

Tilo Renz

8 Community of Things: On the Constitution of the Ideal Kingdom of Crisa in Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland*

Introduction: Objects and Community Building

This chapter addresses the central importance of objects in the formation and retention of ideal communities in medieval literature. In recent years, so-called actor-network theory has drawn attention to the contribution of nonhuman actors to the coherence and permanence of human communities. Bruno Latour, one of the major exponents of this field of theory, has in particular given careful consideration to the crucial function of objects in group building in his reflections on social theory. One of the central purposes of Latour's 2005 book *Reassembling the Social* is to investigate the ways in which things promote the creation of social alliances and work to stabilize them.¹ Focusing on the role of nonhuman actors in the course of group formation is very productive for medievalists, since objects were essential for community building in the Middle Ages. Religious communities, for example, would gather at a particular holy site or around a specific object of devotion, be it the sepulchral monument of a saint, a relic, or a devotional object less closely connected to a sacred body.²

Object-related communities are also prevalent in the literary tradition. Quintessential to the Arthurian community, as Bruno Quast recently reminded us, is the Round Table.³ This object both produces a practical effect and has a symbolic meaning: with its unusual circular shape, it affords a specific way of positioning people at the table and is also symbolic of a particular group structure. Both aspects of the object aim at leveling hierarchies and minimizing the potential for conflict between members of the group.⁴ To take one example of its treatment in literature, the table's

1 Latour claims to "follow the actors in their weaving through things they have added to social skills so as to render more durable the constantly shifting interactions." Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 68.

2 See Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien: Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 1997), 123–137, 182–189. Bruno Quast goes so far as to state that in medieval societies, the creation of community in general is effected through relationships to objects. See Bruno Quast, "Dingpolitik: Gesellschaftstheoretische Überlegungen zu Rundtafel und Gral in Wolframs von Eschenbach *Parzival*," in *Dingkulturen: Objekte in Literatur, Kunst und Gesellschaft der Vormoderne*, ed. Anna Mühlherr, Heike Sahm, Monika Schausten, and Bruno Quast (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 171–184, at 171.

3 See Quast, "Dingpolitik," 171–181.

4 See Quast, 172–173.

egalitarian implications are explicated in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, in the two sequences in which the protagonist and his brother Feirefiz respectively become members of the community of the Round Table (*P*, 309,3–310,7; 775,1–26).⁵ Both of these passages describe the king's initiative in making the Round Table (309,12–25; 775,2–11). Arthur has taken care to ensure that all seats at the table are alike, allowing no one to be distinguished by where they sit: “nâch gegenstuol dâ niemen sprach, / diu gesitz warn al gelîche hêr” (“no-one should claim the seat of honor, facing the host. All the seats were equal in rank”) (309,24–25; trans. Edwards, 131).

In *Parzival* there is a second community centered around an object as well: the society of the Grail. Like the Round Table, the Grail, which in *Parzival* is imagined as a stone (see, e.g., *P*, 469,3), exerts power over the community. Whereas the description of the Round Table emphasizes how the making and use of this object binds the community together, in the society of the Grail the physical effects of immaterial and spiritual forces are brought to the fore. Solely on festive occasions, the Grail is carried around the castle of Munsalvaesche so that its followers can gaze upon it: “den truoc man zallem mâle / der diet niht durch schouwen für, / niht wan ze hôchgezîte kür” (“On every occasion it was brought forth, it was not a spectacle for the company, but only when a festivity required it”) (807,16–18; trans. Edwards, 338; see also 235,15–236,11). The power of the stone guarantees the survival of the society: “der rîterlîchen bruoderschaft, / die pfrüende in gît des grâles kraft” (“To that knightly brotherhood the Grail's power gives such provender”) (470,19–20; trans. Edwards, 198). This giving of provender can be understood in the concrete sense of providing nourishment.⁶ In addition, merely seeing the Grail has a physical effect, delaying both aging and death (469,14–27). The stone's power is transmitted to it through a wafer that is carried down by a dove from heaven every Good Friday (470,1–15). Given this connection to transcendent powers, it follows that the members of the society of the Grail are chosen and called by God himself (471,26–28; 468,12–14).

In the analysis that follows, I will further pursue the question of how objects contribute to building and stabilizing community by taking a closer look at a German vernacular text written about a century after Wolfram's *Parzival*, one that takes up

5 Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* is quoted here from Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival: Studienausgabe*, ed. Karl Lachmann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003). Passages from *Parzival* are cited in the running text by *Dreißiger* (section) and line, and identified with the abbreviation *P*. The English translations of *Parzival* are quoted from Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival and Titarel*, trans. Cyril Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), and are cited separately by page number.

6 Further passages support this reading: “Man sagte mir [...] / daz vorem grâle wære bereit / [...] / swâ nâch jener bôt die hand, / daz er al bereite vant / spîse warm, spîse kalt, / spîse niwe unt dar zuo alt, / daz zam unt daz wilde” (“They told me [...] that before the Grail there was in good supply [...] whatever anyone stretched out his hand for, he found it all in readiness – hot food, cold food, new food and old too, tame and wild”) (*P*, 238,8–17; trans. Edwards, 101); “ich wil iu künden umb ir nar. / si lebent von einem steine: / des geslâhte ist vil reine” (“I will tell you of their food: they live by a stone whose nature is most pure”) (*P*, 469,2–4; trans. Edwards, 198).

elements of courtly literature from around 1200 and combines them with other influences. My argument focuses on the Viennese author and physician Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland* (*Apollonius of Tyre*, ca. 1310), the first German translation of, and a significant expansion on, the late antique *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*.⁷ Heinrich's text is influenced by the urban social and cultural context it derives from.⁸ It bears witness to the contemporary Viennese elite's interest in courtly ideals and the privileges of nobility.⁹ The text suggests other concerns as well that are distinctive to the social milieu of its origin, such as material assets and money, government, social hierarchy, and interaction within an urban community.¹⁰ In an extended passage that Heinrich adds to his textual source, he describes several ideal communities. Of these, I will focus on the so-called golden land of Crisa. Crisa is also known through encyclopedic texts of the time and found on *mappae mundi*, although Heinrich fleshes the place out in an elaborate way that is beyond comparison.¹¹

Crisa shares features with the societies of the Round Table and the Grail, and it too can be addressed as an ideal community: similar to the community of the Round Table, Crisa's hierarchical structure displays some peculiarities, and in keeping with the community of the Grail, foodstuffs are abundant for the populace of the golden land. Nevertheless, some important differences between Crisa and the societies of the Round Table and the Grail run counter to these similarities. To begin with, in the imagined world of Heinrich's *Apollonius*, Crisa is geographically situated far from Europe and separated from surrounding lands by defined borders.¹² As such, it is dis-

7 Heinrich's *Apollonius* is quoted here from the following edition: Heinrich von Neustadt, *Apollonius von Tyrland*, ed. Samuel Singer (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1906). Passages from *Apollonius* are cited in the running text by line number and identified with the abbreviation *AvT*. All translations of the text are my own.

8 On the historically specific notion of the term *bourgeois*, see Alfred Ebenbauer, "Der 'Apollonius von Tyrland' des Heinrich von Neustadt und die bürgerliche Literatur im spätmittelalterlichen Wien," in *1050–1750: Die österreichische Literatur; Ihr Profil von den Anfängen im Mittelalter bis ins 18. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, ed. Herbert Zeman, Jahrbuch für österreichische Kulturgeschichte vol. 14–15 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1986), 311–347, at 340–343.

9 See Ebenbauer, "Apollonius von Tyrland," 341.

10 Heinrich's *Apollonius*, for example, elaborates on the decision-making process of the citizens ("di purger"; *AvT*, 11063) of Crisa with respect to how to welcome the protagonist. On the importance of material assets and money in *Apollonius*, see Fritz Peter Knapp, "Heinrich von Neustadt," in *Die Literatur des Spätmittelalters in den Ländern Österreich, Steiermark, Kärnten, Salzburg und Tirol von 1273 bis 1439*, vol. 2, bk. 1, of *Geschichte der Literatur in Österreich: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Herbert Zeman (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1999), 280–297, at 291. The following analyses give further evidence of the tendency to address specifically urban concerns.

11 See, for example, *De imagine mundi* by Honorius Augustodunensis, the German *Lucidarius*, the *Weltchronik* of Rudolf von Ems, and the *Ebstorf Map*.

12 Crisa is a three-day journey away from the castle of Gabilot (*AvT*, 8836–8837), which probably refers to Gabala in modern Syria, and the land extends far to the north (to the Caspian Mountains: 10950–10952) and to the east (to India: 10940, 10962–10964). In addition, Crisa is demarcated ("geschlossen"; 8848) from its surroundings.

tant from any places that most of the text's historical recipients probably knew. Additionally, there is an abundance of material resources – not only foodstuffs – that are accessible to everyone who is part of the community: “The riches are uncountable there” (*AvT*, 8847; “Da ist reichait ane zal”). In particular, “there is so much gold that nobody is tempted to take from it for himself” (8898–8899; “Goldes ist da also vil / Das es niemand nemen wil”). The bountifulness of goods has a strong impact on the living conditions and behavior of people in Crisa. Moreover, the availability of these goods to everyone makes the land less hierarchical, since when it comes to access to nourishment all members of the community have equal opportunities.¹³ As I have mentioned above, the community of the Grail also provides enough nourishment for its members. Nevertheless, the castle Munsalvaesche shows a close relation to transcendent powers, is fundamentally characterized by mystery, and is distinctly marked by illness and suffering.¹⁴ In stark contrast, Heinrich's description of Crisa emphasizes the exhilarating effects of the society's material basics on members of the community and combines this with accounts of several marvelous phenomena, to which I will turn below.

The aforementioned features that differentiate Crisa from the two other societies allow it to be seen as an ideal community of a specific kind: Crisa shows similarities with early modern utopias, the ideal communities that were conceived some two hundred years later. Thomas More coined the term *utopia* in 1516, using it as the title of the fictional narrative ascribed to world traveler Raphael Hythlodæus. In this narrative, Utopia is the name of a community with ideal living conditions, situated on the margins of the known world – specifically, it is located on a faraway island and can thus conceivably be reached on a long-distance journey.¹⁵ The ideal living conditions on the island stem from the general availability of material resources,

13 With reference to foodstuffs, the text says: “Da enleydet nieman hungers not” (*AvT*, 8873; Nobody has to go hungry there).

14 Munsalvaesche is distinctly marked by a lack of joy (*P*, 227,9–16; 242,4–6) and by the suffering of its ruler (231,1–5; 240,7–8; 472,21–26). On the narrative formation of the mystery of the Grail, see Arthur Groos, *Romancing the Grail: Genre, Science, and Quest in Wolfram's “Parzival”* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 121 (with further references); and Jutta Eming, “Aus den swarzen buochen: Zur Ästhetik der Verrätselung von Erkenntnis und Wissenstransfer im *Parzival*,” in *Magia daemionica, magia naturalis, zouber: Schreibweisen von Magie und Alchemie in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Peter-André Alt, Jutta Eming, Tilo Renz, and Volkhard Wels (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 75–99. On the mysteries of the Grail, see also William C. McDonald, “Wolfram's Grail,” *Arthuriana* 8 (1998): 22–34. One can pointedly say that while *Parzival* time and again evokes mystery, Heinrich's *Apollonius*, in contrast, is a text of riddles that have to be and can be solved. On riddles in *Apollonius*, see Tomas Tomasek, *Das deutsche Rätsel im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1994), 184–199.

15 See Thomas More, *Utopia*, vol. 4 of *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. Edward Surtz and Jack H. Hexter, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 50–52.

which influences the social order of the community as a whole.¹⁶ In a slightly different way, we see the same characteristic in Crisa, where material riches and foodstuffs – without the help of divine powers – are so abundant as to be available to everyone.¹⁷ Furthermore, the virtuous behavior of the members of the community is a central characteristic in Utopia and Crisa alike.

What specifically distinguishes Crisa from early modern utopias as well as from other ideal communities of the Middle Ages is its objects. Objects are more prevalent in Crisa than they are in the ideal societies of the Round Table and the Grail. For this reason, the objects of the utopian community of Crisa hold great promise for analysis. To begin with, there are not just one but several objects involved in the process of group formation in Crisa's ideal community. This large number of objects allows us to scrutinize and differentiate the ways in which they work, including how they interact with one another and with other actors. In addition, the objects populating this specific ideal community are remarkably active. They outperform even the Grail and its ability to physically sustain its followers.¹⁸

Given these features, Heinrich's description of the land of Crisa shows various roles that objects can play in the process of building and retaining an ideal community. In particular, the objects in Crisa guide the incorporation of strangers into the community: interaction with the community's nonhuman objects makes the integration of human characters from elsewhere possible.

The Objects of Medieval Utopias from a Latourian Perspective

Bruno Latour, whether one accepts or rejects his ideas, has greatly influenced the study of objects in the humanities in recent years with the thesis that things are equipped with a certain kind of agency. In his introduction to actor-network theory,

16 In More's *Utopia*, property held in common is the basis for just organization of the community: "omnia sunt communia" (More, *Utopia*, 100; "all things are common"). For further detail, see More, 102–106. This characteristic is too strict, though, to apply to utopian concepts of the Middle Ages.

17 In her recent book on medieval utopias, Karma Lochrie has made it clear that we have to go beyond the characteristics of More's *Utopia* if we want to give an account of the specificities of utopian thinking in the Middle Ages: Karma Lochrie, *Nowhere in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). Nevertheless, we have to keep on relating medieval utopias to the so-called classical utopias of early modern times in some way – and even Lochrie clings to what she calls the "productive dialogue with More's 'Utopia'" (Lochrie, *Nowhere*, 6). For a careful estimation of the features of classical utopias that can be found in concepts of ideal communities of the late Middle Ages as well, see Tilo Renz, "Utopische Elemente der Reiseliteratur des späten Mittelalters," *Das Mittelalter* 18, no. 2 (2013): 129–152, at 130–138.

18 See Quast, "Dingpolitik," 181. The Round Table, in contrast, is not itself active. Quast has underlined that the table has to be set up by members of the group every time they want to gather ("Dingpolitik," 178, 180–181).

Reassembling the Social, to which I have already referred, Latour has made it clear that speaking of an “agency of things” is meant to establish a heuristic tool, and to this end he conceives the term in the broadest possible sense. What Latour understands by “agency of things” he expresses concisely in his definition of an actor: “any thing that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor” (emphasis in the original).¹⁹ Based on this determination, actor-network theory aims at investigating whether or not a given object contributes to a modification of status, and if so, in what way it facilitates change. As Latour puts it: “There might exist many metaphysical shades between full causality and sheer inexistence. In addition to ‘determining’ and serving as a ‘backdrop for human action,’ things might authorize, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid, and so on.”²⁰ An investigation that takes up these considerations will make a differentiated analysis of the various contributions of objects to processes of change – in our case, processes that lead to the building and sustaining of an ideal community – and will also scrutinize the objects’ relations and interactions with other actors.

In medieval literature, utopian communities often include marvelous objects. For example, according to the fictitious letter claimed to be by Prester John, that ruler’s Far Eastern kingdom features, among other things, a fountain of youth and a mirror mounted on a pillar that allows one to take a look at every place in the kingdom, however distant.²¹ The presence of these objects is not in the least surprising if the motifs and topoi that medieval depictions of ideal communities draw on are taken into account. All too often, these communities are situated in a beautiful and pleasant landscape (a *locus amoenus*), and their portrayals borrow from the Garden of Eden as described in the Book of Genesis, as well as from the medieval topos of the earthly paradise derived from this same passage of the Bible.²² Among other things, descriptions of these communities can include plants that possess remarkable abilities and also a lot of water, in particular the four rivers of paradise.

Despite these borrowings, however, there is a decisive difference between the Garden of Eden and the earthly paradise, on one hand, and the communities that I understand as being utopian on the other: utopian communities in the Middle Ages, as well as in early modernity, are worldly communities. They depict groups that have the privilege of experiencing ideal living conditions on Earth at a time preceding the day of the Last Judgment. The earthly paradise, according to medieval encyclopedias, cartography, and literature, is – as its name suggests – also situated on

¹⁹ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 71.

²⁰ Latour, 72.

²¹ See Friedrich Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes: Erste Abhandlung* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1879), 94–95, secs. 71–72 and 79–84.

²² See Reinhold R. Grimm, *Paradisus coelestis, paradisus terrestris: Zur Auslegungsgeschichte des Paradieses im Abendland bis um 1200* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1977); Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

Earth. And yet, as the Book of Genesis tells us, it is not accessible to us. As an example, in medieval romances that narrate the life and conquests of Alexander the Great, the inaccessibility of this paradise becomes manifest in a wall – the hero of antiquity, in his hubris, attempts to enter this secluded paradise but fails.²³

This fundamental difference in accessibility of ideal places corresponds to a difference in the types of objects found in them. Things that populate utopian communities are not divine or spiritual (in the strict sense of the word – e.g., the tree of knowledge), but in general belong to the tradition of the marvelous that can be traced back to antique *mirabilia*. According to several authors writing at the turn of the thirteenth century, the marvelous is not a result of God's direct intervention – phenomena of that sort are called *miracula* – but a more or less spontaneous deviation from the usual course of natural processes.²⁴ The historical classification provides a starting point for analysis, though in particular instances – especially in literary texts – it may be undermined. A wide range of phenomena can be affiliated to this concept of the marvelous.²⁵ Probably the most prominent is what modern scholarship has called the “marvels of the East” – that is, types of creatures with unusual physical features whose tradition goes back to antiquity and whose connection to mankind was extensively discussed in the Middle Ages.²⁶ There are also inanimate objects that have special abilities; for example, stones, gems, or rings, often imbued with magical powers.²⁷ Finally, there are objects that have particular mechanical or artistic features. In medieval texts, the ways in which these objects work are often not fully explained, and thus can be attributed to magic.²⁸ What all these phenomena

23 See, for example, an early version of the Alexander romance in German vernacular, the so-called *Straßburger Alexander*. Pfaffe Lambrecht, *Alexanderroman: Mittelhochdeutsch/Neuhochdeutsch*, ed. Elisabeth Lienert (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 2007), lines 6166–6572.

24 On the differentiation between *miracula* and *mirabilia*, see Caroline Walker Bynum, “Miracles and Marvels: The Limits of Alterity,” in *Vita religiosa im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. Franz J. Felten and Nikolaus Jaspert (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), 799–817, at 803–804. Works that differentiate between the two terms are: *Otia imperialia*, by Gervase of Tilbury (1214); *Topographia Hibernica*, by Gerald of Wales (1180s); *Dialogus miraculorum*, by Caesarius of Heisterbach (1220s); and *Summa theologiae* (1.105.6–7), by Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1270). On the notion of nature that corresponds to this differentiation, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 48–49.

25 For a broad notion of the marvelous in premodern times as designating phenomena that are not limited to a geographical region but generally mark “nature’s farthest reaches,” see Daston and Park, *Wonders*, 14.

26 See Daston and Park, *Wonders*, 25–39; cf. the seminal study on the tradition: Rudolf Wittkower, “Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 159–197.

27 See Daston and Park, *Wonders*, 41 (on lapidaries); see also Ulrich Engelen, *Die Edelsteine in der deutschen Dichtung des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1978).

28 On insufficient explanations, see Daston and Park, *Wonders*, 88–94. On the attribution to magic, see Udo Friedrich, “*Contra naturam*: Mittelalterliche Automatisierung im Spannungsfeld politischer, theologischer und technologischer Naturkonzepte,” in *Automaten in Kunst und Literatur des Mittelal-*

have in common is that they engender wonder and amazement, reactions that are at once cognitive and emotional.²⁹ These reactions are caused by something that recipients are unfamiliar with, and which they are unable, at least at the moment, to connect to what they already know. Among the aforementioned phenomena, even those that at first glance seem to be inanimate (stones, automata), on closer inspection, actually turn out to be engaged in activities and thus seem to be endowed with some kind of agency.

When we consider the importance of wondrous objects to medieval ideal communities, it comes to the fore that the specificities of these objects are bound to a certain historical context. Thus, if one applies Latour's recent considerations to medieval phenomena, one has to account for the historical specificities of the objects in question, and especially their epistemological context. While Latour deals with inanimate objects in his studies (e. g., a gun, a key, or an experimental setup in a laboratory), the marvelous things of medieval utopias can be living creatures, or they can give the impression of being alive. In addition, as I pointed out, monstrous races and marvelous objects are considered to be part of nature in the medieval episteme. When the objects in question are undeniably active and already part of the animate world, this makes it even easier to take a Latourian perspective on their assembling force.³⁰ Additionally, and quite aside from reflections on how and whether we are to speak about medieval objects in a Latourian manner, Latour's considerations on the relation and interaction of different actors inspire fundamental analytical questions: What exactly is the relationship between things and humans in a medieval community with utopian qualities? And how important is the objects' contribution to building and maintaining such a community?

ters und der Frühen Neuzeit, ed. Klaus Grubmüller and Markus Stock (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003), 91–114, at 96–97; and Ulrich Ernst, "Mirabilia mechanica: Technische Phantasmen im Antiken- und Artusroman des Mittelalters," in *Das Wunderbare in der arthurischen Literatur: Probleme und Perspektiven*, ed. Friedrich Wolfzettel (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2003), 45–77, at 72–73. **29** Daston and Park characterize wonder as "cognitive passion" (*Wonders*, 14). In addition to this epistemic and emotional connection with the marvelous experienced by recipients, Michelle Karnes has shown that some medieval thinkers make marvelous phenomena dependent on contemporaneous concepts of imagination. By focusing on this facet of the medieval marvelous, she has emphasized anew the importance of accounting for the recipients' involvement when theorizing and analyzing *mirabilia*. See Michelle Karnes, "Marvels in the Medieval Imagination," *Speculum* 90, no. 2 (2015): 327–365.

30 According to Latour, a discursive strategy of those who identify themselves as modern is to strictly differentiate between things and humans; according to this strategy – and probably also according to Latour's own estimation – in premodern times this distinction was not made. Instead there was a "mishmash of things and humans." Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 39.

Transformation and Integration through Objects in the Golden Land of Crisa

Things That Discipline Characters and Change Their Behavior

The journey to Crisa is one of the adventures Apollonius has during his extensive travels in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean. Inspired by an account given by the Babylonian king Nemrot, Apollonius develops a desire to visit this land, to which he is only able to gain access by first overcoming the dangerous *monstra* Serpanta and Ydrogant (*AvT*, 10686–10863). After defeating them, Apollonius encounters several objects of different sizes, which exhibit sculptural or architectural elements. These objects control access to certain places within Crisa by testing the moral fiber of those wishing to enter.

In order to enter Walsamit, the first city that Apollonius reaches in the golden land, he must ride over a wheel that is studded with gold and precious stones and forms part of an architectural ensemble that is described vaguely (*AvT*, 11205–11333).³¹ The wheel decides if knights who want to cross over it are free of vice: “an alle missetat” (11214; without any misconduct). Apollonius and the majority of his companions succeed in passing the test (11321–11322). Only a handful of them are found guilty of being cowardly, unfaithful, or villainous (11313, 11354–11355, 11377). The wheel throws them into a river and they are forbidden to travel farther inland.

Soon thereafter, Apollonius and his companions enter a city that bears the name of Crisa, where King Candor, the ruler of the land, resides. Candor invites the guests to a garden which is protected by a fountain (*AvT*, 11755) and a colossus (11749–11751; see also 11980–11984) that are both incorporated in its entranceway.³² The visitors must place their hands in the fountain’s water, and they are only allowed to enter if their hands do not change color (11728–11993). The fountain marks people who have lewd behavior or thoughts (11808). Characters who do not pass the test are forced to remain outside the gate with stained hands, visibly distinguished from those who are allowed to pass. This is not the final judgment passed on those rejected, though, as we find out when Apollonius and all the others fail the test. Rather, they have an audience with the goddess Venus. At her temple a priest explains to them what their misdeed was (11803–11809) and then sends them to Venus to ab-

³¹ The wheel follows the thematic tradition of the wheel of fortune: cf. Alfred Doren, “Fortuna im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance,” *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 1 (1924): 71–144; Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 147–177.

³² For a description of the precious materials the gate is made of, see *AvT*, 11985–11989. For the golden pipes and emerald basin of the fountain, see 11752–11753, 11755.

solve themselves by confessing their misdeed to the goddess (11810–11813).³³ There is thus a functional connection between the fountain, Venus, and the priest: together they convey what counts as virtuous behavior in Crisa, and they also convey that lewd behavior can be overcome by confession and penance. Once all the guests have acknowledged their guilt, they are permitted to enter the garden (11991–11993).

The travelers soon find themselves standing at the foot of a staircase leading up to an artfully designed pillar. On its surface, observers are able to see anything they wish, anywhere in the world (*AvT*, 11994–11999). The image is familiar from the *Letter of Prester John*, mentioned above.³⁴ As they climb the staircase, Apollonius and his men are thrown off it one by one. This is revealed to be another test of virtue, with each step representing a different vice – mockery, malice, laziness, cowardice, dishonesty, vanity, thirst for glory, gluttony, and drunkenness (12046–12062). Apollonius is thrown down from the fourth step, an accusation of cowardice. He turns once again to the goddess Venus. She first explains what he did to earn this accusation – among other things, he stabbed Kolkan, the monstrous ruler of the land of Galacides, in the back (12129–12145) – and then she gives the Tyrian the opportunity to purify himself through a challenge that pits him against ten knights and a lion (12202–12204, 12217–12221).

The guests must then repeat the challenges of the fountain (*AvT*, 12635–12638) and staircase (12640–12648) once again. The second attempt at the fountain test demonstrates that the purification was a success. On the fifth step of the staircase, however, Apollonius finds himself now accused of lying, for having presented himself to King Nemrot under the false name Lonius, a diminutive form of his actual name (12655, 12691–12698). Once again, Venus exonerates him following his confession (12721), after which the protagonist is finally able to ascend the staircase (12741–12744).

The function of the first three objects that Apollonius encounters in Crisa – the wheel, the fountain, and the staircase – is to put the protagonists' virtuous behavior and moral judgment to the test. The objects do this by way of interactions with the characters. Members of the Crisian nobility show the visitors around, and sometimes they explain or even demonstrate how these objects are to be used (*AvT*, 12008, 11212–11230, 11758–11764). Often, though, what the visitors must do to use the objects can be at least partially deduced from their form.³⁵

³³ For the term “confession,” see *AvT*, 11837; for the respective process, see 11819–11833.

³⁴ See Zarncke, *Priester Johannes*, 94, secs. 71–72. For its use in literary texts, see, for example, the mirror brought by the wizard Clinschor to the Chastel Marveille in *Parzival*, which Gawan uses to watch over the landscape around the castle (*P*, 589,1–594,20, in particular 592,1–19).

³⁵ The process shows parallels to the concept of affordance, which James Gibson has coined to describe the possibilities offered by materials – in particular their surfaces – to potential users. See James J. Gibson, “The Theory of Affordances,” in *Perceiving, Acting, and Knowing: Towards an Ecological Psychology*, ed. Robert Shaw and John Bransford (New York: The Halsted Press, 1977), 67–82.

Yet there is more to it than this: the objects themselves intervene in the process of their use, and in so doing they act according to their own sensibility. They perceive the qualities of the characters they encounter – in particular, those qualities that are imperceptible to the human protagonists – and react to them. The details of where the objects’ sensibility comes from and how their unique abilities function are neither explained nor explicitly ascribed to magic.³⁶ The objects’ reactions are repeated, following regular parameters. The fact that the objects can manipulate their response to their users becomes particularly clear in the case of the wheel and staircase: whoever steps upon one of these objects and is not in compliance with the Crisian idea of virtuous behavior is thrown off.

By intervening in this way, the objects reveal wrongdoing and penalize the travelers for it.³⁷ They mark characters (as when the water from the fountain stains their fingers or hands black) and also punish them physically by forcing them into humiliating and even painful positions (as when characters are thrown by the wheel into a river or from the staircase to the ground).³⁸ Furthermore, these objects grant or refuse access to certain places or to further objects.

After the objects’ intervention, our travelers are sent to an audience with the goddess Venus. She explains what they have been accused of and gives them the possibility of confessing their wrongdoings, thus purifying themselves, and finally repeating the test. These interactions with Venus ultimately change the characters’ morality. Thus, the confessions and tests of behavior that follow the objects’ interventions bring about cognitive and behavioral changes in the characters. Above all, the tests of virtue create an awareness of wrongdoing (through the explanation of the offense and its acknowledgment via confession) and give the wrongdoers the opportunity to change it through practical action (further challenges).

A Thing to Transform Mind and Body

In the garden where the aforementioned marvelous pillar stands, the travelers subsequently come across another object: a fountain of youth (*AvT*, 12951), adorned with

³⁶ A “tugent” (virtue; *AvT*, 11212) is ascribed to the wheel; the material that the staircase is made of is explained as being “edel” (noble, illustrious) and “lawter und raine” (bright and pure) (12043–12044).

³⁷ We can find parallels here to the disciplinary power of the object as described by Latour in the case of the so-called Berlin key. See Bruno Latour, “The Berlin Key or How to Do Words with Things,” in *Matter, Materiality and Modern Culture*, ed. Paul Graves-Brown (London: Routledge, 1991), 10–21, at 19.

³⁸ These acts of physical punishment by the objects go beyond the disciplinary measures described by Latour in the case of the Berlin key. The effects of the sanctions are suggestive of Foucault’s remarks about prison practices, which Latour mentions as a reference in his essay. See Latour, “Berlin Key,” 17; and Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

large architectural elements that are decorated with precious materials. This fountain functions in a different way from the tests of virtue outlined above, and it has different properties. The only people ultimately allowed to bathe in the fountain, after having undergone the aforementioned series of tests, are Apollonius and two of his companions: Printzel, the ruler of a land called Warcilon, and Palmer, the king of Syria. The fountain imbues them with several distinguishing qualities: they receive knowledge that makes them particularly adept at politics (12090–12093), and they attain an idealized version of the physical condition of early youth (around twenty years of age) (12089, 13006), along with beauty (12088), the ability to overcome any form of disease (12084), and a supernatural sheen (13010).³⁹ They achieve this physical and cognitive transformation by submerging their entire bodies in the fountain, including their heads and limbs (13008–13009).

Following his bath in the fountain of youth, Apollonius is presented to Diomena, the daughter of the ruler of the land, in an artistically designed part of the garden; soon afterward, religious dignitaries, who are not Christians, give her to him as a bride.⁴⁰ Once married (*AvT*, 13407–13413), after enjoying an incomparably ostentatious and lavish feast (13415–13468), Apollonius is “kunig nu genant / In dem guldin tal” (13472–13473; now named king in the golden valley). As such, the physical and mental condition conferred upon the protagonist by the fountain of youth proves to be the prerequisite for him to marry the daughter of the ruler of Crisa and attain the highest position in the land.

Apollonius’s interactions with various objects in Crisa thus, first, enable him to gain access to the land (and certain particularly well-protected areas) and, second, ensure that he is qualified to take on the position of ruler. The wheel, the fountain, and the staircase require one to have inner virtue, and thus they characterize Crisa as a community based on shared values and corresponding behaviors. An additional object, the fountain of youth, adds physical qualities to the list of required characteristics: it grants the characters’ appearance a transcendent quality that implies permanence. The impression of permanence is conveyed through the fountain’s enduring effect on the bodies of the protagonists in general, and in particular through its promise of eternal youth. Since the characters stay young after having bathed, they seem to have established a durable connection to the fountain. We thus are left with the impression that the act of connecting nonhuman objects and human characters leads to a stable association with the Crisian community. Clearly, these objects – in particular the fountain of youth – are an important part of the process of integration into the group.

³⁹ On Heinrich’s specific combination of the worldly and transcendent aspects of the fountain of youth motif, see Lea Braun, *Transformationen von Herrschaft und Raum in Heinrichs von Neustadt “Apollonius von Tyrland”* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 275–278.

⁴⁰ Diomena herself tells Apollonius that the land, including all its riches, is at his disposal (*AvT*, 13372–13374). The high patriarch and numerous bishops of the local religion hand Diomena over to Apollonius to be his wife shortly thereafter (13397–13398).

Objects That Do Not Act Alone

The episode of the fountain of youth in particular gives the impression that the paradigmatic process of integration into the community of Crisa is an interaction of visitors with marvelous objects, and that this interaction leads to a stable – and in this case physical – connection. According to such an understanding of what happens to Heinrich’s protagonist and his companions in the Crisa episode, the series of narrative events appears to straightforwardly connect human visitors with objects. Upon closer inspection, though, a coupling of objects and different characters – human as well as divine, Crisian as well as non-Crisian – can already be observed from the first moment the visitors encounter objects in Crisa.

As I have already mentioned, the objects that examine inner virtue (i.e., the wheel, fountain, and staircase) succeed in implementing the necessary norms in conjunction with the nobles of the land, the goddess Venus, and her priest. King Candor and others accompany Apollonius and his followers to the objects and at times also tell them what to do once in front of them. After interacting with fountain and staircase and failing their tests, the visitors are led to the goddess Venus and her priest. As such, the objects are not solely responsible for keeping up Crisa’s ethical standards but rather are accompanied in this process by further actors. They all work together to achieve their goal, and Heinrich von Neustadt does not make clear which of the divine, human, and nonhuman actors are primarily responsible for securing Crisa’s norms of conduct.⁴¹ Crisa’s marvelous objects don’t determine the process of integrating new members into the community, but at the same time, neither are they simply King Candor and the Crisian nobles’ means for achieving this aim. They are instead an essential part of a network of different actors that all contribute to this process.

Since the fountain and staircase do no more than detect in what respect Apollonius and his companions fail to attain Crisian norms, and since King Candor subsequently directs the visitors to the goddess Venus (*AvT*, 11788–11799, 12110–12115, 12685–12689), it seems to be she who has the last word. As a result, among Crisa’s different actors, it is Venus who appears to occupy the most powerful position when it comes to securing moral standards. What undercuts this, however, is the fact that Venus does not sternly enforce Crisa’s morals, and that she is amenable to suggestions made by both the character on trial and others.⁴²

⁴¹ See Burghart Wachinger, “Heinrich von Neustadt, ‘Apollonius von Tyrland,’” in *Positionen des Romans im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1991), 97–115, at 108.

⁴² For an overestimation of Venus’s power in the supposed “Venusreich” (Venus empire) of Crisa, cf. Braun, *Transformationen*, 283–284 (the term itself on 277). Similarly, Achnitz is of the opinion that the “rules” of Venus determine “communal life in Crisa”: cf. Wolfgang Achnitz, *Babylon und Jerusalem: Sinnkonstituierung im “Reinfried von Braunschweig” und im “Apollonius von Tyrland” Heinrichs von Neustadt* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2002), 320.

When Apollonius explains his indecent glances at Candor's daughter Diomena as being driven by virtuous love, Venus immediately responds by turning his fingernail white once again (*AvT*, 11833). When he later begs Venus to describe why he has been charged with cowardice (12120–12124), she points out to him precisely what his “weak-spirited misdeed” (12144; “zaglichen missetat”) was and reproaches him for it. Apollonius subsequently gives his version of what happened (12147–12182) and begs the goddess to help him absolve the guilt detected by the staircase (12183–12184, 12192–12194). With that, Venus assures him that she will look after him (12198–12201) and advises him about the further test of virtue he will have to pass (12210–12224).

These examples show that Venus reacts to explanations given by the visitor who has been found guilty by the objects that examine his virtue; Apollonius's interventions even lead Venus to revise the judgment that she presented as her own in the first place. Thus, within certain limits, the behavior of those she judges is up for negotiation.⁴³ Venus does not, however, allow the protagonist to avoid taking further tests to prove his virtue (*AvT*, 12202–12204).

When the staircase detects that Apollonius lied by calling himself Lonius, another actor becomes involved once again: after the protagonist explains what happened (*AvT*, 12699–12716), King Candor personally takes Apollonius's side and states that he should not be found guilty (12717–12720). Venus subsequently pardons him (12721). In this case, the process of negotiation with Venus is joined by an intercessor.

Members of the Crisian community seem to have an equivocal relationship with the objects' tests of virtue. They not only let the objects examine visitors but appear to also take the tests themselves from time to time. As an example, a prince named Arfaxat who resides in the borderlands of Crisa reports that he has been thrown off by the wheel and as a result is forbidden from advancing farther into the land (*AvT*, 11301, 11316). It seems apparent that the restrictions of access to Crisa also apply to him. Another example is King Candor himself: he shows Apollonius by example how to successfully climb the staircase (12008). All of these incidents suggest that members of the Crisian community submit themselves to the judgment of the objects, while on other occasions they try to influence or even manipulate those very same objects. When Apollonius is thrown from the staircase for a second time, this time accused of lying, the princess Diomena wants to ensure his entrance into the garden no matter what. She gives Apollonius a ring with the power to let him pass every ensuing test (12668–12676). Since Apollonius is later exonerated by Venus (12721), the ring turns out to be no more than a precautionary measure (12737–12738). Nevertheless, Diomena's gift shows that members of the Crisian community at times are will-

⁴³ See Almut Schneider, *Chiffren des Selbst: Narrative Spiegelungen der Identitätsproblematik in Johanns von Würzburg “Wilhelm von Österreich” und in Heinrichs von Neustadt “Apollonius von Tyrland”* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 67; and Britta Maria Wittchow, *Erzählte mediale Prozesse: Medientheoretische Perspektiven auf den “Reinfried von Braunschweig” und den “Apollonius von Tyrland”* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 362–363.

ing and capable when it comes to acting against one of Crisa's virtue-enforcing objects.

The whole episode in Crisa shows that while characters can negotiate the consequences of their behavior with the goddess Venus, in the case of the Crisian objects that watch over the community's virtues, their judgment can only be influenced by fooling them. Their rigor becomes clear when Candor warns Apollonius that the artificial giant, part of the architectural ensemble of the fountain, will immediately kill him if it sees his black fingernail (*AvT*, 11765–11766, 11791), without hesitating or giving any warning. This brief episode shows paradigmatically that Crisa's objects interpret the community's standards of behavior in the strictest of ways. Machinelike, they follow their program of testing virtues and controlling boundaries.

The tests of virtue that visitors to Crisa must undergo at the wheel, the fountain, and the staircase encompass interactions with three groups of actors: the objects themselves, the Crisian nobles, and the goddess Venus (including her priest). Human members of the Crisian community seem to support and even utilize the objects and the goddess Venus in probing and guaranteeing the visitors' virtues. These members of the community also have to conform to Venus's and the object's judgments themselves, but they can likewise influence or manipulate them. As such, none of the actors seems to have final control over the country's standards of ideal behavior. Instead, they are all capable of affecting one another. The mutual influences are accompanied by standards of behavior and moral concepts that are not entirely consistent. As a result, the ideals of behavior in Crisa's utopian community are somewhat mutable.

An Object of Detachment from Crisa

Although the interactions of Apollonius and his companions with Crisa's various objects convey the impression that they become firmly integrated into the community, Heinrich continues his narration by describing how Apollonius leaves the country about a year and twelve weeks after his arrival (*AvT*, 13513). Apollonius initially intends to leave Crisa temporarily, but it turns out that he will never return. In terms of the topic I am investigating here, it is of great interest that Apollonius's decision to leave Crisa also has something to do with an object. As such, objects not only support the integration of new members into the community but can also initiate their detachment from that very same community. It is part of the complexity of Heinrich's take on the role of objects in the process of building a utopian community that he also accounts for their importance in processes of emigration from Crisa.

Here is what happens in detail: In Crisa, Apollonius has the opportunity to inform himself about Tarsia, his daughter from his first marriage. By successfully completing the staircase's test of virtue, he gains access to the pillar mentioned above, through which beholders can see any corner of the world they desire. In the larger narrative tradition, such a pillar is connected to use by a ruler controlling a huge

country (e. g., in the Letter of Prester John).⁴⁴ In Heinrich's *Apollonius*, it is endowed with abilities that go far beyond this. The wondrous pillar allows Apollonius to see the city of Tarsis and shows him that his daughter Tarsia is still alive (*AvT*, 12877–12879, 13536). It awakens the desire in him to travel there and bring her to the golden land (13526–13529).

Thus we can see that the objects in Crisa with which Apollonius interacts not only integrate him into the Crisian community but also exceed this, enabling him to resume other ties outside of Crisa. These ties are responsible for him leaving Crisa once again. The pillar admittedly belongs to Crisa and is only accessible there. However, in Apollonius's case, it does not stabilize the Crisian community but rather enables the protagonist to reengage with a contact that predates his involvement with Crisa. When Apollonius makes use of it, the wondrous pillar proves to be an object that indeed supports a broader sense of community.

From this episode, we can infer that not every marvelous object in Crisa durably ensures integration into the ideal community. Despite this medieval utopia's appearance of stability, Heinrich's narration hints that Crisa allows both immigration and emigration – and, at least in this respect, that the community is in constant flux.

Heinrich further shows that the migration of characters in and out of Crisa, in which objects play an important role, affects the ideal community's living conditions. To begin with, when Apollonius enters the country, he frees it from Serpanta and Ydrogant's influence (*AvT*, 10859–10863, 11030–11039). These monsters had gained control over Crisa's borders (8840–8844, 10625–10628), rendering it almost impossible to enter the country. This dominion ends when Apollonius succeeds in overcoming them.

Later, Apollonius himself becomes a member of the community and rises to the position of ruler of the land. As king of Crisa he acts in harmony with his father-in-law King Candor, who seems to retain his power. As an example, they give away gifts together at Diomena and Apollonius's wedding (*AvT*, 13419–13421). An uncertainty about the hierarchical structure of the land results from their double reign. Since Candor stays in power when Apollonius is named king of the land, the relationship between the two remains unresolved. This dual leadership – once again – reveals Crisa's hierarchy as a peculiar one. As already mentioned above, the ubiquity of riches also undermines Crisa's hierarchical structure and can be considered one of the land's utopian traits. Thus, as a result of Apollonius becoming a member of the community, the nonrigidity of its hierarchy, which is one of the place's utopian features, is further emphasized.

Nevertheless, the influence of migratory processes on the utopian community is limited. What happens when Apollonius enters Crisa paradigmatically shows that migratory processes do not change the utopian community's most basic features. Crisa's abundance of material goods and foodstuffs remains, for example, untouched.

⁴⁴ See footnote 34.

The analysis of Apollonius's migration to and from Crisa has shown, however, that through their important role in migratory processes, objects participate in the mutability of the utopian community and even contribute to the evolution of the community and the underscoring of its central characteristics.

Conclusion

In contrast to the society of the Grail in Wolfram's *Parzival*, whose prospective members God elects, the Crisa episode in Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius* reveals a range of concrete procedures and interactions that control access to the utopian community and – where possible – lead to the integration of strangers into this ideal land. The criteria for access are laid out over the course of a process occurring in various steps: the visitors' repeated tests demonstrate the elaborate set of virtues that members of the Crisian community conform to and show the ways in which prospective members must behave, or morally and physically change, in order to gain access. As such, objects play a significant part here in the processes of integrating human characters into the utopian community. Several objects are able to detect even the slightest violation of the Crisian norms of virtuous behavior and, by doing so, establish a basis for those being tested to acknowledge their wrongdoings and change their behavior. Moreover, a specific object, the fountain of youth, can change certain carefully selected visitors cognitively and physically. As such, the objects' special abilities lead to and bring about changes that are prerequisites for becoming a member of the Crisian community.

Nevertheless, this analysis has shown that objects in Crisa don't interact alone with visitors to the land; rather, they are always already involved with a number of further actors. These actors participate in the process of integrating new members into the community, especially by taking part in the decision about whether or not to grant an outsider access to Crisa: in addition to the various objects, the goddess Venus (and her priest), the nobles of the land (especially King Candor), and the visitors themselves are involved. Thus, behavioral norms in Crisa are established and maintained by a network of actors within which the role of objects is not to be neglected. Conversely, the analysis has shown that objects in Crisa gain agency only in combination with other actors. This is part of the text's complexity in representing the agency of objects. The complexity goes even further: when Apollonius once again leaves the country, an object also contributes to the process of his detachment. In sum, in the Crisa episode, Heinrich describes intricate processes of immigration and emigration, of integration and detachment, all involving objects. The unresolved situation of double kingship following Apollonius's coronation shows that the Crisian objects, by way of fostering processes of integration, even contribute to the production of fundamental characteristics of the utopian community. When Apollonius becomes king of Crisa, the hierarchy of the land is shifted, but the shift itself can be seen as according with Crisa's utopian traits.

Ultimately, this exploration of a medieval utopian community has led to some notable findings with respect to its relation to early modern utopias. Similar to the way that Thomas More, in *Utopia*, describes a society based on common property, in Crisa certain material objects – such as foodstuffs and riches – are ubiquitous and generally accessible, and they play an important role in the formation and preservation of the community. In addition, we have seen that things of a particular kind are especially active in the medieval utopian community of Crisa. Marvelous objects that have special abilities and even act, as described here, to establish and maintain the ideal community seem to be specific to utopian lands of the Middle Ages. What is furthermore specific to Crisa is that its objects not only interact with one another, but also with those who visit the community. In contrast to the so-called classical utopias of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, visitors to Crisa are not detached observers but rather become involved with and subsequently integrated into the community.⁴⁵ As we have seen, this is essentially realized through their interaction with things. The visitors' integration goes hand in hand with their contributions to the organization of the ideal community. The fact that the integration and participation of visitors brings change to Crisa leads to the hypothesis that interaction with visitors and the change that results from this might play a more important part in medieval utopian communities than is generally acknowledged in the case of early modern utopias.⁴⁶

45 Although in More's *Utopia* Raphael Hythlodæus claims to have lived for more than five years in the ideal community (see More, *Utopia*, 106, 116), his description is – though sometimes explicitly focalized (“conspicitur”; More, 120) – detached and analytic throughout. Recourse to sensual experience in this text seems only to be relevant on a conceptual level: by seeing Utopia with one's own eyes, one can overcome the unfamiliarity of this society's organization (see More, 106). To be precise, More's take on sensual perception may exhibit a tendency of classical utopias (another example is Tommaso Campanella's *La città del sole / City of the Sun* [1623]), but it is not without counterexamples: cf. Anton Francesco Doni's *Il mondo savio e pazzo* (1552, *Wise and Crazy World*). I have further elaborated the comparison of medieval utopias with so-called classical utopias, like Thomas More's, in my postdoctoral dissertation (*Habilitation*) (Freie Universität Berlin, 2020).

46 For a recent example of characterizing More's utopian community as stable, see Otfried Höffe, “Thomas Morus' *Utopia*: Eine Einführung,” in *Über Thomas Morus' "Utopia"*, ed. Joachim Starbatty (Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 2016), 11–35, at 31–32. In contrast, William T. Cotton has taken the widely recorded absence of history in More's utopian community as a starting point from which to look for hints about changes in the community over time: cf. William T. Cotton, “Five-Fold Crisis in Utopia: A Foreshadow of Major Modern Utopian Narrative Strategies,” *Utopian Studies: Journal of the Society for Utopian Studies* 14, no. 2 (2003): 41–67.

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Fiona Griffiths, Beatrice Kitzinger, and Kathryn Starkey

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