflect the intervention of the Inquisition in the printing and distribution of books in Spain and its colonies.<sup>18</sup> I present a list of these texts as an Appendix.

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<sup>18</sup> These modifications merit a different venue in a near future.



I have tried consistently to solve the difficulty of managing different languages during the preparation of this dissertation. First, I seldom refer to *Spain*, because at that time the Iberian Peninsula was divided into several kingdoms: Castile and Leon, Navarre, Aragon, Catalunya, Portugal and Granada. When referring to all the Christian kingdoms, they will be labeled the *Iberian Peninsula* or *Iberia*. I do distinguish the term *Muslim* from *Saracen* and *Turk* as these differences are central to my discussion. Where *Christian*, *Christianity* or *Christendom* is used, it must be understood to involve the Roman Latin Church in general. The only thing left to mention is that, in order to differentiate between the various versions to which I refer, I use the name of the characters according to each of these narratives. For instance, *Oliver* in Castilian is *Oliveros* and *Olivier* in French. *Richard of Normandy* is *Richarte* in Castilian and *Richart* or *Richars* in French.

### Prologue: *Fierabras* in a Few Words

“Seignors, or faites pais, s’il vous plaist, si m’oez!  
Canchon fiere et nobile jamais mellor n’orrez!”

[Gentlemen, make your peace, if you will, to hear me!  
You will never listen to a better chanson, fierce and noble!]  
*Fierabras* (ll. 1-2)<sup>19</sup>

*Fierabras*, the textual network in which I center this study, has a number of versions closely related to the language in which they were written and the place where they originated. In general terms, *Le Roman de Fierabras* (or just *Fierabras*) contains the story of the clash between Christendom—represented by Charlemagne and his paladins—and “pagandom”—depicted through Balan and his kin. During the fifteenth century, the narrative was included in several collections about the life and deeds of Charlemagne. Before this date, the British translators of the verse *Fierabras* might have felt the need to justify Charlemagne’s conflict with Balan. Some of the English versions, such as MS H (Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, IV. 578), MS Eg (London, British Museum, Egerton 3028), and *Sowdan*, provide an account of the Sack of Rome. This prologue to *Fierabras* is known as the *Destruction de Rome* and is not included in most versions considered in this dissertation.

In the following few pages I provide a summary of *Fierabras*, which is the second part in Jehan Bagnyon’s compilation of stories about Charlemagne. Bagnyon’s rendering begins with the lineage and youth of Charlemagne according to Vincent de Beauvais’s *Speculum historiale*, followed by *Fierabras*, and ends with the battle of Roncesvalles (narrative known today as the *Pseudo-Turpin*, contained in the *Codex Calixtinus*) in line

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<sup>19</sup> All translations, from Spanish, medieval Castilian, French, Old and Middle French, and Middle English are my own unless otherwise noted.

with the version presented in *Speculum historiale*'s Book XXIV (Keller, *Histoire* xxiii). Piemonte follows Bagnyon in dividing *Historia del emperador* in three "books," the second one of these contains the story of Fierabras and Balan. In this dissertation I only focus on *Fierabras* proper, which goes from the battle between Fierabras and Oliver (one of Charlemagne's champions) to the division of Balan's former territory between Fierabras and Guy (another paladin, future husband of Floripes).

*Fierabras* in most of its versions is a chain of sequences. These sequences alternate between lineal and parallel micro-plots, often part of a larger frame narrative. Barbara Fuchs explains that this is quite common in romances where basically "the narrative is segmented into sequential, self-contained episodes" that can also be *interlaced*, meaning that "different strands of the narrative are woven together" (*Romance* 57). A structural study of this narrative could highlight particular moments in the story that have similar structures, as well as the moments where these sequences start or end, emphasizing the weight they have in the story. Yet, I will not offer here a structural summary of *Fierabras*, but one that tells the events as clearly as possible.

*Fierabras* starts with the eponymous character, son of Balan (Laban in the *Sowdone*) approaching Charlemagne's camp to challenge the Twelve Peers. Not one of the famous French champions wants to take up the challenge but Oliver, who is badly wounded. After convincing Charlemagne to allow him to fight the (sometimes giant) Saracen, he reaches a tree under which Fierabras is resting, unarmed. After an introduction ritual between the Christian and the pagan knight, where Oliver purposefully claims to be a recently dubbed knight of lowly origin, Fierabras displays his nobility and *gentillesse* upon noticing that the Christian is bleeding. Once all the obstacles—low status,

wounds, and donning of armor—are cleared ensues a long battle. Fierabras finally surrenders and accepts to be baptized.

Fierabras' army, positioned nearby, attacks when their leader falls; Charlemagne orders his militia to respond. Oliver and few other knights are captured by the pagans and led to Balan, emir of Spain (in some versions, Sultan of Babylon). Meanwhile Charlemagne and his men find Fierabras, who is badly wounded and requests to be baptized before he dies as an infidel. The emperor orders his physicians to heal Fierabras and, once cured, he receives baptism. In Balan's court, the Christian knights are put in prison. Floripes, the beautiful sister of Fierabras, since she is secretly enamored with Guy of Bourgogne goes to see the prisoners. The jailor opposes to her talking to the prisoners, thus Floripes kills the jailor. The Saracen princess frees the knights from their ordeal and leads them to her chambers, where she feeds and entertains them. After inquiring about their names (to discover if Guy is among them), Floripes cures Oliver of the wounds inflicted by her brother. Her duenna, Maragunda (nameless in some versions), threatens to tell what Floripes has done to her father; this infuriates the princess and proceeds to defenestrate the duenna.

In Charlemagne's camp, the emperor sends a group of his champions as ambassadors to Balan. In Balan's court, the emir sends his emissaries to Charlemagne. Both monarchs want the other to become his vassal and to propose an exchange of captives, who are considered especially important to their adversaries. The two groups of envoys meet and engage in a battle, resulting in the defeat and decapitation of the Saracens. The Christian ambassadors arrive to Balan's presence, make their requests and show the emir the heads of his envoys. Balan sends them to prison, meaning that all of

the Peers of France are reunited in Floripes's chambers. Floripes and Guy de Bourgogne finally meet and get betrothed despite her religion; their marriage is contingent to her baptism and Charlemagne's approval. Finally, the French knights get the necessary arms to fight.

Once armed, the Christian knights leave Floripes' chambers to attack Balan. They are victorious and take Balan's castle. The emir jumps through the window as a symbol of the first open defeat of the Saracens. The Peers' triumph is relative; they are surrounded by the pagans with no victuals. Because of the siege Floripes, her ladies in waiting and the Christian knights might soon be defeated because of hunger. Nevertheless, the resourceful princess has a magic girdle that ensures that no one is deprived. Balan sends a thief to get the belt, who fails to exit the tower alive as he is wounded and pushed out of a window with the girdle around him. The Christian knights are thus forced to make several *sorties* in search of provisions. In the last of these, Richard de Normandy leaves the tower in search of aid from Charlemagne.

On his way, Richard is chased by Clarion, a Saracen king. Richard and Clarion have a melee, from which Richard evidently becomes the victor and takes Clarion's horse as loot. Richard crosses a river with the help of a white deer or hind, after which he finally arrives to Charlemagne's camp. Meanwhile, the emperor has to confront Ganelon, the traitor by antonomasia, who tries to convince Charlemagne of returning to France. It is then when Richard arrives and all of Charlemagne's army starts towards Balan's castle to save the Twelve Peers. Richard and a small group of knights go as bait, to gain the bridge of Mantrible (also Mantible, in some versions). This is the second time the knights go through this place, the first one as ambassadors to see Balan. Galafre (Algolafure), a

horrible giant, is the guardian of this bridge. Richard (or Roland, depending on the version) kills Galafre and Charlemagne advances. Other two monstrous giants fight against the Christian armies, but they both are defeated. Their giant twin babies are baptized but die soon after.

Charlemagne seizes Mantrible after a long battle, where Ganelon shows his loyalty despite his previous treason. Fierabras also participates actively in the battle, at least in Piemonte's version. After the defeat of the Saracens, Fierabras asks Charlemagne to have mercy for his father, in order to convert and baptize Balan. In the meantime, Charlemagne's paladins in the tower fight against the Saracens surrounding them. Floripes and her ladies participate actively in the defense of their position. When they lack projectiles, the princess decides to use Balan's treasure. Things seem to be at their worse point. In that moment, Charlemagne arrives. The knights that were inside the tower exit to fight with their overlord against the Saracens. The battle ends when Balan is taken prisoner.

Despite of Fierabras' attempts to convince his father to accept baptism, Balan refuses and is killed. Floripes, in turn, is baptized and gets married to Guy. Some versions make a spectacle of Floripes' body as she enters the baptismal font, while some others just mention the fact that she is christened. Before leaving, Charlemagne divides the territory that was Balan's between Guy and Fierabras. Floripes gives Charlemagne the relics, which have appeared sporadically in the story. All that is left to do is return to France with the relics. These are distributed among several important religious centers. This way the story finishes, with the victory of Charlemagne over the Saracens.

**Chapter I. These are not Moors, this is not Spain: Geographical and Religious  
Reconfiguration in *Historia del emperador***

Are we turned Turks, and to ourselves do that  
Which Heaven hath forbid the Ottomites?  
—William Shakespeare, *Othello* (2.3.160-163)

Je suis le Maure et le Sarrasin contre lequel on  
arme en Espagne: Louis XII of France  
[I am the Moor and the Saracen against whom Spain  
is arming itself]  
—Esprit Fléchier, *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*<sup>20</sup>

When in 1604 William Shakespeare's *Othello* was first performed, already the religious and ethnic Other was not the Saracen—a medieval construction of an imaginary foreigner often considered a Muslim, a pagan, or both. By the seventeenth century, Christian heroes no longer needed to fight in order to prove that “païen unt tort e crestiens unt dreit” [Christians are right while pagans are wrong] as stated in *Chanson de Roland* (line 1015). Pagans or Saracens became the Turk—also referred to as an Ottoman or Ottomite, as appears in Shakespeare's quote above. Partially due to the new distribution of power around the Mediterranean, during the late Middle Ages and early modern period the Turks turned out to be one of most important images against which Western Europe constructed its identity.<sup>21</sup> As literary characters, Saracens and Turks both serve as source of all European fears, often associated with Spain and with the “matter of Spain.”<sup>22</sup> Used almost interchangeably, the Saracen and the Turk are exoticized. Such exoticization

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<sup>20</sup> All translations, from Spanish, medieval Castilian, French, Old and Middle French, and Middle English are my own unless otherwise noted.

<sup>21</sup> Henri Pirenne points to this idea in his *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. While Pirenne's thesis was the center of a heated debate around mid-twentieth century, the same concept but from a different perspective is espoused by Robert Morrissey. Morrissey posits that “evoking the figure of Charlemagne becomes not only a way of imagining and legitimizing one's origins, but is also a way of doing so in relation to the Other. It is a way of examining and determining the limits between self and other and of affirming or contesting different, and at times even contradictory, solidarities and modes of belonging” (xviii), my emphasis.<sup>21</sup> That is to say that both figures, Mohammed and Charlemagne, became representations of the two sides in a dichotomy.

<sup>22</sup> I have already defined my use of this term, suffice then to say that I consider here those texts that take place in or are related to the Iberian Peninsula.

appears in literary texts dealing with the Iberian Peninsula as well as in the narratives of travelers to the Iberian kingdoms, which depict this region as totally Muslim.

*Fierabras* is perhaps the earliest romance or *chansons de geste*, dated between c.1190 and 1202 according to Marianne J. Ailes (“A Comparative” 93).<sup>23</sup> Already in its French verse version appears the term “turc”. The word is also present in several renditions of *Fierabras*. Jehan Bagnyon’s prose known as *L’Histoire de Charlemagne* (which appeared as a manuscript circa 1470) uses the terms “Saracen,” “Moor,” and “Turk” interchangeably.<sup>24</sup> Even in the Iberian Peninsula, where the presence of the Muslim Other was a constant since the eighth century, the *moros*, *sarracenos* and *turcos* (employed almost as synonyms) served as the Other in literature. Yet, it is not until early-sixteenth century that “Turk” becomes a prevalent term instead of the imaginary Saracen, the well-known Umayyad or Almoravid “invader” of the Iberian Peninsula (also known as a Moor or *moro*, in Spanish). This is when Nicolás de Piemonte’s translated *Fierabras*—titled in Castilian *Hystoria del emperador Carlo Magno y delos doze pares de Francia & dela cruda batalla que ouo Oliveros con Fierabras, Rey de Alexandria, hijo del grande almirante Balan*, hereafter *Historia del emperador*—. Through a comparative reading of several of versions of *Fierabras*, one can discern that Piemonte almost exclusively refers to the Other as “Turk.” Piemonte, in modifying the constant enemy of Christendom, is able to erase the newly formed Kingdom of Spain from the narrative. To support this textual modification, the Castilian translator has transferred the

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<sup>23</sup> For an extensive discussion on the dating of *Fierabras*, see Ailes, “A Comparative Study,” pages 61-93. Ailes has also published “The Date of the Chanson de Geste *Fierabras*” on this matter.

<sup>24</sup> This work is also known as *La conquete que fit le roy Charlemagne en Espagne avec les nobles prouesses des douze pairs de France et aussi celles de Fier à Bras* or *La roman de Fierabras*, as it was originally titled. Throughout my dissertation, I am using Keller’s edition to Jehan Bagnyon’s text.



plot to a different location. These two elements together serve as a response to the way that other European kingdoms exoticized—or Orientalized Spain—the Iberian kingdoms and their inhabitants.<sup>25</sup> In other words, in Piemonte's text the Other is no longer a Saracen nor indigenous to the Iberian Peninsula.

In this chapter, I propose that a close reading of Piemonte's textual departures from its hypotexts reveals that ethnic and religious difference are based on cultural practices, more than physical descriptions. The two main modifications around which I center my analysis are related to the Other. The first one, mentioned briefly, is the change of adjective to refer to the geographical belonging of the enemy. This departure reflects recent historical events that took place around the time Nicolás de Piemonte translated *Historia del emperador*, first printed in 1521. Furthermore, this shift also implies the erasure of any connection between the Iberian kingdoms and the religious enemy of Christendom which leads us to the second textual departure examined in this chapter. Most versions of *Fierabras* locate the narrative within the Iberian Peninsula. These renditions—together with other texts whose plots take place along or south of the Pyrenees—imply that the inhabitants of the region are pagan Saracens, or infidels. Instead, in *Historia del emperador* all events take place elsewhere: Balan's court is set in Southern France. Moreover, Spain is not mentioned in *Historia del emperador*. In sum, the pagan Other is not a Moor, who would be closely related to Iberia. The enemy of Charlemagne and his Peers in the Castilian translation of *Fierabras* originates from outside of Western Europe: the Ottoman Empire or Turkey. The relocation of the plot and

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<sup>25</sup> This orientalization is established through an imaginary close link between Iberia and the Islamic empires in the East. Barbara Fuchs refers to this phenomenon in her *Exotic Nation*.

the change of the Other's nationality illustrates what Barbara Fuchs has read elsewhere as the need to imagine this nascent nation as a "pure, contained space" which functions as a response to the orientalization of Spain by its "European rivals" (*Exotic Nation* 3). Whereas French and British travel and romance narratives dealing with the Iberian Peninsula have depicted "Spain" or "Espagne" as an exotic region inhabited by the Islamic Other, in Nicolás de Piemonte's version Spain has instead been totally erased from the text.

These textual erasures and modifications, in particular, and *Historia del emperador*, in general, have not received much scholarly attention. In most cases, Piemonte's version is considered only a translation of Jehan Bagnyon's work.<sup>26</sup> *Historia del emperador* is indeed a translation of Bagnyon's work, though not a "more or less literal" one as Hans-Erich Keller has claimed ("Un autre" 248). In his comparison of Piemonte's rendition to Jehan Bagnyon's text, Francisco Crosas does note that there are few variations in Libro Segundo, precisely the book that contains the story of Fierabras. Nevertheless, Crosas considers the "minor" differences between these texts as creating a "curiosa continuidad de materia entre el poema de finales del siglo XII y la novela de principios del XVI" [curious theme persistence between the late-twelfth century poem and the early-sixteenth century novel] (525). In his article, Crosas devotes only four pages to a comparison of the French verse *Fierabras*, Bagnyon and Piemonte's versions. The analysis of the differences is quite superficial, devoting most of the comparison to identifying the *amplificaciones* and *abbreviaciones* in sections that do not include the

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<sup>26</sup> Most scholars have only mentioned the Castilian prose version of *Fierabras* in their accounts of the dissemination of the *chanson de geste*. Among others, Krøber and Servois, Knott, Marc Le Person, de Mandach, and Keller have mentioned Nicolás de Piemonte's translation in their lists of manuscripts, early editions, and translations.

story of Fierabras, his sister and their father. The only element worth noting here is Crossas's acknowledgment that Piemonte frequently leaves out information that would strengthen the "French" character of Bagnyon's *L'Histoire de Charlemagne* (525). Otherwise, this scholar overlooks the geopolitical implications of Piemonte's adaptation.

On the other hand, several academic works about *Fierabras* (and some of its versions) mention the location of this narrative's plot. In most cases, it is a given that "Emperor Charlemagne is in Spain. We hear that the Saracens have sacked Rome and removed important Christian relics," as Marianne Ailes mentions ("Comparative" 4). Previously, as Gordon Knott states, "the original setting of the legend was Rome... [and later] was transferred to Spain" (167). Yet, Knott notes the possibility that *Espaigne* was "probably nothing more than the broader sense of *païenie*," meaning the land inhabited by pagans (Knott 168). It is this association that I find problematic: Spain is land of pagans in all these narratives. Furthermore, according to Heinrich Morf, "la chanson de *Fierabras* offre... le premier exemple" [offers the first example] of such association (quoted in Knott 193-4, n.4). In other words, *Fierabras* is perhaps the first *chanson de geste* or romance that portrays the Iberian Peninsula as a land of pagans.

None of the scholarly analysis about *Historia del emperador* has considered the textual departures dealing with geographical and religious belonging of the characters, and location of the plot. In "Aspectos ideológicos de la traducción y recepción de las historias caballerescas breves," Karla Luna Mariscal does not devote too much attention to *Historia del emperador*. Yet she does mention that during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries a number of non-Iberian works,

se traducirá[n] al castellano bajo otros presupuestos ideológicos (los del reinado de los Reyes Católicos y del emperador Carlos V) y bajo otras premisas literarias, determinadas en mayor medida por la aparición de la imprenta (“Aspectos” 130).

[would be translated to Castilian under other ideological premises (those of the kingdom of the Catholic Monarchs and of Emperor Charles V) and under different literary premises, determined largely by the emergence of the printing press].

Luna Mariscal notes that Piemonte’s translation was an “adaptación a otro contexto histórico, literario, editorial e ideológico” [adaptation to a different historical, literary, editorial, and ideological context] (“Aspectos” 152), but her study does not contemplate the actual adaptations and textual divergences from the hypotexts. Luna Mariscal only states the reasons for the adaptations, but does not address how the geographical and religious labels have been changed in *Historia del emperador*.

The only exception to this scholarly trend is Francisco Márquez Villanueva’s “El sondeable misterio de Nicolás de Piamonte.” In the most thorough reading of *Historia del emperador* so far, Márquez Villanueva notes the “manipulación moralizadora” [moralizing manipulation] (107) that Nicolás de Piamonte has effected in his translation. His work on this text is evidently seminal in the study of this Castilian adaptation of *Fierabras*, as Márquez Villanueva has read with some detail the divergences of Piemonte’s text and the other versions from the French original. According to that scholar, “las variantes introducidas en el libro español son o bien omisiones o bien desarrollos debidos al talante del traductor” [the diversions in the Spanish book are either omissions or developments due to a translator’s decision] (106) and do not come from a different textual source. In terms of geographical modifications, Márquez Villanueva notes the relocation to Spain of a legend “surgida en torno a cosas de Italia” [that arose

surrounding Italian issues] (107) and, in Piemonte's version, further towards the Orient, which leads Márquez Villanueva to consider Piemonte's adaptations the result of his "afán de librar a sus compatriotas de parentescos nada halagüeños" [intention to free his compatriots of unflattering relationships] (107). This chapter builds on Márquez Villanueva's work to further our understanding of collective identity in a nascent nation: the Spain imagined by the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile.

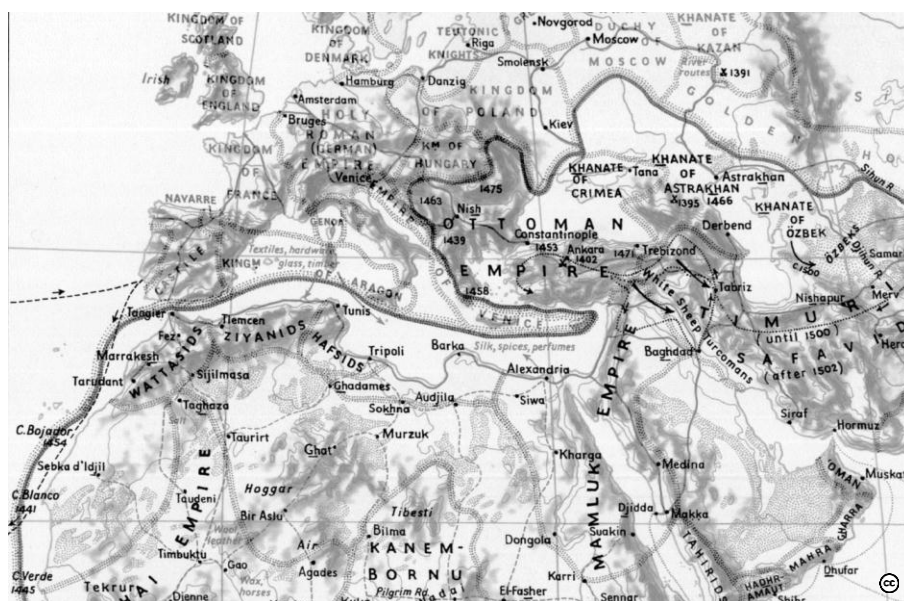
In other words, this chapter is the first attempt to examine these narrative elements in Nicolás de Piemonte's text. In a first section, I offer a historical contextualization of the geopolitical changes that had reshaped the powers around the Mediterranean. Next, I discuss the different labels used in the diverse versions of *Fierabras* here studied: Moor, Saracen, and Turk. In that second section, I show that Piemonte emphasizes on cultural practices to differentiate the Christians and the non-Christians, particularly in terms of diet, weaponry, and clothing. Finally, in the last section I turn to the relocation of the plot and the political importance of this authorial claim. I propose that the authorial intention in the textual changes related to location and belonging, as in other moments where Nicolás de Piemonte modified his source, is to cleanse the image of Spain as a new European power, as well as to render this space as free of *moriscos* and *conversos* as well.<sup>27</sup> As demonstrated in *Historia del emperador*, geographical belonging and creed are essential in the formation of collective identity and nascent national consciousness.

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<sup>27</sup> This matter is examined in Chapter 3 of my dissertation, where I discuss conversion as central to identity formation.

## Contextualizing the players: Historical changes around the Mediterranean

*Historia del emperador* was translated during a period when Western European Christian kingdoms strove to expand, leading to the conquest of territories in southern Africa and beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Partially justified by those in power as the desire to defeat Islam and to propagate Christianity, several conditions helped rekindle a sense of urgency regarding the elimination of a religious Other in the Western Mediterranean, the Iberian Peninsula, and the Eastern Mediterranean (where the Ottoman Empire and the Mamluk Sultanate dominated) (**Figure 1**). Also, because the mercantile routes in the Mediterranean Sea were hampered by pirates and corsairs, and monopolized by Genoa and Venice, Western European powers attempted to gain control of the area. Furthermore, these efforts to reduce the influence of Islam in the Mediterranean basin and increase the control of commerce had as a backdrop the millenarian ideas contemporary



**Figure 1.** Map of North Africa and Europe circa 1500. (Source: William C. Brice, *An Historical Atlas of Islam*. Permission of use granted by the editor).

to that period that were prevalent because of the approach of the end of the century.<sup>28</sup>

Yet, it is important to keep in mind that these ideas were used as political propaganda by several Western European monarchs, always as justification for armed advances against Islam.

When Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile married in 1469, Spain became an “unidad ‘regia’, no una nación objetivamente unida” [‘regal’ unit, not an objectively united nation] (Castro 28). Each monarch had different geopolitical approaches.<sup>29</sup>

Isabella’s interests were directed to the Atlantic Ocean, particularly in relation to Portugal and the British Isles, and later towards the Americas.<sup>30</sup> Castile and France had a history of alliances, at least since the fourteenth century, established after the Spanish phase of the Hundred Years War (ending in 1389). In contrast, Ferdinand’s position appeared to embrace the “traditional Catalan-Aragonese aims in the Mediterranean” while using the crusading spirit to justify these actions (Meyerson, “Religious” 98). A possible approach to understanding the Catholic Monarchs’ (and particularly the king’s) policies regarding other states requires considering the perceived goals behind the conflicts with these other kingdoms. Instead of viewing Ferdinand’s foreign affairs as solely motivated by the desire to engage in a crusade to impose Christianity on the infidel, as José Doussinage proposes in his *La política internacional de Fernando el Católico*, another perspective can be espoused: The conflicts among the European kingdoms can be considered part of a

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<sup>28</sup> While millenarianism is key to understanding the period when *Historia del emperador* was printed, the connection of this text with millenarian propaganda is further examined in Chapter 4 of this study.

<sup>29</sup> Another important difference between Castile and Aragon was the attitude about religious minorities. As Mark Meyerson comments, in Aragon “the habits of Mediterranean frontier life” were vital and were marked by the acceptance of minorities, promoting commerce with the Maghrib and beyond (“War” 103).

<sup>30</sup> Castile’s actions in North Africa, particularly after 1492, were centered on the Atlantic coast. According to the Treaty of Tordecillas, signed in June 1494, the area under Castile’s jurisdiction (and unavailable to Portugal) spanned from Gibraltar to Cape Bojador, including the Canary Islands.

struggle for control of the Mediterranean Sea, where these powers were sometimes on one side but often on the other. And if the Mediterranean meant a complex network of commerce, it also implied the route to Jerusalem.<sup>31</sup>

The European monarchs' struggle in relation to the Mediterranean included several sites of contention. One of these was the southern region of the Italian Peninsula, which was not new by any means. The conflict in the Italian Peninsula, foreshadowed by the War of the Sicilian Vespers in the thirteenth century, began in 1494 when "Carlos VIII de Francia, ganado por la codicia de apoderarse del Reino de Nápoles, penetra en Italia al frente de un poderoso ejército, y *sin tener pretexto alguno*, ni aun buscarlo, diciendo que iba de paso a atacar al Gran Turco" [Charles VIII of France, coveting the Kingdom of Naples, entered in Italy with a powerful army *without any real pretext*, claiming they were on their way to attack the 'Great Turk'] according to José María Doussinague (20, my emphasis). This emphasis on a lack of pretext to enter the Italian Peninsula serves Doussinague to justify King Ferdinand's armed response to the French, as this Spanish diplomat was validating the image of the Catholic King as builder of a pure Spain, cleansed of all Semitic individuals. Yet, history shows that also the French monarch claimed to be interested in defeating Islam in general and the Ottoman Empire in particular, though the Valois king also coveted Sicily for its position in the Mediterranean. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies, as Alain Mihou notes, represented a fundamental part in the more concrete arena of Mediterranean economy and politics (*Colón* 332). Therefore, the clash between the kingdoms of Aragon and France in the

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<sup>31</sup> For a detailed overview of the relation of medieval trade and Crusades, see Robert S. Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South." In his collaboration to the collection on trade and industry in the Middle Ages, Lopez underlines the Crusading efforts in connection to commercial relationships with Constantinople and the Muslim Levant (310-312).



fifteenth century can partially be attributed to the perceived need of these monarchs to control the western Mediterranean in economic rather than doctrinal terms.

Besides their interest in Southern Italy, the European monarchs had confrontations in the Islamic regions of North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean. These Islamic regions, as apparent in **Figure 1** above, were under the influence of the Ottoman and Mamluk empires. Furthermore, the Ottoman Empire sometimes served as the enemy for all Christian states, but at other times was as an ally to some of them (particularly to France during King Francis I's reign [1515-1547]). Yet, in all cases, Islam in general was the explicit culprit according to a number of Western European monarchs. This idea is particularly evident in the French and Aragonese attitudes towards each other and in relation to Islam. According to Esprit Fléchier's *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, quoting from Jerónimo Zurita's *Los cinco libros postreros de la historia del rey don Hernando el catholico* (1580), Louis XII king of France said, "je suis le Maure et le Sarrasin contre lequel on arme en Espagne" [I am the Moor and the Saracen against whom Spain is arming itself] (347; the second epigraph to the chapter). Zurita actually explains that Louis XII did not want to reach an agreement with Pope Julius II in 1511, using the excuse that, "eran mayores los aparejos que se hazian por el Rey [Fernando], con voz de la guerra de Africa, recelaua que era con fin de acudir mejor à las cosas de Italia, por oponerse contra el con todas sus fuerzas; y entonces fue quando dixo, que *el era el Sarracin, contra quien se ponía en orden la armada de España*" [King Ferdinand was getting prepared supposedly to battle in Africa, but he [Louis XII] suspected the real aim was to fight in Italy, to oppose him with all his power. It is then that Louis XII said that *he was the Saracen against whom all the Spanish army was getting ready*] (246, my

emphasis). In other words, both monarchs used the crusading spirit to obtain papal benefits and to establish a stronger position in the eastern Mediterranean.

On the other hand, after the fall of Granada (1492) and the rebellion in the Albaicín of Granada (1499-1501), the fear of an invasion from the northern coast of Africa and the Ottoman Empire was more prevalent in the court of Isabella and Ferdinand. Even before the Fall of Granada in 1492, the Muslims of Granada had three potential allies in the Islamic world: the Ottoman Turks, the Mamluks of Egypt, and the Maghrebi Muslims inhabiting northwestern Africa. In Leonard P. Harvey's words, "after the capture of Constantinople in 1453, the leading Islamic state, was the Ottoman Empire" (*Muslims* 333). The relationship between Granadan Muslims and the Mamluks of Egypt was "more firmly established," but the nearest of all were the Muslims in the Maghreb (Harvey, *Muslims* 333). Nevertheless, in the Maghreb area we know today as Tunisia the Hafsids were militarily weak; in today's Morocco, also part of the same general region, the Marinites had long since collapsed and it was not until the sixteenth century that the Sa'adids emerged (Harvey, op cit. 333). The most threatening of these three Islamic powers—Ottomans, Mamluks, and Maghrebi—were the Turk, as European nascent nations called the Ottoman Empire since the late Middle Ages. Iberian fears that the Turk would support the kingdom of Granada were already present when Otranto was captured in 1480. And these fears were furthered in 1487, when Ferdinand received information "that the Mudejars had dispatched two envoys to 'the Turk', Bayezit II, to inform him of Spain's war against Granada and to request support for the [Iberian] Naşrids before all was lost" (Meyerson, "War" 105).

The Ottomans, however, were not yet able at this early stage to send troops to Iberia because, as historian Mark Meyerson has pointed out, Bayezit II (1481-1512) had “his hands full in the east and in Egypt” (“War” 105). The Mamluks were in constant war against the Ottomans from 1485 to 1491. But the Naşrids were not the only power looking to form an alliance with the Mamluk sultanate in Egypt. In 1488, when an Ottoman naval army attacked Malta, the Catholic Monarchs also tried to reach an agreement with the Mamluks. In other words, the geopolitical power relations around the Mediterranean from the mid-fifteenth to the early-sixteenth centuries were complex. The diverse powers—French, Aragonese, Castilian and Leonese, Venetian, Genoese, Sicilian, Ottoman, and Mamluk, to name just a few—frequently changed their alliances. It is this reality that we can see reflected in the textual departures made by Nicolás de Piemonte when translating Jehan Bagnyon’s *L’Histoire de Charlemagne* to Castilian.

### **The Moor, the Saracen, and the Turk: Are the Times a-changing?**

Marianne Ailes notes that in *Fierabras* Balan’s army is composed by “sarrasins,” “paiens,” “turcs,” “persans,” “barbarins,” among others (“Réception” 185). In Bagnyon’s version the terms are “sarrazin,” “mescreans” or “payen,” which are used almost interchangeably. Nicolás de Piemonte almost exclusively uses “turco,” and much less frequently “pagano” or “moro,” instead of “sarraceno.”<sup>32</sup> An important difference between the Castilian and other versions of *Fierabras* has to do with who is the Other, because the power dynamics among the Muslim peoples, and between these and

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<sup>32</sup> In few instances the term used in *Historia del emperador* is “infiel” (for example, fol. 10ra) to translate “mescreans” from Bagnyon’s version.

Christendom, had changed. In this section I deal with Piemonte's textual departure from its hypotext, which makes explicit the political environment in late medieval Iberia mentioned in the previous section. Both Bagnyon's version and the French verse blur the identity of the religious Other. This Other is simultaneously pagan and infidel, polytheistic and Muslim, Turk and Saracen.

Unlike these versions, the Castilian translation is somewhat more accurate in the representation of the Other, more in tune with the power struggles around the Mediterranean Sea. For example, Richart de Normandie explains that Fierabras "est *Sarrazins* de si grant fierté" [is a *Saracen* of such great pride] (Bagnyon 30, my emphasis). Instead, Nicolás de Piemonte establishes that Fierabras "es el mas feroz hombre de todo el mundo" [is the fiercest man in the entire world] (fol. 7ra). The Castilian translator removes the label that was common in medieval literature in relation to the Islamic Other (Saracen). The choice of adjectives to designate geographical belonging and religious identity in Piemonte's version of *Fierabras* implies, on the one hand, a keen attention to events contemporary to the translator of the text; and on the other, the intention to respond to the exoticization effected through the texts that comprise the "matter of Spain." This section presents, first, a consideration of the labels used in these texts in reference to the Other, both in a geographical sense and in a religious one. A reading of the textual instances where the *Historia del emperador* associates the characters and their mores with Turkey (that is, the Ottoman Empire) will follow, which exemplifies how late medieval and early modern identity—both of the Self and the Other—is based on diet, clothing, and other cultural practices.

Bagnyon frequently uses “Sarrazins” to refer to the enemies of Charlemagne, and even mentions that the instruments in the court in Aigremoyre are “sarrazinois” (69, 154). In the Middle Ages, according to Norman Daniel, “Saracen” was used to mean “Arab” and/or “Muslim”, and it gave place to “Turk” with the rise of the Ottomans. Before that, Daniel notes, “Turk” was interchangeable with “Saracen” or “Persian” as becomes evident in *Fierabras* (8-9). Nevill Barbour explains that the term “Saracen” “was universally used during the Middle Ages” to describe Muslims and the representatives of a non-Christian civilization (254).<sup>33</sup> The “Saracen” as ideological construction was imagined as foreign, though there are plenty of examples where this particular Other is not that unfamiliar. The courts of Frederick II (1194-1205) in Sicily and Alfonso X (1221-1284) in Castile are two locations where people from different religious backgrounds were in contact, thus in these cases, the “Saracen” would not be a foreigner.

Nevertheless, in his Introduction to a volume on the concept of the foreigner in the Middle Ages, Albrecht Classen reminds us that the representation of the Muslim was pervasive in crusade chronicles and other texts, which “enabled Western Christians to define themselves in religio-ethnic terms” (xlix). Most scholars, and Classen among them, have referred to the Saracen in relation to Europe, particularly to England or France.<sup>34</sup> Yet, some scholarship has also been done in terms of the Saracen and Iberia, as is the case of Josiah Blackmore. Blackmore mentions that “in the case of Iberia, *the Moor*

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<sup>33</sup> As early as the eighth century, Bede utilized “Saracen” to label the adversaries in the Battle of Poitiers. Furthermore, “Saracene” was used earlier by Ptolemy, in the second century BCE, to name a territory between Petra and Egypt (Barbour 254).

<sup>34</sup> See, among others, David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, eds. *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999. Print; Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984. Print; and Dorothee Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977. Print.

*was sometimes but not always a Saracen* and was both a figure of alterity and of familiarity and sameness, less an aprioristic other and more of a figure that could be variously othered as a marker of boundaries including ‘race,’ spirituality and sexuality” (27, my emphasis). An early example of the use of such term in the Iberian Peninsula is *the Chronicle of Nájera*, a twelfth century work from the kingdom of Leon. In this work, though the chronicler arbitrarily uses various terms in reference to Muslims, *Sarraceni* is generally used to describe the “citizens of Islamic states and representatives of Islamic civilization” (Barbour 257). That is to say that “Saracen” was a term somewhat common in Iberia. Yet, noticeably, Nicolás de Piemonte does not use this term at all in his *Historia del emperador*.

One of the terms found in the Castilian version of *Fierabras* is “moro.” For instance, Fierabras claims that he is a “convertido moro” [converted Moor] (fol. 13vb) though Charlemagne in the same text identifies him as “turco” (fol. 7ra). These identities seem to overlap; however the terms refer to two different concepts. “Turco” signals he who comes from Turkey, thus this adjective is related not to a religious identity but a geographical one; the term “moro” is related both to a geographical location and a religious identity. “Moro” refers to a geographical location because, originally, it was used to indicate a Mauritanian or North African Berber, as mentioned in one of the earliest dictionaries in Castilian, Sebastián de Covarrubias’s *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (fol. 556 ra).<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, Barbour comments that Latin writers used the term *Mauri*—the Latin word for the Castilian “moro”—to convey geographical belonging as it implied “all North Africa [and] also the whole African continent as far as the

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<sup>35</sup> “Moro, Lat. maurus, dicho assi de la prouincia de Mauritania. Prouerbio, A moro muerto gran lançada.”

Equator” (255). But the term, as Barbour notes, also connoted a religious identity, as it “became a general term for Muslim” (258).<sup>36</sup> In his definition of “moriscos,” Covarrubias also explains that these are “los convertidos de *moros* a la fe catolica” [the converts from *Moors* to the Catholic faith] (fol. 556 ra, my emphasis). Thus, “moriscos” are new Christians who were previously Muslims, that is, “moros.”<sup>37</sup> This textual evidence either means that in early sources all the inhabitants of Mauritania were deemed Muslims or that “moro” implies a religious belief besides being an adjective of geographical belonging. According to Barbour, a possible explanation to the differing meaning of the word “moro” is that “as the reconquest advanced and the Muslims progressively disappeared from Spain... the original North African connotation reappeared” (264). Nevertheless, from what is shown in *Historia del emperador*, as a text translated into Castilian soon after the end of the Reconquista, “moro” is no longer the inhabitant of Mauritania but is rather a Muslim. The geographical connotation in the term is lost, whereas the religious one is maintained.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> A very important example in Iberian literature where “moro” means Muslim is the *Cantar del mio Cid*, the thirteenth-century Castilian epic poem. Harvey notes that “we may take [this text] as the articulation of the ideas current when it was created in the twelfth century” (292), yet he contends that in this early text the term “moro” has also the sense of geographical belonging (2).

<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, “Ramadan” in the same source is the “ayuno de los *moros*” [fasting of *Moors*] (Covarrubias, Second section fol. 2 rb, my emphasis).

<sup>38</sup> One of the few exceptions in Piemonte’s text, where the religious and the geographical identities are connected and the term “moro” is used, takes place when mentioning Rapin, a “rey *moro* / que viniera de allende” [*Moor* king who came from beyond] (fol. 22ra, my emphasis) to help Balan. In this context “allende” is referring to beyond the Strait of Gibraltar, meaning North Africa. Though *Historia del emperador* does not explicitly mention where Rapin comes from, the connection between “moro” and “allende” gestures toward the fears felt in the Iberian Peninsula that the Granadan Muslims, after the fall of Granada and their forced conversions to Christianity, would receive help from North African Muslims and Ottoman Turks to take over the peninsula again.

Another textual instance where the terms “moro” and “allende” are used and explained is *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, where Andrés Bernáldez mentions that in February 1511, when King Ferdinand arrived to Seville, he ordered “apregonar guerras con los moros de allende, que son en la tierra de Africa” [to proclaim war against the Moors of *allende*, that is those from the lands of Africa] (571).

In his translation, Nicolás de Piemonte never uses the term “sarraceno” and very seldom “moro;” instead the most common term to refer to the Other is “turco.” Evidently, “turco” in most cases does not imply a religious identity, but rather geographical belonging. “Turco” is the inhabitant of Turkey, and in Iberia the term was commonly used to refer to the Ottomans in general. In itself, Turk does not imply a belief, or specific ritual practices. However, there is a textual instance in *Historia del emperador* where “turco” is clearly referring to belief. When Fierabras requests that Carlo Magno send a messenger to Balan to accept salvation through conversion, he does so addressing the duty owed a father by his son, “avn que mi padre es *turco* et yo *cristiano*” [though my father is a *Turk* and I am *Christian*] (fol. 32va, my emphasis). Christian and Turk are paired expressions in this instance, meaning that Turk here is a religious identity; this scene is very different in Jehan Bagnyon’s version. In the French prose, it is Charlemagne who proposes to send a messenger to try to convince Baland to become Christian—there is no mention of their identity, religious or otherwise.<sup>39</sup> Neither is there any mention of the filial duty of Fierabras, which becomes very important in Piemonte’s version. This scene is an exception in the use of the term “turco” with a religious implication; the other instances where this label appears are not clearly referring to belief. In other words, in most cases, “turco” is just a reference to geographical belonging that includes other markers commonly used to establish differences among diverse identities.

*Historia del emperador* states the provenance of Balan and his kin very explicitly, in ways more specific than *L’Histoire de Charlemagne*. Whereas in Bagnyon’s text

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<sup>39</sup> I am keeping the names of the characters as used in each version. Though seems confusing at first, this helps to show with more clarity the comparison between texts.



Fierabras says that he has heard about Charlemagne “en maintz país” [in my country] (41), Piemonte’s text explains that Fierabras has heard about Charlemagne and his Peers in “las partes de [T]urquia” [Turkish lands] (fol. 8va). It is evident that the Castilian version is replacing a vague reference to Fierabras’ place of origin or belonging with a very specific location, Turkey. Furthermore, Fierabras tells Oliveros that Roldan’s spear and sword were “en toda Turquia temida[s]” [feared in all of Turkey] (fol. 23rb). Though most evident mentions of Turkey as place of provenance are related to Fierabras, there is also a deliberate reference to geographical belonging in relation to Floripes who, according to Fierabras in Bagnyon’s version, is “l’une des belles de mere nee” [one of the most beautiful women born of a mother] (57). In *Historia del emperador*, Fierabras describes his sister as “la mas fermosa dama que en toda Turquia se halla” [the most beautiful lady found in Turkey] (fol. 12ra). While replacing the lack of specificity in Bagnyon’s version with a very clear reference to Turkey, this departure from the source text might also be related to other textual adaptations that Piemonte effected in reference to Floripes’s physical presence.<sup>40</sup> In other words, Floripes in *Historia del emperador* is evidently identified as a Turkish lady. Also identified as Turk in the Castilian version, Fierabras’ father, Balan is “Almirante de Turquia” (fol. 6va) instead of being the Sultan of Babylon (as in *The Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babylone and of Ferumbras his Sone who Conquered Rome*<sup>41</sup>) or Emir of Spain (in most versions of *Fierabras*). These examples not only demonstrate that Nicolás de Piemonte is specifying clearly where

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<sup>40</sup> It is quite obvious that Piemonte avoids describing this character’s body as happens in most versions. Floripas’s body is described twice in most versions, in her initial description and at the baptismal font. Suzanne Conklin Akbari comments that “Bagnyon amplifies this account even more” to the extent that the princess’s beauty satisfies even hunger (177). The scene at the baptismal font becomes a spectacle in Bagnyon. Piemonte instead eliminates almost totally the scene at the baptismal font.

<sup>41</sup> Hereafter, I refer to this text as *Sowdone*. I am quoting from Hausknecht’s edition.

Fierabras, Floripes, and their father are from, but they also indirectly address the historical and political environment surrounding the moment when *Historia del emperador* was first printed: the rise of the Ottoman Empire, or as it was called in late medieval Castile, “el Turco.”

If Piemonte had followed verbatim Bagnyon’s prose version of *Fierabras*, Balan and his descendants would have been related globally to Islam. Because Granada had fallen to King Ferdinand’s army in 1492 and *moros* in Castile and Leon had been forced to convert (in 1501), the enemy to Charlemagne and his paladins could no longer be a vaguely defined pagan or Moor. Piemonte was well aware that the Muslim threat came from elsewhere—Turkey—and had very specific mores that he strove to include in his translation of this text. Therefore, besides clearly identifying the location where Balan and his offspring come from, Nicolás de Piemonte made sure to include in his text references to detailed mores of the Turks. Food, weapons, and clothing appear mentioned in the Castilian text among the elements related to these very specific religious Other.

Notably, the identity of a community is established through these cultural markers, as well as language and ritual behavior.<sup>42</sup> In a discussion about nationality, ethnicity and race, Robert Bartlett states that “while the language of race—gens, natio, ‘blood’, ‘stock’, etc.—is biological, its medieval reality was almost entirely cultural” (197). This does not imply, as Lisa Lampert has skillfully demonstrated in her “Race, Periodicity, and the (Neo-) Middle Ages,” that religious differences can also be represented as somatic. Using two medieval instances, *King of Tars* and *Parzival*,

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<sup>42</sup> In Chapter 2, “Sheep in Wolf’s Skin,” I address the issues of misreading identity because of disguise, where I also mention that identity in medieval times, just as today, is defined through elements such as customs, ritual, law, language, ethnicity, or religion.

Lampert provides examples where black and white become shorthand for heathen/Muslim and Christian identities, thus skin color becomes a “protoracial” representation. Yet, unlike the Middle English version known as *Sowdone*, in *Historia del emperador* skin color is not a marker of identity.<sup>43</sup> What prevails as distinctive markers of geographical and religious belonging are the cultural elements that Bartlett has pointed out in reference to conceptualizing race and ethnicity in the Middle Ages, like “dress, domestic rituals, dietary habits, hair-styles and a host of other habitual practices” (197-8). We can advance a conclusion in regards to a biological vis-à-vis a cultural component to racial difference. In Nicolás de Piemonte’s adaptation, the textual references to diet, weapons, and clothing show an authorial awareness about social practices that pertain to cultural belonging, which eventually imply ethnic difference.

First, when the Christian knights make a *sortie* to bring back victuals to endure the siege they carry into the tower “muchos guisados a uso de Turquia” [many Turkish-style foods] (fol. 23ra). Beyond mentioning some cooked and roasted meats,<sup>44</sup> the text does not explain what Turkish-style means. In Piemonte’s version this seems a detail that adds verisimilitude to the text. In contrast, in *Sowdone* food is used to exoticize Laban and his people as the text explicitly mentions “Serpentes in oyle were fryed” (l. 687), or that Laban and his men “dronke beestes bloode” (l. 684), and later that Laban “made hem drinke wilde beestes bloode, / Of tigre, antilope and of camalyon” (ll. 1007-8). The Saracens in the Middle English version of *Fierabras* are exotic because of their diet and

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<sup>43</sup> It is worth noting that in *Sowdone*, skin color is an important element of differentiation. The Saracens are described physically as “Some bloo, some yolowe, some blake as More, / Some horrible and stronge as devel of helle” (ll. 1005-6). Also, these enemies of Charlemagne pray to a pantheon of gods, which has been discussed in length by Norman Daniel in *Heroes and Saracens*.

<sup>44</sup> “Viandas cochas et asadas” (fol. 23ra).

ritual practices. The example of food mentioned in *Historia del emperador* does not exoticize Balan and his men; it only serves as a reminder to the reader (or listener) that different cultures might have different diets. Nicolás de Piemonte makes sure to emphasize the “nationality” of the people surrounding the tower through their victuals.

Second, in *Historia del emperador* certain weapons are other cultural markers related to Turkey. The first instance is the weapon used to kill the giantess Amiote. Carlomagno is ready to fight against Amiote with his sword, but Fierabras dissuades him and orders some pawns to attack her with their “hondas al modo de Turquía” [slings in Turkish fashion] (fol. 30va); since they are unsuccessful in killing her however, Fierabras grabs one of the slings and tears off her right arm. This means that the pawns not only carry slings with them, but that Fierabras himself knows how to use them. However, it is important to note that slings were used at least since the Roman army.<sup>45</sup> According to Ada Bruhn, during the Middle Ages slings were common weapons in Castile, Extremadura, and to some extent in Andalucía (30, 213). Slings were even traditional in Ireland, as David Nicolle has demonstrated (376). This means that these weapons were not exclusive to one culture, and particularly not to the Ottoman Empire. The important point, however, is that Piemonte emphasizes that slings are used in Turkey. Jehan Bagnyon instead mentions that Charlemagne himself uses an “arbalestre” [crossbow] (152) to kill the giantess, which was a common weapon during the Middle Ages but

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<sup>45</sup> Another consideration about the slings is the biblical reference to David and Goliath, marking Fierabras as a representation of David. Nevertheless, we should remember that *Fierabras*, in most versions, starts with the eponymous hero depicted as a giant who reaches Charlemagne’s camp and challenges any of the Peers to battle against him in a single combat. Thus, the opening scene in the *chanson de geste* is also clearly based on the story of David and Goliath.

seems to have originated among Franks and Normans.<sup>46</sup> These textual references confirm that objects such as weapons served to identify an individual or a group according to their geographical and cultural belonging.

Something similar occurs in relation to the weapons brandished by Richarte de Normandia.<sup>47</sup> In *Historia del emperador*, as Richarte approaches Charlemagne's camp riding the horse of Clarion—a Saracen king—and wearing the shield and arms that Floripes provided him, he is taken to be an ambassador on Balan's behalf. Instead, the other versions of this text only mention the hesitation caused by Richard's arrival due to the direction he is coming from. In this segment, Nicolás de Piemonte does not emphasize the specific origin of the weapons Richarte is displaying, though it is evident that horse and arms are seen as important markers of identity. These examples demonstrate that the Castilian rendition mentions directly that Balan, Fierabras, and Floripes come from Turkey; furthermore, the text also constantly reminds the reader (or audience) that these characters eat certain types of food and use particular weapons specific to a culture outside of Western Europe.

The third cultural marker of belonging referring to Balan and his kin is sartorial. In *Historia del emperador* Floripes's clothes are described in detail, in a similar manner as in other versions of *Fierabras*. Jehan Bagnyon mentions that she “vestue d'une robe de purpre merueilleusement riche, pointee d'estoilles de fin or, la quelle fut faitte d'une faye” [was wearing a dress of purple marvelously rich, adorned with stars of fine gold,

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<sup>46</sup> Arbalest (arbaleste, arbalestre or arblaste) is a crossbow that was used by the French and Anglo-Normans, according to Nicolle (584). Yet, crossbows were also common among Turkish prisoners converted to Christianity in Byzantium (Nicolle 30), as well as among Syrian troops (Nicolle 158), Fatimids in Egypt (Nicolle 195), and Andalusians in the Maghreb (Nicolle 229), which implies a widespread use of crossbows during the Middle Ages.

<sup>47</sup> This instance is further examined in Chapter 2 of my dissertation, in terms of “ethnic passing.”

which was done by a fairy] (74). Piemonte translates this as “Traya vestido vn brial de purpura bordado de letras *moriscas* de oro: el qual fiziera vna fada” [was wearing a dress of purple embroidered with *Moorish* golden letters, that a fairy had done] (fol. 14va, my emphasis). While both versions seem very similar, the idea of adding “*Moorish* letters” instead of “stars” shows that Piemonte sartorially marks Floripes as Muslim.<sup>48</sup>

Furthermore, the Castilian translator adds that Floripes wears on top an “abito a la *turquesa* abierto por los lados todo bordado de pedreria de inestimable valor: y fue fecho en la ysla de Colcos” [*Turkish-style* robe open on the sides all embroidered with gems of incalculable value, that had been made on the island of Colcos] (fol. 14va).<sup>49</sup> In the French prose version, Floripes only “purtoit ung mantel qui avoit esté fait en l’isle de Colcos” [bore a mantle that had been made on the island of Colcos] (74). It is only in Piemonte’s version that Floripes is sartorially marked, either with Moorish or Arabic letters, or with a Turkish-style cloak. Therefore, it is very clear that in *Historia del emperador* the translator is associating Balan, Floripes, and Fierabras to Turkey as their homeland and domain, and depicting their customs and mores as Turkish.

These textual modifications—alimentary, sartorial, and armorial elements—are evidently due to the geopolitical changes around the Mediterranean Sea in relation to the Islamic powers. First of all, Nicolás de Piemonte was translating *Historia del emperador* sometime between 1475 and 1521. By then, while the Islamic inhabitants had not been totally expelled from the Iberian Peninsula, they had been forced to become Christians if

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<sup>48</sup> In Chapter 2, I further analyze the scene where Floripes gives Oliveros nice clothing embroidered with Moorish letters, taken from the Qur’an. Suffice here to mention that this kind of clothing with ‘Moorish trimmings’ was fashionable before and during this period.

<sup>49</sup> Though referred to as an island in *Fierabras* and other medieval texts, as John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, Colchis (Colcos) is part of today’s Western Georgia, on the eastern side of the Black Sea. Most likely, the first appearance of this location is Apollonius’ *Argonautica* and is related to the Golden Fleece.

they wanted to remain in the kingdoms of Leon and Castile. Thus, officially the religious Other was no longer present in these two kingdoms, though in fact many *moros* rejected conversion or kept their rituals behind closed doors. This is why the most prevalent label for the religious Other in *Historia del emperador* is not the Moor as an insider, as this identity is no longer supposed to be present in Castile and Leon. Secondly, the Muslims inhabiting the western area of North Africa—the Maghreb, where *moros* came from—did not represent a major threat on their own because there was no centralized power: there were urbanized regions with ruling dynasties but there were also independent tribes who had a “cohesiveness of their own social structures, [which] inhibited the formation of great states” (Hess 47). This is shown through the limited interest of King Ferdinand in western North Africa. This region did not represent a new source of income, as it already had commercial links to Aragon and Catalonia. Furthermore, in terms of imperial expansion, Ferdinand “atribuía una importancia mayor a las cuestiones pirenaicas y a las guerras de Italia” [attributed a larger importance to the Pyrenean affairs and the wars in Italy] (García Arenal 59). Thus, the king supported “una política de ocupación limitada del litoral” [a policy of limited occupation of the littoral] just to protect the Iberian Peninsula (García Arenal 57). Therefore, the threat was hardly the *moro* in the sense of the inhabitant of the Maghreb; this is shown in the choice of labels in *Historia del emperador*. Thirdly, the Catholic Monarchs did not consider the Mamluk Empire in the eastern region of North Africa to be a menace. This is evident, for instance, when Ferdinand and Isabella attempted to establish an alliance with the Mamluks after the Ottomans attacked Malta in 1488; especially considering that these two Muslim empires were waging a war between 1485 and 1491. The enemy in Nicolás de Piemonte does not

come from al-Andalus, Babylon, or Alexandria, but from Turkey. The Ottomans became an important threat to Europe after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and to the Iberian kingdoms in particular after the fall of Otranto in 1480. If in Bagnyon's version the Turk was just one among a diversity of peoples against whom Charlemagne and his peers had to oppose, this is not the case according to Piemonte's text. The western expansion of the Ottoman Empire permitted the displacement of the legendary Saracen from the Iberian imaginary, associating the religious and cultural Other with the threat of an Ottoman invasion of European territory.

### **Spain? This is not Spain!: Displacing Otherness**

Frequently *Fierabras* has been considered a text about the clash between the Christian French and the Iberian Saracens. This scholarly consideration is based on the fact that the text itself mentions that Balan is related to Spain. In some of the versions from the British Isles, such as *Sowdone*, Laban is the “worthy Sowdon, / That of alle Spayn is lorde and sire” (ll. 2163-4) or just the “lorde of Spayne” (l. 1788). Furthermore, this late-fourteenth century Middle English version claims that Laban's territory is the “realme of hethen Spayne” (l. 1531). Jehan Bagnyon's prosification of *Fierabras* also establishes, in the first part of the second book, that Baland is “l'admiral d'Espaigne” (29, 72, 81, 91, and 108). In *L'Histoire de Charlemagne*, we also read that Clarion—nephew of Baland—was the most acclaimed “Sarrazin” in “tout Espaigne” [all of Spain] (107). And “Espaigne” evidently is a desirable possession, as Richart de Normandie intends “conquester le païs d'Espaigne” [to conquer the country of Spain] (Bagnyon 141). Thus,



at least in these versions, the enemies of Charlemagne and his paladins are the Iberian Saracens or heathens.

A number of studies on *Fierabras* dealing with issues of “national” origin of the text reiterate the idea that the Iberian Peninsula was almost intrinsically connected with North Africa and Islam. This scholarly stance reflects the infamous dictum, “l’Afrique commence aux Pyrénées” [Africa begins at the Pyrenees].<sup>50</sup> André de Mandach’s *La Geste de Fierabras: le jeu du réel et de l’invraisemblable* represents the scholarly current that focuses on textual elements to locate particular places and names in the Iberian Peninsula. Addressing Claude Fauriel’s claim that *Fierabras* originated in Portugal, de Mandach devotes a whole chapter of his book to trace certain towns and castles through their “etymologies” and possible linguistic developments. Aigremore or Agremore (Aguas Muertas in *Historia del emperador*), according to de Mandach’s apparently forced conclusion, ends up being situated either in Portugal, Galicia, or Alconetar (Cáceres, Spain). The latter location is due to the naming of the remnants of a tower near the river Tagus (*Tajo*, in Castilian) by the inhabitants of the area as “Torre de Floripes.” The insistence on locating this story of conquest and conversion in the Iberian Peninsula only perpetuates the description of Spain as foreign to “European-ness.”

De Mandach does not mention that his source, Pascual Madoz’s *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España*, clearly explains that this tower was built after 1232 (461), which is a later date than when *Fierabras* was put into manuscript.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, the name of the tower is not associated to the text until much later.

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<sup>50</sup> According to Jorge Uria, this phrase was coined either by Alexandre Dumas, who denied its paternity, or historians Adolphe Thiers and Dominique Dufour Pradt (4 n. 4).

<sup>51</sup> As mentioned above, Ailes dates *Fierabras* between 1190 and 1202 (“Date” 267).

Francisco Márquez Villanueva implies this when referring to the tower in Alconetar, as it was popular fantasy that identified “la puente de Mantible y la torre de Floripés... [con] los monumentales restos romanos que cruzan el Tajo” [the bridge of Mantible and the tower of Floripes with the monumental Roman ruins that cross the Tagus river] (104). The popularity of the text in the region cannot be traced to the thirteenth century, but to Nicolás de Piemonte’s translation to Castilian. And Piemonte decided to rename Aigremore and locate it elsewhere, clearly in Aguas Muertas (Aigues-Mortes), a port in southern France. In other words, the association of Aigremore with Spain or Portugal—which is established in most versions of *Fierabras* and perpetuated by scholars like André de Mandach—disappears from *Historia del emperador*. Nowhere in *Historia del emperador* is Balan associated with Spain, in particular, or the Iberian Peninsula, in general. Instead, as already mentioned, Nicolás de Piemonte establishes that Balan is “Almirante de Turquia” (fol. 6va), and that Clarion is “el mas essforçado que *en toda la tierra se hallaua*” [the most brave found *in all the world*] (fol. 22ra). Neither Balan nor Clarion is associated with Spain or Iberia in the Castilian version.

Another set of geopolitical instances present in the French verse and Jehan Bagnyon’s versions further the relationship between the Iberian Peninsula and the Levant. In the late Middle Ages the Levant is identified as Syria, known today as Jordan and Israel (**Figure 2**). In *L’Histoire de Charlemagne*, once taking Mautrible, Charlemagne’s army “vont sans sejourner outre la terre de *Sullie*” [went without delay beyond the land of *Syria*] (152, my emphasis).<sup>52</sup> If the bridge and city of Mautrible are

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<sup>52</sup> *MS A* has in this segment “la tere de Sulie” (l. 5138), while *MS E* has “la terre de Serrie” (l. 5314). Marc Le Person identifies this place (with all these different spellings) with Syria (*Fierabras MS E* 584).

within the Iberian Peninsula, this would imply that the French army immediately, “sans sejourner” sails to Syria. Yet, there is no mention in the text of such type of traveling. Moreover, the French versions mention that Mautrible, the town and bridge guarded by the giant Algolafre, “c’est la plus forte cité qui soit d’icy en Acres” [is the strongest city here in Acre] (143, my emphasis). The location of Mautrible in Acre (today’s Israel) does not appear in manuscripts *A* and *E* of *Fierabras*, which might mean that Bagnyon was re-inscribing his version as a crusade narrative or that he was trying to be consistent in establishing a link between Iberia and the Levant.<sup>53</sup> It is probable that the connection between the lands of the Iberian and Levantine Muslims was established because of their creed.



**Figure 2.** The Ottoman Empire, 1481-1683. (Source: William R. Shepherd. *The Historical Atlas*. Courtesy of the General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin).

<sup>53</sup> In *MS A*, Richars tells his companions that Mautrible is “li plus grans cités / Ki soit de les pors d’Aspre descendi en Balegués” (ll. 4720-21). In *MS E*, “les pors d’Apré desí em Balesguez” (l. 4874). Marc Le Person claims it could be “vallée et col d’Aspe dans les Pyrénées” and Balesguez could be Balaguer, in Catalonia (*Fierabras MS E* 545). If Aspre/Apre refers to Aspe, then Balegués/Balesguez could be Balaguères in the same general area.

*Sowdone* also makes the connection between Iberia and the Levant in several instances. First and foremost, as it is attested in the title of the text, Laban is the sultan of “Babylone.” The concluding lines further show this connection, stating that “Thus Charles conquered Laban, / The Sowdon of Babyloyne, / That riche Rome stroyed and wan / And alle the brode londe of Spayn” (ll. 3259-62). Therefore, upon Laban’s defeat Charlemagne wins all Spain, Iberia, or Hispania. Laban, then, is both the sultan of Babylon and the ruler of Spain. Another example of this connection in *Sowdone* is related to Laban’s capital city. Egremoure or Aigremore is located in Spain, as shown in the fact that Laban “hath [the relics] to Spayne sente / With shippes of grete aray, / To Egremoure his chief cité” (ll. 717-19). Here there is no doubt: Egremoure is in Spain, Laban rules all Spain from this city, yet this man is also the Sultan of Babylon.

Most renditions of *Fierabras* belong together with other texts that deal with the “matter of Spain.” These narratives represent the Iberian peoples as Saracens or Moors, and locate their plot in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>54</sup> Gordon Knott comments that in locating the plot in Spain, “the writer furnished himself with fuller scope for his fantasy, and placed the action in a country which had by tradition *romantic and adventurous associations*, for his audience” (167, my emphasis). This is precisely the tradition of the “matter of Spain.” Whereas most of these versions of *Fierabras* establish the relationship between Iberia and the Muslim Eastern Mediterranean, Nicolás de Piemonte does not locate Mantrible (nor Aigremore, for that matter) in the Iberian Peninsula or in the Levant. Piemonte knows well enough that this conflation is wrong. *Historia del*

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<sup>54</sup> Within the Carolingian cycle, some of these texts are *Fierabras*, *Chanson de Roland*, the *Pseudo-Turpin*, *Mainet*, and *L’Entree de Spagne*. In other traditions, the Iberian Saracen appears directly or indirectly in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae*, *Guillaume de Palerne*, Malory’s *Morte d’Artur*, among other medieval works.

*emperador* instead takes place elsewhere, in Aguas Muertas. The name of this place is not the Castilian translation for the word used by Bagnyon (Aigremoyre) or in *Fierabras* (Aigremore), but for a place known in French as Aigues-Mortes (Aigas Mòrtas in Occitan) (**Figure 3**). By removing the story from the Iberian Peninsula, Nicolás de



**Figure 3.** Aigues-Mortes, South of France (detail). Aigues-Mortes is shown with the arrow. (Source: William Faden, “Spain and Portugal.” *General Atlas*. © Cartography Associates).

Piemonte is responding to those works that depict the Iberians as pagans or Muslims, and removing the text from that “romantic and adventurous” tradition.

Some other texts had already identified Aigremore as Aigues-Mortes, as is the case of Jean d’Outremeuse’s *Ly Myreur des histours*.<sup>55</sup> It is probable that Nicolás de Piemonte was aware of the *Myreur*, thus the relocation of Aigremore. Another possibility is set forth by Louis Michel, who mentions that “au moyen âge, l’expression ‘Aigremoir sur mere’ répondait à la réalité géographique” [in the Middle Ages, the expression ‘Aigremore on sea’ responded to the geographical reality] to refer to Aigues-Mortes (309 n. 6). If this expression was common knowledge, we could explain why Piemonte

<sup>55</sup> *Ly Myreur des histours* first appeared in the fourteenth century. In this text, there is only a passing reference to Fierabras.

translates Aigremoir as Aigues-Mortes. While it is not possible to be sure about Piemonte's intention in translating the name of Balan's city as he did, evidently Aguas Muertas not only served to "clean" the story of *Fierabras* in relationship to Spain, as Márquez Villanueva claims, but it also serves to convey the political importance of the Mediterranean in terms of trade and the justification of a crusade against Islam.

Aigues-Mortes was an important port for the Capetian kings. Historian Jean Richard mentions that the Crusade of 1239, led by Theobald I of Navarre (Count of Champagne), departed from this town (212). Then, around 1254 Aigues-Mortes became a port that served as base for King Saint Louis's crusade, and again for the Eighth Crusade in 1270. Moreover, the town was the point of departure for other maritime expeditions of the kings of France. King Philippe III (who ruled from 1245 to 1285) in 1284 initiated a campaign against Aragon leaving from this port; also, a failed crusade organized by King Philippe V (1292-1322) in 1319 proceeded from Aigues-Mortes. All these maritime efforts to Holy Land or the Iberian Peninsula underline, on the one hand, the importance of Aigues-Mortes during the Middle Ages as a crusading port and, on the other, the connection between Levant and Iberia established by the French monarchs. Therefore, while using Aguas Muertas as Balan's capital city Piemonte has located elsewhere the plot of *Historia del emperador*. Balan and his kin are not related to the Iberian Peninsula or to the *moros*: they are Turks with Turkish customs. The Castilian version of *Fierabras* then gets desinscribed from the "matter of Spain," helping instead to construe Spain as a "pure, contained space" (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 3) as mentioned in the beginning.

In conclusion, the two sets of textual departures here explored show an important update in the Castilian *Fierabras*. On the one hand, the enemy in this text was no longer the Moor from Granada because this kingdom, as Piemonte and his audience were well aware, had fallen to the Catholic Monarch. Additionally, around 1501 the Muslim inhabitants of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon were forced to convert, becoming *moriscos* rather than Moors. Shortly after, other Iberian kingdoms followed this policy. The newly unified Spain was not Moorish, and that is what works like *Historia del emperador* depicted or hoped to prove. Secondly, the displacement of the plot outside the Iberian Peninsula also supports the creation of a Catholic Spain unrelated to the Islamic past. The Castilian *Fierabras* could not take place in this imagined Muslim location, a Spain that French and other Europeans had created to justify their rejection (and later served as basis to the *leyenda negra*). As shown in this chapter, identity—not in terms of individual practices, but as marker of community—is not based on biological, visible features as skin color, but on cultural practices: diet, weapons, and clothing are vital in differentiating peoples. Moreover, geographical belonging is attached to these practices in order to identify individuals and communities. The idea of what determines individual and group identities is further explored in the following chapter, in relation to sartorial practices and sumptuary laws.

## Chapter II. Sheep in Wolf's Clothing: Sartorial Identities in *Historia del emperador Carlo Magno*

Saracens in manuscript illustrations are often not dissimilar to Christians, except perhaps for exotic clothing or alien heraldic devices.

—Jeffrey J. Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines*

In *Medieval Identity Machines*, Jeffrey J. Cohen mentions the similarity between Christians and Saracens in medieval illustrations. As is evident in the epigraph above, identities are visually marked as exotic and alien through clothing and armor. But these elements that serve to distinguish the religious Other can be donned by anyone, rendering these markers insufficient. The focus of this chapter is religious and ethnic/racial differentiation between Christians and non-Christians through culturally relevant elements, like clothing and armor. These elements appear among some of the textual departures effected by Nicolás de Piemonte in his *Historia del emperador*, which differs in a number of ways from the fifteenth-century prose version of *Fierabras*, *L'Histoire de Charlemagne* by Jehan Bagnyon.<sup>56</sup> Here I will only address the instances in which the characters' attire and weaponry become markers of social identity, used deliberately or inadvertently to represent the religious and ethnic Other.<sup>57</sup> It is my contention that through these scenes, *Historia del emperador* refers to the Iberian concerns about blood purity or cleanliness (*limpieza de sangre*, in Spanish) and the need to distinguish between

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<sup>56</sup> I have already defined the term hypotext, by which I mean the original text or the one that came before this one.

<sup>57</sup> In their introduction to *Anglo-Saxonism and the construction of social identity*, Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles claim that social identity is “compounded of ethnicity, culture, tradition, and language” vis-à-vis an understanding of “race” as a “biological state” (2). Their idea is somewhat similar to what Jeffrey Cohen asserts in “Race.” See also the Introduction to this dissertation.



the diverse ethnic and religious communities in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, what the textual instances in *Historia del emperador* imply is that social standing as a courtly knight—the true identity of these characters—is evident beyond the layers of clothing worn or arms wielded. In other words, regardless of the mechanisms or devices used to conceal ethnic and religious identity, these only modify the appearance; instead, the character’s interiority—what Morgan Dickson calls the *self*—is inherent to the individual and cannot be concealed by mere embellishments. Identity, in this case, might be performed but the “essence” cannot be hidden.

In the previous chapter I showed that, in the early modern Castilian rendition of *Fierabras*, ethnic and religious difference are based on cultural practices, more than physical descriptions. This chapter will deal with other two segments from the *Historia del emperador* where cultural practices are essential. While both exemplify the failure to conceal identity, the first instance deals with armor, weapons, and customs as markers of identity. The second example refers instead to a sort of transvestism where clothing is used not to appear as belonging to another gender, but to a different religious belief. The first scene analyzed presents a moment of hesitancy in reading identity, which shows that despite Norman Daniel’s claim that the poets writing *chansons de geste* “described Saracen society as the same as Christian society,” certain chivalric customs and practices function as markers of identity that differentiate these two societies (51). In *Historia del emperador* there is clear evidence that these two religious and ethnic communities are

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<sup>58</sup> George Mariscal posits that the blood-purity statutes “were designed to contain an emergent middle class of wealthy conversos” (39). Thus, Mariscal claims that ‘blood’ and ‘class’ cannot be separated. While these statutes have ‘class’ implications, the explicit boundary targeted was racial and religious (which are both represented in blood). Nevertheless, ‘class’ is not a central concern in this chapter, as social standing is only hinted at in one of the textual instances here presented.

culturally dissimilar, their difference persisting beyond the surface (of armor or specific garments). The second scene supports the stability of identity as independent from appearance; the use of certain clothes is not enough to modify a person's identity. Both instances demonstrate that the distinction between Christians and Muslims is not superficial, but rather deeply embedded in the individual. These scenes are present in other versions of *Fierabras*, but only *Historia del emperador* clearly emphasizes that identity is readable, due to the specific tensions and instabilities of the political moment when Piemonte's text was first published. Hence, *Historia del emperador* evidently engages in identity discourses and understandings belonging to a markedly different social environment than those surrounding the thirteenth-century *Fierabras* and Jehan Bagnyon's *Histoire de Charlemagne*. When it comes to sartorial practices, identity is performed through cultural elements yet it is a bodily performance. But identity is not defined by what you wear, Piemonte's text claims. Furthermore, this claim serves as a critique of courtly fashions that favored the use of Moorish garments and entertainment.

The tension between bodily and cultural differences apparent in the use of terms like "race" and "ethnicity" were less evident during pre-modern times. Yet the need to distinguish between diverse groups of people, through biological or cultural traits, can be found in the works of medieval ethnographers. As early as Pliny, the differences between the world's inhabitants were "typically believed to be congenital, the material and permanent impress of geography, climate, and phenomena that today we would label cultural" (Cohen, "Race" 112). Furthermore, the elements that today still serve to differentiate between ethnic groups, beyond physical traits that may or may not be apparent in some cases, are cultural phenomena like diet, language, customs and rituals,

legal and sexual practices. As early as the Middle Ages, the use of certain garments and fabrics was associated with social standing, occupation, and religious belief of a person. Clothing provided a visual means of social classification, which accounts for its frequent mention in medieval ethnographic works.

Sartorial elements, particularly during the Middle Ages, also served to distinguish communities, in order to tell the Other apart from an imagined Us (or Self). The drive to categorize different peoples was particularly important in areas where two or more cultures clashed,<sup>59</sup> like the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages and early modern period. Historian Teofilo Ruiz posits that “the genesis of the nation-state in the aftermath of late fifteenth-century feudal anarchy in... the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, the rise of capitalism, and the discovery of the New World served as catalysts for the creation of new and harsher discourses of difference” (93). This trend is reflected, for example, in the statutes of *limpieza de sangre*. These decrees initially appeared in the middle of the fifteenth century and prevented *conversos* from entering city councils, cathedral chapters, universities, and noble orders, in addition to some religious orders, but also referred to the implications of forced and voluntary conversions of Muslims and Jews in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>60</sup> These conversions were taken to be invalid in some cases, thus blood purity was used as a means to restrict access to public office. Other official measures were put into practice, particularly in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, that attempted to separate the Christian, Jew and Muslim communities through their clothing, as we will see below.

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<sup>59</sup> Mary Louise Pratt refers to these areas as “contact zones” (7).

<sup>60</sup> The first statute of *limpieza de sangre* appeared in Toledo, in 1449. The *sentencia-estatuto* deterred *conversos* from occupying positions of power. For details on this law, see Kevin Ingram’s “Introduction” in *The Conversos and Moriscos*, especially page 4. Linda Martz provides an historical account in *A Network of Converso Families in Early Modern Toledo*, pages 23-26.

The pervasiveness of such efforts to establish clear boundaries between communities is evidence of the ease of crossing over; in other words, these populations had very porous boundaries.

By the same logic, these same markers that could distinguish one community from another could be used to impersonate the Other and, if done effectively, to occupy her/his place. Success in mimicking the Other has been referred to as “passing,” frequently in relation to racial impersonation in the United States. Linda Lomperis defines passing as “the act of assuming a new or otherwise non-natural identity in such a way as to suggest to outside observers that this new identity is in no way feigned or fictional, but rather natural and true” (153). In the case of the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages, the identity categories at stake are not only ethnic but also religious.<sup>61</sup> In analyzing passing in the modern United States, Elaine Ginsberg suggests that the fact that “ethnicity can be performed or enacted, donned or discarded, exposes the anxieties about status and hierarchy created by the potential of boundary trespassing” (4). Even more so in the Middle Ages, when the acceptance of one's place in the social hierarchy was supposed to lead to “felicity in this world and salvation in the next,” as Ruiz explains (3-4), the trespassing of boundaries generated a similar anxiety.

The pervasiveness of “ethnic passing” is apparent through the number of laws and restrictions that enforced measures separating religious communities during the Middle Ages and early modern period, in the Iberian Peninsula and also elsewhere in Western Europe. The anxiety generated by the transgression of such laws is also represented in

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<sup>61</sup> The illuminations to the *Cantigas de Santa María* (c. 1275) and the *Libro de acedrex dados e tablas* (1283) are Iberian examples where often it is only sartorial differences that allow one to assign an ethnicity, though there are some facial features that seem to indicate “race.” I want to thank Linde M. Brocato of bringing this imagery to my attention.

medieval romances and *chansons de geste*, especially because issues of identity are central in these genres.<sup>62</sup> As a literary *topos* in romances, identity is obscured or concealed through disguise. Sometimes what is hidden is social standing or occupation; in other occasions it is gender; and less frequently the characters in these texts conceal their race/ethnicity or religious affiliation. Besides *Historia del emperador*, a previous literary example where characters conceal their ethnic or religious identity is Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*, ninth story of the tenth day (c. 1350).<sup>63</sup> Even though this story in the *Decameron* responds to different historical and geographical circumstances, both narratives share the focus on the characters' remaining identifiable despite the use of a disguise. In Boccaccio's text, Saladin chooses to travel "in the guise of a merchant" to be able to inspect the lands of the enemy (765). The choice of disguise signals the elements that the character wishes to conceal, be it social standing, ethnicity, gender, or even trade. But, as it is clear in Boccaccio's tale, "for a moment they suspected... that [Messer Torello] had seen through their disguise" (770). Therefore, a disguise enables the examination of the nature and integrity of a character's identity—in this case, the status and religious affiliation of the character—because it resurfaces regardless of concealment, as happens in many medieval instances.

The textual instances where clothing and weaponry are used to represent the religious or ethnic Other in *Historia del emperador* also indicate that external identity can

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<sup>62</sup> Jane Bliss explains that some of the common themes in romance include "love, adventure, quest, chivalry, 'courtoisie', honor, magic and the marvelous, resurrection, *identity (identification/identifying)*, a notion of development and/or biographic narrative, and an interest in naming" (3-4, my emphasis).

<sup>63</sup> This tale deals with Messer Torello and Saladin, and it is one of the few examples where not only one character but two are in disguise (voluntarily or unintentionally) passing for someone of another ethnic and/or religious background. Furthermore, Saladin decides to travel "in the guise of a merchant" and is conversant in Italian (*Decameron* 765, 767).

be concealed. But this external identity coexists together with the character's interiority. These two aspects of identity are closely linked in Piemonte's text, a connection which also occurs in the twelfth-century examples studied by Dickson.<sup>64</sup> In the Castilian version of *Fierabras*, these dual identities are particularly evident in the case of Richarte de Normandia, which is the first instance analyzed here. Richarte's external and interior identities, while apparently dissociated, are essentially stable. Something somewhat similar occurs in the case of Oliveros, whose external identity might be covered with Moorish garments but the knight's interior identity would not be changed based on appearance. Such a stable religious identity gained importance in the Iberian Peninsula during the rule of the Catholic Monarchs—Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon—due to the fear of ethnic or religious “passing” of newly converted Jews and Muslims.

In his social history of Spain, Ruiz comments that certain literary works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries “reveal confusion in the face of loosening social categories and the difficulty of discerning who was noble and who was not, *who was a true Christian and who not*, or, as was often debated in fifteenth-century Spain, who was a New Christian and who was an Old one” (4, my emphasis).<sup>65</sup> *Historia del emperador* was first printed during the period when it was very important to differentiate between being Moor, *morisco*, new Christian, or old Christian.<sup>66</sup> Yet, the importance of differentiation is shown by the fact that, since before the thirteenth century, several laws were promulgated beyond the Iberian Peninsula to distinguish between ethnic and

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<sup>64</sup> Dickson focuses on the Oxford *Folie Tristan* (twelfth century), the *Romance of Horn* (c. 1170), *Ipomedon* (c. 1180), and the *Gesta Herwardi* (1109-1131).

<sup>65</sup> The specific works to which Ruiz is referring are Don Juan Manuel's *El libro de los estados* (1327-1332), Jorge Manrique's *Coplas a la muerte de su padre* (1476), and Gutierre Díaz de Gámez's *El Victorial* (early-fifteenth century).

<sup>66</sup> For a definition of these terms, see the Introduction.

religious communities, and to control ethnic and religious mixing.<sup>67</sup> For example, in Canon 68 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), Pope Innocent III calls for the use of distinctive clothing to reduce the confusion of and the intermarriages between religious communities. The text explains that, “in some provinces a difference of dress distinguishes Jews and Saracens from Christians, but in certain others confusion has developed that they are undistinguishable. Whence it sometimes happens that by mistake Christians unite with Jewish or Saracen women” (Geary 442). This illegibility of identity, because religious affiliation is not as physically evident as some medieval literary sources claim, generates a deep discomfort according to this canon.<sup>68</sup> If identity cannot be read, then the fear is that of a “reprehensible and outrageous mixing,” more of a religious intermingling than a racial or ethnical one according to this decree (Geary 442). Though the Fourth Lateran Council took place in 1215, the content of this regulation reminds the reader of the anxieties of miscegenation in later periods.

Laws like this also appeared in the Iberian Peninsula, because this was “a land with large religious minorities, [thus] the problem of identifying a Muslim or a Jew—who often looked just like a Christian—depended entirely on differences in clothing, hair style and other ethnic and religious markers” (Ruiz 223). In order to differentiate between religious communities through garments, a provision similar to the aforementioned

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<sup>67</sup> Mark Cohen, in *Under Crescent and Cross*, mentions that as early as the caliphate of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (early eighth century), religious belonging was marked by sartorial signs like the *zunnar* (62). This distinctive belt had to be worn by non-Muslims to be identified.

<sup>68</sup> This illegibility of religious identity is particularly problematic in the case of women, as circumcision is an evident physical marker for both Jewish and Muslim men. Nevertheless, the imposition of sartorial markers to avoid intermingling was enforced in all genders.

Canon 68 was made in the first Castilian code known as *Las siete partidas* (1251-1265).<sup>69</sup> Law XI, Part 7, Title 24 in this code only refers to the distinction between Jews and Christians, and not to Muslims. Yet, it is clear that the inability to read difference is to blame for the “Muchos yerros et cosas desaguisadas [que] acaescen entre los cristianos et los judios et las cristianas et las judias, porque viven et moran de so uno en las villas, et *andan vestidos los unos asi como los otros*” [Many mistakes and outrageous things that take place between Christians and Jews, men and women, because they live as neighbors in the villages and *are dressed in the same manner*] (675, my emphasis).<sup>70</sup> The solution to such porous boundaries was the enforcement of sartorial markers, a readable sign of religious difference.

Similar approaches were taken with the Islamic population in the Iberian kingdoms. In 1408, while Queen Catherine was regent during John II of Castile’s infancy, she decreed a law to force Moors—both men and women—to wear a yellow cloak over their clothing and a turquoise, crescent-shaped patch on their right shoulder (Fernández y González 397-8). This is only one of the multiple sartorial laws passed before the Catholic Monarchs’ rule, where a particular group of people was required to wear some distinctive sign to differentiate them from the rest of the population. Rachel Arié comments that these laws became stricter in 1412, because both Jewish and Muslim women were ordered to wear “grandes mantos fasta en pies, sin cendal, é sin penas, é tocas sin oro, é traian las cavezas coviertas con los dhos mantos doblados” [floor-length cloaks, without silks, should not wear headdresses with gold, and have their head covered

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<sup>69</sup> John F. Ramsey mentions that Pope Honorius III also ordered decrees about distinctive badges to be enforced in Castile in 1217; and later again in 1233 and 1250 (180).

<sup>70</sup> H. Salvador Martínez notes that these rules do not obey a reason of “*índole racial o para marcar a un grupo como raza o estado inferior*” [race or to mark a group as an inferior race or status] (171).



with both mantles folded] (regulation quoted in “Acerca del traje” 124 n. 4).<sup>71</sup> While the requirement to avoid gold and silk was not restricted to religious minorities in the Iberian Peninsula at this time, sumptuary laws were particularly directed towards these minorities because golden and silver embroidery on sleeves and hems were part of the traditional Moorish fashion.

The union of Castile and Aragon with the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand in October 1469 brought about an intensification of the measures to limit the social contact between Christians and non-Christians. Yet, their accession to their respective thrones was not immediate, thus their power was somewhat limited. Ferdinand was proclaimed king of Sicily in 1468, and was the heir of the crown of Aragon. It was in early 1479 that Ferdinand ascended to the throne upon his father’s death. On her part, Isabella became the queen of Castile and Leon upon the signing of the treaties of Alcaçobas in September 1479. These treaties marked the end of the Castilian War of Succession, through which Joanna (la Beltraneja) and Isabella were disputing the right to the throne. The last area of contention was Galicia, but in 1480 the rebellion in that region was under control. This implied that Castile, Galicia, and Leon were administratively united with Aragon, Valencia, and Sicilia after this date. The Catholic Monarchs strove to homogenize their kingdoms from that moment on.

Since 1476, Isabella and Ferdinand included in their political program measures to enforce provisions already stated in the Fourth Lateran about the restriction of social contact between Christians on the one hand, and Jews and Muslims on the other (Edwards 225). These restrictions were not limited to physical barriers separating the

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<sup>71</sup> This regulation also appears in Fernández y González, page 403.

minority groups; they also included sartorial markers of identity. Again, in 1478, a provision was decreed in order to remind Jews and Muslims to wear “señales acostumbradas por donde sean conocidos entre los christianos” [the sanctioned insignia to be distinguished from amongst Christians] (charter quoted in Suárez 142).<sup>72</sup> This was just a confirmation of the law passed in 1476, deemed necessary because it seemed impossible to know if “los judios son judios o si son clerigos o letrados de grande estado e abtoridad o si los moros son moros o grandes onbres de palacio” [Jews are Jews or they are high status clergymen or scholars, or if Moors are Moors or important courtiers] (regulation quoted in Suárez 142). The regulation, in accordance with other sumptuary laws, also mentioned that Jews and Moors should not have gold or silver in their saddles, stirrups, belts, or swords. In reference to religious differentiation, this law required that Muslims should wear a “capellar verde” [green Moorish cape] or at least the blue crescent (Suárez 142). As evident from the quote above, religious differentiation was also strongly linked to status demarcation. Clearly, laws like these were targeted to Jews and Muslims wearing clothing that could make them “pass” as grandees (though many courtiers actually were *conversos*). In the Iberian kingdoms, these types of ordinances are repeated often, again demonstrating how important it was for the monarchs and their officials to distinguish between religious communities.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> It should be noted that this year coincides with the establishment of the Inquisition in Castile, which was independent of the papal inquisition. Nevertheless, it is important to recall that Isabella was not fully accepted as queen in that kingdom until the following year. This implies that Isabella and Ferdinand were already ruling over Castile regardless of the ongoing conflict with Joanna and her supporters.

<sup>73</sup> In his *Glosas a las Coplas de Mingo Revulgo* (c. 1485), Fernando del Pulgar—who was appointed chronicler of Spain in 1482 by Queen Isabella—explains the tenth *copla* in terms what he thought was the problem among the Iberian flock. Pulgar comments that “tanta turbación hay en el hato, conviene saber, en el pueblo, que no se conoscerían... los christianos... los judíos [y] los moros” [there is so much tumult in the herd, meaning among the people, that it would be impossible to recognize Christians, Jews, and

Differences in clothing implied the ability of telling apart Jews, Muslims, and Christians on European soil in general, and in the Iberian Peninsula in particular.<sup>74</sup> Paradoxically, once the Moors were required to convert or be expelled from Castile and Leon in 1501, the attachment to the traditional costume became evidence of Muslim resistance to assimilation and Christianity.<sup>75</sup> As a response to this, Queen Juana (the daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, who was Isabella's heir to the crown of Castile and Leon) enacted a law in 1508 giving the converted Moors six years to abandon their traditional customs. Luis del Mármol Carvajal, in his *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los moriscos* published in 1600, explains that Queen Juana understood “que sería de mucho efeto quitarles el hábito morisco *para que fuesen perdiendo la memoria de moros*” [that it would have an important impact to forbid (the Moors) the use of Moorish clothes so they *would begin losing their memory as Moors*] (157, my emphasis). One of the ideas behind Juana's decree was that the newly converted should not make or get Moorish-style clothes made. Therefore, the charter of June 20, 1511 mentions that when *moriscos* required new clothing it should be made in the same manner employed by old Christians, penalizing the tailors who would sew new Moorish garb.<sup>76</sup>

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Muslims] (172). Pulgar's gloss to this *copla* advances the regulations in the kingdom, and also posits that Jews and Muslims must be “*apartados de los cristianos*” [separated from the Christians] (173).

<sup>74</sup> The idea about sartorial differentiation of peoples was not unique to Christian Europeans. Example of an Islamic Iberian standpoint comes from Abu Al-Walid Muhammad (d. 1126), chief judge in Cordoba also known as Ibn Rušd (grandfather to Averroes). Ibn Rušd stated, in relation to the Almoravid sartorial customs and the imposition of homogeneity in clothing in Cordoba, that “Dios ha creado a los hombres dividiéndolos en pueblos y tribus y los ha distinguido por países y diferenciado por sus indumentarias y aspectos; no se debe obligar a nadie a que renuncie a sus costumbres en este sentido” [God has created men and divided them into peoples and tribes, distinguishing them according to countries and differentiating them through their clothing and physical traits] (quoted in Marín, “Signos” 152). Manuela Marín finds that in Ibn Rušd's response to a question raised among the *ulema*—circle of scholars on Muslim law—reflects that “sartorial diversity does not need to serve as criteria to evaluate the sincerity of belief” (152). Yet, this point of view is personal despite the Muslim religious scholar's prestige.

<sup>75</sup> The case of Jewish conversions merits a different venue.

<sup>76</sup> This charter appears in Gallego y Burín, page 174.

An agreement signed in 1512 mentions that *marlotas* and “ropa... para mujeres a la morisca” [women’s Moorish-style clothing] were the particular sartorial elements forbidden to *moriscos* and Muslims (Gallego y Burín 175). Besides the charters and laws mentioned earlier, Barbara Fuchs discusses a regulation passed in 1513 against the use of *almalafas* (Moorish cloaks) by Old Christian women (*Exotic Nation* 71). This regulation stated that *cristianas viejas* were setting a bad example for new converts. Thus, not only was the Muslim population required to modify their dressing practices, but Christians were also supposed to avoid using Moorish clothes. This implies an important change in Iberian policies about dress codes for different religious communities. Whereas before, Jews and Muslims had to have an ostensible marker of identity on their garments, after Granada was conquered by King Ferdinand in 1492 the expectation was the homogenization of creed (through voluntary or forced conversions), language, and other cultural markers. In other words, there is an evident ideological shift in terms of clothing: after 1501, sartorial and sumptuary laws are functioning to normalize religious belief and simultaneously, with the suppression of precious metals on clothing, to differentiate the nobility (and those who could wear embroidered silks and other luxury goods) from the rest of the population.

Even after the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, Muslim cultural practices continued to be used against the Moors in Castile and Aragon. King Ferdinand died in 1516, naming as heir to the throne his grandson Charles of Ghent. Cardinal Cisneros became regent of Castile, and Alonso of Aragon (the king’s bastard son) was left in charge of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia until Charles—later known as I of Spain and V as Holy Roman Emperor—would arrive in Spain (Elliot 132). In 1517, when Charles I

arrived in Castile as the monarch, a law forbidding the Muslim Iberians from keeping their customs and rituals was enforced again. Nevertheless, the Moors requested a further extension from the king to become fully assimilated. They based their request on the lack of Christian catechization required to understand and perform the correct religious practices, which the king granted. Only a few years later, in 1525, Charles finally ordered the Moors of Aragon to convert to Christianity and be baptized. The king offered that, if this commandment was obeyed, the Moors would keep their rights as any loyal subject to the Crown. New prohibitions appeared soon after in 1526, restricting women's attire and jewelry, among other things. One prohibition forbid women from wearing certain "patenas que solían traer con una mano y ciertas letras árabes" [frequently worn medallions with a hand and some Arabic letters] around the neck (Arié, "Acerca del traje" 127). Regarding these laws, Mármol comments that the archbishops of Seville, Santiago, and Granada, together with other bishops and *comendadores*, decided that,

mientras se vistiesen y hablasen como moros conservarian la memoria de su seta y no serian buenos cristianos... mandáronles quitar la lengua y el hábito morisco y los baños... que no se pusiesen alheña en los piés ni en las manos ni en la cabeza las mujeres. (158)

[while they kept the Moorish clothing and language Moors would remember their sect and would not be good Christians... ordered them to stop using their language and garments and baths... that women should stop using henna on their feet, hands, and head.]

What is evident with all these sartorial and behavioral regulations is that religious belief—and therefore religious/ethnic identity—was associated with specific cultural practices.

From 1501 until the expulsion of the Moors from Spain in 1609, laws like these continued to be passed. A noteworthy example of the ideological construction underlying

these mandates appears in a *carta pragmática* endorsed by the Empress Isabella of Portugal during Emperor Charles's absence in 1530. This ruling required Muslim women “quitarse aquel traje deshonesto y de mal ejemplo, y que las moriscas trajesen sayas y mantos y sombreros como cristianas” [to remove that immodest clothing that sets a bad example, and for Moorish women to wear skirts, robes and hats like Christian women] (Mármol 159). What is striking in this law is the imputation of immodesty in dressing as Moors, considering that these women used veils and several layers of clothing when in public.<sup>77</sup> This regulation is an attempt to control the female body and render it homogeneous; while trying to avoid the eroticization of the Moorish woman, the obvious intention is the homogenization of cultural practices in the Spanish Empire, not only the enforcement of a particular religion. What started in the fifteenth century as the “fear of pollution, the fear of the too-easily-mixing social classes, and the fear of cohesive minority groups” (Ruiz 227), became in the sixteenth century an attempt to eradicate Muslim culture, by prohibiting the “traditional *morisco* garb (the veil for women; certain types of hats and garments for men), and manners of eating (types of food, table etiquette, etc.) that identified *moriscos* with Islamic culture” (Ruiz 106). The fifteenth-century fears became a desire to erase any religious and cultural difference, attempting to create an empire thoroughly Catholic.

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<sup>77</sup> The stereotype of eroticization and exoticization of the Eastern body—Islamic bodies in general, but very particularly the European “Moor”—is pervasive in Western European thought. The Islamic female body is especially made the object of the male gaze, as happens in the scene of Floripes's baptism. Nevertheless, the women's bodies that are mentioned in this charter as immodest are rigorously covered with clothing. Manuela Marín, in her book *Mujeres de al-Andalus*, provides information about women's dressing practices and prohibitions according to Andalusí sources. Marín comments that the veiling of the female body was based in the Qur'an, a ruling that was interpreted as allowing only to show the face and hands. In al-Andalus, veiling practices “seem to have been directly related to social position” (Marín, *Mujeres* 189).

It is in this time of ideological upheaval that *Historia del emperador* is translated and published. Yet, the importance of this historical background in the adaptation of Nicolás de Piemonte is not mentioned in any of the scholarly works about this text. The most thorough reading of *Historia del emperador* so far has been that of Francisco Márquez Villanueva, who in reference to “ethnic cross-dressing” only mentions the scene where Floripes presents Oliveros with Moorish-style garments. Márquez Villanueva sees this passage as a “vivaz travesura” [vivacious mischief] of Balan’s daughter (109). This textual departure, according to the scholar, made the “vetusto relato carolingio” [decrepit Carolingian narrative] more accessible to Spanish readers (109). But nowhere does Márquez Villanueva mention the segment where Richarte is taken to be Balan’s ambassador because of his armor. Not even the most recent scholarly work on *Historia del emperador*, by Karla Luna Mariscal, contemplates the actual adaptations and textual divergences from the hypotexts. Luna Mariscal’s works on short chivalry narratives—among which she locates Piemonte’s text and mentions it very briefly—only examine the reasons behind the adaptations of these texts within the context of the ideological and political changes in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Thus, this is the first attempt to analyze Piemonte’s narrative modifications in terms of the newly conceived social identity of an emerging nation. This identity is defined through sartorial markers of ethnic and religious identity. As demonstrated in this chapter, identity in *Historia del emperador* cannot be performed through specific garments; “ethnic cross-dressing” is not possible because individual and collective identity is essential and visible.

### **Richard, the Saracen Ambassador: Customs as Identity Markers**

As we have seen, *Historia del emperador* differs from its source in a number of passages. In terms of concealment of identity, the Castilian version of *Fierabras* provides several instances where the characters use sartorial and verbal disguises. The first example presented here is an unintentional moment of passing, where armor, clothing, and customs become markers of identity. Because Piemonte's version includes a moment of hesitancy in reading identity, it is possible to assert that not all medieval literary references to Saracens (and other Islamic Others) show ignorance about the rituals and customs of these peoples. Clearly, Nicolás de Piemonte was not one of "the intellectuals of Europe [who] saw differences between Muslims and Christians that were not there, and missed resemblances that were" (Daniel 15). *Historia del emperador* shows a clear awareness of the modes of riding and styles of armor that help differentiate between Iberian—most likely Muslim—and French Christian knights.

Before the scene in question, Richarte (or Richard of Normandy, in most versions) is sent, along with some of Charlemagne's Twelve Peers, as emissary to Balan. This is the second group of Christian knights in Balan's court. Upon their arrival, the knights are "imprisoned" with the rest of the Peers. Yet, Floripes has taken all the Christian knights to her chambers and offered them sundry comforts. After seizing the tower in Aguas Muertas (Aigremore in most versions), the Peers together with Floripes and her ladies are under siege. Food runs short and the paladins make several *sorties* to get provisions regardless of the danger surrounding them. During the last of these maneuvers, Richard leaves Aguas Muertas riding as fast as possible to reach Charlemagne in Mormionda. King Clarion (a Turk, nephew of Balan) sees Richard and



follows him, engaging in battle. Clarion is defeated and Richard uses the Saracen's courser, a much faster horse than his own, to travel the rest of the way to Mormionda. It is precisely in the moment of his arrival in Mormionda that Richard's identity is unclear.

Piemonte's *Historia del emperador* departs from its hypotext here.<sup>78</sup> In the Castilian version, a knight approaches Charlemagne and tells him that “venia a gran priessa vn cauallero de tierra de moros: et que creya que traya embaxada del Almirante Balan” [a knight was coming from land of Moors with haste, and that he believed that was a messenger from Balan] (fol. 28rb). The confusion of the guard is due to several elements. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Richarte de Normandia is coming from “tierra de moros,” which is a vague reference to the area where the enemy is supposed to be. Second, Richarte is riding the horse of a Turk (King Clarion, of course), implying the animal is equipped in a different manner to that accustomed among Western European Christians. Finally, the rider is wearing the shield and arms that Floripes provided the Peers in the tower of Aguas Muertas.<sup>79</sup> Evidently, horse and arms are seen as an important marker of (external) identity, helpful to recognize not only the knight's religion but also his allegiances to particular feudal lords.

These textual elements in *Historia del emperador* demonstrate that there are some noticeable differences in terms of armor, arms, and warfare, whereas *Fierabras* and *L'Histoire de Charlemagne* do not mention such disparities. Nevertheless, the woodcuts and illustrations in these sources do not distinguish Christians and Muslims through their

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<sup>78</sup> Jehan Bagnyon's version in this section follows the lines in *Fierabras* almost verbatim.

<sup>79</sup> Floripes arms the knights in *Fierabras* in vv. 2948-2966. In *Historia del emperador*, Floripes offers arms to the first group of prisoners quite early in the story. It happens the following morning after they arrive in her chambers (fol. 15v). However, in *Sowdan* Floripes does not arm the prisoners, but recommends that they arm themselves (l. 2026). This implies the Peers still have their own armor and weapons with them.

armor. This does not reflect that, as historian David C. Nicolle has noted, early Andalusis did not use surcoats over their mail armor, and carried a second saddle-sword(236-237).<sup>80</sup>

The illustrations in the Castilian version of *Fierabras* show no surcoats in any knight regardless of their ethnicity or religious belief, rather than more accurately portraying Andalusis knights without them. **Figure 4** is a woodcut from the 1525 edition of *Historia del emperador*. In this image, we see a battle between the Turks and the Christians. Both armies look very similar and both are lacking surcoats. Instead in **Figure 5** (which is an illustration from a fourteenth-century Anglo Norman manuscript), the marker of difference is the coat of arms. In this figure, the two armies are fighting and there are no



**Figure 4.** Muslims and Christians fighting. (Source: *Historia del emperador*. Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/12097, fol. 21v).

visible differences in clothing. Both armies wear very similar surcoats. Yet, one of the knights on the right has a shield with *fleur-de-lis*, the heraldic emblem of Frankish and

<sup>80</sup> There is a mention of the saddle-swords in *Fierabras* and its versions. Fierabras has several swords with him during his encounter with Oliver. See *Fierabras* lines 638-659, for a description of Fierabras's three swords. In *Sowdan*, Oliver runs to Fierabras's horse and seizes the sword that was hanging there (ll. 1285-1288). In *Historia del emperador*, Piemonte mentions that Fierabras has two other swords, besides Ploranza, hanging on his saddlebow (fol. 9r).

later French knights. The fact that some of the Saracen knights (to the left) have no helmet seems non-distinctive because in the same image we see other characters without helmet who are Christians (indicated by the *fleur-de-lis*). The similarities between Christians and non-Christians in many *chansons de geste*, in clothing and other mores, has been previously mentioned by Norman Daniel, who concludes that the poets writing *chansons de geste* “described Saracen society as the same as Christian society” (Daniel 51).



**Figure 5.** Charlemagne’s knights defeat the Saracens. (Source: British Library, Egerton ms. 3028, fol. 98v © British Library Board).

The lack of differentiation that appears in **Figure 5** is also evident in *Fierabras*. The French verse text does not mention particular garb or armor to distinguish the rider who hastily approaches; yet, there is no confusion about the identity of the knight. For the emperor and two of his men, there is no doubt about Richard’s identity. Charlemagne is looking towards the Orient, when,

Parmi une vallée, dejouste .I. desrubant,  
 Richart de Normendie vit venire tout poignant  
 Karlemaine apela de sa gent miex vaillant,

Le duc Oel de Nantes et Raoul le Ferrant:  
 “Faites arrester l’ost qu’ele ne voist avant;  
 Là voi .I. chevalier venire esperonnat.  
 Hé Diex! Com ses destriés vait desous lui bruiant!  
 .I. en amaine en destre, moult sanble bien courant;  
 Au cevaucier *me samble dant Richart le Normant...*” (4586-4594, my  
 emphasis).

[In a valley, next to a precipice,  
 Sees Richard of Normandy come hastily,  
 Charlemagne calls his most valiant men,  
 Duke Hoel of Nantes and Raul the Farrier:  
 “Make the army stop, that it does not go further;  
 There I see a knight coming this way spurring.  
 By God! How noisily his horse goes!  
 He conducts him with the right hand, running fast;  
 In his *way of riding resembles Richard the Norman.*”]

There is no hesitation in recognizing Richard, and there is no mention of the armor and arms he wields. In *Fierabras* there is no articulation of a possible uncertainty due to external appearance. Furthermore, in this version few details offer enough information to identify the rider as a specific man, Richard of Normandy. A knowledgeable knight, like Charlemagne, can recognize his men from their way of riding.<sup>81</sup> Jehan Bagnyon has followed the French verse closely because the armor is not mentioned. In this case also Charlemagne claims that “sy me semble au chevauchier que ce soit Richard de Normandie” [it seems to me that is Richard because of his way of riding] (140). Apparently, Richard’s arms or the fact that he has the reins of the curser on his right hand help in the identification. It is only in *Historia del emperador* that there is a moment of doubt about the identity of the knight.

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<sup>81</sup> There is also no confusion about Richard’s identity in the Middle English version (*Sowdan of Babylon*). Charlemagne sees the knight arrive and commands every man to wait, then asks, “‘What tidingges?’ quod the kinge to Richarde” [‘What news you bring?’ said the king to Richard] (l. 2835). Evidently, combat attire is not emphasized in this text.

The moment of hesitancy in Piemonte's text results in two different but related outcomes. First, Richarte's incognito scene emphasizes the value of the knight's prowess.<sup>82</sup> Because chivalric incognito temporarily conceals information like lineage and past achievements, the knight's merit is brought to the fore, as Susan Crane explains ("Knights" 68-9). Richarte is not purposely disguising his identity or staging an incognito, yet this inadvertent concealment highlights his courage and horsemanship. Thus, the revelation scene serves to confirm what the reader already knows about this paladin. Incognito then, is a self-presentation "that invites rather than resists public scrutiny" (Crane, "Knights" 63). Instead of hiding Richarte's identity, the moment of doubt enables the audience to examine the knight's demeanor in order to confirm his worth. This leads to the second outcome, when Richarte is recognized as a Christian and not as a particular individual, his identity is thus defined vis-à-vis the non-Christian Other as well. Whereas the French verse and prose versions mention the way Richard of Normandy rides, the Castilian text is the only one to imply that Christians and Muslims *differ* in the way they ride. In *Historia del emperador* the issue is not about Richard's identity in itself, but rather about how to recognize someone's identity regardless of an external appearance that is dissonant. When the incognito knight approaches, Duke Regner claims "este que aqui viene es cristiano; que *los turcos no caualgan dessa manera*" [that man coming is Christian, *Turks do not ride like that*] (fol. 28rb, my emphasis).<sup>83</sup> This idea is quite different from what *Fierabras* and Bagnyon's *L'Histoire*

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<sup>82</sup> The use of disguise is so persistent in medieval literature that Gertrude Schoepperle has considered it "futile to attempt to classify" the instances where a medieval hero conceals his identity (227).

<sup>83</sup> There are some references to Saracens riding in *Fierabras*, for example, Brulant mounts a dromedary (l. 1614). Though this might seem exotic to modern readers, Nicolle mentions the widespread use of camels

*de Charlemagne* suggest: in Piemonte's text, it is not how Richard rides, but how he *does not*. Richard's Christian identity is construed upon the differentiation from the Other's identity.

Furthermore, the uncertainty about the knight's identity in *Historia del emperador* is not merely sartorial. The implication of Regner's words—*los turcos no caualgan dessa manera*—is a particular way to ride that was prevalent in the Iberian kingdoms.

According to Nicolle, during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was a spread



**Figure 6.** Knights riding “a la brida.” Battle of Etampes (detail). *Chroniques de France ou de St Denis*. (Source: British Library, Royal 16 G VI, fol 81r © British Library Board).

of French military influence in the Iberian Peninsula in general, including the use of heavily mailed cavalry and some use of couched lances (237). This way of riding was known as *a la brida* or Norman bridle (**Figure 6**), which was marked by longer stirrup (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 90-1).<sup>84</sup> By the early fourteenth century, there is a marked preference for the autochthonous jennet style of light cavalry warfare, which was also

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for transportation as a Berber influence in al-Andalus (236). Yet, nowhere does the French verse mention that Muslims and Christians ride in a different way.

<sup>84</sup> Noel Fallows explains that “one of the most marked characteristics of the bridle style was the position of the legs... the medieval knight rode with long stirrup leathers and straight legs.” (267)

adopted by Christian Iberian states known as horsemanship *a la jineta* (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 237; Fallows 267). Part of the light cavalry warfare included a light sword, armor and shields, as well as new forms of harness and shortened stirrups. Barbara Fuchs mentions that *a la jineta* “was associated with the frontier, as a style that emulated the Moors’ consummate horsemanship” and was essential in skirmishes against the enemy (*Exotic Nation* 90). Furthermore, Andrés Bernáldez mentions this riding style and explains that “ellos usan cavalgar corto” [they (the Moors) ride in a shortened manner] (132). Antoine de Lalaing, in his “Relation du premier voyage de Philippe Le Beau en Espagne, en 1501” also mentions this fact, though his emphasis is on the blending of styles according to the proximity of different peoples. In his account, de Lalaing comments that people on the frontier with the Moors rode *a la jineta* vis-à-vis those that lived on the frontier with the French who rode “à nostre mode” [our style], meaning as Frenchmen (223).

Therefore, the differences in horsemanship between Franks/French and Iberian Muslims and Christians was somewhat common knowledge. While in *Fierabras* Charlemagne recognizes Richard the Norman in the way he rides, only Nicolás de Piemonte makes an explicit reference to riding styles among these two peoples. *Fierabras* does not provide further information about how the emperor is able to identify his knight, though it seems to be a matter of the individual and not of his social identity, as the text reads “Au cevaucier *me samble dant Richart le Normant*” [In his way of riding resembles Richard the Norman] (l. 4594). For Piemonte it is obvious that Richarte de Normandia could not ride as a Turk regardless of the type of saddle and arms he wielded. Thus, his external appearance—Moorish armor and arms from *Fierabras*’s armory, atop

Clarion's courser—does not make him an ambassador coming on Balan's behalf, as the soldier tells Charlemagne in *Historia del emperador*. Richard's identity is only unrecognizable from afar, when the elements taken into consideration are limited to the style of armor or the direction from which the knight is coming.

During the Middle Ages, as Susan Crane points out, “dress was becoming an important system of recognition in urban and mobile populations” (*Performance* 11). Clothing, together with armor and other elements, could serve to mark diverse classes, or ethnic and religious groups. Also these could serve to perform a different identity or to become unrecognizable—to go incognito. By driving our attention not only to what armor Richard is wearing but also the way the knight carries himself on the horse, Piemonte is reminding his readers that appearances are not everything. As Bliss notes, “one can disguise oneself only as what one is not: a knight is incognito in plain arms—or he deliberately borrows those of another” (37). In *Historia del emperador* Richarte is wielding the arms of another, though it is not his intention to be disguised as Balan's messenger. But other elements of his identity give him away. Fuchs explains that, “in real terms, passing may involve eventual assimilation and the loss of identity” (*Passing* 9). But Richarte is not passing; Piemonte's intention rather serves as a warning to his contemporary readers that identity is not related to appearance but to demeanor and specific actions. Religious identity is not an external matter, regardless of yellow stars or blue crescents worn to distinguish Jews or Muslims from Christians in the Middle Ages.

Piemonte's use of an unintentional “ethnic cross-dressing,” as Fuchs calls the use of the garments of the ethnic Other, is not a casual deviation from his source (*Passing* 69). Cross-dressing has frequently been associated with a transgender performance. But



cross-dressing can also be a “transracial masquerade or sartorial event,” and even one that crosses boundaries of class (Clark and Sponsler 62). This implies that using clothing and other external markers of a different group—be it gender, religion, ethnicity, or culture—is an embodiment and appropriation of the Other. Furthermore, cross-dressing can mark bodies “as ‘other’ in ways that demonstrate the performativity of racial categories and the deployment of racial thinking” (Clark and Sponsler 61). This cross-dressing scene is not, however, just a literary resource to enhance the plot. The moment of hesitancy does not generate a different subplot or modify the narrative tone. Neither does it change the reader’s perception of the character, as the narrator and the reader share the knowledge about the true identity of Richard. Instead, it provides Piemonte with the opportunity to draw the readers’ attention to certain courtly practices he would like to critique: the use of certain style of saddles and adornments in the horses, as well as Moorish-style garments were objectionable to some during and after the reign of the Catholic Monarchs.

Silva Santa-Cruz mentions, in her article “Maurofilia y mudejarismo en época de Isabel la Católica,” that by the end of the fifteenth century King Ferdinand and some noblemen of his court appeared in Burgos dressed in *morisco*-style to participate in *juegos de cañas*.<sup>85</sup> These *juegos de cañas* were simulations of battles where the participants, riding *a la jineta* and in armor or dressed in Moorish-style, would be divided into teams. The knights would chase the other team and throw canes as spears or javelins (Izquierdo Benito 200).<sup>86</sup> Piemonte’s text is in dialogue with events like this one that took

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<sup>85</sup> Her source is Marino Sanudo or Sanuto, who comments on the event.

<sup>86</sup> For a detailed description of the mechanics of these *juegos de cañas*, see Tomás Lozano, especially chapter 7.

place in Burgos, where King Ferdinand could be labeled as Moorish due not only to his outfit but also to his way of riding.

### **Oliver, the Saracen Knight: Disguise and Masquerade**

In the article “Othered Bodies: Racial Cross-Dressing in the *Mistere de la Sainte Hostie* and the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*,” Clark and Sponsler document medieval and early modern uses of disguise to pass as Turks or Saracens (63). Blackened faces and particular pieces of clothing are used in these representations, as well as masks. But most of the instances mentioned in this article refer to plays (particularly mystery and miracle plays),<sup>87</sup> civic processions, and court events (weddings, and masquerades, among others). Other instances of intended “ethnic cross-dressing” are the *juegos de cañas* referred to in the previous section. I have already mentioned that King Ferdinand and his noblemen participated in one of these events that took place in Burgos. According to Marino Sanudo—a Florentine historian whose *Diarii* has become a rich source of information about Europe from 1496 to 1533—the King and his men were wearing Moorish-style clothing for the occasion. In his entry dated April 6 of 1497, Sanudo relates that,

La regia magesta et il principe montanti in su cavali velocissimi, con le targe loro, vestiti a la morescha de *salii et manti de brochato, cum diversi rechami et gale*, con la testa velata al modo moresco.... Cum epsi erano multi altri conti et cavalieri, tutti cum *salii et manti de brocato et seta sopra seta, cum tanti recami de oro et argento*, con si varie et bella fogie, che era cosa de maraveglia. (My emphasis)<sup>88</sup>

[His royal majesty and the prince rode on their very swift horses, with their shields, dressed in the Moorish fashion with *brocade mantles and doublets, with various embroideries and ornaments*, with their head veiled

<sup>87</sup> Mystery plays are medieval religious dramas representing biblical stories, whereas miracle plays are those based on nonbiblical texts.

<sup>88</sup> This letter that appears in *I Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, vol. I.

in the Moorish fashion.... With them were many other counts and knights, all with *brocade doublets and mantles and silk over silk, with so much embroidery in gold and silver*, with such varied and beautiful fashions, that it was a marvelous thing.]<sup>89</sup>

This is not the only description of the *juego de cañas*, but this passage is very relevant to the discussion of sartorial disguise as a Moor. King Ferdinand and his nobles are dressed for the occasion “in Moorish fashion” with brocades embroidered in gold and silver.

Though courtly use of such garments was apparently quite common, it had been restricted outside the court since 1494, according to Ruiz (224). This sumptuary restriction was explicitly geared to avoid the expense in items like gold, silver, and silk; yet, implicitly it was meant to build barriers between classes, and ethnic and religious groups.<sup>90</sup>

Furthermore, as already mentioned, the use of Moorish-style clothes was also forbidden after the fall of Granada in order to ensure that newly converted *moros* would assimilate to Christianity.

Moorish-style embroidered clothing is mentioned in *Historia del emperador*, and in some passages it is related to “ethnic cross-dressing.” Noticeably, the instances where these sartorial elements appear are narrative departures from its hypotexts. Besides being the only version of *Fierabras* where we find explicit mentions of riding as a Turk, to which I referred in the previous section, Piemonte’s text provides detailed descriptions of Moorish-style garments. The two passages where *Historia del emperador* mentions these garments are the description of Floripes’s noticeably rich clothing and the scene where Floripes presents Oliveros (Oliver in most of the other versions) with embroidered garments. While Floripes’s attire is described in most of the versions of *Fierabras*,

<sup>89</sup> Quoted in Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 95. Translation is hers.

<sup>90</sup> *Pragmáticas* [charters] to reduce the spending on clothing were also issued in 1514, 1518, 1523 and 1532, as mentioned by Martínez Latre (575).

*Historia del emperador* is the only textual rendition where we find details regarding the clothes that were presented to the Christian knights. Moreover, the inclusion of Moorish-style clothes in this text serves to comment on “ethnic cross-dressing” and sartorial policies in the Iberian Peninsula related to the construction of a Castilian, Catholic identity. Thus, in this section I provide a reading of Nicolás de Piemonte’s textual additions as a critique of the Catholic Monarchs’ courtly double standard that, on the one hand, favored the use of such clothes as a display of luxury while, on the other, prohibited both *cristianos nuevos* and *cristianos viejos* alike from wearing particular clothing elements associated with the Islamic culture.<sup>91</sup>

The focus of this section is a passage that takes place after the first group of Christian knights is taken to prison. In *Historia del emperador* as well as most of its hypotexts, Floripes finds a way to talk to them because she is particularly interested in knowing if Guy de Burgundy is among them. While the young knight who has inadvertently stolen her heart is not there, Floripes plans on letting the knights out. That same night Floripes and her squire enter the tower where the prisoners are kept to liberate the five knights and lead them to her chambers.<sup>92</sup> Once in Floripes’s rooms, the knights are offered food, a bath, and entertainment. At this point, in the French verse version, the knights also receive “moult rices garnimens” [very rich garments] (l. 2221).<sup>93</sup> These

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<sup>91</sup> *Cristianos nuevos* is the term used since the fifteenth century to refer to Muslims and Jews newly converted to Christianity. By contrast, *cristiano viejo* would be any Christian whose roots were deemed untainted by other religions.

<sup>92</sup> *Sowdan* follows a different order of events. Floripes kills Brutamont, tells her father that there was an accident and volunteers to assume charge of the prisoners. Thus, the Franks are known to be in her tower. On the contrary, in the other versions, Floripes is acting behind her father’s back.

<sup>93</sup> Floripes’s present to Oliveros and the other knights was not a practice unheard of among the elites during the Middle Ages. Many nobles would offer expensive, often exotic presents to other aristocrats either while receiving them as visitors or as means to establish political agreements. Rich textiles were a common gift during the Middle Ages. For example, Burns comments that Charles the Bald “is thought to have received a

clothes are not further described in manuscript *A* of *Fierabras*.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, Bagnyon's text only explains that "chescun fu affublé d'ung manteau" [each received a cloak] (78). Nevertheless, this segment in manuscript *E* is somewhat different because the poet adds details to the garments provided to the knights, "n'i a cel n'ait um paille, a son col afublé, / Et richez siglatons et hermine engoullé" [all were of silk cloth, with lined collar, and rich high-quality silk and ermine collar] (ll. 2326-7).<sup>95</sup> Manuscript *E*, a late thirteenth-century verse version now kept in the library of El Escorial in Madrid, is the only French text to provide a description of the clothes Floripes offers as a present to her prisoners.

Just as in the other versions, *Historia del emperador* has the five ladies in waiting present Oliveros and the other four Christian knights with new clothing the morning after their liberation.<sup>96</sup> The main difference with the hypotexts is that the Castilian version has a detailed description of Floripes's gifts, "una ropa roçagante de hilo de oro et seda texida enforrada en purpura, et tenia todo el ruedo, y la boca de las mangas, y collar bordadas vnas letras moriscas sacadas del Alcorán" [good looking clothes of gold thread and weaved silk lined with purple silk cloth, and had all the hem, the cuffs, and the collar embroidered with Arabic letters, taken from the Qur'an] (fol. 15va).<sup>97</sup> Besides this

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variety of textiles as gifts from Spain" around 865 ("Saracen Silk" 379). María Judith Feliciano mentions another example of a similar gift, some vestments that were "part of the Granadine Emir's tribute payment to Fernando III" and later were bestowed to Ximénez de Rada as gift ("Muslim Shrouds" 120). Sharon Kinoshita refers, in her "Almería Silk," that "in medieval Iberia, such gifts [of fine silk] were used to cement cross-confessional alliances" citing as example Caliph al-Hakam II's (961-76) bestowal of silks on Ordoño IV of Leon and Count Borrell I of Barcelona (172, 244 n33).

<sup>94</sup> For further details about the manuscripts and early editions of *Fierabras*, see Appendix I.

<sup>95</sup> According to Sarah-Grace Heller, a *siglaton* was "a high-quality silk, a little heavier than *cendal*, used more as an outer fabric than a lining. The word is derived directly from the Arabic *siklatun*, denoting the choice silk of Baghdad manufacture" (*Fashion* 83).

<sup>96</sup> There are divergences on the time of day when this happens, in Piemonte's version this is during the morning. In *Fierabras*, manuscripts *A* and *E*, this event takes place before everyone goes to sleep.

<sup>97</sup> It is very telling that in the 1579 edition, printed by Andrés Lobato in Antequera, instead says "Tenia todo el ruedo y las bocas de las mangas y el collar hasta los pies brosladas vnas letras moriscas *sacadas del coraçon*, en donde se encerraua toda la secta de mahoma" [had all the hem, the cuffs, and the collar all the

literary example and the comment on the clothing used by King Ferdinand and his noblemen found in Sanudo's letter mentioned earlier, Carmen Bernis comments that Christian Castilians found it fashionable to wear *marlotas* (an overcoat worn above the tunic) with rich gold and silver embroideries on the sleeves (216). Bernis adds that "era frecuente también adornar las prendas cristianas con 'guarniciones moriscas' que consistían fundamentalmente en letras árabes" [it was also frequent to adorn Christian clothing with 'Moorish trimmings' consistent in Arabic letters] (225). It is very possible that Piemonte must have seen (or heard about, in case he was not directly related to the court) these rich garments.

These textiles and clothing items seem to have been very popular during the reign of Isabella and Ferdinand. Andrés de Bernáldez wrote the chronicle *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos* around 1500 where he refers to an event in which Queen Isabella and her daughter Juana enter Illora, after a Christian victory during the war of Granada, wearing capes or cloaks with Moorish trimming (170).<sup>98</sup> While wearing such rich cloaks might have been fashionable in court, it is quite shocking that the queen chose to wear this clothing for her arrival in Illora, as the enemy was the King of Granada, a Muslim.<sup>99</sup> Regardless of the two examples already mentioned (King Ferdinand and his knights participating in a *juego de cañas* in Burgos, and Queen Isabella's arrival to

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way down to the feet embroidered with Moorish letters *taken from the heart*, where was kept all the law of Mohammed] (fol. 30v, my emphasis). The same happens in the 1589 edition, printed by Sebastián Martínez in Alcalá de Henares. This implies that after certain moment, the text was submitted to extensive revisions and the reference to the Qur'an was deemed inappropriate. Both these editions are kept in the Hispanic Society of America. I have not been able to see previous editions by printers other than the Cromberger family, an inquiry that might be fruitful in figuring revisions and corrections requested by different kingdom's apparatuses.

<sup>98</sup> According to John Edwards, Isabella's first visit to the front line, at Illora, was in June 1486. For further details, see his *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs*, page 112.

<sup>99</sup> The adoption of the cultural markers of the Other implies the recognition of his/her superiority, thus the Moorish trimmings in these capes were not considered foreign to Queen Isabella.

Illora), the Catholic Monarchs were not especially known for their maurophilia—that has been defined as a late medieval fascination for the Islamic, which pervaded the quotidian courtly life from clothing to manner of sitting to amusements. Yet, according to Arié, some of the Christian monarchs and lords “adoptèrent certaines coutumes et distractions en usage parmi les Musulmans” [adopted certain customs and entertainments in fashion among the Muslim] (“Quelques remarques” 102). Arié exemplifies this mentioning that, within the inventory of Alfonso V’s wardrobe (dating 1424) there is a list of Muslim clothes.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, in his visit to Iberia in 1466, Léon de Rosmihal remarks that he was received in Burgos by a powerful gentleman, and saw several ladies richly dressed “à la mode morisque” [in Moorish-style fashion] and later was welcomed in Segovia by Henri IV of Castille, who used to eat, drink, and dress “à la manière musulmane” [in Muslim manner] (Arié, “Quelques remarques” 103).<sup>101</sup> All of these examples help a modern reader to understand that the embroidered garments offered by Floripes to Oliveros and the other knights were considered fashionable in the Iberian courts before the period when *Historia del emperador* was translated.

Yet, it is not the fact that the silks are richly embroidered that makes *Historia del emperador* different from its hypotexts, but what is embroidered on the garments.<sup>102</sup>

Piemonte emphasizes the letters embroidered on the hems of the cloaks presented to the Christian knights: these are letters from the Qur’an. The same detail appears on Floripes’s clothing, though most of the versions of *Fierabras* only describe her dress as very rich

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<sup>100</sup> Alfonso V was the uncle of King Ferdinand of Aragon.

<sup>101</sup> King Henry IV was father of Juana la Beltraneja, contender to the throne of Castille against Queen Isabella.

<sup>102</sup> It is worth noting that the French verse version mentions that the knights receive *manteau* [cloaks] whereas Nicolás de Piemonte refers to *ropas* [garments] in general. This might imply a complete attire and not only a single piece of clothing.

and exotic.<sup>103</sup> In the French verse version, we read that Floripes was “Vestue fu d’un paile galacien saffré; / La fée qui l’ot fait l’ot menu estelé / D’estoiles de fin or qui jettent grant clarté” [dressed in a silk robe from Galacia with orphrey; the fairy who made it covered it with delicate sparkling stars of fine gold] (ll. 2016-18).<sup>104</sup> The image of stars embroidered on Floripes’s dress is similarly presented in Bagnyon’s prose version, where we read that she was “vestue d’une robe de pourpre merveilleusement riche, pointee d’estoilles de fin or, la quelle fut faite d’une faye” [wearing a dress of a marvelously rich purple, embroidered with stars of fine gold, made by a fairy] (74).<sup>105</sup> Instead of being a “paile galacien,” the textile in Bagnyon’s text is a rich silk cloth with no geographical belonging attached to it. Otherwise, this prose text follows the French verse very closely.

Some of these elements are maintained in *Historia del emperador* but others are modified. Floripes’s gown in Piemonte’s text is a “brial de purpura bordado de *letras moriscas de oro*” [purple silk dress embroidered with *gold Moorish letters*] (fol. 14va, my emphasis). Piemonte’s translation follows Bagnyon in the type of cloth, purple

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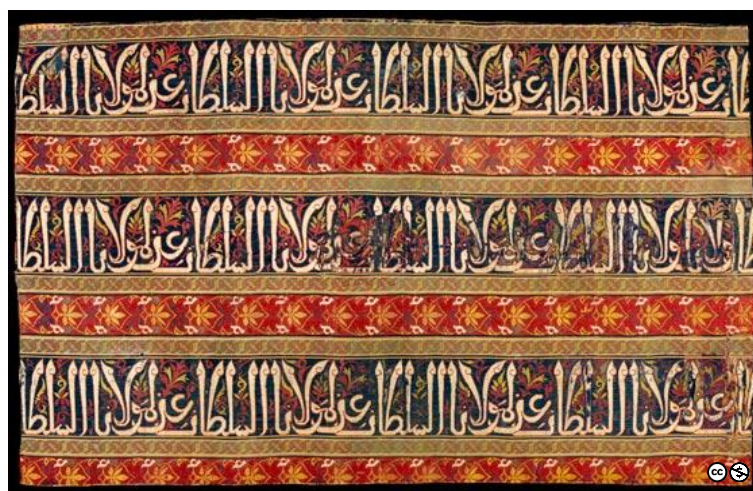
<sup>103</sup> E. Jane Burns has convincingly argued that often the use of “Saracen Silks,” as she calls them, in romance texts serve to “display the requisite wealth of European courtly players” but also mark their western identity “as utterly dependent for its visual recognition and social definition on [Eastern or Islamic] goods” (*Courtly* 183).

<sup>104</sup> The trope of fairy weaving and embroidery is somewhat common in French medieval narratives. Sarah-Grace Heller has posited that fairy work “shifts the production of embroidery out of the court, out of the romance, into places where the courtly do not go” (“Obscure Lands” 35). Therefore, the work of these beings becomes foreign besides having magical skills involved. Furthermore, Floripes’s clothing is exotic not only because it is made by fairies, but because the material comes from an exoticized land. Galacia, as Le Person notes in his edition of manuscript *E*, might be Galatia “au coeur de l’Asie Mineure” [at the heart of Asia Minor]; the northwest province in Spain called Galicia; or the region in eastern Europe known as Galicia, Galacia or Halychyna (Le Person 561). Thus, either place is remote and populated by non-Christians in the European imaginary.

<sup>105</sup> Burns notes, in her *Courtly Love Undressed*, that *porpre* (in French) was a Byzantine silk, adding that this term literally refers to a purple silk, “although it later came in many grades, ranging in color from magenta to brown” (182, 187).



instead of the “paile galacien,” which implies that the exotic nature of the cloth is displaced from Galacia/Galicia to Byzantium.<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless, what Piemonte underscores are the letters embroidered on both sartorial elements: Floripes’s gown and the cloaks presented to the Christian knights. While during the Middle Ages many outer clothes had embroidered decorations on the hem, Muslim Iberia produced silk textiles that were very popular.

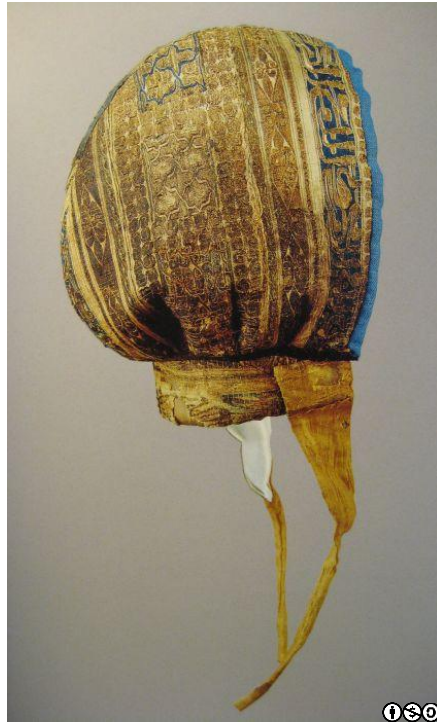


**Figure 7.** Silk textile with inscription, thirteenth century, Granada. (Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 1105-1900 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

An example of such textiles is shown in **Figure 7**, which represents one of the varieties of lettering on Iberian silks. Yet, the style of Moorish trimmings referred to in *Historia del emperador* seem closer to the ones found in the Monastery of Real de Huelgas, particularly the *cofia* (coif or bonnet) of Infant Ferdinand of Castile (1189-1211), which can be seen in **Figure 8**. María Judith Feliciano, in an article about the use of these textiles among the Christian Iberian elites, claims that “Andalusi textiles made of silk threads, wrapped in gold, colored in expensive trade dyes and woven by the most

<sup>106</sup> See previous footnote.

skilled hands, of whatever religious creed, were, indeed, the most decorous vestments with which to assert Castilian monarchic grandeur and cultural legitimacy” (“Muslim



**Figure 8.** Infant Ferdinand of Castile’s coif, late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Museum of Medieval Textiles, Burgos. Inventory number 00650505 (Source: Museodeburgos.com © Museo de Burgos).

Shrouds” 105). Castilian monarchs and other aristocrats, adds Feliciano, had used these garments since the ninth century therefore this “did not imply ‘dressing like’ a Muslim” (109). Instead, this reflects a well-established, pan-Iberian aesthetic that informed consistent patterns of conspicuous consumption (104). But it is quite clear that before the thirteenth century, the regulations about clothing were related to differentiation between classes and occupations. This would change once conversion to Christianity was made compulsory in al-Anadalu. *Historia del emperador* is not set in a particular period, but hints at a later moment when the Ottoman Empire was felt as a dangerous enemy, as we

have seen (Chapter 1). This means that sartorial restrictions for the Islamic Iberians were already being enforced when Nicolás de Piemonte translated this text.

Because *Historia del emperador* was translated between 1478 and 1521, these embroidered garments were problematic regardless of being fashionable in court, because of the embroidered writing in Arabic. The performative use given to these garments in ceremonies, festivals, and rituals are those mentioned by the foreigners visiting the Iberian Peninsula: in *juegos de cañas*, the reception of visitors, or the queen's arrival in Illora to show her support of the War of Granada. But in a quotidian register, a number of decrees were issued since 1500 banning the use of spoken and written Arabic, and this was followed by “a series of royal mandates in the 1510s and 1520s [which] prohibited much of [the Iberian Muslim's] traditional clothing, food, festive dances, and other elements of their culture that religious officials considered evidence of continuing allegiance to their supposedly discarded former faith” (Mary Elizabeth Perry 67). Laws like these were meant to ensure that the Muslim population in the Iberian Peninsula was truly converting to Christianity.

Moreover, these attempts to religiously and culturally homogenize the diverse groups governed by the Catholic Monarchs can also represent a response to the European construction of Castile and Aragon (and Spain as a nation in the process of being formed) as exotic. Maurophobia—the negative attitude towards Iberian Muslims—in these kingdoms partially stemmed from “travelers' vision... of a Moorish Spain,” but also resonated within the Catholic Monarchs' court (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 21). Ferdinand and Isabella not only advanced against the Kingdom of Granada, they also enforced laws that would somewhat deter the exoticization of Castile and Aragon. Fuchs has argued that

Isabella's chroniclers, Fernando del Pulgar and Alonso de Palencia, advanced a version of Spanish history according to which the Queen's position as she took the throne was to rectify Enrique IV of Castile's maurophilia (*Exotic Nation* 17-18). But the historiographical maurophobia of Palencia and others "was only one discourse among many, and coexisted with a widespread Moorish habitus in Spain" (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 20). While rich Andalusí textiles were used in court, which somehow implies a sartorial maurophilia, Palencia and others openly espoused the opposed position to the physical presence of Muslims in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon.

Another move to reject exoticization—similar to the attitude stemmed from the travelers' visions of Iberia—appears in *Historia del emperador* when Oliveros receives the cloak embroidered with Arabic letters taken from the Qur'an and Floripes requests him to wear it. This narrative moment, unique to *Historia del emperador*, allows Piemonte to comment on "ethnic cross-dressing," to pass as the ethnic and religious Other, to disguise as a Moor. Floripes tells Oliveros that he and the other knights look good with such garments, "bien parecian vestidos a la morisca" (fol. 15vb). Lightheartedly still, Floripes comments that in wearing such clothing she does not know if she should call Oliveros "cristiano o moro" [Christian or Muslim] (fol. 15vb).<sup>107</sup> The princess is quick to note however that passing might be impossible as he is unable to read the letters embroidered on the clothes, adding that these hold all of Mohammed's law. Feliciano explains, in relation to the Arabic trimmings with letters in garments as these, that "the specific contents of the decoration [in Andalusí fabrics] were deemed complementary to the richness of the materials and their overall effect," at least in the

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<sup>107</sup> In this case, this term clearly refers to a religious belonging, not to a geographical one.

thirteenth century (“Muslim Shrouds” 118). Moreover, the taste for Andalusí luxury goods among Castilian nobles was not “due to a Castilian state of cultural illiteracy, or to a lack of awareness... of Arabic epigraphic information woven into the textiles” (Feliciano 118). Thus, what Floripes notes is that Christian nobles are willing to accept and even to wear these luxurious clothes, yet they are ignorant of the “true” meaning contained in the fabric.<sup>108</sup> In other words, the princess in *Historia del emperador* posits that “ethnic passing” requires that one not only has the appearance of the Other but also to have a close understanding of the Other’s culture.

The mere idea of being identified as Muslim because of the Qu’ranic embroidery on the garments harks back to the sartorial prohibitions for *cristianos nuevos*, because the use of “Moorish-style” clothes among the Iberian population was seen as evidence of Muslim resistance to assimilation. The Inquisition used such elements in their trials against alleged crypto-Muslims—Muslims who, despite of recent conversion to Christianity, would keep practicing their previous religious rituals behind doors—fearing the contagion or “the perceived ability of Moriscos to ‘pass’ as Old Christians” which fed the ever increasing strength of punitive responses (Feliciano and Rouhi 322). Therefore, when Oliveros replies, “Señora, el abito no faze al monje et dios solamente mira la voluntad con que se fazen las cosas: y rescibe la pureza delas entrañas” [Lady, the cloak does not make the monk, God only looks into the will put into doing things and receives the purity of the inside] the knight immediately embraces Christianity through

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<sup>108</sup> Kinoshita also comments on the “incongruous spectacle of ‘clergymen and crusaders’ arrayed in ‘glowing ceremonial garments, where the praise of Allah was embroidered in the ‘tirāz’ [decorative silk bands], in words luckily unintelligible to most of the bearers of such a cloth,’” (16, quoting Lopez [“Mohammed” 37]). Nevertheless, Lopez is referring to an earlier period in the trade between the Muslim East and early Christian Europe.

particularly relevant references (fol. 15vb).<sup>109</sup> The first part of Oliveros's response derives from a quite common dictum that in English has been translated as "clothes do not make the man." Interestingly, this saying in Castilian as well as in French has evident Christian undertones as it refers to a "monk." Pierre-Marie Quitard, in his *Dictionnaire étymologique, historique, et anecdotique des proverbes*, mentions that this proverb has been associated with diverse origins. Quitard posits that some scholars have claimed that this saying "fut introduit par les jurisconsultes canoniques, qui décidèrent que la profession était nécessaire pour posséder un bénéfice régulier, et qu'il ne suffisait pas du noviciat et de la prise d'habit, ou, ce qui revient au même, que l'*habit ne faisait pas le moine*" [was introduced by canonical jurists, who decided that profession was necessary to have a regular benefice deeming the novitiate and taking of the habit was insufficient, therefore, l'*habit ne faisait pas le moine*] (443, emphasis in the original). As early as 1227, Pope Gregory IX expressed this idea in his *Decretales*, when saying that "quum monachum non faciat habitus, sed professio regularis" [religious profession (of a rule), not the cloak, makes a monk] (Liber III Ch. XIII). Moreover, Quitard believes that the proverb is an adaptation of "*Isiacum linostolia non facit, la robe de lin ne fait pas le prêtre d'Isis*" [linen clothing does not make a priest of Isis] (443). This connection furthers the religious aspect of the dictum.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> *Entrañas* in Spanish actually is 'entrails' or 'innards' thus the phrase implies a bodily cleanliness.

<sup>110</sup> Nevertheless, Jerónimo Martín Caro y Cejudo, a seventeenth-century Spanish humanist, relates the proverb to other sources. "El habito no hace al monge. Dícese tambien así con sentido contrario del precedente, para significar que no importan nada las señales, y apariencias exteriores, si no concuerda con ellas lo interior. *Barba no facit philosophum*. Tomóse de Plutarco, que dice: *Neque enim alere barbam, aut gestare vile pallium Philosophum facit, neque lineis vestiri Isiacos, vel Barba tenus Sapientes*. Erasmo. Alude á esto aquello de Herodes Attico: *Video barbam, & pallium, Philosophum non video, vel Regem non faciunt opes*. Seneca. in Thyeste, vel *Non omnes, qui habent citharam, sunt cithareadi*, Varro, vel: *Non monachi probitas longa censenda poderi, / Saepè tegit nequam lata cuculla caput*. Ferdinand. Benavent. vel *Pexatum pulchrè vulgi sententia vani / Musarum jurat protinues esse ducem*. Idem" (103)

In the Iberian Peninsula, the idea that “the cloak does not make the monk” appears as early as 1293, in *Castigos e documentos para bien vivir* attributed to King Sancho IV. While it is a recurrent dictum, its use during the early fifteenth century in Gutierre Díaz de Gámez’s *El Victorial*, also known as *Crónica de don Pero Niño*, is very useful to our close reading about Oliveros’s response to Floripes. The first of these two sources, *Castigos e documentos para bien vivir*, in its chapter XVIII, “De commo non deue omne traer en la su casa omne de orden que sea desobediente a su mayoral” [About how someone should not allow in his home an ordained man who is disobedient to his leader], mentions that Saint Jerome said, “‘El monje faze al abito, ca non el abito al monje.’ La bondat e las buenas costumbres del religioso lo dan por perfecto acabadamente en su bondat, e la obediencia e la diciplina lo confirman, e el silencio lo tira de dezir vanidades” [‘the monk makes the cloak and not the cloak, the monk.’ The holy man’s kindness and good manners guide him to perfecting his kindness, obedience and discipline confirm it, and silence deters him from speaking vainly] (114). Already in this first instance, we can see a clear connection between the dictum and religious devotion. Therefore, *Castigos e documentos* could confirm Oliveros’s explanation that someone’s nature is established through actions and not his or her appearance. This motif would become far more important later, during the Spanish Golden Age, when we find numerous literary references to the idea that a man is created by his actions (or deeds).

The second source, *El Victorial*, also uses the dictum “Non face el hábito al monge más el monge al hábito” [the cloak does not make the monk but rather the monk, the cloak] (278). But, this fifteenth century text adds a reference to *Mat. 22:14*, “muchos son los llamados é pocos los escogidos” [many are called but few are chosen]

immediately after (278). Díaz de Gámez's chronicle is not talking about monks nor referring to the parable of the wedding banquet mentioned in that biblical passage; instead, it is making a parallel between religious and chivalric orders. This is one of the reasons why this source is so important for our reading. The second part of Oliveros's reply to Floripes has a parallel construction to that of *El Victorial*, as the Christian knight adds a biblical reference after mentioning that "the cloak does not make the monk." Oliveros remarks that "dios solamente mira la voluntad con que se fazen las cosas" [God only considers the will put into doing things] which comes from *I Sam.* 16:7 (Piemonte fol. 15vb). This biblical passage refers to external appearances, as "the Lord said to Samuel, 'Do not look on his appearance or on the height of his stature, because I have rejected him. For the Lord sees not as man sees: *man looks on the outward appearance, but the Lord looks on the heart*" (my emphasis). Both texts, *El Victorial* and *Historia del emperador*, are bringing up issues of "true" identity that may or may not be disguised under a piece of garment (an embroidered cloak, in Piemonte's text). Therefore, someone's identity is not performed through external elements, but rather it is constructed by the person's belief, lineage and social standing. In other words, Nicolás de Piemonte could well be making a case against sumptuary and sartorial prohibitions, as the ultimate judgment would come from God and not from man. It should not have mattered if *cristianos nuevos* wore Moorish-style clothing, as long as their intention (*voluntad*) was that of belonging to the Christian flock.

Nevertheless, the third part of Oliveros's response to Floripes contradicts this idea. Oliveros claims that "el abito no faze al monje et dios solamente mira la voluntad con que se fazen las cosas, y rescibe la pureza de las entrañas" [the cloak does not make



the monk, God only looks into the will put into doing things, and *receives the purity of the inside*] (fol. 15vb, my emphasis). While appearances are not relevant to identity—therefore sartorial restrictions are unnecessary—what really matters is inner “purity.” In this historical context, the Iberian concerns about blood purity or cleanliness (*limpieza de sangre*, in Spanish) cannot help but come to the fore. Thus, rather than looking at the external signs of an individual, will and purity are what determine identity. Neither element can be performed, as will is not yet attached to ideas about an individual’s acts here, meaning that the emergent ideology that implied that “the execution of some heroic deeds leads to a rebirth of the subject through which it abandons its former identity” was not fully operative yet (Mariscal 49). Instead, what really matters is the cleanliness of the “inward parts” as an echo of the ideology of blood, and these biological elements cannot be performed. Therefore, the ability to distinguish between the diverse religious communities in the Iberian Peninsula is not dependent on external, but on internal aspects. Oliveros’s argument has to do with identity and performance; it is clear that Oliveros’s retort after Floripes teases him about not knowing whether to call him “cristiano o moro” seems aligned with the preoccupation of how clothing fashions a man. It is not his clothing, says Oliveros, that makes him a Muslim or a Christian. Instead, his intentions and lineage are what make a difference.

The additions and modifications about disguise, identity concealment and “ethnic passing” that Nicolás de Piemonte made in translating Jehan Bagnyon’s *L’Histoire de Charlemagne* allude to important political issues within the Iberian Peninsula. Though the use of disguise to conceal a character’s identity was a common element in medieval romance, *Historia del emperador* focuses on an issue of the permeability of boundaries

between an Other and the Self—both groups inaccurately deemed homogeneous. Richarte’s unintended moment of “ethnic passing” and Oliveros’s rejection of an “ethnic cross-dressing” scene bring up the Iberian policies regarding differentiation between religious and ethnic communities. Richarte de Normandía and Oliveros’s external appearances (armor and arms, and embroidered clothing, respectively) are not relevant to Piemonte; far more important is their allegiance to Charlemagne—their liege lord—and Christianity. But, as shown in this chapter, the charters and regulations enforced in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were directed to a multifaceted Other: *moros*, *moriscos*, *crisianos nuevos* and also *viejos*. The population that wore sartorial markers associated with Muslim Iberia was diverse in lineage and geographical origins, religious and political loyalties. But in both textual cases, what comes through is that identity is constructed through demeanor and intentions; furthermore, religious identity is not fashioned based on sartorial markers, as those can be used to impersonate the Other.

Piemonte, in these two segments, plays with the apparent instability of identity. Richarte’s appearance might cause hesitation, but not his customs and practices. Clearly, Richard is Christian from the inside; there is no question about it, regardless of his donning Moorish style armor. In other words, he wears his Christianity closer to his skin. Oliveros is also Christian from the inside, which is evident in his response to Floripes’s proposal of playful transvestism. What Oliveros claims is that his bodily interior is pure, i.e. Christian. Both moments, in their rejection of an identity slippage, signal a fascination with clothing as marker of identity in the time period when *Historia del emperador* was translated: the preoccupation with how clothing fashions a man. As Barbara Fuchs puts it,

early modern Spain (and I would add, late medieval also) was “obsessed over *how dress fashioned those who wore it* and, particularly, how the luxury and variety of Spanish costume conspired against a solid national identity” (*Exotic Nation* 62, my emphasis).

Through moments of hesitancy about the ethnic identity of Richarte and the exoticism of garments in Balan’s court, Piemonte critiques a well-documented maurophilia in the court of the Catholic Monarchs. In *España y su historia*, Ramón Menéndez Pidal explains that,

Los castellanos, lejos de sentir repulsión hacia los pocos musulmanes refugiados en su último reducto de Granada, se sintieron atraídos hacia aquella exótica civilización, aquel *lujo oriental en el vestuario*... aquel *modo de cabalgar*, de armarse y de combatir... la maurofilia, en fin, se hizo moda. (276, my emphasis)

[the Castilians, far from feeling any repulsion toward the few Muslims taking refuge in their last holdout of Granada, felt attracted toward that exotic civilization, that *oriental luxury of dress*... that *mode of riding*, arming oneself, and fighting... Maurophilia, in sum, became fashionable].<sup>111</sup>

But this attraction to everything Moorish also had another side, a maurophobia that is enacted in the *cartas pragmáticas* and other legal instruments that attempted to erase the Islamic past in the Iberian Peninsula. The erasure of religious difference, though through conversion and baptism, is the matter of next chapter. In this chapter I assert that, in his version of *Fierabras*, Nicolás de Piemonte’s use of Moorish clothing and armor in these segments are speaking to these attitudes towards what makes a man. Some are said to be wolves in sheep’s clothing, but here some “sheep” seem to be donning a “wolf’s clothing,” yet that is only appearance.

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<sup>111</sup> The translation to English is from Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, page 60.

### Chapter III. Baptism and Conversion: Religious (Un)stable Identities

Es por demás pedir al judío  
que sea cristiano en su corazón;  
es por demás buscar perfección  
adonde el amor de Dios está frío.

También está llano  
que es por demás al que es mal cristiano  
doctrina de Cristo por fuerza ni ruego...  
—Gil Vicente, *Sermón* (1506)

[It is pointless to ask a Jew  
to be a Christian at heart;  
it is pointless to look for perfection  
where the love of God is cold  
it is also evident  
that it is pointless for the bad Christian  
to worship Christ by force or plea...]

Many western European Christian narratives, some dating back as early as the eighth century, but especially those known as romances that were composed during the thirteenth century, refer to the baptism and conversion of the religious Other.<sup>112</sup> In most cases, narratives like *Chanson de Roland* depict baptism and conversion as a single process that modifies the convert entirely.<sup>113</sup> Yet, these are two different procedures. Christianization—another term to refer to the change of religious membership—from the *Acts of the Apostles* to crusading narratives to books of chivalry, tends to be represented as irreversible, at least in the case of Saracens.<sup>114</sup> In these sources, the conversion process is strengthened by miracles taking place during wars and elsewhere. Nevertheless, as James C. Russell notes, “studies of medieval Christianity generally concede that the

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<sup>112</sup> For the dating of romances, see Dorothee Metlitzki (243) and Barbara Fuchs (*Romance* 4).

<sup>113</sup> James C. Russell, in an attempt to define conversion, explains that this procedure might only refer to repentance when used in the sense of *metanoia*, which implies leaving behind a state of sinfulness (26-7). On the other hand, conversion can be equated to Christianization and include baptism and the “crossing of religious frontiers” (Nock 7).

<sup>114</sup> As I mention in Chapter 1, “Saracen” was used to mean “Arab” and/or “Muslim” during the Middle Ages.

initial results of Christianization efforts were largely superficial, and that many pagan practices and attitudes remained for centuries” (33). Additionally, Jonathan M. Elukin in studying the case of Jews mentions that their conversion was viewed with suspicion because baptism never “effaced completely their Jewish identity” (171). Evidence of the superficiality of conversions and the resulting syncretism among previously non-Christians, are texts like Martin of Braga’s *De Correctione Rusticorum*. These texts were intended for “the barely Christian or the semi-Christian or the ignorant Christian or the backsliding Christian” and the need to “correct” syncretic and non-normative religious practices (Fletcher 204). In contrast, just as in many books of chivalry and crusading narratives, *Fierabras* and its hypertexts depict baptism as a means of thorough conversion.<sup>115</sup> The religious Other in these texts is defeated in battle and thus convinced of the superiority of Christianity. This process leads to baptism as metonym of conversion.

This chapter deals with matters of baptism and conversion in Nicolás de Piemonte’s rendition of *Fierabras. Historia del emperador*, the Castilian edition, provides a different depiction of conversion and baptism than the French and English verse and prose versions. Regardless of being a triumphalist representation of the defeat of Christendom over heathendom, like the French *Fierabras* and the Middle English *Sowdone of Babylone* (henceforth *Sowdone*), Piemonte’s translation of Jehan Bagnyon’s *L’Histoire de Charlemagne* departs from its hypotext and brings to the fore issues of loyalty and religious doubt.

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<sup>115</sup> Hypertexts, as I have explained before, refer to later versions based on an original text.

A close reading of the specific textual departures related to religious identity and conversion enables us to approach issues of racial and cultural difference, where the former has been imagined as biological and the latter has been separated from its embodiment. First of all, this analysis of *Historia del emperador* delves into issues of what determines identity, a discussion begun in the previous chapters. As I showed in Chapter 1, for late medieval Iberia, identity is not centered on skin color or physical traits. Cultural practices—diet, weaponry, and geographical designations—are essential in determining identity. But certain cultural aspects, like armor and clothing, can be used to represent or perform a different ethnic identity, as described in Chapter 2. Yet, “ethnic passing” is not a possibility because “true identity” is apparent regardless.<sup>116</sup> This “true identity,” to which Steven Kruger refers as a “true (racial) self” when discussing conversion (72), depends on lineage or bloodline, if you will. Thus identity is, after all, integrated to the body. In the present chapter I want to take this discussion further, claiming that the ability Fierabras and his sister, Floripes, to transform their selves is dependent on their high station and good “nature,” as well as on the social conditions in which they are immersed during and after their conversion.

Race, has been argued, is an uncommon term in the Middle Ages. Yet, current scholarship debates about the use of race and other concepts that in our understanding might be inadequate during pre- and early modern periods. Because race and identity might change with conversion, I provide in the first section my stance on these matters. I end that same section showing that religious difference in *Fierabras* (with the exception

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<sup>116</sup> This is not unique of Iberian literature in the Middle Ages. In the twelve-century werewolf narrative *Guillaume de Palerne*, for instance, the protagonist is unaware of his high birth, but everyone around him discovers this fact through his courageous acts.

of *Sowdone*) is not based on physical features, as skin color; yet ethnic and religious identity is performative. To investigate the performance of religious identity, I first focus on Floripes, who has been used as an important case of the “Saracen princess” convention.<sup>117</sup> My contention in this section diverges from what other scholars have proposed: Floripes will convert not because of the way she looks, but because of the way she acts. Then, I will look into important textual differences between *Historia del emperador* and its hypotexts regarding Fierabras as a “convertible” Other, not based on his physical beauty but on his chivalric behavior.

Because the pivotal text in this dissertation is Castilian, and to further understand the response and doubts of *cristianos viejos* (literally “old Christians,” implying not newly converted) about the conversion of Jews and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, in the second section I provide a brief account of baptism and conversion in this region, spanning from the thirteenth to sixteenth century. Particularly after 1492, *cristianos viejos* accused recent converted Jews and Muslims of cultural and religious relapse, an accusation closely related to the concept of embodied difference. In part, these accusations were due to a lack of religious instruction or, at least, that was the Moriscos’ claim to persist in their cultural practices. Therefore, the second section ends with a close reading of the scenes where Floripes is catechized according to diverse versions of *Fierabras*. This reading demonstrates that Floripes is not converting just because of her love for a Christian knight, as happens in most versions of *Fierabras*, but because she

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<sup>117</sup> Examples of works studying this convention are Lynn Tarte Ramey’s *Christian, Saracen, and Genre in Medieval French Literature*, Jacqueline de Weever’s *Sheba’s Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic*, Dorothee Metlitzki’s *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England*, and Sharon Kinoshita’s *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature*.

receives adequate indoctrination. This I see as a reflection of theological conflicts about religious education in the Iberian kingdoms towards the end of the fifteenth century.

In *Historia del emperador* as well as in contemporary law edicts about conversion, lineage and bloodline were essential to the doubting about the sincerity of the conversions. In the third section of this chapter, I explore the importance of filial loyalty and lineage vis-à-vis religious conversion. Both Floripes and Fierabras experience moments of identity crisis that, as Kruger shows, “explicitly foreground the possibility of, as well as the limits to, a movement between different identity positions and between potential opposed areas of cultural inclusion and exclusion” (71). These doubts and hesitations about filial duty vis-à-vis religious belonging are completely absent from all other versions of *Fierabras*. Though I mention Floripes in this section, my emphasis is on Fierabras, whose identity crises lead me to conclude in this chapter that Nicolás de Piemonte’s version recognizes a hybrid, *morisco* identity.

In sum, this chapter deals with the ordeals *moriscos* had to face when forced to convert, yet were expected to modify all their cultural practices to proof the sincerity in their profession of Christianity. Floripes and Fierabras represent a *buen cristiano nuevo*—a *morisco* who is truthful to his or her conversion—while still embracing their bloodline. This dual sense of belonging is a late medieval instance of the “outsider within,” borrowing the term from Patricia Hill Collins.<sup>118</sup> Such hybrid identity—a *moro* lineage with a Christian religion—speaks of the impossibility of physically alter the religious

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<sup>118</sup> In her article “Learning from the Outsider Within,” Patricia Hill Collins explains that in the case of Black women, “their outsider allegiances may militate against their choosing full insider status, and they be more apt to remain outsiders within” (S26). This standpoint is similar to that of Fierabras and Floripes, who are neither fully Christians nor Muslims. Their divided allegiances enable them a particular stance about religion and culture otherwise unavailable to the reader of *Fierabras*.



Other through baptism, yet the “true self” or “buena natura” [good nature] is the basis for a sincere conversion.

The earliest edition of *Historia del emperador* known today (1521) appeared when the program of religious homogeneity officially enforced by King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile expanded to other Iberian kingdoms. It was also an era when the forced Christianization of *moros* was used as justification for uprisings in Aragon and other provinces. While the expulsion of the Jews and the Fall of Granada were recent history, the rejection of what Alain Milhou refers as the “herencia oriental de España” [Oriental heritage of Spain] (“Desemitización” 36) and the Europeanist approaches in the peninsula—which looked to northern Europe as its cultural model—were still current. In other words, the internal policies related to religious tolerance and conversion were essential to the period covering the last third of the fifteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century. In *Historia del emperador* I find evidence that the binary Christian/non-Christian was not that clear, and that religious homogeneity as part of the formation of a new national consciousness was a difficult goal to attain.

In order to establish some common ground, it is important to define conversion and baptism more clearly. Conversion, as Calvin Kendall notes, is the movement from an “ordinary” to a more intense religious identity or, in other words, from laity to religiousness as is the case with Saint Paul or Saint Augustine.<sup>119</sup> Even the pursuit of “more intense forms of religiosity” was considered conversion during the Middle Ages

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<sup>119</sup> In “Conversion and Conformity,” Van Engen explores this process during the fifteenth century, and claims that it is the prevalent sense of the term “conversion” during the Middle Ages (31).

(Van Engen 31).<sup>120</sup> Conversion can also be the “replacement of one belief system by another. It applies to the individual who has been brought to abandon his or her old religion and to substitute for it a new and different one” (Kendall 1). For the latter process, Richard Bulliet prefers the term “social conversion” instead, meaning a “conversion involving movement from one religious defined social community to another,” whereas “formal conversion” is the actual utterance of faith (33).<sup>121</sup> This would imply that baptism as a rite of passage is a “formal conversion.”

Other scholars have looked for different terms for both processes. For the social acceptance of a new religion, which “commonly involves passive reception of new doctrines and devotions, without any active commitment,” Felipe Fernández-Armesto urges the adoption of a new word, “reserving ‘conversion’ for individual transformation” such as Saint Paul’s (18). Fernández-Armesto explains that “medieval sources preferred to call it ‘acceptance’ or ‘submission’ or something of the sort, keeping ‘conversion’ as the name of an act of espousal of the religious life” (18). Arthur Nock prefers “adhesion” to refer to the “acceptance of new worships as useful supplements and not as substitutes, and they did not involve the taking of a new way of life in place of the old” (7).

Nevertheless, Nock and Fernández-Armesto are referring to two different aspects of religious conversion; the latter better reflects the process of the Christianization of Germanic peoples during the early Middle Ages. Germanic peoples and other pagan

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<sup>120</sup> According to Felipe Fernández-Armesto, this process of conversion has three stages: “*Epistrophe* – ‘turning around,’ the revelatory moment, the recoil from the past- is followed by *metanoia* – ‘changing one’s mind,’ sometimes mistranslated as ‘repentance,’ which includes acceptance of Christian tenets. The further consequence, which few converts seem... able to sustain for long, is *anagenesis* – ‘regeneration,’ transformed behavior” (17).

<sup>121</sup> Ana Echevarría comments that “social conversion” as defined by Bulliet is adequate for the Iberian case because it implies “a society in which social identity was normally defined in religious terms, as opposed to tribal or national terms” (186). Yet, as we will see in this chapter, religion and lineage are closely knitted in most Iberian texts.

groups, as Russell contends, accepted elements from different religious practices, adapting them to their needs. This implies a supplementary worship instead of a substitution of creed. Furthermore, Russell explains this process as a reinterpretation of a universal religion (Christianity) in a folk-religious mode (here, a pagan syncretic set of practices).<sup>122</sup> In the case of *Historia del emperador* and other late medieval Iberian texts mentioned in this chapter, “conversión” (which is the literal translation for “to convert”) is used in both senses, although most frequently the terms are “reducir” or “tornar.”<sup>123</sup> Therefore, to remain consistent with the textual sources, in this chapter the word “conversion” stands simultaneously for both processes: the acceptance of a new religious doctrine both as an individual process and a collective one, and the religious rite of passage.

### **Race vis-à-vis Ethnicity in Conversion**

One of the questions debated by theologians since the early Middle Ages was whose souls could be redeemed through conversion and baptism. By the fifth century, Saint Augustine was proposing in *De Civitate Dei* that all descendants of Adam could be saved, even monstrous races and unusual births (XVI.8).<sup>124</sup> But for most theologians religious identity, though evidenced through bodily features, depended on other attitudes.

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<sup>122</sup> Russell explains that the world-view of Germanic religions was “essentially folk-centered and ‘world-accepting’” (4). It is that author’s contention that in order to be accepted among these groups, Christianity had to be “responsive to the heroic, religiopolitical, and magicoreligious orientation of the Germanic world-view” (4). About the process of mutual influence between Christianity and these Germanic religions, see pp. 49-54 and 108-112.

<sup>123</sup> The Castilian verb *reducir* literally means “to reduce,” but can also imply “submission” or “to be folded into something.”

<sup>124</sup> Augustine of Hippo, in claiming that the monstrous races “ex Adam sunt, si homines sunt” [if they are human, they are descended from human] implies that they can be saved through baptism (*De Civitate Dei* 48, 49).

Many emphasized the importance of becoming a “good Christian:” a true believer in Christ; a “true citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem” as Saint Augustine remarks in *De Catechizandis Rudibus* (*First Catechetical Instruction* 29).<sup>125</sup> Baptism just before death is insufficient therefore, as Kruger explains, “the individual must choose to lead the right kind of life” (76). In other words, salvation attained by conversion was discussed continuously in theological texts, epics and romances.

Phillipa Hardmann and Marianne J. Ailes state, when referring to *Boeve de Haumtone* and *Fierabras*, that baptism in romances “was seen as having the supernatural power to wash away original sin and confer God’s grace on the person being baptized. In [these texts] baptism is seen as ‘making someone a Christian,’ not just symbolizing a salvation that has already taken place: Fierabras is insistent that if he dies before baptism he will die a Saracen” (52).<sup>126</sup> This “washing power” of baptism has led Lisa Lampert to claim—in her “Race, Periodicity, and the (Neo-) Middle Ages”—that religious differences can be represented as somatic: skin color becomes a “protoracial” representation according to *King of Tars* (c. 1330) and *Parzival* (c. 1203-08). One of the differences between these two texts and *Historia del emperador* is that skin color is not present in the latter, as I have shown in Chapter 1. Rather, Nicolás de Piemonte emphasizes on cultural practices to distinguish a community. These markers serve as “statements [that] persons or groups use to recognize one another” or to differentiate from other groups (Trexler 3). But in *Guy of Warwick*, as Jeffrey J. Cohen shows, cultural practices like custom, law, language, and geographical origin are “essential to the

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<sup>125</sup> The text in Latin reads: “uerissimos ciues caelestis Ierusalem” (*De Catechizandis Rudibus* VII, 11, p.132).

<sup>126</sup> This idea appears in lines 1598-9 of the French verse version of *Fierabras*.

construction of medieval race,” as well as religion, descent, monstrosity and species (“Race” 111). In other words, ethno-cultural markers are paramount in the medieval conception of identity, particularly in some regions.

The present chapter is concerned with conversion and baptism because, though these processes can actually modify someone’s identity even if not as an apparent biological (dermal) change, the emphasis on determining religious identity—particularly towards the late Middle Ages—is dependent on other attitudes. Unlike sartorial elements that can be used by anyone to *represent* a different class, gender, or religious group, christening does not imply a perceptible physical change (despite the whitening taking place in *King of Tars*).<sup>127</sup> The only exception would be the conversion of men to Judaism or Islam, as circumcision is a prerequisite in the rite of passage.<sup>128</sup> Yes, “race is bluntly corporeal: an identity system that anchors difference to the body, frequently through physical signs like the shape of one’s nose, contours of lips, texture of hair, variations in dermal pigmentation, embodied otherness,” as Cohen notes (“Race” 112). Yet, while in *King of Tars* conversion to Christianity causes a physical modification—a bleaching with baptismal waters—this is not the case with *Fierabras* and all its versions, particularly in *Historia del emperador*.

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<sup>127</sup> As mentioned above, some medieval texts do imagine baptism as a supernatural procedure through which a body can be rendered healthy and complete. The best example is the *King of Tars*, where baptism and/or conversion to Christianity transform a monstrous lump of “flesche” into a perfect baby.

<sup>128</sup> In reference to early modern English literature, Daniel Vitkus explains that circumcision was the bodily representation of conversion that could not be erased but could be kept secret (55). Furthermore, as José Pardo Tomás notes in the case of the fifteenth-century Iberian Peninsula, “whether real or imaginary, the secret sign on this peculiar ‘extremity’ of the masculine body continued to allow the maintenance of mechanisms of social control and the legitimization of policies of racial segregation” (170).

The Middle English translation of *Fierabras*, known as *Sowdone*, is perhaps the most important example of the depiction of dermal difference in relation to religion.<sup>129</sup> In this text, skin color is an important element of distinction as Saracens are described physically as “Some bloo, some yolowe, some blake as More, / Some horrible and stronge as devel of helle” while Fierabras and Floripes, his sister, are light-skinned (ll. 1005-6). This is a reminder of the Northern European assumption that Iberians (not only Muslim ones, but Christians too) and other “Saracens” do not look like “Europeans.” Yet, those who are to be baptized are physically idealized, their bodies represented as strong, beautiful, and white. This is what Suzanne Conklin Akbari posits in her *Idols in the East*. Akbari explains in her examination of the portrayal of Saracens and the Orient, that Saracens—the paradigm of religious otherness during the Middle Ages—are divided into the “white, well proportioned, and assimilable, and those who are dark-skinned, deformed or of grotesque stature, and doomed to destruction” (156). It is her claim that popular medieval literature, unlike medical and astronomical literature, “regularly features attractive, European-looking Saracens side by side with dark-skinned, grotesque Saracens having the bodies of giants and the bodily features of animals” (Akbari 156). While these physical representations of difference are present in *Sowdone*, they do not appear in other renditions of *Fierabras*. This leads me to infer that skin color, at least in more Mediterranean settings as the south of France and the Iberian Peninsula, was not used to distinguish religious alliance.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Many scholars interested in the depiction of otherness in medieval literature have cited the description of these multicolored Saracens, though few have noted that it is not present in other versions of *Fierabras*.

<sup>130</sup> A source that might illuminate further the markers used in Castile to distinguish ethnic communities is the *Los Libros de Acedrex Dados e Tablas*, commissioned by King Alfonso X the Wise, which contains numerous illustrations of different peoples.

When we turn to the late medieval Castilian adaptation of *Fierabras*, the animal features in the “grotesque” giants have disappeared. In the English tradition, Alagolofure is a monstrous antagonist, the “geaunte stronge” who guards the bridge near Mauntrible, described as a hybrid creature: He has a leopard’s head, boar’s tusks, and black skin (*Sowdone* ll. 2135, 2192-4).<sup>131</sup> Curiously enough, in *Historia del emperador* Galafre (Alagolofure in the Middle English rendition) is described *only* as a horrible giant, with human-like features: Big red eyes, wide nose, thick lips, and really dark skin. This description is evidently not that of a monster, but perhaps of a sub-Saharan man. Otherwise, with the exception of the giants and Floripes (as mentioned below), in *Historia del emperador* skin color is not brought up.<sup>132</sup>

In most European areas “the christened knew only other christened peoples. Few ever witnessed a conversion to Christianity or met a convert—the world of Iberia standing out, in this respect, as exceptional,” Van Engen notes (30). Most people did not have the opportunity to meet merchants from distant lands. Thus, “bloo,” “yolowe,” or “blake” were possible dermal descriptions, and having a leopard’s head or boar’s tusks could have represented physical traits of those unknown peoples. Nevertheless, the Iberian Peninsula had a privileged geographical and historical position, which favored multilingual and multiethnic encounters, as Nadia R. Altschul summarizes:

The substratum of Roman colonization in Iberia present all around the Mediterranean Sea, Byzantine settlement in the southern coasts, and the conquest of Romanized Iberia by Germanic tribes is joined to the occupation of the peninsula by Muslim troops starting in 711... [T]his

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<sup>131</sup> In Middle English, the text reads “And hede like an libarde. / Therto he was devely stronge; / His skynne was blake and harde.”

<sup>132</sup> A possible avenue for future research is the function of dermal difference in *Historia del emperador* as a class marker. It is worth comparing the hierarchical position of Galafre and his kin vis-à-vis Balan and his relatives. Evidently, at least in the case of Iberia, race, religion, and class are closely associated.

occupation was conducted primarily not by Arabs but rather by newly converted Berber troops. (7)

In other words, Iberia was a place of clashes and encounters, where a number of peoples with a variety of geographical origins and religious alliances were in contact.

Furthermore, to this layered society we should add the Jewish population, who together with many Christians went into exile in the Northern areas of the peninsula when the Berber-Arab occupation took place. The persecution of Jewish populations—particularly toward the end of the fifteenth century—led to mass conversions which, in turn, “added further layers and interstices to the cultural panorama of the Iberian world” (Altschul 8).

In the multilayered, medieval Iberia, religious identity was not a Christian/non-Christian binary but a continuum including Muslims, *mozárabes*, Jews, *moriscos*, *cristianos nuevamente convertidos*, *mudéjares*, *conversos*, crypto-Jews, renegades, and *cristianos viejos*.<sup>133</sup>

This panoply of religious adherence is the background to Nicolás de Piemonte’s *Historia del emperador* where, though skin color and physical features are mentioned, the emphasis on determining religious identity is made elsewhere: in the demeanor of the characters, both those who are converting and those who are not. The conversion and baptism of Fierabras and Floripes are relatively unrelated to their physical features, contrary to what Akbari claims in her reading of several other versions of *Fierabras*.<sup>134</sup>

Akbari notes that the violent nature and attractiveness of Fierabras and his sister render them Other and assimilable, respectively. Indeed, most renditions of this *chanson de*

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<sup>133</sup> In the Introduction, I explain these terms in detail.

<sup>134</sup> Akbari uses the French verse version, the fourteenth-century Middle English version known as *Sir Ferumbras* (Ashmole MS 33), the fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman verse version (Egerton MS 3028), as well as Bagnyon’s *Histoire de Charlemagne* and its translation by William Caxton titled *Hystory and Lyf of the Noble and Chrysten Prynce Charles the Grete*.



*geste* depict both characters as extremely aggressive; behavior that is “natural to Saracen bodies” as they commonly appeared in medieval popular literature (Akbari 168). But, on the other hand, the same renditions of *Fierabras* make sure to provide detailed descriptions of the beautiful, European-looking bodies of these two characters. It is this depiction that enables the reader to know Floripes and her brother are assimilable to Christendom. From the start of the narrative, both characters are always already (physically) marked by Christianity despite the fact that their initial actions link them to the religious Other. The Castilian translation, instead, plays down these physical features and enhances their behavior. Let us start exploring the divergent physical representations of Floripes in Piemonte’s version in comparison to its hypotexts. Piemonte’s representation of Floripes reveal a conscious authorial effort to specifically address a Spanish readership that is more knowledgeable of racial differences and, apparently, more conservative about women’s adequate behavior. Then, we will look into *Fierabras*’ descriptions to further understand how religious identity is here manifested.

Akbari notes that Floripes’ appearance in *Fierabras* is “a precursor of the normative behavior that she will embrace following her full incorporation into the Christian community upon being baptized” (166). Floripes’s body is described twice in most versions: in her initial portrayal and at the baptismal font. Akbari comments that “Bagnyon amplifies this account [of the woman’s body] even more” to the extent that the princess’s beauty satisfies even hunger (177). The scene at the baptismal font becomes a spectacle in Bagnyon’s version overshadowing Floripes’s agency and aggressiveness. In this rendition, the maiden “se despouilla pour soy baptiser. Elle estat despoulee se monstra tresbelle, blanche et bien formee et sy plaisante et amoureuse par la formosité de

sa personne que c'estoit de merueille" [strips to be baptized. Once naked she looks very beautiful, white and well formed, and so pleasant and lovely was her form that it caused one to marvel] (Bagnyon 170). Though Piemonte initially follows his source and describes the maiden as having skin "blanca como la leche" [milk-white] and gold skin-like hair, he almost completely eliminates the scene at the baptismal font (fol. 14va). In the Castilian version, the passage about Floripes' baptism neither mentions her stripping nor describes her body. After Charlemagne orders the archbishop to prepare everything necessary, the narration only states that Floripes "fue baptizada sin le mudar su nombre tan poco como a su hermano Fierabras: y fueron padrinos Carlo Magno y el duque Regner et Tierri duque d' dardania et luego fueron desposados" [was baptized without changing her name, just as her brother Fierabras did not change his. And Charlemagne, Duke Regner, and Tierri, duke of Dardania were her godparents, and then they got married] (fol 35vb). In this way, Nicolás de Piemonte minimizes the spectacle of Floripes' body that would be close to obscene for his readers. Furthermore, the emphasis is not on her body, as her looks are not essential to her conversion but to establish Floripes' social station.

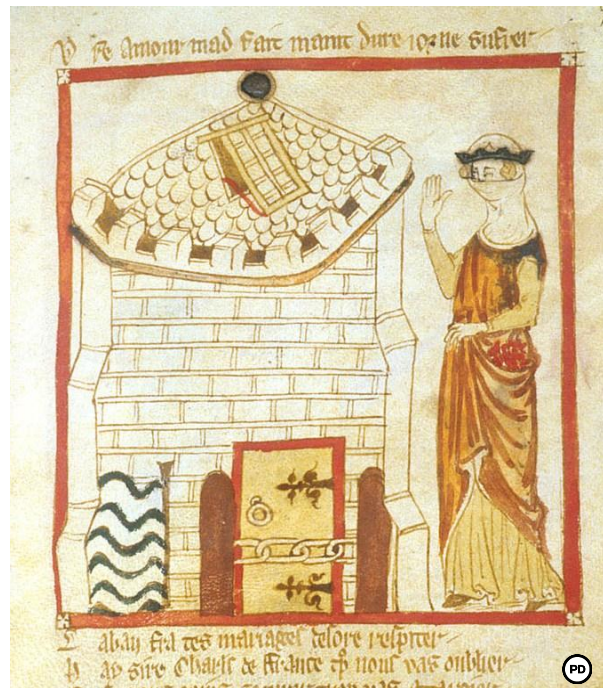
The elements that Piemonte keeps from the hypertext deem Floripes as a Christian before conversion and baptism. The association between Floripes' appearance and her interiority<sup>135</sup> is made clear when Oliveros states that "la presencia [es] muestra de lo que dentro en las entrañas esta encerrado" [presence shows what is hidden on the inside] (Piemonte fol. 15ra).<sup>136</sup> It is Floripes' appearance and demeanor what makes Oliveros

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<sup>135</sup> I refer to this association, though in relationship to Oliveros' claim that his identity is not dependent on his disguise, in Chapter 2.

<sup>136</sup> *Entrañas* in Spanish actually is 'entrails' or 'innards,' thus the phrase implies what is not apparent.

believe she is going to help them to get out of prison early in the narrative. In other words, just like in many other romance narratives, her beauty implies her good nature and social station. Furthermore, Piemonte is careful to emphasize Floripes' nobility and high birth, making a point to repeat a number of times that she is a "noble dama" [noble lady]. Bagnyon instead, following the French verse version, does not underscore the maiden's social rank. These textual modifications in the Castilian rendition of *Fierabras* point to the fact that a certain ideal of beauty—white skin and golden hair—was related to social standing. Status is what marks Floripes as assimilable.



**Figure 9.** Blond and white-skinned Floripes outside the prison. (Source: British Library, MS Egerton 3028, fol. 94 [detail] © British Library Board).

We should not forget that Floripes' lineage and future religious alliance requires her to behave according to certain behavioral standards that are not present in Bagnyon's version or in the twelfth-century French verse. When in Bagnyon's *Histoire de*

*Charlemagne* she confronts Sortibrant (one of Balan's most trusted knights), for instance, Floripes uses quite strong words for a lady. In front of her father, she calls Sortibrant "filz de putain! Traître desloial!" [Son of a bitch! Disloyal traitor!] (93). Instead, the Castilian version cleans up her image (and language) and has Floripes respond more properly, even after hearing a misogynist comment that might ruin her plans to save the Christian prisoners. Floripes does not use profanity, rather she is "demudada en grande grado et fecha tartamuda del muy crescido enojo: le dixo. Tu Sortibran hablaste como desleal et malo que deues ser: y por tal te juzgo en fablar tales palabras como has hablado" [seriously upset and begins to stutter because of her anger. She says, Sortibran, you have spoken as the disloyal and bad person you must be and thus I judge you by your words] (fol. 19va). Indeed here Floripes acts more accordingly to what is expected of a noble maiden, not like an aggressive "Saracen" as occurs in most French versions of *Fierabras*.<sup>137</sup> Therefore, Piemonte keeps constructing her identity based on particular attributes: social standing and demeanor are far more important in the Castilian translation than physical beauty.<sup>138</sup>

Notwithstanding her delicate and beautiful outward appearance, Floripes' behavior is paradoxical: she is also aggressive and violent. Suffice it to say that the princess, even in Piemonte's rendition of the story, kills the jailor using a club.<sup>139</sup> Then

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<sup>137</sup> Also, besides reminding his readers of Floripes' high birth and marvelous beauty, Piemonte further departs from his source and describes her as a woman "de muy cēdrado saber y discreciō" [of very refined knowledge and prudence] (fol. 14va).

<sup>138</sup> Akbari mentions that in the anonymous French prose version, dated towards the end of the fourteenth-century, Floripas "behaves according to the finest standards of women's behavior... she is an exemplary woman, given to devout expressions, displaying modesty and restraint" (185-6). Perhaps Nicolás de Piemonte was aware of this rendition of *Fierabras*, yet it is quite possible that the representation of the future wife to Guy de Bourgogne needed to be exemplary and more devout.

<sup>139</sup> It is worth noting that a club "often symbolizes the savage or uncivilized nature of the races," as John B. Friedman has shown (135).

she pushes her duenna off the terrace. Yet the most striking element about Floripes' aggressiveness in the Castilian version is her reaction to this last death. First, the princess returns to where the knights are "con alegre semblante" [with a happy face] but when asked how the woman fell to the street from the roof, "porque no sintiessen que ella lo auia fecho, hizo gran llanto" [to avoid them thinking she had done it, she started crying] (Piemonte fol. 16ra). Piemonte, like most medieval authors, is very clear about one thing: women are not to be trusted. Though Floripes is protecting the prisoners by killing her governess (as is also openly stated in Bagnyon's text),<sup>140</sup> she shows no remorse about taking the life of an old woman, and—only in Piemonte's translation—she *pretends* to be really sad about the loss. Following Akbari's lead, we can claim that the maiden's behavior is justified because of her Saracen identity (175). But the Castilian version excuses Floripes' violent nature by her will to protect the French knights. Furthermore, in most cases, Piemonte has erased all of her irascible traits.

Jennifer Goodman, in her "Marriage and Conversion in Late Medieval Romance," notes that Floripes' deeds are good, as she is protecting the Christian heroes, and "a man would have been praised for it" (123). In other words, Floripes is manly in this (and other) respect(s).<sup>141</sup> Moreover, Goodman reminds us that even when Christian ladies in medieval narratives "are resigned, self-effacing, and self-disciplined," they defend themselves (124). Her example perhaps would suffice: Constance, in Geoffrey Chaucer's

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<sup>140</sup> Floripes says, after pushing the duenna through the window, "je sui bien seure maintenant que les François qui son cy presens ne seront jamais pour vous encombrés ne en dangier" [I am very sure that the French here present will never be disturbed or in danger because of you] (Bagnyon 78).

<sup>141</sup> I will return to this idea of Floripes' manliness in the Epilogue, as this element is present in Piemonte's hypertexts—especially Calderón de la Barca's play *La puente de Mantible* and the Tagalog version of *Fierabras* titled *Salita at Buhay ng Doce Pares sa Francia na Kampon ng Emperador Carlo Magno Hanggang Ipagkanulo ni Galalon na Nangapatay sa Roncesvalles* [*Words and Deeds of the Twelve Peers of France, Followers of Emperor Charlemagne Until They Were Betrayed by Galalon and Killed at Roncesvalles*].

*Man of Law's Tale*, kills the renegade very much like Floripes kills the jailor and her governess. Goodman also agrees that Nicolás de Piemonte's translation revises "Floripas's character to suit new Spanish audiences. The updated Saracen princess is craftier, more self-conscious, and more prudent than her French model" (124). It is through these textual departures that we can assess that the construction of a racial and religious identity is not merely based on dermal descriptions, but deeply rooted in lineage and a series of behaviors associated with certain social standing.

As in many medieval romances, Floripes' physical appearance and demeanor give away her high social standing. Regardless of practicing a different religion—an imaginary compound of pagan and Islamic beliefs—this character is assimilable to Christianity. As discussed in this section, her behavior and moral standards are idealized as Christian as if these characteristics were inherent to a particular race. What happens in the case of Fierabras? Which are the traits that are enhanced or modified to give away his condition as male proto-Christian?

In most versions, Fierabras' bodily representation is what renders him a religious Other and, simultaneously, enables the reader to know he will convert before the end of the narrative. Often the description of Fierabras as a giant—together with other aspects, including his violence—is what makes him an Other. In some cases this portrayal leads to his grandeur in multiple ways, but being "a magnificently built knight" marks him as proto-Christian (Akbari 164). A comparison of the different hypotexts and Nicolás de Piemonte's version provides us with a closer perspective on embodied difference, as also occurs in the case of Floripes mentioned above, where the determination of someone's identity is based more on demeanor than on physical features. Let us start with Fierabras'

physical description and then proceed to his behavior. We will conclude with the connection between demeanor and lineage, which will lead us to the following section on loyalty and lineage.

The late thirteenth-century verse version of *Fierabras* (*MS E*) does not characterize Fierabras as a giant, but as a very tall man. When Olivier and the Saracen fight on foot the latter's height is mentioned: “[Il] fut greindres d'Olivier demi pié mesuré” [He was taller than Olivier by half a foot] (l. 1188). Though the difference in height between the two knights does not seem excessive, this description implies that Fierabras has an advantage over his opponent. Jehan Bagnyon, instead, portrays Fierabras as “le plus merveilleux *jayant* que jamais fut de mere nez, car de la grosseur et grandeur de son corps et aussy de sa force it estoit le non pareil” [the most marvelous *giant* ever born of a mother, he was unique because of his thickness and the size of his body and also his strength] (29, my emphasis). This image adds to the danger to which Olivier is exposed in fighting against Fierabras. Nevertheless, the illustration shown in **Figure 10**



**Figure 10.** Fierabras and Olivier dismounted after Olivier's horse is decapitated. (Source: New York, Morgan Library, ChL1555, fol. 33r).

seems closer to *MS E* than the text where it appears (Bagnyon's *Histoire de Charlemagne* [Lyon edition, dated Jan. 20, 1486]).

The fourteenth-century Middle English manuscript titled *Sir Ferumbras* amplifies Fierabras' physical qualities: "Fyrumbras of Alysandre was a man of gret stature, / And ful brod in the scholdres was and long man in forchure" (ll. 550-51). Here, his stature is huge and the length of his stride—"forchure"—is long, similar to other Saracen knights in the *chansons de geste* (Akbari 167). Because "stature" can mean both "the height of a person in a normal standing position" and "the standing or position of a person or thing with regard to importance or social status," Fierabras' description is multivalent (*OED*).<sup>142</sup> This knight is at once tall and of high rank, thus transforming being a giant into being a worthy asset for Charlemagne's army. Because of this polysemy, Fierabras' body becomes a desirable good: tall, beautiful and of high social position.

It is precisely Fierabras' high rank and proto-Christian condition that enables this textual development. Many of the renditions of *Fierabras* use terms as "marvelous" or "beautiful" to describe the Saracen's body. In *Sir Ferumbras*, for example, Fierabras has "brody scholdres... & brustes ful quarree [well-developed chest], / Wyth longe sydes & middel smalle, a *wel schape man* was hee. / With Browes bente & eyen stoute, and lokede so the facoun: / To seche the worlde al aboute, ne was man of *fairer fasoun*" (ll. 1072-75, my emphases). The knight's fair condition mentioned in this quote becomes closely related to his status, thus overlooking Fierabras' religious otherness. The same is true for the French verse version (*MS E*), where the Saracen is described as "gentiment

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<sup>142</sup> "stature, n." Def. 1a and 5. *OED Online*. December 2012. Oxford University Press. 26 December 2012 <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/189352?rkey=feu4rB&result=1>>.



figuré” [beautifully fashioned] and the text mentions that “n’out honme mex formé” [there was no man better formed] (*Fierabras* ll. 1922, 1923). Furthermore, in this text his *espaulles* (back), *baudré* (waist), and eyes are praised.

Nicolás de Piemonte takes Fierabras’ description in a different direction, explaining that he is “[un] hombre d’ marauilloso grandor: et por consiguiente d’ grandissimas fuerças et *magnanimo coraçon*: y muy diestro en todas armas” [a man of marvelous height and, therefore, of enormous strength and *magnanimous heart*, and very skilled in the use of all weapons] (fol. 6va-b, my emphasis). I am not implying here that in this version Fierabras is not a giant or very tall knight, as at least once in the text Piemonte refers to him as such (fol. 8rb, for example),<sup>143</sup> but the Castilian translator adds to the current description of Fierabras his “*magnanimo coraçon*.” In other words, *Historia del emperador* emphasizes the good nature of the Turkish knight instead of his physical beauty. His magnanimity and generous heart make Fierabras unable to act treacherously or vilely (fol. 9ra). These virtues are related to his noble blood, a fact that is recognized by Oliveros when he says, “O generoso pagano quan grande es tu cortesia et nobleza: bien tiran tus condiciones a la sangre donde descienes” [Oh generous pagan, how great is your courtesy and nobility, clearly these conditions respond to your blood lineage]” (fol. 11rb). In the Castilian version this is not only an indication of Fierabras’ impending conversion; to claim that a *moro* or Turk has “noble blood” implies a particular stance towards the statutes of blood purity (*limpieza de sangre*).<sup>144</sup> But, before offering further

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<sup>143</sup> Also, Fierabras himself implies his outstanding height when he tells Oliveros that he would be scared “quando me vieres en pie” [when you see me standing up] (fol. 9ra). Piemonte makes sure to note that “parescia Fierabras vna torre a par d’Oliveros” [Fierabras seemed like a tower next to Oliveros] (fol. 11vb).

<sup>144</sup> The first statute of *limpieza de sangre* appeared in Toledo, in 1449. The *sentencia-estatuto* deterred *conversos* from occupying positions of power (in city councils, cathedral chapters, universities, and noble

conclusions about Piemonte's intention on modifying his hypotext, we need to explore the portrayal of Fierabras in more detail.

Though most versions make Fierabras' physical features the preconditions that render him worthy of becoming Christian, the knight displays a ferocious and violent attitude. As Akbari notes, such behavior "falls within the norms of chivalric deportment as defined within the framework of the *chansons de geste*" (166). During the battle against Oliver, the Saracen king acts according to all the chivalric rules: Fierabras refuses to fight against a lesser knight, does not ride until his opponent is mounted, does not attack Oliver who is on foot while he himself is mounted, and offers to remove part of his armor to be on equal terms when Oliver loses his sword. Norman Daniel has argued that chivalric behavior in a Saracen knight foreshadows his conversion (38-46); and Marianne Ailes claims that precisely this demeanor serves as an indicator to the audience that this character will be redeemed (7-10).<sup>145</sup> But Piemonte's version goes even further, as Fierabras is deemed fluent in the rules of the chivalric orders. For instance, Oliveros expects Fierabras to do something about his dead horse, "sabiendo que en la orden dela caualleria esta statuydo" [knowing that in the order of chivalry it is established that] a knight should lose his own horse if he kills his adversary's (fol. 11va). The implication here is that Fierabras knows about chivalric code.<sup>146</sup> Nevertheless, the ideas about chivalry and knighthood proposed in this rendition of *Fierabras*, as well as in many other

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orders, in addition to some religious orders) and also referred to the implications of forced and voluntary conversions of Muslims and Jews in the Iberian Peninsula. For details on this law, see Kevin Ingram's "Introduction" in *The Conversos and Moriscos*, especially page 4. Linda Martz provides an historical account in *A Network of Converso Families in Early Modern Toledo*, pages 23-26.

<sup>145</sup> Akbari also observes, "one might expect [Fierabras] to be recruited to fight on the side of the Christians" (*Idols* 168).

<sup>146</sup> Fierabras' obedience to the chivalric code has not received enough scholarly attention, particularly in relation to the chivalric orders and *Historia del emperador*. The importance of these orders in chivalric romances in Iberia merits further discussion elsewhere.

medieval romances and *chansons de geste*, lead us to think that Franks (western European Christians) and Turks (or Saracens, as known in most of these sources) shared views about knighthood, as well as hierarchical structures of warfare, and are thus not solely a Christian development.

Anwar Chejne notes that both Muslim and Christian societies composed epic narratives which “contributed to the formation of the institution of chivalry” (147). Furthermore, the terms in Arabic, French, and Castilian for chivalry are derived from the word “horse.”<sup>147</sup> As early as the tenth century, Ibn al-Nadīm devotes a section in his *Kitab al-Fihrist* to the basic elements of chivalry: the bearing of arms, weapons, etiquette of wars, and the conduct of participants (Chejne 147). The knight, according to al-Nadīm, should display the “superior human qualities of honor (*ird*) and manliness (*murū wah*) embodying all the virtues of courage, magnanimity, generosity, and hospitality” (Chejne 147). An Iberian parallel to these concepts appear in Ramon Llull’s *Llibre de l’ordre de cavalleria*, dated around 1275. While this text is an allegory of terrestrial and celestial knighthood, it has also been read as an actual manual of chivalry. According to Llull, nobility of heart, not of words or of clothing and belongings is most important to knighthood. This characteristic would lead the squire in the path of faith, hope, charity, justice, fortitude, and loyalty. An element mentioned by Llull’s text that resonates with *Fierabras* in all its versions is that, while beauty is not a requirement, a body without deformities is needed in order to be a good knight.<sup>148</sup> Yet, lineage (*hidalguía*) is more than convenient for knighthood, a concept that in Llull’s words is a “continuous ancient

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<sup>147</sup> In Arabic it is *furūsiyyah*, in Castilian it is *caballería*, and in French it is *chevalérie*.

<sup>148</sup> The text says, “hombre contrahecho, o demasiado gordo, o que tenga otro defecto en su cuerpo” [a deformed man, or too fat, or with other bodily defect] cannot be a good knight (Llull 52).

honor” and implies good manners and riches (49). Thus, while both Muslims and Christians highly value chivalry and its codes, it is among the Iberian Christians that descent and lineage are a requirement.

Nicolás de Piemonte is surrounded by a culture where courtesy and chivalric (and chivalrous) behavior is a result of lineage. Such ideas are associated with untainted origins dating back to Visigothic “purity.” Nevertheless, Fierabras behaves as a true knight, familiar with the codes of the chivalric orders despite his tainted origins and creed. If, as Barbara Fuchs notes, “the possibility of making these distinctions [between untainted and tainted blood] depended on subjects being transparent and classifiable—as though past religious or ethnic affiliations really did equal a manifest physical difference,” then Piemonte needed to emphasize Fierabras’ proto-Christianity in a different manner (*Passing* 2). Besides his chivalric prowess, the main textual element that indicates to the audience that Fierabras will be converted and baptized is his acquaintance with Christian beliefs.

In Bagnyon and Piemonte’s versions, as well as in *Fierabras* (MS A), Fierabras demonstrates some knowledge about Christianity before the initial battle against Oliver. The Saracen king asks Oliver to disclose his real name, swearing to tell the truth “par le benoites fons ù fus regennerés, /... / et par icele crois ù Jhesus fu penés, / et par icel sepucure où il fu reposés” [on the blessed font where you have been baptized... and by the cross where Jesus suffered, and by the sepulcher where he rested] (MS A ll. 98, 100-1). The main difference between the late prose versions and the French verse is that Fierabras removes himself from such beliefs in Bagnyon’s narrative and the Castilian translation. Fierabras tells Oliveros, “*Tu eres cristiano et tienes gran confianza y esfuerço*

en la ayuda d' *tu* dios: por el qual te conjuro et por el baptismo que rescebeste et por la reuerencia que *deues* a la cruz donde *tu* dios fue colgado y enclauado” [*you are a Christian and have great trust and devotion in the help of your God upon whom I invoke you, and for the baptism that you have received and the obeisance you owe to the cross where your God was hanged and nailed*] (fol. 9va, my emphases).<sup>149</sup> For both Jehan Bagnyon and Nicolás de Piemonte the ideological distance from Christianity is necessary and perhaps more realistic. Fierabras does not refer to God, in general, but rather to “your” God. Fierabras clearly distances himself from Christianity; these are Oliver’s beliefs and not his own. But his knowledge about the holy symbols of a faith he does not share foreshadows Fierabras’ fate after the battle; he requests to know the truth about his opponent just to be ready to receive the Truth through baptism. Just as with his chivalric behavior in battle, this knowledge of Christianity helps the audience to accept Fierabras’ conversion. Moreover, these textual elements establish that Fierabras will be a good and worthy *cristiano nuevo*.

In sum, both Floripes and Fierabras are depicted in Nicolás de Piemonte’s version as most damsels and young aristocrats would be in late medieval Iberian narratives. Floripes blushes if Guy de Borgoña embraces and kisses her, and feels embarrassed when Roldan adds after performing their union, “que lo demas fuesse guardado fasta que ella fuesse christiana” [that the rest should be saved until she became a Christian] (fol. 19vb). Neither this sexual innuendo nor Floripes’ reaction are present in any of the hypotexts. On the other hand, Fierabras knows how “conjurar al christiano” [to appeal a Christian]

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<sup>149</sup> This discourse in *L’Histoire de Charlemagne* is very similar, though it includes faith and its mysteries. See Bagnyon, page 46.

to tell the truth using the most holy elements in his opponent's belief (God, baptism, the cross, and fealty to his overlord) (fol. 9va). Though most versions of *Fierabras* mark physically these two characters as proto-Christians (as fair, well-formed, and white), Piemonte represents Floripes and Fierabras according to a different set of qualities: these qualities, together with an adequate catechization, hark back to the conversion of *moros* and *judíos* in Granada, Castile, and other Iberian kingdoms toward the end of the Middle Ages.

**Cathecization through “dulces y amorosas palabras”: Floripes as a Model *crisiana nueva***

Nicolás de Piemonte translated Bagnyon's version of *Fierabras* about thirty years after the Catholic Monarchs—Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon—issued the Alhambra Decree expelling the Jews from their kingdoms, in March 1492. In November 1491, the last bastion of Islamic influence in Iberia, the Kingdom of Granada, fell to King Ferdinand. Though an agreement was issued—known as *Tratado de Granada* or *Las capitulaciones*—between the Muslim authorities and the crown of Castile upon the surrender of Granada, a major change in the religious profile of the Iberian kingdoms was on its way. Both the expulsion of the Jews and the Fall of Granada reflect a policy of religious homogenization of Castile and Leon (ruled by Isabel) and Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia (reigned by Ferdinand). Despite the fact that the *Capitulaciones* contained a number of provisos about respecting uses and customs among Muslims from Granada,<sup>150</sup> the Spanish Catholic church had two very different stances

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<sup>150</sup> Among the items established in the *Capitulaciones*, included in Luis del Mármol y Carvajal's *Historia del rebelión y castigo* printed in 1797 (87-98), there are a number of provisos about respecting the Muslim

about the christening of Muslims: one side of the debate is represented by the approach of the first archbishop of Granada, fray Hernando de Talavera O.S.H, who espoused persuasion and free will in the conversion of the religious Others; the contrary position is that of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros O.F.M., who urged the baptism of as many Muslims as possible.<sup>151</sup> Nicolás de Piemonte, as evident in the textual departures effected in his translation of Bagnyon's *L'Histoire de Charlemagne*, seems clearly aligned with the policies of the former.

In the conversion of Floripes and Fierabras (and the failure to convert their father, Balan), Piemonte's narrative emphasizes the importance of religious indoctrination and practically removes the threats used in other versions of *Fierabras* to promote conversion and baptism of the central Saracen characters. In order to truly change someone's (religious) identity, this text seems to convey, the process cannot be forced nor hastened. Piemonte was undoubtedly aware that *moriscos* and *conversos* were accused of keeping their religious and cultural practices behind closed doors; in other words, these *cristianos nuevos* were attached to their past and unable to integrate into the new Christian society in which they were not truly accepted. Many blamed their total ignorance about

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uses and customs regarding their mosques (no "les perturbarán los usos y costumbres en que están" [89]); agreeing to hear their reasons in court and respecting Muslim legal customs and rites ("su razón será oída y se les guardarán sus costumbres y ritos" [92]); not forcing Muslims to wear the sartorial marks forced upon Jews ("Que no mandarán... que los moros... traigan señales en los vestidos como los traen los judíos" [91]); and not compelling any man or woman to become Christian against their will ("Que ningun moro ni mora serán apremiados á ser cristianos contra su voluntad" [94]).

<sup>151</sup> The differences between Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros and Hernando de Talavera, beyond their perspectives on the conversion of Granadan Muslims, could also be due to the fact that the former was a Franciscan affiliated with the Observants, son of a family of the middle ranks (relatively humble origins, according to Martz 85); while the latter was a Hieronymite friar, possibly a descendant of *conversos*. Starr-LeBeau comments that, "by the late fifteenth century, the Order of Saint Jerome had gained a reputation as a relatively sympathetic home to conversos and their Muslim counterparts, *moriscos*" (113-4). Furthermore, the Hieronymites's religious and political rivals were the Franciscans. Hieronymites supported the gradual conversion of *conversos*; Franciscans saw Muslims, Jews, and heretics (including *conversos*) as sources of contamination for Iberia. See Starr-LeBeau for further details about the conflicts between these two orders, especially 113-117.

Christianity on their relapse. Piemonte's careful insertion of diverse passages that serve as religious instruction for Floripes addresses these issues. In order to better understand the diverse instances of catechization in *Historia del emperador*, I begin with a succinct historical review of the theological and political Iberian discourses dealing with the conversion to Christianity, mainly in Castile. Then, I compare the passages in Piemonte's version and Bagnyon's *L'Histoire de Charlemagne* where Floripes is exposed to the principal tenets of the Christian Church.

As early as the year 633, the Fourth Council of Toledo established the need to promote consensual conversion to Christianity. Though in the Canon 57 the Council was concerned with Jews, it clearly stated that,

For as man by his own free-will, in yielding to the serpent, did perish; so when the grace of God doth call, each man is saved in believing, *by the conversion of his own mind*. Therefore they are not to be urged by constraint, but persuaded through the free faculty of the will into conversion.<sup>152</sup> (Finn 81, my emphasis)

Though emphasizing voluntary conversion, this canon admits that Jews had been forced to accept Christianity. Evidently, this Council took place the year after the death of Muhammad, the Prophet, and Islam had not arrived yet to the Iberian Peninsula. Some centuries later, the code known as the *Siete partidas* of Alfonso X the Wise (dated in the thirteenth century) also subscribes to voluntary conversion. Part VII, Title XXV, Law 2 in the code refers to the conversion of Muslims, and emphasizes the need for “*buenas palabras et convenientes predicaciones se deben trabajar los cristianos de convertir á los moros... et non por fuerza nin por premia*” [good words and mild predications to be used

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<sup>152</sup> The text in Latin reads: “Sicut enim homo proprii arbitrii uoluntate serpenti oboediens periit, sic uocante gratia Dei propriae mentis conuersione homo quisque credendo saluatur. Ergo non ui sed libera arbitrii facultate ut conuertantur suadendi sunt, non potius impellendi” (*Colección canónica* 235).



by Christians to convert Moors ... and *not force or haste*] (676, my emphasis). Though this legislation and Canon Law in general was clear about not forcing conversion, only some late Iberian legal sources consider the need for instruction. Evidently, conversion without any catechization would only be a superficial acceptance of any religious practice. Instruction, therefore, ensured that neophytes were knowledgeable of the meaning of such practices.

When the Catholic Monarchs conquered Granada, the *Capitulaciones* did not include the conversion of Muslims. Furthermore, the presence of Moors and *moriscos* was provisionally accepted in Castile and Leon, but this acceptance only lasted for a few years. The first archbishop of Granada, fray Hernando de Talavera (who used to be Isabel's confessor and "main spiritual adviser," in John Edwards' words [218]), had as part of his mission to attract the infidels to the Christian religion through soft and persuasive methods. Talavera was opposed to using any form of violence to convert Moors and always respected their uses and practices (von Hefele 42). This approach is exemplified in Talavera's *Instrucción del Arzobispo de Granada en respuesta a cierta petición que hicieron los vecinos del Albaicín sobre lo que debían hacer y las prácticas cristianas que debían observar* (ca. 1500).<sup>153</sup> One of Talavera's main policies to convert the Muslim inhabitants of Granada was to promote the knowledge of Arabic among the clergy. The *Instrucción* advises to have "todos libros en arábigo de las oraciones y salmos" [all prayer and psalm books in Arabic] to better understand Christianity. The idea to catechize Arabic speaking Muslims using their own language was not new,

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<sup>153</sup> The title of this text literally reads, "Instruction of the Archbishop of Granada as a response to a certain request made by the inhabitants of the Albaicín about what they should do and the Christian practices they should observe." Albaicín is a separate neighborhood of Granada that stands at a higher elevation.

however. Ramon Llull, in the thirteenth century, urged the use of Arabic for missionaries in Islamic lands (Fernández-Armesto 34).<sup>154</sup> Talavera's approach was successful, as Muslims converted to Christianity in Granada.<sup>155</sup>

Yet, the seemingly peaceful coexistence between Muslims and Christians in Granada did not last for long. Though Talavera rejected the introduction of the Inquisition and other forceful religious practices in Granada, in 1500 the archbishop of Seville, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Quiñones, and the bishops of the “comarca del reino de Granada” [region in the kingdom of Granada], following the instructions of Ferdinand and Isabella, sent “clérigos e capellanes a todos los lugares de los moros del reino de Granada, a les predicar e convertir e bautizar” [clergymen and chaplains to lands of Moors in Granada to preach, convert, and baptize them] (Bernáldez, 395). This implied a breach of the agreements contained in the *Capitulaciones* and the support of the Catholic Monarchs in doing so. Furthermore, regardless of his status as the archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Cisneros (the new confessor of Queen Isabella once Talavera resigned

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<sup>154</sup> A sixteenth-century example is found in Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Paraclesis*, an exhortation for the study of Scripture, written in 1516. In that text, Erasmus considers preaching to potential converts in their own languages. In the 1555 edition of the *Enchiridion*, in Castilian, where the *Paraclesis* appears as appendix, the idea is expressed thus,

Dessearia yo por cierto que qualquier mugercilla leyessa el Euangelio, y las Epistolas de S. Pablo, y aun mas digo, que pluguiesse a Dios q estuuiesse traduzidas en todas las lenguas de todos los del mundo, para q no solamente las leyessen los de Escocia, y los de Hibernia, pero para q aun los Turcos y los Moros las pudiessen leer y conocer, porq no ay duda, sino q el primer escalon para la Christiandad es conocella en alguna manera. (193)

[I would that even the lowliest women read the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. And I would that they were translated into all languages so that they could be read and understood not only by Scots and Irish but also by Turks and Saracens. Surely the first step is to understand in one way or another] (*Christian Humanism* 101).

<sup>155</sup> A decree signed in October 1499 by Fernando and Isabel shows an explicit recognition of the success of Christianization. It starts by claiming, “Nos es fecha relacion que muchos moros et moras desse dicho reyno de granada / son reduzidos et a cada dia se reduzen a nuestra sancta fe catholica: et se tornan christianos” [We have been told that many Moors (men and women) of the kingdom of Granada have been reduced and daily are reduced to our holy Catholic faith; they turn Christians] (*Pragmaticas del Reino*, fol. 5v).

the position) was required by the monarchs to stay in Granada to help accelerate the process of Christianization. Cisneros had more expeditious methods for conversion in mind, which forced Talavera to baptize a large number of Moors “without instruction or catechism” (Framiñán 26).<sup>156</sup> The Muslim population of Granada reacted against further religious pressures, giving place to the first of several rebellions: the Albaicín revolt of 1499.<sup>157</sup>

The policy of forced conversion supported by the Catholic Monarchs left only two options to Muslims, exile or conversion without instruction. The following year a large portion of the Muslim population began to leave Granada instead of becoming Christians. Partially because of the fear of communication between Muslims of other areas and those of Granada, after the revolt of the Albaicín and other uprisings of the *mudéjares*, in July 1501 both monarchs signed a decree limiting the mobility of Muslims and the newly converted from Granada and other parts of their domains. The reaction led to further revolts. Thus, in February 1502—only ten years after the fall of Granada—King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella ordered in a *pragmática* that all “*moros et moras destos nuestros reynos de Castilla et Leon et que jamas tornen ni bueluan a ellos alguno dellos*” [Moorish men and women from our kingdoms of Castile and Leon (to leave) and that they never return or come back to them] (Varela, fol. 7r). According to the expulsion decree, the Muslim population (men over fourteen years old and women over twelve) had only two months to leave, and were forbidden to move to Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, or

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<sup>156</sup> Linda Martz reminds her readers, “based on Cisneros’s treatment of Jewish converts and their descendants, once conversion and acceptance of Christianity were accomplished, he adopted a more temperate attitude” (87). Therefore, the attitude of Cisneros in Granada might not have to do with the rejection of *cristianos nuevos* but with his urge to make the Iberian Peninsula completely Christian. This desire is closely related to messianic ideas mentioned in Chapter 4.

<sup>157</sup> For an account of the events that triggered the revolt, see Henry Lea 36 n.1, and Harvey, *Muslims* 30.

Navarra. Moreover, because of the war against the Ottoman Empire—*el Turco*, which literally means “the Turk”—they could not go “a las partes de Africa ni a las tierras del Turco” [to any part of Africa nor to the territories of the Turk] (Varela, fol. 7r). The only option was baptism without a true knowledge of Christian rituals and practices, under the assumption that “dellos convertidos de buena voluntad e todos los más contra su voluntad, fueron babtizados, considerando que si los padres no fuesen *buenos cristianos*, que los hijos o nietos o visnietos lo serían” [some were converted willingly but the majority were baptized against their will, considering that if the parents might not be *good Christians*, their children, grandchildren or great-grandchildren would be], as Bernáldez explains (472, my emphasis). Though most conversions were insincere—in contravention of what is stipulated in Canon Law—baptism gave the *moros* a chance of salvation, according to Church officials.

Overall, despite the differences among the Iberian religious authorities regarding baptism of the Muslims and *mudéjares*, the religious Other was forced into a new belief though this did not necessarily mean a true conversion. In many cases, it was easier for these Muslims to just accept a superficial ritual such as baptism and persist clandestinely with the forbidden practices of Islam. Some Christians also encouraged this clandestine practice, known as Crypto-Islamism.<sup>158</sup> Thus, forced baptism did give place to clandestine religious practices, and the formation of crypto-Muslim communities that were only Christian in appearance. Such practices led old Christians to doubt the sincerity

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<sup>158</sup> Fray Marco de Guadalajara y Xavier, in his *Memorable expulsion y justissimo destierro de los Moriscos de España* printed in 1613, recounts that in 1526 the *mudéjares* from María de Huerva (near Zaragoza) had refused to receive baptism but accepted it when the Count of Fuentes, an envoy of the viceroy, convinced them that without “contravenir a vuestro Alcorán” [contravening your Qur’an] they could act as Christians (hacer “demostraciones de Christianos”) and get baptized yet “guardando el corazón para Mahoma” [saving their heart for Mohammed] (Guadalajara, fol. 51r).

of the conversions of many *cristianos nuevos*. On the other hand, some religious and civil authorities questioned the legitimacy of forceful and involuntary conversions, such as be merely sprinkling baptismal waters over a group of Muslims.<sup>159</sup>

The importance of these debates about religious instruction and voluntary conversion is present in Nicolás de Piemonte's *Historia del emperador*. Though Jehan Bagnyon had already composed a more Christian *Fierabras*—most likely because his patron was Henry Bolomier, the canon of Lausanne—Piemonte favored religious instruction instead of forced baptism. Now, we can turn to a very specific conversion: the catechization and baptism Floripes, according to several versions of *Fierabras*. Floripes' brother, Fierabras, also undergoes a similar process. Notwithstanding, I will just focus on the female character and leave Fierabras' conversion to discuss his hesitation later in this chapter.

Finally, it is worth remembering that the individual and collective conversion of Saracens and pagans is a very common trope in *chansons de geste*, romances, and epics; as is the failure to convert and baptize a particular Saracen. *Historia del emperador* is no exception of the latter. Balan refuses baptism and prefers death to accepting an imposed faith in all versions of this text. Nevertheless, Balan in the Castilian version is well aware that “no manda esso la ley de Jesuchristo tu dios que a nadie hiziesses fuerça en tal caso: *que la verdadera creencia del coraçon ha de proceder*: por ende no procures de me hazer consentir lo que no creo” [that is not what Jesus Christ's law orders, not to force anyone in such a situation. *True belief has to come from the heart*. Therefore, do not try to make

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<sup>159</sup> Henry Charles Lea mentions, in his *The Moriscos of Spain*, an example of such ritual. In December 18, 1499, Lea tells of three thousand Muslims who were baptized in Granada “by the simple expedient of sprinkling them in a body” (31).

me accept what I do not believe] (fol. 35va, my emphasis). That is to say, the main opponent to Charlemagne, the Turkish admiral Balan, is fluent in canon laws like those that resulted of the Fourth Council of Toledo mentioned above. Unlike most characters in other *chansons de geste*, Balan knows he should not be pressured to convert.

In reference to the conversion of Muslims in literature, Benjamin Kedar comments that it “was an important component of the fantasy world of the western knight, and contemporary literature tells time and again of the yearning to convert a Muslim rival to Christianity or of the desire to lead a beautiful Muslim maiden to the baptismal font” (“Multidirectional” 194). The case of Saracen princesses willing to be baptized because of love is a very common trope in medieval and early modern literature. Numerous studies have been developed around the Saracen princess theme in medieval romances,<sup>160</sup> though only some of them devote their attention to Floripes.<sup>161</sup> Among the former, Dorothee Metlitzki’s now seminal *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England*

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<sup>160</sup> Among the general works we can mention F. M. Warren, “The Enamoured Moslem Princess in Orderic Vital and the French Epic.” *PMLA* 29.3 (1914): 341-58; Marcel Francon, “Blondes Sarrasine.” *The Modern Language Review* 46.2 (1951): 251-3; Charles A. Knudson, “Le thème de la princesse sarrasine dans *La Prise d’Orange*.” *Romance Philology* 22 (1969): 449-62; Jacqueline De Weever, *Sheba’s Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic*. New York: Garland Pub., 1998; and Valentina Jones-Wagner, “The Body of the Saracen Princess in *La Belle Helene de Constantinople*.” *Bucknell Review* 47.2 (2004): 82.

<sup>161</sup> The following are among the most notorious works about Floripes, some of these scholars have more works related to this character. Maria Rothstein, “Marginality as Woman’s Freedom: The Case of Floripe.” *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 12 (1991): 41-59; Kimberlee Anne Campbell, “Fighting Back: A Survey of Patterns of Female Aggressiveness in the Old French Chanson de geste” and Hans-Erich Keller, “La Belle Sarrasine dans *Fierabras* et ses dérivés,” both in *Charlemagne in the North*. Eds. Philip E. Bennett, Anne Elizabeth Cobby, and Graham A. Runnalls. Edinburgh: Société Rencesvals British Branch, 1993 (241-251 and 299-307, respectively); Francisca Aramburu Riera, “Le nu et le vêtu d’une princesse sarrasine dans *Fierabras*.” *Le nu et le vêtu au Moyen Age: (XIIe-XIIIe siècles): actes du 25e colloque du CUER MA, 2-3-4 mars 2000*. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l’Université de Provence, 2001. 8-16; Kristi Gourlay, “A Pugnacious Pagan Princess: Aggressive Female Anger and Violence in *Fierabras*.” *The Representation of Women’s Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*. Ed. Lisa Perfetti. Gainesville, FL: UP of Florida, 2005. 133-163; and Suzanne Conklin Akbari, “Woman as Mediator in Medieval Depictions of Muslims: The Case of Floripas.” *Medieval Constructions in Gender and Identity: Essays in Honor of Joan M. Ferrante*. Ed. Teodolinda Barolini. Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005. 151-167.

deserves special notice. In a section devoted to marriage in Muslim-Christian relations, Metlitzki claims that “the figure of the enamored Muslim princess did not only embody romantic wish fulfillment but passed into romance from a historical situation of Saracen-Christian propinquity in war and peace” (161). This historical situation bears further attention, as Sharon Kinoshita warns us, “the frequency of such interfaith marriages is a matter of some historical controversy” (*Medieval Boundaries* 54). Jennifer Goodman comments that, though there are a number of historical mentions about pagan men that convert to Christianity because of their wives, “later writers found the thought of intermarriage of an unconverted pagan and a Christian lady too repellent to depict without strong historical authority” (“Marriage” 122).<sup>162</sup> Curiously, in a footnote Kinoshita admits that these unions were more common in medieval Iberia (*Medieval* 250 n. 31). Yet, while interfaith marriages were not unheard of in Iberia, they were against the law in many medieval codes. For example, in the *Siete Partidas* we read, “most sexual relationships between Moors and Christian women were punishable by death” (Goodman, “Marriage” 122). In most cases, the condition was the conversion of the non-Christian spouse.

As already mentioned, in the *Capitulaciones* documented in Mármol’s *Historia del rebelión*, conversions could not be forceful. Furthermore, the trope of conversion for love is mentioned in that text, explaining that “si alguna doncella ó casada ó viuda, *por razon de algunos amores*, se quisiere tomar cristiana, tampoco será recebida hasta ser interrogada” [if any maiden, married woman or widow *due to a love relationship* would

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<sup>162</sup> Goodman includes Clothilde, Bertha of Kent, and Ethelberga of Northumbria as examples of conversions due to marriage.

want to become Christian, she will not be received until after interrogation] (Mármol 94, my emphasis). The interrogation element was included to make sure these Muslim women were not forced to change their religious affiliation, but it is clear that these conversions were not uncommon in reality or in literature.<sup>163</sup> In most cases, the religious Other converts to Christianity in order to marry a Christian (though the contrary case is not unheard of). An important literary exception to the idea of conversion to enable marriage is Bramimonde (in *Chanson de Roland*), who converts for love “not for a man but for an entire religious and social order” (Kinoshita, *Medieval* 43). What connects Bramimonde and Floripes (only in the Castilian version, however) is their “veire conoissance” [true understanding] of Christendom (*Chanson de Roland*, l. 3987). Bramimonde, explains Charlemagne to his bishops when summoned to baptize her, “Tant ad oït e sermons e essamples, / Creire voelt Deu, chrestientét demandet” [“has heard so many sermons and parables that she wishes to believe in God and seeks Christianity” (Kinoshita, *Medieval* 44)] (*Chanson de Roland*, ll. 3979-80). How is it then that Floripes truly understands Christianity according to Nicolás de Piemonte?

In the French verse version of *Fierabras*, as Marianne Ailes has noted, “Floripas’s conversion is one of convenience rather than faith” (“Faith” 131). Instead, Piemonte emphasizes Floripes’ informal religious instruction in lieu of formal catechization, making her a sincere convert whose religious change is an informed decision. In modifying his hypotext Nicolás de Piemonte participates in the catechetical debate mentioned above and takes a clear position about how to succeed in dealing with

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<sup>163</sup> In reference to this item in the *Capitulaciones*, Andrew Hess comments, “the high point of official support for Islamic culture was reached when the crown guaranteed not to force renegade women to return to the Christian faith and to insure the sincerity and freedom of choice of any Muslim women who became Christian ‘for love’” (133).



*conversos* and *moriscos*. The process of Floripes indoctrination in the Castilian text starts with a clearer justification of the princess' infatuation with Guy de Borgoña. Rather than following Jehan Bagnyon, who just explains that Floripes has seen Guy when "l'admiral destruit la cité" [the admiral (her father) destroyed the city (of Rome)], Piemonte adds a more feasible scenario (78). Because it would be almost impossible for the princess to see a melee between Lucafer and Guy, in *Historia del emperador* Floripes witnessed "vnas justas" [a jousting encounter] in Rome, when her father and her brother spent some time in that city (fol. 16rb). It is far more realistic for a medieval maiden to watch a joust than a battle, one would agree.

Furthermore, Floripes has been pining after Guy for ten years though she recognizes that he is unaware of her love. She tells the captive Christian knights that Guy's prowess, and those of Christendom by extension, strengthened her feelings about him. The sole mention of his name agitated her, she admits, and "mudaua color en tanto grado que muchas vezes temia que [su] turbacion no descubriesse [su] secreto amor" [made her blush so much that many times she feared that her embarrassment would reveal her hidden feelings] (fol. 16rb). Also, *Historia del emperador* makes a very clear connection between Guy and Christendom: Floripes' love for him makes her secretly rejoice at each victory of any and all Christians. Nowhere in Bagnyon's prose version, or in the French verse, is Floripes so clear about the link between her love and Christendom in general. What the princess says in *L'Histoire de Charlemagne* is that it is only "pour amour de luy je me vouldroye baptiser et croyre au dieu des crestiens" [for love of him that I would want to be baptized and believe in the Christians' God] (Bagnyon 79). Only in Piemonte's rendition does Floripes state explicitly that she is putting aside "el amor del

padre y d'toda su tierra" [the love for her father and all her country] for Guy. That is to say, Floripes recognizes her breach of filial and national duty; though these duties are less important to her than her ties to Christendom and Guy de Borjoña.

In order to prepare the readers to accept a *morisca* (a converted Muslim) as future queen, Piemonte has Floripes receive a gradual indoctrination during her interaction with the Christian knights in the tower. Two scenes merit our attention because it is through these textual departures that Piemonte addresses issues of social and religious belonging. The first scene takes place immediately after dinner in the tower, and the second happens when Floripes has lost her magic girdle and all begin to starve.<sup>164</sup> In the first instance, Floripes has brought the first group of Christian knights out of prison and into her chambers. Hospitality rules require the princess to offer her guests a well-served dinner.<sup>165</sup> Then, "desque ouieron cenado dieron los caualleros gracias a dios. y Floripes pregunto que era lo que dezian. Y Oliveros le declaro la bendicion: diziendo que dauan gracias por los bienes y mercedes que cada dia les fazia: y ella dixo que era bien fecho" [once they dined, the knights thanked God. Floripes asked what they were saying. Oliveros repeated the blessing and explained that they gave thanks for the goods and mercies God granted them every day. She replied that it was good] (fol. 15va). Bagnyon's version, instead, mentions the dinner with "tous vivres et viandes delicieuses" [all victuals and delicious meats] and then directly has the knights take a warm bath (78). Only later, after Floripes has presented each of them with a coat and explained why she is

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<sup>164</sup> It is worth noticing the role of food as part of the characters' social interaction. I have mentioned in Chapter 1 the importance of diet as a marker of geographical belonging in *Historia del emperador*.

<sup>165</sup> Levy Roach notes that "the sharing of food and drink is first and foremost a social act: it creates, maintains and adjusts bonds of association, and within Eurasian cultures in particular commensality has traditionally helped to establish and confirm social hierarchies" (38). Therefore, offering rich victuals would be essential in all versions of *Fierabras* to ratify the Peers' status.

willing to help them in exchange for marrying Guy, “les François furent moult joieux et vont rendre graces a Dieu de la voulenté de ceste pucelle” [the French were very happy and thanked God for the will of this maiden] (Bagnyon 79).<sup>166</sup> Immediately, the conversation among them carries on. Thus, though Bagnyon mentions thanking God for the blessings received, he does not use this passage as a didactic opportunity.

The second scene I want to read closely shows, even more clearly, how Floripes is indoctrinated to become a true Christian. Though this passage appears in Piemonte’s as well as in Bagnyon’s text, there are important differences in these two versions of *Fierabras*. As already mentioned, in this moment the Christian knights, Floripes, and her ladies are starving without any provisions. Furthermore, Balan sent someone to steal Floripes’ magic girdle, which “estoit de telle vertu que tant qu’elle durera, dedans la tour ne sera famine” [had the virtue that nobody within the tower would suffer of hunger] (Bagnyon 102). Once Floripes has lost her girdle forever, she accuses the Christians’ God of lacking power to save and comfort the knights. Instead, she proposes they should adore her gods and “vous eussent pourvez de mengier et de boire” [you will be provided of food and drink] (104). Until this point, Piemonte is following almost *verbatim* his source. Both texts have Floripes lead the Christian knights to the underground chamber where her gods’ images (statues, would be a better description, perhaps) are found. In Bagnyon’s case, Roland accepts that if her gods are able to feed them or bring help from France, “nous y croyrons tous sans varier” [we will believe in them without vacillation] (104). Piemonte makes this statement part of Floripes’ wishful thinking, as she goes ahead “muy alegre pensando que creerian en ellos” [very happy, thinking (the knights)

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<sup>166</sup> I mention the scene of gift-giving in Chapter 2, in relation to ethnic “cross-dressing” and passing.

would believe in them (her gods)] (fol. 21va). Furthermore, in *L'Histoire de Charlemagne* the Peers refuse to accept the idols' power, as "ilz ont les yeulx tous endormis, et vous verrés qu'ilz ne pourront ouyr ne veoir" [they have dormant eyes, and you can see that they cannot listen nor see] (105). Bagnyon's emphasis is, on the one hand, on the value of the images and how this gold could be used to complete and to repair a number of churches (105). On the other hand, Bagnyon's text attempts to underplay the power of these deities, as the images do not react to the attacks of the peers.

In its place, *Historia del emperador* presents its readers with a didactic opportunity. Guy asks the princess, "quien fizo estos dioses" [who made these gods] to prove, first, that the idols are manmade and, second, that the materials used to make the images can be utilized to "fazer otra cosa alguna" [make something else] (fol. 21va). The idea of making something else out of the same materials is equivalent to Bagnyon's mention of repairing churches; gold can serve any purpose.<sup>167</sup> But Piemonte's version proposes the idea that "mas poder tienen los hombres que tus dioses" [men are more powerful than your gods], as it is a man who had made them (fol. 21va). Thus, this moment in the Castilian version becomes critical in Floripes' religious education. It is this newly acquired awareness that leads Floripes to exclaim, "agora conozco et confesso no auer otro dios sino el dios delos christianos: al qual humilmente suplico me quiera dar lugar de recibir su sancto baptismo: porque mi anima no sea agena de su santa gloria" [now I recognize and confess I have no other god than the Christians' God, to whom I

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<sup>167</sup> The mercantilist discourses in *chansons de geste* have been explored in the comparison between *Chanson de Roland* and *Poema de Mio Cid* by Michael Harney, which appeared in *Medieval Iberia: Essays on the History and Literature of Medieval Spain*. Eds. Donald J. Kagay and Joseph Thomas Snow. New York: P. Lang, 1997. 77-102. Print.

humbly beg for the opportunity to receive his holy baptism so that my soul will be in his holy glory] (Piemonte, fol. 21va-21vb). Nevertheless, it is important to note that Guy uses the argument of manmade images to convince Floripes of the supremacy of the Christian God, because from the standpoint of Islam, Christianity is deemed a polytheist and idolatrous religion.<sup>168</sup> Whereas Islam forbids the use of physical representations of the divinity, Christianity uses images to represent God, the Virgin Mary, and other important religious figures.<sup>169</sup> But what Guy is emphasizing in *Historia del emperador* is that Floripes' idols are not divine; furthermore, the materials can be used elsewhere.

Nicolás de Piemonte uses every opportunity to make Floripes a worthy future Christian and queen regardless of her religious membership. He then supports this new identity by offering examples of her catechization. Unlike in all other versions, Floripes recognizes the value of Christianity beyond her feelings for Guy. That is why she requests that the Peers deal with the relics instead of her, “por quanto no era christiana” [because she was not a Christian] (fol. 20rb). This implies that Floripes, at least for the time spent in the tower with Roldan and the other knights, has a marginal position that could become what Patricia Hill Collins has called an “outsider within” consciousness.

Such positionality, according Hill Collins, implies an “insider’s” view of certain social conditions though preserving an “outsider’s” distance. Hill Collins asserts that such positionality can provide objectivity and analytical distance as benefits. Yet, Hill Collins refers as an insider’s view to that of the multiply-oppressed, for example, from the inside

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<sup>168</sup> The concept of a Holy Trinity was central in the Muslim idea of Christianity as polytheist. For further information about these views, see Thomas, David. “Trinity.” *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*. General ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe. Washington DC: Brill, 2010. 13 August 2010. Web.

<sup>169</sup> Norman Daniel has also referred to medieval common misconceptions of Islam in his *Heroes and Saracens*.

of the heteronormative, white family unit. The outsider condition, according to Hill Collins' claim, brings with it the necessary distance of the women of color who have when working for a white, middle-class family. That distance is what enables the objectivity referred to above. Piemonte's Floripes has an interstitial positionality, where her gender and race make her an outsider to Charlemagne's Christian court, yet she is able to have an insiders' understanding of (or the possibility to observe from the inside) the interactions among courtiers. But her insider's condition is dependent on her ominous conversion. Therefore, Floripes' case would be a great early example of the "outsider within" if this character was commenting on the social tensions in Frankish/French society. But the princess is not subverting the oppression to which she is ready to submit: Floripes is more than willing to become a Christian and, because hers is not a totally intersectional oppression (which would include class or social standing), her alliance is already marked because of her high birth.

Notwithstanding, it is relevant to our understanding of identity in the Middle Ages that Floripes in *Historia del emperador* is totally conscious of her interstitial situation—something that is notably absent from all other versions of *Fierabras*. In the Castilian rendition of this *chanson de geste*, Floripes tells the Christian knights that "tengo propuesto (oluidando mis dioses: y el amor del padre: de los parientes et de toda la tierra) de saluar vuestras vidas: avnque sup[us]iesse por ello perder la mia" [I am ready to save your lives and to forget my gods, the love of my father, my relatives, and all my country, even if that implies losing my own life] (fol. 20ra). Piemonte makes explicit here Floripes' awareness of what she is leaving behind in order to become a Christian and to marry Guy de Borgoña. This is never evident in any other rendition of *Fierabras*.

As Goodman explains, in Piemonte's version Floripes is "a traitor-heroine of a complex kind" who is more aware of "the double-edged nature of her decision" about leaving her family and kin behind to embrace Christianity ("Marriage" 124). Bagnyon's *L'Histoire de Charlemagne* and the French verse versions treat Floripes as a violent ally, disrespectful of her kin, yet an attractive and exotic trophy.<sup>170</sup> In these renditions, the princess is an aggressive young woman, knowledgeable in magic, who never seems to feel any guilt for her actions against the jailor or her duenna. However, Piemonte chooses to modify Floripes' character to make her a well-mannered *morisca*, a model *cristiana nueva* who will respect and defend her newly acquired identity.

In comparison to other versions, where Floripes is only interested in being baptized to marry Guy de Bourgoigne, in Piemonte's version the princess is more than aware of her loss. Floripes openly expresses that "*me pesa de la muerte de mi padre et de la perdicion de su anima. Mas se de cierto, que avnque por vuestros ruegos et importunacion reciba baptismo que jamas sera buen christiano*" [*the death of my father and the damnation of his soul pains me. But I am certain that, regardless of your begging and harassment, if he accepts to be baptized he will never be a good Christian*] (Piemonte fol. 35vb, my emphasis). Floripes is a good daughter despite her decision to become a Christian. And, as the above quote shows, she feels for her father and cares about his afterlife.

Furthermore, when Floripes is desperate because of Guy's impending death, she addresses her father—who, of course, is not listening—asking for his understanding:

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<sup>170</sup> As Caroline Jewers notes, "Poised between ideologies and codes, [the Saracen princesses in the *chansons de geste*] embody the possibility of conquest: after all the systematic fetishizing and dismembering of the male body that goes on in the *chanson de geste*, the idealized, perfect orientalized female body becomes the ultimate signifier of possession and conquest" (100).

O padre mio si supiste que cosa es querer: no me culpes dello que fize contra ti: cata que el corazon que engendraste es del cauallero que preso tienes desde el dia que en roma lo vi: y pues que suyo era, no podia fuyr dello que a su seruicio cumplia... si algun paternal amor te ha quedado duelete de tu apassionada hija. (fol. 22vb)

[O father, if you ever knew what is to love, do not blame me of what I have done to you. See that the heart you begot belongs since the day I first saw in Rome the knight you have prisoner. And, my heart being his, I could not avoid serving him... If any paternal love remains in you, feel sorry for your passionate daughter.]

On the one hand, in this passage Floripes admits her doing against her father and all her kin. Yet, on the other hand, she justifies such actions as the result of love. In a move that reminds us of other medieval characters who have lost their “right mind” due to love, such as Lancelot or Yvain in Arthurian romances, Piemonte’s Floripes claims she no longer has any control of her heart and will. Thus, Floripes recognizes herself as a traitor to her father and kin, but for Charlemagne and his knights she becomes a heroine. In sum, through a careful religious indoctrination and the conviviality with Christians, Floripes becomes a true *buena cristiana nueva* who cares about her kin though values more Christianity and, of course, her lover.

### **Hesitant Belonging: Fierabras’ Loyalty vs. Lineage**

In connection with the textual modifications that appear in *Historia del emperador*, I demonstrated above that Fierabras’ physical description is minimal while his chivalric knowledge and demeanor are enhanced. Akbari notes that Fierabras’ “violent nature is abruptly attenuated when... [he] chooses to convert to Christianity” and “virtually disappears from the plot... [and] does not reappear until the very end of the poem” (166, 168). This is not the case in Nicolás de Piemonte’s version and, though



Fierabras' processes of catechization and conversion are not the center of this section, we will explore a very important textual departure from its hypotext, a result of the translator's insertion in his time period.<sup>171</sup> Fierabras neither "virtually disappears from the plot" nor changes sides automatically, he rather gradually becomes an integral part of Charlemagne's peers and Christendom. Beyond what Márquez Villanueva has claimed about an intermediate identity in the text—the *convertido*—,<sup>172</sup> I claim that Piemonte's emphasis on the acceptance of Fierabras as part of Charlemagne's inner circle is essential to this version. If it were not for this acceptance, the newly converted Turk would not be torn "entre el amor filial a su padre y la fidelidad debida a su nueva fe" [between his filial love and his fidelity to the new faith] (Gumpert 75). In other words, Piemonte shows in his translation that a thorough indoctrination (as seen in the case of Floripes) and an adequate reception of the new convert (as shown through Fierabras) favors a sincere conversion to Christianity.

Despite Judith Whitenack's claim that the conversion "in the Castilian versions of foreign chivalric material in the early years of the printing press in Spain differ very little from those of medieval chivalric romances," we see that this is not the case for Floripes in the previous section, or for Fierabras in the present one (19). Nicolás de Piemonte is careful to represent in Fierabras and Floripes a divided sense of belonging, which I interpret as a reference to the condition of the *cristianos nuevos* (who despite conversion to Christianity were persecuted on account of their supposed untrue belonging to

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<sup>171</sup> For a brilliant analysis of Fierabras' conversion in the French verse version, see Ailes's "Faith in *Fierabras*," particularly pages 131-2.

<sup>172</sup> Márquez Villanueva explains that in this version we no longer find the traditional Saracen-Christian binary. The *convertido* is a category in between, "visto con notable cariño y dotado de sicología objetiva y peculiar" [seen with noticeable affection and an objective, peculiar psychology] (117).

Christendom in post-1492 Castile, Leon, and Granada). I referred previously to the case of Floripes as an “outsider within,” a positionality that implies this intermediate identity. In the case of Fierabras, the view as an “outsider within” is expressed in terms of kinship and belonging vis-à-vis loyalty dictated by love and knighthood. This stance from within has led some scholars to claim that Nicolás de Piemonte was a *converso*,<sup>173</sup> and though there is not enough information to support or reject this assertion, this insider’s perspective on being a convert—valued for the individual deeds that show a strong commitment to the Christian ideals—relates to the impact of the ideologies about conversion and the religious practices being discussed in the Iberian Peninsula at this time.



**Figure 11.** Oliver wounds Fierenbras. (Source: London, British Library, MS Egerton 3028, fol. 90r. © British Library Board).

In the first part of *Historia del emperador*, during the duel between Oliveros and Fierabras (**Figure 11**), we find an important departure that gestures to the acceptance of

<sup>173</sup> Francisco Márquez Villanueva proposes this in his “El sondable misterio de Nicolás de Piamonte.”

the Turk by the French in court. In the Middle English and French verse versions of *Fierabras*, as well as in many popular *chansons de geste* and medieval romances, the knights in combat normally employ threats and offer material rewards to convince the other to convert. In Bagnyon's and Piemonte's versions, both sides offer rewards, but these texts are unique in including an emotional gain in the process: one that does not imply the marriage of any of the contenders. Olivier/Oliveros offers Fierabras his eternal company and friendship, adding Charlemagne's friendship to the proposal. Oliveros, upon asking Fierabras to accept baptism, he promises "si esto fazes tendras por buen amigo al emperador Carlo magno et a don Roldan por especial compañero. Et yo te prometo de nunca dexar tu compañía" [if you do so you will have the emperor Charlemagne as a good friend, and Roland as a special companion. And I promise to never leave you] (Piemonte, fol. 9va). Oliver offers Fierabras a special position of power among the Peers, the friendship with the main characters of most Carolingian romances. This bond favors the transformation of Fierabras after accepting baptism. From being an enemy, Fierabras becomes a loyal ally.

This emotional reward is not present in most versions of *Fierabras*, where Fierabras retires to the background. Akbari's comment that Fierabras "ceases to make war entirely" after his baptism holds true for some versions of *Fierabras* (166). One example of that is *Sowdone*, the mid-fifteenth century Middle English rendition, where Ferumbras almost totally disappears from the text only taking part in the narrative again when he opposes the treacherous Ganelon and saves Charlemagne towards the end of the story (ll. 2980-3000). Later again, in that same version, Ferumbras intervenes when the Emperor is ready to kill Laban (or Balan, as he is known in the other versions) and tries

to convince his father to convert (ll. 3180-82). In *Sowdone*, Ferumbras becomes a loyal knight in the service of the Emperor upon being christened, but has no major role among the paladins. Yet, Nicolás de Piemonte not only highlights the relationship between Charlemagne and Fierabras fulfilling Oliver's promise of friendship, he also keeps Fierabras active in the narrative.

In the French texts "l'empereur le fit visiter [Fierabras] par ses medecins bien espers" [the emperor has his expert physicians visit Fierabras] after he is found wounded on the battlefield and at that point, baptism comes almost as a given (Bagnyon 69). In its place, in *Historia del emperador* Charlemagne has Fierabras' wounds tended before baptism and then, the Emperor together with Roldan and Regner (Oliveros's father) become Fierabras' godfathers at the baptismal font. This is a unique instance in which the link between the former king of Alexandria and the Emperor becomes solid. Canon law explains this strong link stating, "nothing else can be so productive of paternal affection" as the relationship of a godparent (*Code of Justinian*, Book V, Title IV, 26).<sup>174</sup> This paternal affection appears clearly in Piemonte's version, where Fierabras has a very important role in Charlemagne's retinue while in other versions Fierabras almost disappears from the text, as Akbari asserts.

Fierabras' position among Charlemagne's champions is presented often enough in *Historia del emperador*, which together with his familiarity on chivalric orders make Fierabras a far more relatable character in the late Middle Ages. For instance, when Charlemagne requests advice from his knights about the "modo que se ha de tener para saber de los caualleros" [way to know about the other knights] kept in prison by Balan,

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<sup>174</sup> In Samuel Parsons Scott's edition of *Civil Law*.

Fierabras is among those around the emperor (fol. 27va). Later, Regner de Genes becomes the target of Ganalon's relatives when he opposes the latter's idea of returning to Christian land without saving the paladins. Fierabras defends Regner and reminds the Emperor that he is "firme poste de tu honra" [a firm defender of your honor] (fol. 28ra). Through the Saracen's presence next to Charlemagne and this proclamation of loyalty, Fierabras displays the same values presented during his battle against Oliveros: he is fluent in courtly and chivalric rules. Additionally, Fierabras' importance in Charlemagne's retinue is exemplified during the battle of Mantrible, where Regner and Fierabras are always "guardando su persona [de Carlo Magno] mas que sus vidas mesmas" [guarding Charlemagne's person more than their own lives] (fol. 29vb). This quote equates Fierabras with Regner, one of the older knights and Oliver's father, deeming the newly converted a very worthy knight. The importance of Fierabras within the emperor's entourage is also shown in his assignation to lead one of the three contingents, together with Charlemagne, in the final battle against Balan (fol. 33rb). In contrast, Bagnyon has ten contingents and Fierabras does not lead any. All these examples show that Piemonte has made sure, on the one hand, that Oliveros' promise of friendship is kept; otherwise his would be only empty words, discrediting Christians. On the other hand, this implies that Fierabras is an "outsider" because he was a pagan yet an "insider" due to his conversion and acceptance among Charlemagne's entourage.

Returning to Hill Collins' idea of a privileged position of the "outsider within" mentioned before, Fierabras might become particularly empowered because of his knowledge of cultural and warring practices common in his father's realm. Yet, his conversion implies embracing the hegemonic religion, "moving out of positions of social

and political marginality” (Kruger 99). Fierabras does attain a central political position within Charlemagne’s court, as noted in the paragraph above, yet he forfeits his authority as a king to become just a knight. Furthermore, once he can be the rightful sovereign of his realm at the end of the narrative, he has to share it with Guy de Borgoña, his future brother-in-law. But, when comparing the French versions and the Castilian translation, the positionality of Fierabras is quite different.

In the French hypotext and in Bagnyon’s rendition as well, Fierabras is “unmanned” with his conversion (Akbari 168). He removes himself from a powerful relation within his father’s family and court, becoming “demasculinized” as Saint Florent or saint Floren de Roye (Bagnyon 68).<sup>175</sup> Nevertheless, in *Historia del emperador* Fierabras is not “just a knight” as we have seen, and he does not receive a different name after his baptism. Nicolás de Piemonte eliminates his renaming in the baptism scene and underlines this further when Floripes is christened “sin le mudar su nombre *tan poco como a su hermano Fierabras*” [without changing her name as *neither did her brother, Fierabras*] (fol. 35vb, my emphasis). This departure from the hypotexts leads to two narrative implications. First, Fierabras is not “demasculinized” because he does not become Saint Florent de Roye, he keeps his name regardless of baptism, and he maintains an important and active role next to Charlemagne. And, second, Fierabras’ identity is marked by the “experience of change, of flux between identities” (Kruger 112). Fierabras is trapped in this process of becoming, his name and lineage are fixed despite his changes in religious allegiance.

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<sup>175</sup> For an interesting explanation of the choice of name in the French verse version, see Gros. Also Hans-Erich Keller mentions, in the notes to his edition of Bagnyon’s text, the importance of such a name in the French versions (244 n. 4).

Only in *Historia del emperador* does Fierabras experience what can be dubbed an identity crisis. His name is still the one he received from his father, though Fierabras has been “reborn” into a new social network because of his conversion and baptism. This is evident in Fierabras’ divided sense of belonging to kin and creed, which is somewhat similar to that of Floripes. Although in *Sowdone* we read that “Ferumbras prayde him [Charlemagne] to abyde stille / To crysten him [Laban], er he were dede” (ll. 3113-4), there are no conflicted feelings in this passage. Once Laban rejects baptism, Ferumbras seems unmoved about his own father’s fate. “Lete him take his endynge, / For he loueth not Cristyante,” Ferumabras tells the Emperor (ll. 3181-2). In the Iberian version, instead, Fierabras asks Charlemagne to send a messenger to Balan requesting his conversion because “Avn que mi padre es turco et yo cristiano: ni por ello he perdido el amor que le deuo” [though my father is a Turk and I am a Christian, I have not lost the love that I feel for him] (fol. 32va). I have already mentioned, in Chapter 1, that this instance equates Turk with Muslim or pagan, which is a religious identity. Here I would like to bring our attention to the reference to filial duty evident in this segment. Fierabras is aware of his new religious allegiance and the responsibilities implied with his newly acquired identity. Nevertheless this is not enough, Fierabras explains to Charlemagne, to stop him from loving his own father.

Similarly, as we saw above, Floripes recognizes the importance of her father’s love and acceptance, as she requests his pity for her, his passionate daughter (“duelete de tu apassionada hija” [fol. 22vb]) and admits she feels for his death when she says, “me pesa de la muerte de mi padre” (Piemonte, fol. 35vb). Fierabras also acknowledges such attachment to his father, and it is further developed when he marvels at his father’s deeds

in battle but grieves the death of the Christians; he is ashamed for being disloyal to Charlemagne because he trembles at the idea of seizing his father (fol. 34va). In other words, *Historia del emperador* provides the reader with more humane characters both in Fierabras and Floripes, even before their conversion.<sup>176</sup>

It is precisely this ambivalent sense of belonging that has led Francisco Márquez Villanueva, in his “El sondeable misterio de Nicolás de Piamonte,” to claim the possibility that Nicolás de Piamonte was *converso*. Márquez Villanueva argues there is an elemental psychological realism unknown in the literary tradition that served as base to Piamonte (122-3). Never before have the books of chivalry shown such moments of discord between two competing senses of belonging. Márquez Villanueva thus argues that Piamonte “hubo de vivir desde dentro el mundo clandestino de los conversos, si es que no había nacido en él” [must have experienced from inside the clandestine world of *conversos*, had he not been born within it] (127). Francisco Crosas argues against Márquez Villanueva’s proposal that Piamonte was *converso*, finding fault with the latter’s claim—but Crosas’s argument is based on different passages. Crosas explains that these segments are already present in Bagnyon’s and also in the twelfth-century text. Yet, Crosas is only reading the possible identity of the translator in the theological debate

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<sup>176</sup> Furthermore, the empathic depiction of Fierabras’ crisis is similar to the view from inside provided in the *romances moriscos*. These are “romances compuestos por los cristianos desde el punto de vista moro... todo romance morisco parte del artificio de situarse el poeta en medio del campo moro” [*romances* composed by Christians from the standpoint of the Muslims... any *romance morisco* has the poet situated in the Moor’s place] (Menéndez Pidal, *Flor nueva* 218, 227). But, as Claudio Guillén warns us, in his *Literature as System*, the “maurophilia” claimed by a number of Hispanists in these and other texts is an error because “they did not postulate the existence of the Moor as such, that is, they did not recognize his identity” (193 n. 39). Furthermore, Guillén continues, in terms of who gets depicted in these works as a Moorish knight, whose exaltation “was far from being incompatible with a profound scorn for the *morisco*, who was always plebeian... [and] could only intensify everyone’s impatience with the stubborn *moriscos*, who persisted in their faith, their ways, their otherness” (193 n. 39). This is why Balan becomes very important as a counter-image to Fierabras, representing precisely the stubborn yet not plebeian *morisco*.



between Fierabras and Oliveros, and the conversion of the giant to Christianity (527). As I have shown here, the moments of hesitation are not present in any of the hypotexts. Crosas wrongfully disregards Márquez Villanueva's insistence on the "knowledge from within" that Piemonte provides.

Though we have almost no information about the Castilian translator, one only needs to be immersed in a time period where Jews and Muslims are required to leave their properties and families to understand the circumstances they must have been under. Nicolás de Piemonte demonstrates a deep empathy for the converted and unconverted Muslims. Both Fierabras and his sister, Floripes, are model *cristianos nuevos* who highly value Christianity and Christians. And even their father, Balan, ceases to be the "comic figure" character who screams and threatens everyone around him, as Marianne Ailes points out in "Tolerated Otherness." It seems clear that Piemonte not only had an interest in the fate of exiled and converted subjects in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries in Iberia, but that he also takes sides with archbishop Hernando de Talavera and his program for conversion through indoctrination, exemplified with the case of Floripes.

As I hope to have demonstrated in this chapter, we need to agree with Kruger that "religious conversion may provide a route toward assimilation into a dominant culture; but insofar as race remains intractable to conversion, and insofar as a 'stable' racial identity is made to override religious 'choice' in definitions of 'true' identity... religious conversion does not finally guarantee a full transformation of self" (72, my emphasis). Fierabras and Floripes have made a choice, and it is this choice that Piemonte would like to show as a full transformation. In the case of Fierabras, we read that he feels "apremiado de la lealtad et mucho amor que ya con los christianos tenia" [urged by the

loyalty and love he already had for Christians] (fol. 34vb). Furthermore, next to the baptismal font, Fierabras begs his father, “que creas en dios todo poderoso que hizo el cielo et la tierra/ et te hizo a su semejança: y en Jesuchristo su fijo que murio en el arbol de la cruz porque nuestras animas no fuessen perdidas” [to believe in God almighty who made heaven and earth, and made you in his likeness; and in Jesus Christ his son, who died on the wood of the cross to redeem our souls] (Piemonte, fol. 35vb). It is in this last passage that it becomes evident that Fierabras is no longer an identity in flux: he is already performing the identity of a Christian knight in all its forms. This proves that his conversion program was successful, due to adequate instruction, his preexistent condition of nobility, and his full acceptance as a member of Christendom among Charlemagne’s knights. The same holds true in the case of Floripes, who recognizes her relation to Balan and his kin, though she can actually become Christian because she receives instruction and thus does not need to force Guy de Borgoña to accept her as his wife. Thus, after all, both Fierabras and Floripes can each successfully change their identity and become the ideal *cristiano nuevo*, in an ideal Christian, Castilian Spain.

#### Chapter IV. Franks, French, and Christians: Messianism or Francophobia?

El rey de Francia echó disimulaciones, e echó fama que él quería ir contra el Grand Turco; e otros dezían que iva a conquistar a Jerusalem.... dexando primero fecha amistad e hermandad con el rey don Fernando de España e con el rey de Inglaterra.

—Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias* (345)

[The King of France feigned (his intentions) and spread the idea that he wanted to fight against the Turk, while some others said he was going to conquer Jerusalem... having first established friendship and brotherhood with King Ferdinand of Spain and with the King of England.]

Andrés Bernáldez recounts in his *Memorias* the clash between the Kingdom of France and the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon over rights to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. In his account, Bernáldez depicts Charles VIII, king of France (1470-1498), as an unreliable politician because he had failed to keep his word. In 1495, Charles VIII had requested the Pope's permission to pass through Rome, ostensibly on a crusade against the Turks; Charles and his army assaulted the city, even though he had promised Pope Alexander VI not to touch his properties (Bernáldez 345-347). In contrast, according to the chronicler, the people of Castile were far trustworthier. Bernáldez makes this very clear: “el Papa non osava fiar de otra nasción, salvo de onbres de Castilla” [the Pope did not dare trust any other nation, only the men from Castile] provided by King Ferdinand (349). In the case of the Italian Wars (1495-1504)—triggered in part by Charles VIII's invasion of Rome—the two major opponents were the French and the Spanish. Nevertheless, as Bernáldez clearly states in the epigraph above, the Turk (“el Grand Turco,” the Ottoman Empire) was the official enemy.

However, the Italian Wars were just one of the multiple aspects of the conflict between the kingdoms of France and Spain. As historian Andrew Hess comments, “the dispatch of a Spanish army to defend Italy against the advances of another Christian state was a harbinger of a much deeper involvement by Spain in European affairs” (37). Besides their interest in Naples, both monarchs were fighting over the title of the rightful European spiritual leader: the “Last World Emperor.” This was a universal monarch with a messianic role: to reinstate the *pax Christiana* (peace within the Christian world). The ongoing clash between the French and the Spanish kingdoms is the backdrop against which Nicolás de Piemonte translated the prose version of *Fierabras*. In this chapter I argue that *Historia del emperador*, the Castilian rendition of the *chanson de geste*, underplays these conflicts by emphasizing the Turk as the real enemy. At the same time, Piemonte highlights the Christian dimension of Charlemagne and his Twelve Peers in order to succeed in their depiction as heroes despite the Francophobic sentiment that prevailed in the Spain of the Catholic Monarchs. Furthermore, in agreement with Robert J. Morrissey, who asserts that “Evoking the figure of Charlemagne becomes... a way of imagining and legitimizing one’s origins” (xviii), *Historia del emperador* is such an evocation of King Ferdinand of Aragon’s heir: Charles I of Ghent. In other words, this very popular book of chivalry appears within the tradition of messianic propaganda in support of kings and sovereigns.

In previous chapters I have shown the importance of cultural practices in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period in determining the identity of an individual. Particularly in Chapter 1, I discussed the use of food items, weaponry and clothing as markers of ethnic difference, instead of skin color or physical features. In the present

chapter, I turn to the textual transformations in *Historia del emperador* that serve to create a larger community: a *respublica Christiana*. The literary representations of the French in Piemonte's translation reflect the Spanish policies towards other European states at the end of the fifteenth century. A close reading of these representations—that are not present in other versions of *Fierabras*—offers rich evidence to theorize about identity formation in Western Europe. The first section of this chapter explores the apocalyptic and messianic environment that reigned towards the end of the fifteenth century. European Christian monarchs, particularly the French and Aragonese kings, used this atmosphere to justify their rule by means of political prophecies. Both kings feigned crusade-like intentions—like those included in romance literature—as the basis for their mercantilist advances toward the Levant, while trying to fulfill a messianic role.

Romance literature,<sup>177</sup> particularly the works centered on Charlemagne, helped to promote ideas of political messianism used as propaganda by Charles VIII and Ferdinand of Aragon, among many other rulers. In *Charlemagne & France*, Morrissey explains that “The mythified history told in the *chansons de geste* proved to be a means for medieval poets—and for those who listened to them and who commissioned their work—to think about power by examining its contours and to look critically at how key elements of a social order functioned in the midst of transformation” (44). The second section of this chapter explores the importance of romance literature as a source of instruction for nobles during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Medieval romances, among other works, influenced the self-perception of monarchs and other elites, as well as informing

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<sup>177</sup> Romance, in the literary sense as a genre, emerged as narrative poetry in twelfth-century France. “These popular poems were known as romances because they were written in the vernacular” (Fuchs, *Romance* 4). Typically romances are concerned with aristocrats and their chivalric pursuits, revolve around a quest (either an adventure or love), and contain a number of marvelous elements.

(and reflecting) political attitudes in relation to the Other.<sup>178</sup> This Other, as becomes evident through a close examination of *Historia del emperador*, is not necessarily a culture or individual with a different religious belief or ethnic background. Instead, as is the case in these set of instances, the Other can be a political enemy within one's own religious community, often depicted as associated with or contaminated by customs and rituals belonging to a religious or cultural Other.

The third section is devoted to an examination of Nicolás de Piemonte's transformation of Bagnyon's work to accommodate the struggles between the French and Aragonese. Through an implicit summons for all Christians to unite against the Turk, Piemonte addresses the ambivalent relationship between France and Spain. The call for a united front against the Turk harks back to the First Crusade and Pope Urban II. In the fourth and final section of this chapter, I argue that the relocation of the plot of *Fierabras* to Aguas Muertas (Aigues-Mortes) emphasizes this text's connection with the crusading spirit. Aigues-Mortes, a port located on the fringes of the French kingdom, stands as a polyvalent symbol: it represents access and control of Mediterranean mercantile routes; it was the background for French-Spanish armed conflicts and political treaties; and it is a clear reference to the expansion of Christendom (through the Crusades). Evoking Charlemagne in literature, as Morrissey has explained, "is a way of examining and determining the limits between self and other and of affirming or contesting different, and at times even contradictory, solidarities and modes of belonging" (xviii). These words represent my aim in this chapter: to discern the implicit historical elements about the

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<sup>178</sup> Michael Harney notes that *Chanson de Roland* celebrates "not so much the French nation or the Christian religion... but rather that class of knights who serve as indispensable guardians of those institutions" (95). Though Harney focuses on issues of social stratification, the idea is the same: knights have to protect the French nation or Christianity from the Other.

relation between Spain and France in Piemonte's textual departures from his hypotexts. *Historia del emperador* serves to help one understand the constructions of a Christian European identity, based on a universal and homogeneous religious belief enforced through a crusade against the Turks; though this crusade is an excuse to mercantile expansionism, a *respublica Christiana* is the product of messianic expectations.

### **Messianic Medieval Discourses: Political Uses of History**

Western Europe has a long history of incursions into fictional justifications for political action. During the Middle Ages, and particularly during the fifteenth century, apocalyptic and messianic currents were deeply rooted in Christian thought, combined with an intense political environment. Three legends mark the political atmosphere surrounding Charles VIII of France and Ferdinand of Aragon: the "Last World Emperor," the "Second Charlemagne," and the *Pastor Angelicus* (the "Angelic Pope"). These prophecies originated well before these monarchs' time, yet the interest in these stories was revived during the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. The examination of these three legends vis-à-vis the kingdoms of France and Spain helps elucidate Nicolás de Piemonte's *Historia del emperador* and its historical moment.

Let us start with the "Last World Emperor" who, according to messianic thought, would defeat heretics and infidels, recuperating Jerusalem for Christendom, and making Christianity the universal religion. This prophecy first appears in *Revelationes* and was "produced in northern Mesopotamia about 690 C.E.," as Bernard McGinn notes ("Forms"

4).<sup>179</sup> Because the text has been ascribed to Methodius of Patara, it is known as the *Pseudo-Methodius*. The *Pseudo-Methodius* was immensely popular and the “Last World Emperor” legend was applied to monarchs, particularly those of France and Spain.<sup>180</sup> By the end of the Middle Ages, this legend gained new strength with the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and the Turkish advance into Western Europe. As a demonstration of the new concern with the *Pseudo-Methodius* in religious and political spheres, Aaron J. Perry lists nine manuscripts and ten editions between 1470 and 1677, a trend that started when the *Revelationes* were first printed in 1475.<sup>181</sup> Because the *Pseudo-Methodius* addressed the imperial Byzantine conflict against Islamic expansion, the victories of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century favored the recovery of this text. The prophecy includes the figure of an Emperor who would rise to defeat the enemies of Christ, which “implicitly encouraged active resistance against the forces of evil” (McGinn, *Visions* 72). While these “forces of evil” could imply apocalyptic enemies such as Gog and Magog and the twenty-two nations, or the Mongols whose threat was felt in the thirteenth century, by the fifteenth century the enemy was the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>179</sup> For an overview of Catholic millenarianism in the Middle Ages, see Bernard McGinn, “Forms of Catholic Millenarianism: A Brief Overview,” especially pages 3-8. Also see his *Visions of the End*; this text contains most Western prophetic narratives related to the Apocalypse.

<sup>180</sup> Originally written in Syriac, the *Pseudo-Methodius* was translated to Greek and Latin early in the eighth century; from Latin it was then translated into various vernacular languages. Michael Twomey mentions that we know of “over thirty Greek and two hundred Latin manuscripts from the eighth through the fifteenth centuries” (370). A very extensive list of manuscripts appears in Mark Laureys and Daniel Verhelst, “Pseudo-Methodius, *Revelationes*: Textgeschichte und kritische Edition. Ein Leuven-Groninger Forschungsproject.” *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*. Eds. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, and Andries Welkenhuysen. Belgium: Leuven University Press, 1988. 112-36. Print.

<sup>181</sup> Aaron Perry mentions three English manuscripts (xvi-xxvii), thirty-six Latin manuscripts (xxxvii-xliii), and ten printed editions with seven of them being from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (liv-lv). These editions were printed in Augsburg and Basel. Perhaps there are French, Italian and Castilian translations not included in Perry’s introduction.



One of “the most influential of late medieval French versions of the Last World Emperor,” according to McGinn, was that of the “Second Charlemagne” (*Visions* 247). The “Second Charlemagne” legend was particularly widespread among French and German apocalyptic writers due to the blending of prophecies about the rise of a “Last World Emperor” and the sleeping Charlemagne, who would reawaken when the time was ripe to unite Christendom, conquer Jerusalem, and defeat the Antichrist, and thus inaugurate a new age. Though the Charlemagne prophecy appeared in the late fourteenth century in support of Charles VI (1380-1422), it enjoyed “the widest vogue of any political prophecy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries” (Reeves, *Influence* 330). Marjorie Reeves explains that this prophecy was basically “a revival of the ancient Last World Emperor prophecy, as appropriated by the French monarchy” (“Medieval” 17). Guilloche of Bordeaux’s vernacular version of the “Second Charlemagne” served as justification to Charles VIII’s invasion of Southern Italy. McGinn notes that Guilloche of Bordeaux’s text “seemed to be particularly applicable to a young prince who had been crowned at the age predicted by the prophecy,” specifically Charles VIII (*Visions* 278).

Charles VIII thought of himself as more than the namesake of the Holy Roman Emperor. Rather, Charles “fancied himself both a crusader and a successor to Charlemagne” (Bisaha 38). The continuity of this dynasty is evident in **Figure 12**, an image from a book of hours originally made for Charles VIII in Antonio Verard’s *atelier*. In this illustration, Charlemagne is in fifteenth-century imperial garb holding a globe and “backing up” Charles VIII, who is praying as he prepares for combat (his combat preparation is denoted by presence of the helmet situated next to the King of France). Yet, the kneeling figure that originally represented Charles VIII was later modified with



**Figure 12.** Charles VIII's Book of Hours. Charlemagne stands behind a praying Valois king. (Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Vitr/24/1, fol. 13v).

the head of Louis XII. Needless to say, both French kings, Louis and Charles, were avid Charlemagne enthusiasts (Bisaha 39). According to the legendary representations of Charlemagne, the Emperor intended to expand Christianity and recuperate the Holy Land for Christendom. This was the political pretext for Charles VIII's entrance to Italy. In 1494, while using the recuperation of Jerusalem for Christendom as an excuse, he advanced to Southern Italy in order to reclaim Naples from Aragon. In addition, the kingdom of Naples was related to the title of King of Jerusalem,<sup>182</sup> thus enabling Charles VIII to become the "Last World Emperor." Evidently this prophecy served Charles VIII's intentions well, as it included the advance into Italy (Rome and Florence are specifically mentioned in some of the prophecy's versions) and the liberation of Jerusalem.<sup>183</sup> Charles VIII's apparent motive was the defeat of Islam, but in his entrance to the Italian Peninsula he obeyed his desire to reclaim Naples and Sicily, lost to the house of Barcelona in the thirteenth century.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Nancy Bisaha mentions that for Charles VIII the kingdom of Naples and Sicily implied to "make good on distant claims to the Kingdom of Jerusalem" (39).

<sup>183</sup> An example of the use of the "Second Charlemagne" prophecy in relation to Charles VIII is *Carlias* (begun in 1465-66), an epic poem written by Ugolino Verino (1438-1516). This work was dedicated to Charles VIII of France and, according to historian Nancy Bisaha, it "describes Charlemagne and his paladins' journey to and conquest of the Holy Land" (38). The *Carlias*, as Bisaha notes, "functioned as a means to call for crusade and express [the author's] resentment and fears concerning Islam" (39). In his dedication of *Carlias*, Verino alludes to the "Second Charlemagne" when he says,

I have dedicated it to you in particular King Charles, not only because you derive name and bloodline from him [Charlemagne]. You truly emulate his ways and deeds. Thus we foresee in you the founder, having driven out again and thoroughly removed the stench of Muhammad from Jerusalem as well as every region, to be clothed in the sacred truth and imperial dignity of Christ a second time. (qtd. in Bisaha 40)

<sup>184</sup> The Kingdom of Sicily included Naples until the war of the Sicilian Vespers, in the thirteenth century. It was in that period when Naples and Sicily were separated; the former was kept under the rule of the house of Anjou, while the latter remained under the house of Barcelona (and later of Aragon). The Crown of Aragon was in control of Sicily at least until 1435, when Queen Joanna II of Naples died. In 1442 Alfonso V of Aragon captured Naples, though Joanna had named Rene I of Anjou, count of Provence, as successor to the title. This title passed to Charles VIII as heir of Rene of Anjou. Charles VIII decided to overlook Louis XI's efforts to pacify the area and embark on a war to recover these realms.

Beyond Charles VIII's interest on the kingdom of Naples, as Yvonne Labande-Mailfert explains, "le jeune souverain exprimait... sa volonté de poursuivre et de dépasser l'exploit du roi espagnol; en se dirigeant vers quel horizon, sinon vers Jérusalem?" [the young sovereign expressed... his will to pursue and surpass the Spanish king's feat; where would he direct his energy if not to Jerusalem?] (157). King Ferdinand had just conquered Granada in 1492, a victory that gave him notoriety as the defender of Christendom. Charles VIII, as King of France, was the *Rex Christianissimus*, or *Roi Très-chrétien* [Most Christian King] but Ferdinand's feat overshadowed his image.<sup>185</sup> More practically, the King of France was interested in Naples and Sicily for its position in the Mediterranean to surpass Ferdinand, King of Aragon, in mercantile power.

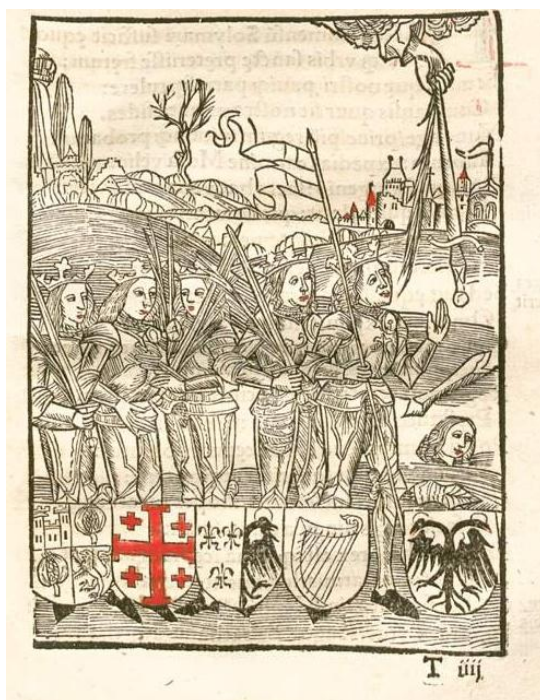
Alain Milhou asserts that Naples and Sicily "representaban sobre todo piezas fundamentales en el terreno más concreto de la economía y de la política del Mediterráneo" [represented a fundamental part in the more concrete arena of Mediterranean economy and politics] (*Colón* 332). The clash between the kingdoms of Aragon and France in the fifteenth century can partially be attributed to the perceived need of these monarchs to control the western Mediterranean, but their justification was to defeat Islam and to achieve the goal of the "Last World Emperor." In the case of Charles VIII, the "Last World Emperor" legend and the prophecy about the "Second Charlemagne" were somewhat related because of the king's name. Charles VIII's attempt to become the "Last World Emperor" (or the "Second Charlemagne") and conquer the south of Italy did not last. The French army was compelled to withdraw from Naples

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<sup>185</sup> This title was used by French monarchs at least since Louis IX (1226-1270).

when they were defeated by the Spanish army. Being the legendary emperor's namesake would not suffice to fulfill late medieval messianic expectations.

Several monarchs of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries were associated with the "Last World Emperor" and "Second Charlemagne" legends. Besides



**Figure 13.** Monarchs to recover Jerusalem, according to Sebastian Brant's *De origine et conversatione bonorum regum et laude civitatis Hierosolymae cum exhortatione eiusdem recuperandae*. Bassel: Johann Bergmann, 1495. Fol. 148r. (Source: Digital collections, © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

Charles VIII of France, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519) and Ferdinand V of Aragon were surrounded by an apocalyptic atmosphere, which they used for their own purposes.<sup>186</sup> **Figure 13** is an illustration from Sebastian Brant's history of

<sup>186</sup> It is worth noting that apocalyptic anxieties "permeated the monotheistic communities of the Mediterranean" including the Ottoman Empire (Fleischer 294). Cornell Fleischer has done important work on messianic thought among the Ottomans, notably his "Shadows of Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s Istanbul." *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World: A Volume of Essays in Honor of*

Jerusalem, showing five European rulers capable of recovering the Holy Land.<sup>187</sup>

Emperor Maximilian is represented to the far right, as an older king with the double eagle coat of arms. Ferdinand of Aragon (Granada, Castile and Leon are depicted in his coat of arms) is the ruler on the left. In the middle stands Philip the Fair, Emperor Maximilian's son (his coat of arms represents his mother's side to the left, with the *fleur-de-lis* of the house of Burgundy). At least Maximilian and Ferdinand used the prevailing messianic expectations to attain their political objectives. As I have already referred to Charles VIII, let us turn now our attention to Ferdinand of Aragon.

Ferdinand was not the first ruler in Aragon to be associated with messianic legends.<sup>188</sup> In the late-thirteenth century, Arnald of Villanova had already established the connection between a king of Aragon, the recovery of Jerusalem, and the end of times.<sup>189</sup> Two centuries later, the rule of the Catholic Monarchs, and particularly that of Ferdinand of Aragon, was marked again by messianism. Three texts that show an increased interest in messianic figures and associate Ferdinand of Aragon with these legends are: The Bachiller Palma's chronicle, *Divina retribución sobre la caída de España en tiempo del noble rey Don Juan el Primero* (1479);<sup>190</sup> the anonymous manuscript known as *Historia de los hechos de don Rodrigo Ponce de León, marqués de Cádiz* (late-fifteenth

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Norman Itzkowitz. Eds. Baki Tezcan and Karl K. Barbir. Madison: Center for Turkish Studies at the University of Wisconsin, 2007. Print.

<sup>187</sup> I am grateful to Linde M. Brocato for bringing this source to my attention.

<sup>188</sup> In a study about the reception of *Historia de Enrique fi de Oliva*, Cacho Blecua mentions the importance of messianism as a hegemonic and propagandistic tool used by Iberian pontiffs and monarchs. See Cacho Blecua's "Estructura narrativa," especially pages 42-44.

<sup>189</sup> Alain Milhou considers that Arnald was the first in Iberia to use the image of the *New David*—the eschatological rebuilder of Jerusalem—in relation to a Spanish king and not a pope (*Colón* 235).

<sup>190</sup> In the retelling of Ferdinand's ascension to the throne of Aragon, Palma compares the King to Aaron. Ferdinand is "llamado commo Aron al Saçerdoçio, asy es llamado al çetro e silla rreal" [summoned as Aaron was to priesthood, thus he was called to the scepter and throne] (90). This, Palma claims, is a "llamamiento diuino" [divine call] (90).

century);<sup>191</sup> and the anonymous *Baladro del sabio Merlin* (1498).<sup>192</sup> Furthermore, the ascension of Isabella and Ferdinand to the throne of Castile and Aragon (in 1479) took place “en un ambiente denso de vaticinios y misteriosos signos” [in an environment charged with prophecies and mysterious signs] (Castro 15) and this atmosphere had an impact on their rule, both in external<sup>193</sup> and internal policies.<sup>194</sup>

The contemporaries of the Catholic Monarchs insisted on reading several events that surrounded Isabella and Ferdinand as the fulfillment of the prophecies. First, the marriage of the Catholic Monarchs meant the union of Castile and Leon with Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. And, second, according to Iberian messianic thought, the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of Jews (both in 1492) hinted to the approach of the end of times. Together, the resulting unification of Las Españas—as Américo Castro refers to Spain in this period, since it was not yet a unified nation—and the attempts to

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<sup>191</sup> In this manuscript King Ferdinand was identified with two mythical figures, the New David and the *encubierto*. The latter is a Spanish version of the sleeping emperor legend. Milhou mentions that this text shows the use of prophecies “en plan propagandístico de fortalecimiento del poder monárquico” [as propaganda to strengthen the monarchic power] vis-à-vis a noble class interested in the conquest of Granada once the succession war was over (*Colón* 236).

<sup>192</sup> This Castilian translation of the prophecies of Merlin contained in Arthurian romance identifies a “Rey León de España” [King Lion of Spain] with the New David. There are at least three extant early prints of this work, which demonstrates interest in placing elsewhere the prophetic voice about the Spanish king.

<sup>193</sup> Christopher Columbus is an example of messianism in relation to the external policies of the Catholic Monarchs. Columbus, in his *Libro de las profecías* (dated between 1501 and 1502), saw his landing in the Americas as a possible route to reconquer Jerusalem for the Spanish Monarchs. Much scholarly work has been done on Columbus and messianic thought in his *Libro de las profecías*. One of the most important works about Columbus and messianism is Alain Milhou’s *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*.

<sup>194</sup> Cardinal Cisneros, as an example of internal policies and messianism, was devoted to learning Aramaic and Hebrew in order to be prepared for the end of times before he was appointed archbishop of Toledo. Cisneros was surrounded by members of a spiritual movement associated with the *alumbrados*, a Franciscan mystic movement supported by the Cardinal. Nevertheless, Américo Castro cautions us that Spanish messianism was not due to the *alumbrados*, stating, “ya en el siglo XV el mesianismo dirige su anhelo hacia los Reyes Católicos” [since the fifteenth century, messianism already directs its yearning to the Catholic Monarchs] (26). Messianic thought in the Iberian Peninsula predates the *alumbrado* and Franciscan spiritual movement surrounding Cisneros and, as already mentioned, the kings of Aragon had already been invested in the hopes set in the unity of Christendom against the Antichrist. For more on Cisneros’s millenarian expectations, see Richard H. Popkin “Savonarola and Cardinal Ximenes: Millenarian Thinkers and Actors at the Eve of the Reformation,” especially pages 20-24.

attain a religious homogeneity in the kingdoms of Granada, Castile, and Leon were just a prelude to the total expansion of Christianity. This was the ultimate achievement of the “Last World Emperor.” Furthermore, King Ferdinand justified the warfare in the Mediterranean in terms of a crusade, using the “Last World Emperor” legend as validation.<sup>195</sup>

To add another layer to the “Last World Emperor” legend, we need to explore the prophecy of the *Pastor Angelicus* because of the connection between the emperor and the pope. First appearing in the thirteenth century, the *Pastor Angelicus* legend not only strengthened the hopes for the coming of a “holy pope,” it also served to criticize present popes for their opulence, lack of sanctity, or otherwise scandalous behaviors.<sup>196</sup> Anniius of Viterbo’s *De futuris Christianorum triumphis*, a popular commentary on the book of Apocalypse that included the *Pastor Angelicus*, appeared in 1480 coinciding with the fall of Otranto to the Turks.<sup>197</sup> Anniius’s text functions as a prophecy in connection to Islam, claiming that the Christian triumph would be imminent “when the pope appoint[ed] a new emperor” (McGinn, “Forms” 8). Anniius was composing this work before Pope Alexander VI conferred the title of *Rex Catholicissimus* to Ferdinand in 1496, but his work was not forgotten. This regal title was one of the signs for those who wanted to see the King of Aragon as a messianic figure.

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<sup>195</sup> Also, a crusade gave King Ferdinand “legal standing to draw from ecclesiastical revenues, specifically the crusade bull and revenues of the masterships from the military orders,” as Aurelio Espinosa explains in relation to the Spanish attacks to North African ports (246).

<sup>196</sup> The *Pastor Angelicus* became part of the late medieval apocalyptic environment as “an attempt to validate the meaning of the newly potent office in terms of the Christian understanding of history” because both the occupants and the position of the papal throne had changed (McGinn, *Visions* 186).

<sup>197</sup> Anniius’s book went through seven printings before 1507, according to McGinn (“Forms” 8).



Various other medieval prophetic works associated the emperor—appointed by the *Pastor Angelicus*—with the “Second Charlemagne.” An example of this association is the *Liber de magnis tribulationibus et de statu ecclesiae* (c. 1356-65), attributed to Telesphorus of Cosenza. According to this text, a French king under the name of Charles would help the *Pastor Angelicus* defeat the “False Pope.” This Francophile version of the end of times was “among the most popular late medieval apocalyptic works,” according to McGinn (*Visions* 247).<sup>198</sup> Later, an anonymous French author used Telesphorus’s text to support Charles VI (1380-1422), associating the monarch with Charlemagne because of his name and putting forward the expectation that Charles VI should conquer Jerusalem. The same holds true with Charles VIII—who dreamed of becoming the “Last World Emperor,” as noted above—and Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor (1519-1556).

According to Nancy Bisaha, “many scholars and statesmen tried to revive the spirit of Christian unity and crusade... [while] others turned to the chivalric legend of Charlemagne as holy warrior,” partly because of the Ottoman threat (19). Furthermore, the figure of Charlemagne as represented in the Matter of Spain—especially in the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Pseudo Turpin* chronicle, where the emperor conquers the Muslims of Spain—“allowed humanists, particularly in Florence, to flatter the French monarchy” (Bisaha 41). Thus, the connection between messianic legends and romance literature was established through the figure of Charlemagne. Messianic legends might have been popular only among the higher echelons of society, but the books of

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<sup>198</sup> The popularity of the text is apparent in the multiple manuscripts and early prints still extant. Marjorie Reeves mentions this in *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*.

chivalry—particularly the Matter of Spain—had an important impact on late medieval and early modern ideologies in a wider audience.

### **Romance Literature as a Model for Monarchs**

In reference to sexuality during the Middle Ages, Ruth Mazo Karras warns us about using literature as “the most vivid examples of actual medieval life” (10). Karras adds that “literary representations... may have influenced experience—by affecting how people understood and interpreted it—more than they reflect it” (10). Indeed, we cannot assume these representations reveal medieval life accurately, but at least they enable us to have a glimpse into certain aspects of medieval thought. It is our task as scholars to make sense of the clues offered in texts and other cultural artifacts, as scholars of romance literatures like Sharon Kinoshita, Suzanne Conklin Akbari, Rosamond McKitterick, Barbara Fuchs, and Jennifer R. Goodman have done.<sup>199</sup> The texts known in Spanish as *libros de caballería* [literally, books of chivalry] were highly influential on the western European medieval and early modern understanding of contacts with cultural and religious Others. We can attest to the importance of these texts through their popularity, which is indicated by the large number of extant manuscripts and early editions.<sup>200</sup>

Henry Thomas explains, in his pioneering *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*, that “the theoretical acquaintance with chivalry [in Spain was] acquired from the romances” (28). Furthermore, “the more highly developed chivalrous code of France

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<sup>199</sup> Kinoshita’s *Medieval Boundaries* (2006), Akbari’s *Idols in the East* (2009), Goodman’s *Chivalry and Exploration* (1998), McKitterick’s *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (2008), and Fuchs’s *Exotic Nation* (2009) are some of the works using romance literature to understand European identity formation and history.

<sup>200</sup> An example of this popularity can be found in the listing of *Fierabras*’ manuscripts and early editions, included in the Appendix, and further discussed in the Epilogue in this dissertation.

and England influenced Spanish knightly practice... incidentally facilitated the spread of the literary expression of that code—the romances” (28). Thomas, in contending that the evolution of Iberian knighthood was based on foreign models, perhaps forgets that, as Anwar Chejne suggests, “epic narratives became the patrimony of Muslim and Christian societies alike and contributed to the formation of the institution of chivalry, which appears to have the same semantic value in Arabic, Spanish, and French, the sense of ‘horsemanship’” (147).<sup>201</sup> Yet both Thomas and Chejne agree on one particular idea: knights and chivalric institutions were influenced by epic and romance narratives. There is no doubt that western European romances of chivalry were paramount in the interpretation of old and new realities, whether these refer to the clash with a stronger Ottoman Empire or the contact with the inhabitants of the “New World.”

Irving Leonard’s *The Books of the Brave* is perhaps the first work on the impact of this literature in the mentality of the *conquistadores*. Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua, in a similar vein, comments that “los libros de caballerías estimulan unos modelos heroicos” [the books of chivalry stimulate certain heroic models] (“Recepción” 201) that conquerors of the “newly-found” continent followed.<sup>202</sup> These *conquistadores* had a role in the colonies similar to that of knights within the feudal order: to increase the dominion

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<sup>201</sup> Francisco Marcos-Marín comments, in his “El legado árabe,” that the old theory that considered the Castilian epic as a continuation of the French epic, has long proved invalid (397). The two cultures, Castilian and French, have an intense contact, he adds. Yet, Marcos-Marín posits that “la huella árabe al norte de los Pirineos es mayor y más profunda, en este género [épico], de lo que se esperaría de una relación mediata” [the Arabic mark north of the Pyrenees is larger and deeper in this (epic) genre than would be expected from a mediated relationship] (Marcos-Marín 409). And beyond literature itself, Marcos-Marín reminds the reader of the Arabic influence on chivalry as an institution, both in relation to horses (riding styles, breeding, and uses in battle) and to knights (as distinguished members of society) (417).

<sup>202</sup> At least, this is the way the American continent was seen by Europeans in the sixteenth century. Current scholarship on this cultural encounter rejects the traditional concept of “discovery.” Ida Altman and Reginald D. Butler actually propose to consider the multiplicity of encounters that took place in this event (480).

and possessions of their monarch through war and the conquest of territories and peoples. Yet, by the end of the fifteenth century, ideological structures had changed and the Spanish conquerors in the Americas, “however humble and lowly [their] origin, might aspire to the highest rewards of wealth, to the loftiest seats of power” (Leonard 34). In other words, these “loftiest seats of power” were no longer reserved to the higher nobility, as these warriors could acquire positions in the colonies. This is to say that chivalric literature had an impact on a larger portion of the population. With this increased impact, we should note that, as Javier Gómez-Montero explains, “los valores religiosos, ético-caballerescos y cortesanos propugnados para los protagonistas de la ficción novelesca reflejan ideales vigentes en la España de los años veinte” [religious, ethical-chivalric and courtesan values advanced for the protagonists of novelistic fiction reflect ideals still current in Spain during the 1520s] (296). Many medieval values—ethical, religious and courtly—transmitted through romance literature, were part of a residual ideology during the early sixteenth century.<sup>203</sup> And, as Gómez-Montero shows, emergent ideologies changed the type of strengths that these characters espoused: both arms and letters become the skills of these heroes. This implies that chivalric literature had to adapt to the new expectations of a new era.

Neither Cacho Blecua nor Gómez-Montero have studied Nicolás de Piemonte’s version of *Fierabras*. Instead, the former refers to the reception of *Amadís de Gaula* (first printed in 1508), while the latter focuses on *Espejo de cavallerías* (a collection of

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<sup>203</sup> In terms of ideology and culture I am following Raymond Williams, who defines ‘residual’ culture as “some experiences, meanings and values, which cannot be expressed in terms of the dominant culture, are nevertheless lived and practised on the basis of the residue... of some previous social formation” (40). In contraposition, Williams defines ‘emergent’ as “new meanings and values, new practices, new significances and experiences” created in a culture (41).

narratives that appeared in 1525). Jennifer Goodman, in contrast, has studied the possible influence that *Historia del emperador* had on the explorers and conquerors of non-European territories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Goodman asserts that Cortés and his men were not only “*au courant* with the most fashionable books of chivalry” but also were deeply influenced by older chivalric models like the Matter of France (*Chivalry* 152). Such influence is shown in Goodman’s analysis through the interesting parallelisms between Cortés’s *Cartas de relación* and Piemonte’s *Historia del emperador*. Though fascinating, it is quite impossible that Hernán Cortés and his men had read Piemonte’s translation, as the earliest printed version is dated 1521.<sup>204</sup> Cortés’s first *Carta de relación* was written in 1519, two years before *Historia del emperador* was printed.<sup>205</sup> Yet, either the French verse or the prose version of *Fierabras* could easily have informed the famous *conquistador*. What is evident to these scholars is that the contents of these texts—*Amadís*, *Espejo de cavallerías*, and *Historia del emperador*—were quite popular among higher and lower nobility and even “a few particularly well-to-do members of the bourgeoisie” (Eisenberg 105).<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Goodman is misled by the ISTC (Incunabula Short Title Catalogue) of the British Library, which mistakenly assumes the *princeps* edition of Nicolás de Piemonte’s translation was printed in 1500-03 by Pedro Hagenbach, the sole exemplar of which is kept in the Biblioteca de Catalunya. Konrad Haebler claims, in his *Bibliografía ibérica del siglo XV*, that Gallardo does not mention this edition among all the incunabula of the Castilian translation. Haebler questions Ludwig Hain’s dating, but he claims to be unable to reach a definitive conclusion because he had not seen the book (Haebler 53). Hain, in his *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, only offers the title (which is what Haebler mentions in the beginning of the text) and the location (47). José Ignacio Chicoy-Dagan has already claimed that this is a different story, known as *Historia del emperador Carlomagno y de la reina Sebilla* and notes that he has read it and compared it to two other Castilian texts (about Reina Sebilla).

<sup>205</sup> It is interesting to note that the first edition of Cortés’s *Carta de relación* was printed in 1522 by Jacobo Cromberger, the same printer of *Historia del emperador*. There is no way to prove that Cortés (or his amanuensis) could have read *Fierabras*, yet both printed works are close in time and place (Seville).

<sup>206</sup> Another instance of the influence of these works is shown in Saint Ignatius of Loyola’s *Autobiography*. In this text, Ignatius of Loyola mentions his interest in chivalric books, particularly in *Amadís de Gaula*. Ignatius emulates the *Amadís* and performs a wake of his arms before becoming a spiritual knight.

The influence of chivalric books and romance literature is also found in France. Historian John F. Ramsey states that Charles VIII, the King of France, “had a keen interest in romances of chivalry and he much preferred being a hero to a politician” (279). Labande-Malifert offers further detail about this interest, explaining that from childhood Charles VIII was influenced by the reading of *Grandes Chroniques de France* and other narratives about pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Labande-Malifert adds that “devant les vitraux de Chartres et devant ceux de Saint-Denis, c’est *l’Histoire de Charlemagne* qu’il avait vu se dérouler” [in front of the stained-glass windows of Chartres and Saint-Denis, he saw develop *L’Histoire de Charlemagne*] (156).<sup>207</sup> The story depicted on the windows in Chartres’ cathedral and Saint-Denis corresponds to Charlemagne’s pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, which appears as the third book in Jehan Bagnyon’s *L’Histoire de Charlemagne*. These windows, and particularly the one in Saint-Denis where Charlemagne appears, were “designed to illustrate the general theme of crusading” (Brown and Cothren 3). Church windows and books of chivalry promoted such themes, even in late medieval times.

Bagnyon’s text, as Hans-Erich Keller claims, was “un instrument de propagande politique” [an instrument of political propaganda] that had the mission of reestablishing the loyalty of the feudal lords to Amadeus IX, duke of Savoy (1435-1472) (“Jehan Bagnyon” 789).<sup>208</sup> This implies that feudal lords were interested in a chivalric romance, here Bagnyon’s *L’Histoire de Charlemagne*. And Amadeus of Savoy was not the only

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<sup>207</sup> The narrative to which Labande-Mailfert is referring is *L’Ystoire du tres saint Charlesmayne*, of which Charles VIII ordered a copy for his son Charles-Orland, a text with a name remarkably similar to Bagnyon’s version of *Fierabras*. However, there is no direct connection between these two narratives.

<sup>208</sup> Furthermore, the text served as propaganda because the house of Savoy and the figure of Charlemagne were historically connected: Peter II of Savoy (d. 1268) was nicknamed “le petit Charlemagne,” according to an early source “for his great wisdom and valour” (Breval 7).

lord invested in this type of literature. The figure of Charlemagne, as mentioned above, served these nobles and their entourage to legitimize their power and to use messianic prophecies as political propaganda.

### **Francophobia/philia and Piemonte's *Historia del emperador***

The conflicts between the King of France and the Catholic Monarchs—which include the Italian Wars, the dispute over Navarre,<sup>209</sup> and the recovery of Roselló and Cerdanya<sup>210</sup>—mark the Western European political environment of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. John Edwards explains that “Castile had been allied with France, while Aragon and Catalonia were historically opposed to their overbearing northern neighbour” (241). After the union of the Catholic Monarchs, France was no longer an ally to Castile and the conflicts between the French and the Aragonese were rekindled. Later, the clashes over Navarre, Roselló and Cerdanya revived a Francophobe sentiment that was already present among segments of Castilian nobility since Charlemagne’s failed attempt to take over northern Iberia in the eighth century. Although crusade warfare and policy had changed since the High Middle Ages, how does one

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<sup>209</sup> The kingdom of Navarre, a small independent region in the north of the Iberian Peninsula, was one of the areas of contention. King Ferdinand’s own father, John II of Aragon, had ruled the region between 1441 and 1479. But since then, Navarre was governed by Madeleine, sister of Louis XI of France. When King Louis died in 1483, the Catholic Monarchs turned “the small but strategically important kingdom of Navarre into a kind of protectorate” through a number of treaties (Edwards 247). Although small, Navarre had a tactical position as the western Pyrenean frontier between Spain and France.

<sup>210</sup> Roselló and Cerdanya (Roussillon and Cerdagne, in French) “were as strategically important in the eastern Pyrenees as Navarre was in the west” (Edwards 248). According to historian John Elliot, Louis XI’s “seizure of the Catalan counties of Roselló and Cerdanya” in 1463 exacerbated the traditional rivalry between the Crown of Aragon and France (120). Charles VIII used the contended countries as a trump card to prevent King Ferdinand from intervening in the French invasion of Italy. In 1493, through the treaty of Tours-Barcelona, “the two lost Catalan countries were returned peacefully to the crown of Aragon” (Edwards 250). Evidently, in the moment Charles VIII attacked Rome, in 1495, King Ferdinand intervened at Pope Alexander VI’s request.

explain Nicolás de Piemonte's rendition of *Fierabras* in such a Francophobic environment? Why resort to a text about Charlemagne, whose campaign to Zaragoza had been framed in terms of a crusade against the Moors in Iberia?<sup>211</sup>

Most versions of *Fierabras* depict the goal of expanding Christendom, which is one of the accomplishments of the “Last World Emperor” according to prophecy. Charlemagne and his loyal paladins conquer the lands of Spain—the kingdom of Balan—and convert all the inhabitants of this kingdom to Christianity (killing all who refuse to do so). Furthermore, this feat adds new territories to the Kingdom of France. Francisco Márquez Villanueva already pointed out that Bagnyon's prosified text is a “libro rabiosamente francófilo y cuya exageración en esto llevaba a titular a Carlomagno «roi d'Espagne»” [a fiercely Francophile book that, in its exaggeration gave Charlemagne the title of ‘King of Spain’] (127). But this Francophilia was opposed in Castile and other kingdoms of Iberia with the memory of Roncesvalles and an ensuing literary Francophobia.<sup>212</sup> According to Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, the hostility towards the French was “animad[a] por las guerras del siglo XVI” [stimulated by the wars of the sixteenth century] (*Antología* 185). Thus, as Márquez Villanueva astutely remarks, Nicolás de Piemonte's work assumes a special meaning with its glorification of Charlemagne in a time of continuous struggle between France and Spain (130). But this

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<sup>211</sup> Charlemagne's campaign to northern Iberia appears most notoriously in *Chanson de Roland*, though there are plenty of medieval literary references to the events that took place in Roncesvalles.

<sup>212</sup> Márquez Villanueva reminds his readers of the autochthonous legend about Bernardo del Carpio, who according to the *Romancero* opposed Charlemagne in the defeat when crossing the Pyrenees.



apparent incongruity might be explained, Márquez Villanueva posits, through a Francophile undercurrent related to the *Comunero* Revolt.<sup>213</sup>

This ambivalence towards the French, just as the maurophile and the maurophobic attitudes in the Iberian Peninsula addressed in Chapter 1, might also be an important reason for Piemonte's modification of his direct hypotext. *Historia del emperador* could be a reflection on the tensions that triggered the *Comunero* Revolt in Castile, though the text suggests a different approach to these tensions. Nicolás de Piemonte is calling for a united Christian front against the religious Other—the Turk—through the modification of the labels characterizing Charlemagne and his men, while simultaneously representing in the text the Francophobic sentiment common in the Iberian Peninsula. To do so, Piemonte has the Christians—instead of the Franks or French—fighting against the pagan or Muslim Other. This erasure of the “nationality” of Emperor Charlemagne and his Peers also serves to include other Europeans in the defeat of a threatening Islamic power—quite a realistic threat felt in Western Europe as the Ottoman Empire expanded. Thus, the heroic figures in the Castilian *Fierabras* cease to be solely associated with the Kingdom of France—an important enemy to the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon at the time—and become the heroes of Western Christendom.

With the erasure of the adjectives denoting geographical belonging in the description of the characters, coupled with the move to refer to them as Christians, Nicolás de Piemonte is calling for a united Christian front against the religious Other. This ideal unity was vigorously pursued by the Catholic Monarchs, their grandson

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<sup>213</sup> The *Comunero* Revolt started in 1520. Elliot explains, “the real spur to revolution was... a burning hatred of the foreigners and of a foreign rule which was stripping the country of its wealth” (143). Márquez Villanueva points precisely to this idea.

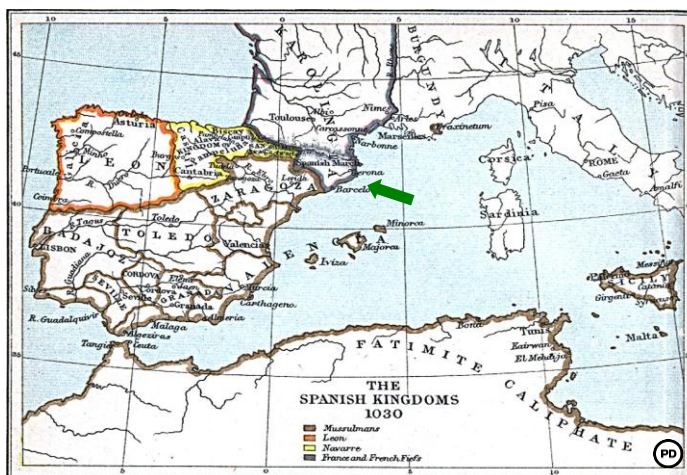
Emperor Charles V and, after him, his son Philip II. Yet, as historian Steven Ozment notes, “by the sixteenth century the dream of a pan-European political and cultural unity, if ever such had been capable of realization, was pure fantasy” (204). Even though a homogeneously Christian Europe is just an imaginary (and idealized) construct—as shown by the ongoing conflicts among the crown of France, the Papal states, the crown of Castile and Aragon, Venice, the kingdom of Naples, and the Holy Roman Empire—the heroes in *Historia del emperador* are no longer French but Christians. Thus, the French—a political enemy, yet a model to emulate—become no different from the Aragonese or the Castilian: all these Christian peoples are united against the Turk. Furthermore, this textual move to avoid referencing the French enemy becomes paramount in the reception of the Castilian version of *Fierabras* during the sixteenth century and later.<sup>214</sup>

In the French verse version of *Fierabras*, as Marianne Ailes has noted, the word most frequently used to refer to the Christians is “français,” which in *Fierabras* means “Frank,” “the inhabitants of Francia,” or the army of Charlemagne; and the Peers’ patronymics are enough to claim that the term is used in a wide sense (“Réception” 185). Instead, in *Historia del emperador* the term “franceses” or “francos” is nowhere to be found. As mentioned above, Nicolás de Piemonte chose to translate as “christianos” [Christians] each of the instances where Bagnyon used the word “français.” Similarly, according to Josep Ma. Millás Vallicrosa, Arab historians used the term “Alfranji” in reference to the Christians of northeastern Iberia instead of limiting it to the Franks. Millás Vallicrosa further explains that among these authors, “Afranja” was an unclear term, as it “ho aplicaren a ço que és l’actual França, com a la part sud d’aquesta, com

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<sup>214</sup> I refer to the reception of the Castilian *Fierabras* in the Epilogue to this dissertation.

també a la nord-est d’Espanya” [was applied to what is modern France, as well as the south part of France, and also the north east of Spain] (2 n. 5). Thus, what was known as the Spanish March (the northeastern area of the Iberian Peninsula, marked with an arrow in **Figure 14**) was also considered by these historians as part of “Afranja.”<sup>215</sup> I am not intending to claim that Arab sources were a direct influence for our Castilian translator, but such an encompassing use of the term “Ifrani” is also at work in *Historia del emperador*.



**Figure 14.** The Spanish Kingdoms, 1030 CE. (Source: *Freeman's Historical Geography*. Ed. J.B. Bury. Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, University of Texas at Austin).

Later, in the seventeenth century, Sebastián de Covarrubias defined “Franco” as “qualquier natural de Francia” [anyone native to France] (fol. 412ra); however, when referring to France in his *Tesoro de la lengua*, there is no mention of a specific religion.

<sup>215</sup> In addition, the term “Ifrani” or “Alfrangi” (that is, “Frank” or “French”) was used since Carolingian times to address “the inhabitants of the empire of Charlemagne, and later extended to *Europeans in general*. In medieval times it was not normally applied to the Spanish Christians, the Slavs or the Vikings, but otherwise was used fairly broadly of continental Europe and the British Isles” (Lewis, my emphasis). In the anonymous chronicle known as *Fath al-Andalus* or *Fatho Alandalus*, written by an Andalusian author between 1087 and 1106, we read about *Yilliqiya* (or *Djillikiyya*) and *Ifranya* (or *Afranja*), which seem geographically different. In this text, as Mayte Penelas explains, the former refers to “todos los territorios de la región septentrional de la península Ibérica” [all territories of the northern region of the Iberian peninsula] (11), around the area of modern-day Galicia.

From these examples, we could reach the conclusion that because most French people were Christian by the late Middle Ages, in the early seventeenth century Covarrubias did not feel the need to explain that France was part of Christendom. Yet, even if France had been inhabited by Christians since the early Middle Ages, Nicolás de Piemonte replaces the term “François” (usually meant to address geographical belonging) with “christianos” (a term used to designate a particular belief) throughout the text, and not precisely because his audience would have questions about the French’s religious belief.

Charlemagne and his Peers are from France in all versions, but Piemonte keeps referring to them as “Christians” rather than “French.”

A comparative reading of specific lines in Bagnyon’s and Piemonte’s texts shows the importance certain elements have on the creation of what we could label as “European-ness.” All versions of *Fierabras*, as well as other romances from the Matter of France, portray Charlemagne as overlord while his peers represent different regions of the Carolingian Empire. For example, in both *L’Histoire de Charlemagne* and *Historia del emperador*, some of the paladins are Richard of Normandy, Hoel of Nantes, Naimes of Bavaria, Guy of Burgundy, while Oliver’s father Rainier is from Gennes (province of Maine, later Mayenne). These feudal lords stand for regional allegiances with the Emperor. The characters in these narratives were fixed to these particular locations, despite translations and adaptations. But different versions do diverge when it comes to the composition of Charlemagne’s army. Jehan Bagnyon mentions, for instance, that Baland (Balan in most versions) kills “sept François et bien .xiiii. Normans moult valleureux” [seven French and fourteen very brave Normans] (166). *L’Histoire de Charlemagne* implies in this case that the army is formed by a variety of Frenchmen, all

under the rule of the Emperor. Therefore, Charlemagne's hosts—both knights and what we can assume are lower ranks—are French in a broad sense of the word, as Ailes has noted.

Rather than mentioning the “nationality” or “ethnicity” of the fallen, in translating Bagnyon's text Piemonte emphasizes in this particular instance the social standing of these men (and not their religion): Balan toppled “treynnta *caballeros* et atropello mas de dozientos *peones*” [thirty *knights* and knocked down more than two hundred *pawns*] (fol. 34va, my emphases).<sup>216</sup> This detail adds realism to Charlemagne's army in Piemonte's version. Historian Richard Kauper comments, “war typically took the form of the less-than-heroic raid, or the grind of siege operations, and even set-piece battles might depend on dismounted knights rather than the sweeping cavalry charge, pennons snapping the wind” (172). Furthermore, the medieval army included footmen with crossbows and longbows, engineers with counterweight artillery, sappers with humble picks and shovels (Kauper 172). Footmen, also known later as infantry, are what Piemonte and other Castilian-speaking people meant by “peones.”<sup>217</sup> Nicolás de Piemonte is depicting the kind of army referred to by Kauper, for example, in the confrontation of the two armies after the combat between Fierabras and Oliveros (fol. 13va), or when Charlemagne's army is fighting to conquer the bridge of Mantribe, guarded by Galafre (fol. 29va-30rb). But the Castilian translator is not interested in repeating the warriors' regions of origin, or

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<sup>216</sup> Both “nationality” and “ethnicity” are anachronisms, as they were not employed as such until the late-seventeenth century according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Neither do they appear in Spanish (Castilian) until much later: “nacionalidad” is not found in Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua* (1611) but it appears in 1651 according to the *Nuevo Diccionario Histórico del Español*. Yet, in Castilian “nacion” is used in mid-thirteenth century. This term appears in French and in English (Anglo Norman, actually) since the early twelfth century, as shown in the *Trésor de la Langue Française*.

<sup>217</sup> The word “peón” in this sense has been used in Castilian since *Cantar del Mio Cid* (c. 1140).

implying that the army is only formed by famous knights—Roland, Oliver, and Ogier, to name a few. This is an army of Christian men that includes warriors of different status. In other words, besides re-appropriating the Carolingian heroes, Piemonte decreases the importance of the place of origin of both higher and lower ranks in the army.

Bagnyon's version does mention once "autres *menues gens* des François" [other *lesser people* of the French] (66, my emphasis), but the "French-ness" of Charlemagne's army is evidently stressed. *Fierabras* and most of its versions are composed by a series of single combats between one of the French paladins and a "Sarrazin" or "payen," with some episodes of smaller group encounters interspersed. The importance of the nationality of the peers is shown by the explicit mention of their belonging, as in *L'Histoire de Charlemagne* these knights are "les pers de France" (in page 105, for example) or in some cases just "François." Baland even explains that the Peers are "natifz de France" [natives of France] (93). In Piemonte's version, while the narrative structure of single combats and smaller group clashes is maintained, the peers are "los caballeros christianos" (in fol. 21vb, for instance) whereas foot-soldiers are just "christianos." Furthermore, in the Castilian text the paladins are, as Balan calls them, "vassallos del emperador Carlomagno" [vassals of Emperor Charlemagne] (fol. 19rb). Therefore, Nicolás de Piemonte represents the contingents in the battle with more realism and, more importantly, erases the "French-ness" of the literary heroes, thus enhancing their religious designation.

Only on occasion are the famous heroes referred to as "los pares de Francia" in *Historia del emperador* in allusion to group belonging. Oliveros identifies himself as part of the "pares de Francia" thrice (fols. 9va, 13rb and 15ra) and Guy de Borgoña does it

once, when explaining that he will only accept a wife as the other knights have done before him (fol. 20ra). These instances convey the idea of belonging to the “*pares de Francia*” as a special status and not a nationality, at least in Piemonte’s version of *Fierabras*. Yet, clearly France is the kingdom of Charlemagne in all versions. Even in the Castilian text, Balan makes this link very evident when talking about the “*rey de Francia*” (fol. 14rb). And France is mentioned again when Brulante de Monmiere and Sortibrant de Coymbres plan to kill Charlemagne and win “*todo el reyno de Francia*” [all the Kingdom of France] (Piemonte fol. 19ra). Notwithstanding, in most of the cases Piemonte uses “*tierra de christianos*” [the land of the Christians] (fol. 27va and 28ra, for example) instead of France—as kingdom, and not in reference to the famous group of peers.

A last occurrence deserves our attention in this respect. France is mentioned in *Historia del emperador* when Charlemagne orders some knights to go “*con sus cartas para allegar mas gente*” [with his letters to gather more people] (fol. 28ra). The connection between France and Christendom is further emphasized a few lines later, in the beginning of the following chapter, which recapitulates the idea of summoning more people to fight against Balan by stating that Charlemagne wanted to “*embiar a tierra de christianos por gente*” [summon people from *Christian soil*] (fol. 28rb, my emphasis). It is this connection that is absent in Piemonte’s hypotext. In *L’Histoire de Charlemagne* there is no mention of a concept such as “Christian land.” France is just Charlemagne’s realm, a Christian region, as Bagnyon’s readers should already know. Instead, in Piemonte’s version “*tierra de christianos*” becomes a metonym for Western Europe. In this way, the “fiercely Francophile book,” as Márquez Villanueva pointed out about Jehan Bagnyon’s text (127), becomes such a Castilian “best-seller” in a Francophobic

environment.<sup>218</sup> While in the Epilogue I will refer in greater detail to the texts that were based on *Historia del emperador*, it should be noted that the authorial decision to modify and to adapt this text to better respond to the historical moment is essential for our understanding of the political crossroads here mentioned.

### **Crusading Discourses and Geographical Designations**

By erasing almost all traces of “French-ness” in his version of *Fierabras*, Nicolás de Piemonte encompasses all of Western Europe in the clash against the Turks. In this implicit call for a Christian front against the Ottoman threat, Piemonte harks back to Pope Urban II’s summon to the First Crusade, in 1095. In his speech during the Council held at Clermont, Urban urged for “Christianorum expeditione in Turchos” [“an expedition by Christians against the Turks”] (599; 598), as William of Malmesbury puts it. This is a similar idea to that of Piemonte, who is using a very common *topos* for crusaders: a Christian army fighting against the infidels. According to the Catholic Monarchs and their chroniclers, the war against the infidel is also the essence of the *Reconquista*.<sup>219</sup> The same spirit was Charles VIII’s excuse for the incursion in Italy, as evidenced in the epigraph to this chapter. But in the Italian Wars, the various contending sides had nothing

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<sup>218</sup> The emphasis on Christendom in this environment is not unique to *Historia del emperador*. In the introductory letter by Christopher Columbus to his *Diario del descubrimiento*, included in chapter XXXV of Bartolomé de las Casas’ *Historia de las Indias* (c. 1561), Columbus praises the Catholic Monarchs for ending “la guerra de los moros que reinaban en Europa” [the war against the Moors reigning in Europe] and promoting the expansion of Christianity (Casas 261). As Alain Milhou notes, “la toma de Granada rebasa los límites de las Españas, siendo *Europa*... un sinónimo de cristiandad latina” [the fall of Granada surpasses the border of Spain, being *Europe*... a synonym for Latin Christendom] (*Colón* 178, emphasis in the original). Because the King of Spain has accomplished the defeat of the Moors “reigning in Europe,” the only one capable against the Turks is Ferdinand of Aragon. These ideas are paramount for Columbus, as his enterprise is based on the expansion of Christendom but not on the defeat of the Ottomans. In the abovementioned letter, Columbus is not referring to a crusade against the infidel but to an attempt to contact the Great Khan (who is, in this letter, a ghostly presence of the legendary Prester John).

<sup>219</sup> I am referring here to Andrés Bernáldez and Fernando del Pulgar.



to do with the Ottoman Empire, the Turks, or Islam, as already mentioned: it was a war among Christians. Moreover, whereas the army conquering Granada during the *Reconquista* was not formed by knights from all over Europe,<sup>220</sup> Pope Urban's call to a crusade urged the European Christians to cease warring against other Christians in order to "rightfully fight against barbarians," according to Fulcher of Chartres' account of the Council of Clermont (Geary 388). It is this idea of Christian community that is highlighted in *Historia del emperador*.

This sense of unity was not new in the eleventh century when Pope Urban summoned the First Crusade. Two hundred years earlier, the chronicler Isidorus Pacensis calls "Europeans" (*Europenses*) the composite forces fighting under the leadership of a "consule Franciae interioris Austriae nomine Carolo" [consul of Austrasia by the name of Charles] against Abd al-Rahman's men in Tours, France (Wolf 145, Isidorus col. 1271B).<sup>221</sup> These composite forces are also called "gentes septentrionales" [northern peoples] in Isidorus' *Chronicon*, though this army only includes Frankish and Burgundian men. The *Chronicon* thus becomes exemplar of an early medieval connection between European forces—an encompassing adjective—and their struggle against a particular enemy. Yet, as historian Kenneth Wolf states, Isidorus "never bothered to identify the Muslims as Muslims, [thus] it comes as no surprise that there are no instances in which he drew religious lines when describing Christian-Muslim military encounters" (37). Instead, the ethnic terminology employed in Isidorus' chronicle includes *gothi*, *franci* or *europenses*.

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<sup>220</sup> In comparison to the Crusades, the *Reconquista* can be seen as a mere conflict within the Iberian Peninsula.

<sup>221</sup> This is Charles Martel (686-741), who was "mayor of the palace of Austrasia (714-41)" (Wolf 145 n. 155) and defeated the Muslims in the battle of Tours (732 C.E.).

While the link between Europe and Christendom is not explicit in Isidorus Pacensis' chronicle, William of Malmesbury's account of the speech by Pope Urban in 1095 might be one of the earliest examples where this association is made explicit (though perhaps too tenuously).<sup>222</sup> Among all the versions of the events at the Council in Clermont, it is in Williams' that Urban refers to the lands occupied by the "inimicos Dei" [enemies of God], and then expresses that "Tertium mundi clima restat Europa, cuius quantulam partem inhabitamus Christiani!" ["There remains Europe, the third division of the world; and how small a part of that do we Christians live in!"] (William 600; 601). Europe is, in this instance, "Christian soil" or *tierra de cristianos*—the term of choice in Nicolás de Piemonte's translation of *Fierabras*.



**Figure 15.** Detail of a map showing Aigues-Mortes. (Source: Thomas Kitchin, *A new map of the Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal* © Cartography Associates).

<sup>222</sup> According to Denys Hay, by the time of Gregory VII (1073-85) the term "Christianitas" already had a "physical or geographical connotation for Christendom" and included "people, kings and clergy, viewed as one unit" (29).

Piemonte's intention to enhance the crusading aspect in this chivalric book, besides the call for a European Christian unity, is found in his choice to translate Aigremore (or Eigremore) as Aguas Muertas. In Chapter 1, I mentioned this textual departure from the hypotexts in terms of the erasure of any Islamic connection to the Iberian Peninsula. The use of Aguas Muertas (the Spanish translation to Aigues-Mortes, a port in the south of France, in the province of Languedoc) as the location for Balan's city not only served to "clean up" the story of *Fierabras* in relationship to Spain, it also served to convey the political importance of the Mediterranean in terms of a crusade against Islam. **Figure 15** demonstrates the centrality of Aigues-Mortes, as the port is located at the mouth of river Rhone, close to Arles and Montpellier. Through the relocation of the plot in *Historia del emperador*, the historical elements of Aigues-Mortes enhance the crusading spirit in line with such apocalyptic ideas as the "Last World Emperor."

Though Aigues-Mortes was not a port until the thirteenth century, according to F. E. di Pietro, this area had been attacked frequently by "Sarrasins" from the early eighth century until after the thirteenth century when it became fortified (17). Particularly the nearby Abbey of Psalmodi (about two miles north of the town) seems to have been vulnerable to these attacks, as Charlemagne granted the abbey the rights to the defensive tower of Matafère in 791.<sup>223</sup> The presence of "Sarrasins" in the gulf might be one of the reasons for Piemonte to translate Aigremore as Aguas Muertas. The connection to *Fierabras* might be further established through the presence of the charter in which

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<sup>223</sup> For further information about the Abbey of Psalmodi, see Jerrilynn Dodds, "The Carolingian Abbey Church of Psalmodi." Of particular interest is page 14, where Dodds recounts the historical context for this site.

Charlemagne donates the tower mentioned above, as well as the priory of Saint-Saturnin de Nodels, to the Abbey of Psalmodi. Nevertheless, Aigues-Mortes itself did not exist as a port until the beginning of the thirteenth century, as Jean Morize has noted (313). This location required fortification and access to the Mediterranean, something that the Capetian monarchs were interested in constructing. It is from this moment that Aigues-Mortes becomes connected to the crusades.<sup>224</sup> However, the fortification of the port—particularly the construction of the Tour de Constance, in 1242—was also related to both pilgrims and merchants on their way to Holy Land, as Richard explains (212). Further historical events signal to a possible reason for translating Aigremore as Aguas Muertas: Charlemagne and Balan’s battleground harks back to a crusading mystique.<sup>225</sup>

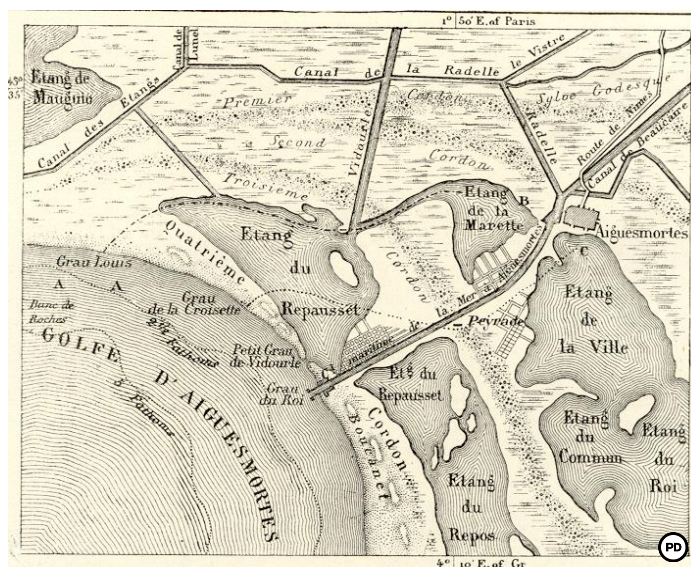
Yet, besides the crusading enterprises, Mediterranean commerce and the control of the trading routes were implicit and explicit priorities for western European kings and their vassals. Aigues-Mortes was not only a port from where crusades departed, even after King Saint Louis the port continued to be “une base du pouvoir royal en Languedoc” [a base for royal power in Languedoc] (Jehel 179). Also, from a commercial standpoint, it was paramount for the Capetian kings to have this “foothold on the Mediterranean coast” as it provided direct access in terms of commerce (Lopez, “Trade” 302). Regardless of being somewhat removed from the actual coast, as it is evident in

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<sup>224</sup> Historian Jean Richard mentions that the Crusade of 1239, led by Theobald I of Navarre (Count of Champagne), departed from this town (212). Then, around 1254 Aigues-Mortes became a port that served as base for King Saint Louis’s crusade, and again for the Eighth Crusade in 1270. Moreover, the town was the point of departure for other maritime expeditions of the kings of France. The campaign of King Philippe III (who ruled from 1245 to 1285) against Aragon in 1284, and a failed crusade organized by King Philippe V (1292-1322) in 1319 proceeded from Aigues-Mortes. A comparative reading of *Fierabras* and King Saint Louis’s crusade could productively show the mutual influence between crusading chronicles and *chansons de geste*, particularly in terms of identity construction and geopolitics.

<sup>225</sup> Xavier Le Person also mentions this connection when referring to the choice of location for the encounter between Charles V and Francis I in 1538, claiming that “Aigues-Mortes was imbued with the crusading mystique... to which Francis I was himself hardly a stranger” (4).

**Figure 16**, Aigues-Mortes was frequented by “navires étrangers... qui assuraient les relations entre la France et la Syrie” [foreign ships... that ensured the relations between France and Syria] (Morize 336). Fernand Braudel also comments that Aigues-Mortes was a fortified complex that functioned as a commercial post and, more importantly, it was a route to the Champagne Fairs (111). While Morize and Braudel focus on the importance of this port from the French perspective, it is evident that the port also served others. Genoese, Tuscan, and Catalan merchants favored this port as an alternative to Marseilles.<sup>226</sup> Thus, there was not only a mercantile relation between France and Syria;



**Figure 16.** The Lagoons around Aigues-Mortes. (Source: Élisée Reclus's *The Universal Geography*).

trade also took place along the Spanish and Provençal coasts, to Muslim Spain, Valencia, Montpellier, Perpignan, and Aigues-Mortes.<sup>227</sup> But by the fourteenth century, the French crown could not support Aigues-Mortes any longer because the port was sanded, just like

<sup>226</sup> Genoa and Tuscany controlled the region because of their “superior business technique,” but Catalans were very active as well (Lopez, “Trade” 302).

<sup>227</sup> David Abulafia mentions that the Catalans “were able to assert clear predominance [in this region] by 1300, pushing back the Genoese by merciless pirate assaults on their shipping from bases along the Catalan coast, in the Balearic Islands, and eventually, in Sicily” (“Catalan” 226).

Narbonne; the expenses to drag the port and keep it navigable became excessive (Jehel 184). Regardless of this setback, the continuous political importance of Aigues-Mortes is shown by the fact that, in 1538, Emperor Charles V and Francis I of France met there and signed a truce that temporarily stabilized the tensions between these two powers.<sup>228</sup>

As Xavier Le Person notes, the choice of Aigues-Mortes for the meeting was highly symbolic as this place “was imbued with the crusading mystique to which the French monarchy itself had contributed... a theme in the literature of royal propaganda, the Most Christian King’s interest being often expressed in the royal declarations that he made” (4). Despite the fact that *Historia del emperador* was first published seventeen years before this encounter, both the Castilian version and the political event have a number of common elements beyond their location. Piemonte’s relocation of the plot in Aguas Muertas connects *Fierabras* with the mercantile expansion toward the eastern Mediterranean regions and a crusading effort that would fulfill the prophecy surrounding diverse monarchs. It is likely that Piemonte was not referring to the French king, but to Ferdinand of Aragon or his grandson, Charles V. Beyond being associated with the “Last World Emperor” prophecy, these two monarchs were related to the Crown of Aragon (hence to the County of Barcelona). Aigues-Mortes evidently was essential to Catalan merchants, and it was closely connected to the border between France and Aragon. Roselló and Cerdanya was a disputed region between the Valois and the Trastámara kings, as already mentioned, and Aigues-Mortes is not far from there. Furthermore, “the ancient Languedoc port of Aigues-Mortes was a liminal place, situated on the margins of

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<sup>228</sup> The encounter between these two sovereigns has been described as “an honorific confrontation between two knights who, unable to settle things on the field of battle, attempted to surpass one another in the field of virtue” (Xavier Le Person 2). This meeting surely reminds us of the battle between Fierabras and Oliveros in *Historia del emperador*.

the French kingdom on the Mediterranean littoral... and was almost equidistant between Nice and Barcelona by sea” (Xavier Le Person 6).<sup>229</sup> Thus, *Aguas Muertas* is at an ideological crossroads heavy with political implications. It is not, as Louis Michel has stated, a geographical transference due “à l’incompétence de quelqu’un ou de quelques-uns de nos vieux auteurs” [to the incompetence of some author or authors] (309). This is an informed authorial decision to rehabilitate crusading efforts, as had been done in the *Reconquista* only a couple of decades before *Historia del emperador* was published.

### **Conclusion: Messianism, Crusading Spirit, and Imagined (Comm)unity**

As noted in this chapter, Nicolás de Piemonte adapted a prose version of *Fierabras* during a critical moment for European monarchies. The beginning of the sixteenth century was marked by the arrival of the Spanish to the American continent, the wars in Italy, the expansion of the Turks, the rivalry over the imperial succession to Maximilian, and the Lutheran Reformation, among other important historical developments. These significant events are implicit in the literature of the time, as is evident in Nicolás de Piemonte’s rendition of the adventures of Charlemagne and his paladins against Balan and his kin. *Historia del emperador* as well as other books of chivalry were also imbued by “a mood of prophetic tension,” in the words of Eric MacPhail, in reference to *Orlando Furioso* (30).<sup>230</sup> Both of these works were written around the same time, share a central character—Charlemagne—and a renewed call to

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<sup>229</sup> For this reason, Aigues-Mortes was the location chosen for the signature of the truce between Charles V and François I, in 1538.

<sup>230</sup> MacPhail reminds us that *Orlando Furioso* was first published in 1516, a second edition appeared in 1521, and a third edition in 1532. This 1532 edition was expanded to 46 cantos, and “Ariosto added to canto 15 a prophetic speech by Andronica to Astolfo foretelling the discovery of the New World and the reign of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor” (32).

crusade against the infidel. Yet, whereas Lodovico Ariosto revised his *Orlando* to represent the political alliances of his patrons, Nicolás de Piemonte did not mention any benefactors in his text. Historical elements evidently affected the translations, adaptations, and revisions of texts like these, but concurrently romances (and especially books of chivalry) had a significant impact on sovereigns and other nobles, who often used them as political propaganda.

Charles VIII of France is one of the monarchs that had been deeply affected by these texts, as explained above. Besides other examples mentioned, Emperor Charles V also had a preference for these literary works. The connection between Charles V and Piemonte's text is telling for a number of reasons. First, Charles V became King of Spain in 1516, only five years before *Historia del emperador* was first published (as far as we can tell today). Secondly, we should note that according to Fernando de los Ríos, in his youth, Charles of Ghent (later Charles I of Spain and Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor) preferred the proper activities of a knight instead of studying the humanities. Among these activities, de los Ríos mentions "manejar las armas, montar a caballo, leer libros de caballería y comentar la historia" [to handle arms, to ride horses, to read chivalric books and to converse about history] (83, my emphasis).<sup>231</sup> Some of these ideas would appear later as part of Charles V's political program, reflecting these preferences. Furthermore, according to Aurelio Espinosa, Charles wanted to emulate the chroniclers' depictions of past emperors and conquerors, particularly Charlemagne (283).<sup>232</sup> Yet, the best-known

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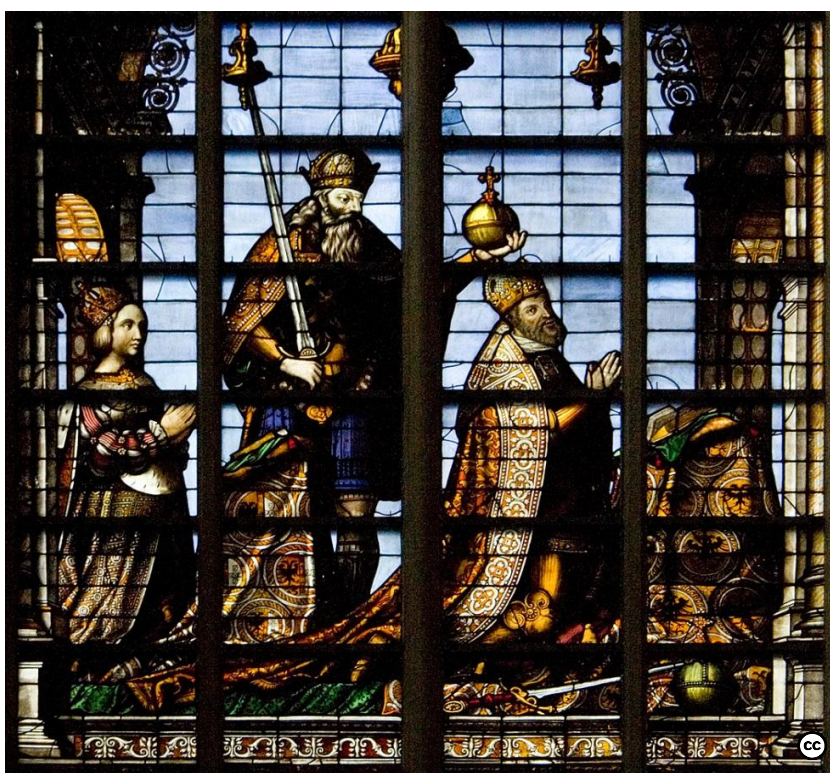
<sup>231</sup> Among those chivalric books, de los Ríos singles out *Amadís de Gaula* (86).

<sup>232</sup> Other historical figures mentioned by Espinosa are Alexander the Great, Scipio Africanus, Julius Caesar, Augustus, Constantine, Theodosius, and Justinian.



depictions of Charlemagne were those of the Carolingian romances rather than the “historical” chronicles.<sup>233</sup>

The use of Charlemagne as a source of imperial power, therefore, is not unique to Valois kings such as Charles VIII of France or Louis XII (**Figure 12** being a visual example of that claim). Charles V—a Habsburg—also claimed a similar relationship to the legendary emperor. The stained-glass window of the northern transept in the



**Figure 17.** Charles V and his wife Isabelle of Portugal in adoration in front of the Holy Sacrament; they are accompanied by Charlemagne and Elisabeth of Hungary (not shown). Cathedral of St. Michael and St. Gudula, Brussels. (© Mark Ynys-Mon).

<sup>233</sup> The actual facticity of these chronicles is debated. A possible avenue for future research is the use of romances in the retelling of historical facts, with an emphasis in the Iberian Peninsula. Such a study would be closely related to scholarship similar to the one contained in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes’ *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*; Jacques Revel and Giovanni Levi’s *Political Uses of the Past: The Recent Mediterranean Experience*; and Gabrielle M. Spiegel’s *Romancing the Past*.

Cathedral of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula in Brussels is an instance of Charles V's connection to Charlemagne (**Figure 17**).<sup>234</sup> A number of similarities can be found in these two images, particularly in the depiction of Charlemagne: the long beard and the orb being the most obvious. But differences are also very evident, as Charles V is an emperor in his own right (thus another orb is positioned next to him) and the fact that the emperor's wife (Isabelle of Portugal) is also present in this image. These two images reveal the inclination to claim Charlemagne's endorsement of these two monarchs, becoming a visual representation of *translatio imperii*.

The imperial figure, a phantom that “endured and exercised an almost undying influence” during the late Middle Ages according to Frances A. Yates, implied the idea of world unity under one ruler (2). This world united under one ruler and one faith almost became a reality under Charles V, who dreamed of a “universal empire” (Espinosa 241). The idea of a universal Christendom, “el ansia de la unidad europea” [the longing for a European unity] in Menéndez Pidal's words (*Idea* 29), also appears in *Historia del emperador*. Yet, there is only an implied reference to the imagery of such leader in Nicolás de Piemonte's text: Charlemagne as overlord to all “tierra de christianos.”

A united Christian, European force appears in the political program of Charles V, where he expresses his interest in following “las huellas de sus antepasados y los imitará en las luchas contra los infieles; que su intención es *poner paz en la cristiandad* y morir por ella” [the path of his ancestors and emulating them in the battles against the infidels;

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<sup>234</sup> The cathedral, originally the collegiate church of St. Michael and St. Gudula, started to be built in the early-thirteenth century and was finished “just before the reign of the emperor Charles V” (History and Architecture). This stained-glass window is the work that Jean Haeck made in 1537 from drawings by Bernard Van Orley. Haeck was a master glass-worker from Antwerp. Van Orley, in turn, was a sixteenth-century painter from Brussels who introduced the first Renaissance features to those provinces (History and Architecture).

his intention being to *attain peace within Christendom* and die for it] (de los Ríos 87, my emphasis).<sup>235</sup> Just as Pope Leo X (1513-1521) before him, Charles V thought it possible to unite Europe against Selim I, the Ottoman sultan.<sup>236</sup> Both the Pope and the Emperor shared the idea that this internal unity would avoid the invasion of the Turks. These ideas are also espoused by Piemonte's *Historia del emperador*, evident in that Charlemagne and his peers do not refer to the standard "Saracens" or "moros" as enemies, but rather the "turcos," as shown in Chapter 1. Moreover, the Paladins cease to be "French" or "Franks" only to become "caballeros christianos" as seen in this chapter. This textual shift implies a European unity based on religion that disregards the political tensions between France and Spain.

If the Habsburgs of Spain and Austria and the Valois of France had attempted a concerted effort, they could have easily defeated Ottoman forces. But the bitter rivalry between these two dynasties led to continuous warfare in the Italian Peninsula. Furthermore, the Valois reached an alliance with the Ottoman Empire against the Habsburgs. Charles V was the "Last World Emperor" indeed, but this was far from being the messianic figure to attain the universal *pax Christiana* or to becoming the revived Charlemagne to reach Jerusalem and defeat the infidels. Notwithstanding, Nicolás de Piemonte, along with his generation, dreamed of this possibility when Charles of Ghent, the oldest grandson to Ferdinand of Aragon, became King of Spain and later the Holy

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<sup>235</sup> De los Ríos refers to a "carta-programa" or "carta-manifiesto" written in 1519. Most likely this is a letter addressed to the *cortes* to favor his nomination as Holy Roman Emperor. Though the study by de los Ríos has been revised by Ángel del Río, not all primary sources are documented.

<sup>236</sup> While Pope Julius II (1503-11) summoned the Fifth Lateran Council, it was continued by Leo X. The council considered action against the Turks. The homilists in the Council saw the victories of the Ottomans and the schism in the Church "as the means with which God would chastise an unrepentant Church" (Minnich, "Prophecy" 67).

Roman Emperor. The struggles with the French could be overlooked in *Historia del emperador* through the erasure of geographical denominators for Charlemagne's paladins, but reality proved that these romance heroes were never to become truly Iberian. Being a part of Europe and Christendom as an imagined (comm)unity was possible only in literature and not in real life.

## **Epilogue: *Libros de caballerías* and Ideological Transference: *Historia del emperador* and its Hypertexts**

The texts known in Spanish as *libros de caballería* (literally, books of chivalry) are one of the most important influences on the western European medieval and early modern understanding of contact with cultural and religious Others. One of these texts has been the center and focus of this dissertation, in which I have performed a strategical close reading of textual disruptions in *Fierabras* and its multiple renditions. Why should a sixteenth-century Castilian translation of a *chanson de geste* matter today? Although I have addressed this in previous chapters, it is worthwhile to further expand on this critical point. *Historia del emperador Carlo Magno* traveled through time and space, both as a literary reference and as a major ideological substrate, to the limits of the Spanish Empire and beyond. I claim that Nicolás de Piemonte's text was part of a *translatio imperii*—an ideological transference from the Iberian metropolis to the Americas—together with conquerors, missionaries, and merchants. Piemonte's text became part of the blueprint to build a new religious and culturally hybrid society in the Americas and the Philippines. In this epilogue, I trace the hypertexts of *Historia del emperador* to explicit the connections between the medieval crusade-like imagery and the construction of an imperial reality across the oceans.<sup>237</sup>

Following the lead of Irving Leonard's *The Books of the Brave*, Jennifer Goodman claims that Cortés and his men were not only “*au courant* with the most fashionable books of chivalry” but also were deeply influenced by older literary models

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<sup>237</sup> Because the emphasis of my dissertation is on the Castilian translation, I have not included here the textual transmission of *Fierabras* in French literature. Nevertheless, I think it is important to note that François Rabelais mentions several of the characters of the *chanson de geste* in his *Pantagruel*. Marc Le Person, in the Introduction to his edition of *Fierabras*, includes information about the dissemination in French (16 n. 18, 20-22).

like those of the Matter of France (*Chivalry* 152). In her study of the possible influence of *Historia del emperador* on explorers and conquerors of non-European territories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Goodman finds interesting parallels between Cortés's *Cartas de relación* and the Castilian translation of *Fierabras*. But these books of chivalry would not have reached their level of popularity if it were not for their rendition to prose that was “especialmente configurado y potenciado por la invención y desarrollo de la imprenta” [particularly configured and stimulated by the invention and development of the printing press] (Campos García Rojas 47). The popularity and dissemination of the hypertexts—the printed editions and other texts based on Nicolás de Piemonte's translation—is the central focus in the pages that follow.

Despite the promulgation of a law against exporting books of chivalry dated in Toledo, April 4, 1531,<sup>238</sup> Francisco Fernández del Castillo compiled numerous customs inspections reports, most of them from the port in Veracruz, Mexico, that include many *libros de caballerías*. *Fierabras* or *Carlomagno* (also known as *Carlo Magno*) is inscribed at least seven times in these reports (all between the years 1550 and 1600).

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<sup>238</sup> In this *cédula* Queen Isabella of Portugal (wife of Emperor Charles V of Spain) expresses her concerns about books, and says

Yo he seydo informada que se pasan a las Indias muchos libros de romance de ystorias vanas y de profanidad, como són el Amadis y otros desta calidad; y porque éste es mal exercicio para los yndios e cosa en que no es bien que se ocupen y lean, por ende, yo vos mando que de aquí en adelante no consyntays ni deys lugar a persona alguna pasar a las yndias libros ningunos de ystoria y cosas profanas, salvo tocante a religión christiana e de virtud... (Quoted in Mérida Jiménez, *Aventura* 50).

[I have been informed that many books of romance with superficial and profane stories are brought to the Indies (the Americas), such as Amadis and others of the same quality. Because this is a bad example for the indigenous people and they should not be entertained and reading these, I order that from now on do not allow or give place to anybody to take to the Indies books of history and profane issues, except those dealing with Christianity and virtue.]

Leonard also includes other ports in his inquiries—Manila and Lima, specifically—where *Historia del emperador* appears. And, in Leonard’s words,

[Many] references to it by members of conquering and exploring expeditions are reported soon thereafter [1521, the date it was first printed]. And the schoolmaster of *El periquillo sarniento*, the action of which novel takes place in the late eighteenth century, warned his pupils, it will be recalled, against reading this particular book, thus testifying to its prolonged popularity. (329-330)<sup>239</sup>

Nevertheless, Rafael Mérida Jiménez has asserted that, during this first phase of the Spanish expansion in American territories, “no puede hablarse de una influencia de los libros de caballerías entre los militares que emigraron a las nuevas posesiones” [we cannot speak about the influence of the books of chivalry on the military who emigrated to these new lands] (“Libros de caballería,” n.p.). Instead, he claims that this trend started after 1530, when the profuse offer of titles and their fame would lead to the law promulgated in 1531 against the trade of these books.

Be that as it may, *Historia del emperador Carlomagno y los doce pares* was enormously popular both in the Iberian Peninsula and the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. In order to assess its popularity and the importance of this research, we can start with a swift review of instances where our text is mentioned in Spanish literature, beyond the fifteen sixteenth-century early editions listed in the Appendix to this dissertation. We

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<sup>239</sup> *El periquillo sarniento* is a Mexican novel written in 1816 by José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi. In the third chapter, the schoolmaster tells the protagonist (a boy at that time) that “nunca convenía que yo leyera *Soledades de la vida*, las *novelas de Sayas*, *Guerras civiles de Granada*, la *historia de Carlo Magno y doce pares*, ni otras boberas de éstas, que lejos de formar, cooperan a corromper el espíritu de los niños, o disponiendo su corazón a la lubricidad, o llenando su cabeza de fábulas, valentías y patrañas ridículas” [it was not convenient for me to read *Soledades de la vida*, the novels by Sayas, the *Guerras civiles de Granada*, *La historia de Carlo Magno y doce pares*, and other such nonsense which, instead of being formative corrupt the children’s spirit, dispose their hearts to lust, or fill their minds with fables, braveries and ridiculous fabrications] (45).

can start with Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quijote*, which was first published in the beginning of the seventeenth century, not because it is the first textual reference to *Historia del emperador*, but because of the importance of Cervantes' work in literature. Its first part, *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, appeared in 1605; while the second one, *El ingenioso caballero Don Quijote de la Mancha*, was first published in 1615. Many scholars have made these texts the focus of their academic pursuits, to study a diversity of matters. Most would agree that *Don Quijote* is a representation and a critique of the social realities of Cervantes' time.

One of the issues present in this masterpiece is the qualified mention of chivalric romances as source of inspiration for Don Quixote's fantastic imagination. Because of his obsession with these books, Don Quixote is fixated on a residual ideology. During that time period, errant knighthood and feudal relations of power (based on chivalric ideals) were being displaced by imperial mercantilism (based on the exploitation of the new, trans-Atlantic colonies). Nevertheless, books of chivalry and its characters were not ready to be displaced in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, at least not in Spain (and its colonies), Italy, and Portugal (and its colonies). The Castilian version of *Fierabras*—titled *Historia del emperador Carlo Magno*—has an important place in Don Quixote's library and imagination. This has already been noted by Carlos Gumpert, who explains that the inclusion of elements from Piemonte's translation in *Don Quijote* might be due to “la inmensa popularidad que logró” [the immense popularity it attained] as well as the prototypical role of some of Piemonte's characters within the chivalric genre (76). The most remarkable of all the references to *Historia del emperador* in Cervantes' masterwork is framed as part of Cervantes' commentary on the pseudo-historicity of



chivalric romances.<sup>240</sup> Furthermore, the fact that Cervantes mentions Fierabras and Floripes is important because this implies that he had access either to Piemonte's text or to another of its hypertexts.<sup>241</sup>

Before *Don Quijote* was published, however, the characters and subplots from *Historia del emperador* were already part of other Castilian works of literature. At least three works of Félix Arturo Lope de Vega Carpio, generally known only as Lope de Vega, mention Fierabras or allude to scenes from *Historia del emperador*. Two of them—*La serrana de la Vera* and *La quinta de Florencia*, texts that predate *Don Quijote* by less than a decade—make passing references to Fierabras. *La serrana de la Vera* is a comedy of errors that was most likely written in 1595. This comedy mentions Fierabras when one of the characters is planning on confronting his beloved, in what is expected to be evidently an uneven battle.<sup>242</sup> *La quinta de Florencia*, written between 1598 and 1603,

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<sup>240</sup> In the last chapters of the first part of *Don Quijote*, the curate criticizes the chivalric books in general and those in Don Quixote's library in particular. When faced with this criticism, Don Quixote responds "¿qué ingenio puede haber en el mundo que pueda persuadir a otro que no fue verdad lo de la infanta Floripes y Guy de Borgoña, y lo de Fierabrás con la puente de Mantible....?" [what mind in the world can persuade another that the story of princess Floripes and Guy of Bourgoigne is not true, or that of Fierabrás and the Bridge of Mantible?] (I.49, 636). This is quite a different reference to *Historia del emperador*, as its well-known characters and episodes serve to question the limits of imagination and reality.

<sup>241</sup> Several of these instances are related to Fierabras' balm, from which he offers Oliveros to drink to heal his wounds to be able to fight against him. First, the balm is brought about after Don Quixote is badly hurt by the Vizcaino (I.10, 186-187). As a reminder, in *Historia del emperador* Fierabras offers Oliveros to drink from the two "barrilejos" [small barrels] that he "por fuerça darmas gane en Hierusalen" [won in battle in Jerusalem] and contain the balm with which "fue embalsamado el cuerpo de tu dios" [was embalmed your God's body] (Piemonte, fol. 8vb). Later in *Don Quijote*, Sancho brings back the balm into the text when requests to drink some of that "bebida del feo Blas" [beverage of the fierce Blas] (*Don Quijote* I.15, 231). As we will see, this instance will mark the way Fierabras is articulated in the literature of the Spanish Golden Age. A final textual instance where the balm appears in *Don Quijote* is chapter XVII, as Don Quixote prepares the balm to heal himself after being beaten up with a lamp (I.17, 250-52).

<sup>242</sup> In the second act, Don Carlos is getting ready to follow his beloved, Leonarda, who has gone to the mountains angry at him (because of the confusion created by another character). Galindo, Don Carlos' squire, asks if his master will go armed to see Leonarda, because he goes "en la demanda del gigante Fierabrás" [on the giant Fierabras' demand] (Vega, *Serrana* 1311). This instance refers to the beginning of the second book of *Historia del emperador*, where Fierabras demands Charlemagne or one of his Peers to fight against him. As already mentioned in chapter 3, Oliveros accepts the challenge in apparently very

includes Fierabras within a list of imaginary beings and objects.<sup>243</sup> The presence of Fierabras in Lope de Vega's works is clear evidence of the popularity of *Historia del emperador* even before *Don Quijote*, yet already conveys the idea that the contents of the books of chivalry are pure fantasy.

*La puente del mundo* is another piece by Lope de Vega that refers to *Fierabras*, though it is dated 1616 (Flecniaoska 22 n.1). Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, in his "Estudio preliminar" about the *autos* and *coloquios* by Lope de Vega, considers *La puente del mundo* "uno de los más extravagantes" [one of the most extravagant] *autos* because of the combination of Eucharistic allegory and chivalric adventures (lxvi).<sup>244</sup> Menéndez Pelayo notes that Lope de Vega was basing his *auto* on the "librejo popular de *Carlomagno y los doce Pares*" [popular pamphlet] translated by Piemonte and not the French *Fierabras* (lxvii).<sup>245</sup> Evidently, in Menéndez Pelayo's opinion, *La puente del mundo* would have been much better if it had returned to the French source. Nevertheless, the scholar does not indicate that Lope de Vega returns to the topoi contained in the French prose and verse versions where Charlemagne's adversaries are related to the Moors and not to the Turks. This link, as already noted in Chapter 1, was carefully erased in Piemonte's translation. Lope de Vega goes even further in his demonization of the

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uneven conditions. Fierabras is unharmed and very tall, while Oliveros is wounded. Leonarda, in Lope de Vega's comedy, resembles Fierabras in her fierceness and anger.

<sup>243</sup> During the Primera Jornada, two illiterate millers (Roselo and Doristo) request Teodoro (the administrator of the *quinta*) to read for them some papers ("cédulas" l. 729) that they have for them. These contain several recipes which require different fantastic items. The first one, for a woman to become extremely beautiful, requires feathers from an angel, the glow of the moon, and the parasol's cane of Fierabras ("del gigante Fierabrás / el palo del guardasol" [ll. 744-45]), among other things. Laura, the daughter of the old miller, has asked them to find these ingredients. For the dating of this comedy, see Debra Collins Ames (page 3).

<sup>244</sup> An *auto* or *auto sacramental* is an allegorical theatrical representation, common during the feast of Corpus Christi, with a highly religious content.

<sup>245</sup> Nicolás de Piemonte's translation became known as *Doce pares* or *Carlomagno y los doce pares* around the eighteenth century.

Moors, making a clear connection between them and a character called “el príncipe de las tinieblas” [the prince of darkness, meaning the Devil]. Menéndez Pelayo calls this *auto* a “parodia a lo divino” [parody in sacred terms] yet does not provide a reading of other religious elements evident in *La puente del mundo* and *Historia del emperador* (lxvi, emphasis in the original).

As noted in Chapter 4, *Historia del emperador* appears in the midst of a Francophobe environment. And, as Mérida Jiménez suggests, “la narrativa caballeresca escrita en español construyó una sutil apología de la monarquía coetánea, valorada desde unos presupuestos que se apropian de elementos providencialistas y mesiánicos” [the chivalric narrative in Spanish language built a subtle apology of its contemporary monarchy, prized upon some assumptions based on providentialist and messianic elements] (“Libros de caballerías,” n.p.). *La puente del mundo*, instead, has Adam and Eve dressed “de franceses, muy galanes” [as French, very elegant] and expelled from Paris, the paradise (402). Thus, Lope de Vega was only partially basing his play on *Historia del emperador*, and his interpretation of the gamut of religious identities returned to a Manichean representation common in the Spanish Baroque.<sup>246</sup>

Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas claims that *La puente del mundo* and other *autos* by Lope de Vega are nothing but “utilizaciones de los elementos vivenciales de la época, transposición religiosa de una realidad históricosocial y mental producida por la peculiar sensibilidad del *casticismo* hispano” [an employment of the experiential elements of his time, a religious transposition of a sociohistorical and mental reality product of the

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<sup>246</sup> Renata Londero, among others, notes that “la dualidad entre bien y mal se convierte en un juego barroco de simetrías antitéticas” [the duality between good and evil becomes a baroque game of antithetical symmetries] (902). This is precisely what is evident in *La puente del mundo*.

peculiar sensitivity of the Spanish *casticismo*] (108). The demonization of the religious Other is an expression of an exacerbated nationalism and, despite diplomatic clashes, France is regarded as an integral part of Catholicism. It is for these reasons that *Historia del emperador* is intertextually present in *La puente del mundo*. Moreover, Lope de Vega was not alone in his referencing and reinterpretation of *Fierabras*.

Pedro Calderón de la Barca also referenced *Historia del emperador* in several of his plays. Perhaps the earliest one is *La devoción de la cruz*, written in its final version around 1622 or 1623.<sup>247</sup> In the third journey, Gil, the *gracioso* (a comic staple character in Spanish Golden Age plays) complains because he has been hiding in a wolfberry bush that is more thorny than “sentir un desprecio / de una dama Fierabrás” [experiencing the disdain of a Fierabras lady] (Calderón, *Devoción* vv. 1792-93). Presumably a reference to Lope de Vega’s *La serrana de la Vera*, Fierabras is related here to popular culture as is the *gracioso* who brings the character to our attention. *Céfalo y Pocris*—another comedy by Calderón de la Barca, dated around 1660—also brings up Fierabras in connection to exacerbated love reactions, as occurred in *La serrana de la Vera*.<sup>248</sup> Thus, Nicolás de Piemonte’s *Historia del emperador* and its characters became either shorthand for the religious confrontation between Christians and Moors, or a byword for a dangerously angry person—nothing further from Piemonte’s chivalrous Turkish knight.

Some of the characters and elements of the plot of *Historia del emperador* also appear in *La puente de Mantible*, Calderón de la Barca’s comedy first performed in 1630

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<sup>247</sup> See Adrián J. Sáez for a recent study including the dating of this comedy.

<sup>248</sup> For details about the dating of this play, see Celsa Carmen García Valdés’s “Técnicas escénicas.” Fierabras is mentioned in the third journey, in a scene where Pocris and Filis, two sisters, fight to *not* marry Céfalo. Pocris affirms that, for her, Céfalo is a Fierabras.

and published in 1636.<sup>249</sup> Unlike the plays previously mentioned where *Historia del emperador* is a passing reference, *La puente de Mantible* is “una muestra eficaz del proceso de reelaboración semántica y estructural que Calderón opera sobre la literatura caballeresca, desde una perspectiva ideológica profundamente cambiada” [an effective example of the semantic and structural re-elaboration process operated by Calderón upon chivalric literature, from a profoundly different ideological perspective] (Londero 900). Nicolás de Piemonte’s translation, as repeatedly mentioned in this dissertation, had already adapted the French verse version of *Fierabras* to best suit the Iberian sensibilities, yet maintained some of the intrinsic elements of the Matter of Spain (as a subset of romances which belong to the Matter of France). Calderón, in turn, casts aside the religious conflict at the center of *Historia del emperador* to produce a “pieza poco comprometida ideológicamente y centrada principalmente en un enredo amoroso” [ideologically uncompromised work that was mainly focused on a love affair] (Londero 901). Therefore, yet again the *Fierabras*’ hypertexts in the seventeenth century put aside what seemed essential in the early sixteenth century version—the clash and contact of Christianity and Islam, leading to conversion of the latter and the confirmation of the superiority of the former—to highlight an interreligious love relationship.

Perhaps it is not surprising that Luis Quiñones de Benavente’s *entremés*<sup>250</sup> titled *Entremés de la muestra de los carros del Corpus en Madrid* metonymically defines *Fierabras* in connection to the bridge of Mantible. This text was most likely written towards 1640, though it is undated. It appears in a manuscript kept in the Biblioteca

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<sup>249</sup> For the dating of this comedy, see Renata Londero (899).

<sup>250</sup> A very short play used as entertainment between the acts of an *auto* or another larger play.

Nacional de España, titled *Entremeses de Luis Quiñones de Benavente* (MSS/15105), from fol. 37v-40v. Later, it was published in an anthology, *Teatro poético: repartido en veinte y un entremeses nuevos*, printed in 1658 by Juan de Ibar in Zaragoza. The reference to *Historia del emperador* or its hypertexts emerges among the imprecations between the two male characters. Turón calls Resuello “Fierabrás de la puente de Mantible,” after which the latter responds with “teñido platicante de mulatos” [tinted mulatto trader] (Quiñones 318). Resuello’s retort is offensive, even during a period when being a slave trader was not illegal. Thus, being called Fierabras does not remind the audience of the chivalrous *buen cristiano nuevo* as depicted in Nicolás de Piemonte’s translation. As a popular character, Fierabras became known for his physical appearance (a giant) and his racial and religious identity (a Muslim).

In an article that offers an approach to the impact of *Historia del emperador* on Spanish literature, Francisco Crosas includes two other comedies where Fierabras is mentioned which I incorporate here in order to be thorough. The first of these comedies is *Castigar por defender*, written by Rodrigo Herrera in 1662. In his play Herrera follows the trend already established before—in *Don Quijote*, for instance—where Fierabras’ name becomes a wordplay: “Bras” (or “Blas” in Cervantes’ work) as a proper name, and “fiero” which can be translated as ugly, fierce, or savage. The second comedy included in Crosas’ article is *El cerco de Tagarete*, authored by Francisco Bernardo de Quirós in 1672. This very short play is considered an allegory, where a number of water creatures fight against other land creatures. The king of the fishes is Flegetonte, the name of the river over which the prince of darkness in *La puente del mundo* wants to build a bridge

like that of Mantible.<sup>251</sup> Furthermore, the rhymed comedy mentions the bridge of Mantrible [puente de Mantible] (v. 127), the giant Galafre (v. 131, 519) who guards the bridge according to *Fierabras*, and finally compares Galafre to Fierabras (v. 540).<sup>252</sup> This is to say that the elements most remembered from the Castilian *Fierabras* or any of its hypertexts was Fierabras himself and the bridge of Mantible (Mantrible in the French version).

On occasion Floripes also became part of this wake of popularity after the many editions of *Historia del emperador* in Spain. Due to the new and very active role Calderón de la Barca assigned the Saracen princess in his *La puente de Mantible*, Floripes represented the paradigm of a strong young woman ready to actively fight for her love. It is according to this model that Floripes appears mentioned in Antonio de Zamora's *Cada uno es linaje aparte*, published in 1744.<sup>253</sup> The fact that Floripes dons arms and armor (in an open act of gender and ethnic cross-dressing) and participates in battle serves to identify the hypotext used for the diverse version of *Fierabras*, particularly after Calderón's play. For example, the Tagalog version of *Historia del emperador*, titled *Salita at Buhay ng Doce Pares sa Francia na Kampon ng Emperador Carlo Magno Hanggang Ipagkanulo ni Galalon na Nangapatay sa Roncesvalles* [Words and Deeds of the Twelve Peers of France, Followers of Emperor Charlemagne Until They Were Betrayed by Galalon and Killed at Roncesvalles] depicts Floripes as being particularly strong, active, and John Blanco has claimed, also exercising her free will.

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<sup>251</sup> In Greek mythology, this is one of the rivers in the underworld. It is also very similar to the name of the river Flagot in *Fierabras*.

<sup>252</sup> I am following García Valdés' edition offered in "‘El cerco’."

<sup>253</sup> This is even more evident as Floripes is paired with Queen Tomyrus; a Persian queen who, according to Herodotus, put on a man's armor to fight against Cyrus II.

According to Damiana Eugenio, the Philippine poet “rejects as the occasion for the first meeting [between Gui and Floripes], the commonplace tournament mentioned in the *Historia* and substitutes it for more romantic circumstances” (15). As mentioned in Chapter 3, the French versions presented a battle instead of a joust or a tournament, which would make it more difficult for Floripes to actually meet Gui. Therefore, the anonymous Philippine poet also modifies his source to explain this relationship even further. Additionally, the Tagalog version provides Floripes and Gui with a second occasion to meet, as “the general of the defending army is his beloved Floripes” (Blanco 83). In *La puente de Mantible* Calderón has already included a similar scene, as Floripes and her lady, Irene, are armed with bows and arrows and swords (1860). Yet, Calderón does not go as far as making the princess an active member of the army. As Blanco explains, the Tagalog version “emphasizes Floripes’s agency, perhaps to the point of making her a main protagonist” (86). It is her leading role that becomes outstanding in Calderón’s *La puente de Mantible* and in *Salita at Buhay ng Doce Pares*.

The Tagalog version of *Historia del emperador*, a metrical romance of the nineteenth century, has nothing in common with other renditions that circulated in Latin America. One of the instances found in South America is referred to in Ramón Menéndez Pidal’s massive study titled *Romancero hispánico*. Menéndez Pidal cites Alonso Carrió de la Vandra’s *El Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes* (1776), and tells that in the province of Tucuman, Argentina, a man used to read every day “la historieta de *Carlomango con sus doce pares de Francia*” (Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero* 234). Most likely, this was *Historia del emperador* as translated by Nicolás de Piemonte and not Calderón or Lope de Vega’s comedies. But one of the most popular hypertexts of *Historia del emperador*,



that Menéndez Pidal includes among the *romances plebeyos*, is “el pliego vulgar más difundido en el XVIII y aun hoy, el de *Los Doce pares de Francia*, firmado por Juan José López” [the popular pamphlet more widely disseminated in the eighteenth century and even today, *Los Doce pares de Francia*, undersigned by Juan José López] (*Romancero* 247). López put back into verse this Castilian version, divided in eight *relaciones*, and it is most commonly known as *Romances de Carlo Magno y los doce pares de Francia*.

These *Romances* were printed as independent parts, as chapbooks or *pliegos sueltos*, during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>254</sup> The name of the author is known because the last four lines say, “Y ahora Juan José Lopez, / pide perdon de sus yerros, / pidiendo á Dios que le dé / su gracia, favor, y acierto” [And now Juan José Lopez begs your forgiveness for his errors pleading God to give him his grace, favor, and wisdom]. José Durand considers that López’s *pliegos* “pasaron a América” and inspired the “décimas tradicionales” found in Chile during the late nineteenth century (163). Additionally, Durand mentions some incomplete stanzas and *glosas* containing references to the *Doce Pares* in Puerto Rico, Colombia and New Mexico (164). It is possible that through López’s verse version *Historia del emperador* also became the basis for the “La danza de los doce pares,” a version of the representations of *moros y cristianos* where Charlemagne and his twelve peers appear as the heroes of Christianity against the Muslim armies. Xiomara Luna Mariscal mentions that this performance is particularly common in the state of Guerrero but also in Morelos and Zacatecas, Mexico (138 n.

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<sup>254</sup> Without conducting extensive research on this title, I have found that the exemplars containing information about the printer show that these *Romances* were produced in Cordoba.

50).<sup>255</sup> Fernando Horcasitas even provides the verses used in one “danza dialogada” [dance with dialogue] presented in 1948 near the town of Atlixco, in the state of Puebla (90-92) and also gives a very detailed description of another performance of *Los doce pares de Francia* that took place in Alpuyecá, state of Morelos, in 1970 (334-336).

These representations of *moros y cristianos*, related or not to *Fierabras*, were organized by the missionaries with a “propósito didáctico y de captación” [didactic and recruitment purpose] as Ma. Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti reminds her readers (*Moro retador* 87). The sacralization of texts like *Historia del emperador*, where conversion and the relics are at the center of the narrative, becomes fundamental in the colonial propaganda to impose Christianity and, implicitly, to justify the remote administration of the Spanish Crown from the metropolis. Furthermore the relics in all versions of *Fierabras*, but most importantly since Bagnyon’s fifteenth-century prose version, are prefigurations of the colonial trade. Gold and other luxury goods are metaphors for the holy relics in our text.

Similarly, the Portuguese rendition of Piemonte’s translation, printed in Coimbra in 1728, was transported to Brazil by the colonizers. Ademir De Moraes Arias claims that since the eighteenth century this narrative incentivized the representations of the battles of Christians and Moors, performed in different provinces of Brazil but especially in the Northeast (11). Furthermore, De Moraes states that,

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<sup>255</sup> For further information about these festivals, see José Durand, “Los Doce Pares en la poesía popular mexicana.” *Cuadernos americanos* 39 (1980): 167-191; Gisela Beutler, “Floripes, la princesa pagana, en los bailes de ‘moros y cristianos’ de México. Algunas observaciones sobre las fuentes literarias.” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat* 20 (1983): 257-298, and “Algunas observaciones sobre los textos de ‘moros y cristianos’.” *Actas del VIII Congreso de la Asociación internacional de hispanistas: 22-27 agosto 1983, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island Vol. I*. A. Ed. David Kossoff, Ruth H. Kossoff, Geoffrey Ribbans, and José Amor y Vázquez. Madrid: Istmo, 1986. 221-233; and Yolando Pino Saavedra, “La historia de Carlomagno y de los Doce Pares en Chile.” *Folklore Américas* 26.2 (1996): 1-29.

As traduções feitas na Espanha e em Portugal foram levadas para suas colônias americanas e africanas, onde originaram as *décimas* recitadas por cantadores populares de língua castelhana no Panamá, no Chile e em Porto Rico, e favoreceram o surgimento de peças teatrais, os autos populares, como o *Auto de Floripes*, na ilha de Príncipe, na África, e as encenações de lutas entre mouros e cristãos em terras brasileiras. (12-13)

[The Spanish and Portuguese translations were taken to their American and African colonies, where they gave place to *décimas* in Castilian recited by popular singers in Panama, Chile, and Puerto Rico. These works also favored the emergence of theatrical pieces, popular *autos*, as the *Auto de Floripes* in the island of Principe, in Africa, and the performance of battles between Moors and Christians on Brazilian soil.]

What is more than evident is that the twelfth-century French *chanson de geste* known as *Fierabras* became even more popular and influential than *Chanson de Roland* in the long run. If the latter became paramount in our understanding of the use of historical events as political instruments, *Fierabras* and its very long textual tradition shows the persistence of a legendary chivalric epic as a historical model. In Jerusa Pires Ferreira's words, "Há uma continuação entre o seu presente e o passado remoto, relações de dependência e de vassalagem, conhecimentos de como lidar com formas de dominação e violência" [there is a continuation between the present and the remote past (of diverse audiences), the relations of dependence and vassalage, the knowledge of how to deal with forms of domination and violence] (302). And *Historia del emperador* (though Pires Ferreira is referring explicitly to the Portuguese version) certainly proposes the unification of Christendom, the expansion of Christianity was synonymous with European imperial expansion and conquest.

Still today in Spain, we find festive manifestations as the *fiestas de moros y cristianos*, which are brandished as “traditional.”<sup>256</sup> The religious sentiments behind these feasts, as representations of the *Reconquista*, are “the sources that would nourish the new symbolic world” denominated the “eternal Spain” (Ortiz 483). These *fiestas* are an example of the use of medieval imagery with a propagandistic intent, promoted strongly during Francisco Franco’s regime. Just as it was for Ferdinand of Aragon and his grandson, Charles V, the Middle Ages could prove to be a strong source of support to their power. Because of this medievalist legacy, *Historia del emperador Carlo Magno* deserves to be studied carefully. Though this exploration is not exhaustive, it is evident that the textual modifications operated in *Fierabras* towards the end of the Middle Ages help us better engage with contended terms, as race and ethnicity, embodied identity, and the early state formation in Europe.

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<sup>256</sup> For the representation of *moros y cristianos* in United States, see Aurora L.-W. Lea, 21-24 and 107-111. It is worth mentioning that the text included by Lea is not related to *Fierabras*.

## **Appendix: Manuscripts, Incunabula, Post-Incunabula, and Early Prints of *Fierabras***

Many scholars have already mentioned the popularity of *Fierabras* during the Middle Ages and beyond; the extant manuscripts, incunabula, post-incunabula, and early editions of this legend attest to this fact. This appendix lists the complete and fragmentary manuscripts as well as the early printed editions still surviving. Most editions of *Fierabras* mention some of the manuscripts, mainly the ones in French and its variants. Some studies include the three versions in Middle English, particularly when the aim is a comparative approach. Because the manuscripts and early editions in languages other than French and English (and their variants) have not been included in most listings, I present a thorough listing.

This appendix is divided in two parts. The first one includes all the manuscripts—complete or fragmentary—extant and known to this date. The entries are organized by date and country of origin (as defined today). Each entry includes the most common letter with which they are designed (by now a convention among scholars working with these texts), the location and manuscript number (commonly the name of the collection and number), the language (or dialect) in which it is written, and the approximate date. This list then provides all the information available in online and printed library catalogues about each item. Occasionally this data comes from studies about these manuscripts and early prints. The entry on each item ends providing bibliographical information about any modern editions, particularly important in the case of manuscripts.

The second part of this appendix includes all the incunabula, post-incunabula, and early prints extant and known to this date, organized chronologically by country.<sup>257</sup> With the exception of Portugal, this list does not include volumes published after the end of the sixteenth-century. Each record provides the title assigned in the library catalogue, the date and place of print. I have included the name of the printer if known and the start/end references, followed by any information available about the edition. Then, I provide the location and call number for the existing copies. These entries also end with the modern editions of these early prints, if those have been published.

### Volume contents

*La Destruction de Rome* is, in a way, the introduction to *Fierabras* yet written after the latter. It appears in several manuscripts, normally as only one narrative. All British texts have both; **H** and **Eg** (both Anglo-Norman manuscripts dated around early-14<sup>th</sup> century) are two cases where this happens. *Destruction de Rome* serves as an explanation of the events that will take place in *Fierabras*, justifying the encounter between the Saracens and French as a just war.

Some manuscripts, instead, start directly with *Fierabras* (**E**, for example). Furthermore, most renditions are bound together with other narratives. Two Irish versions (**Egerton 1781** and **RIA**) accompany this text with narratives related to the Holy Cross, which can be seen as an obvious link, as *Fierabras* and *La Destruction de Rome* both

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<sup>257</sup> The term incunabulum (plural, incunabula) refers to texts printed during the fifteenth century. After 1501, most librarians agree on the term post-incunabula. In the case of Spain, post-incunabula are books printed between 1501 and 1520. These dates change according to different national standards, sometimes including editions up to 1540. After that date until the end of the sixteenth century, the term used for these books is early prints or editions. For further definitions, see Julián Martín Abad.

deal with the relics obtained by the Saracens in the sack of Rome. But not all the texts that we find nowadays bound together with *Fierabras* are that obviously linked.

According to Alfons Hilka,<sup>258</sup> **D** (a late-13<sup>th</sup> century French version) also included *Boeve of Haumtone*; the Irish **Trinity H.2.7** contains it as well, together with *Guy de Warwick*.<sup>259</sup> Manuscript **L** also includes the latter. The connection of these three narratives seems unclear, though *Boeve* and *Fierabras* are two of the Western European *chansons* that mention Saracen giants that undergo conversion to Christianity. Another possible link is the shared name of a character (Gui or Guy), though in the first case he is from Warwick and, in the second, from Bourgogne.

Manuscript **L** and others are a compilation of *chansons de geste* and other popular medieval narratives. It is not until the late fifteenth-century that *Fierabras* is put in prose and appears as a historical compilation about Charlemagne. David Aubert is perhaps the first to do so, a task dedicated to his patron, Philippe the Good, in 1458. The story of *Fierabras* was reworked again by Jehan Bagnyon, and became a great success at that time. According to Robert Morrissey, “between 1478, the date of its first publication, and 1588 there were twenty-six editions of this book” (100). Nicolás de Piemonte translated this text to Castilian, also resulting in a revival of the story with a long-lasting popularity.

This list of texts provides a basis for future research on textual transmission and its ideological underpinnings. I offer here no further analysis, in the understanding that this venture will follow shortly.

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<sup>258</sup> Hilka, quoted in Le Person.

<sup>259</sup> Guy is Boeve’s father, which explains why both stories are bound together.

## MANUSCRIPTS

### French and Occitan manuscripts

<b>P</b>	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Ms. gall. oct. 41 <sup>260</sup>	Languedoc (Occitan language of Narbonne-Toulouse with linguistics Gascon traces)	Mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century (toward 1250? <sup>261</sup> )
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Parchment. No miniatures in the decoration. ff. 1r-71v. Contains Prologue (v. 1-46), Destruction de Rome (v. 47-561), and *Chanson de Fierabras* (v. 562-5084). According to Gröeber, the Provençal version is a translation with partial collations (quoted in Stutzmann 128).

According to Stutzmann, “the first owner was Gascon and his ex-libris, today totally erased, gives the date 1360-9” on folio 71v (126-7). Afterwards, without a doubt the manuscript belonged to François de Bonne, duke of Lesdiguières (1543-1626), constable of France, because it was within the library of his successor Alphonse de Créquy, duke of Lesdiguières (1626-1711). His descendents sold the library as a whole in 1716 to the monastery of Saint-Martin de Marmoutier. Though Montfaucon’s catalog does not mention this manuscript, dom Gérard’s catalog of 1754 indicates a manuscript that might be this one. During the French Revolution, the manuscript was in hands of the architect, engraver and antiquarian Charles P. Champion de Tersan (1736-1819). After buying it from the abbot, it became part of the library of Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein (1791-1870), and presented it to the Martin Méon of the Department of Manuscripts of the Imperial Library of Paris. The Preussische Staatsbibliothek of Berlin bought it in 1934.

According to Fauriel, in 1814 Méon had in his hands a “thirteenth-century Provençal manuscript,” but because Méon could not understand much of the language he approached Fauriel (D’Heur 245). The latter extracted some passages in this occasion.

Lachmann found this document in Wallerstein’s library around 1820 and copied it. Bekker only reports that it was formerly in this library and being in the possession of “Majoris Monasterii congregationis Sancti Mauri,” in Paris. This information is reported by Bekker (i) and also mentioned in Hausknecht (ix-x).

Edited by Immanuel Bekker (1829); Michael Pountney (PhD dissertation, 1980); and Anna Kowalska (Thesis, 1997).

Copied (in 1824) and entered as **Gall. quart. 103** in the same library.

<sup>260</sup> B.N. f.fr. 123043 according to Marianne Ailes, “A Comparative Study” 12. I have not found where she might have taken this data from.

<sup>261</sup> Stutzmann and Tylus 126.



<b>E</b>	Madrid, Biblioteca de El Escorial M.III.21 <sup>262</sup> (signatura antigua 10.20.O 3)	French (Normand Picard dialect)	Late 13 <sup>th</sup> century
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Parchment. 96 pages in total. ff. 33r-96v. One hand for both parts of the volume. Reported by O'Sullivan as incomplete, Le Person notes this too (35). According to Le Person, it belonged to the library of Gaspar de Guzman, Conde de Olivares. Was acquired by king Philippe IV and given to El Escorial in 1656.<sup>263</sup> The volume includes *Le Chevalier de la charrette*.

García de la Fuente describes the handwriting as French from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (35). On the third folio, it is written "Ausias March en lemosin / ANONYMVS / Poeta Proncialis: / non Ausias March / Dialectus Gallico-Provincialis." This text is incomplete, according to García de la Fuente, and titled "Le Fierabras d'Alizandre." García de la Fuente also notes that in the catalog of the count, this manuscript is called "Poesía en Francés. Libro muy antiguo en Pergam<sup>o</sup>" (36). There is no further information about how this manuscript arrived to Olivares's library, but surely was before 1627 because it is included in the catalogue put together by father Alaejos in that date.

Edited by Gordon A. Knott (1954) and Marc Le Person (2003).

<b>D</b>	Louvain, Bibliothèque de l'Université catholique, G. 171.	French (wrongly believed Anglo-Norman) <sup>264</sup>	Late 13 <sup>th</sup> century <sup>265</sup>
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Destroyed in a fire caused by bombarding in 1940.<sup>266</sup> Was Firmin Didot's. Described by Hilka as "manuscrit de jongleur," quoting Gautier, as Le Person mentions (27). It included Boeve de Hauttone (ff. 1-51) and Ferabras d'Alixandre (ff. 52-126).

Partially transcribed by Gautier (1897), Groeber (1869 and 1897), and Hilka-Mandach (1981). Inedited.

<b>A</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds fr. 12603 (ancienne Supl. fr. 180)	French (Picard dialect)	c. 14 <sup>th</sup> century
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Parchment. 302 folios in total. ff. 203-238. Described in Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, appears as 2290. It used to be in the Chambre des Jonaulx, Bruges

<sup>262</sup> Some editors use M.III-21 (Le Person) or M-I-21.

<sup>263</sup> For the history of the manuscript, Le Person used Roger Middleton, "Index of Former Owners," *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes* Vol. 2, ed. Keith Busby et al. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993. 155-157.

<sup>264</sup> See Le Person page 27.

<sup>265</sup> Didot and Gautier believed it was an early 13<sup>th</sup> century manuscript, according to de Mandach (132).

<sup>266</sup> Ailes reports this date as 1946 in her "A Comparative Study" (6).

(Barrois 322-3). Unknown or lost, according to Kroeber (xxi), but Omont and Couderc's catalogue shows that it is the same that Kroeber used for his edition (573-574). The manuscript eventually became part of the Bibliothèque du Roi (Imperiale, today Nationale).

*Fierabras* is part of an anthology of romances, which contains *Meriadeuc ou le Chevalier aux deux épées*, *Roman du Chevalier au lion*, *le Roman de Eneas* (incomplete), a fragment of Wace's *roman de Brut*, *Enfances de Ogier le Danois*, and *Le fables d'Esopé* (103 fables, translated by Marie de France), among other works.

Edited by A. Kroeber and G. Servois (1860).

<b>P(A)</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 4969 (ancien 9641) <sup>267</sup>	French, prose	c. 1410 <sup>268</sup>
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Vellum. 50 folios. The cursive gothic writing is fine, according to Miquet.

Michelant et al. describe it as a legendary chronicle in relation to Charlemagne, a prose version of the "roman de Fierabras" (fourth tome, 457). The colophon reads (fol. 50r) "Deo gratias / Finitur totum pro pena da mihi potum / Nomen scriptoris alanus plenus amoris" (Miquet 21).

Marinoni mentions that due to differences in blank spaces (or intervals) in **P(A)** and **P(B)**, "we cannot claim that one manuscript is a copy of the other" (viii).

Woldege mentions that this rendition has as sources the 13th century poem treated with liberty, Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, and the chanson de geste *Aiquin* (39, entry 52).

Edited by Jean Miquet (1969) and Maria Carla Marinoni (1979).

<b>L</b>	London, British Museum, Royal 15 E VI <sup>269</sup>	French	1445
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Vellum. 440 folios in total. ff. 70-86. Bâtarde (slanting round-hand) writing, illustrated with miniatures (Le Person 43). Bounded with the Genealogical table of Henry VI, *Livre ... du bon Alixandre*, *Simon de Pouille*, *Aspremont*, *Le roman d'Ogier en alexandrins*, *Renaud de Montauban* (prose), the prose romance *Pontus et Sidoine*, *Guy de Warreuik*, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, Treatise on warfare, the three books of Egidio Colonna, *De regimine principum* translated by Henri de Gauchi, *Le cronicles de Normandie*, *Le*

<sup>267</sup> Only 9641 according to Michelant (457); 846.9641 according to Marinoni.

<sup>268</sup> Dating based on acceptance of prosification during the second half of 14<sup>th</sup> century (see Miquet 29).

<sup>269</sup> Kroeber mentions this manuscript is located in the British Museum, but is now housed in the British Library.

*breviaire des nobles* by Alain Chartier, *Le livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* by Christine de Pisan, *The Statutes of the Order of the Garter*.

According to description in the manuscript catalogue of the British Library, John Talbot, 1st earl of Shrewsbury and 1st earl of Waterford (b. c.1387, d. 1453), commissioned by him in Rouen as a wedding gift for Margaret of Anjou for her marriage to Henry VI in 1445: his arms with the arms of his wife, Margaret Beauchamp, in pretence (ff. 2v, 4v, 5, 25, 70, 155, 207, 227, 405, 439), and a presentation scene of John Talbot giving the book to queen Margaret (f. 2v).

Margaret [Margaret of Anjou] (b. 1430, d. 1482), queen of England, consort of Henry VI: addressed to her 'Princesse tres excellente / ce livre cy vous presente / De schrosbery le conte'; the royal arms of England and Anjou (ff. 2v, 3, 4v, 5, 25, 70, 155, 207, 227, 405, 439), daisies (marguerites) referring to her name (ff. 2v, 4v, etc).

The Old Royal Library (the English Royal Library): perhaps to be identified with 'Le bon roy Alexandre' in the list of books at Richmond Palace of 1535, no. 91; included in the catalogue of 1666, Royal Appendix 71, f. 12v.

Presented to the British Museum by George II in 1757 as part of the Old Royal Library.

Inedited, but used in A. Kroeber and G. Servois (1860).

<b>P(B)</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 2172 (ancien Cangé 7989-6) <sup>270</sup>	French, prose	c. 1460
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Paper. 62 folios. Gothic writing, less refined than **P(A)**. According to Miquet, Gautier qualified it as part of the poor manuscripts (21). Folios 46v and 47r are written by another hand.

Marinoni notes that on folio 1r, next to the seal of the National Library (BNF), in modern hand, we can read "Codex de Cangé III/Regius 7989/6" (vii).

Wolledge mentions that this text has sources the 13th century poem treated with liberty, Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, and the chanson de geste *Aiquin* (39 entry 52).

Edited by Jean Miquet (1969) and Maria Carla Marinoni (1979).

<b>B</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 1499 (ancienne Bibliothèque imperiale Lancelot 167, 7565 <sup>3.3</sup> ) <sup>271</sup>	French	15 <sup>th</sup> century (1450-65) <sup>272</sup>
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<sup>270</sup> Michelant, first tome, 368.

<sup>271</sup> Michelant, first tome 236.

<sup>272</sup> Le Person mentions that this is due to the fleur de lys watermark on the paper, see page 25.

Paper. 107 pages (Kroeber xx). Described by Le Person, who comments also that this manuscript lacks the last two laisses of **A**. Has the title *Roman des .XII. Pairs* on the spine. The binding is defective, thus there is a mistake in pagination that are not marked (Le Person 25-26).

Included in Michelant's *Catalogue des manuscrits français*, but is not described. In Montfaucon's *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum* there is a brief reference to the *Roman des douze Pairs de France* as part of Lancelot's manuscripts sent to the Bibliotheque du Roi (vol. II 1669).

Inedited, but used in A. Kroeber and G. Servois (1860).

<b>JB(G)</b>	Genève, Bibliotheque de Genève [before Bibliotheque Publique et Universitaire], Ms. fr. 188	French, prose	1470-1478
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Paper. 136 folios. By Jean Bagnyon. Bâtarde (slanting round-hand) writing, on one hand only. Written upon request of the canon of Lausanne's cathedral, Henri Bolomier (Hochuli 324-5).

The manuscript was already contained in the library's catalog of 1620 (Hochuli 324). There is no further information of this manuscript. Keller believes this means that the manuscript was part of the oldest collection of the institution (xxxii). Mandach supposes that Bolomier left these books at the Saint Pierre chapter and eventually became the original collection of manuscripts of the BGE (*Naissance* 159).

The text is divided in three parts. First part is mostly based on Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*; second is almost all *Fierabras*; and third part is a translation of *Speculum historiale* and *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* (Pseudo-Turpin) (Keller xii-xxviii). This manuscript does not have a table of contents; Bodmeriana fr. 15 and the first print version (1478) do have the table.

Edited by Hans-Erich Keller (1992).

<b>JB(B)</b>	Cologne-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, fr. 15	French, prose	15 <sup>th</sup> century
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Paper. 117 folios. By Jean Bagnyon. Bâtarde (slanting round-hand) writing, on one hand only. Only thing known about the history of this manuscript is that on recto of the first folio there is a note, "vente Didot 1878, n° 42" (Vielliard 19). Martin Bodmier acquired it in an unknown date.

Like Geneve MS fr. 188, it is divided in three books. This version does have a table of contents (Vielliard 20-22).

Mandach mistakenly has it as fr. 16, even when quoting from Vielliard. Mandach describes the possible history of how the manuscript reached its actual location (*Naissance* 160-1).

Described in Keller (xxxiii).

### French fragments

<b>M</b>	Metz fragment, Bibliothèque Municipale.	French (East)	13 <sup>th</sup> century
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Single leaf found in a binding (172 verses) (O’Sullivan quoting Friedel). I have not found it in Metz, perhaps not noted in the catalog (contacted the librarian).

Edited by Victor Friedel (1895).

<b>T</b>	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	French	13 <sup>th</sup> century
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Lost? Two fragments from Syria, from Kubbet el Kahzne (or el Chazne), in Damascus.

Tobler reports two pieces of old French poetry were kept in the library of the local Royal Museum (in Berlin). Double sheet parchment, 19.5 centimeter long, circa 11 centimeter wide (flipped open, the double page is 21 centimeter wide), contains on its four pages in writing of the thirteenth century thirty lines text each, thus, as each line contains a verse, only once, on the fourth page, a verse is spread to two lines, 119 twelve-syllable verses, all of which belong to the *chanson de geste* of *Fierabras*.<sup>273</sup>

Edited by A. Tobler (1903). There is no other copy of these fragments.

<b>V1 and V2</b>	Vatican Library Regina Lat. 1616 <sup>274</sup>	French	1317 <sup>275</sup>
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Parchment. Two fragments (V1 and V2), ff. 21r-92v, 103r-108r. In folio 92v explicitly dates and locates the manuscript (Saint Brioc), after the end of *Fierabras* (Kroeber xxi).

According to Le Person (*Fierabras* 51), this volumen includes *Tractatus magistri Guidonis Augensis super musica*, seven fables of Phaedrus, *Oratio sancta*, *Kyrie eleison*, etc.

<sup>273</sup> I wish to thank Katrin Pesch for her help with the translation from German.

<sup>274</sup> Friedel reports it as 16<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>275</sup> Appears in fol. 92v, and it is mentioned by Kroeber and Ailes, “A Comparative Study” (8).

Inedited, but described by Guessard and Michelant for their edition of *Otinel* (which was bounded with *Fierabras* in the 15th century, folios 103-108 are from the latter but have been included in *Otinel*). According to Guessard and Michelant, it belonged to the abbey of Fleury, and later was in France (Bibliothèque Nationale) as shows a stamp next to the Vatican Library's (x-xii).

Appears as entry 839 in Montfaucon's catalog. Montfaucon does not mention *Fierabras*, but *Otinel*, and the other texts (vol. I, 32).<sup>276</sup>

One of the manuscripts used in A. Kroeber and G. Servois's edition (1860).

<b>S</b>	Strasbourg Fragment (Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg, Reserves, MS.0.349) <sup>277</sup>	French (East France)	14th century
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Parchment. 1 folio. According to O'Sullivan, was found in the binding of an incunabulum (discovered by Barack in an incunabulum). The fragment contains 48 verses.

According to List, the "front side is inscribed with small but legible writing... The glued backside, in contrast, is more difficult to read, for the words are all smeared together, or also partly got stuck on the cover of the incunabulum" (List 136).

Begins fol.1: "Tant blamai l'am li paiens Sorcibrans...;" ends, fol.1 vo: "[Seig] nor ce dist rol por Diu le creator."

Edited by W. List (1886); Friedel (1895); and R. Menhert (1938).

<b>Mo</b>	Mons Fragment (Bibliothèque de l'Université de l'Etat, Mons)	French (Picard or Francien dialect)	Early 14th century
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Parchment. 120 verses total, in four pages. Legible regardless of the cuts.

Jodogne believes that these fragments of *chansons de geste* were part of "manuscripts that belonged to the rich abbeys of Hainaut" (Jodogne 311). Of importance is his note about the graphies, Francien and Picard; Jodogne wonders if "the composite character of the graphy could be due to successive transcriptions, first in Lorraine, then in Wallonie" (253).

Edited by O. Jodogne (1952).

<b>N</b>	Namur Fragment (Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er de Bruxelles, IV.852 n° 9)	French (Lorraine-Wallonian dialect) <sup>278</sup>	14th century
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<sup>276</sup> See also *Les manuscrits de la reine* p. 48

<sup>277</sup> Le Person just mentions "Bibliothèque Nationale, Strasbourg, 349."

Parchement (?). 53 verses (as two fragments). Found in a binding. Before was in Namur archives in folder F52.

This fragment tells the outcome in the capture of the bridge of Mautrible and the beginning of the liberation of the fortress of Aigremore (Mandach 90).

Edited and described by André de Mandach, "Les fragments" (1988).

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<sup>278</sup> According to Martine Thiry-Stassin.

### British manuscripts

<b>H</b>	Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, IV. 578 <sup>279</sup> 280	Anglo-Norman	Early 14 <sup>th</sup> century (1301-1315) or (1275-1330) <sup>281</sup>
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Parchment. 100 folios in total, though Olschki mentions 102 folios, two of them missing (48). Illustrated with 103 miniatures, according to Le Person and Härtel, with colors. The style of the miniatures conveys its British origin, particularly from East Anglia (Norfolk or Suffolk) (Härtel 163, quoting Pevsner). On the right corner of the cover page is written the signature K.24.

Contains *La Destruction de Rome* (fol. 1-24v) which, according to Brandin, was written in the last third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and *Fierabras* in the first years of the 14<sup>th</sup>, here in fol. 25r-100v. Olschki claims that this manuscript contains the only known example of *La Destruction de Rome*, though has been found also in **Eg** (though this manuscript was “newly-acquired” by the British Museum around 1932).<sup>282</sup>

Ends: “La beneiceon aez de deu et del virgine honore. Amen. Ici est li finemant del Romance (crossed out and, with a later hand, written “Estoire”) de Fierenbras dalisandre et del bone roy Charls.”

Olschki mentions a complete lack of information about the manuscript (49).

Some passages have been published by Gröber, Brandin (1899), and Hausknecht.

Edited by André de Mandach, *Chanson de Fierabras* (1981).

<b>Eg</b>	London, British Museum, Egerton 3028	Anglo-Norman	14th century (middle)
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Vellum. 118 folios in total. ff. 84r-118v. Illustrated with 118 miniatures total, 34 for *Fierabras*.

The manuscript belonged to Narcissus Luttrell, the annalist (d. 1732), and has on folio 1b his elaborate monogram with the date 1693.<sup>283</sup> Together with *Brutus* and *La Destruction de Rome*.

Now in the British Library. It is summarized by Smyser.

<sup>279</sup> Friedel reports it as 571, and a later date (15<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>280</sup> Härtel and Ekowski, pages 160-163.

<sup>281</sup> According to Härtel and Ekowski 160.

<sup>282</sup> For further on *Destruction de Rome*, see H. M. Smyser (339).

<sup>283</sup> As described in the British Library catalog of manuscripts.



Edited by Louis Brandin (1938).

Ash	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS. 33	Middle English (Southern dialect, with admixture of Midland and Northern forms) <sup>284</sup>	c. 1380
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Paper. 77 leaves. The cover (a triple envelope) is described by William Henry Black (14-15). The covers have a part of the author's original corrected draft, but there are discrepancies between the draft and the copy. This volume, according to Black, might be the first copy of the romance. It does not contain *Destruction de Rome*.

*Romance of the Adventures of the Emperor Charlemagne and his DouzePeers, against the Saracens* is the title given to this manuscript.

Edited by S. J. Herrtage (1879).

	Dublin, Trinity College MS F. 5.3	Latin, prose	c. 1445
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Vellum. Fragment, ff. 85-100. It is contained in a 254-pages work. Written by Donaldus Omaelechlaynd, possibly a Franciscan from Limerick. Apparently was property of Dillon Rob.

It is not a translation from the French verse or prose versions. Most likely, according to Esposito, it is translated from an Irish version.

In Abbot's catalog appears as number 667 (112-3).

The other works are *Dialogus inter Magistrum et Discipulum de rebus Biblicis et ecclesiasticis et de futura vita*; *De Commemoratione Defunctorum*; *Fabulae quindecim filii Imper. Diocletiani* by Donald Omlechlayd; *Algorismus*; *Vita Guidonis*; *Tractatus Sex Hibernici de rebus Theologicis*; *De Octo Conquestibus Hiberniae*; *De Purgatorio S. Patricii, de miraculis B. V. M.*, etc.; *Liber Virtutum Seneace*; *Lamentationes B. V. M.*; and *Meditationes S. Bernardi* (Abbot 112-3).

Esposito includes an excerpt of the beginning and another of the end (535).

	Dublin, Trinity College, H. 2.12, No. 3 and 6	Irish	15th century (1475)
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12 folios in total, apparently. This volume contains two parts, the first is the finding of the Holy Cross and Charlemagne's quest of the Crown of Christ, the second is part of Turpin's History of Charlemagne (chapters 8 to 17).

<sup>284</sup> Herrtage xviii.

It is No. 1304 in Abbot and Gwynn's catalog (84-85).

According to Nettlau, the text ends mentioning the date (1475) and "Tadg úa Rigbardain (Teige O'Riordan, O'Don) qui scribist" (460). He does not provide any further details about this.

Charlemagne's quest is only a series of fragments of the text contained in Trinity College H. 2. 17 (Abbot and Edward Gwynn 84; Esposito 536).

	British Library, Egerton 1781	Irish	15th century (1487?)
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Vellum. 154 folios in total, 156 according to Robin Flower (526). ff. 2-18. It is a section within the manuscript LEABHAR Mac Partholain, or book of Mac Partholan, a collection of romantic, religious, and other pieces, in Irish: *Legend of the Invention of the Holy Cross; Passion of Christ*, according to St. Bernard; *The martyrdom of Jacopus of Persia; The twelve articles of the Christian Faith*, etc.

Flower mentions two hands; the first is an anonymous scribe who wrote ff. 1-56 and 147-153, which includes the section about Fierabras. The scribe wrote "in the house of Niall Ó Siaghail" around 1484 (Flower 526). Flower also mentions the provenance of the manuscript.

Described as 'The war of Charlemagne in Galicia, etc., and the recovery of the city of St. James, or Santiago de Compostella; translated from the Latin romance attributed to Archbishop Turpin.'<sup>285</sup>

Published in bilingual translation by Stokes (1898).

	Dublin, Trinity College, H. 2.7	Irish	15th century
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Vellum. Volume with collection of writings, apparently two distinct volumes bound together. pp. 435-456 is Charlemagne's quest of the Crown of Christ. The end is illegible but the text is nearly complete, according to Nettlau (460).

It is No. 1298 in Abbot and Gwynn's catalog (78-80).

The other texts are genealogical documents, a poem on famous women of Ireland, several "romantic tales" about Irish heroes and Guy of Warwick (and Bevis of Hampton, his son), part of Giraldus Cambrensis' "Hibernia Expugnata," among other "historical" writings (Abbot and Gwynn 78-80; Esposito 536).

<sup>285</sup> As described in the British Library online catalog of manuscripts.

This volume belonged to Edw. Lhwyd and then to Sir John Sebright, who presented it to the library.

Dublin, Trinity College, H. 2. 17, 2	Irish	15th century
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Two volumes that were formerly one, made up of various fragments of “various ages, and treating of different subjects” (Abbot and Gwynn 131). First 82 pages are bound as No. 1.

Second volume is vellum, containing a medical work, an account of colonies, another on the Passion of Christ, a fragment about a battle, another on the early history of Greece, the beginning of the Book of Lecan, an account of the Britons, a fragment from The Wonders of Britain, accounts of the origin of the Picts, several pedigrees, among other fragments.

The Gesta of Charlemagne in his Quest of the Crown of Christ begins in page 433 (15 folios long). Imperfect, in several hands. ff. 440-462 are hardly legible (Abbot and Gwynn 110-116; Esposito 536). Nettlau only mentions that it is nearly the whole text, but “the beginning and the end are illegible” (461).

It is No. 1319 in Abbot and Gwynn’s catalog (131).

Sdair Serluis Moir (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS 23 O 48)	Irish	15th century
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Vellum. ff. 2-10, volume I of Liber Flavus Fergusiorum. Of the original manuscript, 92 ff. remain bound in two volumes, the first containing 37, the second 55 ff.

Stair Fierabrais is entitled here Sdair Serluis Moir. Begins “[A]pud sanctum Dionisium et setera .i. dogabhar ag Sain Deis.” After the short leaf now numbered 3 there is a considerable gap in text, corresponding to the edition in *Revue Celtique* 19. Some folios are misplaced here: fol. 7 (59) should precede fol. 6 (60); fol. 9 (61) should precede fol. 8 (62).

Preceded by the account of the Finding of the True Cross, miracles related to the cross, etc. Described in Winifred Wulff and Kathleen Mulchrone, pages 1254-73.

It was the property of John Fergus, M.D., a Dublin-based doctor from Castlebar, Co. Mayo, who died in 1761, and from whom the manuscript takes its name. Dr Fergus bequeathed it to his daughter Frances Arabella, who married a Kennedy. It was deposited in the Academy in 1875. In 1907 it was purchased from the heirs of James Marinus Kennedy for £35, according to Wulff and Mulchrone.

Dublin, King’s Inns MS 10	Irish	15th century
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Vellum. ff 1-8. In one hand mainly, though de Brún mentions a different hand in part of ff. 7. Acephalous, the finishes abruptly with “Et tainic Clarion in tansin cuca .i. mac meic dAm[...].” (de Brún 20). Text is faded and illegible in many places, some re-inking. Loss of text in first folio.

It is contained in a volume labeled “Religious matter” in de Brún’s catalog. According to de Brún, the other documents are *Gabháltais Shearluis Mhoir* (The Conquests of Charlemagne); *Spiritus Guidonis*; *Vita sanctorum Cirici et Iulite*; *Betha Phátraic* (Irish Life of St. Patrick); *Betha Brigte* (Irish Life of Brigit); *Betha Choluim Chille* (Irish Life of Colum Cille); *Carta Humani Generis*; *Stimulus Amoruís Annso*; on *St. Fursa*; two anecdotes of St. Colmcille (Colum Cille); *Geinemain Chríost* (Homily on birth of Christ); on the passion of Christ; *Eserge* (homily on Resurrection); gospel of Nicodemus; the death of John the Baptist; *Speculum Peccatoris*; the death of St. Philip the Apostle; on Charity; on St. Martin of Tours; etc. (20-24).

	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 610	Irish	15th century <sup>286</sup>
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Parchment. ff. 45a2-56b2. Some parts of this copy are illegible, others are abridged (Stokes 14).

It is No. 1132 in Madan and Craster catalog, who also mention that it is contained in a volume of Irish treatises, which include the Life of St. Senan, the Sermon on the Assumption, *Inventio Sanctae Crucis*, Succession of Pictish kings, and the *Conversation of the Senators* (48-49).

<b>Sow</b>	Sowdone of Babylone (Garret No. 140, Princeton University)	Middle English (East Midland dialect)	Mid 15th century
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The original belonged to Sir Thomas Phillips, who purchased it from Richard Heber. Another owner was Richard Farmer. The manuscript was bought from him by George Steevens in 1798, bought by Octavius Gilchrist in 1800 (Hausknecht xlvi). In 1935, O’Sullivan reported that the MS was in possession of Robert Garret (xxi n. 6). Now is No. 140 in the Robert Garrett Collection of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, at Princeton University.

Early edited by Walter Francis Douglas Scott (1854). This edition is kept in Huntington Library 55672.

Lines 1491-3226 of “The Sultan of Babylon” appear in *Middle English Metrical Romances* (I, 239-284).

<sup>286</sup> At least the part on the Pictish kings was not written before 1406, according to Plummer, as noted in Madan and Craster 48-49.

Emil Hausknecht's edition, titled *The Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babylone and of Ferumbras his Sone who Conquered Rome* (1881), comes from Steevens copy (see Douce 175). Also edited by Alan Lupack (1990).

<b>Fill</b>	<i>Firumbras</i> (British Museum, Add. 37492)	English	15th century (second half) <sup>287</sup>
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Paper. 92 folios in total. ff 1-30. Begins imperfectly. Is followed by *Otuel and Roland*, *The Eremyte and the Owtelawe*, *The Fendys Parlement*, and *The Mirror of the Periods of Man's Life*.

Apparently was written by J. Gage. Belonged in 1805 to William Filliigham, of the Middle Temple, a letter to whom, 17 Aug. [1801?], from G[eorge] Ellis is inserted at the beginning (f. ii.). A later owner was Sir Henry St. John Mildmay, Bart., of Dogmersfield, co. Southt. (sale- cat. 1907, lot 186; bookplate of Dogmersfield Library inside cover).<sup>288</sup> Today it is housed in the British Library.

Edited by Mary Isabelle O'Sullivan (1935).

	London, British Library, Egerton 106	Irish	1715-1717 <sup>289</sup>
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Paper. ff. 69-88. All the first nineteen items in the volume are in the hand of Richard Tipper (Riosdard Tuiber or Ristead Tuibéar mac Éamoinn mic Shiomóin), a native of the district of Fingal near Dublin. According to Flower, "he was born in the second half of the 17th century, and was one of the circles of scribes associated with the Ó Neachtains" (vol. II, 329).

"Toruigheacht na croiche naoimthe sonn", begins. "Ap ud sanctum Dominicum, i. do gabhadh ag St. Denis a tteasdail namna didha discreidach Eiliena mathair Constantin," the modern form of the Irish version of the tale of Fierabras (Flower 334).

Nettlau also includes information about the colophon "Riosdard Tuiber ansechtm(adh) lá déug donathbhraoin. Agus anbhliaghain daois an tighairna. 1717. och ataim tuirsech da sgriob(adh)" (461). The colophon establishes the author, Richard Tipper, and also the date it was written, as "the seventeenth day of April. And the Year of Our Lord 1717."<sup>290</sup>

	London, British Library, Egerton 174	Irish	18th century (first half)
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Paper. 139 folios. Incomplete, lost leaves at the beginning; "edges of leaves are stained and mutilated throughout" (Flower, vol. II, 13).

<sup>287</sup> According to the British Library online catalog.

<sup>288</sup> As described in the British Library online catalog of manuscripts.

<sup>289</sup> Marianne J. Ailes dates this text as fifteenth-century in her "A Comparative Study."

<sup>290</sup> I am grateful to Matthieu Boyd, Dept. of Celtic Languages and Literatures, Harvard University for his translations from Irish.

Version mentioned by Wells. According to Robin Flower, it was written by Pádraig Ó Doibhlin.

Contains also *The Contention of the Red Hand* and other poems, some of which are about Christian kings of Ireland. The modern version of Fierabras appears in ff. 62-140. “Toruigheacht na croiche naoimhthe sonn”, beg. “Ap ud sanctum Dominicum, i. do gabhadh ag St. Denis a tteasdail namna didha discreidach Eiliena mathair Constantin: the modern form of the Irish version of the tale of Fierabras.” It is imperfect at the end.

### Italian manuscripts and fragments

<b>E (It)</b>	Fragment. Reggio Emilia, Appendice (Miscellanea storico-letteraria b. 1)	Italian	Late 14th century
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2 folios. Described by Melli (42). Archivio di Stato Reggio Emilia, Archivio del Comune.

Inedit.

<b>G</b>	Como, Società storica comense, Ms. Gioivo	Italian (Lombard dialect)	Early 15th century
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235 folios. Conserved at the fondo Aliati of the Società Storica Comense. ff. 1-66 is *Fierabbraccia*, after we find *Spagna* in verse.

Edited by Elio Melli (1996).

<b>R</b>	<i>Il Cantare de Fierabbraccia e d'Uliveri</i> (Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1144)	Italian (Lombard?)	Mid 15th century
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Parchement. 135 leaves, formed by two manuscripts. The first is Dante's Rime, folios 1a-40, of which the last two are blank.

Fierabras appears in ff. 41-135a, but the first three folios are blank, thus actually starts in 44a with octave 17, "Ben che Orlando di ciò forte lagnasse" [although Orlando would strongly complain about that]. There are also more blank folios after 47, and one after the folio 129 (last 15 verses of Canto I, the first 9 octaves of the Canto II, the octaves 21-26 of the Canto XIII). Ends: "Al vostro ho[no]re é finite la storia" [On your honor the story is finished]. Amen. Finished the last cantare of the courageous king Fierabbraccia and of Carlomagne and of his champions.

On the back of the last page, in between some scribbles, it is repeated several times the name of "Domenicho di Giovanni." Described by Salomone Morpurgo in *I manoscritti* (173); also in Melli (39-41).

Paul Heyse partially published it in an essay in his *Romanische Inedita auf italiänischen bibliotheken* (1856). E. Stengel also reproduced it (1881).

	<i>Prodezze del Paladini</i> (Firenze, Biblioteca Palatina ms. 364)	Italian	15th century
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Anonymous poem, apparently inedited. Francesco Palermo (639-647) and Gaetano Melzi (228) consider this a manuscript version of *Il innamoramento de Rinaldo*. Written in paper. Melli does not consider this among the versions of *Fierabbraccia*.

V	Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacci ms. 6208	Italian	Late 15th century
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70 folios. Missing several folios. Described by Melli as “una redazione linguisticamente di area mediana, cioè tale che per la lingua richiamava l’Umbria, le Marche meridionali e il Lazio sttentrionale” (22).

Edited by Elio Melli (1984).



### Dutch manuscripts

	Fragment, Archives municipales of Bourbourg	Middle West Flemish	13th century (?)
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Lost fragment, used to be in the municipal archives in Bourbourg, north of France. 373 verses.

Blommaert claims that these verses are an independent *roman*, the events are not part of *Fierabras*, *Chanson de Roland* or *Guillaume d'Orange*.

According to Baur, it is a fragment “of an unknown *roman*... with Fierabras, Elegast, Roland, [and] Milo, Roland’s father” (122).<sup>291</sup> In this text, the heroes fight against the Saracens in the siege of Vaucler. Baur admits that the narrative “appears to be a free adaptation of diffuse material” written in west Flemish. Also, this source mentions that “the romance was written for a count of Holland, but by a Fleming.”

Ben van der Have mentions a fragment consisting of less than 1,000 lines, in three columns. This, van der Have claims, implies that “these were miscellanies, rather than single text manuscripts” (20). This fragment, no longer extant, is dated between 1330 and 1370 (27). All we have from this incomplete Middle Dutch text is copied on a mid-fourteenth-century fragment.

Bart Besamusca provides the account of the narrative and claims that it was written “by a Flemish or Brabantine author” (185).

Edited by P. Blommaert (1860).

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<sup>291</sup> Translation from Flemish-Dutch by Ben Van Overmeire.

### Belgium manuscript

	<i>Croniques et conquests de Charlemaine</i> (Brusselles, Biblioteque Royale de Belgique, MS 9066, 9067, and 9068)	French	1458
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Vellum. Three volumes: the first with 451 leaves, the second with 280, and the third has 297, According to Richard Guiette, editor of this manuscript. In total, this manuscript has 150 miniatures in grisaille.

This is perhaps the first compilation of narratives about Charlemagne containing the *Fierabras*. David Aubert, the compiler or writer, was a scribe in the court of Philippe le Bon, duke of Bourgogne (1396-1467). The story of Fierabras appears in the second volume (ff. 14-103).

Edited by J. Van den Gheyn (1909); and Richard Guiette (1940-3).

## INCUNABULA, POST-INCUNABULA, AND EARLY EDITIONS

### France

This list only includes editions in French printed until the end of the sixteenth century. All of them are editions from Jehan Bagnyon or Jean Baignon.

<b>JB(S)</b>	<i>Le Roman de Fierabras le Géant</i> <sup>292</sup>	Nov. 28, 1478 (First edition, Geneva)
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Printed by Adam Steinschaber.<sup>293</sup> 115 folios.

Starts: “[...] Cy commencent les chappitres des tiltres de leure suy//vant...” Fol. 7 recto: “(S)aint pol docteur deuerite dit que // toutes choses...” On the last fol. recto: “Cy finist le rommant de fierabras le geant Imprime // a geneve Lan de grace Mil. CCCC. LXXVIII. le. XXVIII [...] iour // de novembre.”

Copy Y2-20 from BNF is missing the last page and three other pages, which have been replaced by blank pages.<sup>294</sup> And the copy from Crema is imperfect, last 5 chapters are missing (a total of four folios), mutilated. According to the library, it might be Genève’s edition of 1478, but it remains uncertain (dating comes in the colophon).<sup>295</sup>

It is found in Paris (BN RES- Y2- 76, RES M- Y2- 20); Paris, Arsenal (RESERVE FOL-BL- 932);<sup>296</sup> Brussels, BR (INC B1363);<sup>297</sup> Genève, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire (BGE Hf 350 Res);<sup>298</sup> Chantilly Musée Condé (IV-G-037); Crema BC (INC. V/3).

<i>Le Roman de Fierabras</i>	1479 (Geneva)
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Printed by Simon Du Jardin. 112 folios.

Ends: “A laquelle puiffent finablement paruenit tous ceulx qui voluntiers le .AMEN. Explicit/ Fierabras Symon du liront orront ou feront lire. Iardin a geneue.”

<sup>292</sup> Kroeber xiii; catalogues of Geneve, etc.

<sup>293</sup> For a list of French editions, see Brian Woledge 39-40.

<sup>294</sup> See BNF catalogue <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb33392021m/PUBLIC>> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>295</sup> Private communication, anonymous librarian, August 3, 2010.

<sup>296</sup> See BNF catalogue <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb393349006/PUBLIC>> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>297</sup> See Bibliothèque Royal de Belgique’s catalogue <[http://opteron1.kbr.be/cgi-bin/opac.cgi?P0=FKBR&P1=3\\_JAN&P9=&P5=20&P4=&P2=3&P3=R\\_BBH&P6=70\\_1361370](http://opteron1.kbr.be/cgi-bin/opac.cgi?P0=FKBR&P1=3_JAN&P9=&P5=20&P4=&P2=3&P3=R_BBH&P6=70_1361370)> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>298</sup> Catalogue of the Bibliothèque de Genève <<http://opac.rero.ch/gateway?skin=ge&lng=fr-ch&inst=61&host=virtua.rero.ch%2b8801%2bDEFAULT&patronhost=virtua.rero.ch%208801%20DEFAULT&search=KEYWORD&searchid=H1&function=CARDSOCR&sourcescreen=COPVOLSCR&pos=10&itempos=1&rootsearch=KEYWORD&histselect=1>> accessed July 27, 2010.

The copy in the British Library was from Grenville Library 10531 (British Museum), now British Library, missing folios 1 and 122 (as Herrtage reports, *The English* vi).

The Musée Condé catalog mentions as provenance of their copy: “Armand Cigongne (ex-libris dorØ, cat. n. 1834); duc d’Aumale (acq. coll. Cigongne 1859).”

British Library (G.10531); Chantilly Musée Condé (IV-G-029).<sup>299</sup>

<i>Le Roman de Fierabras</i>	Mar. 13, 1483 (Geneva)
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By Jean Bagnyon, printed by Louis Garbin (according to Woledge, 40), though the ITSC has Louis Cruse.<sup>300</sup> 110 folios.

Ends: “A laquelle puiffent finablemēt paruenir tous ceulx qui voluntiers le liront o[r]ront ou feront lire. Cy finift Fie[r]abras Imprime a genefue Par maiftre Loys Garbin bourgeois de la dicte cite Lan mil.cccc.lxxxij. et Le .xiiij. iour du moys de Mars. Deo gracias Amen.”

British Library (C.6.b.12.).<sup>301</sup>

<i>Le Roman de Fierabras</i>	Nov. 16, 1483 or 1484 (Lyon) <sup>302</sup>
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Printed by Guillaume Le Roy. 116 leaves.

Ends: “A la[que]lle puiffent finalement paruenir to[us] ceulx qui voluntiers le liront o[r]ront ou feront lire. Cy finift Fierab[r]as imp[r]ime a lyon par maiftre Guillaume le roy Le .xvi. iour du moys de Nouemb[r]e Deo gracias Amen.”

Dating in the Bibliothèque National de France after the fonts, “caractères G 125 (2e état): BMC VIII pl. XXXV.” The copy from the BNF notes that it was an anonymous sale in Paris on May 18, 1912, num. 2; acquired on 1933 from Charles-Louis Fièrè’s sale, n<sup>o</sup> 22.<sup>303</sup>

There is another copy, bound by Bauzonnet-Trautz. Apparently was part of the library of Baron Seillière, sold in May 14, 1890. The sales catalog mentions that the last folios have been reordered, and the first folio, with the image of a mounted Fierabras, has been remade (*Catalogue de livres rares* 158). According to Cécile Oger, librarian of

<sup>299</sup> See Integrated catalogue < [http://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/bd/bge/gln/notice/details.php?ref=simple.php&p=0&tbl=gln\\_edit&no=6540](http://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/bd/bge/gln/notice/details.php?ref=simple.php&p=0&tbl=gln_edit&no=6540) > accessed July 27, 2010, but had G IV 029 by mistake.

<sup>300</sup> See *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* <<http://istc.bl.uk/search/search.html?operation=record&rsid=731288&q=5>> accessed June 19, 2010.

<sup>301</sup> Reported by Herrtage vii.

<sup>302</sup> Dates do not agree between the British Library ISTC and the general catalog of BNF.

<sup>303</sup> See BNF catalogue <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb40108943b/PUBLIC>> accessed July 27, 2010. BMC refers to *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum*.

manuscripts and rare books, the copy in the Bibliothèque Universitaire de Liège is mentioned “in a letter of A. Claudin addressed to Adrien Wittert in 1902, that this could be the copy from the collection of Jean-Louis-Antoine Coste, bibliophile of Lyon (d. 1851). Then this book belonged to Baron François-Florentin-Achille, baron de Seillièrre (1813-1873). This work was bought by Baron Adrien Wittert in 1890 for the amount of 1500 francs. It was given to the University upon baron Wittert’s death in 1903. This copy has a ‘marque d’appartenance’ not identified until today.”<sup>304</sup>

Besombes mentions that Liège’s copy is the only complete one (22-23).

Paris BN (RES M- Y2- 439) incomplete: 46 ff. of 116; Liège, BU (XV 119B).

<i>Le Roman de Fierabras</i>	July 5, 1484-1487? (Lyon)
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Printed by Guillaume Le Roy. 108 leaves, 48 woodcuts, some of them used twice.

This edition is mentioned in Techner’s “Bulletin du Bibliophile,” in 1853. “It was purchased by Mr. Roupell from M. Techener, and was acquired at the sale of Mr. Roupell’s library” (Huth, vol. 2, 516). It is possible that this copy belonged to the Library of the Academy at Lyons.

Bequeathed to the British Museum (now British Library) by will of Alfred H. Huth, in 1910, upon his death (Pollard, et al. v). According to Pollard et al., the redactor withholds his name (though it is known to be Bagnyon’s prosification). Also, the dating is due to the type used by Guillaume Le Roy is *Livre des Eneydes* of September 30, 1483, 1485, and 1486/7 (Pollard, et at. 36).

British Library (IB.41525).<sup>305</sup>

<i>Le Roman de Fierabras</i>	Jan. 20, 1486/7 (Lyon)
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Printed by Guillaume Le Roy. 116 folios.

Ends: “A la quelle puiſſent finalement paruenir tous ceulx qui voluntiers le liront oront on feront lire. Cy finiſt Fierab[r]as imp[r]ime a lyon par maifre guillaume le roy le .xx. iour de ianuiier .M.CCCC.lxxxvi.”

Appears as 4047 in De Bure (621). The Morgan Library’s copy has Richard Bennett’s exlibris, and is the only mentioned in Stillwell’s catalog (200). This copy belonged to Prince d’Essling, and later to the Yemeniz library (sold for 2950 francs) (*A catalogue* 51).

<sup>304</sup> Personal communication, September 17, 2010.

<sup>305</sup> Woldge reports IB.41531 erroneously, see page 40.

Bodmer's copy has some woodcuts from another edition. Faded entry on fol. 115v mentions, "Nicolas Dehault, royal... design... à Senils." Has a monogram of Edward Vernon Utterson, English bibliophile. Was acquired by Bodmer from a Sotheby's auction on November 25, 1946 (Büchler-Mattmann 79-81).

Morgan Library (ChL f1555 [PML 603]),<sup>306</sup> Vienna ÖNB (Ink 4.G.10, imperfect missing fol. 1), Genève Bodmer (Inc. 106, imperfect missing fol. 1, 8, and 116).

<i>Le Roman de Fierabras</i>	July 21, 1489 (Lyon)
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Printed by Jacques Maillet.

Ends: "En laquelle puiffent finablemēt paruenir tous ceulx qui voluntiers le liront orront ou feront lire. Cy finift Fierabras Imprime a Lyon par Iaques maillet Lan de grace Mil.cccc.lxxxix. Le xxi. iour de iuillet. DEO GRATIAS."

Mentioned in Woledge, but reports F151a instead (40). The binder is Thouvenin. According to Quaritch, this copy belonged to the Molini, Bourdillon, Yemeniz, and Didot collections. Has the ex-libris of the latter two (*A Catalogue* 51).

Washington DC Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection (Incun. 1489 .F5).<sup>307</sup>

<i>Le Roman de Fierabras</i>	Nov. 20, 1496 (Lyon)
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Printed by Martin Harvard (or Havard).

66 folios.

Ends: "En laquelle puiffent finablement paruenir tous ceulx qui volentiers le liront ou feront lire. Cy finift Fierabras imprime a lyon lan de grace mil quattrecens quatrevingtz et feize. Le .xx. iour de nouembre."

British Library (G.10532), Genève BPU (is mentioned in the ITSC, but does not appear in the catalog of the library).

<i>Le Roman de Fierabras</i>	Apr. 4, 1497 (Lyon)
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Printed by Pierre Mareschal and Barnabé Chaussard.

78 unnumbered folios.

<sup>306</sup> See J. Pierpont Morgan library catalogue <[http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=5&ti=1,5&Search\\_Arg=fierabras&Search\\_Code=GKEY^&CNT=50&PID=xaBV\\_fmXMiitqY9LCWeHCeyruR&SEQ=20100731155618&SID=1](http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=5&ti=1,5&Search_Arg=fierabras&Search_Code=GKEY^&CNT=50&PID=xaBV_fmXMiitqY9LCWeHCeyruR&SEQ=20100731155618&SID=1)>

<sup>307</sup> See Catalog of the Library of Congress <<http://lccn.loc.gov/49038095>> accessed August 4, 2010.

On Fol. 1 recto, under a large woodcut engraving: Fierabras. Ends: “Cy finist Fierabras imprime a Lyon par Pierre mareschal et bar//nabas chaussard. Lan de grace. M.CCCC.XCV[...]. Le [...] de autil.”<sup>308</sup>

Paris BN (RES-Y2-993); Chantilly Musée Condé (IV-E-006).<sup>309</sup>

<i>La coq̃ste du grant roy Charlemaigne des espaignes...</i>	Jan. 30, 1501 (Lyon)
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Printed by Pierre Mareschal and Barnabé Chaussard.

The books contains 79 leaves. The colophon reads: “Ce finist fierbras imprime a lyon pres de nostre dame de confort par Pierre mareschal et Barnabas chaussard imprimeurs et libraires. Lan de grace M.ccccc. Et ung. Le.xxx.de Januier” followed by the printers’ device.

Appears as 4028 in De Bure, as part of the library of the duke de la Valliere (617).

The copy in the British Library has a red stamp, indicating purchase, dated 7 OC 78 = 7 October 1878. A binder’s label appears on the left corner of the second upper cover leaf and reads “LORTIC RELIEUR DOREUR PARIS,” the book-plate of Ambroise Firmin Didot, publisher and book-collector, appears on the centre of the same leaf and reads “A LA BIBLE DOR 1698 BIBLIOTHECA AMBROSII FIRMINI DIDOTI.”<sup>310</sup>

Apparently there is another copy that was part of the library of prince d’Essling, bound by Duru, and was sold in 1890 (*Catalogue de livres rares* 158). Unless the copy was rebound by Lortic.

British Library (C.39.g.22).

<i>La conquete que fit le roy Charlemagne en Espagne avec les nobles prouesses des douze pairs de France et aussi celles de Fier à Bras</i>	1505 (Lyon)
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Printed by Martin Harvard (or Havard). Mentioned by Woledge (40).

Arsenal (RESERVE 4- BL- 4251)

<i>Fierabras</i>	1520 (Paris)
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<sup>308</sup> Information from the catalogue of the Bibliotheque National de France  
<<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb333920239/PUBLIC>> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>309</sup> According to the online catalogue “Provenance: librairie Payne et Foss; duc d’Aumale (acq. librairie Payne et Foss, juillet 1850).”

<sup>310</sup> Private communication, Marcella Leembruggen, British Library Rare Books Reference Service, September 7, 2010.

Published by Michel Le Noir. With woodcuts.

In fol. 65 recto, l. 29: “Et aīsi est que a la postulaciō requeste du deuāt nōme ... hēry bolōnier chanoine de losanne ie seBiehan bagnyon ay este incite de luy trāslater et reduire en frācoise la matiere deuāt dite, etc.”<sup>311</sup>

British Library (C.39.e.18).

<i>La conquete du grand roy Charlemaigne des Espagnes. Et les vaillances des douze pers de France...</i>	c. 1520 (Paris)
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Published by Alain Lotrian.

79 leaves, with illustrations. Lacks sig. A and leaf B1. B2 mutilated, according to the catalog.<sup>312</sup>

Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru (National Library of Wales) (b20 P3[8])

<i>La conquete du grand roy Charlemaigne et les vaillaces des douze pers de France...</i>	1521 (Paris)
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Printed by Chrestien.

80 folios.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (Rar. 1552, Sigel: 12).<sup>313</sup>

<i>La Conqu[e]ste du gra[n]t roy charlemaigne des espagnes. Et les vailla[n]ces des douze pers de france...</i>	c. 1530 (Paris)
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Printed by Alain Lotrian.

<sup>311</sup> See British Library catalogue

<[http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/K4A6TVYKJ5AUI13FT2DS1R6DUDARL75MSENV5GFIAELXVJS593-02094?func=full-set-set&set\\_number=165121&set\\_entry=000116&format=040](http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/K4A6TVYKJ5AUI13FT2DS1R6DUDARL75MSENV5GFIAELXVJS593-02094?func=full-set-set&set_number=165121&set_entry=000116&format=040)> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>312</sup> See catalog of the library <<http://cat.llgc.org.uk/cgi-bin/gw/chameleon?sessionid=2010090421322616057&skin=full&lng=en&inst=consortium&host=localhost%2b9901%2bDEFAULT&patronhost=localhost%209901%20DEFAULT&search=KEYWORD&searchid=H1&function=CARDSCR&sourcescreen=INITREQ&pos=1&itempos=1&rootsearch=KEYWORD>>

accessed August 7, 2010. In the details, appears the following note: Device (Renouard 1078) of Trepperel's widow and J. Jehannot on verso of last leaf.

<sup>313</sup> See catalog of the library <<http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/search?oclcno=166017005>> accessed July 27, 2010.



84 folios, with 22 woodcut illustrations. Two large illustrations, one on the title page, the other on the verso of the last folio; 31 smaller illustrations within the text. The fonts and figures are found in the prints of Alain Lotrian, alone or on account of Jean II Trepperel. Modern binding by Thibaron-Joly. Dated around 1530 due to the state of the fonts and the woodcuts.<sup>314</sup>

According to the BNF, it is mentioned in Librairie Maggs, Londres, 1926, catal. 424; Vente Ch.-L. Fièvre, Paris, 1933, Catal. I n°53. Nevertheless, in the latter this copy is mentioned as possibly of 1503 (Besombes 49-51).

Berlin's copy mentions "Exlibris (Kupferst. von 1721) von Christian Ernst Graf zu Stolberg. - Besitzstempel d. Fürstl. Stolberg. Bibliothek zu Wernigerode auf d. T. Wgde 593."<sup>315</sup>

Paris BN (RES P- Y2- 2873); Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz (8" Xx 960)

<i>La conquete que fit le grant roy Charlemaigne es Espaignes avec les nobles prouesses des douze pers de France et aussi celles de Fierabras.</i>	Sept. 7, 1536 (Lyon)
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Published by Pierre de Sainte Lucye (dict le Prince).

Colophon on fol. 79 verso: "Cy finist Fierabras, imprimee [sic] a Lyon par Pierre de Sainte Lucye dict le Prince. Lan de grace. MCCCCXXXVI. Le VII jour de septembre. Cy apres sensuyt les nobles proesses et vaillances faictes par... Charles VIII..."<sup>316</sup>

81 unnumbered folios, with illustrations.

Paris BN (RES- Y2- 574)

<i>La coq̃ste du grant roy Charlemaigne des espaignes...</i>	1547 (Paris)
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Published by Jean Bonfons.

84 folios, with 29 woodcut illustrations. The copy in Paris has been dated according to the year of death of Pierre Sergent, as it mentions "Nouvellement imprimé a Paris pour Pierre Sergent."<sup>317</sup>

<sup>314</sup> Information provided in the catalogue of the Bibliotheque Nationale, <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb356697113/PUBLIC>> accessed July 27, 2010, my translation from French.

<sup>315</sup> See catalogue <<http://stabikat.de:8080/DB=1/SET=1/TTL=28/SHW?FRST=29>> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>316</sup> See BNF catalogue <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb33322626j/PUBLIC>> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>317</sup> See BNF catalogue <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb35767599g/PUBLIC>> accessed July 27, 2010.

The copy at the British Library has no further information about folio number, and has the date as “1550?”

British Library (C.97.b.30.[2.]);<sup>318</sup> Paris BN (RES P- Y2- 3142).

<i>La conquête que fit le grant roy Charlemaigne es Espaignes avec les nobles prouesses des douze pers de France et aussi celles de Fierabras.</i>	Aug. 13, 1552 (Lyon)
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Published by Pierre de Sainte Lucye (dict le Prince).

Only appearance is in Sotheby’s sales catalogue of the Mello Library, as part of the library of the Baron de Seillière. Reported as bounded by Trautz-Bauzonnet (Sotheby 41).

According to Rothschild’s catalogue, the woodcut illustration in the title page was used before by Barnabé Chaussart on his *Mandeville*. Later used by Martin Havard for his 1505 edition of this title (Rothschild 417). It was later part of the library of Sir Thomas Brooke, according to Rothschild’s catalogue.

<i>La coq̃ste du grant roy Charlemaigne des espaignes. Et les vaillances des douze pers de france...</i>	1560? (Paris)
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Published by Nicolas Bonfons.

Appears as 4029 in De Bure (619). According to Woledge, this is reported as 8132 in La Valliere’s catalog (40).

British Library (C.22.a.56); Arsenal (RESERVE 4- BL- 4253).<sup>319</sup>

<i>La conquête du grant Roy Charlemaigne des Espaignes</i>	1570
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82 folios. 38 woodcut illustrations, some repeated, apparently of Michel le Noir. Bound by Murton.

This information is provided in the inventory of Librairie Sourget (bookseller of Chartres, France). This item’s request price is \$11,300 USD, on sale in September 2010.<sup>320</sup>

<sup>318</sup> See British Library catalogue

<[http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/PB9HC289UHUA7FUC71C49CUTMYFX1L6N9QI2CTYD1M38NLIX4M-08178?func=full-set-set&set\\_number=166092&set\\_entry=000001&format=999](http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/PB9HC289UHUA7FUC71C49CUTMYFX1L6N9QI2CTYD1M38NLIX4M-08178?func=full-set-set&set_number=166092&set_entry=000001&format=999)> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>319</sup> Undated in the catalogue of the BNF <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb39334893r/PUBLIC>> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>320</sup> On sale

<<http://www.abebooks.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=1193732484&searchurl=sortby%3D0%26vci%3D52722887>> accessed September 2, 2010.

<i>La coq̃ste du grant roy Charlemagne des espaignes...</i>	1584 (Lyon)
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Published by Benoist Rigaud.

British Library (C.38.b.16)

<i>La coq̃ste du grant roy Charlemagne des espaignes...</i>	1588 (Louvain)
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Published by I. Bogart.

British Library (C.39.d.8).

## England

<i>Thy storye and lyf of the noble and crysten prynce Charles the grete kyng of Frauuce</i>	Dec. 1, 1485 (Westminster)
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Printed by William Caxton. 96 leaves. Translation by William Caxton from Bagnyon.

Hain reports this text and offers the epilogue: “The which work was fynissed in the reducyng of it in to englysshe the xvij day of Iuyn the second yere of our lord Mccccxxxv. An enprynted the first day of Decembre the same yere of our lord & the first yere of King Harry the seventh. Explicit per William Caxton” (47).

“And by caute I Wylliam Caxton was desyred & requyred by a good and synguler frende of myn / Maister Wylliam daubeney one of the tresowrs of the jwelellys of the noble & moost crysten kyng / our naturel and souerayn lord late of noble memorye kyng Edward the Fohrth on whos soule Jhesu haue mercy to reduce al these sayd hystores in to out englysshe tongue I haue put me in deuoyr to translate thys sayd book as ye here to fore may see al a longe andypl yn / prayeng alle them that thal rede / see or here it / to pardon me of thys symple & rude translacyon and reducyng / bysechyng theym that shal fynde faute to correcte it / & in so doyng they shal deserue thankynges / & I shal praye dod for them / do ho brynge them and me after this short and transytory lyf to euerlastyng lyffe Amen / the whyche werke was fynyssed in the reducyng of hit in to englysshe the xvij day of Iuyn the second yere of kyng Rychard the thyrd / And the yere of our lord MCCCClxxxv / And enprynted the syxte day of decembre the same yere of our lord & the fyrst yere of kyng Harry the seuenth / Explicit per William Caxton”

According to the *Catalogue of the Fifty Manuscripts*, Caxton’s translation is of the Lyonese editions, not one of the Geneva one (Pollard et al. 36).

The provenance of the British Library’s copy appears in Herrtage’s “Introduction” to his edition, where he mentions that this volume was sold in 1743 by Harley to Osborn. In 1773, it was sold to J. Ratcliffe. In 1776, the copy was sold again, this time to George III (Herrtage, *The lyf* v). The item lacks leaves a1, d1, h1 and m8.<sup>321</sup>

British Library (IB.55090, Ames I 59, C.10.b.9); Windsor RL (Fragm. 1 B1). Positive photostat of BL copy in Huntington Library (Rare 231209).

Edited by Sidney J.H. Herrtage as *The lyf of the noble and Crysten prynce, Charles the Grete* (1881).

<i>Sowdone of Babylone</i> (Oxford, Bodelian Library, Douce 175)	1790
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Transcription of the Sowdone of Babylone made by Geo. Steevens.

<sup>321</sup> See Holdings details in <<http://estc.bl.uk/S111576>> accessed September 4, 2010.

George Ellis published extracts in his *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances* (379-404), in 1848. Edited by Emil Hausknecht (1881).

## Italy

This list includes only two titles, in Italian verse, *El cantare di Fierabracca et Uliveri* and *El innamoramento de Rinaldo*. *Cantari* xxxii-xlix of the second form the *Storia di Fierabrazza*, with the exception of *canto* xlv that deals Ganelon's pilgrimage (Formisano 204). The second text was written by Girolamo Forti, also mentioned as Dino.

<i>El cantare di Fierabracca et Uliveri</i>	1487-89 (Florence)
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Printed by Jacopo di Carlo and Petrus Onofrii de Bonaccursis.

70 folios.

Starts: "(A)ltissimo Dio padre & signore / uo cominciar un bel dir dilectoso / di Carlo mano uiuo dire il uigore..." Ends: "Finito il libro del Re Fierabracca et Vliuieri. Deo gratias amen. Cominia el padiglion del re Fierabracca."

Roma Corsina (coll. 51.C.32).

Edited by Edmund Stengel (1881).

[ <i>Inamoramento de Rinaldo</i> ]	1475? <sup>322</sup> (Naples)
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Printed by Sisto Riessinger.

Without title page, pagination, signatures or catchwords; 139 leaves printed in double columns, 5 stanzas or 40 lines to a full column. The text commences with the recto of fol. 2. The recto of fol. 1 is blank, and the verso occupied by the introductory stanzas.

This copy of the first edition is mentioned as part of the library of Count de Boutourlin, in the catalog dated 1831. It was sold in Paris in November 1840, to Mr. Grenville. It is also mentioned in Melzi's *Bibliografia dei romanzi e poemi cavallereschi italiani* (224-28).

With an autograph letter of A. Panizzi inserted, dated in August 6, 1841.

British Library (G.11352.)<sup>323</sup>

<i>El innamoramento de Rinaldo da Monte Albano</i>	Aug. 22, 1494 (Venice)
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Printed by Manfredo de Monfera.

<sup>322</sup> Payne and Foss mention circa 1474 (607).

<sup>323</sup> <[http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQG6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXRKFK98D-10490?func=full-set-set&set\\_number=039032&set\\_entry=000044&format=999](http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQG6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXRKFK98D-10490?func=full-set-set&set_number=039032&set_entry=000044&format=999)> accessed September 5, 2010.

147 pages. Colophon reads, according to Melli: “Impresso in Venesia per mi Manfreo de monfera da streuo bonello nel anno 1494 adi 22 de agosto” (45).

According to Melzi, all is known about this edition is that it was included in Pinelli’s catalog, vol. IV, num. 1971 (229).

It was bought by Henry George Quin in 1789 and was bequeathed to Trinity when Quin died in 1805. It is listed in Hain at no.13915.<sup>324</sup>

Trinity College, Dublin (Quin 53).

<i>Inamoramento de Rinaldo</i>	1501 (Milan)
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Printed by Zohāne Angelo Scizēzeler.

Twenty-four leaves, without pagination. Several of the leaves are mutilated.

British Library (11426.f.73.)<sup>325</sup>

<i>Inamoramento de Rinaldo de Monte Albano...</i> <sup>326</sup>	1517 (Venice)
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Printed by Joanne Tachino.

Colophon reads “Stampata in Venetia per Ioanne Tachuino.M.D.XVII. Adi.VIII.Auosto.”

Bound by Lortic. Possibly property of Victor Masséna, prince d’Essling.

Yale (Beineke 1979 496).<sup>327</sup>

<i>Tutte le opere del innamoramento de Rinaldo da monte albano Poema elegantissimo nouamento Istoriato: Composto per Miser Dino Poeta, etc.</i>	Aug. 6, 1521 (Milan)
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<sup>324</sup> Information provided by Dr. Charles Benson, Department of Early Printed Books, Trinity College Library in private communication, September 9, 2010.

<sup>325</sup> <[http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQG6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXRKFK98D-10002?func=full-set-set&set\\_number=039032&set\\_entry=000043&format=999](http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQG6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXRKFK98D-10002?func=full-set-set&set_number=039032&set_entry=000043&format=999)> accessed September 5, 2010.

<sup>326</sup> [et] diuerse ferocissime bataglie leq̄le fece lardito [et] francho paladino [et] come occise Mābrino di Leuante & moltissimi forti pagani & quanti paesi diuersi conquisto & dele sue venture & fortune tratando & come piu diate combate cō Orlando & Carlo & altri paladini per lingāni de Gaino come hebbe Guidon saluagio & cōe nacque & cōe trouo Baiardo & poi ultimamēte morto & li miracoli che fece & fa el suo santo corpo in la cita de Colonia de Alemania.

<sup>327</sup> <[http://orbis.library.yale.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?Search\\_Arg=inamoramento+de+rinaldo&SL=None&Search\\_Code=TALL&PID=GquOyRHeApq7VzDoikBOEDobITvq&SEQ=20100905171757&CNT=50&HIST=1](http://orbis.library.yale.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?Search_Arg=inamoramento+de+rinaldo&SL=None&Search_Code=TALL&PID=GquOyRHeApq7VzDoikBOEDobITvq&SEQ=20100905171757&CNT=50&HIST=1)> accessed September 5, 2010.

Printed by Rocco and fratello da Valle, per request of Nicolo da Gorgonzola.

Sometimes ascribed to Girolamo Forti, though Payne and Foss comment that already Panizzi had explained in an inserted letter, that he “cannot discover anything about *Dino*, and... strongly suspect that he never wrote the poem attributed to him” (607). Panizzi also points out that the work is more Lombard in style than Florentine.

Belonged to the Gaignat collection.

British Library (G.11037.)<sup>328</sup>

<i>Inamoramento de Rinaldo de Monte Albano</i>	1533 (Venice)
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Printed by Aloise Torti.

According to UCLA, the colophon reads: “Finisse lo Inamoramento de Rinaldo da Monte Albano. Nuouamente stampato in Venetia per Aloise Torti. Nel anno del Signore 1533.”

The UCLA copy was purchased from Bruce McKittrick, on 2010, with funds from the J. Paul Getty Trust, according to their catalog. The copy from the British Library has the arms of the Duke of Roxburghe on the binding.

According to Melzi, it is mentioned in Hibbert’s catalog under num. 6913.

British Library (G.11038.);<sup>329</sup> UCLA YRL (Spec Coll Z233.I8 R285 1533).<sup>330</sup>

<i>Inamoramento de Rinaldo de Monte Albano</i>	March, 1537 (Venetia)
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Printed by Aloise Torti.

According to the catalog of Yale University, the colophon reads: “Finisse lo Innamoramento de Rinaldo da Monte Albano. Nouamente stampato in Venetia per Aluuisse de Torti.n el anno del signore. M.DXXXVII. Del mese di marzo adi XXIII. regnante il serenissimo messer Andrea Griti.”

<sup>328</sup> <[http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQG6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXRKFK98D-16470?func=full-set-set&set\\_number=039032&set\\_entry=000042&format=999](http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQG6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXRKFK98D-16470?func=full-set-set&set_number=039032&set_entry=000042&format=999)> accessed September 5, 2010.

<sup>329</sup> <[http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQG6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXRKFK98D-00530?func=full-set-set&set\\_number=039032&set\\_entry=000040&format=999](http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQG6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXRKFK98D-00530?func=full-set-set&set_number=039032&set_entry=000040&format=999)> accessed September 5, 2010.

<sup>330</sup> <[http://catalog.library.ucla.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v2=1&ti=1,1&SEQ=20100905145508&Search\\_Arg=inamoramento%20de%20rinaldo&Search\\_Code=TKEY^&SL=None&CNT=50&PID=d8ZL1Z83WzGXjahdt8XC8mf91pIC&SID=2](http://catalog.library.ucla.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v2=1&ti=1,1&SEQ=20100905145508&Search_Arg=inamoramento%20de%20rinaldo&Search_Code=TKEY^&SL=None&CNT=50&PID=d8ZL1Z83WzGXjahdt8XC8mf91pIC&SID=2)> accessed September 5, 2010.



The copy in Yale has a stamp of Robert de Saint-Victor.

Melzi mentions it is included in Gaignat's catalog, vol. I, p. 498.

Yale (Beineke 1979 597);<sup>331</sup> British Library (1073.f.41.)<sup>332</sup>

<i>Rinaldo Inamorato nel qual si contiene il suo nascimento, e tutte le Battaglie che lui fece</i>	1540 (Venice)
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This edition is only mentioned in Melzi, and he refers that appears in Hibbert's catalog, num. 6952 with this title (229).

<i>Inamoramento de Rinaldo de Monte Albano</i>	1547 (Venice)
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Printed by Bartholomeo detto Imperatore. Melzi has this edition without printer and as mentioned in Soranzo's Catalog (229).

British Library (11426.b.60.);<sup>333</sup> Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (P.o.it. 508 m; P.o.it. 533)<sup>334</sup>

<i>Inamoramento de Rinaldo de Monte Albano</i>	Dec. 20, 1553 (Venice)
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Printed by Bartholomeo detto l'Imperatore.

183 folios. Printed in Gothic characters. According to Melzi, before each canto there is an argument in prose (230).

Colophon reads: "Finito le battaglie de lo Inamoramento de Rinaldo stapate in Venetia, per Bartholomeo ditto l'Imperatore del M. D. LIII Adi. 20. Decemb."

Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense (RARICAST. 116)<sup>335</sup>

<i>Inamoramento de Rinaldo de Monte Albano</i>	1575 (Venice)
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Printed by Pietro de' Franceschi. The copy in Yale belonged to Renzo Bonfiglioli.

<sup>331</sup> <[http://orbis.library.yale.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v2=2&ti=1,2&SEQ=20100905174225&SC=Author&SA=Forti%20Girolamo%20%20d.%201489.&PID=LAexIG90Y\\_rCRwhMvdHiSDDIb1Ow&SID=5](http://orbis.library.yale.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v2=2&ti=1,2&SEQ=20100905174225&SC=Author&SA=Forti%20Girolamo%20%20d.%201489.&PID=LAexIG90Y_rCRwhMvdHiSDDIb1Ow&SID=5)> accessed September 5, 2010.

<sup>332</sup> <[http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQ6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXKFK98D-24583?func=full-set-set&set\\_number=039032&set\\_entry=000039&format=999](http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQ6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXKFK98D-24583?func=full-set-set&set_number=039032&set_entry=000039&format=999)> accessed September 5, 2010.

<sup>333</sup> <[http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQ6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXKFK98D-06251?func=full-set-set&set\\_number=039032&set\\_entry=000035&format=999](http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQ6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXKFK98D-06251?func=full-set-set&set_number=039032&set_entry=000035&format=999)> accessed September 5, 2010.

<sup>334</sup> <<http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/search?oclcno=643098782>> accessed September 5, 2010.

<sup>335</sup> <<http://193.43.104.119/braidense//result.php?bid=MILE046357>> accessed September 5, 2010.

Yale (Beineke 1979 395);<sup>336</sup> British Library (11426.aa.37.)<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> <<http://orbis.library.yale.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v2=3&ti=1,3&SEQ=20100905174219&SC=Author&SA=Forti%2C%20Girolamo%2C%20d.%201489.&PID=anVtcKaqCiQ8tGIsPv-JriWgPlym&SID=5>> accessed September 5, 2010.

<sup>337</sup> <[http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQG6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXRKFK98D-00541?func=full-set-set&set\\_number=039032&set\\_entry=000032&format=999](http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/JHC3M4C14PN9KBFJJXQCRUBNQG6PC39UL2MB6IEY5CXRKFK98D-00541?func=full-set-set&set_number=039032&set_entry=000032&format=999)> accessed September 5, 2010.

## Iberian Peninsula

All Spanish editions are the translation of Nicolás de Piemonte from Jehan Bagnyon, and are in prose. Nieves Baranda mentions that there are at least one hundred and twenty five editions (xxxv). All Portuguese editions are the translation from Castilian by Jeronimo Moreira de Carvalho, and are in prose.

### Spain

<i>Hystoria del emperador Carlo Magno y delos doze pares de Francia &amp; dela cruda batalla que ouo Oliveros con Fierabras, Rey de Alexandria, hijo del grande almirante Balan</i>	Apr. 24, 1521 (Sevilla)
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Published by Jacobo Cromberger.

46 leaves with large woodcut (normally thought to be Charlemagne, Gallardo identifies it as “Fernando el Catolico”) and smaller woodcuts (640). Probably this is the first edition.

First edition mentioned in Palau (168). It is included in Huth’s *Catalogue*, adding that Brunet and others did not know of this edition (vol. 1, 265).

Henry Huth (1815-1878) was the former owner, whose library was sold between 1911 and 1920. Because of the date in the last folio [a pencil-writing seems to be an assesment of this exemplar by F. S. Ferguson (1878-1967), who joined Bernard Quaritch in 1897. The assesment says “Perfect” and the date “27.VI.1912.”], it is possible that Quaritch assesed it to be sold to his next owner. John Batterson Stetson, Jr. (former owner, 1884-1952) sold it in April 17-18, 1935, lot 64, at the American Art Association, Anderson Galleries.<sup>338</sup> In 1945 was acquired by the Morgan Library from A.S.W. Rosenbach (\$500.00).<sup>339</sup> This exemplar has been bound by Francis Bedford (1799-1883).

In Morgan Library (E2 47 D (accession PML 31538)).

Edited by Nieves Baranda (1995).

<i>Hystoria del emperador Carlo magno y de los doze pares de Francia...</i>	Apr. 24, 1525 (Sevilla)
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Published by Jacobo Cromberger.

<sup>338</sup> Information provided in the online catalog of the Morgan Library <[http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=1&ti=1,1&SEQ=20100706182629&Search\\_Arg=172531&Search\\_Code=GKEY^&CNT=50&PID=0eBwdqIGir\\_NkAR3FJuC8DDIb1Oe&SID=1](http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=1&ti=1,1&SEQ=20100706182629&Search_Arg=172531&Search_Code=GKEY^&CNT=50&PID=0eBwdqIGir_NkAR3FJuC8DDIb1Oe&SID=1)>, accessed July 6, 2010.

<sup>339</sup> According to Accession Book of the Morgan Library, personal communication from the Reader Services Librarian, July 6, 2010.

46 folios with a large woodcut of Fernando el Católico. Escudero mentions 48 folios (157), and follows Gallardo's catalogue.

Entry 488 in Gallardo's catalogue. Entry 237 in Escudero's catalogue. Huth's catalogue mentions that Gallardo's *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros* "describes an edition of 1525, also by Cromberger at Seville, which was formerly in the collection of the Marquis de Salamanca" (vol. 1, 265)

According to Gallardo (641) and Palau (168), it belonged to the library of José de Salamanca y Mayol. It has a seal of Pascual de Gayangos, because it was part of his collection, though Gayangos does not mention it in *Libros de caballerías* (lxiv).

While the 1525 edition seems to be identical to the 1521, there are minor differences in the types and typographical abbreviations used in each page. Also, the illustration in fol. 5ra is different. This means that the text was put together again, perhaps using the 1521 edition as model.

Now in BNE (R/12097).<sup>340</sup>

<i>Hystoria del emperador Carlo Magno y delos doze pares de Francia...</i>	1528 (Sevilla)
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Published by Juan Cromberger (son of Jacobo).

Entry 489 in Gallardo's catalogue (641). Entry 275 in Escudero's catalogue (169). Palau mentions that this is the first edition that mentions the name of the author (168). Fernández de Moratín mentions this edition in his *Orígenes del teatro español* to illustrate the reception of "chivalry fictions" (42). Gayangos uses Moratín as reference in his list of "Libros de caballerías del ciclo carolvingio" (lxiv).

Nicolás Antonio mentions this edition, and adds "Conchae apud Salvatorem de Viader, in folio" (155). Salvador de Viader was a printer in Cuenca, active in early seventeenth century, who might have had this book because he reprinted it later (no date appears in Brunet, see page 554).

According to Carlos Hernando Sánchez, there was a copy of this edition in the library of Don Pedro Alvarez de Toledo (18).

<i>Hystoria del emperador Carlo magno y de los doze pares de Francia...</i>	Feb. 7, 1534 (Sevilla)
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Published by Juan Cromberger.

<sup>340</sup> See catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional de España  
<<http://catalogo.bne.es/uhtbin/cgiirsi/gtRgq6unA8/BNMADRID/5384931/9#top>> accessed August 5, 2010.

46 folios. With woodcuts within the text.

Entry 490 in Gallardo's catalogue. Entry 342 in Escudero's catalogue (182).

The catalogue entry of the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya mentions the signature Hardy-Mennil on the red leather binding, who is the binder. Also describes the seal of the "Alessandrina" library.<sup>341</sup> The Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina has, in the *Catalogo a Volumi Fondo Antico*, an entry of this title.<sup>342</sup>

According to Gallardo, it belonged to José de Salamanca y Mayol (641). Quaritch also mentions this fact (26-27).

The catalog of sale of baron François-Alexandre Seillière's library, in May 14, 1890, contains this copy, and mentions that comes from the library of the Università de la Sapienza, that since 1670 housed the Biblioteca Alessandrina (*Catalogue de livres* 159).<sup>343</sup>

Palau mentions that this item was sold in Portugal for 55 escudos, becoming part of the library of Baron Seillière, who ordered Hardy Mennil to rebind it (168).

The volume has the coat or arms of baron François-Alexandre Seillière, lord of castle Mello, with the inscription "Mello library." The "Mello [library], whose foundations go back to the ninth century, was bought in 1819 by François-Alexandre Seillière, later Baron de Mello, French industrialist, art and book collector," according to the description of lot 331 sale 1594 in Christie's.<sup>344</sup>

Seillière died in 1850; perhaps that is why part of the Mello collection was sold by Sotheby's in February 28, 1887. Nevertheless, this exemplar does not appear in the catalogue of sale. Palau mentions a sale of 1890, for 1080 francs; later in 1895 for 60 pounds by Quaritch; and another one in 1899 (168).

The book is marked as Donation of the Bonsoms-Chacón collection, 1948.<sup>345</sup> The flyleaf has "A9 E3 402" written, maybe the Bonsoms private library number.

<sup>341</sup> <[http://catalog.bnc.cat/search~\\$13\\*cat?/cBon.+9-III-6/cbon+9+iii+6/-3%2C-1%2C0%2CB/frameset&FF=cbon+9+iii+6&1%2C1%2C](http://catalog.bnc.cat/search~$13*cat?/cBon.+9-III-6/cbon+9+iii+6/-3%2C-1%2C0%2CB/frameset&FF=cbon+9+iii+6&1%2C1%2C)> accessed July 26, 2010.

<sup>342</sup> See

<[http://digitale.alessandrina.it/visualizzatore.aspx?TipologiaTestata=2&anno=Volume%204&ID\\_testata=48&ID\\_periodico=552395](http://digitale.alessandrina.it/visualizzatore.aspx?TipologiaTestata=2&anno=Volume%204&ID_testata=48&ID_periodico=552395)> accessed September 1, 2010. Catalog, Volume 4, Appendix, 3.

<sup>343</sup> See history of the Università de la Sapienza, <<http://www.uniroma1.it/about/storia/espansione.php>> accessed September 2, 2010.

<sup>344</sup> See <[http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot\\_details.aspx?intObjectID=4455749](http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=4455749)> accessed September 2, 2010.

<sup>345</sup> The Bonsoms-Chacón collection is "Col·lecció de 1778 volums, donada per Isidre Bonsoms, en què destaquen la col·lecció de llibres de cavalleries, els incunables, i les edicions dels segles XVI-XVII, la major part amb enquadernacions de luxe, signades pels tallers de Bedford, Hardy, Chambolle-Duru, Trautz

Now at Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya (Bon. 9-III-6).

<i>Hystoria del emperador Carlo Magno y d[e]los doze pares de Francia...</i>	1544 (Salamanca)
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Printed by Juã de Junta.

43 folios. Pages numbered on recto only. Title vignette; title within woodcut border; initials; tailpiece.

British Library (C.62.f.25).

<i>Historia del emperador Carlo Magno y de los doze Pares de Francia...</i>	1547 (Sevilla)
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Published by Dominico de Robertis.

Entry 491 in Gallardo's catalogue (uses J. J. de Bure's catalogue, number 940 [this number appears]) (148). Gallardo mentions two other Sevilla editions (1548 and 1549), and another one from Barcelona, among Ebert's papers (with number 3557) (641). Entry 488 in Escudero's catalogue (216). Palau mentions this edition, as a sale by J. J. de Bure, and then Libri.

<i>Historia del emperador Carlo Magno y de los doze Pares de Francia...</i>	1548 (Sevilla)
---	----------------

Published by Dominico de Robertis.

Mentioned by Gayangos (lxiv). Escudero has it as entry 505 and believes that this edition is no other than that of 1547 or 1549 with a mistake on the date (220). Nevertheless, the 1549 edition is Jacome Cromberger's, making it impossible to be the same. Most likely, the 1547 edition is mistaken on the date (I have not found any copies of the 1547 edition).

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek: Nationalbibliotek og Københavns Universitetsbibliotek (18, 263, 00786), included in the list of missing books though appears in their catalogue.<sup>346</sup>

<i>Historia del emperador Carlo Magno y de los doze pares de Francia...</i>	1549 (Sevilla)
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Bauzonnet, entre d'altres. La donació ingressà a la BC l'any 1948, a la mort de Mercedes Chacón, vídua d'Isidre Bonsoms." See "Col·leccions especials i valuoses" in the Biblioteca de Catalunya <[http://www.bnc.cat/fons/co1\\_detall.php?id=78](http://www.bnc.cat/fons/co1_detall.php?id=78)>, accessed July 26, 2010. Isidre Bonsoms (1849-1922).

<sup>346</sup> <<http://www.kb.dk/en/kb/manglende-boger/index.html>> accessed July 26, 2010.

Printed by Jacome Cromberger.

42 folios. Mentioned by Gayangos (lxiv). Entry 513 in Escudero's Catalogue (222). Palau mentions that this edition is in Vienna (168).

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (2 P.o.gall. 17 m);<sup>347</sup> Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (38.N.21 Alt Prunk)<sup>348</sup>

<i>Historia del Emperador Carlo Magno</i>	Feb. 3, 1561 (Barcelona)
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Printed by Jaume Cortey.

42 folios. Folios 31-37 are very fragmented. Mentioned by Josefina Mateu Ibars (223, n. 272).

Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya (1-VI-3).<sup>349</sup>

<i>Historia del emperador Carlo Magno y de los doze pares de Francia...</i>	1570 (Alcalá de Henares)
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Printed by Sebastián Martínez.

Entry 492 in Gallardo's catalogue, mentions 35 folios (641). Also appears as entry 452 in García López, where he mentions 35 folios (142-3). Leonard mentions this same edition in his book (yet it is not clear if the said Trebiña, in 1583, had this or a different edition) (360).

Mentioned in Gayangos, without folio number (lxiv). Palau mentions this item, with 44 folios, sold in 1910 (168). Perhaps he means the one sold by PBA Galleries recently. I have not found the other copy or copies.

A copy was sold in October 14, 2004 by PBA Galleries, sale # 295, Lot 60. 44 leaves, some deterioration.<sup>350</sup>

<i>Historia del emperador Carlo magno y de los doze pares de Francia</i>	1579 (Antequera)
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<sup>347</sup> <<http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/search?oclcno=165443885>> accessed July 7, 2010.

<sup>348</sup> Catalog of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek  
<[http://aleph18.onb.ac.at/F/4V2UYQCT549M81FJE9SQXF2PPP1KDBIN1PIMD7SF2IU24QYA4H-37760?func=full-set-set&set\\_number=277544&set\\_entry=000004&format=999](http://aleph18.onb.ac.at/F/4V2UYQCT549M81FJE9SQXF2PPP1KDBIN1PIMD7SF2IU24QYA4H-37760?func=full-set-set&set_number=277544&set_entry=000004&format=999)> accessed July 7, 2010

<sup>349</sup> <[http://cataleg.bnc.cat/record=b1624824~S13\\*cat](http://cataleg.bnc.cat/record=b1624824~S13*cat)> accessed September 3, 2010.

<sup>350</sup> Item detail in website <<http://www.pbagalleries.com/search/item154136.php?>> accessed August 8, 2010. I could not gather further information on this item after a phone conversation with Shannon Kennedy, vicepresident of the company, Aug. 31, 2010.

Printed by Andrés Lobato.

This copy was bought from Gilhofer & Ranschburg in August 28, 1968 (560.00 usd).

This edition is not only divided into three books, it also divides the second book in three parts (the battle between Oliveros and Fierabras, the imprisonment of the Christian knights, and the arrival of Charlemagne's armies).

The copy in the Hispanic Society of America has a prologue: "Io Pedro del Marmol secretario del Consejo de su Magestad doy fee, que por los Señores del dicho consejo de su Magestad, se dio licencia y facultad a Antonio de Lebrixa vezino de la Ciudad de Granada, para que puedan imprimir los libros siguientes. La vida de Sancta Anna. Espejo de la vida humana. Chronica de Carlo magno, Chronica del rey dō fernādo el tercero. Chronica del Cid Ruy Diaz El Conde Fernan Gonçalez. Tablante de Ricamōte. La dōzella Theodor. El Infante don Pedro. Los quales mandaron se impriman por los originales que van rubricados de mi el dicho Secretario Pedro del Marmol. De fee de lo qual por mandado de los dichos señores, para que dello conste di la presente. Fecha en Madrid a tres de Abril, de mil y quinientos y setenta y quatro años." (fol. 2v).

Hispanic Society of America (no shelf number, shelved under Knight-Errantry).<sup>351</sup>

<i>Historia del emperador Carlo Magno y de los doze pares de Francia...</i>	1581 (Alcalá de Henares)
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Printed by Sebastián Martínez.

44 folios. The catalogue of the Biblioteca de Catalunya mentions that the large woodcut is of Charlemange on the throne, surrounded by 17 figures de characters.

Biblioteca de Catalunya (Bon. 8-III-12)<sup>352</sup>

<i>Historia del emperador Carlo Magno y de los doze pares de Francia...</i>	1589 (Alcalá de Henares)
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Printed by Sebastián Martínez.

The binding of this copy has a coat of arms, identified by Vanessa Pintado on September 4, 2010. The book belonged to Luis de Benavides Carrillo de Toledo, III marqués de Caracena, V marqués de Fromista y III conde de Pinto (Valencia, 20 de septiembre de 1608 – Madrid, 6 de enero de 1668).

<sup>351</sup> There is no further information about the provenance of this copy, according to the electronic mail sent by Vanessa Pintado on Sept. 1, 2010.

<sup>352</sup> See catalog of the library <[http://catalog.bnc.cat/record=b1526231~S13\\*cat](http://catalog.bnc.cat/record=b1526231~S13*cat)> accessed July 7, 2010.



In the Real Biblioteca in Madrid, the *Indice de la librería del Conde de Gondomar* (1623) has on fol. 73v a mention of this edition among his books of chivalry and fabulous stories (Libros de cauallerias o historias fabulosas).<sup>353</sup> The book is not kept in the library in Madrid.

The inside cover of the binding shows a mark of an exlibris removed. The last page has manuscript writing saying “Hic liver est Petrus (?) ab Lacuriaga”

This edition is not only divided into three books, it also divides the second book in three parts (the battle between Oliveros and Fierabras, the imprisonment of the Christian knights, and the arrival of Charlemagne’s armies)

This copy has a prologue: “Don Phelippe por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de las dos Sicilias, de Hierusalem, de Portugal, de Nauarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorcas, de Seuilla, de Cerdeña, de Cordoua, de Corcega, de Murcia, de Iaen, de los algarues de Algezira, de Gibraltar, de las islas de Canaria, de las indias Orientales y Occidentales, islas y tierra firme del mar Oceauo, Archiduque de Austria, Duque de Borgoña, de Brauante y de Milan, Conde de Apspurg, de Flandes, de Tirol, y de Varcelona, señor de Vizcaya, y de Molina, &c. Por quanto por parte de vos Andres de Ortega impressor de libros, vezino de la ciudad de Toledo, nos fue fecha relacion que de la hystoria del Emperador Carlo Magno, y de vn Reportorio de tiempos que otras vezes auian sido impressor, y tassados, auia falta por auer muy pocos dellos, suplicandonos os diessemos licencia para los poder imprimir, o como la nuestra merced fuesse. Lo qual visto por los del nuestro consejo y como por su mandado en la primera licencia que dimos para imprimir los dichos libros se hizieron las diligencias que la pragmatica por nos nueuamente fecha sobre la impression de los libros dispone, fue acordado que deuiamos mandar dar esta nuestra carta para vos en la dicha razon: y nos tuuimos lo por bien, y por la presente damos licencia y facultad a qualquier impressor de nuestros reynos que vos nombraredes, para que por esta vez podays hazer imprimir los dichos libros que de suso se haze mencion, por los originales que en el nuestro consejo se vieron, que van rubricados y firmados al cabo de Pedro çapata del Marmol escriuano de camara de los que en el nuestro consejo residen, y con que antes de se vendã los traygays ante los de nuestro consejo juntamente con los dichos originales, para que se vea si las dichas impresiones estan cõforme a ellos, o traygays fe en publica forma en como por corrector nombre por nuestro mandado, se vieron y corrigieron las dichas impresiones por los originales, y se imprimieron conforme a ellos, y que quedã ansi mismo impressas las erratas por el apuntadas, para cada vno de los dichos libros que ansi fueren impressos, y se os tasse el precio que por cada volumen ouieredes de auer, so pena de caer en las penas cõtenidas en la dicha pragmatica y leyes de nuestros reyngos. De lo qual mandamos dar y dimos esta nuestra carta sellada con nuestro sello, y librada por los del nuestro consejo. Dada en la villa de Madrid, a doze dias del mes de Octubre de mil quinientos y ochenta y cinco años, (El Conde de Varajas, el licenciado don Lope de

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<sup>353</sup> <<http://realbiblioteca.es:8080/Gondomar/view?docId=tei/inventario/convert.inv.xml&sec=1>> accessed August 8, 2010.

Guzman, el Doctor Iuan Fernandez Cogollos, el licenciado Tejada, el licenciado Laguna)” (fol. 1v).

Hispanic Society of America (no shelf number, shelved under Knight-Errantry).<sup>354</sup>

<i>Virtudes y hazañas de Carlo Magno emperador de Roma y Rey de Francia: y de sus cavalleros...</i> <sup>355</sup>	c. 16th century
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Unknown printer and date (colophon page missing).

43 folios. Copy missing several pages (fol. 1, and from folio 43 onwards). Deteriorated by ferrogallik ink corrosion. Bounded with the *Crónica del Santo Rey D. Fernando* (also incomplete). Manuscript last page substitutes the missing text in *Fierabras*.

The volume was a present from Manuel Oria Alonso to father Justo in 1931.<sup>356</sup>

Burgos, Biblioteca de Silos (H2-a416-2)

<i>Historia del emperador Carlo Magno y de los doze pares de Francia...</i>	c. 1699 (Barcelona)
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Printed by Antonio Lacavalleria.

The first page has an inscription that reads, “Est de fr Alex<sup>dre</sup> da Gainas (?)”

Hispanic Society of America (no shelf number, shelved under Knight-Errantry).

The Hispanic Society of America has several later editions (Sevilla, c. 1730; Barcelona, 1732; Cordoba, 1749; Barcelona, c. 1780; Sevilla, 1815; Jativa, 1842; Madrid, 1857; Barcelona, 1859).

### Portugal

<i>Historia do imperador Carlos Magno e dos doze pares de França</i>	1728 (Coimbra)
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Translated from Castilian to Portuguese by Jeronimo Moreira de Carvalho.

Mentioned in the Pinto de Mattos and Castelo Branco’s *Manual bibliographico portuguez* (414-5). Also mentioned in Gayangos, who says it is published by Pedro Ferreira (lxiv). Also Palau mentions this edition (169).

<sup>354</sup> The information about the provenance of this copy is recent, through the identification of the coat of arms on the binding. Personal communication with Vanessa Pintado, Sept. 1 and 5, 2010.

<sup>355</sup> Title taken from the prologue.

<sup>356</sup> Information provided by father librarian Norbeto Núñez through electronic mail, August 8, 2010.

<i>Historia do imperador Carlos Magno e dos doze pares de França</i>	1732 (Lisbon)
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Published by Jose Antunes da Silva.

According to De Moraes, this is an expanded edition (11).

Oxford, Taylorian Library (VET.PORT.II.A.13)

<i>Historia do imperador Carlos Magno e dos doze pares de França</i>	1737 (Lisbon)
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Published by Mauricio Vicente de Almeyda.

Gallardo mentions another edition published in Lisbon, on 1737, by Domingo Gonzalvez (lxiv). Palau mentions also the 1737 edition, but Gonzalez instead of Gonzalvez, and says this is the second part (169).

The copy of Santiago de Compostela is deteriorated, affecting the cover page. The ex-libris handwritten says, "Soy de mi Dueño," "Soi de D. Jose Varela de la Pousada." Missing the last pages of the second part.

Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (res. 6363 P.);<sup>357</sup> Instituto de Estudios Gallegos Padre Sarmiento, Santiago de Compostela.<sup>358</sup>

<i>Primeira parte da historia do Imperador Carlos Magno e dos doze Pares de França</i>	1800
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Reprint, probably by Simão Taddeo Ferreira (Gallardo lxiv).

London, British Library (12450.a.8)

<sup>357</sup> See catalogue of the National Library of Portugal  
<[http://catalogo.bnportugal.pt/ipac20/ipac.jsp?session=C282R86298443.1094368&profile=bn&uri=full=3100024~!964324~!33&aspect=basic\\_search&menu=search&source=~!bnp&view=items&ri=1&staffonly=&term=historia+do+imperador&index=.TW&uindex=&aspect=basic\\_search&menu=search&ri=1](http://catalogo.bnportugal.pt/ipac20/ipac.jsp?session=C282R86298443.1094368&profile=bn&uri=full=3100024~!964324~!33&aspect=basic_search&menu=search&source=~!bnp&view=items&ri=1&staffonly=&term=historia+do+imperador&index=.TW&uindex=&aspect=basic_search&menu=search&ri=1)>  
accessed August 26, 2010.

<sup>358</sup> See collective catalogue of Spanish libraries,  
<[http://www.mcu.es/patrimoniobibliografico/buscarDetallePatrimonioBibliografico.do?brscgi\\_DOCN=000130335&replace\\_last=true&language=es&prev\\_layout=catBibliografico&layout=catBibliografico](http://www.mcu.es/patrimoniobibliografico/buscarDetallePatrimonioBibliografico.do?brscgi_DOCN=000130335&replace_last=true&language=es&prev_layout=catBibliografico&layout=catBibliografico)>  
accessed August 26, 2010.

## Germany

<i>Eyn schöne kurtzweilige Histori von eym mächtige Riesen auss Hispanië, Fierrebras genant, der eyn Heyd gewest, vnd bei zeiten des Durchleuchtigsten grossen Keyser Karls gelebt...</i>	1533 (Siemern)
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Translated and prosified by count Jean II of Palatinat-Simmern. Printed by Iheronimus Rodler.<sup>359</sup>

53 leaves with woodcuts. First German edition. Reported by Herrtage (vii), included in Huth (596).

Colophon reads: "Getruckt zu Siem[m]ern, durch Jheronimus Rodler, Secretarius daselbst. Vollendet vff den zweyten tag des Meyen. im jar als man zalt nach der geburt Cristi. M. D. xxxiiij." Colophon detailed in the catalog entry of the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire of Strasbourg.

One of the copies was part of the library of Baron Seillière, sold in May 14, 1890. According to the sales catalogue, it was bound by Belz-Niedrée and has some reaccomodation of pages (*Catalogue de livres* 158).

Herzog August Bibliothek (A: 259.3 Hist. [1]);<sup>360</sup> Landesbibliothek Oldenburg (SPR XIII 4 A 535, 3);<sup>361</sup> Universitätsbibliothek Kiel (Arch3 70);<sup>362</sup> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz (4" Yu 2051,<sup>363</sup> 2" an: Libri impr. rari 133); Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg (2 LA 10);<sup>364</sup> British Library (C.125.e.16); Strasbourg - Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire (R.10.037);<sup>365</sup> Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (Rar. 2296);<sup>366</sup> Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn (Hauptbibliothek

<sup>359</sup> The British Library catalogue has Bodler, see <[http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/K4A6TVYKJ5AUI13FT2DS1R6DUDARL75MSENV5GFIAELXVJS593-09616?func=full-set-set&set\\_number=156790&set\\_entry=000052&format=999](http://catalogue.bl.uk/F/K4A6TVYKJ5AUI13FT2DS1R6DUDARL75MSENV5GFIAELXVJS593-09616?func=full-set-set&set_number=156790&set_entry=000052&format=999)> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>360</sup> See catalogue of the library <<http://sunny.biblio.etc.tu-bs.de:8080/DB=2/SET=1/TTL=1/SHW?FRST=10>> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>361</sup> See catalogue <[http://katalog.bis.uni-oldenburg.de/cgi-bin/frameset?starten=orbis\\_eingangsseite&TERM=70268&MODUS=0&INP=&la=2&AKTIV=1](http://katalog.bis.uni-oldenburg.de/cgi-bin/frameset?starten=orbis_eingangsseite&TERM=70268&MODUS=0&INP=&la=2&AKTIV=1)> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>362</sup> See catalogue <<http://kiopc4.ub.uni-kiel.de:8080/DB=1/SET=1/TTL=14/SHW?FRST=14>> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>363</sup> This copy was a war loss, according to the catalogue. See <<http://stabikat.de:8080/DB=1/SET=1/TTL=28/SHW?FRST=26>> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>364</sup> See catalogue <<https://sbaoz1.bib-bvb.de/webOPACClient.sbasis/singleHit.do?methodToCall=activateTab&tab=showTitleActive>> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>365</sup> See catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire in Strasbourg <<http://www.bnu.fr/BNU/FR/Catalogue/Catalogue+general/recherche.htm>> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>366</sup> See catalog of the library <<http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/search?oclcno=166017006>> accessed July 27, 2010.

Adenauerallee / Rara - Fa 4' 439),<sup>367</sup> Landesbibliothekszentrum / Rheinische Landesbibliothek Koblenz (95A/1231 P-SOM);<sup>368</sup> Staatsbibliothek Bamberg (22/.47 C 15);<sup>369</sup> Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg (H61/2 TREW.E 44/45/46);<sup>370</sup> Yale University Library (Zg16 T34 +533).<sup>371</sup>

Edited by Werner Wunderlich (1992).

<i>Vō Fierrabras des Riesen auss Hispanien... Auss Frantzösischer Sprach verteutsch, etc.</i>	1594 (Frankfurt am Main)
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Published by Wendel Hommen heirs.

British Library (12450.aaa.14).

<sup>367</sup> See catalog of the library <<http://opac.ulb.uni-bonn.de:8080/webOPACClient/singleHit.do?methodToCall=activateTab&tab=showTitleActive>> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>368</sup> See catalog of the library <[http://kat.lbz-rlp.de/webOPACClient/singleHit.do?methodToCall=showHit&identifizier=-1\\_S\\_IG.6399.11959&curPos=1&tab=showTitleActive](http://kat.lbz-rlp.de/webOPACClient/singleHit.do?methodToCall=showHit&identifizier=-1_S_IG.6399.11959&curPos=1&tab=showTitleActive)> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>369</sup> According the catalog of the library, this copy comes from: Supralibros Wappen Pfalz-Neuburg bzw. Pfalz-Sulzbach Beiband: Titelblatt fehlt. See <[https://ubbx6.bib-bvb.de/InfoGuideClient.ubgsis/search.do?jsessionId=EA477D9A64BDEE77E1D2024BAFCE5488?methodToCall=submit&CSId=1477N3Sdaaada111e43f14f28d98963803b079ae58e25bf&methodToCallParameter=submitSearch&searchCategories\[0\]=-1&searchString\[0\]=Eyn+sch%C3%B6ne+kurtzweilige&callingPage=searchParameters&linguistic=false&selectedViewBranchlib=9&selectedSearchBranchlib=&searchRestrictionID\[0\]=3&searchRestrictionValue1\[0\]=&searchRestrictionID\[1\]=2&searchRestrictionValue1\[1\]=&searchRestrictionValue2\[1\]=&searchRestrictionID\[2\]=1&searchRestrictionValue1\[2\]=>](https://ubbx6.bib-bvb.de/InfoGuideClient.ubgsis/search.do?jsessionId=EA477D9A64BDEE77E1D2024BAFCE5488?methodToCall=submit&CSId=1477N3Sdaaada111e43f14f28d98963803b079ae58e25bf&methodToCallParameter=submitSearch&searchCategories[0]=-1&searchString[0]=Eyn+sch%C3%B6ne+kurtzweilige&callingPage=searchParameters&linguistic=false&selectedViewBranchlib=9&selectedSearchBranchlib=&searchRestrictionID[0]=3&searchRestrictionValue1[0]=&searchRestrictionID[1]=2&searchRestrictionValue1[1]=&searchRestrictionValue2[1]=&searchRestrictionID[2]=1&searchRestrictionValue1[2]=>)> accessed July 27, 2010.

<sup>370</sup> See catalog of the library, <<https://www.opac.uni-erlangen.de/webOPACClient/start.do?Login=webop00&Query=10=%22BV008972739%22>> accessed August 7, 2010.

<sup>371</sup> See library's catalog, <<http://orbis.library.yale.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=1&hd=1,1&CallBrowse=1&SEQ=20100807210556&PID=9XvCg9mU6XRLGNEOrkjbX-h00GeO&SID=1>> accessed August 7, 2010.

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