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Apollonius historiatus

**Medieval Reworkings of a Roman Adventure Story in
Images**

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Fig. 163. Lucina (Cleopatra) asks her father to give shelter to Apollonius. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 35r. B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. d8r.

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Fig. 168. The coffin of Lucina (Cleopatra) is found at Ephesus. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 46r. B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. f1v.

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Fig. 170. Tarsia goes to school. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 50r.

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Fig. 172. Tarsia is taken by pirates. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 54v. B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. g1r.

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- Fig. 198. King Antiochus sends a man after Apollonius to kill him. *Romant de Appollin roy de Thir*. GW 2279, Genève, ca. 1482. Bibliothèque de Genève, Hf 5198 Rés, fol. a4r.
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- Fig. 205. Wedding of Lucina (Cleopatra) and Apollonius. A. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 40r. B. *Vida e historia del rey Apolonio*. GW 228510N, Zaragoza, ca. 1488. New York, Hispanic Society, Inc 146, fol. b2r.
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- Fig. 209 A-B. Apollonius arrives to the castle of King Antiochus. *Die schoone ende die suverlicke historie van Appollonius van Thyro*. GW 2285, Delft, 1493. Middelburg, Planbureau en Bibliotheek van Zeeland, 1108 C 43, fol. a1r.
- Fig. 210. Printer device of Christiaen Snellaert. *Die schoone ende die suverlicke historie van Appollonius van Thyro*. GW 2285, Delft, 1493. Middelburg, Planbureau en Bibliotheek van Zeeland, 1108 C 43, fol. h4v.

- Fig. 211 A-B. A canterino performs the story of Apollonius. Antonio Pucci: *Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro*. GW 228430N, Florence, late 15th century. Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, fol. a1r.
- Fig. 212 A-B. Taliarchus sails after Apollonius. Antonio Pucci: *Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro*. GW 228430N, Florence, late 15th century. Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, fol. a2v.
- Fig. 213 A-B. Apollonius leaves Pentapolis (Cyrene). Antonio Pucci: *Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro*. GW 228430N, Florence, late 15th century. Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, fol. a6r.
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- Fig. 216. Apollonius leaves Tyre. Walrus ivory game piece. Region of Cologne, last decades of the 12th century. Private collection.
- Fig. 217. Lucina's coffin is thrown into the sea. Walrus ivory game piece. Region of Cologne, last decades of the 12th century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Fig. 218 A-B. Fromont („Antiochus”) sails to Blaye and meets Girart („Apollonius' father”). *Jourdain de Blaye tapestry*. Franco-Flemish workshop, ca. 1400. Padua, Museo Civico.
- Fig. 219. Apollonius frees himself from the captivity of a dragon. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 56r.
- Fig. 220. Apollonius meets a wild man, Pylagrus. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 59r.
- Fig. 221. Apollonius prays to Venus. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 78r.
- Fig. 222. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2275, Augsburg, 1479. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Ink 231. A. Apollonius before King Antiochus (fol. 11v). B. Lucina (Cleopatra) asks her father to give shelter to Apollonius (fol. 30r).
- Fig. 223. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2278, Ulm, 1499. Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, 34774. A. Lucina (Cleopatra) asks her father to give shelter to Apollonius (fol. b7r). B. Athenagoras visits Tarsia in the brothel (fol. c8r). C. Apollonius finds Lucina (Cleopatra) in Ephesus (fol. d6v).
- Fig. 224. John Gower: *Confessio Amantis*. London, ca. 1470. New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126. A. Apollonius before King Antiochus and his daughter (fol. 187v). B. Nectanebus before Philip II of Macedonia and Olympias (fol. 146r).
- Fig. 225. The coffin of Lucina (Cleopatra) is thrown into the sea. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 44r.

Abbreviations

- BAV – Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
BL – British Library, London
BnF – Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BSB – Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
GW – Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke
HA – *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*
HAB – Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
KBR - Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Bruxelles
ÖNB – Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
UB – Universitätsbibliothek
WLB – Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart

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Sigla

- A: Sinai, St. Catherine Monastery, Ara NF 8. Constantinople (?), Ca. 600. Palimpsest fragment
- B: Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4. Werden an der Ruhr (?), Ca. 1000. Fragment¹
- C: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ash. 123. Genoa (?), Ca. 1300.
- D: Paris, BnF, Lat. 8503. Bologna, Ca. 1300
- E: Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, NV 6. Venice, 1340–1360. Heavily damaged in 1904²
- F: Paris, BnF, Lat. 8502. Italy, Ca. 1300. Places reserved for illustrations³
- G: Paris, BnF, Lat. 4895. Milan, 1331. Places reserved for illustrations⁴
- H: Rome, BAV, San Pietro E 36, fol. 65. Italy, second half of the 14th/early 15th century. Fragment with places reserved for two illustrations
- I: Boston, Public Library, Ms. f. Med. 91. Paris, Ca. 1400
- J: Bruxelles, KBR, 9632–33. Lille, Ca. 1455
- K: Bruxelles, KBR, 11192. Southern Netherlands, middle of the 15th century
- L: London, BL, Royal 20 C II. Bruges, 1470s
- M: New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126. London, Ca. 1470
- N: Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689. Bavaria, Ca. 1465⁵
- O: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886. Bavaria/Austria, 1467⁶
- P: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol. Augsburg, 1468
- Q: GW 2274. Johann Bämmler, Augsburg, 1476
- R: GW 2275. Anton Sorg, Augsburg, 1479
- S: GW 2276. Johann Schönsperger, Augsburg, 1488
- T: GW 227610N. Johann Schönsperger, Augsburg, 1494. Known only from a few photos
- U: GW 2277. Konrad Dinckmut, Ulm, 1495
- V: GW 2278. Johann Zainer, Ulm, 1499⁷
- W: GW 2279. Louis Cruse (Garbin), Genève, Ca. 1482
- X: GW 228510N. Hurus brothers, Zaragoza, Ca. 1488
- Y: GW 2285. Christiaen Snellaert, Delft, 1493
- Z: GW 228430N. Bartolomeo de' Libri, Florence, end of the 15th century

¹ For its image program see Appendix II.

² For the reconstructed image program see Appendix V.

³ For the hypothetical image program see Appendix VI.

⁴ For the hypothetical image program see Appendix VII.

⁵ This is a copy of Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland*, which has long interpolations. For the image program of the parts that are based on the original plot of the story of Apollonius (image 2–26 and 106–120) see Appendix III.

⁶ This is the other illustrated copy of Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland*. In this case too, the image program of the parts that are based on the original plot of the story of Apollonius (image 1–14 and 91–105) is found in Appendix III.

⁷ For a comparative chart of the illustrations of the incunables Q, R, S, U, V containing Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* see Appendix IV.

Introduction

The idea of the research whose results the reader finds in this volume started to get shape in my mind more than ten years ago, when I worked on the fac-simile edition of the oldest known manuscript that holds a picture cycle based on the story of king Apollonius of Tyre, in fact a fragment that we named *Apollonius pictus*.⁸ At that time it could be thought that no other medieval illustrations of the story survived, except for the carvings decorating a few 12th-century game-pieces made of walrus-ivory.⁹ Even in 2013, when Margit Krenn tried to outline the medieval image tradition of the Apollonius story in her monograph on two 15th-century illustration cycles of a German adaptation of the tale, she could not take into account more than the *Apollonius pictus*, a 14th-century Italian manuscript that she believed had been completely perished in fire and a manuscript copy and incunable editions of another German text version.¹⁰ Given the enormous medieval popularity of the story, which is reflected in the number of existing manuscripts containing its Latin text and in the wealth of vernacular translations and adaptations of it, the almost total lack of corresponding images seemed to me strikingly odd. I felt provoked to test whether there was indeed such a contradiction between the obvious interest in the story and the seeming disinterest in its visual rendition. The results of my quest for medieval Apollonius images speak for themselves. In addition to the game pieces and the fragment of a tapestry, I will discuss in this volume twenty-six illustrated editions of the story: sixteen manuscripts (or fragments thereof) and ten incunables that contain or would have contained Apollonius images – the *Apollonius pictus*, the German text versions and the highly interesting remains of the burnt Italian manuscript included.¹¹

The first scholar and to this day, it seems, the last, who recognized the potential inherent in studying Apollonius illustrations as a group was Elizabeth Archibald. Being interested in the underlying themes and in the variations of the story from a literary historian's perspective, she devoted a chapter to the genre as well as to the medieval and renaissance reception and popularity of the work. In this context, she mentioned some of the books I will work with for their illustrations that she considered as responses to the text, however, a systematic

⁸ Boreczky, Németh 2011.

⁹ Kessler 2011, 69.

¹⁰ Krenn 2013, 29–32.

¹¹ For a list of the 26 books see Sigla and Chapter I. There are three further manuscripts in which additional marginal drawings appear as visual commentary on the text, moreover two manuscripts with a single figural initial neither of which seem to carry narrative meaning. These will be shortly mentioned at the beginning of Chapter II.

documentation of Apollonius images and their exploration was far beyond her aim.¹² But why is it relevant to study Apollonius images at all and what are the most important phenomena that can be investigated in the corpus I compiled?

Let me start with the simple fact that the making of an illustrated book requires extra resources and effort. It is an investment not only financially and considering the working hours needed but also in terms of the intellectual process of planning. Designing an illustrated book presupposes careful consideration of, among other things, the number and subject matter of the images, their distribution throughout the book and their arrangement on the respective pages. Therefore, illustrated books signalize a special interest in the text they accompany. The story of Apollonius itself is significant as a medieval bestseller, a popular reading that, originating in late antiquity, not only testifies the well-known fertilizing power of classical heritage in medieval literature and thought, but also exemplifies those mechanisms of mediation and transformation that guaranteed its survival.¹³ The many Apollonius copies, translations and adaptations show that the story retained its high appeal from the 6th century at the latest until at least the early 17th century, when its plot was retold as Shakespeare's *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*. However, Apollonius was not a military leader and therefore, unlike protagonists of the Legend of Troy, he could not be considered the ancestor or founder of a dynasty, nation or town. Maybe this was among the reasons why his story has been somewhat forgotten from the 17th/18th century on, although it never became entirely unheard-of. In the 19th century, when it was rediscovered in literary history and philology, a derivative of it was still told as a folk-tale.¹⁴ In short, there can be no doubt that while readers today are usually unfamiliar with the name Apollonius, in the Middle Ages his story circulated far and wide in both oral and written forms framed as a semi-historical or a (pseudo-)historical narrative.

In line with the medieval spread of the story, the corpus of Apollonius images, made up mostly of book illustrations, spans a long period and represents many of the cultural and artistic centers of medieval Europe. This material, made between the 6th century and 1500 in various socio-cultural contexts, provides a colorful cross-section of the entire Apollonius tradition that is not limited to specific text versions or linguistic groups of the story. Apollonius remained of interest because of its versatility and images played an important role in its renewals. Like textual adaptations, illustrated Apollonius editions are re-workings of the narrative that, altering the

¹² Archibald 1991, 94–95.

¹³ For a recent and insightful analysis of the reception of classical heritage in medieval visual arts with special regards to mythology see Rehm 2019.

¹⁴ This is the Hungarian “Apollónius királyfi” (Prince Apollonius), published in the folk-tale collection of György Gaal by Kazinczy, Toldy 1859, 223–234.

way the story was presented, conditioned its understanding. As such, they reflect how the story was read, which of its underlying motifs were thematized, why it was interesting in its respective cultural environments.

While offering themselves for the study of issues related directly to the Apollonius tradition, Apollonius illustrations are highly relevant in the broader context of the medieval history of both visual story-telling and book design. The palimpsest fragment of a 6th-century illustrated Apollonius book found in the St. Catherine's monastery at Mount Sinai is among the few artifacts that provide evidence of the existence and attributes of late antique codices containing illustrated narratives. The *Apollonius pictus* preserved one of the oldest medieval picture cycles based on a secular theme, and the first illustrated print edition of Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* is an early example of incunables enriched with a set of woodcuts. These three copies suffice to demonstrate that the medieval history of Apollonius images is a story of transformations in which one can gain direct insight into the transition from late antique to medieval book culture and can study the shift from manuscript to print culture as well – all within a coherent body of work. No less importantly, this corpus can be used to test the disputed, but inevitable scholarly model set up in art history to describe processes of transmission and knowledge transfer that led to the evolvement of the illustrated codex, Kurt Weitzmann's image philology.¹⁵

Given that my book is the first comprehensive survey of the Apollonius image tradition and that the questions raised by the respective images and image cycles are quite different, I found that each illustrated Apollonius book and object deserves individual attention. Therefore, I discuss them one by one in chronological order starting with the oldest known Apollonius image and concluding with incunables that already mark the advent of a new age. While this method may seem simplistic, it has the advantage of letting the material speak. For, interestingly, it turned out that the corpus structures itself according to the places and dates of origin of the illustrated Apollonius books and the socio-cultural milieu of their creators and consumers, forming groups that I will obey.

Therefore, after making the reader familiar with the plot, the text versions and their illustrated copies in Chapter I, I will give analytic descriptions of the single illustrated Apollonius books and luxury objects in Chapter II – exploring who their patrons, creators and recipients were, what did the story mean to them, how images shaped the books they embellished and what

¹⁵ Weitzmann 1947/1970. On its criticism in the example of the Sinai Apollonius palimpsest and the *Apollonius pictus* see Boreczky 2019a; Boreczky 2025b.

messages they conveyed. First, I will focus on the Sinai Apollonius palimpsest that was likely made for readers belonging to the Roman elite (Chapter II. 1), and on the *Apollonius pictus*, which was used by a Benedictine community in Werden an der Ruhr (Chapter II. 2). Then I will present six manuscripts born between the late 13th and the early 15th century in Italy (Chapter II. 3), and five other ones that entertained readers/viewers in the 15th century in and around the royal and ducal courts of France, Burgundy and England (Chapter II. 4). These will be followed by late medieval manuscript and print copies of two German text versions (Chapter II. 5., II. 6) and by four further incunable editions that witness the wide spread of Apollonius illustrations across early modern Europe (Chapter II. 7). Finally, the game pieces and the tapestry fragment will be discussed (Chapter II. 8). This structure reveals the shifts in the socio-cultural circles that showed peculiar interest in the story of Apollonius apparent in the fact that they made and consumed illustrated copies of it. The possible reasons behind this specific pattern of changing interest and whether/to what extent this pattern can serve as a point of reference in the study of the medieval reception and dissemination of further secular narratives that either also originated in antiquity or revolved around similar themes are questions that I will discuss in the Conclusions of Chapter II.

It is also in the Conclusions that I will undertake a comparative analysis of illustrated Apollonius books from the perspective of both the thematic variety of their images/image programs and their design, including characteristics of layout and materiality. One of the most important questions I will address here, building on the pieces of information gathered through the individual study of these books, is whether there are long lasting image traditions within the corpus or whether image cycles were devised together with the respective books they embellish. As I will demonstrate, in the case of the early medieval *Apollonius pictus* a Late Antique image program was adapted to a book type that was made more common by the Carolingians, and the visual language of the images was refashioned in Ottonian style. Due to consecutive processes of transformation, this manuscript unites features characteristic of different periods – a phenomenon that I like to call multilayered historicity of medieval manuscripts.¹⁶ In turn, in some late medieval Apollonius books we see image cycles in *statu nascendi*. In spite of the different conditions under which the books were created and in contrast to the thematic diversity of Apollonius images, the method employed for their distribution within the book remained relatively stable across the material. This also calls for reflection in the Conclusions of Chapter

¹⁶ Boreczky 2019a.

II, which will be completed by the investigation of whether and how images responded to the alterations the text went through in the various translations and adaptations.

While I approach the story of Apollonius through images, I wrote this book with a broader readership in mind than that of students and scholars interested mainly in art history. I hope that literary historians, philologists and book historians will find aspects of it relevant too. Especially because one of my main motivations was to understand the possible functions of narrative images and images cycles and to analyze the strategies employed in the service of the respective roles assigned to them in the story-telling. Thus, in Chapter III, I sought answers for the question of what Apollonius illustrations do and by what means, how they become primary tools in various re-workings of the story. Perhaps my observations will prove to be useful for textual scholars as well. As far as I see, my study is the first attempt at a systematic mapping of the various jobs narrative images and images cycles embellishing medieval codices do, however, it could not have been written without and it is in discourse with the substantial body of work generations of scholars accomplished in related fields like (secular) book illustration, narratology, reading practices, communication across different media and text-image studies is particular.

Since this book intends to be inclusive of readers arriving from different disciplines, clarifications of vocabulary might be helpful. Throughout the book I try to speak consistent language: some recurring phrases are always used in the same context and expressions understood as synonyms are employed in a consequent way. In my terminology, “image cycle” means a set of related pictures, while “image program” refers specifically to the depicted scenes that form the visual narrative, to the series of episodes selected for visual rendering. The making of an illustrated book was in most cases teamwork, and although commonly it was a scribe’s task to copy the text and an artist’s job to paint or draw the pictures, usually we can’t tell the number of contributors and whether the same person was responsible for different pieces of work. It also remains hidden, whom we can attribute the intellectual work of planning, whether it was a patron, an editor, a scribe, an artist, later a publisher, a printer or a group of them who made decisions about the design of the book, its size, layout, the subject matter, distribution and arrangement of its illustrations. For this reason, I will call all of them “creators” unless speaking about a well-defined participant of the production process. I am well aware that both the patronage of women and their presence in active book production and consumption was much more significant than the role traditional scholarship attributes to them. As we will see, on many occasions the story of Apollonius was especially considered a proper reading for

women. Therefore, whenever “creators” are mentioned or referred to as “they”, I will think of both men and women, and I ask the reader to do so. This also applies to “recipients” and “public”, terms that encompass the various possible aural and visual forms of encounter with the story, such as public and private reading and viewing, as well as performing and listening. For the sake of variety, sometimes “recipients” will be substituted by “readership” or “readers/viewers”, without the intent to exclude listeners, i.e. “audience” from the possible group of consumers. The “book” is the physical entity that contains a work either in the form of a papyrus roll or that of a volume made up of handwritten or printed pages. An “edition” can indicate both manuscript and print, whereas the “codex” is equal to the handwritten volume. As for the Apollonius text itself, I will usually speak of it as a “story” or a “narrative”, but sometimes “tale” or “adventures” of Apollonius will be also used. This is not because I am not sensitive to the distinctions between literary genres, but because of the fluidity of the text, which allows a variety of readings.¹⁷ In the Middle Ages it was entitled *historia, gesta, vita, liber, narratio, compendium*,¹⁸ which, at the same time, shows that the categories we like to work with, for instance romance and chronicle, historical or fictional, religious or secular narration, are not necessarily helpful in the study of medieval literature.

Before embarking on our journey through the medieval history of Apollonius images that will take us to places as far as Constantinople, Werden an der Ruhr, Naples, Genoa, Bologna, Venice, Milan, Rome, Paris, Lille, Bruges, London, Augsburg, Ulm, Genève, Zaragoza, Delft and Florence, the reader will allow me some personal notes. Over the years of writing this book I kept asking myself why people tell and listen to stories and why we like to make images of them. Obviously, depending on someone’s interest, knowledge, self- and group-identity, experiences and other factors, stories can be understood in a variety of ways, different meanings can be attributed to them. Recipients can sympathize with certain protagonists and empathize with their situations, project themselves into specific roles while distant themselves from others. Once a reader/viewer can identify with protagonists and their life-events, they might find solutions to their own problems in the story, they might be advised to decide between good and bad choices and examples, or, at least, they might find relief and consolation in realizing that their conflicts and troubles are not exceptional. Stories teach recipients to avoid relationships, situations and conduct that can lead to tragedy, or show that integrity can be maintained even in the face of inevitable hardship. Happy endings, in turn, might restore faith in justice and can

¹⁷ The standard work on the various possible readings of the story is Archibald 1991. On the text’s fluidity see Panayotakis 2007.

¹⁸ Archibald 1991, 92.

give hope. Thus, a good story acts as a source of mental strength, but it can only do so if it is plausible and makes the recipients think that the events it tells can happen in their own reality. Images, especially if the figures and their surroundings are familiar to the reader/viewer, have the power to reinforce the credibility of the story they accompany, for, at last, we are more likely to believe what we not only hear but also see.

Chapter I. The Story of Apollonius. Plot, Text Versions and their Illustrated Copies

The story of Apollonius is set in the Eastern Mediterranean and has two main protagonists, king Apollonius himself, and his daughter, Tarsia. It's entertaining, tale-like plot, full of contrasts and sudden twists and turns of fortune, has a strong moral overtone: sins like incest and attempted murder are punished, virtues, such as perseverance, personal integrity, faithfulness and chastity, are rewarded. The storyline is based on the odyssey of a righteous king, Apollonius, the misfortunes of a princess, Apollonius' wife, Lucina, and the tribulations of their daughter, a virgin, Tarsia. It tells the separation and final reunion of their family. The series of events is set in motion by the acts of two villains. In the first part Apollonius must flee from the wrath of a vicious king, Antiochus, in the second part Tarsia finds herself in a brothel due to the intrigues of her wicked stepmother, Dionysias. Exemplifying uncontrolled lust, the relationship between King Antiochus and his daughter is the antithesis of the warm parental love of both Apollonius towards Tarsia and Apollonius' father-in-law, King Archistrates towards his daughter. Dionysias is the personification of novercal malevolence, and as such, she is the opposite of Lucina.¹⁹

The most important episodes of the story are as follows. After the death of his wife, King Antiochus falls in love and rapes his own daughter. Not knowing that she is the victim of his father's lasciviousness, Apollonius asks for her hand. Like the unfortunate beheaded suitors before him, he must solve a riddle of Antiochus, and, doing so, he discovers the sinful relationship between father and daughter. He returns to his hometown, Tyre, but on the command of King Antiochus he is chased by Taliarchus, therefore he secretly sets sail under the cover of night. Arriving at Tarsus he befriends a couple, Stranguillio and Dionysias, and saves the citizens of the town from famine by handing over his sacks of grain to them. They erect a statue in his honour. Being warned by a certain Hellenicus that he is sought by King Antiochus, he travels on. He suffers shipwreck at the shore of Pentapolis in Cyrene, where a fisherman saves him, clothes him into the half of his own cloak and shows him the way to the town. There he enters the gymnasium and attracts the attention of the king, Archistrates, with his skill at ballgame and his excellent service in the bath. He is invited to the court and offered appropriate attire to attend a dinner, during which he can also prove his learning and artistic talent to the king and his daughter, Lucina. The princess falls in love with Apollonius and asks

¹⁹ The names of the protagonists and their spelling vary in the text versions, translations and adaptations. I follow the practice established by Archibald 1991.

her father to give shelter to the shipwrecked man and to make him her teacher, which the king does. After a while she falls sick of love, and, asked by her father to choose from three suitors, she reveals in a letter her attraction to Apollonius. With the king's approval they get married. Not much later Apollonius learns that the cruel King Antiochus and his daughter had been struck to death by lightning. Accompanied by Lucina, he sets sail to take possession of the kingdom. Lucina gives birth to a baby girl on board and seemingly dies in labour. To escape a storm, Apollonius is asked to throw her into the sea. She is put in a coffin with a message and with twenty thousand gold sesterces. Her coffin reaches shore at Ephesus, where Lucina is miraculously revived by the student of a doctor. After being adopted by the latter, Lucina becomes a priestess of Diana so that she can remain true to her husband. While this happens, Apollonius takes his baby daughter to Tarsus, names her after the town and, accompanied by a nurse, Lycoris, and provided with gold and valuables, he entrusts her to the care of his friends, Stranguillio and Dionysias. After swearing not to cut nails and hair until he gives Tarsia in marriage, he sails away to live as a merchant in Egypt. Tarsia grows up to be a beautiful and learned girl, but her stepmother considers her as a rival to her own daughter, whom the citizens mock on the streets. Therefore, after the death of the nurse, Dionysias orders a servant, Theophilus to kill Tarsia. On her way back from school, visiting the tomb of her nurse, Tarsia is grabbed by Theophilus. While she prays, pirates catch sight of her, take her to Mytilene and sell her to a brothel. The first to visit her is the prince of Mytilene, Athenagoras, who falls in love with her, and, hearing her sad story, spares her. So do all the other clients of the brothel. With the help of the overseer, Tarsia manages to save her chastity and she even earns money by entertaining the citizens with eloquent talk and music. After fourteen years, Apollonius returns to Tarsus to fetch her daughter. Stranguillio and Dionysias show him the alleged sepulchre of Tarsia. In deep mourning he sets sail again. This time a storm takes him to Mytilene, where Neptunalia is being celebrated. Athenagoras learns from Apollonius' men the name of their master and that he doesn't want to leave the hold of the ship. The prince calls Tarsia and asks her to cheer up Apollonius, to lead him from darkness to light. After being sent away by her father, Tarsia returns, tells riddles to Apollonius, but this time he gets annoyed and hits her. The poor girl bursts into tears and complains about her sad fate. This is the climax of the story. Apollonius recognizes his daughter, the citizens burn alive the brothel keeper, and erect a statue in honour of Apollonius and Tarsia. Tarsia liberates her brothel companions and rewards the overseer. Then she is married to Athenagoras. Advised so by an angel in his dream, Apollonius sails to Ephesus with his family. There they found Lucina as the chief priestess of Diana. After the festive family reunion, they sail to Tarsus to punish the stepparents.

Stranguillio and Dionysias are stoned to death, but their servant, Theophilus, is saved by Tarsia. Then the whole family returns to Pentapolis and celebrates with the old King Archistrates. As a rightful monarch, Apollonius rewards Hellenicus, who helped him escape from King Antiochus and the old fisherman, who shared his cloak with him. After king Archistartes' death, Apollonius and Lucina inherit his kingdom. Lucina gives birth to a son and they live happily ever after.

It is a touching adventure story without the character traits of the protagonists being elaborated in detail. They represent types of social and family roles and give positive and negative examples for them. Through the tribulations of Apollonius, Lucina and Tarsia, the story provided role models for both men and women at various stages of life. Because of the many possible readings of its plot and the relative simplicity of its protagonists, it was easily adaptable according to the interest of various readers. The fluidity of its text, which was transformed and translated a couple of times over the centuries guaranteed its long-lasting popularity. Changing with the cultural contexts in which it was told both in oral and written forms, the story of Apollonius could be understood in a great variety of ways. Besides being an odyssey, a romantic novel and a history of a family's separation and reunion, it also shared motifs with biography and hagiography, it was considered as a moral exemplum, a mirror of princes, a chivalric romance, a travelogue and even as historiography. It addresses questions such as maintaining personal integrity under tribulations, social position and royal power, and deals with issues related to fortune, socially acceptable/inappropriate forms of parental love, incest, marital fidelity, women's role in marriage and in society.

Text versions

The origins of the story, the plot of which is indebted to the Greek romance of the Hellenistic age, fade into the past. Its oldest surviving form is the Latin *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* (henceforth HA), but there is no real consensus on whether this is a translation of a Greek romance or a genuine Latin composition. It is likewise unclear whether the unique blend of pagan and Christian elements we see in its medieval copies was already present in its original conception, or whether it is due to later alterations introduced in service of a Christianized reading. Its date of origin is also difficult to establish. The oldest material evidence that proves its existence is a palimpsest fragment from around 600 CE, which was discovered in the St. Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai a few years ago.²⁰ From references to Apollonius in

²⁰ Arabic NF 8. See Chapter II. 1.

Venantius Fortunatus' *Carmina* (Liber VI, Cap. 8) and in a treatise on grammar, *De dubiis nominibus*, it is clear that the story was already well known in the 6th century,²¹ and it is likely that it was born even much earlier. William Robins has compellingly pointed out that the story of Apollonius was read by members of the Christian aristocracy at the end of the 4th century, and that it made a significant impact on the way Jerome, Rufinus and Sulpicius Severus formulated Christian biographical narratives around 400 CE.²² The textual history of the HA, a “living text”,²³ is no less complicated. In addition to its two main recensions that are likely to have kept its oldest forms, Rec. A and Rec. B, seven text versions have been identified (Rec. α, Rec. T, Rec. St, Rec. E, Rec. Bern, Rec. β, Rec. C), and they hardly fit into a conventional stemma of manuscripts.²⁴

In addition to the various versions of the HA, the story of Apollonius appeared in numerous medieval adaptations and vernacular translations from as early as the 10th/11th century on.²⁵ What follows here is a short overview of them with notes on their medieval witnesses both in manuscript and print.

The oldest experimentations with the plot are the Latin *Gesta Apollonii*, a versed text version contained in a single manuscript dated to the 11th/12th century,²⁶ and the so-called Old English Apollonius of Tyre, which is found in an 11th century codex.²⁷ In the early 12th century the story

²¹ Archibald 1991, 217–218.

²² Robins 2000.

²³ Robins 2019, 7.

²⁴ On the textual history of the HA and for text editions see Riese 1871; Ring 1887; Riese 1893; Klebs 1899; Kortekaas 1984; Schmeling 1988; Kortekaas 2004; Kortekaas 2007; Garbugino 2010; Németh 2011, Panayotakis 2012; Vannini 2018; Robins 2019. For lists of HA manuscripts see Kortekaas 1984, 413–418; Schmeling 1988, IX–XVII. Kortekaas knows 109 Latin Apollonius manuscripts, but his list includes 4 *Liber Floridus* copies (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 724; Genoa, Bibliotheca Durazzo-Giustiniani, Ms. A IX 9; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Ms. 92; The Hague, Royal Library, Ms. 72 A 23). Schmeling adds further three HA copies: Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2^o Cod. 126; München, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Oct. 154; BAV. Lat. 2947. More recent addenda to the corpus of HA manuscripts are Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Cod. Buder q. 105, fol. 185r–202v (Klein-Ilbeck, Ott, Powitz 2009, 137–152; Terrahe 2013a, 67–68) and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, N 227 sup, fol. 11r–24r (Robins 2015). Databases, like the “manuscripta mediaevalia”, the “mirabileweb” and the “manuscriptorium” refer to further 5 Apollonius codices: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. Qu. 657, fol. 2–26r (described in Vāth 2001, 27–28); Oxford, Worcester College, Ms. 285, fol. 167r–180v; Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, Chev. Ms. 7/41, fol. 262r–270v; Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, 5-5-26; Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, XXIV. XII. 18, fol. 215r–235v (described in Schipke 1990, 137). To this corpus the exceptional found of a palimpsested Apollonius fragment in Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Ara NF 8 has to be added. This was discussed in “The Early Illustrated Apollonius of Tyre” conference in April 2021 at Toronto University, the proceedings of which are forthcoming. The first and only 15th-century HA print edition is GW 2272, published around 1474 most likely in Utrecht by Nicolaas Ketelaer and Gerard Leempt.

²⁵ For a comprehensive and insightful study on the various adaptations and translations, for their chronological list including bibliographical data of their text editions see Archibald 1991. See also Singer 1895; Smyth 1898; Denecke 1977; Kortekaas 1990; Engels 1998; Galderisi 2006; Garbugino 2010, 14–22.

²⁶ Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 169, fol. 233r–234v.

²⁷ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College. Ms. 201, p. 131–145.

was incorporated into an encyclopaedic compilation, Lambert of St. Omer's *Liber Floridus*,²⁸ while at the end of the century it became part of the *Pantheon*, a world chronicle written in the court of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa by Godfrey of Viterbo.²⁹ Here it is included in chapter 11, which tells the deeds of Alexander the Great and the events of the Second Punic War. The birth of the so-called Old French Fragment, an Apollonius poem in French, whose 13th-century remains were found in the binding of a Venetian Herodotus and Thucydides edition from 1502 in Gdansk, is usually dated to the 12th century as well.³⁰

By the 13th century the story of Apollonius became well-known beyond the circles of Latin literates. This is seen, among others, in the fact that it was translated into various vernaculars. The Danish *Kong Apollon af Tyre*,³¹ the first Spanish text version known as *Libro de Apolonio*,³² and the so-called first French prose version have come down to us from this time.³³ In addition to the written culture, the story must have circulated orally too, and perhaps not only in the form of public presentations but even as a folk-tale.³⁴ Perhaps it is also related to its oral

²⁸ The autograph copy of the *Liber Floridus* is Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Ms. 92, here the Apollonius, written by another hand but completed by Lambert is on fol. 263v–269v, 258r–259r, 259^rv. For further 12 manuscripts that contain (parts of) the *Liber Floridus* see Derolez 1998, 185–190. See also https://www.liberfloridus.be/kopieen_eng.html (11.10.2023).

²⁹ For insightful studies on the *Pantheon* and its manuscript copies see Weber 1993, Weber 1994. The latter lists 41 manuscripts, including some fragments and excerpts. Further manuscripts containing excerpts are listed in Weber, 1993, 394–411. 4 manuscripts can be added to this list: Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 589 (Fischer 1936, 270–272); Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hs. XIII 859 (Terrahe 2013a, 69, n. 29) as well as Paris, BnF, Lat. 4935 and Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 562 (Damongeot-Bourdat 2007). According to Dorninger, 2015, 28–29, the *Pantheon* was published in print in Strassburg in 1488, but copies of this edition have been lost.

³⁰ The fragment is in the Gdansk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences. It is dated to the 12th century in Delbouille 1969, 1186; Zink 1982, 41; Burgio 2002, 282; Galderisi 2006, 425; Zink 2006, 33; Agrigoroaei 2013, 44 and in the Arlima database under https://www.arlima.net/ad/apollonius_de_tyr.html#ver (09.10.2023). For 13th-century dating see Archibald 1991, 188; Galderisi 2011, 80.

³¹ It is known from 16th-century copies. Battaglia 1998, 166.

³² The work is found in Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS K-III-4. Marden 1917; Monedero 1987; Corbella 1992; Donahue 1994; Arizaleta 2010; Zubillaga 2012; Schrott 2016.

³³ This is found in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ash. 123. The first thorough study of the French translations and adaptations of the story of Apollonius was that of Lewis 1915, who also published the text of two versions, that of his group one and two. He classified the material known to him into four groups. In the first group there are codices that contain a faithful translation of the HA, the second group is the *Brüsseler* redaction, the third is the *Londoner*, the fourth is the *Wiener*. Florence, Ash. 123 was not known to him. This appears as the oldest prose translation dated to the 13th century in Delbouille 1969, 1187, therefore Lewis' first group is considered by him as the second prose version, the Bruxelles redaction as the third prose version, the London redaction as the fourth prose version and the Vienna redaction as the fifth prose version. (Delbouille lists further redactions too, some are not medieval.) I follow his classification, which is also applied by the Arlima database under: https://www.arlima.net/ad/apollonius_de_tyr.html (22.03.2022). On the various French redactions see also Zink 1982, 41–43; Archibald 1991, 193–194, 199–200; Burgio 2002, 282–283; Galderisi 2006, 425–426; Zink 2006, 33–34; Galderisi 2011, 79–82; Agrigoroaei 2013, 44–45.

³⁴ On the possible oral transmission of the story see Tomasek 1997, 221. Concerning public performances, it is indicative that in an Occitan romance, the *Flamenca*, the story of Apollonius is told on occasion of a wedding as entertainment. See Archibald 1991, 227. That the story also circulated as a folk-tale is supported by a reference to Apollonius in Jacques de Vitry's early 13th-century *Historia Hierosolymitana*, where we read that the deeds of Apollonius "are known far and wide in popular stories" (*Huius etiam praedictae urbis Rex fuit Apollonius cuius gesta late patent in vulgatis historiis*). See Archibald 1991, 226. A late testimony to the circulation of the

circulation that from the late 12th century the plot or some motifs of it started to inspire/migrate into other narratives, like the German *Orendel* and Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristanroman*, the French *chanson de geste* known as *Jourdain de Blaye* and the Old Norse *Thidreks Saga of Bern*.³⁵ Moreover, names of the protagonists and vague references to the story-line appeared in the *Carmina Burana*, the collection of 11th–13th-century Latin and German songs preserved in a 13th-century manuscript originating in the Benedictine monastery of Benediktbeuern.³⁶ Here Apollonius is the subject of a Latin poem numbered 97, the text of which would have been incomprehensible without the previous knowledge of the plot.³⁷ At the same time the idea, already present in Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*, that Apollonius was a historical figure continued to prevail: Bishop Wilbrand von Oldenburg reports after his early 13th-century journey to the Holy Land that Apollonius' palace was seen in Tyre.³⁸

In the 14th-15th century vernacular versions took the lead over Latin ones among new Apollonius compositions. Besides only one new Latin adaptation there are at least eight Italian, five French, four German, two English, two Spanish and a Portuguese, two Dutch, a Greek and a Czech translation/adaptation. The Latin version appears in certain copies of the anonymous *Gesta Romanorum*, a flexible selection of moralising tales, which also provided the source material for some of the vernacular translations later.³⁹

Out of the eight Italian texts five were composed in the 14th century. They indicate the immense popularity of the story in Trecento Toscana and Veneto. Except for the *Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro*, which is the work of the famous Florentine poet, Antonio Pucci,⁴⁰ they are anonymous

story as a folk-tale is the Hungarian *Apollónius királyfi*, published in the folk-tale collection of György Gaal by Kazinczy, Toldy 1859, 223–234.

³⁵ On the significant impact of the story of Apollonius on vernacular narratives of the 12th-13th century see Tomasek 1997. He argues that Apollonius was the most well-known love and adventure story of antique origin in the middle of the 12th century (p. 225), and that, accordingly, motifs of it appear in other stories already around that time (p. 221).

³⁶ München, BSB, Clm 4660/4660a.

³⁷ Hilka, Schumann 1985, 336–340.

³⁸ Archibald 1991, 227: *Hec est illa Tyrus, de qua Apollonium de Tyro appellamus, in qua hodie eius palacium monstratur.*

³⁹ The story of Apollonius is included only in the longer version of the *Gesta Romanorum*, which consists of 181 chapters. For a study on the *Gesta Romanorum* tradition see Röhl 1986. Weiske 1991 mentioned only one still existing medieval *Gesta Romanorum* manuscript, Colmar, Bibliotheque Municipale, Cod. 432 (previously Colmar Issenheim 10 fol.) that contains the story of Apollonius. (The ones brought up by Weiske with reference to Oesterley 1872 are not medieval.) Terrahe 2013a 72 adds 3 further such manuscripts: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 919; München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2^o Cod. Ms. 136; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. 24. 5. Aug 4^o. The work was published in incunable editions several times. Latin text versions that have 181 chapters are GW 10882, 10883, 10884, 10885, 10886, 10887, 10888, 10892, 10893, 10894, 10895, 10896, 10897, 10898, 10899, 10900, 10901, 10902.

⁴⁰ Rabboni 1996, with a description of 17 manuscript copies and 10 incunable editions (p. XI–XXVII; XXX–XXXIII). The incunables are GW 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 228310N, 2284, 228410N, 228415N, 228420N, 228430N. On incunable and later print editions see also Rabboni 2002.

prose versions.⁴¹ The three 15th-century adaptations, as well as a late 15th-century revision of Pucci's *Cantari* by a Milanese poet, Paolo da Taegio, show that by that time the story was widespread in further parts of Central and Northern Italy as well.⁴² One of the three new versions is a prose text dated to between the first half and the 70s of the century and localised to North-Western Italy,⁴³ the other two are poetic works: one, composed somewhat after the middle of the century possibly in the literary circles of the Malatesta court, is found in a collection of *Cantari*,⁴⁴ the other one was written around 1470 by a certain Silvestro, a Central-Italian poet.⁴⁵

The five known French text versions are anonymous. Classified as the second, third, fourth, fifth and seventh prose version, they have come down to us in ten manuscripts and in one incunable published in Genève by Louis Cruse (Louis Garbin) around 1482.⁴⁶ The second and the third version (the latter is also known as the Bruxelles redaction), were composed in the 14th century, while the fourth (the so-called London redaction), the fifth (the Vienna redaction) and the seventh are usually considered as 15th-century products.⁴⁷

The first known German adaptation appeared around 1300, this is Heinrich von Neustadt's highly inventive poem, the *Apollonius von Tyrland*.⁴⁸ Two 15th-century German Apollonius

⁴¹ These are the Tuscan *Libro d'Apollonio* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. II. 68), the *Leggere d'Apollonio di Tiri* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliab. Cl. VIII. 1272), the *Storia di Apollonio re di Tiro* (Pontificia Facoltà Teologica Marianum, Alexianus 56) and the *Historia de miser Apollonio de Tyri* (Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, N. V. 6), which speaks Venetian. See Sacchi 2009. The text of the *Storia* was first published by Robins 2004, who dated it to the early 15th century.

⁴² Paolo da Taegio's poem is found in an incunable edition, GW 2284a, which was published in 1492 in Milan. See Rabboni 1998.

⁴³ Philadelphia, Pennsylvania State University Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Cod. 313. See Sacchi 2013; Sacchi 2014.

⁴⁴ Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. 2509, Cantari X–XII. See Sacchi 2015.

⁴⁵ William Robins works on a text edition of Silvestro's poem, which is mentioned by him (Robins 2015, 259) with no reference to its whereabouts.

⁴⁶ For the literature on the French text versions see note 33. The sixth prose version is part of the French translation of the *Gesta Romanorum* published in 1521 as *Le Violier des Histoires Rommaines*. It was thought for long that this text version circulated already in 15th-century manuscript copies. Since Hope 2002, XIX it is considered as an early 16th-century composition. The second prose version is contained in Boston, Public Library, Ms. f. Med. 91 (not mentioned in the literature, but registered in https://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/consulter/oeuvre/detail_oeuvre.php?oeuvre=4131 (11.10.2023); Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9632-33; Chantilly, Bibliothèque et Archives du Château, MS. 497; Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 419; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Arsenal 2992; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fr. 20042. The third prose version is found in Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 11097 and Ms. 11192. The single witness to the fourth prose version is in London, British Library, Royal 20 C II, that of the fifth is in Vienna, ÖNB, Hs. 3428. The seventh prose version has come down to us in an incunable edition, GW 2279.

⁴⁷ The Arlima database dates the 3rd version to the 13th century. https://www.arlima.net/ad/apollonius_de_tyr.html#ve3 (16.10.2023). The 4th version is dated to the 14th-15th century by Galderisi 2011, 81. The 5th version is considered as a 14th-century composition by Burgio 2022, 265, 283, and as a 14th-15th-century work by Agrigoroaei 2013, 45.

⁴⁸ The literature on this work is large. For the most important/recent publications see Ochsenbein 1981; Ebenbauer 1986; Wachinger 1991; Achnitz 1998; Birkhan 2001a; Achnitz 2002, 229–373; Junk 2003; Schultz-Balluff 2006; Krenn 2013, 23–27; Braun 2018. *Apollonius von Tyrland* was dated to in/after 1312 and also before 1307 (Birkhan 2001a, 397–398) on various grounds. On the dating to around 1300/before 1298 see Achnitz 2002, 235. The work is known from four manuscript copies (Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A.

versions, the so-called *Breslauer Apollonius* and the *Leipziger Apollonius* were/are kept by single manuscripts (the former one has been lost in World War II).⁴⁹ The most popular German translation was the *Apollonius von Tyrus* from around 1460. Based on Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon* and the Apollonius text version included in the *Gesta Romanorum*, this was composed by the well-known early German humanist, Heinrich Steinhöwel, and has come down to us in five manuscripts and in seven incunable editions published in Augsburg and Ulm between 1471 and 1499.⁵⁰

Out of the two English Apollonius adaptations it is the one included in John Gower's 14th-century *Confessio Amantis*, the large collection of versified tales completed with a Latin apparatus, which became highly influential even beyond the English speaking readership.⁵¹ The other one is the so-called Middle English Fragment consisting of hundred and forty-two lines that tell the very end of the story. It is found in a single 15th-century manuscript.⁵²

In the Iberian Peninsula three new Apollonius texts were written, all of them in the 15th century. Two were based on Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, one on the *Gesta Romanorum*. The Portuguese prose translation of the *Confessio* known as the *Livro do Amante* was likely made in the royal court of Portugal by Ruberto Paym (Robert Payn), an English canon in Lisbon.⁵³ It is preserved in a single manuscript that was copied in 1430 for Fernando de Castro, son of the royal governor in Ceuta, a North-African city which was in Portuguese hands from 1415.⁵⁴ Composed by Juan de Cuenca, the Spanish *Confisyon del Amante* was translated from the Portuguese. This too has survived in only one manuscript.⁵⁵ In turn, the *Gesta Romanorum* inspired a Spanish translation

689; Strassburg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Ms. 2334; Vienna, ÖNB, Hs. 2879; Vienna, ÖNB, Hs. 2886) and from traces of a fragment (Amorbach, Fürstlich Leiningensches Archiv, without shelfmark). For their description see Schultz-Balluff 2006, 39–48.

⁴⁹ The *Breslauer Apollonius* was kept in Wrocław (Breslau), Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna, Cod. R. 304. The *Leipziger Apollonius* is in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 1279.

⁵⁰ The manuscript copies are: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Hs. Don. 86; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Hs. Don. 150; Trento, Biblioteca Comunale, Cod. 1951; Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 4119; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol. The incunable editions are: GW 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 227610N, 2277, 2278. For the *Apollonius von Tyrus* and its witnesses see Terrahe 2013a.

⁵¹ Due to its significance in medieval English literature, the works on Gower and his *Confessio Amantis* are numerous. The first standard reference is Macaulay 1901. For more recent basic works and companions see Minnis 1983; Yeager 1989; Echard 2004; Urban 2009; Sáez-Hidalgo, Gastle, Yeager 2017; Chewing 2020; Driver, Pearsall, Yeager 2020. For a list of 65 manuscripts/fragments and extracts (among them a post-medieval one) see Harris 1993, 330–334. See also Pearsall, Mooney 2021. The *editio princeps* is GW 10976 published by William Caxton likely in 1483.

⁵² Oxford, Bodleian Library. Ms. Douce 216.

⁵³ His name is not found in the single manuscript copy of the work, but he is mentioned as the translator by Juan de Cuenca, the translator of the Spanish version. Ruberto Paym might be identical with an official in the court of Philippa of Lancaster, Queen of Portugal (1387–1415). See Pascual-Argente 2017, 211.

⁵⁴ Discovered in Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio, Ms II-3088 by Ocaña 1995. See also Ocaña 1997; Pérez-Fernández 2012; Sáez-Hidalgo 2017a; Sáez-Hidalgo 2017b; Pascual-Argente 2017; Pérez-Fernández 2020.

⁵⁵ Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Ms. G-II-19. See Pérez-Fernández 2012; Sáez-Hidalgo 2017a; Sáez-Hidalgo 2017b; Pascual-Argente 2017; Pérez-Fernández 2020.

which came out as the *Vida e historia del rey Apolonio* in an incunable edition issued around 1488 in Zaragoza by the Hurus brothers.⁵⁶

The two Dutch Apollonius texts are also indebted to the *Gesta Romanorum*. The first was published three times between 1481 and 1484 in Gouda, Delft and Zwolle, respectively, as the 153rd chapter of *Die gesten van Romen*.⁵⁷ The second is a variant of the first, which appeared in print under the title *Die schoone ende die suverlicke historie van Appollonius van Thyro* in the Delft publisher, Christiaen Snellaert's 1493 edition.⁵⁸

The Greek translation takes us back to the 14th century. Known as the *Diegesis Pollypathous Apolloniou tou Tyrou*, it was modelled on the Italian *Libro d'Apollonio*,⁵⁹ and has survived in a single manuscript copy of the 15th century.⁶⁰ Whether it was penned in Cyprus ruled by the Lusignan family or in Frankish-held Morea, is an unresolved question.⁶¹ Finally, with the appearance of a pre-Hussite Czech translation, the story of Apollonius started to spread in early modern Slavic literatures as well.⁶²

Illustrated copies

This large and still growing body of interrelated Apollonius texts and their witnesses constitutes the basic source material in which medieval Apollonius images can be found. My search for them resulted in the identification of sixteen manuscript copies/fragments and ten incunables

⁵⁶ GW 228510N. Serís 1962; Lacarra 2015a.

⁵⁷ GW 10889; GW 10890; GW 10891. Interestingly, the source of the Dutch Apollonius included in *Die gesten van Romen* was not Gheraert Leeu's 1480 edition of the Latin *Gesta Romanorum*, GW 10884, which indicates that by 1481 an earlier Dutch translation might have been in circulation.

<https://www.neerlandistiek.nl/2018/06/die-schoone-ende-die-suverlicke-historie-van-appollonius-van-thyro-als-feuilleton-voor-niet-luie-lezers/> (27.07.2023).

⁵⁸ GW 2285.

⁵⁹ On the Italian text version see note 41. The *Libro d'Apollonio* was previously edited by Del Prete 1861 as the "*Storia d'Apollonio di Tiro*", therefore authors tend to refer to the Italian source of the Greek text as the "*Storia...*". See Rizzo Nervo 2002; Zafra 2012; Yiavis 2016, 138–141. Another Greek version composed around 1500 and survived in 16th-century prints was based on Pucci's *Cantari*.

⁶⁰ Paris, BnF, Gr. 390.

⁶¹ For a summary of the two views, the first held by George Kechagioglou, the second by Carolina Cupane, see Yiavis 2016, 139.

⁶² On the Slavic Apollonius versions see Nilsson 1949, specifically on the Czech version see Vidmanová 1984. The text was published in Kolár, Nedvěďová 1983, 232–255. Nilsson 1949, 36 dates the Czech text to the fourth quarter of the 14th, Vidmanová to the late 14th century. Nilsson mentions five manuscript copies of the Czech translation (15–17). One of them is in Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, II F 8. Two were in the Ossoliński Library in Lviv, Ukraine, before World War II under shelfmark N. 421 and N. 1172. Other two were kept in the Schwarzenberg Archive in Třeboň as A 7 and A 18. Part of the Ossoliński collection was relocated in Wrocław, but I was not able to track down either these two or the two Schwarzenberg manuscripts. However, there is a copy in Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Rps 12594 II, which was once in the Baworowskich library in Lviv. For its digital copy see <https://polona.pl/item-view/2f9e17e6-562e-4a2e-848e-be84c3a111d9?page=0> (07.11.2023). The text edition of this manuscript's Apollonius version is available under <https://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz/moduly/edicni/edice/ced66e4b-ee6d-404d-8d4b-0ba22fd0e294/plny-text/s-apatem/folio/206v> (06.11.2023). I thank Ágnes Korondi for orientation in Czech literature and for calling my attention to the Warsaw manuscript.

made between ca. 600–1500 that were designed to be illustrated from the start. In two of the manuscripts and in one of the fragments the images have not been carried out. There are further two manuscripts in which marginal drawings were added to the text as visual notes (London, Library of the College of Arms, Arundel 1; Paris, BnF, Lat. 4935)⁶³. Two walrus ivory game pieces showing important scenes of the plot and the fragment of a tapestry, which depicted the aforementioned *chanson de geste*, *Jourdain de Blaye*, attest to the circulation of Apollonius-related images beyond book culture.⁶⁴

This corpus is very likely incomplete. Although I invested considerable effort in collecting every possible information on illustrated Apollonius books and Apollonius images in other media, it was not feasible to check every single testimony of such a diffuse text as the story of Apollonius and its derivatives, especially because the extent to which the copies of given text versions have been explored in literature is different. For example the manuscripts containing Gower's *Confessio Amantis* have been already studied directly for their illustrative material,⁶⁵ while, as noted last time by Tina Terrahe, no reliable list has been made of those *Gesta Romanorum* manuscripts that include the story of Apollonius.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, while there might be still unrecorded Apollonius images awaiting identification, to the discovery of which I hope my book will contribute, the evidence already at hand allows us to draw some enlightening conclusions. To facilitate the material's overview, the following chart provides a chronological list of the sixteen manuscripts and ten incunables that (would have) contain(ed) Apollonius images - the core of the material I will work with.

⁶³Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 562 is closely related to Paris, BnF, Lat. 4935, however, it has no Apollonius illustration.

⁶⁴ On the text versions of the *Jourdain de Blaye* and their manuscript copies see https://www.arlima.net/il/jourdain_de_blaye.html (05.11.2023). No incunable edition is known. The text edition of the oldest version is found in Dembowski 1991, its modern French translation in Ribémont 2007. The other text versions are younger than the tapestry.

⁶⁵ Griffiths 1983; Braeger 1989; Eberle 1989; Colman 2017. Eberle 1989, 355 states that besides New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126, the only other extant manuscript of the *Confessio* with an ambitious program of images is Oxford, New College Library, Ms. 266. This very likely had Apollonius illustrations on the missing portion of fol. 171. (Braeger 1989, 298 with reference to Macaulay 1901, clx-clxi.)

⁶⁶ Terrahe 2013a, 72. See note 39.

Siglum of the book in the present volume Library and Shelfmark/ GW Number	Text version; Language	Place and Date of Origin	Number of Images and figural Initials
A Sinai, St. Catherine Monastery, Ara NF 8, fol. 18. Palimpsest fragment	HA, Rec. not identified Latin	Constantinople (?) Ca. 600	1 image
B Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4. Fragment	HA, Rec. α Latin	Werden an der Ruhr (?) Ca.1000	38 images (+traces of further 3)
C Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ash. 123, fol. 14r–22v.	First French prose version	Genoa (?) Ca. 1300	1 figural initial and 3 images
D Paris, BnF, Lat. 8503, fol. 1r– 7v.	HA, Rec. C Latin	Bologna Ca. 1300	1 figural initial and 1 image
F Paris, BnF, Lat. 8502, fol. 1r– 27r.	HA, Rec. St Latin	Italy Ca. 1300	Places reserved for at least 47 images
G Paris, BnF, Lat. 4895, fol. 80r–85r	Godfrey of Viterbo: <i>Pantheon</i> Latin	Milan 1331	Places reserved for 28 images
E Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, NV 6 Heavily damaged in 1904	<i>Historia de miser Apollonio de Tyri</i> Italian	Venice 1340–1360	Traces of 32 images
H Rome, BAV, San Pietro E 36, fol. 65r–v. Fragment	HA, Rec. B Latin	Italy Second half of the 14th/early 15th century	Places reserved for 2 images
I Boston, Public Library, Ms. f. Med. 91, fol. 69r–86r.	Second French prose version	Paris Ca. 1400	1 image
J	Second French	Lille	1 image

Bruxelles, KBR, 9632–33, fol. 138r–167v.	prose version	Ca. 1455	
K Bruxelles, KBR, 11192	Third French prose version	Southern Netherlands Middle of the 15th century	1 image
N Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689	Heinrich von Neustadt: <i>Apollonius von Tyrland</i> German	Bavaria Ca. 1465	128 images (40 without interpolations)
O Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886	Heinrich von Neustadt: <i>Apollonius von Tyrland</i> German	Bavaria/Austria 1467	109 images (29 without interpolations)
P Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol, fol. 2v– 53v.	Heinrich Steinhöwel: <i>Apollonius von Tyrus</i> German	Augsburg 1468	6 images
M New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126, fol. 187v–	John Gower: <i>Confessio Amantis</i> English	London Ca. 1470	1 image
L London, BL, Royal 20 C II, fol. 210r–236r.	Fourth French prose version	Bruges 1470s	3 images
Q GW 2274 Berlin/Munich version	Heinrich Steinhöwel: <i>Apollonius von Tyrus</i> German	Augsburg 1476	34/35 images
R GW 2275	Heinrich Steinhöwel: <i>Apollonius von Tyrus</i> German	Augsburg 1479	36 images
W GW 2279	Seventh French prose version (Louis Cruse/Garbin: <i>Romant de Appollin roy</i>	Genève Ca. 1482	8 images

	<i>de Thir)</i>		
S GW 2276	Heinrich Steinhöwel: <i>Apollonius von Tyrus</i> German	Augsburg 1488	30 images
X GW 228510N	<i>Vida e historia del rey Apolonio</i> Spanish	Zaragoza Ca. 1488	35 images
Y GW 2285	<i>Die schoone ende die suverlicke historie van Appollonius van Thyro</i> Dutch	Delft 1493	3 images
T GW 227610N Known only from a few photos	Heinrich Steinhöwel: <i>Apollonius von Tyrus</i> German	Augsburg 1494	?
U GW 2277	Heinrich Steinhöwel: <i>Apollonius von Tyrus</i> German	Ulm 1495	26 images
V GW 2278	Heinrich Steinhöwel: <i>Apollonius von Tyrus</i> German	Ulm 1499	30 images
Z GW 228430N	Antonio Pucci: <i>Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro</i> Italian	Florence End of the 15th century	5 images

What is apparent from this chart at first glance is that there are Apollonius books illustrated with 1/3/5/6/8 images, while in others complete, although of course not equally detailed image cycles accompany the verbal narration. It is also noteworthy that, compared to the complete body of Apollonius volumes, the ratio between Latin and vernacular versions among illustrated

Apollonius books is different. Although around twice as many vernacular Apollonius texts than Latin ones survived, manuscripts and print copies that contain the HA or other Latin redactions far outnumber the vernacular books.⁶⁷ However, the proportion within the illustrated material is reversed. Out of the altogether twenty-six books only six manuscripts tell the story of Apollonius in Latin: five contain one of the HA recensions (Rec. B, Rec. α , Rec. St, Rec. C and unidentified), in the sixth Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon* can be read. In turn, five manuscripts represent one of the French prose versions (first, second, third and fourth), one holds the Italian *Historia de miser Apollonio de Tyri*, one Gower's English *Confessio Amantis*, two Heinrich von Neustadt's and one Heinrich Steinhöwel's German Apollonius, to which no fewer than six illustrated print editions were also devoted. The further four incunables are French, Spanish, Dutch and Italian.⁶⁸ These linguistic proportions are undoubtedly related to the date of origin of the books: eighteen out of the twenty-six were made after the late 14th century and they all speak vernacular. Their dominance indicates that the growing interest in visual renderings of the story of Apollonius was related to the late medieval appearance of a new, basically lay, but at the same time varied readership and, as its consequence, the changing social role of the book.

Another characteristic of the material is that most of the books, fifteen out of twenty-six, are sole illustrated examples of the text versions they represent. We have only three such text versions to which more than one illustrated copy was devoted: two manuscripts of the second French prose version, two manuscripts of Henrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrlant* and seven books (one manuscript and six incunable editions) of Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus*. Consequently, most images or image cycles are independent of the others. Although there are corresponding image subjects or compositions even across different text versions – the most interesting example of this is the illustration cycle of Steinhöwel's oldest incunable

⁶⁷ Around 180 Latin manuscripts and 19 incunables versus around 120 vernacular manuscripts and 25 incunables.

⁶⁸ Most of the Apollonius versions that were illustrated are available in modern text editions listed here in the chronological order of the illustrated books themselves. Text editions of the HA are referred to in note 24, that of the *Apollonius pictus* is found in Németh, 2011. For the text of the *Pantheon* see Pistorius 1726, 8–392 (*Apollonius*: 174–181) and Waitz 1872 (without the story of Apollonius). For a separate edition of the *Pantheon*'s Apollonius text see Singer 1895, 153–177. See also Terrahe 2013a, 153–249, where, based on Pistorius' and Singer's editions, those text units of the *Pantheon* that served as source material in Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* appear next to the latter's German text. The text of the *Historia de miser Apollonio de Tyri* was edited first by Salvioni 1889 later by Sacchi 2009. For the second and the third French prose versions see Lewis 1915. Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrlant* is found in Singer 1906. Its translation to modern German prose is Birkhan 2001a. For Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* see Terrahe 2013a. Gower's *Confessio Amantis* is available in Macaulay 1901. The fourth French prose version was edited by Agrigoroaei 2013. The Spanish *Vida e historia* is found in Deyermond 1973 and in the database of the Colección de Textos Caballerescos Hispánicos at <https://textred.spanport.lss.wisc.edu/chivalric/apolonio.html> (24.10.2023), while the Dutch *Die schoone ende die suverlickte historie* is in Kuiper 2018. For Pucci's *Cantari* see Rabboni 1996. To my knowledge no text edition was devoted to the first and seventh French prose versions.

edition, which migrated into the Spanish *Vida e historia del rey Apolonio* – long lasting image traditions, consecutively copied image redactions are anything but typical. Nevertheless, there are occasional similarities between otherwise unrelated books in the selection of episodes for imaging, which must be attributed to factors other than communication between creators and/or the use of common models.

The remains of the oldest Apollonius image, dated to around 600, survived on a small piece of parchment, which also kept a few lines of the HA (Fig. 9). Found in the St. Catherine monastery at Mount Sinai, this palimpsest fragment is the oldest material evidence for the existence of the story of Apollonius overall. It is of great significance, for it proves that the story was illustrated already in Late Antiquity.⁶⁹ Our next piece is also a fragment that we named *Apollonius pictus*, since it contains the oldest extant Apollonius image cycle (Figs. 20–56).⁷⁰ It was made around 1000 and used from as early as the 11th century in the imperial Benedictine monastery at Werden an der Ruhr. Based on their place and date of origin the further illustrated Apollonius books form five groups. Six manuscripts from between ca. 1300–1400 were created in Italy (Figs. 11–13, 61–63, 68, 71), five others from between ca. 1400 and the 1470s were made and/or used in the royal and ducal courts of France, Burgundy and England (Figs. 78, 85, 88–91, 93). Three manuscripts were made in the 1460s in German speaking lands (Figs. 96–133, 140–145), these were followed by six German incunable editions published between 1476–1499 (Figs. 147, 149–183, 195, 196). The last group is made up of four incunables issued in the 1480s/1490s in Genève, Zaragoza, Delft and Florence, they attest the spread of Apollonius images across early modern Europe (Figs. 197–204, 205 B, 206 B, 207 B, 208–215). Based on the illustrated Apollonius books it would seem that there is a gap in the history of Apollonius images between ca. 1000 and 1300. However, the two 12th-century game pieces mentioned above prove the opposite (Figs. 216–217). Although it is impossible to estimate how many illustrated Apollonius books and other Apollonius images have been lost over the centuries,⁷¹ it is perhaps not sheer coincidence that the territorial shifts in the interest in Apollonius illustrations seen in the surviving volumes show an interesting pattern. All our 14th-century manuscripts hail from Italy, while the copies associated with the royal and ducal courts of France, Burgundy and

⁶⁹ On this piece see Chapter III. 1.

⁷⁰ Boreczky, Németh 2011. See Chapter III. 2.

⁷¹ That there must have been further illustrated Apollonius books is attested e.g. by Marcus Welser, who published the HA in 1595 in Augsburgs as the *Narratio eorum quae contigerunt Apollonio Tyrio*. As he informs us, he worked from an ancient codex illustrated in Greek style that he found in the St. Ulrich and Afra Benedictine monastery in Augsburg. It is also possible, as William Robins speculates, that the likely 11th-century HA that was stolen in the 14th century from a manuscript, Paris, BnF, Lat. 8121A, was an illustrated copy as well. Welser's model and perhaps the stolen HA too belonged to Rec. α, the text version found in the *Apollonius pictus*. I thank William Robins for sharing his forthcoming paper with me.

England, related to one another in many ways, are products of the first three quarters of the 15th century. Apollonius illustrations in German speaking lands, other than those of the *Apollonius pictus* and the game pieces, were made from the 1460s on. Finally, the last two decades of the 15th century saw the simultaneous appearance of Apollonius illustrations in three smaller cities of late medieval Europe and in Florence. It is according to this order directed by the dynamics of the material itself that I will discuss the illustrated Apollonius books, their cultural-artistic contexts and the characteristics of their images in the subsequent chapters, which will be followed by the presentation of the game pieces and the tapestry (Fig. 218).

Chapter II. Material Evidence. Apollonius Images between ca. 600–1500

Most medieval images of the story of Apollonius (hereafter simply Apollonius images or Apollonius illustrations) has come down to us in books: in handwritten codices (manuscripts) and later also in incunabula. They were made between around 600 and 1500 in various cultural centers of Latin Christianity. Some of them are simple figural initials, like the pointing man in a strange hat within the *I(n civitate Antiochia)* initial in pen-and-ink drawing on the first folio of a 13th-century manuscript of the HA (Fig. 1),⁷² or the face attached to a black initial I at the beginning of the story in a 15th-century miscellany presumably of German origin (Fig. 2).⁷³ While these figures do not necessarily refer to any of the protagonists of the story, images on the margins of other Apollonius manuscripts are added as visual commentaries to selected episodes. Whether the small figure in an otherwise unillustrated copy of the HA from the 13th century that was drawn next to the passage recounting the storm, during which Apollonius suffered shipwreck, was meant as an allusion to one of the wild winds: Zephyrus, Notus, Boreas or Africus mentioned in the text, is uncertain (Fig. 3).⁷⁴ In turn, a full-length figure and ten faces attached directly to some words in a 14th-century copy of the HA reflect on important moments of the plot and portray its protagonists (Figs. 4, 5, 6, 7).⁷⁵ Also, a manuscript that contains an abbreviated version of Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon* with early 15th-century marginal drawings and notes addressed to the reader show the head of King Antiochus and his daughter surrounded by flames as a clear reference to the moral of the story that was held most important: horrible sin leads to horrible death (Fig. 8).⁷⁶

⁷² Roma, BAV, Ottob. lat. 1855.

⁷³ München, UB, Cod. Oct. 154, fol. 80r. For a detailed description of the manuscript see Kornrumpf, Völker 1968, 228–232. According to them the Apollonius story in the manuscript belongs to the text version of the *Gesta Romanorum*. However, the incipit on fol. 80r (*In civitate Antiochia fuit quidam rex Antiochus...*) is not identical with the incipit of Chapter 153 of the *Gesta Romanorum* version (*Antiochus in civitate Antiochia regnavit...*) published by Oesterley 1872, 510–532. In German studies the manuscript is known because of the fragments of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* and *Titirel* from around 1300 discovered in it. See: Golther 1893.

⁷⁴ Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 163, fol. 110v. On this manuscript see: Caron 1860, 75–76; Gameson 2007, 257.

⁷⁵ London, Library of the College of Arms, Arundel 1. On this codex see: William H. Black: *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the Library of the College of Arms*. Not published. London, 1829, 1–4 (with no reference to the images).

⁷⁶ Paris, BnF, Lat. 4935, fol. 26v. For an insightful study on the drawings of the Paris manuscript, which was in the possession of the Célestins de Paris in the first half of the 15th century and for a short reference to a closely related manuscript, Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 562, which, however, has no Apollonius illustration, see Damongeot-Bourdat 2007. The note written next to the image in the Paris copy reads as *Hoc peccatum erribile (sic!): (h)orribiliter vitam finivit ut decebit*.

In turn, the Apollonius books that I will discuss in the following chapters have, or would have had proper illustrations, whose number moves in a wide range from a few selected episodes to lengthy cycles of images. Besides these fully illustrated, sometimes even splendid copies, there are faded, damaged, or unexecuted Apollonius images that are also worth taking into account. With their help we can get a more detailed image of the illustration history of the work. A palimpsested fragment of the HA discovered a couple of years ago in the Saint Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai (Arabic NF 8, fol. 18) proves that Apollonius depictions existed already around 600 (Fig. 9),⁷⁷ while a Venetian codex that was heavily damaged but still not perished in the 1904 fire at the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria in Torino (N.V.6) has kept the only traces of a trecento image-cycle of the romance for us (Fig. 10).⁷⁸ The empty spaces left for images in three codices all made in Italy (Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 4895; Ms. Lat. 8502; Roma, BAV, Archivio di S. Pietro E 36) also provide valuable information on possible ways of approaching and illustrating the story (Figs. 11, 12, 13).⁷⁹ Since their images were to be distributed in the text so that they would have depicted the episodes told in the adjacent text units, on the basis of their position the envisaged image programs can be reconstructed with a high degree of certainty.

In some of its illustrated copies the story of Apollonius appears in the circle of further works, mostly narratives, whose similarities may help us reveal how Apollonius was seen and understood at least in these particular cases. In addition to a 14th-century copy of Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon* (where the Apollonius story constitutes an integral part of a world chronicle) and a magnificent 15th-century codex of John Gower's *Confessio amantis* (where Apollonius is the longest tale within a collection of moralizing love stories),⁸⁰ Apollonius illustrations are found in codices that contain classical epics, romance literature, historiographical works, legendary and hagiographical biographies, moral instructions and, sometimes, geographical descriptions. The so-called *Apollonius pictus*, an 11th-century fragment of the HA that holds the oldest image cycle of the story, was bound together with a

⁷⁷ For a documentation and the digital copy of the manuscript see <https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/login-response?token=7660239e-05cf-44ed-9734-3248fd891a17> (11.12.2020).

⁷⁸ The manuscript was believed to have been completely perished until its publication by Sacchi 2009, 61–64. See Chapter II. 3.

⁷⁹ While Ms. Lat. 8502 is a copy of the HA, Ms. Lat. 4895 contains Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*. For the most recent and detailed description on the Vatican manuscript see: Pérez-Simon, Stones 2019, 157–166. See Chapter II. 3.

⁸⁰ For an illustrated copy of the *Pantheon* with places reserved for illustrations in the Apollonius, see the 14th-century Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 4895 (Chapter II. 3), for an illustrated Apollonius within the *Confessio amantis* see New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126 from the 15th century (Chapter II. 4).

contemporaneous *Opera completa* of Virgil.⁸¹ Other Apollonius images occur in the company of world and local chronicles, like histories of the Franks, the Brits, the Normans or the history and description of the Holy land and the Crusades,⁸² the deeds of legendary rulers, most of all those of Alexander the Great,⁸³ furthermore along with French romantic stories,⁸⁴ as well as with tales, like the French and German translations of Boccaccio's *Griselda* and the German translation of his *Tancredi e Ghismunda*, whose underlying themes are not simply love and fortune, but marital faithfulness and obedience of women in particular.⁸⁵ In a French manuscript from around 1400, which contains, besides Apollonius, the *Griseldis*, one finds such collections of wise sayings and moral instructions as Guillaume de Tignonville's *Dits moraux des philosophes* and the *Mirouer des pecheurs*, a French translation of the *Speculum peccatoris* attributed to St Augustine and St. Bernard.⁸⁶ In the specific case of the 15th-century codex (München, UB, Cod. Oct. 154), whose only Apollonius image is a figural initial, Apollonius

⁸¹ *Apollonius pictus* is kept in the Széchényi National Library in Budapest as Cod. Lat. 4. In the 19th century it was separated from its mother codex, the Virgil volume, now Cod. Lat. 7. For the facsimile of the fragment and its commentaries see Boreczky, Németh 2011.

⁸² According to Caron 1860, 75–76, in the 13th-century codex Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 184 (163) mentioned above for its sole marginal figure, one finds among others André de Marchiennes' *Historia succincta de gestis et successione regum Francorum* and the *Genealogia comitum Boloniensium* (Boulogne). The 14th-century codex London, Library of the College of Arms, Arundel 1. contains e.g. Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, as well as a *Historia brevis Francorum ab eorum origine ad Annum 1214* and Guillaume de Jumièges' *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, moreover Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis (Historia Hierosolymitana)*. See: William H. Black: Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the Library of the College of Arms. Not published [London, 1829], 1–4, and the online description at <https://aim25.com/cats/153/19822.htm> (last accessed on 11. 03. 2021).

⁸³ In addition to Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*, where the story of Apollonius follows the deeds of Alexander the Great, Alexander appears in two illustrated copies of the HA (London, Library of the College of Arms, Arundel 1; Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 8503) and in a further codex (Roma, BAV, Archivio di San Pietro E 36.) that contains a fragment of the HA with empty spaces left for illustration. (On the two latter see Chapter II. 3.) Beside Alexander the Great, the story of Apollonius could be associated with the deeds of Charlemagne too. In the aforementioned codex, Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 184 (163), that contains a sole marginal figure in relation to the HA, Pseudo-Turpin's *Historia Caroli Magni* precedes the Apollonius story. See: Caron 1860, 75–76.

⁸⁴ In three codices that contain French versions of the Apollonius story there are further French works on romantic themes. In the late 13th-century codex, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ash. 123 (see Chapter II. 3), Apollonius is accompanied among others by Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amour* as well as by two further works, the *Florence et Blanche-flor*, and the *Roman de Guiron le Courtois*. See: Perriccioli Saggese 1979, 94. In the 15th-century codex, Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. 9632-33 (see Chapter II. 4), Apollonius is preceded by Pierre de la Cépède's *Paris et Vienne*. See: Brown-Grant 2020, 22, 39, 42, 44, 45, 47, 61, 62, 187, 316-317. In another 15th-century manuscript, London, BL, Royal 20 C II (see Chapter II. 4), it is accompanied by *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. See: <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8357&CollID=16&NStart=200302> (11.03.2021).

⁸⁵ Boston, Public Library, Ms. F. Med. 91 (see Chapter II. 4) contains, besides a French prose version of Apollonius, a French translation of *Griselda* as well as further texts. (Cf. following note.) Wolfenbüttel HAB, Cod. Guelf. 75.10 Aug. Fol. (see Chapter II. 6) contains Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* along with his *Griseldis* (a translation of Petrarca's Latin version of Boccaccio's *Griselda*), Niklas von Wyle's *Guiscard und Sigismunda* (a translation of Boccaccio's *Tancredi e Ghismunda*), as well as Johannes von Tepl's *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen*. On the Boston manuscript see: Cahn 2014 and Cahn 2016. On the Wolfenbüttel manuscript see: KdiHM I/4, 256–258.

⁸⁶ Boston, Public Library, Ms. F. Med. 91. (Cf. previous note.)

was read together among others with a *Liber Miraculorum*, with the story of Barlaam et Josaphat from the Golden Legend, a *Speculum predicatorum* and a Lectionary.⁸⁷

While the story of Apollonius was so widely known throughout the Middle Ages that in the *Carmina Burana* it could be recalled by means of a few vague references to the protagonists and the plot,⁸⁸ based on the extant material it seems that the interest in making illustrated renditions of it was anything but continuous. In the following chapters I will present the periods, regions and cultural environments that produced and consumed Apollonius images: Late Antique Christian elite, early medieval German Benedictines, 14th-century urban centers in Italy, 15th-century aristocracy around the royal/ducal courts of France, Burgundy and England and in the German speaking lands, German humanists and, with the appearance of the printed book, late medieval patricians of the urban society. My primary concern here is to establish the topography of illustrated Apollonius books, to map those periods, regions and cultural-artistic environments that showed particular interest in visual renditions of the story and, if possible, to identify the creators and recipients of the individual books. These will help us reveal the agency of the books and the role assigned to their illustrations. Therefore, instead of grouping the material according to text variants, the books will be discussed in the chronological and topographical order of their place and date of origin.

⁸⁷ Kornrumpf, Völker 1968, 228–232.

⁸⁸ Song 97. See: *Carmina Burana* 1985, 336–340.

II. 1. The Late Antique Tale (Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Arabic NF 8)

The traces of the oldest illustrated Apollonius manuscript were discovered in the course of the so called Sinai palimpsest project on a palimpsested folio that contains fragments of the story in Latin on one side and the remains of a drawing on the other (Fig. 9).⁸⁹ This folio is part of a patchwork codex, Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Arabic NF 8.⁹⁰ Made out of various reused parchment pieces and written in Arabic between the 8th and the 10th century, Arabic NF 8 (together with Arabic NF 28) constitutes a very early copy of the Arabic translation of the Gospels.⁹¹ Generally speaking Hikmat Kashouh states that 9th-century Arabic Gospels emerged in South-Palastine and Syria.⁹² This might imply that it was in this region that the folio of the original Apollonius manuscript, not mentioned by Kashouh, has been reused, i.e. written over by the Gospels. Further pages in the codex were originally written in Greek, Latin, Syriac or Arabic roughly between the 5th and the 9th century. Some of them were palimpsested repeatedly, the Apollonius folio among them. Whether the consecutive phases of palimpsesting happened at the same place, as Brown suggests,⁹³ is difficult to establish, for there is an inevitable insecurity in the localization of fragmented and faded early scripts written in various languages. Nevertheless, it is certain that the codex was assembled at such a cultural hub, where there was access to a high number of unused books or already fragmented and palimpsested folios of diverse languages. Arguing that some of the scribes of the palimpsested pages and the scribe of the Arabic Gospel text written upon them were Sinaitic, Michelle Brown believes that this place was the St. Catherine's monastery itself.⁹⁴ Thus, she raises the possibility that by the 7th or 8th century the Apollonius manuscript was already there.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ On the Sinai palimpsest project see: <http://sinaipalimpsests.org/> (13.03.2021). The drawing was first published by Brown 2018.

⁹⁰ The significance of the fragment for literary history, classics, art history and book culture between East and West was the subject of a conference organized by Toronto University in 19-20th April 2021: The Early Illustrated Apollonius of Tyre, the papers of which are forthcoming. https://booksilkroadsapollonius.artsci.utoronto.ca/?page_id=16 (04.10.2024). For a description of the fragment and a transcription of the text-remains of the *Historia Apollonii* see Rossetto 2023, 63–65. For a critical text edition see Németh 2025 (forthcoming). I'm indebted to both Giulia Rossetto and András Németh for sharing their papers with me before publication.

⁹¹ Kashouh 2012, 78, 96–112 dates the Arabic script of the two codices that once belonged together to the 8th-9th century and thus considers the manuscript to be the oldest extant book containing the Arabic Gospels. Brown 2016, 78–80 and Brown 2018, 96 dates the Arabic script of Arabic NF 8 to the 9th-10th century (In Brown 2020, the caption of image 1.2 dates it to around 800). For the question of dating see the main body of text below presenting the evidence provided by the recently discovered Athanasian Creed written over the palimpsested image.

⁹² Kashouh 2012, 112.

⁹³ Brown 2016, 78–80; Brown 2018, 96–97.

⁹⁴ Brown 2016, 78–80; Brown 2018, 91–93, 96–97; Brown 2020, 14.

⁹⁵ Brown 2020, 14.

Indeed, the monastery of St. Catherine is one of the possible candidates for such a center of literacy, where Arabic NF 8 could have been made. At the same time, it is worth considering whether the codex, a witness to the early translation movement of Christian religious texts to Arabic, could originate in one of Syria-Palestine's institutions of learning. For example, the multilingual Mar Saba monastery situated between Bethlehem and the Dead Sea was an important center of translation that had lively contacts with St. Catherine's. Among other things this manifested, remarkably, in the transfer of texts and codices. It will suffice to recall the memory of the scribe, Anthony David, son of Sulayman of Baghdad, who copied Arabic texts at Mar Saba to Abba Isaac of Mount Sinai in the 880s,⁹⁶ or that of John Zosimus, who moved from Mar Saba to St. Catherine's before 973, taking a number of codices with him.⁹⁷

The recently identified fragmentary text of the so called Athanasian Creed, which was written over the Sinai Apollonius image around 800 before it was used for the Arabic Gospels, raises further doubts about the early arrival of the Apollonius book or fragments of it to St. Catherine's.⁹⁸ As András Németh has pointed out, this Latin text, which circulated in Carolingian centers, was dogmatically incompatible with an orthodox environment like the Sinai monastery, therefore, it is unlikely that it was copied over the Apollonius image there. The characteristics of the Creed's script, however, are not Carolingian but exhibit peculiarities of Visigothic (Mozarab) writing, a script which was not exclusive to the Iberian Peninsula. The proper text of the Creed was fiercely disputed around 800 between Jerusalem, Aachen and Rome, which might again point to Palestine as the possible location of the Apollonius book before its appearance at Mount Sinai.

The Apollonius image is on a piece of parchment that constitutes the lower outer corner of fol. 18 today (Fig. 14).⁹⁹ Itself a fragment of a larger folio, it has kept the remains of a line-drawing that once showed two figures against an architectural backdrop. What we have today is the upper part of the image: two heads, two intact column capitals and parts of further two capitals, one on each side, which together hold an entablature. Above the two parallel, but oblique lines of the latter there are further two parallel lines running horizontally. These elements together were possibly meant to represent the front of a classical edifice with columns crowned by a

⁹⁶ On Anthony David of Baghdad and his codices see: Griffith 1989. On the multilingual culture and on Arabic worship at Mar Saba, as well as on a newly identified codex written by Anthony David see: Leeming 2003.

⁹⁷ Brock 2012.

⁹⁸ On the remaining text of the Athanasian Creed, its paleographical traits, possible date as well as on its significance for the early history of the illustrated Apollonius book see Németh 2025 (forthcoming), with reference to David Ganz.

⁹⁹ In its present mother codex, the Arabic Gospelbook, pages on the left are the rectos and pages on the right are the versos. The image-side of our fragment is part of fol. 18r, the Apollonius text is on fol. 18v.

pediment, seen from the left. The two horizontal lines are perhaps remains of a simple frame, but it is more likely that they depicted the left raking cornice of the tympanum in the same way as the cornice appears in the ivory carving of the Annunciation from the ensemble known as the Grado chair, a heterogeneous collection of fourteen ivory panels (Fig. 15).¹⁰⁰

On the other side of the parchment ten lines of chapter 28 of the HA can be deciphered.¹⁰¹ This recounts the important episode, when, after losing his wife at sea, Apollonius arrives in Tarsus and entrusts his baby daughter, accompanied by her nurse, to his friends, Stranguillio and Dionysias.¹⁰² There is more space above the first line of the text than between the lines, therefore the fragment must have constituted the upper part of the original page. Relying on the length of the missing words, it can be estimated that the page was twice as wide as its fragment.¹⁰³ The length of the page, in turn, can be reconstructed with the help of the image. Since the lower part of the building, its columns, must have been depicted, and thus the figures were most likely standing, the folio was minimum twice as high as its remains. If the image took the whole page, then the folio had a quadrat-like form; if there were text lines below the image, then the folio was rectangular. The fragment measures 9,5x 8,5 cm, and therefore the original length and width could be around 20/25x20 cm. Within the given dimensions, the text was almost certainly written in one column, the number of lines could have been around 20–22, the number of letters in a line around 35. The two figures of the image turn away from one another, indicating that the scene continued on both sides. The position of the Athanasian Creed and its few missing letters indicate that our image fragment was in the upper left quarter of the original folio. Not too much has been lost from the left edge of the image; more is missing from the right half.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ It is disputed if the panels were made at the same time and in the same place, and if they belonged to a throne that is said to have been given by emperor Heraclius to the Cathedral at Grado, Italy. For a fundamental paper on the ivories see Weitzmann 1972. For the recent evaluation of the panels see Williamson 2010, 56–61, and Bühl 2012. Michelle Brown has agreed that there is indeed some sort of connection between the Apollonius image and the Annunciation ivory. See Brown 2020.

¹⁰¹ In its early copies the *Historia Apollonii* was not segmented into chapters. Chapter numbers are therefore given according to standard text editions. Since the modern chapter divisions reflect the structure of the narrative, i.e. the changes in action spaces and “acting” protagonists, chapters form thematic units. Therefore, it is reasonable to consider events told in a chapter as the basis for visual rendering. On the process that gradually led to the segmentation of texts into smaller and larger units see Palmer 1989. On the role of images in this process see Chapter III. 4.

¹⁰² I owe special thanks to András Németh for sharing his transcription of the text with me before it was published by Rossetto 2023.

¹⁰³ Németh 2025 (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁴ This reconstruction resulted from intense discussions with András Németh. On the implications of the reconstructed page layout for the visual appearance of early illustrated codices and for Kurt Weitzmann’s theory of the survival of Late Antique characteristics in medieval manuscripts, see Boreczky 2025b.

Which side of the fragment was the recto and which was the verso, whether the image preceded or followed the text that was written on the other side of the folio are questions that can't be definitively answered. Nevertheless, it is more likely that the text came first. This can be inferred from the position of the Athanasian Creed,¹⁰⁵ and from the possible subject matter of the image. The ten lines that remained from the *Historia Apollonii* are from the middle of the episode in which Apollonius leaves his baby daughter in the care of his friends. It can be calculated that the text of this episode began on another folio, and was concluded on the one that our fragment was part of. In case the image would have been on the recto, it would have divided the episode into two parts. If, in turn, the image-side was the verso, then the image followed directly after the end of the episode. Placed in the middle of the episode, the image could refer back to the events of Chapter 27, but it more likely depicted how Apollonius asked his friends to take care of Tarsia. Placed right after the end of this episode, it could again depict this scene, or anticipate the continuation of the story in Chapter 29.

Since the remains of the drawing don't equally fit the episodes in question, the possibilities can be narrowed down. In Chapter 27 we learn that after losing her husband, Apollonius' wife, Lucina, is revived in Ephesus by the student of a doctor, who adopts her and establishes her among the priestesses of Diana, so that she can preserve her chastity. The text on the fragment from Chapter 28, as we have already seen, tells us how Apollonius asks his friends in Tarsus to raise his daughter, Tarsia. In Chapter 29 the narrative follows with the early years of Tarsia in Tarsus and her schooling, then continues with a conversation between her and her dying nurse, who tells her the truth about her origin. If the image illustrated Chapter 27, then the building in the background represented the Ephesian Temple of Diana, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, while the two figures could be Apollonius' wife and the doctor. If it was an illustration of the remaining text lines of Chapter 28, then the architectural setting referred to the city of Tarsus and the two figures may have depicted two out of four protagonists: Apollonius, the nurse, Stranguillio and his wife. As for the following episodes in Chapter 29, it is hard to imagine how two standing figures against an architectural background would have been an adequate illustration for either Tarsia's schooling or her last conversation with her dying nurse. Therefore, it seems likely that the image illustrated either Lucina in Ephesus or,

¹⁰⁵ As Németh 2025 (forthcoming) observed, the scribe of the Creed rotated the folio 180 degrees, so that our fragment, which holds the concluding verses of the Creed, was at the bottom right of the page. The Creed must have been written in two columns and its complete text would have filled two pages of our size. If the page that held the first part of the Creed was not a separate unit but constituted a bifolium together with the folio that our fragment was part of, then the image-side was used as a recto for the Creed, but (rotated back 180 degrees) it was a verso in the original Apollonius-book, preceded by the text-remains on the recto.

for the reasons explained above, rather baby Tarsia's reception in Tarsus. Nevertheless, the identification of the figures with any of the protagonists of the story must remain tentative, especially because a lot has been lost from the middle of the image, where one would expect to find the main characters of the episode. There can be no doubt that further figures populated the image: besides those in the centre, someone (or perhaps something) was on the left side too, where our left figure was looking.

On paleographical grounds David Ganz states that the HA text of the palimpsested page was written before 650, Brown attributes it to a hand working in Gregory the Great's Rome around or before 600.¹⁰⁶ The prospects of a stylistic analysis of the fragmented and faded image are obviously limited, the few remains will not allow a precise dating and localization. Nevertheless, some features indicate that the possible place of origin of our oldest illustrated Apollonius book was Constantinople.

Namely, it can't remain unnoticed that while the architectural background seems to share common traits with the aforementioned Annunciation (Fig. 15), the long and oval faces, the straight noses, the hairstyles and the gracefulness of our two figures show conspicuous similarities with figures of the so-called David plates,¹⁰⁷ a set of luxury tableware found in Cyprus but made most likely in Constantinople between 613–629/630, under the reign of emperor Heraclius (610–641).¹⁰⁸ The two men on the right and left side of the plate with the Presentation of David to Saul, as well as Michal, David's bride, on the plate depicting their marriage seem especially to be related to our fragment (Figs. 16–19).¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, even the scale of the two David plates in question and the Annunciation ivory is similar to the Apollonius image.¹¹⁰

Whereas the place and date of origin of the David plates have been firmly established on the basis of their silver stamps,¹¹¹ several questions remain concerning the localization and dating

¹⁰⁶ Brown 2018, 93.

¹⁰⁷ The similar hairstyle appears on the 4th-century Missorium of emperor Theodosius I, but here the facial types and their expression are very different.

¹⁰⁸ Found in 1902 in Cyprus, the hoard consists of nine plates that are kept in the Metropolitan Museum, New York and in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. Questioning the imperial connotations of the plates, Leader 2000, discusses their function as aristocratic domestic display objects that "attempt to adapt the traditions of late antique domestic silver plate" to a Christian context. For a more recent but short description of the plates see Evans 2012. On the documentation and bibliography of the pieces kept in New York see <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/464378?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=David+plates+byzantine&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=4> (22.01.2022).

¹⁰⁹ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number 17.190.397; Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, J.452.

¹¹⁰ The diameter of the two David plates is around 26 cm, the length of the Annunciation panel is around 20 cm, the original size of the Apollonius page was around 20/25x20 cm.

¹¹¹ Cruikshank Dodd 1961, 178–195.

of the heterogeneous group of fourteen ivory panels, among them the Annunciation, which were considered to have decorated the so-called Grado chair. Their place of origin has been already sought in such distant places as Constantinople, Syria/Palestine, Egypt/Alexandria and southern Italy, and they have been dated to the 6th, 7th, 8th, and even to the 11th century.¹¹² Since the relationship between our illustration and the Annunciation is not stylistic but motivic, it is not without interest that the Annunciation was believed by Kurt Weitzmann to have followed a 6th-century Constantinopolitan model.¹¹³

The Sinai Apollonius image and the David plates, in turn, represent a similar style and taste, which sheds some light on the place of the original Apollonius-book within the material culture of Late Antiquity and on the socio-cultural environment it was part of. The elegance of our drawing, unusual among line drawings of the age, is conspicuous: the visual language the artist of our illustration spoke, and the one used within the circles of the early 7th-century aristocracy in Constantinople were alike. That said, our illustrator might have worked somewhat earlier and/or somewhere else. Patrons, artists, and objects were on the move. But it seems to be more than likely, supported again by the testimony of the Annunciation ivory, that the book was part of a luxury material culture. The readers of the oldest known illustrated Apollonius-book are to be sought within the highest strata of the elite. This fits very well into the early reception of the *Historia Apollonii* as reconstructed by William Robins, who found that at the end of the 4th century the story was known by members of the Christian aristocracy, and that it made a significant impact on the way Jerome, Rufinus, and Sulpicius Severus formulated Christian biographical narratives.¹¹⁴

In the 6th–7th century one would expect to find this Latin speaking Christian elite in the Western part of the former Roman empire, but this is rather deceiving. In the 6th century, many aristocratic families left their Italian homes, fleeing from the consecutive wars and the political and social insecurity that followed. With respect to the possible Constantinopolitan layer of our illustration it is significant that before and around 600 there was a substantial group of Latin-speaking Christian aristocrats in Constantinople: Roman senators and their families living in exile. Some of them had admittance to the imperial court, while at the same time maintaining relations with Rome. The future pope Gregory the Great, himself an aristocrat and, between 579–586, the Constantinopolitan ambassador of pope Pelagius, had a number of friends in this

¹¹² Two of the panels have been investigated by radio-carbon analysis, which suggested a time-frame between 440–670 for one of them and 630–820 to the other. This indicates the time when the raw-material became available. See Williamson 2003.

¹¹³ Weitzmann 1972, 66 and 82.

¹¹⁴ Robins 2000. See also Robins 2025.

circle, and it was during his stay in Constantinople that he presented his sermons on the tribulations of Job, a story, like that of Apollonius, of endurance and virtue, of reward gained for and through suffering. Living in Constantinople, the Roman aristocrats occasionally had far-reaching connections. For instance, Rusticiana from the Symmachus family, a correspondent of Gregory the Great and a supporter of his initiatives, married her daughter into the powerful Apion family, which had large estates in Egypt.¹¹⁵ It is easy to conceive that in this circle both the emotional-intellectual interest and the financial means were given to the commission and reception of an illustrated book on the story of Apollonius. After all, it is a tale about various misadventures of the protagonists followed by the restoration of their social position and family life, a story Roman exiles could easily identify with. And even if the few lines that remain from the Apollonius illustration don't provide us with sufficient basis to establish Constantinople as the place of origin of our book, the pan-Mediterranean, multilingual network of the Late Antique Roman aristocracy that I have tried to sketch is a context in which the creation, consumption and later wanderings of our Apollonius can be best understood. This allows that the scribe of our fragment, as Michelle Brown believes, was in one way or another related to Gregory the Great's Rome, and rhymes with the possibility raised by William Robins that the Sinai Apollonius was used in the household of an elite family in the East.¹¹⁶

When and how our oldest illustrated Apollonius found its way to St. Cathrine's monastery, whether it happened when the codex was still intact and whether the monks read it for a while before it was deemed useless and written over, are questions that can not be answered with certainty. In the light of the evidence provided by the Athanasian Creed, its early presence in Sinai seems unlikely. For the same reason Michelle Brown's supposition about the intermediary role of Rusticiana, who made a pilgrimage to St Catherine's monastery is also doubtful.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, the shift from aristocratic to monastic readership of illustrated Apollonius codices can be detected in the 11th century the latest, when another illustrated Apollonius became a reading in a monastic community: most likely in the privileged German Benedictine monastery at Werden an der Ruhr. This is what I will discuss in the next chapter.

¹¹⁵ Markus 1997, 3–8; Dal Santo 2013; Brown 2018, 78–80. On Rusticiana and on the five letters she received from Gregory the Great between April 592 and February 603 see the Medieval Women's Latin Letters database of the Columbia University at <https://epistolae.columbia.edu/woman/112.html> (02.04.2021).

¹¹⁶ Robins 2025.

¹¹⁷ Brown 2020.

II. 2. Apollonius in a Monastic Community (*Apollonius pictus*, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4)

While in the case of the Sinai Apollonius discussed in the previous chapter we could only speculate that at some point of its history it might have been read in a monastic environment, the oldest illustration cycle of the HA has come down to us in the fragment of a manuscript, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, that was undoubtedly made and used in religious institutions (Fig. 20). The fragment in question that we named *Apollonius pictus* on occasion of the publication of its facsimile¹¹⁸ consists of three and a half large parchment folios (ca. 380x300 mm and 380x170), and contains approximately the half of the HA (Chapters 31–32 and 34–50). Based on the paleographical analysis of its writing and the style of its illustrations, it is the product of Ottonian book culture and can be dated to around 1000 AD.

The fragment has been kept in the National Széchényi Library since 1814, when, shortly after the Library was founded, the Lutheran Convent of Sopron (Ödenburg, Western Hungary) donated it to the Library.¹¹⁹ At that time, it constituted the first folios of a codex that contains the complete works of Vergil with Servius' commentaries and two *carmina figurata*, composed by Uffingus, a late 10th-century Benedictine monk of the privileged imperial monastery at Werden and der Ruhr, Germany. It is difficult to tell why, but the *Apollonius pictus* was separated from the Vergil volume between 1874 and 1878. Since then, they are held under separate shelfmarks as Cod. Lat. 4 and Cod. Lat. 7.¹²⁰ The Vergil volume has a white leather binding on wooden boards that must have been made before (and possibly much earlier than) 1483, when the book's 15th-century owner, Gosswin Kempgyn de Nussia (Neuß), doctor of law and canon of the St. Aposteln collegiate church at Cologne (Köln) died.¹²¹ That the volume was once in his possession is clear from two inscriptions, one on the upper and another on the lower

¹¹⁸ Boreczky, Németh 2011.

¹¹⁹ For its catalogue description see Bartoniek 1940, 9.

¹²⁰ In 1878 Jenő Ábel already referred to the fragment as Cod. Lat. 4. In his 1888 reviews on Michael Ring's HA text edition based on Paris, Bnf, Ms. 4955, Ábel recalls that Ring found the *Apollonius pictus* in 1874 within the Vergil volume. See: Ábel 1878; Ábel 1888a, 289; Ábel 1888b, 733. Since the two manuscripts had earlier inventory numbers (*Apollonius pictus*: Fol. Lat. 3652, Vergil volume: Fol. Lat. 199), they must have been separated by 1875, when the medieval manuscripts of the Library were reorganized. On the provenance and history of the *Apollonius pictus* see Boreczky 2011.

¹²¹ Gosswin Kempgyn de Nussia (1420/1425–1483) studied in Erfurt and in Cologne. Between 1457 and 1462 he served as the dean of the *facultas artium* at the Erfurt University. In 1469 he received the degree of *doctor decretorum* in Cologne, where he became the canon of the St. Aposteln collegiate church in 1471. Based on the content of further books from his possession as well as on his *Trivita studentium* and *Computus*, it seems that besides canon law he was mainly interested in astronomy. On his life and work see Bernhard 1976 and Bernhard 1983.

pastedown.¹²² Whether he was interested in the story of Apollonius per se, as other 15th-century German intellectuals, most of all two early German humanists: Hartmann Schedel and Heinrich Steinhöwel were, is rather dubious.¹²³ By the time the leaves of the *Apollonius pictus* and those of the Vergil volume were foliated in the late 15th/early 16th century, *Apollonius pictus* was already a fragment of four leaves that followed one another in wrong order.¹²⁴

Based on the study of the ruling systems found in the *Apollonius pictus* and in the Vergil volume, it is evident that the two shared a common history from their creation around 1000 AD. The Vergil volume has a specific ruling that was made to accommodate three text columns: the larger lines of the main body of text in the middle of the page and the narrower lines of Servius' commentaries on the two sides. The *Apollonius pictus* is written in two text columns, nevertheless, the size and the arrangement of the ruling of its fol. 3 is completely identical with that of the Vergil pages, indicating that the *Apollonius pictus* was at least partly written on leftover parchment and that the two manuscripts were possibly made in the same scriptorium or by someone, who had access to materials used in the scriptorium where the Vergil volume was made. The localization of this scriptorium to Werden and der Ruhr, a prestigious Carolingian monastery founded by St. Liudger ca. 70 km North of Cologne, is hypothetical, but very likely.

What seems to be certain is that the *Apollonius pictus* and the Vergil volume are connected to one another, and that they were kept in the Werden monastery from as early as the 11th century. The incorporation of Uffingus von Werden's *Carmina figurata* in the Vergil volume itself indicates that the volume was used in the vicinity.¹²⁵ Uffingus' works did not enjoy a wide circulation and his *Carmina figurata* have come down to us only in the Vergil volume, written on a bifolio, fol. 2–3, that also shows the typical ruling of the Vergil pages.¹²⁶ A further hint at

¹²² On the upper pastedown it reads: *Istum librum contulit ad<...> te Ex testamento domini gosswini kempis canonici ad apostolos colonie ut <...> una cum glosa Servii in libros georgicorum*. On the lower pastedown: *Liber Gosswini Kempgyn septem artium liberalium et decretorum doctoris*.

¹²³ On Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* and on Schedel's interest in the work see Chapter II. 6.

¹²⁴ The current order of the folios, 1-2-3-4, is also mistaken, the story reads in the order of 1-4-2-3. As seen from the late 15th/early 16th century foliation, the folios followed one another as 1-3-2-4.

¹²⁵ The two *Carmina figurata* are on a separate bifolio (fol. 2–3) and their scribe is not identical with either that of the Vergil pages or that of the *Apollonius pictus*. For the text edition and German translation of the *Carmina* see Eickermann 1986/1987.

¹²⁶ Uffingus' works, his Life of St. Ida (*Vita S. Idae*) and his eulogy on the monastery and its founder (*Carmen in laudem Werthinae*) have come down to us in only three medieval codices that seem to originate in Werden. (Life of St. Ida: Herzfeld, Katholisches Pfarrarchiv St. Ida, without signature. Eulogy: Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek, 4^o Ms. theol. 29, fol. 66v – 68r; Münster, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Westfalen, Verein für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Westfalens, Msc. 136, fol. 60v–61v). His Life of St. Ida was copied in the 17th century by a Werden monk, Adolf Overham. Still in the 15th century it was revised in Cologne by Hermann Greven. On the life and work of Uffingus see Kühne 1995

the quondam presence of the *Carmina figurata* and thus of the Vergil volume in Werden is provided by an inscription of four lines on fol. 3v. It commemorates a certain pater Otto, who, based on the day of his death (May 8th), must be identical with Odo, a late 11th-century Abbot of the Werden monastrey.¹²⁷

The *Apollonius pictus* itself shows no indisputable evidence that it was kept in Werden an der Ruhr. Nevertheless, it is indicated by quite a few additional notes, mostly German names and satirical, sometimes even vulgar comments written next to its illustrations by various hands between the 11th and the 13th century.¹²⁸ Some of the names appear in Werden sources. *Adalhet* written next to the figure of Tarsia by an 11th-century hand (fol. 2r, scene 18, Fig. 38) is the name of a certain *nobilis femina Adaleit*, who was given allowances in the time of Abbot Gerold (1031-1050). *Gerolt* written by a supposedly 11th-century hand on the sword of a soldier (fol. 3v, scene 38) is the name of the aforementioned abbot and that of a *presbyter and monachus* who lived in the monastery before the end of the 11th century and died a violent death. *Saleko* written in the early 12th century above the figure of Theophilus in the same image is the name of a Werden canon from between 1031–1063 (Fig. 56), while *Walicho* written in the 12th century and referring to one of the executioners of the wicked brothel keeper (fol. 2v, scene 23) appears in the Werden sources before ca. 1100 as *Walaco presbyter et monachus* as well as around 1209 as *Walako* (Fig. 43). Perhaps the most interesting is the case of *Beruelpus*, whose name appears in a satirical context. Under the original image caption of scene 32 on fol. 3v, *Apollonius et Lucina uxor eius* – Apollonius and Lucina, his wife, a late 12th/early 13th-century hand wrote *Beruelpus et uxor eius* – Beruelpus and his wife (Fig. 51). Contrary to Gerolt or Walicho, Beruelpus was not a frequent name, still, it too appears in Werden sources before 1161 as *Berwelp* son of count Gerhard. It is likely that he was a *monachus nutritus*, someone raised by the monastery from his childhood.¹²⁹ It is hard to believe that all these correspondences are accidental, especially because there is a further piece of evidence, the acquisition of the manuscript by Gosswin Kempgyn de Nussia, that also points to the Werden origin of the *Apollonius pictus* and its mother codex, the Vergil volume. Gosswin lived in

and the *Geschichtsquellen des deutschen Mittelalters* under <https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/autor/4982> with bibliography (13.07.2021).

¹²⁷ *Huius ovilis ego quondam dictus pater Otto, queso pios omnes fundere velle preces, ut me quem maio labente sub idibus octo, hinc deus abstuleat leta quies foveat.* I thank András Németh for the transcription of the text. On the identification of pater Otto with Abbot Odo see Eickermann 1986/1987, 2. On Abbot Odo see Stüwer 1980, 311–312.

¹²⁸ On these additional notes see Nievergelt 2011.

¹²⁹ On these names in the *Apollonius pictus* and their counterparts in Werden sources see Nievergelt 2011, 106, 107–108, 109, 111, 112. On the Werden sources themselves see Stüwer 1980, 143, 309, 414, 415, 417, 507, 509. *Walico*, referred to by Nieverger as someone mentioned in Werden sources in 837 is perhaps identical with *Walaco presbyter et monachus*.

Cologne between 1450–1457 and again from 1462 until his death in 1483, in a period, when the Werden monastery suffered serious decline. In the time of Abbot Konrad von Gleichen (1452–1474) even many of its valuables had to be sold. In 1474 Konrad von Gleichen was removed from his post, and, on account of the intervention of Adam Meyer, Abbot of the St. Martin Benedictine monastery at Cologne, the Werden monastery joined the Bursfelde reform and experienced a renewal.¹³⁰ Under the years of decline and due to the personal relationships between Werden and Cologne, Gosswin could easily acquire the Vergil volume, an early and as such especially valuable copy of Vergil's *opera completa*, and the perhaps already fragmented *Apollonius pictus* with it.

In the light of all these pieces of evidence that mutually strengthen one another it seems very likely that the Vergil volume and the *Apollonius pictus* had been indeed used in the Werden monastery from the 11th century on. But does this imply that the *Apollonius pictus* was made in Werden for the use of its own community? The images allow other possibilities too.

In its present state *Apollonius pictus* contains roughly the second part of the story.¹³¹ It is illustrated with thirty-eight red outline drawings (Figs. 21–56) and there are traces of at least further six images on fol. 1r-v, which was lengthwise cut in half.¹³² The images were carried out by a single artist, but here or there they seem to have remained unfinished. Missing facial features, eyes, noses were added by various hands later on, when, parallel to the aforementioned additional inscriptions, the images were also “completed” with rather obscene pictorial commentaries.¹³³ The illustrations of the *Apollonius pictus* do not belong to the highest achievements of Ottonian book illumination, if the latter is identified with the art of representative liturgical manuscripts. Nevertheless, they consequently apply the motif-repertoire of Ottonian art and speak an intelligent visual language that highlights the vicissitudes of Tarsia and thus interprets the story in a specific way.¹³⁴ The images focus on the protagonists: with the exception of some ships, a few buildings and curtains, there is almost nothing that alludes to the *mise-en-scène*. In the absence of groundlines or sea waves, the figures and the ships move in an indefinite, abstract space. At the same time, with their postures and disproportionately large hands, the protagonists speak a sophisticated body language that

¹³⁰ On the history and personalia of the Werden monastery see Stüwer 1980 and Gerchow 1999. On Adam Meyer's role in particular see Wallmann 1999.

¹³¹ For the text edition of the *Apollonius pictus* see: Németh 2011.

¹³² For the image program see Appendix II.

¹³³ For a meticulous description of all the illustrations and the details subsequently added to them see Radden Keefe 2011.

¹³⁴ On the interpretative role of the images see Chapter III. 2.

tells a lot about their character, thoughts, feelings, social positions, and interrelationships.¹³⁵ The images are surrounded by the air of Antiquity: many of the figures wear tunics and chlamyses, while curtains and sails are twisted around poles in a classical-like fashion.

The style of the illustrations is somewhat unique, nevertheless it definitely resembles that of an image cycle that accompanies a so called *libellus*: a book that contains the life of a saint and texts concerning his/her cult.¹³⁶ The *libellus* in question is an early example of the genre and as such it is uncommon of it inasmuch as it includes the lives of two saints, St. Kilian of Würzburg and St. Margaret of Antioch.¹³⁷ Today kept in Hannover, it is considered to have been made in the last quarter of the 10th century at the Benedictine Abbey at Fulda, one of the most important Ottonian centers of learning, or under the influence of its famous school of illumination. Made for a community of women, it was perhaps used in the Essen house of canonesses, the prestigious *Frauenstift*, at that time home to family members of the Ottonian dynasty. Essen was only a few kilometers away from Werden and the two institutions maintained contacts. For example in the testament of Abbess Theophanou († 1058), the granddaughter of Emperor Otto II, we read about the Werden brethren from St. Liudger, who, if necessary, should participate in the thirty masses that was to be held after her death by twelve priests.¹³⁸ Illustrated with painted miniatures, the *libellus* was rather a representative cult object, still, there is an unmistakable similarity between its images and the more simple drawings of the *Apollonius pictus* as regards the focus on the protagonists and their lively interactions, the grouping of the figures, the type and significance of their gestures and postures and the depicted material culture, especially clothing, swords and staffs (Figs. 57–60).¹³⁹

Since the studies of Rainer Kahsnitz it is clear that Fulda had a lasting impact on the book culture of Werden an der Ruhr and that of the nearby Essen house of canonesses.¹⁴⁰ Abbot Bardo (1029? – 1031) and Abbot Gerold (1033 – 1050) of Werden came from Fulda, and they might have brought brethren, scribes, artists, books and, not the least, knowledge with them.¹⁴¹ Books that were made in Fulda or that exhibit features characteristic of Fulda have indeed come

¹³⁵ On early medieval body language with special regards to the *Apollonius pictus* see: Boreczky 2019b.

¹³⁶ For a comprehensive overview of the genre and the pictorial narratives found in *Libelli* see: Hahn 2001.

¹³⁷ Hannover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hs. I. 189. The facsimile of the Manuscript was published with a commentary by Hahn, Immel 1988. See also: Engelhart 1989; Winterer 2009, 71–86.

¹³⁸ Lacomblet 1840, Nr. 190, referred to by Kahsnitz 1970, 19.

¹³⁹ The relationship between the *Apollonius pictus* illustrations and those of the Kilian and Margaret *libellus* was already recognized by Kahsnitz 1979, 34–35.

¹⁴⁰ Kahsnitz 1979, esp. 254–257, 262 and Fingernagel 1991, 100–102. On the specific case of Essen see Kahsnitz 1970. For a recent overview on the Ottonian production of the Fulda school of illumination see Winterer 2009, esp. Chapter III.

¹⁴¹ On Abbot Bardo and Abbot Gerold see Stüwer 1980, 308–310.

down to us from both Werden and Essen. Besides the Kilian and Margaret *libellus* itself, it will suffice to refer to a late 10th-century Gospelbook (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Theol. Lat. Fol. 359), to an 11th-century Bible (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Theol. Lat. Fol. 336), and to the 11th-century Psalter (Berlin Ms. Theol. Lat. Fol. 358) from Werden, or to a late 10th-century Sacramentary (München, BSB, Clm 10077), and to a lost book containing the lives of St. Cosmas and Damian from Essen.¹⁴² It is within this broader circle of institutions and network of works where the birthplace and the intended readership of the *Apollonius pictus* has to be sought. Since the story of Apollonius, and particularly the virtuous perseverance of his wife, Lucina and their daughter, Tarsia in various tribulations, was an especially appropriate reading for women of high social standing at different stages of life, and since the illustrations of the *Apollonius pictus* put a conspicuous emphasis on the figure of Tarsia and her changing fortune, it is worth considering, whether the Essen community of canonesses was the primary audience of the book.

In addition to questions of localization and readership, the similarities between the images in the *Apollonius pictus* and in the Kilian and Margaret *libellus* are also significant from the viewpoint of the embeddedness of the *Apollonius pictus* into Ottonian art. This is all the more important, because the few earlier works on the *Apollonius pictus* have almost exclusively focused on its antique features. Before the publication of its facsimile in 2011, *Apollonius pictus* was usually mentioned briefly and casually in art history,¹⁴³ and the only scholar, who attributed significance to its illustrations, Kurt Weitzmann, did not regard the manuscript as an authentic and highly interesting product of Ottonian book culture. For him, it was the copy of a lost Late Antique book that provided the ultimate evidence for the existence of the genre of illustrated romance in Late Antiquity.¹⁴⁴ Certainly, the antiquity of the illustrations is among the important questions the *Apollonius pictus* raises. But classical art was such a determining source of inspiration at the age of the Ottonians that it was imitated, transformed and re-interpreted

¹⁴² Kahsnitz 1979, 257. For a description of the codices kept in Berlin see Fingernagel 104–106 (Gospelbook), 106–107 (Bible) and 107–110 (Psalter). Concerning the Werden library see Karpp 1999. For a list of codices from Essen see Kashnitz 1970, 22–33.

¹⁴³ It was shortly mentioned in the 1928 catalogue of illuminated manuscripts kept in the National Széchényi Library (Hoffmann 1928, 111), in two footnotes of Albert Boeckler's book on the 13th-century illustrations of Heinrich von Veldeke's Eneasroman (Boeckler 1939, 34. n. 43, 40, n. 79.), in Rainer Kahsnitz's book on the Werden Psalter as a work that resembles products of Fulda (Kahsnitz 1979, 35, 257, 262), in Angelika Geyer's book on the origins of narrative book-illustration among medieval codices that contain antique texts and apply the so called papyrus style method of illustration (Geyer 1989, 77, 83), in the catalogue of the 1999 exhibition on the history of the Werden monastery (Gerchow 1999, 340–341 by Rainer Kahsnitz) and in the catalogue of the Cimelia-exhibition held at the National Széchényi Library (Wehli 2000). For two insightful studies on the illustrations of the *Apollonius pictus* published in its facsimile edition see Kessler 2011; Barral i Altet 2011.

¹⁴⁴ Weitzmann 1959, 102–104. In 1978 Weitzmann exhibited the manuscript in the Age of Spirituality exhibition in New York. (Weitzmann 1979, 246–247 by Malcolm Bell.)

insomuch that its motifs became an integral part of Ottonian art itself. Since antique motifs belonged to the form repertoire of Ottonian artists, it has to be carefully analysed, whether and to what extent can the antique reminiscences in the *Apollonius pictus* be attributed to the direct copying of a Late Antique book.

By studying the image program, the layout structure and the portrayal of the single episodes in the *Apollonius pictus*, I arrived at the conclusion, that, no wonder, the manuscript shows a specific combination of Late Antique, Carolingian and modern Ottonian features.¹⁴⁵ Its image program, i.e. the selection of episodes and protagonists for visual rendering originates in Late Antiquity, while the arrangement of the images within the text follows a layout structure which gained importance as an appropriate form of visual story-telling in the time of the Carolingians. As we have already seen, the style of the illustrations, most of all the body language and the interactions of the protagonists are similar to those in the 10th-century Kilian and Margaret *libellus*, in the case of which the impact of an antique model is very unlikely.¹⁴⁶ These features and other motivic correspondences, like the specific, curtain-like sails fastened parallel to the ships' hull that return in an 11th-century manuscript containing the Gospel readings,¹⁴⁷ firmly anchor the *Apollonius pictus* in Ottonian art. Yet, some motifs that seem to make more sense in a Late Antique than in an Ottonian context imply that the images retained elements of a Late Antique image cycle, too. Such motifs are the Ephesian beast in scene 31 (Fig. 50), and the figure of Tarsia depicted in the posture of *Pudicitia* in scene 26 (Fig. 45).¹⁴⁸ This specific coexistence of old and new components gives direct insight into a process, through which the reference to the past, the reception, appropriation, transformation and use of classical and Carolingian heritage became principal constituents of Ottonian culture and art.

Compared to the later illustrated versions of the story of Apollonius, there are three features that make the *Apollonius pictus* specifically interesting. The first is that it was undoubtedly created and used in a religious environment. The second is that it shows such an organic coexistence of past and present that is far less evident in the younger examples. The third is that it has kept the textual and visual responses that the readers gave to the story and its late 10th/early 11th-century illustrations over ca. two hundred years. These comments reveal that the manuscript was handled with unparalleled freedom and give direct insight into the reception of the work in a monastic community. The satirical tone of some of the notes, and, more obviously,

¹⁴⁵ Boreczky 2016, Boreczky 2019a. See also the Conclusions to Chapter II.

¹⁴⁶ Weitzmann-Fiedler 1966.

¹⁴⁷ München, BSB, Clm. 15713.

¹⁴⁸ Boreczky 2016, 86–87; Boreczky 2019b, 39.

some obscene details the drawings were completed with, like the erect penis of the defeated brothel keeper in scene 26 (Fig. 45), suggest that the *Apollonius pictus* was considered provocative. While the story could be read as a moral exemplum, its unvarnished images that involved the depiction of nudity generated ambivalent reactions of ridicule and perhaps indignation.

After the images of the *Apollonius pictus* and its visual comments there is a long gap in the history of illustrated books containing the story. The next phase is represented by Italian codices made between the late 13th and the early 15th century. That the adventures of Apollonius did not cease to inspire images in the meantime is attested by 12th-century walrus-ivory game pieces from the vicinity of Cologne, that will be discussed in Chapter II. 8. Nevertheless, the Italian codices open a new stage in the illustration history of the story. As far as it can be reconstructed from the partly uncompleted, partly heavily damaged material, the illustrations of these copies that were made primarily for the secular elite reinterpret the story within the context of medieval romance and historiography.

II. 3. Apollonius in Italy: Romance and Historiography (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ash. 123; Paris, BnF, Lat. 8503; Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, NV 6; Paris, BnF, Lat. 8502; Lat. 4895; Rome, BAV, Archivio di San Pietro E 36)

There are five codices and one fragment from Italy that contain or would have contained Apollonius illustrations: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ash. 123; Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 4895; Ms. Lat. 8502; Ms. Lat. 8503; Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, NV 6 and a fragment consisting of a single folio within Rome, BAV, Archivio di San Pietro E 36 (fol. 65). They were made between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 15th century and they all represent different variants of the text. In Paris 8502, 8503 and Rome San Pietro E 36 one finds distinct redactions of the HA: Rec. St, Rec. C and Rec B, respectively.¹⁴⁹ Torino NV 6 is the only copy that has kept the *Historia de miser Apollonio de Tyri*, a 14th-century Tuscan-Venetian version of the tribulations of Apollonius and his family.¹⁵⁰ Florence Ash. 123, in turn, is the single representative of one of the six medieval French prose versions of the story.¹⁵¹ Finally, Paris 4895 is a splendid copy of Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*, a 12th-century world chronicle. Here the story of Apollonius is included in the 11th chapter, which narrates the deeds of Alexander the Great and events of the Second Punic War. In addition to this, in three of the Italian codices in question the adventures of Apollonius appear in the company of further texts: in Paris 8503 it is followed by Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni*, an incomplete text of *Imago mundi* attributed to Honorius Augustodunensis and the *Capitula Sylvestri papae*,¹⁵² in Rome San Pietro E 36 it is accompanied by texts recounting deeds of Alexander the Great: a complete Latin prose version of Eustache's *Fuerre de Gadres* and a Latin version of Jacques de Longuyon's *Vœux du Paon*, moreover a fragment from the fictional Life of St. Albanus of Hungary.¹⁵³ Florence Ash. 123 is a collection of French texts, mostly romances: besides the Apollonius it contains Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'Amour*, the *Florence et Blancheflor*, the *Distiques de Caton* of Adam de Suel, the *Roman de Tristan* (*Roman de Meliadus*) and the *Roman de Guiron le Courtois*.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Kortekaas 1984, 16 (Rome San Pietro E 36), 18 (Paris 8502), 21 (Paris 8503); Schmeling 1988, XIII–XVII.

¹⁵⁰ Sacchi 2009, 61–64.

¹⁵¹ On the six versions and their representatives see Chapter I.

¹⁵² Pellegrin 1955, 147; Babbi 2002, 184.

¹⁵³ The Latin *Fuerre de Gadres* kept in the ms. was discovered by Ross 1959. For a detailed description of the ms. see Pérez-Simon, Stones 2019, 157–166.

¹⁵⁴ Perriccioli-Saggese 1979, 94; Fabbri 2012, 10. See also:

https://www.arlima.net/mss/italia/firenze/biblioteca_medicea_laurenziana/ashburnham/123.html#F8 (01.08.2021).

Itself the variety of the Apollonius text versions contained in these six books, two of them written in vernacular, suggests that the story enjoyed wide circulation in Trecento Italy, and that the codices in question were created independently from one another. The different number and type of their illustrations confirm this assumption. Paris 8503 features one opening illustration and directly below it a figural initial, Florence Ash. 123 holds a figural initial and three illustrations, while Torino NV 6 was illustrated with a lengthy cycle of high-quality miniatures that were heavily damaged in the 1904 fire, which devastated many treasures of the Torino Library. Unfortunately, Paris 8502, and the Apollonius fragment in Rome San Pietro E 36 only have spaces reserved for illustrations, and although Paris 4895 (the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo) is embellished with very fine miniatures, those of the Apollonius story have not been executed either. The placement of the would-be illustrations within the text of Paris 8502 and that of the fragment in Rome San Pietro E 36 do not conform to one another, indicating that the two cycles of images would have been different.¹⁵⁵ Belonging to a distinct text, the image program in the *Pantheon* would have evidently represented a third alternative.

In what follows I will present the artistic circles where the codices originate in, and I will try to reconstruct the social-cultural environment of their medieval readership. I start with the three codices with existing images and will discuss them in their possible chronological order. The two oldest illustrated copies, Florence Ash. 123 and Paris 8503 are roughly contemporaneous, but the first is perhaps a few years older than the second.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ash. 123

Made at the end of the 13th/at the beginning of the 14th century, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ash. 123, contains on its fol. 14r–22v the story of Apollonius. On fol. 14r it begins with a figural initial depicting the half figure of a king, most likely the wicked King Antiochus, or perhaps Apollonius himself (Fig. 61). Fol. 15v has two illustrations of courtly scenes, episodes from the encounter of Apollonius and his future wife Lucina. In the first, Lucina plays the harp in the court of his father, King Archistrates, who, accompanied by his retinue, sits on his throne and listens to her. The guests of the reception, among them Apollonius, are nowhere to be seen. He appears in the second image playing the harp for Lucina, her father and the latter's now smaller retinue (Fig. 62 A-B). The story concludes with an image on fol. 22v depicting three kings and two queens sitting next to one another, each on a throne with a golden

¹⁵⁵ The Apollonius fragment in Rome Archivio di San Pietro E 36 would have had two images, one after the 7th and another after the 14th line of HA Chapter 47 (fol. 65r, 65v). In Paris 8502 there is a space reserved for illustration after the 14th line of Chapter 47 (fol. 23v), but no space was reserved after the 7th line. (Line numbers are given according to the Latin text in Archibald 1991.)

pillow. Three of them can be identified by means of their attire. King Archistrates has the same red robe, Apollonius the same blue one and Lucina the same two-colour garment, the so-called *mi-parti*, rose on its right and green on its left side that they wear in the previous images. The other two figures, a crowned couple: a lady in a red-blue *mi-parti* and a man in a blue robe could be no one else than Tarsia and her husband, king Athenagoras. The image represents the main protagonists of the story at the height of their power: Apollonius and his family happily reunited and restored to their original social rank (Fig. 63).

Based on the style of these images and those of the other illustrations contained in it, Ash. 123 belongs to a group of somewhat more than twenty manuscripts that were made between ca. 1280/1290 and 1310/1320.¹⁵⁶ It was Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, who, in the late 1970's first recognized that they constitute a coherent unit and discussed them as the *Gruppe der neapolitanisch-französischen Unterhaltungsprosa*.¹⁵⁷ The majority of them contain French literary works: Arthurian romances (e.g. the *Roman de Tristan*, the *Meliadus* or the *Guiron le Courtois*) and stories about classical heroes and history (e.g. the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* or the *Faits des Romains*). They are usually illustrated with coloured outline drawings painted directly on the parchment, a technique which made the production relatively less time consuming and less costly. The text is written in two columns and the images, placed on the top, in the middle or, for the most part, at the bottom, often take the whole width of the folio. The protagonists communicate with one another by means of lively gestures and move freely on the page, especially in those frequent cases when the images have no frames. As a result, the visual appearance of these books is very vivid, and there is no strict borderline between the reality of the narrated stories and that of the reader/viewer.

Scenes, figures and figure-compositions, faces and motives characteristic of our Apollonius images can be found in various codices across the group. To name but a few: the *mi-parti* robes of Lucina and Tarsia return in a figural initial depicting the council of Gallic princes in a *Faits*

¹⁵⁶ The number of the codices considered in this context slightly varies in the literature. Degenhart, Schmitt 1977 who were the first to collect and consider the codices in question as a coherent group, spoke about 22 codices (or parts of them) and a fragment: 1.) Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Ms. 444 D; 2.) Ms. 446 E; 3.) Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Hs. 78 C 15; 4.) Berlin, SB, Hs. Hamilton 49; 5.) Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, Ms. 1260; 6.) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ash. 123; 7.) London, BL, Ms. Harley 4389; 8.) Modena, Bibl. Estense, Ms. Alfa T 3 11; 9.) Paris, BnF, Fr. 354; 10.) Fr. 760; 11.) Fr. 1386; 12.) Fr. 1463; 13.) Fr. 9685; 14.) Fr. 16998; 15.) NAF 9603; 16.) Rome, BAV, Ms. Lat. 5895; 17.) Ms. Reg. Lat. 1501; 18.) Tours, BM, Ms. 953; 19.) Udine, Bibl. Arcivescovile, Ms. 177; 20.) Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Fr. IX 227; 21.) Ms. Fr. XI 254; 22.) Ms. Fr. XXIII 234; and 23.) a fragment in Puigcerda (without shelfmark). Perriccioli Saggese 1979, 61–62 and Avril Gousset 1984, 25 excludes Paris, BnF, Fr. 1386 from the group, while the latter includes in it Paris, BnF, Fr. 726 and a fragment incorporated into Paris, BnF, Fr.6002. See also Dachs 1989; Orofino 1994; Fabbri 2012, Molteni 2020, 109–173.

¹⁵⁷ Degenhart, Schmitt 1977; Degenhart, Schmitt 1980, 2. 187–241; 3. Pl. 97–130, Nr. 665–687.

des Romains manuscript (Paris, BnF, Fr. 726, fol. 21v), the specific thrones decorated with small circles in our Apollonius are the same as those of king Arthur and of princess Iseut in a *Roman de Tristan* manuscript (Paris, BnF, Fr. 760, fol. 2r, 15v, 61r, 69v, 87v, 121r – Fig. 64), and those of patriarch Jacob, the pharaoh, Holofernes, Ahasuerus or king Latinus in two *Histoire ancienne* volumes (Rome, BAV, Lat. 5895, fol. 48r, 54v, 136v, 143r, 144v; Paris, BnF, Fr. 9685, fol. 54v, 116v, 158v). The arrangement of Apollonius and his family sitting next to one another in a row corresponds to that of five kings preparing an attack on king Arthur in the aforementioned *Tristan* manuscript (Paris, BnF, Fr. 760, fol. 56v – Fig. 65). Moreover, the figure of Princess Iseut or a young lady playing the harp depicted in profile in *Meliadus/Tristan* manuscripts (Paris, BnF, Fr. 1463, fol. 99r; Fr. 760, fol. 115r, 121r) could be taken for Lucina (Fig. 66), while the figures in pointed hats in the two *Histoire ancienne* manuscript (Rome, BAV, Lat. 5895, fol. 18v; Paris, BnF, Fr. 9685, fol. 14v, 116v) resemble the retinue of King Archistrates.¹⁵⁸

The similarities and cross relationships between the images within the group make it clear that the codices in question were created in the same artistic milieu. At the same time, differences for example in facial features and colouring show that there were quite a few hands involved in their illustration. Regarding their place of work, two opposing views have been articulated in the literature. While Degenhart and Schmitt, moreover, in parallel to them, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese argued that the codices were products of scriptoria working in Naples for the Angevin court, François Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset found that they were made in Liguria, most likely in Genoa.¹⁵⁹ The Neapolitan theory was primarily based on the concept that the patrons and the public of French chivalric romances in Italy have to be sought in the francophone Angevin court. It was also supported by observations concerning the resemblance

¹⁵⁸ That the illustrations of the *Faits des Romains* (Paris, BnF, Fr. 726), the *Roman de Tristan* (Paris, BnF, Fr. 760), and the two closely related *Histoire ancienne* volumes (Rome, BAV, Lat. 5895; Paris, BnF, Fr. 9685) have much in common with the images of Ash. 123, was already recognized by Avril, Gousset 1984, Cat. Nr. 38, 46, 50, too. Whether the artist of the *Histoire ancienne* kept in Rome (BAV, Lat. 5895) was indeed responsible for the illustrations in Ash. 123, as Perriccioli Saggese 1979, 94, Tav. XII–XVI thinks, is less evident, but not impossible.

¹⁵⁹ Degenhart, Schmitt 1977; Degenhart, Schmitt 1980, 2. 187–241; 3. Pl. 97–130, Nr. 665–687; Perriccioli Saggese 1979, 25–47; Avril Gousset 1984, 23–27; Gousset 1988. Before the codices were established as a coherent group and considered by Degenhart and Schmitt as products of Neapolitan scriptoria, some of the codices included in the group were attributed to Lombardian workshops by Pietro Toesca, and then by Roger Sherman and Laura Hibbard Loomis. (Toesca 1912, 164–165, 384–385; Loomis 1938, 89, 117, referred to by Fabbri 2012, 9. The codices in question are: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Ms 446 E; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hs. Hamilton 49; London, BL, Ms. Harley 4389; Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. Alfa T.3.11; Paris, BnF, Fr. 354; Fr. 760; Fr. 1463; Rome, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1501; Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Fr. IX (227); Fr. XI (254).) A few others were already localized to Naples by Erwin Panofsky, Fritz Saxl, Luigi Magnani, and Ferdinando Bologna. (Panofsky, Saxl 1932–1933, 262, 269 concerning Paris, BnF, Fr. 1386, Fr. 9685; Rome, BAV, Ms. Lat. 5895; Magnani 1936, 17 concerning Paris, BnF, Fr. 9685; Rome, BAV, Lat. 5895; Saxl 1957, 132–133 concerning Rome, BAV, Lat. 5895). See also Streiff 1972 53–62 and Oltrogge 1989, 37.

of figure types found in a Neapolitan copy of Frederick II's Book on Falconry made for his son, Manfred, in the middle of the 13th century (*De arte venandi cum avibus*, Rome, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1071) and in our group (Fig. 67),¹⁶⁰ as well as concerning the survival of compositions and systems of illustration typical for our group in a Neapolitan *Historie ancienne* codex from around 1330–1340 (London, British Library, Ms. Royal 20 D. I).¹⁶¹ In turn, the suggestion of Avril and Gousset relied on the scrutiny of fleuronnee ornaments. The ones in our group proved to be akin to those of codices that could be anchored in Genoa: the Genoese annals begun after 1166 and finished after 1287 (Paris, BnF, Lat. 10136) and the late 13th-century chronicle of the Crusades from the Genoese author, Galvanus de Levanto (Paris, BnF, NAL. 669).¹⁶² Although the comparisons of Avril and Gousset are convincing, their hypotheses was first received with scepticism partly because the localization of fleuronnee ornaments that usually apply similar motifs is very difficult and partly because no Genoese codices with images similar to those of our group have been identified.¹⁶³ Accordingly, our group was discussed further on as Neapolitan for instance by Monika Dachs, Giulia Orofino, Fabio Troncarelli and Alessandra Perriccioli-Saggese,¹⁶⁴ while a growing number of textual, linguistic and codicological observations favouring the group's North-Italian origin were made. Instructions given to the illustrators and the language of the copyists in quite a few manuscripts of the group have proved to be Pisan, and the 14th-century possession-history of a number of the codices also points to the North.¹⁶⁵ As a result, it has recently become a generally accepted view, or at least a very plausible alternative, that the manuscripts are products of Pisan scribes, who worked in Genoese captivity after the 1284 Battle of Meloria.¹⁶⁶ That out of the many Pisan captives some could be engaged in literary activities and thus in book production is well known from the example of Rustichello (Rusticiano) da Pisa, the author of a French Arthurian romance, the *Compilation arthurienne* the oldest known copy of which belongs to our group (Paris, BnF, Fr. 1463).

¹⁶⁰ Dachs 1989 139.

¹⁶¹ Saxl 1957, 134–136. According to him, the manuscript was made in the age of Louis of Taranto, king of Naples (1352–1362). Today the manuscript is dated to the 1330's. See the description at the homepage of the British Library: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_20_D_I (08.08.2021).

¹⁶² Avril, Gousset 1984, 23–27; 27–29; 36–37.

¹⁶³ Oltrogge 1989, 38.

¹⁶⁴ Dachs 1989; Orofino 1994; Troncarelli 2004; Perriccioli Saggese 2005, 237; Orofino 2012, 927–928.

¹⁶⁵ Fabbri 2012, 11–13, with reference to Benedetti 1990.

¹⁶⁶ Fabbri 2012; Fabbri 2016; Molteni 2016, 128; Molteni 2020, 109–173. Already Oltrogge 1989, 36–38 discussed the theory of the Genoese origin as a conceivable possibility. That Pisan scribes indeed worked in Genoese captivity is attested by a number of colophons. See: Molteni 2020, 116–124, with reference to Cigni 2006. A 14th-century pejorative note in the *Guiron le Courtois* codex (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Fr. IX 227, fol. 74r), which, in turn, constitutes part of our group, attributes the “lies” in the book to “Pisan dogs”. See: Fabbri 2012, 12 and Molteni 2020, 123.

Rustichello is also known as the co-author of Marco Polo's *Devisement du Monde*, written at the very end of the 13th century, when the two were imprisoned in Genoa.¹⁶⁷

The question of the localization is especially important for us because it changes the way we think about the early Italian public of French romances, the story of Apollonius among them. With the possibility of the Genoese place of origin of the codices a new audience, the civic society appears on the scene. Their interest in the works that are usually categorized as *romanzo cortese* (chivalric romance) might have partly been fostered by the wish to imitate the culture of the courtly elite. Nevertheless, the specific taste that manifests itself in the less expensive and less refined but at the same time very direct, vivid and communicative drawings characteristic for our group suggests that a new and independent readership with its own needs and liking was emerging. This also supports the Genoese origin of the group, and I am inclined to think that our Apollonius was indeed made within the walls of this proud city of merchants, the rival of Venice. Genoa maintained a broad network of contacts both in the East and the West, therefore, Tyre and the Eastern Mediterranean, the localities of the story of Apollonius, were just as much part of Genoese daily reality as the Holy Grail, which was believed to be kept in the cathedral and whose legend was told in the Arturian romances contained in many codices of our group. The literate civic society could appreciate the adventurous story of Apollonius without its courtly connotations as well, especially with regards to the moral values it exemplified. Due to the modesty of its protagonists, most of all that of Tarsia, it was not only entertaining but also edifying and as such an appropriate middle class reading.

Paris, BnF, Lat. 8503

The other late 13th / early 14th-century illustrated Apollonius that was made in Italy derives from a very different milieu. It is contained in Paris, BnF, Lat. 8503, fol. 1r–7v, where it is followed by Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni*, an incomplete text of *Imago mundi* attributed to Honorius Augustodunensis and the *Capitula Sylvestri papae*.¹⁶⁸ Embellished with two images as well as with one figural, quite a few anthropomorphic / zoo-anthropomorphic and many ornamental initials, moreover with a marginal decoration composed of acanthus leaves that remained uncoloured here or there, it is a very elegant book. One of the images, the figural initial and the marginal decoration are at the very beginning of the book on fol. 1r, where they initiate the story of Apollonius (Fig. 68). The other one is placed at the beginning of the story of Alexander the Great (Fig. 69). The Apollonius image depicts the

¹⁶⁷ Cigni 2017.

¹⁶⁸ See note 152 above.

opening scene: the young Apollonius appears before the wicked King Antiochus. Antiochus sits on a throne, Apollonius, wearing a red cape over a blue tunic and a black biretta over a white coif, the attributes of a Bolognese civil lawyer, stands in front of him in the company of Antiochus' daughter and two associates.¹⁶⁹ These hold a long scroll, perhaps in reference to the riddle Antiochus posed to the suitors of his daughter or to Apollonius' answer, which revealed the king's sinful affection for her. Apollonius appears as the representative of justice. Directly below the image there is the single figural initial of the volume, a letter *q* with the bust of an old man, whose connection to the text is unclear. Perhaps it is meant to be an author portrait, albeit the author of the story of Apollonius is unknown.

The layout of the page was carefully designed. The text is written in two columns and the image, executed in cover paint, is placed at the top of the left column after the two lines of the rubric. The image fits nicely into the width of the text column without being rigidly framed. On the left there is no proper frame, and the continuity of the grey stripe that constitutes the upper, the lower and the right frame is broken by one of the figures, who, introducing movement into the otherwise static composition, enters the image field from outside the frame. This is the work of an outstanding painter from the circle of such a leading Bolognese artist as the master, who was responsible for the adornment of a Bible, Lat 18, of the Bibliothèque National, Paris.¹⁷⁰ The latter is also known as Jacopino da Reggio, who signed a splendid copy of Gratian's *Decretum* (BAV, Vat. Lat. 1375, fol. 350v) decorated by a team of artists, one of whom must be identical with the painter of the Paris Bible Lat. 18.¹⁷¹ The artist of our Apollonius has been identified by Alessandro Conti with another contributor to the *Decretum* volume, who also worked, among others, in a Bible made for the Paduan canon Niccolò di Monterano in Padua between 1287–1295 (New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M.436 – Fig. 70), and in two further legal codices (BAV, Pal. Lat. 629 and Pal. Lat. 632).¹⁷² After the colophon of the Morgan Bible (fol. 432v), he is known as Modenese, although his identity could not be established with

¹⁶⁹ I am indebted to Susan L'Engle for identifying the clothing of Apollonius.

¹⁷⁰ Avril Gousset 1984, 104–105. On the Bible Lat. 18: op. cit. 101–104, with reference to further works attributed to its master.

¹⁷¹ For the identification of the master of the Bible Paris Lat 18. with the main master of the *Decretum* and consequently with Jacopino da Reggio see: Conti 1981, 37–54. On Jacopino da Reggio: Medica 2004. The inscription on fol. 350v read as: *Ut rosa flos florum sic liber iste librorum, quem Jacobinus depinxit manu Reginus.* (See Medica 2004, 344.)

¹⁷² Conti 1981, 52. For the dating of the Morgan Bible see Battistini 2004, with reference to M. E. Faccioli Brunetti. For a recent contextualization of its Paduan relations see L'Engle 2012. On Vat. Pal. Lat. 629 see: Burkhart 1997. For a recent overview of Jacopino's and Modenese's work in the context of Bolognese book painting see Medica 2005, 182–183.

certainty.¹⁷³ The clergy was obviously among his clientele, but whom the Apollonius was made is not known. His art and that of his peers must have been kept in high esteem. Somewhat after its production Jacopino's Paris Bible Lat. 18 was likely in the possession of antipope Clement VII (1342–1394),¹⁷⁴ while the Morgan Bible of Modenese was owned at some point by a member of the mighty Contarini family, one of the oldest clans in Venice.¹⁷⁵ One of the two legal codices (BAV, Pal. Lat. 629, Pal. Lat 632) was perhaps among the books, that were given by Louis III, Elector Palatine, to the Heidelberg University at the beginning of the 15th century.¹⁷⁶ Both formed part of the Heidelberg Bibliotheca Palatina, one of the most significant early modern libraries of Europe.

The Apollonius book went into the hands of the Italian aristocracy. In 1426 the codex was kept in the famous Visconti (later Sforza) library, established in the 1360s by Galeazzo II and housed in the *Castello Visconteo* in Pavia. It is not known how and when the Viscontis acquired it, but there were plenty of occasions for that. Artists of Bolognese origin – and Bolognese books with them – must have appeared in their circles, as attested by the aforementioned codex from 1331 containing Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon* (Paris, BnF, Lat. 4895) that I will discuss below among the Apollonius codices, whose images have not been carried out. But it is also possible that Paris 8503 was acquired by the Viscontis much later. Their collection of books was enriched in various ways, loot being an important one among them. With regards to Modenese's Paduan connections it is not indifferent that books from this city, even ones from the library of Petrarch, were taken to Pavia after Giangaleazzo Visconti conquered Padua in 1388.¹⁷⁷ But of course there were more pieciful connections between Milan/Pavia and other Italian centers of art and learning as well. From 1353 on, Petrarch himself spent years in the Visconti court, he might have even played a role as an advisor in the foundation of the library in Pavia.¹⁷⁸ Anyway, by 1426, it held about one thousand books,¹⁷⁹ and our manuscript appears regularly in the 15th-century inventories, the oldest of which dates to 1426.¹⁸⁰ In 1499/1500 the volume, together

¹⁷³ On Modenese see: Battistini 2004. The colophon reads as: *ego magister mutinensis de grasulfo qui fui de mutina feci et scripsi in padua*. (See: Conti 1981, 54.)

¹⁷⁴ Avril Gousset 1984, 103.

¹⁷⁵ See the description at the homepage of The Morgan Library and Museum: <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/thumbs/112313> (11.02.2022).

¹⁷⁶ Hanselmann 1997, 125.

¹⁷⁷ Zaggia 2015, 174; Rossi 2017, 17.

¹⁷⁸ Avril 1989, 107. On Petrarch's relationship to the Viscontis see Zaggia 2015, 167–169.

¹⁷⁹ On the history of the Library and its inventories see Pellegrin 1955; Pellegrin 1969; Pellegrin 1982; Ottolenghi 1991; Cerrini 1991.

¹⁸⁰ For the reference to the codex in the inventories see: Pellegrin 1955, p. 147. Nr. 335 (1426); Pellegrin 1955, p. 316, Nr. 587 (1459); Ottolenghi 1991, p. 108. Nr. 564 (1488); Ottolenghi 1991, p. 220. Nr. 774 (1490). For a short mention and a photo of fol 1r see: Pellegrin 1969, 7, pl. 48.

with a high number of other books, was taken by Louis XII, king of France to his royal residence, the palace at Blois.¹⁸¹ In 1544 Francis I transferred the books from Blois to Fontainebleau, and later on they were taken to Paris.¹⁸² The provenance of the manuscript suggests that it was made for an aristocratic clientele.

Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria NV 6

The most richly illustrated Apollonius book made in Italy is a Venetian codex from the middle of the 14th century, today kept in Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria as NV 6. This is the only extant copy of the *Historia de miser Apollonio de Tyri*, an Italian version of the story of Apollonius compiled by an unknown author.¹⁸³ It has been heavily damaged in the 1904 fire, which devastated the library at Torino, but, contrary to what was believed for decades, it survived (Fig. 71).¹⁸⁴ In its original state the manuscript consisted of 28 folios and held not less than 35 images.¹⁸⁵ Today we have remnants of 26 folios (fol. 1, 28 have been completely perished), and traces of 32 images. Many of them have been burnt or washed away, causing the paint to stick to the opposing pages, nevertheless, quite a few of their details are seen. The layout, the places of the images on the folios and their textual context can be established. These, together with the number of the depicted figures and their arrangement, remains of objects like large grey ships here or a bed there provide us information on the basis of which the depicted episodes can be identified, and a large part of the image program can be reconstructed.¹⁸⁶

The text is written in one column, and the images, placed in the middle or at the bottom of the page, respect the column width. They are framed with two simple parallel stripes that are usually red and greyish-blue today, but they can be a combination of beige and green (fol. 12r), red and green (fol. 18r, 26v) or beige and red (26r) as well. Although it is difficult to determine how much the colours have changed in the fire, it is no question that the background was always painted in rich, deep blue, which was decorated with fine white lines and tendrils at the edges and corners (seen e.g. on fol. 10r, 14v, 15v, 18r). Many of the images embraced two episodes. Today twenty-seven episodes of twenty images can be identified, and it is possible to establish

¹⁸¹ It is registered in the two 16th-century inventories of the Blois library: in 1518 under Nr. 787, in 1544 under Nr. 493. See Omont 1908–1913, Vol. I., 103, 182, referred to by Avril, Gousset 1984, 105.

¹⁸² On the library of Francis I see Laffitte, Le Bars 1999, 11–31; Hermant 2015.

¹⁸³ The codex was made known and the text of the *Historia de miser Apollonio de Tyri* was first published by Salvioni 1889. For a recent edition of the text see: Sacchi 2009, 267–324.

¹⁸⁴ It appears in Archibald 1991, 196 as a book that had completely perished, but it turned out from Sacchi 2009, 61–63 that large fragments of it have survived. I am indebted to Luca Sacchi for showing the complete photo-set of the manuscript to me.

¹⁸⁵ Salvioni 1889, VII.

¹⁸⁶ For the identification of the depicted episodes and the reconstruction of the image program see Appendix V and also Boreczky 2023.

that at least forty-four episodes accompanied the textual narration. This was an impressive image program, and the few intact details, like the intense and communicative gazes on fol. 12r or 14r show that it was carefully executed by an excellent artist.

Based on its linguistic features, it is evident that the codex derives from 14th-century Venice, however, the place of the illustrations within Venetian painting is difficult to establish.¹⁸⁷ Salvioni dated it to the middle, Sacchi to the third quarter of the century, the latter relating it to three richly illustrated manuscripts. The first of these is a *Legendary* containing the legend of apostles Peter and Paul, the legend of St. Alban and a narrative on the meeting of pope Alexander III and emperor Frederick Barbarossa in Venice, which resulted in the treaty of Venice in 1177 (Venice, Biblioteca Museo Correr, 1497 – Fig. 72).¹⁸⁸ The second is an early copy of Dante's *Divina commedia* (Budapest, University Library, Cod. Ital. 1 – Fig. 73),¹⁸⁹ the third contains the *Roman d'Alexandre* (Venice, Biblioteca Museo Correr, 1493 – Fig. 74).¹⁹⁰

These three codices represent different periods and belong to different work-groups, moreover, in the case of the *Roman d'Alexandre* even its Venetian place of origin has been called into question.¹⁹¹ The *Legendary* was attributed by Mirella Levi d'Ancona to the artist of an „Antiphonary” (in the more recent literature identified as a Gradual) dated to 1365, that of the Venetian Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. II. 119 = 2426), which was signed by Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì.¹⁹² It is not clear whether Giustino was the scribe or the illuminator of the volume, or perhaps both, and for me it is not evident either that the miniatures of the Antiphonary/Gradual were created by the same hand as the images of the *Legendary*. Itself the oeuvre that has grown around the name of Giustino and that would span almost four decades starting with ca. 1360 is far from being homogeneous. Therefore, this corpus should be seen as the representative of a style-tradition followed by a group of artists working in relation to one another and not as the work of a single hand. The illustrations of the Dante-codex, in turn, were attributed by Rane A. Katzenstein to the master of the so called Marciana Epistolary, one of a series of splendid liturgical books that were commissioned for the use of the Basilica di San Marco most likely by Doge Andrea Dandolo

¹⁸⁷ For indepth studies and overviews of Venetian book painting see the works of among others Giordana Mariana Canova: Canova 1992, Canova 2005, Canova 2007.

¹⁸⁸ Burgio 1995.

¹⁸⁹ Marchi, Pál 2006.

¹⁹⁰ Benedetti 1998.

¹⁹¹ For the various suggestions see the text below.

¹⁹² Levi d'Ancona 1967. The inscription on fol. 2r reads as *Qui cupis actorem (!) orrigine venetus huius, Noscere Iustinum operis et nomine condam, Gherardini fuit forliviensis magistri natus.* (Cited after Marcon 2004.) For a recent study on his person and the distribution of his style in Northern-Italy (Pavia) see: Chen 2017, with reference to the previous literature.

(1343–1354), a man praised by his friend, Petrarch, for his learning and literacy.¹⁹³ More recently Giorgio Fossaluzza reinforced the connection between the Dante-codex and the workshop that was responsible for the Marciana liturgical books, the Epistolary, a Missal and a Gospel lectionary (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. I. 101; Lat III 111; Lat. I 100).¹⁹⁴ Accordingly, the Dante-codex can be dated to the 1340s. Finally, the *Roman d'Alexandre* was first considered as an early 14th-century Venetian codex, but later Alessandro Conti identified it as a late 13th-century work of a Bolognese artist, the one, who painted the initial M in the *Matricola degli spadai* of 1285 (Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Min. 3).¹⁹⁵ More recently Lorenza Novello discussed it in the context of Paduan illumination, while Alison Stones and Maud Pérez-Simon called attention to its possible Roman connections.¹⁹⁶

It is of no surprise that the date of origin of the works associated with our Apollonius spans around eight decades and that the possibility of Bolognese/Paduan connections is considered. Due to the heavily damaged state of our images the evaluation of their style is very difficult. But perhaps it is more important that although the *Roman d'Alexandre*, the Dante-codex and the *Legendary* represent different groups of artists, the traditions these groups followed were not independent of one another. It is a common sense that Bolognese artists made a lasting impact on Venetian painting, and the relationship between the masters of the Marciana Missal/Gospel lectionary/Epistolary and the circle of Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì was also recognized long ago. According to Mirella Levi d'Ancona, Giustino was a pupil of the main master of the Missal,¹⁹⁷ and according to Ranee A. Katzenstein, it might have been the young Giustino, who worked together with the main master of the Missal and the master of the Epistolary in a manuscript that contains a certain *Vita gloriossime virginis Marie* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Misc. 476).¹⁹⁸

The state of the Torino Apollonius will not allow us to establish the precise date of its origin. Nevertheless, it is clear that the relationship of its illustrations to those of the *Roman d'Alexandre* is distant and that it is one of those mid-14th-century Venetian manuscripts, in which the text is accompanied by an abundant visual narrative. A profound interest in lively pictorial story-telling is evident in the oeuvre of the artists of the Marciana liturgical books as

¹⁹³ Katzenstein 1987, 131. Already Berkovits 1930 recognized the relationship between the Dante-codex and the era of Andrea Dandolo, connecting the Dante-miniatures with one of the *Promissione* manuscripts of Andrea Dandolo, decorated folios of which were later excised.

¹⁹⁴ Fossaluzza 2006. On the Marciana liturgical books see also: Marcon 1995, 127–134; and Minazzato 2004.

¹⁹⁵ La Du 1937, XI–XII; Conti 1998 58–59.

¹⁹⁶ Novello 2012; Ross 2019, 35. For a recent study on the question of Bologna versus Padua see L'Engle 2012.

¹⁹⁷ Levi d'Ancona 1967 37–38.

¹⁹⁸ Katzenstein 1987, 136.

well as in that of Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì and his circle, and it manifests itself in the illustration of both religious and secular contents. Besides the 95 extant miniatures of the Gospel lectionary and the 62 miniatures of the Missal, the numerous vignettes of the Dante-codex or the images of the *Legendary*, one might also think of the countless miniatures in a copy of Guido de Columnis' *Historia destructionis Troiae* (Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 78), which were attributed to Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì by Hugo Buchthal (Fig. 75).¹⁹⁹

The Torino Apollonius is part of this rich tradition. Composed of one text column and such column-width images in simple rectangular frames that are imbedded into the text, its layout is very similar to that of the *Legendary* (Figs. 71, 72). The way images (or more precisely their artists) respect the borders assigned by the simple rectangular frame is consistent within the whole group, and the use of one-colour backgrounds, typically blue, decorated with white lines and tendrils is characteristic for the *Legendary* and the Dante-codex too (Figs. 72, 73).²⁰⁰ This system of illustration differs significantly for instance from the famous series of *Roman de Troie* manuscripts that were most likely made in Padua between ca. 1320 and 1350 (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2571; St. Petersburg, RNB, Ms. Fr. F. v. XIV. 3; Paris, BnF, Fr. 782).²⁰¹ In these the miniatures have colourful, patterned background and they run frequently over their decorated frames, extending to the margins or to the intercolumnar space (Fig. 76). Some details of the clothing, like the hanging sleeves, depicted in the Torino Apollonius (fol. 12r) appear on a detached folio of the *Mariegola* of the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista (Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, inv. 2041), attributed to the workshop of Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì and dated to 1366–1369.²⁰² Nevertheless, the figure types, the facial forms, the proportions and postures have much more in common with the Dante-codex and the Marciana liturgical books than with the works associated with the circle of Giustino. The slender-waist figures seen in the *Legendary* or in the Bodmer Troy-book don't show up in the Apollonius images. The colour compositions, the blue backgrounds and the predominance of large green and red spots also connect the Apollonius images to the Dante-codex and distances it from the variegation of the Bodmer Troy-book. For all these reasons I think that the manuscript was made most likely between ca. 1340–1360, and certainly not in the late years of Giustino.

¹⁹⁹ Buchthal 1971 28–29.

²⁰⁰ In the Bodmer Troy-book the natural and built environment often takes a large part of the image, therefore the backgrounds are reduced, however they follow the same principle.

²⁰¹ For an insightful study on the three codices and their interrelationship see: L'Engle 2017.

²⁰² Humphrey 2015, Kat. Nr. 18., 240–245.

Who the patron(s) and reader(s) of our Apollonius manuscript were, is not known, but they must have belonged to the elite. The masters of the Marciana liturgical books fulfilled the most prestigious Venetian commissions of their time, and the Dante-codex was made for someone in the Emo family, one of the most distinguished families of Venice. At the same time, it can't be excluded either that, despite all its Venetian connections, the Torino Apollonius was made for a non-Venetian patron/reader or that it was used further away from Veneto. Venetian books enjoyed a wide circulation, the Bodmer Troy-book, for instance, seems to have been kept in 1371, shortly after its production, in Piacenza.²⁰³

Paris BnF, Lat. 8502

Dated to the end of the 13th century, the oldest of the three Italian codices whose Apollonius illustrations have not been carried out, Paris BnF, Lat. 8502, is contemporaneous with the likely Genoese illustrated Apollonius discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ash. 123. It consists of 27 folios that accommodate one text column. The images would have been placed in the vicinity of the corresponding text on the top, in the middle or at the bottom of the page (Fig. 12). Sometimes the width of the field reserved for illustration is smaller than that of the column, in these cases there are some shorter text lines to the left of the image-field (fol. 5r, 9r). The precise number of the illustrations is difficult to establish, but, apparently, it would have been a lengthy image cycle. It seems that there are only seven pages in the whole volume where no image was planned, here the number of text lines varies between 30–33 (fol. 4r, 9v, 11v, 18v, 21r, 21v, 24r). Since the bottom margin is rather large, I assume that there would have been images under the text on those pages where there are 27–29 lines of text (fol. 3r, 6v, 17v, 20r), even if there is already an image field on the upper part of the page (fol. 1r, 8v, 15v, 16v, 19r, 19v, 24v, 26v). Therefore, one can estimate that the total number of illustrations was between 47 and 59.²⁰⁴

The decoration of the volume consists of a larger fleuron initial at the very beginning of the text, a smaller one on the first page, and a few sketchy lines, perhaps the walls of a tower, in the first image field (fol. 1r). On the basis of these, François Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset discussed the codex within the group of codices containing French romances to which the aforementioned illustrated Apollonius, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ash 123 belongs.²⁰⁵ This is the corpus that was called by Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt the *Gruppe der*

²⁰³ Chen 2017, 418.

²⁰⁴ Avril, Gousset 1984, 41 calls attention to the fact that 51 image fields were numbered on the margins, but the date of this numbering has not been established.

²⁰⁵ Avril, Gousset 1984, 41.

neapolitanisch-französischen Unterhaltungsprosa and that was first localized to Genoa by Avril and Gousset. Since the images in our Apollonius have not been carried out, it can be neither proved nor denied that it belongs to this group of codices, but in light of some discrepancies I would be cautious with this attribution. The Neapolitan/Genoese codices are somewhat larger, and, more importantly, they apply a different page-layout: they have two text columns on a page as opposed to the single column of our Apollonius.²⁰⁶ Therefore, they could be illustrated with smaller column pictures, nevertheless many of their images are placed at the bottom of the page and use its whole width. Finally, the text in our Apollonius is a Latin version of the *Historia Apollonii* and not a vernacular adaptation of it, indicating that it was made for a different circle of patrons than that of the French romances.

While the supposed connection of Paris, BnF, Lat. 8502 with Florenz, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ash.123 is uncertain, it shares a common history with another illustrated Apollonius book already discussed, the one that was embellished by Modenese (Paris, Bnf, Lat. 8503). Between 1426 and 1499/1500 both were kept in the Visconti-Sforza library in Pavia, then they travelled together through Blois and Fontainebleau to Paris.²⁰⁷ Who the original addressees of this unfinished Apollonius, Paris 8502, were is not clear, but a possessor note, *Iste liber Apolonii est domini Antonii de Rolandis gen[eralis] colat[eralis] (?) magnifici et preclari domini domini comitis Blandrate ... in Alexandria, et filiorum suorum videlicet fratris Iacobi fratris Predicatorum, Iohannis, Petri et Ambrosoti fratrum de Rolandis,*²⁰⁸ and further names, like *Facinus Canis comes Blandrate* and *Johannes Maria dux Mediolani*, all written on the last page, shed some light on its late 14th-early 15th-century history.²⁰⁹ It was the book of a certain Antonius de Rolandis, general in the service of the count of Blandrate (Biandrate). This latter can be no one else than Facino Cane, the fearful *condottiere*, whose wife, the unfortunate Beatrice di Tenda married Filippo Maria Visconti after her first husband died in 1412.²¹⁰ This explains the way of the volume into the Visconti-Sforza library. The reference in the possessor note to Antonio's son, Jacobus, the Dominican friar, indicates that even as late as the early 15th century, when the first illustrated French and Italian vernacular versions of the story of

²⁰⁶ This holds true for the codices that were listed by both Degenhart-Schmitt and Avril-Gousset as members of the group. See note 156.

²⁰⁷ For the reference to Lat. 8502 in the inventories see: ePellegrin 1955, p. 280–281, Nr. 937 (1426); Pellegrin 1955, p. 316, Nr. 588 (1459); Ottolenghi 1991, p. 107, Nr. 561 (1488); Ottolenghi 1991, p. 226, Nr. 829 (1490). For a short mention and a photo of fol. 27v see: Pellegrin 1969, 33–34, pl. 108. It is registered in the two 16th-century inventories of the Blois library: in 1518 under Nr. 1478, in 1544 under Nr. 560. See Omont 1908–1913, Vol. I., 146, 185, referred to by Avril, Gousset 1984, 41.

²⁰⁸ Cited after Avril, Gousset 1984, 41.

²⁰⁹ It is unclear why the same hand wrote *Romanorum Imperator* on the page.

²¹⁰ On the life of Facino Cane see Valeri 1940. Beatrice di Tenda was later killed by her second husband, Filippo Maria Visconti.

Apollonius already circulated among the urban elite likely in Genoa and apparently in Veneto, its Latin text was still considered a proper reading for religious communities.²¹¹

Paris, BNF, Lat. 4895

In the Visconti-Sforza library there were further textual witnesses to the story of Apollonius. These formed part of the 11th book of Godfrey of Viterbo's 12th-century chronicle, the *Pantheon*, which was represented in Pavia by two codices.²¹² One of them: Paris, BNF, Lat. 4895 mentioned above,²¹³ was embellished with an outstanding cycle of images, however, those that would have illustrated the story of Apollonius have not been carried out (Fig. 11). Nevertheless, the cultural-artistic milieu of the codex and its artists contributes to our image of the social circles that showed an interest in making and consuming visual renderings of Apollonius' adventures.

The story of Apollonius is told on 11 pages between fol. 80r–85r. The text, written in two columns per page, would have embraced 28 column pictures, which would not necessarily have respected the precise width of the column. On some previous pages the illuminator used the margins and the intercolumnar spaces freely, not only for ornamental decoration but also for enlarging the image field. Moreover, in some special cases the margin became an instrument in creating an extended spatial and temporal continuum for the visual narration – a sophisticated method applied by the (workshop of the) artist in other works as well (Fig. 77).²¹⁴

According to its colophone (fol. 169r): *Et ego Iohannes de Nuxigia, publicus Mediolanensis notarius, contrate sancti Stefani ad Nuxigiam porte nove, hunc librum fideliter scriptum sub anno Nativitatis Domini MCCCXXXI. Ad honorem Domini nostri Iesu Christi et beate Marie Virginis et totius curie celestis exaltationemque et bonum statum magnifici militis domini Azonis Vicomitis domini generalis Mediolani,*²¹⁵ the codex was copied in 1331 by Johannes de Nuxigia, a Milanese civic notary. The pictures in the first few pages (fol. 1r, 6r-v, 7r) are the

²¹¹ Facino Cane became count of Blandrate in 1406. See Valeri 1940, 163.

²¹² Pellegrin 1955 mentions two *Pantheon* codices, one of them appears in the 1426 inventory, the other one in the 1459 inventory: p. 149, Nr. 344 (1426) and p. 301, Nr. 272 (1459). In the Visconti-Sforza library there was a copy of Godfrey of Viterbo's *Memoria seculorum* as well: Pellegrin 1955, p. 146, Nr. 334 (Paris BnF, Lat. 4896).

²¹³ The codex doesn't appear in the 1426 inventory, but it is likely identical with Nr. 272 in the 1459 inventory (Pellegrin 1955, 301), with Nr. 891 in the 1488 and Nr. 421 in the 1490 inventories (Ottolenghi 1991, 144–145, 191.) For a short mention see: Pellegrin 1969, 24, 60. The codex is registered in the two 16th-century inventories of the Blois library: in 1518 under Nr. 480, in 1544 under Nr. 610. See Omont 1908–1913, Vol. I., 71, 187, referred to by Avril, Gousset 2005, 32.

²¹⁴ On the oeuvre of the illuminator see the text below.

²¹⁵ Cited after Avril, Gousset 2005, 32.

works of a painter, who is unanimously considered as Bolognese. All the other illustrations can be attributed to a highly creative and imaginative artist and his workshop, a master named after the manuscript itself as the Maestro del Liber Pantheon. Conti believed he was Paduan,²¹⁶ but since the studies of François Avril and Miklós Boskovits the dominant view is that albeit Bolognese book painting played a formative role in the shaping of his very individual style, he was active in Milan.²¹⁷ Why the illumination of the codex remained unfinished is not clear, especially as it seems that the master established himself firmly in the city. He (or his workshop) was also responsible for the illumination of a splendid liturgical book, the so-called Berlin-Milan Martirology (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Hs. 78. C 16; Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Ms. P 165 sup, fol. 1r–21v).²¹⁸ Consisting of a Psalter, a Hymnary and a Martirology that exhibit ambrosian features, it was very likely made for one of the most prestigious secular churches in Milan, perhaps for the cathedral itself.²¹⁹ The chronology of the *Pantheon* and the Martirology is difficult to establish. Since the *Pantheon* remained unfinished, it would be logical to think that it was made later than the Martirology, nevertheless the Martirology is usually considered to be the younger one of the two.²²⁰ A copy of Saint Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* made for Brizio Visconti (Paris, BnF, Lat 2066) has been associated with the workshop of the Pantheon master as well.²²¹

Although the colophon doesn't explicitly say that the *Pantheon* was made for Azzone Visconti, lord of Milan, there can be hardly any doubt that the birth of such a luxury work as the codex was meant to be, was related to the aristocratic art patronage of the Visconti family and/or its court.²²² The scribe of the volume, Johannes de Nuxigia, was not just one of the more than 500 notaries who worked in the city at that time.²²³ He stood in the service of the Viscontis for many years: in a document from 1351, issued twenty years after that he worked on the *Pantheon*, he

²¹⁶ Conti 1981, 87.

²¹⁷ Avril 1989; Boskovits 1989, 62–63. For more recent works on the master and his oeuvre see: Tasso 1993; Valagussa 2004; Avril, Gousset 2005, 29–32; Mulas 2005, 151–152; Medica 2012, 109–111. Nevertheless, Toscano 2009, 256 believes that the codex was illuminated for the Viscontis in Bologna.

²¹⁸ This liturgical manuscript was already associated with the “school” of the master in 1912 by Toesca (Toesca 1966, 98–99). For more recent, detailed presentations of the codex see: Argenziano 2007; Candiani 2015, both with reference to earlier literature.

²¹⁹ On the liturgical characteristics of the codex and on the possibility that it was made for the cathedral see Argenziano 2007, 153 (with a reconstruction of the *calendarium* of the Milanese part of the manuscript on p. 155–158); Candiani 2015a, 18, 25.

²²⁰ E.g. Argenziano 2007, 154–155, on the basis of the depicted garments and with reference to Bellosi 1977, argues that the Berlin-Milan Martirology was made at the end of the 4th decade of the 14th century.

²²¹ Avril 1989, 108.

²²² Pellegrin 1969, 24 thinks that the reference to Azzone is nothing more than an expression of respect for the lord of the city.

²²³ According to Petrucci 1989, 162, in 1337 there were not less than 564 notaries in Milan.

appears even as their *cancellarius*.²²⁴ Moreover, from Galvano Fiamma, the 14th-century Dominican chronicler of Milan, we learn that there was indeed a *Pantheon* copy in the possession of Azzone Visconti.²²⁵ The interest in Godfrey of Viterbo's work within Azzone's environment might have been fueled by various factors. In those days, Milan was not a university city, but the political and commercial center of a rising state. The codex was commissioned at the very moment when Azzone, returning from exile in 1329 as the vicar of emperor Ludwig of Bavaria, began to undertake significant constructions in the city. His projects were to evoke admiration and to promote his self-image, that of a magnificent ruler working for the benefit of the commune.²²⁶ He invited the most renowned artists to Milan: in 1335 it was no one else than Giotto, who painted a *Vanagloria* fresco in the *magna sala* of Azzone's palace, which presented Azzone in the circle of the greatest heroes of the past: Hercules, Hector, Aeneas, Charlemagne and Attila.²²⁷

The historical interest, which is evident in the commissioning of the *Pantheon* manuscript, was in line with the ambitions of the Viscontis, who, while stabilizing their power and gaining authority over a large part of Lombardy, had to create their renommée as the ruling dynasty. There is good reason to believe that the guiding intellectual behind the cultural undertakings of the Viscontis in the middle of the 14th century was the aforementioned Galvano Fiamma, who was very much aware of the communicative power of images.²²⁸ Himself a prolific chronicler, maybe it was due to his influence that the *Pantheon* aroused the interest of the Visconti court. But whoever the advisor of the Viscontis was, it doesn't seem to be accidental that in a court, where – in the *Vanagloria* – the legendary heroes of the past, both historical and fictional, appeared to glorify the present, the story of Apollonius was read in the context of a chronicle as real history. Although Apollonius was not a military leader, he was a model of the benevolent

²²⁴ On Johannes de Nuxigia see: Candiani 2015a, 24 and Gavinelli 2019, 264. The latter (p. 270) mentions – with reference to Samaran, Marichal 1974, 622 – a further manuscript (Paris, BnF, Lat. 8524) as his work. Although the colophon of this codex containing Cicero's *Epistolarum ad familiares* indeed states that it was copied by Johannes de Nuxigia (fol. 222r: *Marci Tullii Ciceronis expliciunt epistole per Iohannem de Nuxigia. Deo gratias. Amen.*), it is a 15th-century book, therefore its scribe cannot be identical with the copyist of our *Pantheon*. (Reggi 2021, 30, n. 29 reached the same conclusion.) At the same time, it is possible that they belonged to the same literate family, especially in light of the fact that already in 1198 there was a certain *Philippus de Nuxigia notarius sacri palatii*. See: Gavinelli 2019, 264, n. 20.

²²⁵ Ceruti 1869, 507. The reference to Azzone's *Pantheon* by Galvano Fiamma is mentioned in Mulas 2005, 151 and in Candiani 2015b too.

²²⁶ On the motivations behind Azzone's art patronage see Romano 2012 and Romano 2015, on the significance of the idea of magnificence see Green 1990.

²²⁷ The fresco has been lost. For its identification as Giotto's work with a detailed presentation of the written and visual (!) sources see: Gilbert 1977.

²²⁸ He gives a conspicuously detailed description of the artworks commissioned by the Viscontis, moreover, he discusses Giotto's *Vanagloria* fresco as a significant event in Milan's history, in line with military and political affairs. See: Gilbert 1977.

ruler, who helped the starving people of Tarsus and preserved his strength and moral integrity amidst the greatest tribulations. In his story, directed by changing fortune, one could find a perennial example of both the good and the bad government and their consequences: decay and prosperity.

Rome, BAV, Archivio di San Pietro E 36

From the youngest Italian Apollonius manuscript that would have had images only a single folio has survived, however it is not without significance, for it signalizes the appearance of a new readership, the circle of the early humanist high clergy (Fig. 13). As fol. 65, it forms part of Rome, BAV, Archivio di San Pietro E 36, which contains two Latin works that recount deeds of Alexander the Great: the original prose version of Eustache's *Fuerre de Gadres* and Jacques de Languyon's *Vœux du Paon*, moreover, a fragment of the fictional Life of St. Albanus of Hungary.²²⁹ The Apollonius-folio is not a later addition to the volume. The layout of the pages is constant throughout the whole book: the text is written in one column and there would have been one or two pictures on almost each page either in the top, in the middle or at the bottom. Out of the more than 160 images only sketches of the first few have been carried out, these illustrate the *Fuerre de Gadres*.

Fol. 65r-v contain chapter 46–47 of the *Historia Apollonii*. There would have been an image on both sides of the folio, and they would have depicted episodes that follow after Apollonius recognized Tarsia as his daughter and deliberated her from the brothel. Based on the position of the empty image fields and their textual context the subject matters can be established with a high degree of certainty. In the first image, one would have seen how Apollonius rewarded the citizens of Mytilene, the second would have shown either the statue erected in his honour by the city, or the wedding of Tarsia and Athenagoras.

The manuscript is dated to the second half of the 14th or the very beginning of the 15th century.²³⁰ According to the coat of arms on its fol. 1r, it belonged to cardinal Giordano Orsini (+1438). He was appointed cardinal in 1405, but might have owned the book already before that, perhaps he was its first owner. Coming from a mighty Roman family, Giordano Orsini was an “energetic ecclesiastical politician and conventional enlightened patron of Italian humanism: rich,

²²⁹ The manuscript was discovered by Ross 1959. For its recent description see Ross 2019, 157–165, with reference to the earlier literature.

²³⁰ Ross 1959, 236 dates it to the late 14th-early 15th century, Ross 2019 (Alison Stones and Maud Pérez-Simon) 166, with reference to Marie-Thérèse Gousset, do not exclude a date „closer to the middle of the 14th century“.

powerful, a friend of scholars and collector of rare classical texts".²³¹ He was also a patron of arts: the fresco cycle in Monte Giordano, the palace of the Orsini family, painted for him perhaps with the direction of Masolino, and incorporating more than 300 figures, was the largest *uomini famosi* of his time.²³² Presenting Biblical kings and pagan rulers, emperors, military leaders, philosophers and poets of classical antiquity, apostles, church fathers and medieval emperors alike, and thus encompassing history from the creation of the world to the Middle Ages, it was evidently based on thorough historical studies. Cardinal Orsini's library was not less famous among his friends and acquaintances, for example Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, or Guarino da Verona. Giordano Orsini was a passionate collector of codices with a pronounced humanist interest. The books he donated to San Pietro in his will, our Apollonius among them, were meant to form the basis of a public library in Rome.²³³

Although it is uncertain that our codex with the *Historia Apollonii* was specifically made for Cardinal Orsini, he was likely not indifferent to the imaging of the stories included in it. Alison Stones and Maud Pérez-Simon even suspect that the first few drawings in the *Fuerre de Gadres* are of his own hand.²³⁴ In any case, in the illustration history of the Apollonius material he is the first known patron/owner, who was interested in the story as a humanist scholar, as someone who actively supported the search for ancient codices and contributed to the rediscovery of the classical literary heritage. In his library, our codex was accompanied by such treasures as an Ottonian Plautus manuscript found in Cologne, which contained comedies of the Roman playwright unknown before (Rome, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3870).

As already established, all the six codices made in Italy that hold or would have held Apollonius images contain distinct versions of the text. Made between ca. 1300 and ca. 1400 in different regions of northern Italy, they testify about the variety of the readers and the shifts between the cultural circles that showed an interest in the visual rendering of Apollonius' adventures. The books in question were made in Genua, in Bologna/Padua, in Veneto and in Milan and they were used by the literate elite, the urban aristocracy, the Visconti court and the Roman clergy. The diversity of the material indicates that the individual copies are independent from one another, that they resulted from unconnected book-projects. Against this background it is all the more interesting that there are textual cross-relationships between three of them. The French Apollonius version found in the Genoese copy (today Florence, Ash. 123) is based on the Latin

²³¹ Simpson 1966, 135.

²³² On the Monte Giordano fresco-cycle see: Simpson 1966; Mode 1970.

²³³ On his will and library see: Celenza 1996.

²³⁴ Ross 2019, 165.

Rec. St.,²³⁵ which is contained also in Paris, Lat. 8502. However, the French text is completed with an interpolation, which shows up in the Bolognese/Paduan Apollonius, Paris, Lat. 8503 as well.²³⁶ This latter, in turn, contains the Latin Rec. C of the HA. Since it is more than unlikely that there were direct connections between the creators of these three codices,²³⁷ their similarities imply the wide circulation of codices containing Apollonius texts in Trecento Italy.

That the various Apollonius text versions were indeed intensely studied in Italy, is attested by an early 14th-century codex, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms N 227 Sup. as well. Copied in 1311 in Milan, this manuscript contains the aforementioned Rec. St. of the HA, but it is accompanied by many marginal and interlinear notes that record variant readings. An edited version based on the philological work that is documented in this manuscript is found in a further copy of the HA, Rome, BAV, Vat. Lat. 1961. This is a mid-14th-century book from North-Central Italy, which later belonged to Count Giacomo di Giovanni Orsini (ca. 1380–after 1436).²³⁸ In addition to the interesting fact that roughly at the same time two members of the Orsini family, Count Giacomo and the aforementioned Cardinal Orsini had their own Apollonius books, the two unillustrated Apollonius codices underscore the importance of Milan and the Viscontis in the making, distribution and collection of books presenting Apollonius' story. After all, out of the six Italian Apollonius codices that have or would have had illustrations, one was made for the Viscontis, and by 1426 two others were housed in their library at the *Palazzo Visconteo* at Pavia. The interest of the Viscontis in illustrated versions of the story of Apollonius anticipates the 15th-century appearance of Apollonius images in the courts of medieval Europe, which forms a new chapter in the illustration history of the story and, accordingly, in our book too.

²³⁵ Delbouille 1969, 1187.

²³⁶ As far as I see, the interpolation in Ash. 123, which recounts how Apollonius, after entrusting his baby-daughter to his friends in Tarsus, fights against a certain Benjamin for Antioch, was first mentioned by Delbouille 1969, 1187. Archibald 1991, 68, 193: n. 7 discovered that it also occurs in a copy of the Latin *Historia Apollonii*. However, she confuses BnF Lat. 8502 and 8503. See Babbi 2002, 184–187 as well, with the same confusion of 8502 and 8503. The interpolation is found in Lat. 8503 on fol. 3vb–4ra.

²³⁷ I don't find it plausible that Paris, BnF, Lat. 8502 derived, as Avril, Gousset 1984, 41 finds, from the same Pisan/Genoese artistic milieu as Florence, Ash. 123. See my main text above.

²³⁸ It was discovered by Robins 2015 that the codex, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms N 227 sup. contains, alongside hagiographic biographies, the story of Apollonius. The relationship between this volume and Rome, BAV, Vat. Lat. 1961 is explored in Robins 2019, where the text of the latter manuscript is also published.

II. 4. Apollonius Enters the Royal and Ducal Courts of France, Burgundy and England
(Boston, Public Library, Ms. f. Med. 91; Bruxelles, KBR, 9632–33; Bruxelles, KBR, 11192;
London, BL, Royal 20 C II; New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126)

While out of the six Apollonius texts copied in Italy that have or would have had illustrations only the one incorporated into Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon* was made in a courtly environment, the illustrated Apollonius codices that hail from France, Burgundy and England are, in one way or another, related to late medieval courtly art patronage. The appearance of a new social circle among the readers of illustrated Apollonius books went hand in hand with the change of language. The Italian group of illustrated Apollonius codices is dominated by the Latin versions of the story, there are only two vernacular copies among them, Florence, Ash. 123 in French and Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, NV6 in Italian. In contrast, the four books that constitute the group of illustrated Apollonius codices made in France and Burgundy speak exclusively French, and the majority of the text contained in the volume originating in England is written in English. The French codices contain three different text versions of the story. The oldest one of them, made around 1400, Boston, Public Library, Ms. f. Med. 91, and another one from around 1455, Bruxelles, KBR, 9632–33, belong to the so-called second prose version, which is considered to be a rather faithful 14th-century translation of the Latin HA. Roughly contemporaneous with the latter, Bruxelles, KBR, 11192, is a witness of the third prose version composed in the 14th century, while the youngest one, London, BL, Royal 20 C II, is the sole example of the fourth prose version, which was likely devised in the 15th century. These two handle the original story with considerable freedom, in the third prose version there are even lengthy interpolations that lend chivalric character to the adventures of Apollonius.²³⁹ Our fifth example, New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126, contains John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, a 14th-century collection of moralizing tales, whose eighth book includes the story of Apollonius. Out of the four French codices there is only one, Bruxelles, KBR, 11192, in which the story of our hero stands alone. In the other three it is accompanied by further French texts, most of them are literary narratives. In the context of their central themes and motifs the meaning of the Apollonius story for the readers can be better explored, therefore I will discuss them in detail along with the presentation of the codices that follows.

²³⁹ On the French text versions see Chapter I.

Boston, Public Library, Ms. f. Med. 91

Boston, Public Library, Ms. f. Med. 91 is an elegant parchment codex, in which the Apollonius story is found on fol. 69r–86r (Fig. 78). It is preceded by Guillaume de Tignonville’s *Dits moraux des philosophes* and followed by a French translation of Bocaccio’s Griselda-tale, *Le livre Griseldis* as well as by a moral treatise, *Le mirouer des pecheurs*.²⁴⁰ Around 1400, at the time when our codex was made, they were recent works that gained currency in the royal court of France.

Guillaume de Tignonville was a diplomat and politician in the service of Charles VI, king of France. From 1401 until the 1407 assassination of Louis d’Orléans, brother of the king, he was the provost of Paris. Later, he presided over the *Chambre des Comptes* (Chamber of Accounts), the office controlling the finances of the country, and became one of the 24 *ministres* of the *Cour d’amour*, an Order founded by Charles VI. He was requested by Christine de Pizan, the famous poet of the court, to participate in the heated debate about the portrayal of women in the *Romance of the Rose*.²⁴¹ The dispute, which was initiated at the very beginning of the 15th century by Pizan herself, revolved around the position and rights of women in society, an issue, which, as we will see in the example of Griselda too, gained more and more importance from the 14th century on and generated disputes far beyond the Middle Ages. Tignonville’s *Dits moraux*, compiled before 1402, is an abbreviated translation of the 13th-century *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum*, which was, in turn, based on an 11th century Arabic collection of sayings of philosophers. It is not simply a “book of wisdom”, but also a moral guidance with a political overtone. In Walter Cahn’s words, the „work sometimes sounds like a manual of advice to princes, tinged here and there with a certain Machiavellian flavor.”²⁴²

The questions raised by Boccaccio’s *Griselda* were not less current. The tale is about the tribulation of *Griselda* by her husband, which she had to suffer as a test of her loyalty and obedience. The sheer number of the story’s French translations shows the great interest its central themes, marital fidelity and the role of women in marriage, evoked.²⁴³ It seems that out of the numerous French *Griselda* versions our book contains the one known as *La patience de*

²⁴⁰ For the contents of the manuscript see https://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/consulter/manuscrit/detail_manuscrit.php?projet=80301 (25.03.2022). I thank Lisa Fagin Davis for sharing her unpublished curatorial description of the codex with me.

²⁴¹ On the life and work of Tignonville see Cahn 2014, with reference to earlier literature.

²⁴² Cahn 2014, 191.

²⁴³ For the French versions of the tale of *Griselda* see <https://www.arlima.net/eh/griselda.html> (23.03.2022).

Griseldis, which is based on Petrarch's Latin translation of Boccaccio's Italian tale.²⁴⁴ The high aristocracy is well represented among the contemporaneous readers of both the *Dits moraux* and the tale of Griselda. Jean, duke of Berry, John the Fearless and Philip the Good, dukes of Burgundy had their own copies of the first,²⁴⁵ while Philippe de Mézières' *Griselda*-version appears as one of the examples of good and bad women in his moralizing treatise, *Le livre de la vertu du sacrement de mariage et reconfort des dames mariees*, which was dedicated to Baron Pierre de Craon and his wife, Jeanne de Châtillon (Fig. 79).²⁴⁶ As regards the actual relevance of "comforting married ladies" of the aristocracy, one of the aims of Philippe de Mézières as announced in the title of his compilation, the scandalous life of one of the addresses, Pierre de Craon, chamberlain of Charles VI, is enlightening. Somewhat after he and his wife received the dedicated copy of Mézières' work (Paris, BnF, Fr. 1175),²⁴⁷ he was convicted as the instigator of an attempted murder, that of Olivier de Clisson, Constable of France, and fled to Spain. Obviously, women of high social standing were very much dependent on the self-positioning of their husbands in the continuous struggles for power within the royal court and the changing networks of dynastic-international alliances and hostilities, which must have made them receptive of stories on women's tribulations. Finally, the last text in our Boston codex containing the story of Apolonius is the *Mirouer des pecheurs*, a translation of the Latin *Speculum peccatoris*, a *bene vivendi-ars moriendi* text, the main concern of which is sin and repentance.²⁴⁸

The Boston codex is illustrated with a very fine set of twenty-four images that includes a dedication picture (Fig. 80) and small vignettes at the beginning of larger and smaller text units. The vignettes introduce the philosophers of the *Dits moraux*, the book of Apollonius and the *Mirouer des pecheurs*.²⁴⁹ They are grisaille drawings with some colours here or there. The figures remain monochrom, colours are reserved for the ground and for the very few motifs that indicate the environment. The figures of the dedication picture, whose identity is not revealed,

²⁴⁴ In addition to the *La patience de Griseldis*, another version entitled *Le miroir des dames mariees* has the same incipit as that of our text, see https://www.arlima.net/mp/miroir_des_dames_mariees.html (23.03.2022), but the Répertoire des textes et des manuscrits médiévaux d'oc et d'oïl classifies the Boston version as rédaction B, to which the codices of the *La patience* group belong. Cf.

https://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/consulter/oeuvre/detail_oeuvre.php?oeuvre=6203 and https://www.arlima.net/mp/patience_de_griseldis.html (23.03.2022).

²⁴⁵ Cahn 2014, 189, 191.

²⁴⁶ For the text edition of *Le livre de la vertu du sacrement de mariage et reconfort des dames mariees* see Williamson 1993. On Philippe de Mézières' *Griselda* see Loba 2018, with reference to earlier literature.

²⁴⁷ On the creation of the manuscript and its dedication image see Williamson 1986.

²⁴⁸ For a survey of the codices containing the work and on the questions of authorship see the introduction to the text edition in Brunelli 1958. See also the database: https://www.arlima.net/mp/mirouer_des_pecheurs.html (25.03.2022).

²⁴⁹ *Le livre Griseldis* has no image.

are monochrom as well, but they are set against a patterned background of red and gold. The single illustration of the Apollonius story presents the seated figure of Antiochus and the young Apollonius, who, taking off his hat, politely greets the old king. He wears a *houppelande* with long sleeves, the fashionable garment of the aristocracy around 1400.

Based on his style and technique, the circle of Parisian illuminators to which the artist of our Apollonius belonged can be precisely defined. The first author, who devoted a detailed study to the Boston codex, Walter Cahn, tentatively identified him with the illustrator of a copy of Honoré Bovet's *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* (Paris, BnF, Fr. 811), dedicated to Valentina Visconti, wife of Louis d'Orléans, the aforementioned brother of king Charles VI (Fig. 81).²⁵⁰ This codex is also illustrated with grisaille drawings, whose style is indeed similar to that of our Apollonius master, nevertheless, I think the latter were made by another hand. Delicately formed outlines and the elaborate details play a more important role in the drawings of the Apollonius master, moreover, the way he shapes his figures is different. While in the case of the *Apparicion* drawings it is the garment that gives form to the figure, the human body is always felt under the clothing in the images of our Apollonius master. Nonetheless, it is worth looking for him in the codices that are associated with the illustrator of Valentina Visconti's *Apparicion* copy. The images of this latter codex were classified by François Avril as late works (dated to between 1395–1403) of the Maître du Policratique, who was active in the last third of the 14th century and got his name after a copy of a political treatise, the French translation of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, made around 1372 for Charles V, king of France (Paris, BnF, Fr. 24287 – Fig. 82).²⁵¹ As reconstructed by Avril, in the course of his very long career (1366–1403), he worked for an aristocratic clientele and participated in the embellishment of around 50 codices, among them Pierre de Craon's and Jeanne de Châtillon's *Griselda*-copy, mentioned above (Fig. 79). I think the Apollonius master is closest to if not identical with one of his young associates who worked together with the Policratique master around 1400, in the last phase of his career. His very fine grisaille drawings set on a patterned background of mostly redish or blueish colours can be found for example in a copy of Jean de Vignay's French translation of the *Legenda aurea* (Paris, BnF, Fr. 242 – Fig. 83) and in a codex containing Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de vie humaine and Pèlerinage de l'âme* made for Jean de Berry, the most famous bibliophile of the time (Paris, BnF, Fr. 829). These are, in turn attributed to the

²⁵⁰ Cahn 2014, 193–194. Later (Cahn 2016) he speaks about the illustrations in the Boston codex as the work of several hands, maintaining that the master who worked in the *Apparicion* copy contributed to the illustration of the Boston codex as well.

²⁵¹ Avril 2001, 268, 282.

Master of BN Fr. 159, more recently called the Master of the Ravenelle book of hours, named after the prayer book of a certain Johannete Ravenelle (Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Ms. C 517e).²⁵² Although it is not evident for me that the large oeuvre gathered under the name of the master of the Ravenelle book of hours is indeed the work of a single hand, the two codices that hold very similar illustrations to the Boston Apollonius drawing assign an eminent position to our Apollonius master in the circle of Parisian illuminators around 1400 (Fig. 83, 84).

Despite all that can be said about the place of our illustrator within the network of artists and patrons of the time, we do not know who the original possessor of our Boston Apollonius was. In the dedication image a man of high social standing dressed in a simple but elegant mantle and wearing a *chaperon* receives a book, but he might just as well be the unspecified addressee of Tignonville's *Dits moraux* as the owner of the book in question. In the first case it would be also possible that the Boston codex was made for a lady. With all this uncertainty, the genre of the texts contained, the artistic environment of the illustrator and not the least the quality of the work leave hardly any doubt that the reader(s) were members of the royal court of France and that the motifs of the Apollonius story that sparked his/her or their interest the most were rulership and the exemplary behaviour of women in various stages of life.

Bruxelles, KBR, 9632–33

Our next example, Bruxelles, KBR, 9632–33, is, in turn, the only illustrated Apollonius book in the case of which we know for certain to whom it was made (Fig. 85). Based on the coat of arms within the initial on fol. 1r, the patron of the book was Jean de Wavrin, whose name also appears in a note, *J. b. de Wavrin. Au seigneur du Forestel*, on fol. 167v.²⁵³ Jean de Wavrin was born around 1400 as the illegitimate son of Robert VII de Wavrin.²⁵⁴ As a young man he fought in the Anglo-Burgundian alliance in the Hundred Years' War, later he became a councillor and chamberlain of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, who legitimized him in 1437. In the same year he was appointed commander of Lille and married Marguerite Hangouart, the widowed daughter of a wealthy patrician of the city. He was a literate man so much involved with history and politics that he even wrote a six-volume chronicle of England, the *Anchiennes chroniques d'Engleterre*.²⁵⁵ His interest in literary narratives is clear from his bibliophilic collection of

²⁵² For a recent monography on the work of the Ravenelle master with reference to the earlier literature see Lindqvist Sandgren 2002. For the two codices in question, BnF Fr. 242 and Fr. 829 see: Eadem 62–65, 71–78.

²⁵³ For a catalogue description of the codex and its images see Lyna 1989, Nr. 296; Debae 1995, Nr. 276.

²⁵⁴ On his life, work and library see Naber 1987; Naber 1990; Schandel 1997; Wijsman 2010, 472–479; Devaux, Marchal 2018; Visser-Fuchs 2018; Brown-Grant 2020.

²⁵⁵ Also known as *Recueil des Chroniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretagne, à present nommé Engleterre*, Published by Hardy 1864–1891.

books, moreover, he very likely played an important part in the French translation of some of these texts, at least as initiator and organizer.²⁵⁶ As evidenced by some twenty books that have come down to us from his library, all written in French, he was mostly interested in chivalric romances, historiographical narratives and didactic texts – an interest that he shared with Philip the Good.²⁵⁷ Among others he had a copy of Guillaume de Nangis' *Chroniques abrégées des rois de France* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, 872/1408) and a chronicle of the years 1444–1471 (Lille, BM, E20), while his involvement with antique stories is attested by Raoul Lèfevre's *Histoire de Jason* (Paris, BnF, Fr. 12570), a manuscript containing the *Roman de Thèbes* and the *Histoire de Troie* (Bruxelles, KBR, 9650 -2) and a copy of the *Épître à Alexandre* (Paris, BnF, Fr. 1973). The high value of his collection is clearly indicated by the fact that some of his books appear in the 1469 inventory of the library of Philip the Good, compiled after the 1467 death of the duke.²⁵⁸ Since Wavrin has died after 1471, his books must have entered the duke's collection within his lifetime, perhaps as his gifts. The memory of his library might have been vivid even in 1523–24 and in 1550, when the inventories of the books of Margaret of Austria and that of Mary of Hungary were made.²⁵⁹

As regards Jean de Wavrin's interest in the story of Apollonius it is indicative that in our Bruxelles manuscript 9632–33 it is preceded by a romantic love story, Pierre de la Cépède's *Paris et Vienne*. Written in 1432, only a few decades before the manuscript itself was copied, this tale is about the true love, the painful separation and the happy reunion of a couple, a knight called Paris and a noble lady, Vienne. Because of their different social status, they are not allowed to marry, therefore, Paris travels East, learns the Arabic world and later saves Vienne's crusading father from Saracen captivity. As a reward, he finally wins his lover's hand. What

²⁵⁶ Brown-Grant 2020, 43–44, with reference to earlier opinions concerning the possibility that Jean de Wavrin could have been active as an author/translator of literary texts as well. See also Visser/Fuchs 2018, 100–113.

²⁵⁷ Naber 1990, 26 classifies his books into three categories: *romans de chevalerie*, *romans antiques* and *œuvres didactiques*. For a completed list of his books see Wijsman 2010, 475–476 and for a more recent and somewhat different one see Visser-Fuchs 2018, 519–531. On the similar interest and taste of the duke and members of his court see Brown-Grant 2020, 52.

²⁵⁸ Wijsman 2010, 478; Brown-Grant 2020, 47. The 1469 inventory is published by Falmagne, Van Den Abeele 2016, 163–269. Here (p. 227, Nr. 5.516) I find reference to a single book of Jean de Wavrin: Lille, BM, God. 50. I don't see why Wijsman 2010, 478, n. 1129 says that the illustrated Apollonius codex Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. 11192 was Jean de Wavrin's book. Also, it is a misunderstanding by Brown-Grant 2020, 47, 316 that Bruxelles, KBR 9632–33 (Jean Wavrin's Apollonius codex) was among those books of Wavrin that entered the library of Philip the Good. Cf. Lyna 1989, 195. On the possession history of this manuscript and on Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. 11192 see my text below.

²⁵⁹ On the "Wavrin books" in the two inventories and on the volumes of Jean Wavrin that went into the possession of Margaret of Austria see Wijsman 2010, 474–476, 479 allowing that the „Wavrin” note in the inventories doesn't necessarily refer to Jean but perhaps to other members of the family. On the 1523–24 inventory of the books of Margaret of Austria see Debae 1995. The 1487 inventory of the Library of the dukes of Burgundy made for Maximilian of Austria also mentions a book of Wavrin. See Falmagne, Van Den Abeele 2016, 322 (Nr. 8.225).

makes the two stories similar? Not only the pattern of separation and reunion of lovers. The motif of Eastern Mediterranean travels also connects the adventures of Apollonius with that of *Paris et Vienne*. The marvels of the East certainly awoke the curiosity of the reader,²⁶⁰ but the parallel representation of the Arabic present and the antique past of the very same land that was at the time known as the *Outremer* tells us something more. It is the literary counterpart of the actual, albeit somewhat nostalgic/utopistic, political interest in a new crusade, the saint voyage, an issue that gained special importance in the Burgundian court after the 1453 fall of Constantinople.²⁶¹ Descriptions of the Holy Land and chronicles of crusades circulated widely in the court of Philip the Good.²⁶² Jean de Wavrin himself had a book containing among other texts the *Avis directif pour faire le passage d'Outremer* (Jean Miélot's 1455 translation for Philip the Good of the anonymous *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*) and Bertrandon de La Broquière's 1457 *Voyage d'Outremer* (Paris, BnF, Arsenal, 4798).²⁶³

Copied by a single scribe around 1455 most likely in Lille,²⁶⁴ our codex is illustrated with three images, two of which reflect on and thus reveal further layers of meaning. The first one on fol. 1r is placed at the beginning of the story of *Paris et Vienne* (fol. 1r–137v – Fig. 86), while the next one on fol. 138r introduces the adventures of Apollonius (fol. 138r–167v – Fig. 85). On fol. 168r there is a third picture, but since it doesn't seem to be related to the plot of Apollonius in any way and since it is followed by pages that have been left empty, it might have been planned to serve as the opening of a third text (Fig. 87).²⁶⁵ The images are the work of a prolific artist, whose highly unusual and individual style can be recognized in the images of further ten codices.²⁶⁶ Most likely based in Lille, he was active in the 1450s, 1460s and worked for a relatively „small group of closely connected bibliophiles“.²⁶⁷ The most important patron of his workshop was Jean de Wavrin,²⁶⁸ therefore he became known as the Wavrin master, but even

²⁶⁰ On the motif of the marvels of the East in the *Paris et Vienne* see Quéruelet 2021.

²⁶¹ On the presentation of Philip the Good's "crusading dreams" in contemporaneous chronicles see Le Brusque 2006.

²⁶² On illuminated crusader histories made for Philip the Good see Moodey 2012.

²⁶³ See https://www.arlima.net/il/jean_mielot.html#adv and https://www.arlima.net/ad/bertrandon_de_la_broquiere.html (29.03.2022).

²⁶⁴ The dating and the localization are based on the watermark of the paper, see Debae 1995, 409.

²⁶⁵ Lewis 1915, 161.

²⁶⁶ The most recent comprehensive work on the master is Brown-Grant 2020. According to her (p. 22), images of the master are found in: Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. 9631; Ms. 9632–33 (with our Apollonius); Ms. 10238; Chantilly, Bibliothèque de château, Ms. 652; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 470; Lille, Bibliothèque municipale; Godefroy Ms. 50; Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 9343; Ms. Fr. 9344; Ms. Fr. 11610; Ms. Fr. 12566; Ms. Fr. 12572. The illustration of the aforementioned book of Jean Wavrin, Paris, BnF, Arsenal 4798, is not his work. (See Brown-Grant 2020, 34.)

²⁶⁷ Brown-Grant 2020, 21.

²⁶⁸ Out of the eleven extant books illustrated by the Wavrin master at least five was made for Jean de Wavrin: Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. 9632–33 (with the Apollonius); Ms. 10238; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 470; Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, Godefroy Ms. 50; Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 11610.

Philip the Good ordered books of him.²⁶⁹ He specialised in French prose romances written on paper and illustrated with coloured pen drawings. Compared to parchment codices embellished with painted miniatures this was a less costly and less time-consuming technique, but it doesn't mean that the works of the Wavrin master were not designed carefully and intelligently. Moreover, he had a very good sense of humour as well. His images are always placed before the beginning of a text unit, but he (or his advisor) often sought more than simply illustrating the first few lines of the text. Instead, he chose an episode to interpret the story in a specific way.²⁷⁰ This holds true for our Bruxelles Ms. 9632–33 too.

Illustrating the story of Apollonius, the image on fol. 138r depicts how King Antiochus, falling in love with his own daughter, took her virginity by force (Fig. 85). The picture is divided into two parts. On the right we see Antiochus in the bedchamber of his daughter, who lies naked in her bed. On the left four knights leave the scene, they are the members of the household who were sent away by the king. In the given translation they are referred to as „sergens”, so their representation as armed men perfectly matches the text version contained in the codex.²⁷¹ The motif of the closed door suggests that something is happening in secret. This, together with the inequality of the fully dressed old king wearing his crown and the young naked maiden, which expresses the authority of the father and the defencelessness of his daughter, evokes discomfort in the reader/viewer. Nevertheless, there is no sign of either aggression or resistance: the gestures of the figures speak about the intimacy of their relationship. The very open sexuality of the scene that were to represent vicious desire is contrasted, as Brown-Grant has pointed out, with the depiction of the decent love of Paris and Vienne in the first image (Fig. 86).²⁷² Here Paris and his friend, Edouard, sit in a garden and play music to Vienne, who is hardly seen behind the lattice of her window. Their physical distance shows their obedience to the will of Vienne's father and alludes to their future separation. Thus, with only two images the Wavrin master successfully thematized the difference between the socially accepted form of chivalric love and incest.

It seems that not only Jean de Wavrin was entertained and edified by the codex and its images. It can be identified among the books of Margaret of Austria listed in her 1523–24 inventory and later, in 1530, it went into the possession of Mary of Hungary.²⁷³ How Margaret of Austria acquired it is not precisely known, but its history can be reconstructed with some degree of

²⁶⁹ Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 9343; Ms. Fr. 12566. (Brown-Grant 2020, 47.)

²⁷⁰ Brown-Grant 2020, 35–36.

²⁷¹ Brown-Grant 2020, 42.

²⁷² Brown-Grant 2020, 36.

²⁷³ Debae 1995, 407–410.

certainty. After the death of Jean de Wavrin, the book was very likely inherited by his nephew, Waleran. The son of the latter, Philippe de Wavrin, married Isabeau de Croy, from them it possibly went on to Isabeau's nephew, Charles de Croy, the majority of whose collection, in turn, ended up in the library of the duchess.²⁷⁴

Bruxelles, KBR, 11192

Compared to the wealth of information that helped us in the reconstruction of the cultural and artistic context of the *Paris et Vienne*/Apollonius manuscript, we know almost nothing about the birth and early history of our third French illustrated Apollonius, Bruxelles, KBR, 11192, except that it was copied by a certain Cordier and very likely owned by Philip the Good (Fig. 88).²⁷⁵ According to the 1469 inventory, there were two Apollonius codices in the duke's library, a „small book” on paper and another one, which was written partly in prose partly in verse.²⁷⁶ In the case of the first, the inventory gives the incipit of the second and that of the last folio, in the case of the second it tells the incipit of the last. The incipits of the „small book” are identical with those of the Bruxelles Apollonius 11192, a small book indeed, measuring ca. 21x14 cm.²⁷⁷ Nevertheless, in its present state, this manuscript doesn't have the title that is given by the inventory: *Du roy Appolonius et de Antiochus*, and perhaps it is for this reason that in the recent edition of the inventory of the duke's library the codex is not mentioned.²⁷⁸

Made in the southern parts of the Netherlands in the middle of the 15th century (ca. 1445–1460), it contains no other text than the third French prose version of the story of Apollonius, the so-called Bruxelles redaction, named after our codex itself.²⁷⁹ In this adaptation the story of Apollonius is coloured with chivalric motives. On the one hand, the presentation of the unfolding love between Apollonius and Lucina is more detailed, the emotions of Lucina are more pronounced, she even asks about love and marriage before her wedding. On the other hand, the adventures of Apollonius are completed with battles. First it is King Antiochus, who leads an attack against Tarsus for hiding Apollonius, but Apollonius defeats him. In turn, at the

²⁷⁴ Lyna 1989, 195; Debae 1995, 410.

²⁷⁵ For its catalogue description see Bousmanne, Van Hemelryck, Van Hoorebeeck 2006, 239–242.

²⁷⁶ Falmagne, Van Den Abeele 2016, 5.519; 5.522.

²⁷⁷ The description of the first Apollonius of the 1469 inventory (5.519) reappears in the 1487 inventory made for Maximilian of Austria and listing the books of the ducal library that were kept in the Coudenberg palace in Bruxelles. Here we learn the explicit of the last folio as well, it is also identical with that of Bruxelles 11192. See: Falmagne, Van Den Abeele 2016, 8.538.

²⁷⁸ Falmagne, Van Den Abeele 2016, 5.519. It was not among the aims of this edition to give reference to all existing books of Philip the Good that can be identified in the inventory. Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. 11192 was discussed as Philip the Good's book by Bousmanne, Van Hemelryck, Van Hoorebeeck 2006, 239–242 and by Wijsman 2010, 478.

²⁷⁹ The dating and the localization are based on the watermarks of the paper. See: Bousmanne, Van Hemelryck, Van Hoorebeeck 2006, 239–242. The codex served as the basis for the text edition by Lewis 1915, 46–147.

end of the story, Apollonius fights for Antioch. The codex is illustrated with only one, not very carefully executed coloured drawing at the beginning of the text (fol. 1r). On the left it shows an architectural ensemble, the castle of Antioch, while on the right we see a royal couple, King Antiochus and his daughter accompanied by a man. I am not convinced that the latter is Apollonius. He stands behind the walking couple, and although his hand is raised for greeting, the couple doesn't seem to take notice of him.

In light of the fact that the library of Philip the Good was seen by the contemporaries as an unparalleled collection of „luxurious copies, the illustrations and bindings of which made great impression”,²⁸⁰ a statement that is supported by the splendid illuminated codices of the duke extant today, one might find it suspicious that such a rather simple book as our Bruxelles Apollonius 11192 could be part of that magnificent collection. A deeper insight into the history, the composition and the function of Philip the Good's library may dispel the uncertainties. It seems that value was not solely attributed to a book on the basis of material wealth and refinement of execution, but also on the basis of the quality or rarity of the text it contained. In the example of Jean de Wavrin's books, some of which entered the library of the duke, we have already seen that paper codices illustrated with coloured drawings had their valuable place in aristocratic libraries. As Hanno Wijsman has pointed out, the almost 900 codices that appear in the 1469 inventory of Philip the Good's collection constitute the basis of a „state library”: not every single piece was commissioned by the duke himself and many of the books were not necessarily his personal, private properties, but were used by other members of the dynasty and the court. Some books were given to the duke by court- and civic-officials of lower social status, while some others were acquired as raw materials as part of the intense literary activities of the court. These could be used as the source of translations and adaptations or as drafts from which the deluxe copies were made. In fact, there were quite a few such paper manuscripts in the ducal library that contained literary texts and had no illustrations at all.²⁸¹ Thus, it seems, nothing contradicts that the Bruxelles Apollonius 11192 formed part of the ducal library.

London, British Library, Royal 20 C II

In contrast to the simple appearance of Philip the Good's manuscript, the fourth and youngest illustrated French Apollonius book, London, British Library, Royal 20 C II, is a representative parchment codex of considerable size (38x27cm), illuminated with two large miniatures and 29

²⁸⁰ Falmagne, Van Den Abeele 2016, 11 after David Aubert's lines in the *Chronique abrégée des empereurs* (Paris, Arsenal, Ms. 5089, fol. 3v).

²⁸¹ Wijsman 2010, 219–255.

column-pictures.²⁸² Unfortunately, the story of Apollonius plays a secondary role in this volume, nevertheless, its three images are indicative of the episodes that sparked the interest of its late medieval aristocratic readership (Figs. 89–91). A large part of the volume is taken by a French romance, the *Cleriadus et Meliadice* (fol. 1r–209v), whereas the adventures of Apollonius are found on fol. 210r–236r. The larger miniatures give equal emphasis to the beginning of each story: one of them opens *Cleriadus et Meliadice* (fol. 1r – Fig. 92), the other one introduces Apollonius’ adventures (fol. 210r – Fig. 89), but while the first is accompanied by a rich visual narration consisting of 27 column pictures, there are only two column pictures illustrating the story of Apollonius (fol. 217v, 222r).

Written in French, *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is a romance set in the English royal court.²⁸³ It is about Cleriadus, the son of a Spanish lord governing England on behalf of the old king named Philippon. Cleriadus falls in love with the king’s daughter, Meliadice, and after a long series of adventures and intrigue, the separation and the miraculous reunion of the lovers, he finally wins her hand and the English throne as well. Besides love and marriage, one of the main issues the story exemplifies is the legitimacy of the ruler: instead of Philippon’s own brother it is Cleriadus, who becomes the king of England not by birth but through marriage, and only after proving his idoneity. Composed by an unknown author likely in the 1440s, when negotiations for peace in the Hundred Years’ War were held, it could be read as a „pacifist utopia“, an „idyllic presentation of kingdoms at peace“,²⁸⁴ but also as a „manual for courtly behavior“ or a mirror for princes.²⁸⁵ The common denominators of the *Cleriadus et Meliadice* and the story of Apollonius are not only the motives of separation, intrigue and kingship, but the significant role the princesses, Meliadice and Lucina, play in advancing the plot. A pronounced interest in Lucina’s adventures, which, as we will see, is evident in the illustrations, might indicate that the book was intended for a lady. This assumption is also supported by the prominence of aristocratic women among the readers of the *Cleriadus et Meliadice*.²⁸⁶

As already established, the story of Apollonius is illustrated with three images. The theme of the opening miniature is similar to the one made by the Wavrin master, but there are significant differences in the shaping of the details. On the left the artist depicted the incest that took place

²⁸² For the description of the codex see <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8357&CollID=16&NStart=200302> (10.04.2022).

²⁸³ For ist text edition see Zink 1984.

²⁸⁴ Szkilnik 2000, 223.

²⁸⁵ Brown 1993; Colombo Timelli 2012.

²⁸⁶ Wingfield 2011.

in the bedchamber of King Antiochus' daughter, on the right a crowded street is to be seen. The bedchamber appears as a wealthy interior, in which King Antiochus, clad in a golden brocade mantle, embraces his equally elegant daughter. The posture of the princess expresses dismay and resistance, nevertheless, she is held so strongly by the king at her arm that she cannot escape. The function of the street-view populated by ladies and gentlemen in the visual communication is to contrast the overtness of public life with the secret of the bedchamber and the solitude of the princess. It is in this comparison of interior and exterior that the sinfulness of the embracing couple becomes clear to the viewer. By contrast, the second illustration shows a proper courtly scene. Apollonius and his future wife, Lucina, appear in the company of two gentlemen and a lady. We see the very moment when Lucina asks Apollonius to deliver her letter to her father, the message in which she revealed her love of the man who suffered shipwreck, i.e. Apollonius. The third image depicts how Lucina's coffin is found by a doctor at the seashore of Ephesus. This is an important turning point in the plot and the beginning of an exciting episode of the story, the miraculous revival of Lucina. The selection of the depicted scenes shows an obvious interest in Lucina's story, and, at the same time, a conspicuous disinterest in that of both Apollonius and Tarsia.

Based on the style of its illustrations, the volume can be dated to the 1470s and can be attributed to the circle of the so-called Master of the Harley Froissart.²⁸⁷ Named after two codices containing the 4th book of Jean Froissart's chronicle of the Hundred Years' War that were once in the possession of Philippe de Commynes, chamberlain of Charles the Bold (London, British Library, Ms. Harley 4379–4380), the oeuvre of this artist was first recognized by John Plummer.²⁸⁸ His early work from the 1450s shows that his style was shaped in Paris, but in the 1460s he settled down in Bruges, where he worked among others for one of the most illustrious bibliophiles of the time, Louis de Gruuthuse, a councillor of Philip the Good and later that of Charles the Bold.²⁸⁹ He worked for market as well, and, in collaboration with other Burgundian artists, the Master of Edward IV, the Master of the London Wavrin and the Master of the Vienna *Chroniques d'Angleterre*, to name some of his most important partners, he also contributed to the illustration of books that were made for Edward IV king of England.²⁹⁰ Recently he has been identified with Philippe de Mazerolles, an illuminator, whose name appears in a number

²⁸⁷ Kren, McKendrick 2003, 262, n. 8 (McKendrick); Hofmann 2016. He is also known as the Master of the Froissart of Philippe de Commynes.

²⁸⁸ Plummer 1982, 64–65.

²⁸⁹ On the books of Louis de Gruuthuse (Louis de Bruges) see Hans-Collas, Schandel 2009.

²⁹⁰ Kren, McKendrick 2003, 297–303.

of documents, but who has left not a single signed work to us.²⁹¹ Mazerolles' career shows conspicuous similarities with that of our anonyme illustrator. In 1454 he was active in Paris, in 1467 he became Charles the Bold's *valet de chambre*, from 1469 he was a member of the bookpainters' guild in Bruges, where he died in 1479. It seems to be more than likely that Mazerolles was the foreign merchant mentioned as Philip Maisertuell, who was to earn not less than 240 pounds for providing books to the use of Edward IV in early 1479,²⁹² a fact that bears significance to the possible early possessors of our *Cleriadus et Meliadice*/Apollonius codex as well.

Whether the book was commissioned by someone or whether it was made to stock is not known, but it is clear from the empty fields of a coat of arms within the delicate ornament of the lower margin on fol. 1r and 210r that the creators had a noble addressee in their minds. No wonder that in 1535 the book was listed at Richmond palace, where a significant part of the library of Henry VIII king of England was kept.²⁹³ The Richmond library was established in 1497 by Henry VII to house his own books and those of his predecessor, Edward IV († 1483).²⁹⁴ There is good reason to believe that our *Cleriadus et Meliadice*/Apollonius manuscript can be associated with the patronage of the latter or his immediate circle.²⁹⁵

Considered as the founder of the old royal library, Edward IV started to collect books on a large scale when both his political and financial situation was stabilized, somewhat after he returned to England from his Bruges exile in early 1471.²⁹⁶ Whatever the role of his Burgundian host, the aforementioned bibliophile, Louis de Gruuthuse was in arousing the king's interest in splendid codices, he acquired a significant collection of deluxe library books made in the Burgundian centres of illumination within a short time, most likely in the last years of the 1470s. His books are written in French and besides Biblical texts (*Bible historiale*) and works of the church fathers most of them contain secular narratives. Chronicles, among them Jean de

²⁹¹ Kren, McKendrick 2003, 261 (McKendrick); Hans-Collas, Schandel 2009, 174–176 (Schandel); Schandel 2011; Hofmann 2016. At first Mazerolles was considered to be the Master of the famous Hours of Mary of Burgundy, later on he was identified with the Master of Fitzwilliam 268. See: Hofmann, Nettekoven 2004; Clark 2006.

²⁹² McKendrick 2013, 150. The warrant dated to 15th February 1479 confirms the payment of 80 pounds as part of a complete sum of 240.

²⁹³ Carley 2000, 18–19 (H1. 65).

²⁹⁴ Carley 1999; Carley 2000, 3–6.

²⁹⁵ Following Backhouse 1987, 39–41, our *Cleriadus et Meliadice*/Apollonius book is usually considered among the manuscripts that can be associated with Edward IV. Sutton, Visser-Fuchs 1997, 222–223 with reference to Zink 1984 mentions that the text of the *Cleriadus et Meliadice* contained in the volume is of lower quality, „which doesn't suggest royal ownership”, but they also note that the standard of Edward's books was less high than that of the books made for Burgundian patrons.

²⁹⁶ On the history and character of his library see: Backhouse 1987; Backhouse 1999; McKendrick 2011; McKendrick 2013.

Wavrin's *Chroniques d'Angleterre* dedicated to Edward IV and William of Tyre's *History of the Crusades*, highlights of medieval literature, like Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Christine de Pizan's *La traittie Othea* as well as stories of classical antiquity, for instance Jean Miélot's *Romuléon*, the history of the Troyan war or the deeds of Alexander the Great and those of Julius Caesar were well represented in his library. It was an impressive collection of large and heavy volumes made for display and supposedly for reading aloud, which means that a large circle of people moving in and around the court, women included, could have some sort of access to it. The emulation of the magnificent library of his brother-in-law, Charles the Bold Duke of Burgundy, must have been an important factor in furnishing his palaces with a grand series of brand-new books, and it was by no means pure chance that the coordinator of his acquisition campaign was no one else than the illuminator of the duke, Philippe de Mazerolles.

Made in the circle of the Master of the Harley Froissart/Philippe de Mazerolles in the 1470s, the *Cleriadus et Meliadice*/Apollonius codex, in which Apollonius is tellingly entitled as *chronique et histoire*, fits nicely into this intense phase of library building, in which a whole network of Burgundian and English patrons and artists was involved. Given the eminent role Lucina plays in the Apollonius illustrations, it might have pleased Edward's Queen, Elisabeth Woodville, who was already considered as the likely owner of another book that contains an Apollonius illustration, a splendid copy of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126.²⁹⁷

New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126

Written in English verse at the end of the 14th century, the *Confessio Amantis* contained in New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126 is a set of morally instructive stories mostly taken from classical sources and framed by a discussion between the Lover (Amans), who turns out to be the old Gower himself and Genius, priest of Venus.²⁹⁸ According to its colophon, „its principal themes are the mutability of earthly kingdoms as revealed in the prophecy of Daniel, Alexander's education by Aristotle, and last but foremost, love and the conditions of lovers.“²⁹⁹ Following in part the tradition of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, it seeks to give advice on the „restoration of political harmony“, and to show the way to the

²⁹⁷ Driver 2009.

²⁹⁸ The first edition of the *Confessio Amantis* was Macaulay 1901. For a recent edition see: Peck, Galloway 2000–2004. (Also accessible at <https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/peck-confessio-amantis-volume-1>; <https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/peck-gower-confessio-amantis-volume-2>; <https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/peck-confession-amantis-volume-3>. 30. 04. 2022.)

²⁹⁹ Kobayashi 2017, 328.

„recognition of one’s inner divine nature“ through remembrance.³⁰⁰ The work is divided into eight books, the first six of which are centred around six deadly sins, the seventh is rather an instruction of princes based on Alexander the Great’s legendary instruction by Aristotle, while the eighth focuses on incest. The work is completed with Latin rubrics and glosses. The story of Apollonius, based on Godfrey of Viterbo’s *Panteon*, is the primary example of incest in book VIII.

Morgan M.126 is a large and splendid manuscript (Fig. 93). Holding a rich illustration cycle, it is exceptional among the extant copies of the *Confessio*.³⁰¹ It has 106 column pictures the majority of which either introduces a selected story or, illustrating „Aristotle’s teaching” on astronomy, depict the planets, the zodiac signs and fifteen stars. This picture cycle is, as Sonja Drimmer noticed, devoted predominantly to kings and their stories.³⁰² As a fitting example of this image program, the Apollonius illustration is found on fol. 187v, it is the last one in the book. It depicts King Antiochus and his daughter in the company of Apollonius. Instead of an interior, the scene of the reception of Apollonius by King Antiochus is set, somewhat oddly, in a landscape and is completed with the bodies and the severed, bloody heads of two unfortunate suitors lying on the ground at the feet of the protagonists. Wearing a crown and a blue brocade gown decorated with golden patterns, King Antiochus appears in his royal majesty. His daughter, placed in the centre of the image, is dressed in a fine red brocade dress. Apollonius on the right seems to be perplexed and stunned with the situation, or with recognizing the incestuous relationship of father and daughter. In Patricia Eberle’s convincing interpretation the scenery is a barren land, which refers to the unnatural bond between King Antiochus and his daughter, while the distance between the king and his castle, which, seen in the background, stands for his kingdom, shows how far he went from fulfilling the task and taking the responsibility of the ideal king. Eberle goes further and argues that the image program was devised in such an intelligent way that there are occasional dialogues between illustrations. For instance, the Apollonius image responds to that of Arion on fol. 7v: King Antiochus’ example of corrupt kingship that leads to demise is contrasted with the harmony of the Golden Age brought forth by Arion’s magical playing of the harp (Fig. 94).³⁰³

³⁰⁰ For a sensitive analysis of Gower’s aims and the complexity of his *Confessio Amantis*, its sources and underlying themes see Kobayashi 2017.

³⁰¹ On the illustrations of *Confessio* manuscripts see Griffiths 1983; Braeger 1989; Pearsall 2004; Coleman 2017.

³⁰² Drimmer 2018, 190. To what extent were the often mythological stories told by Gower considered at the time as history, as Drimmer refers to them, is a question to me that should be studied in the context of medieval perceptions of the past.

³⁰³ Eberle 1989, 339–342.

On stylistic grounds, the manuscript can be dated to around 1470. Its illustration and decoration was a teamwork, but the best part of its images, the Apollonius picture among them, can be attributed to an artist, who was either trained in the southern Low Countries, or was inspired by Flemish art.³⁰⁴ A very similar, if not the same hand has been recently identified by Martha Driver as the artist of two images both depicting Boccaccio in his library in a manuscript containing John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (Philadelphia, Rosenbach Library and Museum, Ms. 439/16, fol. 126r, 146v).³⁰⁵ The scribe of the Morgan *Confessio* was Ricardus Franciscus,³⁰⁶ a highly professional copyist mastering three languages (English, French and Latin), who worked in the third quarter of the 15th century for a varied circle of patrons, the English aristocracy among them.³⁰⁷ This, moreover the appearance of a decorator of our Morgan M.126, Scott's Border Artist A, in a number of English manuscripts,³⁰⁸ leave hardly any doubt that the codex was made in England, likely in London.

Who the original patron and/or reader of the volume was is not precisely known,³⁰⁹ but indirect evidence indicates that he/she belonged to the court of Edward IV. As Kate Harris stated, „several of the miniatures include features showing the artist to have been familiar with the Edwardian court”.³¹⁰ For instance, in the background of the image depicting Emperor Frederick and two beggars (fol. 103r) the English royal coat of arms is seen. It is perhaps even more telling that in a number of cadels there are small notes read for instance as „*Vive le roy*“, „*Vive la belle*“ or directly „*Vive Le roy Edward IVE*“.³¹¹ Demonstrating that many of the depicted women dominate the scene and stating that „the majority of illustrations in Ms M. 126 emphasize female agency and intelligence“, Martha Driver argues that the book might have been made for Queen Elisabeth Woodville.³¹² This is a plausible assumption, but perhaps we

³⁰⁴ For a catalogue-description of the manuscript and of its hands see Scott 1996/2, 322–325, where „illustrator A” is considered to had been trained likely in the southern Low Countries. In contrast, Drimmer 2018, 268, n. 7. argues that there are similar works made in England, therefore it is impossible to tell where the illuminator originated or where he was trained. Malcolm Parkes' suggestion mentioned by Eberle 1989, 355 that the artist may be identified with William Abell could not be proved. The first study on Abell was Alexander 1972, with a large oeuvre catalogue, which has been narrowed down by Scott 1996/2, 264, and further by Drimmer 2018, 29.
³⁰⁵ Driver 2020, 106–115.

³⁰⁶ It was already suspected by Malcolm Parkes that the scribe was Ricardus Franciscus. (See: Eberle 1989, 355.) Harris 1993, 118 states that Ricardus signed the manuscript as Rychard. In Driver 2009, 71 the scribe of Morgan M.126 „is usually identified as Ricardus Franciscus”. Eadem, 97 and Driver 2014, 22 reads Ricardus' signature on fol. 65v as Richarde. The latter states that the codex is one of the four texts that were signed by him.

³⁰⁷ On Ricardus' work in Morgan M.126 see Harris 1993, 118–119; Driver 2009; Driver 2014; Driver 2020. For an overview of the works attributed to him see James-Maddocks, Thorpe 2012.

³⁰⁸ Scott 1996/2, 324.

³⁰⁹ Fol. 1, where one would expect some sort of information on patrons/readers, has been damaged, and it doesn't provide any help in the identification of the original addresses.

³¹⁰ Harris 1993, 117.

³¹¹ Driver 2009, 95. In the reading of Harris 1993, 117 and that of Drimmer 2018, 189: „*vive le roy Edward/edward vraie*”.

³¹² Driver 2009, 71.

get a better understanding of the uses of the book if we don't pick a single, exclusive patron/reader of it. It is among the attractive features of the Morgan *Confessio* that, by means of its images, it offers a variety of interpretations and comparisons of the stories told. Speaking about kingship and queenship as well as about the universal power of love through many different examples, it could entertain and instruct both the king and the queen, and also a larger readership in their environment.

In four of the five books discussed in this chapter, the story of Apollonius appears in the company of other texts, and its usually single, or, in the case of the Edwardian Royal 20 C II, three illustrations either constitute part of a larger image program or are set in dialogue with another image of the same book, as in Wavrin's *Paris et Vienne*/Apollonius. This constellation shows that by the 15th century Apollonius was part of a pool of historical, semi-historical and pseudo-historical narratives that were popular in the circles of the aristocracy. These stories could be combined in a variety of ways according to the interests of the actual readers, in the circles of which women must have played an important role. Out of the five books in question one (Boston, PL, Ms. f. Med. 91) might have been of interest to a lady in the French royal court, two others (London, BL, Royal 20 C II; New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126) were likely read by Elisabeth Woodville, queen of England. In the example of these five Apollonius codices it is also evident that the function of 15th-century ducal and royal libraries was much more complex than providing the ruler with a personal treasury representing his erudition, wealth and power. Some books might have been used by various members of the court, others were on display or read collectively. The specific combinations of texts contained in the five illustrated Apollonius codices discussed in this chapter highlight possible readings to and interpretations of the story of our hero, predominantly in relation to questions of kingship, queenship, marital fidelity and incest. The Apollonius images in question are equivalents of other illustrations found in the same books, and, in discourse with them, their primary function is to elaborate on and to articulate the underlying themes.

The next generation of illustrated Apollonius books is very different. Made in the German speaking lands, most of them work with a lengthy Apollonius image-cycle, a continuous visual narration that often stands alone within the book that it enriches. Two of them are found in codices that contain the most inventive adaptation of the story, Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland*, in which the original plot becomes the framework of a genuine chivalric romance. Others accompany an early German humanist version of the story, Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* that has come down to us in an illustrated manuscript and

six illustrated incunabula. The *Apollonius von Tyrland* codices were used by the lesser nobility, whereas the *Apollonius von Tyrus* books attest the popularization of the story in the circle of the urban elite. These two adaptations constitute distinct chapters in the medieval illustration history of the adventures of Apollonius and in our overview of the material as well.

II. 5. Apollonius Becomes the Hero of a Chivalric Romance. Heinrich von Neustadt:
Apollonius von Tyrland (Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689; Vienna, ÖNB, Cod.
 2886)

Roughly at the same time when Apollonius images were consumed in the English royal court, the story inspired the making of two lengthy image cycles in the southern parts of the German speaking lands. Both illustrate Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland*. This work, in contrast to the French and English versions that coloured out the story of Apollonius here or there, but basically remained true to the original plot, presents Apollonius as a knight and a successful military leader. With the help of two long interpolations, Heinrich von Neustadt enriched the story with episodes and the character of Apollonius with features that were completely missing from the Late Antique romance and thus transformed Apollonius into the genuine hero of a chivalric romance (Fig. 95). More precisely, he created a „second Apollonius”, who embodied ideal knighthood, while he also kept the figure of the righteous king and loving paterfamilias from the Late Antique tale in the framework of his adaptation. With all its hybridity, *Apollonius von Tyrland* is the par excellence medieval version of the story.³¹³

Not too much is known about the author, except that he studied at a university, hence he is called *Meister* (Magister), and that he was a physician in Vienna at the beginning of the 14th century.³¹⁴ In 1312 he and his wife was provided with a house for rent by Gottfried, bishop of Freising, in the so called *Freisingerhof* in the Graben at Vienna.³¹⁵ In the same year he appears as a witness in the testament of priest Konrad of Grillenberg, which, as far as I see, has been overlooked so far.³¹⁶ It seems that Konrad of Grillenberg had some sort of connections to the court of Elisabeth of Carinthia, duchess of Austria and queen of the Romans, which is perhaps

³¹³ For the text edition see Singer 1906, for a modern German prose translation see Birkhan 2001a. In what follows, verse numbers are given according to the former, while I write the names of persons and localities according to the latter.

³¹⁴ Braun 2018, 164, with reference to Brunner 1980 (more precisely 1956/1968), 261–262 states that Heinrich's family had a house in the Hohen Markt, one of the main streets of Vienna, and that his relatives were members in the council of the city until 1375. This is a misunderstanding of Brunner, who only says that Heinrich had connections to one of the most prominent families of Vienna, the Chranneste family, which had a house in the Hohen Markt and gave councilmen to the city. Wernhard von Chranneste (Bernhard von Kraneste) is mentioned in the *Apollonius von Tyrland* as a wealthy man who nevertheless had less wine than was consumed at the wedding of Apollonius and Diomena (verse 13452). I doubt that one can conclude from this reference to Heinrich's relationship to the Chranneste family and to his social standing. See also Knapp 1999, 280.

³¹⁵ FRA II/35, Bd. II, 64, Nr. 488. See also: https://www.monasterium.net/mom/FreisBm/1312_X_28/charter (01. 05. 2022). It seems that in 1314 he had another residence in Vienna. See Birkhan 2001a, 397 and Achnitz 2002, 230, with reference to Ebenbauer 1986, 339.

³¹⁶ <https://www.monasterium.net/mom/AT-DOZA/Urkunden/1311/charter?q=heinrich%20neustadt> (01. 05. 2022).

indicative of Heinrich's social environment as well.³¹⁷ *Apollonius von Tyrland* is not the only witness to his literary activities. He is also credited with the authorship of a somewhat apocalyptic text on the incarnation, the Life and Passion of Christ, as well as on the last judgement, known as *Von Gottes Zukunft*, moreover with that of the German adaptation of a 12th-century text on the soul's journey to Hell, the *Visio Philiberti*, which might have been devised as part of the former.³¹⁸

As we learn from the Epilogue of the *Apollonius von Tyrland* itself,³¹⁹ the work is the first version of the story of Apollonius in German verse. Heinrich also tells us that the Latin *Historia* was given to him by a priest, Niclas von Stadlau, that he composed the book in Vienna, where he lived in the Graben, and that he worked on the request of a nice lady.³²⁰ Written around 1300,³²¹ the work consists of not less than 20644 middle high German verses, of which only a bit more than the quarter (verse 1–2919 and 14930–17467) tells the original story of Apollonius. The most important difference concerns the narration of the fourteen-year-long separation of Apollonius and his wife, during which Apollonius' daughter, Tarsia, grew up and was taken to a brothel in Mytilene. While the Late Antique tale has nothing to say about Apollonius' wanderings during these years, except that he went to Egypt, in the *Apollonius von Tyrland* one reads a long travelogue built up of an abundant chain of highly imaginative and colourful adventures. Apollonius deliberates the kingdom of Barcelone, the land of Galacides and Armenia, as well as the golden valley of Chrysa, fights with monsters, falls into and frees from captivity. Since victorious battles and combats were ideally rewarded by a lady's heart and hand, romance and marriage are intertwined with military success in Heinrich von Neustadt's Apollonius too. During his wanderings, Apollonius marries three times, as a pagan, he even lives in polygamy with a Moorish queen, and becomes the father of daughters and sons, one of them half black half white. After all these deeds, the reunion of Apollonius' original family

³¹⁷ Pfarrer Konrad von Grillenberg appears in three further documents between 1298 and 1310. In 1298 he is a witness in the company of the *protonotarius* and the *medicus* of Elisabeth of Carinthia.
https://www.monasterium.net/mom/AT-StiAM/MelkOSB/1298_X_04/charter?q=konrad%20grillenberg,
https://www.monasterium.net/mom/AT-StiAM/MelkOSB/1306_III_29/charter?q=konrad%20grillenberg,
https://www.monasterium.net/mom/AT-StiAM/MelkOSB/1310_XII_07/charter?q=konrad%20grillenberg
 (02.05.2022).

³¹⁸ The literature on the life and work of Heinrich von Neustadt is large. For the most important, standard and/or recent publications see e.g. Ochsenbein 1981; Pastré 1983; Ebenbauer 1986; Cramer 1990, 300–302; Wachinger 1991; Achnitz 1998; Knapp 1999, 280–297; Birkhan 2001a, 393–400; Birkhan 2001b; Lienert 2001, 166–173; Achnitz 2002, 229–243; Junk 2003; Classen 2004; Janota 2004, 211–214; Schneider 2004; Schultz-Balluff 2006; Schultz-Balluff 2010; Krenn, 2013, 23–27; Backes 2014, 96–97; Boreczky 2014; Braun 2018; Schulz 2018, 235–238; Hageman 2019, 222–324.

³¹⁹ Verse 20590–20644.

³²⁰ Niclas von Stadlau is documented between 1297 and 1318.

³²¹ *Apollonius von Tyrland* was dated to in/after 1312 and also before 1307 (Birkhan 2001a, 397–398) on various grounds. On the dating to around 1300/before 1298 see Achnitz 2002, 235.

could not serve as a satisfying conclusion of the story. Therefore, Heinrich von Neustadt added a second interpolation to the work. Here, after the end of the original plot, Apollonius establishes a Round Table, conquers Jerusalem, converts to Christianity and becomes emperor of Rome. In contrast to the morality and the personal integrity of the Late Antique Apollonius, the most important attributes of Heinrich von Neustadt's hero are lordship and dominion. Besides its medievalism, it must have made Heinrich's adaptation attractive that the story was set in partly exotic-oriental, partly imaginary lands and was full of fabulous-magical motifs, like the wheel-bridge in Chrysa, the fountain of youth, the ring that makes its possessor invisible, and the column that shows what's happening in other regions of the world. With references to some of Heinrich's contemporaries, the work was likely written for the Viennese patricians and the knightly-noble inhabitants of the city, perhaps including the court: two distinct but closely interwoven social circles, the cultures of which were related in many ways.³²²

The idea of creating a visual rendering of the work must have been current already at the beginning of the 15th century. This is attested by the imprints of two pages of a lost *Apollonius von Tyrland* manuscript preserved on a binding kept in Amorbach today but found in the attic of the parish in Buchen/Odenwald. Dated to the first two decades of the 15th century, the text of this codex was written in two columns and its scribe left empty fields for two images after verse 15364 and 15414 respectively. These would have illustrated one of the most dramatic episodes of the story, the one in which Theophilus attacks Tarsia at her nurse's grave, but pirates suddenly grab hold of her and carry her away.³²³

The two extant illustrated copies were created roughly at the same time in the 1460s and their image cycles are closely related (Fig. 96–133).³²⁴ The one kept in the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Chart. A. 689, is dated on paleographical grounds to around 1465, which corresponds to the style of the images too.³²⁵ The other one, Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, has a fragmentary colophon on fol. 120v: *[...]Jorden Der Edlen Vesten Frauwen [...]k zu Uttendorff [...]purdt*

³²² On the relationship between *Bürgertum und Adel* in medieval Vienna see Brunner 1968.

³²³ Achnitz 2002, 248; Achnitz 2003, 455. The binding is kept without signature in Amorbach at the Fürstlich Leiningensches Archiv, and unfortunately it is not known what book it belonged to. The verse number is given erroneously in Schultz-Balluff 2006, 104, n. 124.

³²⁴ Figs. 96–133 reproduce all the illustrations of the original plot of the story of Apollonius, i.e. the ones that can be compared to images of other illustrated Apollonius books. A complete reproduction of the illustrations of Heinrich von Neustadt's interpolations doesn't seem necessary here, nevertheless, a few selected images are reproduced as Fig. 95, 134, 135, 137, 139. Many more can be found in Krenn 2013.

³²⁵ There is a number at the bottom of fol. 2r below the name of Petter von Pregelendorff, which can be read as 1420. I don't think that it was meant to be 1470, as it has been suggested. Although it is not clear what it refers to, on its basis the manuscript was dated to 1420. For establishing the manuscript's date of origin as ca. 1465 see Achnitz 1998, 18.

Tausent vierhondert [...]en und sechzigisten Jare [...]ersionem paulj. This tells us that the scribe finished working in 1467. The dialect of the Gotha volume is Bavarian, that of the Vienna codex is Bavarian-Austrian.³²⁶ Both were made for and/or used by members of the lower nobility.

The Gotha Apollonius belonged to Peter von Preckendorf, whose name is written on fol. 2r as “Petter von Pregkendorff zu Pregkendorff und Hoff”. He was a member of an Upper Palatine family from around Regensburg documented from the late 13th century on. Books must have been valued by the Preckendorfs, as attested by a copy of the so called *Frankenrecht*, a legal text, and a copy of the Regensburg canon Konrad von Megenberg’s *Buch der Natur*, the first German book on nature, both of which have come down to us from their possession.³²⁷ For a while the latter might have been in the hands of Peter, whose name appears on its fol. Iir. It was certainly held in high esteem by the Preckendorfs, for its few originally empty pages were used to record events of family history. As for Peter: he was a judge in 1454 and the lord of Hof in 1467, in 1476 he was a vassal of Friedrich V, landgrave of Leuchtenberg, and in 1482 he was no longer alive. This serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the birth of the Gotha Apollonius as well.³²⁸ The ownership of the Vienna codex is of special interest, for it is the only illustrated Apollonius book that was undoubtedly made for a woman. Because of the fragmentary state of the colophon her name remains unknown, but it is certain that she was a noble lady from the Uttendorf family based in Bavaria, Salzburg and Lower-Austria. Is it related to the intended readership that, as Simone Schultz-Balluff observes, the women appearing on the pages of this book behave in a more humble and reserved way than their cheerful counterparts in the Gotha volume?³²⁹ Do the Vienna images support a feminine reading of the adventures of Apollonius? These questions will be addressed in Chapter III. 2 in the context of the narrative strategies applied in the construction of Apollonius image programs.

³²⁶ For an early study on the nature and function of the images in the two codices see Pastré 1983. For an early catalogue description of the two codices see: Fischer-Heetfeld 1991, 253–254 and 255–256 in the *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters* (henceforth KdiH), the online version of which can be found under: <https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/stoffgruppe/7> (01.05.2022). For more recent descriptions consult Schultz-Balluff 2006, 40–43 and 43–45, as well as Krenn 2013, 187–188 and 188–189. On the Gotha volume see Achnitz 1998 and the unpublished description of Falk Eisermann from 2010 at the *manuscripta mediaevalia* database: http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/projekt_gotha.htm (12.05.2022). The images of the Vienna codex are reproduced in Birkhan 2001.

³²⁷ München, BSB, Cod. Germ. 26 (*Frankenspiegel*) and Cod. Germ 38 (*Buch der Natur*).

³²⁸ On the history of the family see Rockinger 1868, on Peter von Preckendorf p. 184–185 and Achnitz 2002, 245.

³²⁹ Schultz-Balluff, 2006, 299.

Both the Gotha and the Vienna Apollonius are written on paper and illustrated with drawings that are coloured in Gotha but mostly remained uncoloured in Vienna.³³⁰ At some exceptional cases, like on fol. 35r and 45r, even gold-paint was used in Gotha, which is unusual in a paper codex and points to the relatively high demands of the patron (Fig. 134 A). The execution of the Vienna drawings is rather uneven, it seems that they were left unfinished here or there. It is not clear whether they were all planned to be coloured from the start, especially as the most elaborate drawings seem to share aesthetic qualities with prints (Fig. 134 B), which, in turn, were also coloured out sometimes.

The images in the Gotha volume were made by a single artist, while the illustrations in the Vienna codex are likely the work of more hands. In addition to the obvious fact that some images or image parts are much more refined than other ones, facial types applied in the illustrations on fol. 1v, 2r, 9v (Fig. 98 B, 99 B, 118 C) do not reappear, as far as I see, later on.³³¹ Further works of either the Gotha master or the Vienna draftsmen are not known, but questions of their stylistic environment and compositional models have been carefully explored by Margit Krenn.³³² As she aptly pointed out, the source region of the Gotha illustrations was in the southern parts of the German speaking lands, in the area of the Bodensee and in Bavaria-Austria. They show especially close motivic and compositional similarities to the group of Augsburg codices made between the middle of the 1450s and ca. 1480 that contain Sigismund Meisterlin's Chronicle (Stuttgart, WLB, HB V 52; München, BSB, Cod. Germ. 213 – Fig. 135, 136). Concerning the Vienna drawings Krenn finds that motifs and especially the approach to shaping spatial structures, like the composition of landscapes have much in common with the images in the famous Tschachtlan Chronicle of 1470/1471 from Bern (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A 120), while the genre of the monochrome drawing and to a certain extent the figure types too are rather related to early prints from the circle of Israhel von Meckenem and the so-called Hausbuchmeister. The closest analogies I have been able to find to the somewhat disproportionally elongated, slim-waist figures dressed in elegant clothes and sometimes wearing feathers as part of their headdress are in the "Garden of Love", an engraving

³³⁰ I don't see why Krenn 2013, 66 believes that the colouring in the Vienna drawings is the dilettant addition of a much later hand.

³³¹ According to Krenn 2013, 62, 69, 71 the Vienna drawings were made by a workshop collective, but a distinction between the hands is very difficult, especially because different qualities, drawing styles and techniques frequently appear side by side within a single image. At the same time, on the sole basis of the drawing technique she considers whether the illustrations were made by a single artist (see p. 66).

³³² Krenn 2013, 33–80.

from around 1470/1480 signed by Master WH, who was likely active in Franconia (Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. Nr. K 8222 – Fig. 134 B, 137, 138).³³³

Despite the diverse artistic context of the Gotha and the Vienna Apollonius, which indicates that they were made in different locations, their image cycles are similar in many ways. There are 128 narrative illustrations in the Gotha and 109 in the Vienna codex,³³⁴ but the difference is due to the damaged state of the latter.³³⁵ All the 109 images of the Vienna codex have their counterparts in the Gotha manuscript, and where images are missing, complete folios and parts of the text have also been lost.³³⁶ The 109 corresponding images in Gotha and Vienna depict identical episodes of the plot, and such elements of the compositions as the number of figures, the reference to the built environment and the presence of certain motifs, ships in the first place, are also usually similar. In many cases there is a likeness in the arrangement of the motifs as well. The two codices follow the same principles in their layout too: both have two text columns on a page and both work with images of varying size. There are column pictures of different heights and images taking the width of two columns on the top, at the bottom or seldom in the middle of the page. In the Gotha volume there are three whole-page images as well (Fig. 135), their counterparts have been lost from the Vienna codex.³³⁷ Many of the images run over the margins in both the Gotha and the Vienna manuscript. They are framed in Gotha with a thick black line that has been frequently cut off on the outer margins on occasion of binding. The Vienna images are unframed. Since the number of text lines written on a page is not identical in the two codices, there is a shift in the arrangement of the textual and pictorial elements.

³³³ Bartsch 9.2, 1991, 396–397; Mythos Burg 2010, Kat. Nr. I. 12 (Anja Grebe). Most of the other works of the artist, a follower of Master AG and Martin Schongauer, show different figure types. The Garden of Love borrows some motifs from the Feast in the Garden of Love by Master ES, nevertheless, the elongated proportions of the figures are not characteristic of the latter.

³³⁴ There is an additional image in Gotha, a coat of arms with the profile of a man pasted on fol. 1r.

³³⁵ Schultz-Balluff 2006, 44–45. According to Krenn 2013, 34, n. 150 it is possible that there were no counterparts of the three whole-page images of the Gotha volume in the Vienna codex, while she admits that text-units are missing from the Vienna codex at the corresponding places. I don't see any reason to doubt that these text-units were once part of the codex and that the folios they were written on have been lost. Since the missing text-units (verse 7490–7573, 10422–10513, 13830–13920) would have taken a single page in each case, the other sides of the lost folios must have contained the three whole-page images. It is a misprint in Krenn 2013, 34, n. 150 that the lacuna in the first case starts at verse 7487. The last line on fol. 42v in the Vienna codex is “Noch heute plewn und peren”, which is numbered verse 7489 in Singer 1906. (It is verse 7449 according to the numbering on the margin of the Gotha Apollonius.)

³³⁶ There is only one exception, at the bottom of fol. 5r, where the loss of an image did not go hand in hand with the loss of text. In this case the text of fol. 5r continues directly on fol. 5v, but the lower section of the folio has been cut off, indicating that it contained an image. The missing verses are given by Schultz-Balluff 2006, 44. For a comparative list of the images in the two codices see: Krenn 2013, 190–219, with a numbering that I will follow. Missing images are: before fol. 1r (image 1. 2.), between fol. 3–4 (image 7. 8. 9. 10.), at the bottom of fol. 5r (image 12.), at the bottom of fol. 5v (image 14.), between fol. 5*–6 (image 16. 17. 18. 19.), between fol. 42–43 (image 54.), between fol. 62–63 (image 75.), between fol. 85–86 (image 97.), and after fol. 119v (image 125. 126. 127. 128.). See the previous note as well.

³³⁷ See note 335.

Corresponding images are often found on different sides of the folio (recto/verso) or at different parts of the page, nevertheless their size and format (one- or two-column width) is identical. Due to the diverse size and placement of the images as well as to the frequent occupation of the margins by them, the visual appearance of the pages shows a great variety and thus has a dynamic effect. This is reinforced by images of irregular shape: either pictures that are two text columns wide, but do not have the same height on the right and left (Figs. 109, 124 A, 131), or, exceptionally, a column picture whose upper and lower registers are not the same wide (Gotha, fol. 85v).

Since the image programs (the subject matters of the depictions) in the two codices are identical and since there is a connection between the compositional and iconographical details of the corresponding Gotha and Vienna images too, it is obvious that they belong to the same image-redaction. Nevertheless, the relationship between the two copies is not clear. While Achnitz, believing that the Gotha volume was somewhat older than the Vienna codex, assumed that the former served directly or indirectly as the model for the latter, more recently Schultz-Balluff and Krenn argued that the two codices followed a common model independently from one another.³³⁸ It can't be established with certainty either whether the image-redaction, as Achnitz supposes, was devised directly for the Gotha volume on the request of the Preckendorfs,³³⁹ or already at another, earlier occasion. The evidence provided by the Amorbach binding and by the Gotha volume itself is contradictory or insufficient. As already established, in the early 15th-century *Apollonius von Tyrland* codex, whose imprints have been kept by the Amorbach binding, there would have been images after verse 15364 and 15414. Exactly at these points there are no images in the Gotha and Vienna codices, which would indicate that the Amorbach copy represented another image-redaction, were there no numerous similar shifts in the relationship between the Gotha and the Vienna volumes too.³⁴⁰ But for example within the same chapter the corresponding images (image 107 and 108) come after verse 15340 and 15406 in Gotha, while after 15340 and 15398 in Vienna.³⁴¹ Nonetheless, it can't be excluded that the Amorbach images would have worked with different compositional/iconographical solutions than the ones seen in Gotha and Vienna or would have focused on slightly different moments

³³⁸ Achnitz 1998, 16; Achnitz 2002, 251; Achnitz 2003, 453; Schultz-Balluff 2006, 102–105; Krenn 2013, 29, 80–82.

³³⁹ Achnitz 1998, 21. Achnitz 2002, 251.

³⁴⁰ Schultz-Balluff 2006, 57; for the disposition of the single images within the text see Krenn 2013, 190–219.

³⁴¹ Schultz-Balluff 2006, 104, n. 124 (where the verse number of the second Amorbach image is mistakenly given as 15386); Krenn 2013, 214 (without the verse number followed by image 108 in Vienna).

of the plot.³⁴² As for the Gotha volume: the question of the supposed priority-originality of its image cycle has to be studied together with the manuscript's production process. The thorough investigation of the codex has revealed an unusual working method: it seems that on quite a few illustrated pages the image was made first, the text, the initials, and finally the black frames came after it (Fig. 139).³⁴³ The placement of the images on blank pages would have required the use of an illustrated model, unless the creators made very precise calculations. Still, on two of the three whole-page images there are inscriptions that seem to be detailed instructions addressed to the illustrator (Fig. 135).³⁴⁴ This would suggest that, at least in these two cases, there was no available visual model. Maybe the creators of the Gotha codex worked from such an illustrated copy of the *Apollonius von Tyrland*, which did not contain the two whole-page images. This would, in turn, indicate that the Vienna codex, which must have contained the whole-page illustrations, was copied after the Gotha codex or its derivative.³⁴⁵

Either based on a previous model or created anew, the image-cycle as we have it in the Gotha volume was devised very carefully. The varying size of the images allowed a distinction between the depicted scenes: larger image fields could be allocated to scenes that were considered more important and/or required more space, like the three battles of Apollonius recounted in whole-page illustrations (Fig. 135). As regards the distribution of the smaller and larger images, it is conspicuous that their proportion is different in those parts of the text that narrate the original plot than in Heinrich von Neustadt's two interpolations. While more than half of the illustrations that depict episodes of the Late Antique tale are column pictures (23 out of 41), almost two-thirds of the illustrations in the interpolations occupy the width of two text columns (57 out of 87). The three whole-page images are found in the first interpolation, too.

³⁴² Schultz-Balluff 2006, 105 assumes that the Amorbach images would have depicted the same scenes as the Gotha/Vienna volumes. However, based on the direct textual context, I wonder whether the first image of the Amorbach copy would have depicted Tarsia in prayer after Theophilus attacked her instead of concentrating on the attack itself, as it is seen in the Gotha and the Vienna codices.

³⁴³ See e.g. fol. 78v, 85r, 92r, 107v, 111v, 113v, 117v.

³⁴⁴ After Krenn 2013, 35: *ain strait j kunig derpey j stat uberal her hin zu* (fol. 59v) and *ain strait mit moren und kunig lonius ain stat zeug reitten da aus* (fol. 109v). Krenn 2013, 35 observes that the inscriptions were written additionally, and therefore questions their function as instruction to the illustrator. However, the chronological order of image and inscription is complicated. On fol. 109v the inscription is written on the green paint layer of the battleground, but the outlines of the hooves of the white and brown horses in the foreground were drawn after the inscription was written. Mentioning the motifs of the images in general (a battle, a city) instead of naming the depicted scenes and localities, executed in cursive script and placed at the bottom of the image, the inscriptions were certainly not meant to be image captions. Perhaps the original instructions remained somewhat visible under the transparent paint and were strengthened in ink before all the outlines of the images were completed.

³⁴⁵ Another, rather complicated and thus unlikely alternative would be that the whole-page images were present in the common model of the Gotha/Vienna codices but were lost from the very copy that served as the direct model of the Gotha volume.

The questions of how the hierarchical system of smaller and larger images guided the reader in the story and how it contributed to its interpretation require a thorough investigation, therefore, they will be discussed separately in Chapter III. 2. Still, in relation to the narrative quality of the Gotha image-cycle it is worth pointing out already here that sometimes the placement, more precisely the pairing of images, is meaningful as well. Placed directly next to one another, two pictures can show different views of the same locality, or link scenes that happened simultaneously at different spots. On fol. 19r image 20 and 21 show two consecutive scenes: in the first ships from Tyre arrive at Pentapolis (Cyrene), in the second King Archistrates and his wife say goodbye to Apollonius and Lucina, who depart from the city (Fig. 114 A). Depicting the same locality twice, the illustrator did not repeat the composition but slightly revolved the view. This makes the impression as if the reader/viewer would move along the shore of the city. In turn, the two images on fol. 22r, image 25 and 26, depict how Lucina, after recovering from unconsciousness, entered the temple of Diana in Ephesus and how Apollonius arrived in Tarsus, where he entrusted his baby daughter to his friends (Fig. 118 A). In this case the creators of the image cycle could tell by visual means that the scenes, necessarily narrated in the text consecutively, happened to the separated family members in parallel. In the Vienna codex such intelligent juxtapositions were not applied, image 25 and 26 are even placed on two successive pages (Fig. 118 B–C). Nevertheless, attention was paid to the disposition of the images within the text in this manuscript as well. As Schultz-Balluff has shown, it occurs in the Vienna codex less frequently than in the Gotha volume that the image is found on another page than the text unit it illustrates.³⁴⁶ Moreover, as already established, the Vienna codex also works with smaller and larger images. In fact, this refined method: the distinction between the episodes and the creation of a hierarchical relationship between them by visual means is such a characteristic feature of the two *Apollonius von Tyrlant* image-cycles that appears nowhere else in the illustration history of the story of Apollonius.

The lengthy, differentiated and colourful image-cycles that accompany Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrlant* in the Gotha and the Vienna codices are the last genuinely medieval visual adaptations of the story of Apollonius. It was roughly at the time of their creation that the first more or less humanist version of the story of Apollonius, Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus*, appeared. Composed around 1460, *Apollonius von Tyrus* has come down to us in an illustrated manuscript from 1468 and in six illustrated incunabula that were published between 1476 and 1499. It was due to the woodcuts of the latter that the visual rendering of the

³⁴⁶ Schultz-Balluff 2006, 57–58.

story of Apollonius reached a larger readership for the first time. They circulated most of all in German towns, but as a result of the trade that developed around the newly invented printed book, they seem to have been travelled as far as Zaragoza, Spain. The serial production of books and their woodcut-cycles gave a new visual form to the Late Antique tale, which certainly fostered a fresh reading of the adventures of king Apollonius and his family. It is this renewal that the next chapter will focus on.

II. 6. The Popularization of Apollonius Images in Early German Humanism. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol., GW 2274, 2275, 2276, 227610N, 2277, 2278)

Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* marks a completely new stage in the medieval reception-history of Apollonius' story. It is the first vernacular translation that was written in a more or less humanist spirit, it is the adaptation that first appeared in print and that made the visual rendering of the adventures of Apollonius available to a larger readership for the first time.

Being a prominent and well documented figure of early German humanism, literary history and book culture, Heinrich Steinhöwel (1410/11–1479) hardly needs to be introduced. He was born into a wealthy family that came from Esslingen and settled down in Weil der Stadt (Württemberg), he studied law and medicine in Vienna and Padua, became the physician in the Swabian imperial city of Ulm in 1450 and married Anastasia Egen, the daughter of an Augsburg patrician. He and his descendants were members of the urban elite, his two grandsons, Matthäus and Georg Kraft, were even mayors of Ulm. He maintained relationships with the aristocracy too, among others with Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy and the Innsbruck court of Duke Sigmund of Tirol.³⁴⁷ What aspects of his oeuvre can be considered as humanist is disputed, but there can be no doubt that he recognized the virtue of making Latin texts available to a larger German public and the possibility inherent in book printing. He also had the necessary network and financial means to actively support the publication of texts in Latin and/or in his own German translation. In cooperation with the Zainer family, who established a printing press both in Augsburg (1467/68) and Ulm (1472/73), he put works originating in classical and late antiquity or written by Italian humanists, Petrarch and Boccaccio, in print.

Composed around 1460 and usually discussed as an early new high German prose romance, *Apollonius von Tyrus* is Steinhöwel's first literary work.³⁴⁸ In terms of genre, it is between the *Antikenroman*, romance in which antique narrative materials are presented in a medievalized form, and the early humanist *Übersetzungsliteratur*, the product of a new literary trend of which

³⁴⁷ On the life of Steinhöwel (and on his Apollonius) see Dicke 1991; Dicke 1995; Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2004; Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2012; Dicke 2012; Rupp 2013; Terrahe 2013a, 13–61; Terrahe 2013b; Williams-Krapp 2020, 584–593.

³⁴⁸ In addition to the literature mentioned in the previous note, Cramer 1990, 364–365; Lienert 2001, 173–175; Terrahe 2015 (discussing the problem of labelling *Apollonius von Tyrus* as romance); Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2017, 126–132; Seeber 2017; Terrahe 2017. The only known work of Steinhöwel that preceded the *Apollonius von Tyrus* was closely related to its author's medical practice, it was a book on the black-death.

Steinhöwel is considered as one of the first representatives.³⁴⁹ It is evident from the various fifteenth-century books that contain the work that it quickly became very popular. It has come down to us in five manuscripts made between 1468 and the end of the century,³⁵⁰ and in seven incunabula: the 1471 *editio princeps*, which was published without images by Günther Zainer in Augsburg, and six illustrated editions that followed between 1476 and 1499. The success of the work was closely related to that of the new medium. Along with Johann Hartlieb's Alexander and Hans Mair von Nördlingen's Troy-book, it was one of those German prose romances whose fabric rooted in antiquity and that were given illustrated editions in the 1470s, at a very early stage in the history of printing.³⁵¹ As such, *Apollonius von Tyrus* contributed to the fast emergence of the so-called *Druckprosa*, the new genre of often illustrated incunabula that typically contained German prose narratives.³⁵²

To whom Steinhöwel wrote his Apollonius is difficult to tell, perhaps he had a varied audience in mind from the beginnings. In its most complete form, the work starts with a prologue written in verse and containing an acrostic, this would indicate a smaller, sophisticated readership. However, the prologue was only included in the first printed edition, which must have been made for a broader public than that of the manuscript copies.³⁵³ While the two oldest witnesses to the text, a manuscript in Karlsruhe and another one in Wolfenbüttel, whose illustrations I will discuss in detail later on, seem to have been made for patrons of high social standing,³⁵⁴ due to the success of the printed book, the work circulated widely among the growing number of German-speaking literates. The aristocracy (represented by emperor Maximilian), the educated and/or the wealthy citizens of German towns (the Nürnberg physician and humanist, Hartmann Schedel among them), as well as urban religious communities, men and women alike, are all

³⁴⁹ On the definition and history of German *Antikenromane*, including Steinhöwel's Apollonius and on Steinhöwel's role as translator see Lienert 2001; Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2017, 126–132, Terrahe 2017, 439.

³⁵⁰ Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Donaueschingen 150 (1468); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 75. 10. Aug. fol. (1468); Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Donaueschingen 86 (1470–1480), copied after the *editio princeps*; Trento, Biblioteca Comunale, Cod. 1951 (1488); Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 4119 (end of the 15th century), containing only the Prologue of *Apollonius von Tyrus*. See Terrahe 2013a, 106–111 and also the *Handschriftencensus: eine Bestandsaufnahme der handschriftlichen Überlieferung deutschsprachiger Texte des Mittelalters* at <https://handschriftencensus.de/werke/3181> (29.07.2022).

³⁵¹ The Alexander (GW 884) was published in 1473, the Troy-book (GW 7233) in 1474, both in Augsburg by Johann Bämle.

³⁵² On the interrelationship between German narrative literature and the appearance of the printed book: Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2019.

³⁵³ The prologue is also found in those manuscript copies that were made after the *editio princeps*: Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Donaueschingen 86 and Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 4119.

³⁵⁴ Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Donaueschingen 150 was copied in 1468 by Peter Hamer, chaplain of the Counts of Kirchberg, therefore Terrahe thinks that it might have been made for the Kirchberg family. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol. was copied also in 1468, its scribe was Konrad Bolstatter, who was in the service of the Counts of Öttingen between 1446–1453. In the 17th century the book was acquired by August the younger Duke of Braunschweig. Terrahe 2013a, 34–38, 41.

present in the company of late fifteenth/early sixteenth-century possessors of *Apollonius von Tyrus incunabula*.³⁵⁵

In the circle of the various medieval Apollonius adaptations and translations, Steinhöwel's work stands out by the author's pronounced interest in historical accuracy, a humanist approach, which was characteristic for other late fourteenth-fifteenth-century German prose romances as well.³⁵⁶ Instead of the Late Antique *Historia Apollonii*, it was the Apollonius version contained in the *Gesta Romanorum*, and that in the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo, the reputable 12th-century chronicle written in the court of emperor Frederick I Barbarossa that were used by Steinhöwel as his primary source material. This must have been a conscious decision, for Steinhöwel strove to fit Apollonius into a (pseudo-)historical chronology. He identified the wicked King Antiochus with one of the Seleucid kings and, based on the *Pantheon*, where the story of Apollonius is told after the deeds of Alexander the Great and before the death of Hannibal and Scipio Africanus, he calculated that Apollonius' adventures began precisely in 268 BCE. Thus, *Apollonius von Tyrus* is characterized by a specific hybridity of “*veritas fabulosa*” and “*fictio historica*”, which makes Terrahe question to what extent it was considered as a pure entertaining romance. Calling attention to the significance of the political-ideological discourses that were current after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, she argues that the birth of the work and its reception were strongly intertwined with the rising interest in the crusades and the dreams about the reconquest of the Holy Land. After all, the main protagonist of the story was the rightful king of Tyre, the city where the titular kings and queens of the Kingdom of Jerusalem were crowned after Jerusalem fell to sultan Saladin in 1187.³⁵⁷ Steinhöwel's semi-historical presentation of Apollonius might have indeed been nurtured by actual visions about the future of the Holy Land, nevertheless, crusader thematic remains such an underlying topic that doesn't appear directly in the work and in its illustrated copies.

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol

Out of the five manuscripts and the seven incunabula that contain the *Apollonius von Tyrus*, one manuscript and six incunabula are illustrated. Made in 1468, the oldest one of them is the manuscript copy, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol. (Figs. 140–145). In addition to the Apollonius, which is found on its fol. 2v–53v, it contains further works: Apollonius is preceded by an “alphabet oracle” (fol. 1r) and followed by another work of

³⁵⁵ Questions of the public are discussed by Terrahe 2013a, 29–53, where the early possessors of both manuscript and print copies are presented.

³⁵⁶ On the historicity as a characteristic feature of German prose narratives: Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2014.

³⁵⁷ Terrahe 2015, esp. 287.

Steinhöwel, his translation of Boccaccio's *Griselda* from Petrarch's Latin adaptation (fol. 55r–71r), as well as by another rendition of a Decameron-tale, Niklas von Wyle's *Guiskard und Sigismunda* (fol. 73r–82v), and by Johannes von Tepl's *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen* (fol. 84r–107r).³⁵⁸ As we have seen, the tale of Griselda's tribulations accompanied an illustrated version of Apollonius also in the early-15th-century manuscript that I think hails from the royal court of France, our "Boston Apollonius",³⁵⁹ and it already shed light on the interest of the readers in topics related to love and marriage. This concern is even more pronounced in the collection of texts contained in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, but there is also a shift in the central themes of interest. While in the case of *Griselda* the main topic is women's marital obedience and fidelity, the stories of Niklas von Wyle and Johannes von Tepl rather exemplify true affection and love. Niklas von Wyle belonged to the same circle of early German humanists as Steinhöwel. After studying in Vienna, he was a city clerk between 1447/1448 and 1469 in Esslingen, some 50 miles from Ulm, later he stood in the service of Ulrich von Württemberg. It is likely that he personally knew Steinhöwel.³⁶⁰ His *Guiskard und Sigismunda* is a story about two martyrs of love. It tells how Sigismunda's father kills her lover, Guiskard, how Sigismunda commits suicide upon receiving Guiskard's heart in a cup, and how the two are united in a common grave at last. Besides their romance, it also thematizes the father's excessive, almost sinful attachment to his daughter, which is a prominent motif in the story of Apollonius as well, and implicitly argues for marrying girls at a proper age.³⁶¹ In turn, in the *Ackermann aus Böhmen* a ploughman, painfully mourning over the passing of his wife, is set in dispute with death itself. Complaining about his loss, he questions the power of death over love and presents marriage as the union of two lovers.

The interrelatedness of the texts contained in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript shows that they were selected very carefully. They constitute a coherent whole that discusses various aspects of socially determined, approved and disapproved forms of bond between man and woman. The work-complex was also appropriate for moral-didactic purposes. This is obvious in relation to the Apollonius and the *Griselda*, and the *Guiskard und Sigismunda* could be read for its lessons as well, as attested by the inclusion of its plot to Albrecht von Eyb's *Ehebüchlein* (book on

³⁵⁸ For descriptions of the manuscript see Gisella Fischer-Heetfeld's 1991 catalogue entry in the KdiH, <https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/7/2/1> (21.09.2022); the *Handschriftencensus*, <https://handschriftencensus.de/6690> (21.09.2022) and the Marburger Repertorium zur Übersetzungsliteratur im deutschen Frühhumanismus, <https://mrfh.de/11150#80> (30.09.2022). See also Heinemann 1898, 390, Nr. 2722; Terrahe 2013a, 107–108.

³⁵⁹ Boston, Public Library, Ms. f. Med. 91. See chapter II. 4.

³⁶⁰ On Niklas von Wyle's biography see Kocher 2005, 265–269.

³⁶¹ On Niklas von Wyle's *Guiskard* see Kocher 2005, 265–288, on the text-image relationship in its 1476/1477 edition by Johann Zainer (GW 5643) see Lovas 2009.

marriage).³⁶² In the context of the Wolfenbüttel collection of texts, the interest in Apollonius must have been primarily aroused by its positive and negative examples of father-daughter relationships as well as by the models Apollonius' wife and daughter provided for girls and married women. This might imply that the addressee of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript was a woman, but unfortunately nothing is known about the early possessors of the volume.

What the manuscript itself tells us about its origin is that it was copied in 1468 by Konrad Bollstatter in Augsburg.³⁶³ Bollstatter, known also as Konrad Müller/Molitor/Mulitor/von Öttingen is a wellknown scribe and intellectual,³⁶⁴ whose work has been found in not less than 16 manuscripts so far.³⁶⁵ He also wrote records in the "Öttingisches Lehnbuch" as well as comments and marginal notes to Jakob Twinger von Königshofen's chronicle in a manuscript and in an incunabulum.³⁶⁶ He was born around 1420 in Öttingen as the son of Konrad Müller the elder. Following in the footsteps of his father, he stood in the service of the counts of Öttingen as a chancellor between 1446–1453, but by the time he copied our Wolfenbüttel manuscript he lived in Augsburg, where he settled down in 1466 the latest and remained active until his death (around 1482). In addition to being a prolific scribe, he systematically collected, compared and edited texts, especially chronicles, moreover, he even experimented with poetry.³⁶⁷ He was a well-read man. The works included in his manuscripts are all written in German and cover a broad thematical range with literature and historiography in their focus.

The circles of patrons he worked for is difficult to define. Among the books he copied there are quite a few that he compiled over the years for his own personal use, like a collection of oracles,³⁶⁸ while there is only one whose original possessor, the Augsburg mayor, Jörg Sulzer,

³⁶² In Eyb's version the story is entitled with the warning that virgins and women should be married at the right time (*Das man frawen und iunckfrawen zu rechter zeit menner geben soll*). On Eyb's *Guiscardo und Ghismonda* see Kocher 2005, 203–263, the title is mentioned on p. 214.

³⁶³ Fol. 71r: *Finitus dominica die post Dorothee virginis de Conrado scriptore de Öttingen in civitate Auguste anno 1468*.

³⁶⁴ His biography and works were first studied in detail by Lehmann-Haupt 1929, 110–119, then by Schneider 1973, who also discussed his oeuvre in the context of 15th-century professional and amateur scribes' activities in Augsburg (Schneider 1995). On Bollstatter's interest in and contribution to historiography: Wolf 1994; Wolf 1996; Wolf 2004. See also Koppitz 1980, 51–50, Graf 1987, 192–203 and the following lexicon-entries: Gärtner 1978; Schneider 1978; Graf 1997; Kornrumpf 2012 (2008); Malm 2017 (2013).

³⁶⁵ Alba Iulia, Bibl. Batthyaneum, Cod. R I 115; Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, Schätze 19; Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, Schätze 121; Berlin, SBSPK, Mgf 564; Berlin, SBSPK, Mgf 722; Heidelberg, UB, Cpg 4; London, BL, Add. Ms. 16581; München, BSB, Cgm 213; München, BSB, Cgm 252; München, BSB, Cgm 312; München, BSB, Cgm 463; München, BSB, Cgm 735; München, BSB, Cgm 758; Praha, Knihovna národního muzea, Cod. XVI. A 6; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. 37.17. Aug. Fol; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. 75.10. Aug. Fol. Schneider 1973, 39 calls attention to the fact that Conradus Molitor, scribe of the Ettenheimmünster 29 manuscript in the Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe is not identical with Bollstatter.

³⁶⁶ The two latter are: München, BSB, Cgm 568, Cgm 7366 (2° Inc. s.a. 767).

³⁶⁷ He is the author of a poem entitled "*Vom Teufel und seinen acht Töchtern*" contained in Berlin, SBSPK, Mgf 564. See: Schneider 1973, 21.

³⁶⁸ München, BSB, Cgm 312.

is known. This latter is a richly illustrated *Armenbibel*, the German translation of the *Biblia pauperum*, made in 1481.³⁶⁹ From his biography and oeuvre, it is certain that Bollstatter was a layman, who worked as a professional scribe and had contacts with the nobility and the urban elite. Nevertheless, readers of his manuscripts might have come from a broader environment. In Augsburg, which was one of the wealthiest cities of the time, there was widespread interest in German literary works at the time, as attested by the possessors of the print copies of Steinhöwel's Apollonius as well.³⁷⁰ Such prose romances and short stories that are included in our Wolfenbüttel codex were so popular that some of them, Steinhöwel's *Griselda* and Niklas von Wyle's *Guiskard und Sigismunda*, appear for example in another Bollstatter manuscript too, in München, BSB Cgm 252.³⁷¹ In this compilation, in which texts copied between 1455 and 1477 are assembled,³⁷² the story of *Griselda* and that of *Guiskard und Sigismunda* are accompanied among others by German translations of Biblical compendia, of John Mandeville's and Marco Polo's travelogues as well as by another narration, Thüring von Ringoltingen's *Melusina*. The *Guiskard und Sigismunda* and perhaps the *Griselda* too were copied in the München volume in 1468, at the same time as, or a few weeks after the Wolfenbüttel manuscript was made.³⁷³ In both codices Bollstatter reserved places for illustrations, however, only a single image of the München *Melusina* and the images of the Wolfenbüttel Apollonius were carried out. Interestingly, the two *Griselda* image programs were envisioned differently: the München version would have included more pictures than the Wolfenbüttel one.³⁷⁴

In the Wolfenbüttel manuscript Steinhöwel's Apollonius takes a prominent role. Apart from the two pages of the alphabet oracle, it is the first work in the volume, and it is the one that embraces the largest number of images. It is enriched with six pictures, while *Griselda* would have had four, the *Ackermann aus Böhmen* one, and the *Guiskard und Sigismunda* was not meant to be illustrated at all. The text is written on paper in two text columns, the images are coloured pen-drawings. The first illustration (fol. 2v) directly precedes the introductory chapter, in which

³⁶⁹ Praha, Knihovna národního muzea, Cod. XVI. A 6.

³⁷⁰ Schneider 1995, 15.

³⁷¹ For descriptions of the manuscript see Schneider 1970, 139–146; the *Handschriftencensus* under <https://handschriftencensus.de/5999> (03.10.2022) and Norbert H. Ott's 2012 entry in the KdiH, <https://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/29/1/3> (03.10.2022).

³⁷² It is dated to 1455 on fol. 126v, 1475 on fol. 137r, 1468 on fol. 176r and 1477 on fol. 209r.

³⁷³ In the Wolfenbüttel manuscript *Griselda* is dated the most precisely. According to its Latin colophon on fol. 71r, it was completed on the Sunday after the feast of St. Dorothy (9th of February), while the German note on the same folio indicates the Sunday before Dorothy (2nd February). In the München copy only the *Guiskardo und Sigismunda* is dated to 1468, it was completed on the 24th of March.

³⁷⁴ For a comparison of the two *Griselda* versions see Kristina Domanski's 2015 entry in the KdiH, <https://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/stoffgruppe/49> (05.10.2022).

Steinhöwel establishes the (pseudo-)historical context of the story of Apollonius. Placed in a medallion and surrounded by a second, rectangular frame, it depicts a king on his throne against the backdrop of a landscape (Fig. 140). Who the figure represents is not clear, but based on the illustrations of the later incunabula, he is most likely Alexander the Great. All the other images correspond to selected episodes of the plot. They are narrow, but long column pictures dispersed in the text. With one exception, they are placed between the chapter titles and the chapter incipits, but they do not necessarily depict the event described in the first lines of the chapter.

The visual story-telling starts with an image on fol. 8r that stands before chapter 2,³⁷⁵ at the very beginning of the plot (Fig. 141). Nevertheless, instead of the depiction of the initial conflict, the incestuous relationship between King Antiochus and his daughter, which was the focus of interest for the readers of two of our Burgundian Apollonius manuscripts,³⁷⁶ it shows how Apollonius appeared in Antioch before the king to ask for the hand of the princess, the happening of chapter 4. In the second narrative image (fol. 19v) Apollonius is seen in Pentapolis (Cyrene), where, after suffering shipwreck, he took part in a ballgame and won King Archistrates' favour (Fig. 142). This episode is told in chapter 12, where it is enclosed by another scene, which tells how the naked Apollonius met King Archistrates in the bath, and how he washed and anointed him. In this case, Bollstatter paid special attention to the allocation of the image. It is placed in the middle of the chapter, as opposed to its opening, so that it directly precedes the corresponding text. This way the reader's attention is diverted from the bath scene, which might have been considered indecent and inappropriate. The third image marks a turning point of the story told in chapter 19, the punishment of the wicked King Antiochus and his unhappy daughter (fol. 27v), which caused Apollonius to leave Pentapolis (Fig. 143). In turn, the last pictures depict the two scenes of happy family-reunions (chapter 32, 35): first Apollonius recovers his daughter in Mytilene (fol. 47v – Fig. 144), then finds his wife in Ephesus (fol. 51r – Fig. 145).

In the selection of episodes for visual rendering there is no sign of interest in the female protagonists. Apollonius' wife, here called Cleopatra, features only in the last image, his daughter, Tarsia, appears in the penultimate one. The story is told from the viewpoint of Apollonius. Four of the five narrative images mark the most important localities of his journeys (image 2, 3, 5, 6: Antioch, Pentapolis, Mytilene and Ephesus), while such important life events as his wedding are neglected. It is remarkable that the artist did not aim at literally precise

³⁷⁵ Here and in what follows, chapter numbers are given according to the text edition, Terrahe 2013a.

³⁷⁶ Bruxelles, KBR, 9632–33, London, BL, Royal 20 C II. See Chapter II. 4.

illustrations of the text. In image 5, Apollonius is seen receiving his daughter seated on a throne at the foot of a hill (Fig. 144), whereas the text says that they met in the hull of a ship. Moreover, each composition is set in a landscape, even enthroned kings (Alexander the Great, Antiochus and Apollonius in image 1, 2, 5) are placed in the countryside. No question, landscape with a stony path was a favourite background motif of the artist, as seen in his/her other work, the illustrations of Jakob Twinger von Königshofen's chronicle made in 1467, somewhat before our Apollonius (Fig. 146).³⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the divergences from Steinhöwel's text in the Apollonius images don't seem to be pointless. United by the prominent and recurring detail of the path leading far in the distance, the four images in which Apollonius appears form a chain that captures one of the main motifs of the tale, wandering itself.³⁷⁸ That the illustrator had a clear concept of how to visualize the story is evident from the last image as well. Here the Ephesian temple of Diana is depicted with a historicist intention, which fits Steinhöwel's approach to Apollonius very well. Although the temple is not an *all'antica* edifice, it obviously aims to recall a pagan sanctuary as opposed to a medieval building. While the logic of the image program and the composition of the single images articulate the masculine aspects of the story, it seems as if the interests of women, putative or real, were also considered when episodes were selected for depiction. It is revealing that preference was given to Apollonius' proposal in Antioch over the incestuous relationship between King Antiochus and his daughter, or to the ballgame over the bath. Perhaps both the incest- and the bath-scene seemed disturbing for the medieval reader/viewer, and therefore their open visual representation was regarded as inappropriate for a decent woman.³⁷⁹

Who the illustrator of our Wolfenbüttel Apollonius was is not known, but he/she undoubtedly belonged to a productive circle of Augsburg artists who regularly worked together with Bollstatter and with other scribes too. The aforementioned chronicle from 1467, which is kept in Gotha, was already identified as his work by Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt.³⁸⁰ Gisella Fischer-Heetfeld included the images of a third, Dresden manuscript of various contents to the oeuvre

³⁷⁷ Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Cod. Chart. A. 158. For its 2010 description by Falk Eisermann see http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/projekt-Gotha-pdfs/Chart_A_158.pdf (17.10.2022). In the KdiH it was discussed by Christine Stöllinger-Löser in 2011, <https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/26A/28/2> (19.10.2022).

³⁷⁸ I thank Tina Bawden for discussing the possible meanings of the motif with me.

³⁷⁹ Archibald 2001 gives deep insight into appearances of incest motifs in medieval literature. How the interest aroused by the topic was expressed in different socio-cultural circles and how it changed over the time are questions that still call for a systematic investigation. For a comparison of the opening images in illustrated Apollonius books, including those that do depict the incest (like the Burgundian manuscript, London, BL, Royal 20 C II from the 1470s which must have been within the reach of a woman, Elisabeth Woodville, queen of England) see the Conclusions of Chapter II and Chapter III. 1.

³⁸⁰ Lehmann-Haupt 1929, 110, 121, 211. For the Gotha manuscript see note 377.

of the artist,³⁸¹ and discussed the illustrations of further six codices as products of the workshop he/she belonged to.³⁸² Most but not all of these latter were copied by Bollstatter.³⁸³ Norbert H. Ott at first mentioned the Gotha and the Dresden images independently from the Wolfenbüttel drawings,³⁸⁴ while he attributed the illustrations of the six other codices to our illustrator.³⁸⁵ In his fundamental study on Augsburg's 15th-century book culture, he already spoke about a flexible group of scribes and artists working together in various cooperations and producing, among others the Wolfenbüttel Apollonius, the Gotha chronicle and the Dresden manuscript.³⁸⁶ Much later he considered the images of these three codices as the work of a single hand.³⁸⁷ Recently Christine Stöllinger-Löser linked the images of a Legendry to the oeuvre of our artist,³⁸⁸ while Ulrike Bodemann included in it the illustrations of the manuscript, in which Bollstatter's notes to the chronicle of Jakob Twinger von Königshofen are found.³⁸⁹

The style of the numerous pictures that embellish the manuscripts discussed in relation to the Wolfenbüttel Apollonius are indeed similar, nevertheless, they show a variety in the figure types, the outlines and the colourings. This indicates that quite a few hands took part in their creation. In my view, the single manuscript whose illustrations were undoubtedly made by the same hand as the Apollonius drawings is the Gotha chronicle (Fig. 146). This has seven images that recount episodes for example from the legend of Troy and from the life of Alexander the Great in a very similar way as the Apollonius scenes are formed. Whether and to what extent the artist participated in the making of further codices is of minor significance for us. What is remarkable is that the Wolfenbüttel manuscript belongs to a large group of codices that witness the activity of such a whole network of Augsburg scribes, artists and bookbinders around

³⁸¹ Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mscr. Dresd. M. 59.

³⁸² See her 1991 description of our Wolfenbüttel Apollonius in the KdiH, <https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/7/2/1> (21.09.2022). The codices in question are: Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. III. 1. 8° 30; Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Mgf 722; München, BSB, Cgm 213; Cgm 312; Cgm 1930 and Praha, Knihovna národního muzea, Cod. XVI. A 6.

³⁸³ For the list of Bollstatter codices see note 365.

³⁸⁴ See his 1991 description of the Dresden volume in the KdiH, <https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/2/2/1> (19.10.2022).

³⁸⁵ See his 1996 description of Praha, Knihovna národního muzea, Cod. XVI. A 6 in the KdiH, <https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/16/0/20> (19.10.2022).

³⁸⁶ Ott 1997, 203–205.

³⁸⁷ See his 2011 description of the Dresden manuscript in the KdiH, <https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/22/1/5> (06.11.2022).

³⁸⁸ Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod. 154. See her 2011 description of the Gotha chronicle in the KdiH, <https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/26A/28/2> (19.10.2022). For a different grouping of the codices by Stöllinger-Löser, which is almost identical with the one made by Ott in 1996 (note 385), see her 2017 description of Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. III. 1. 8° 30 in the KdiH, <https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/67/10/1> (19.10.2022).

³⁸⁹ München, BSB, Cgm 568. See her 2015 description of the codex in the KdiH, <https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/51/32/2> (19.10.2022).

1470,³⁹⁰ who, instead of serving a single patron or court, fulfilled the growing needs of a varied readership. It is by no means accidental that the *editio princeps* of the *Apollonius von Tyrus* and the first four incunabula that contain its illustrated versions, books that largely contributed to the popularization of the story and its visual narration, were published nowhere else than Augsburg only a few years later than the Wolfenbüttel Apollonius was made.

GW 2274

The oldest illustrated *Apollonius von Tyrus* incunabulum, GW 2274, was published by the Augsburg printer, Johann Bämmler in 1476. It numbers among the early illustrated incunabula in general, and also within Augsburg,³⁹¹ which was the second city where illustrated incunabula were made and the “main printing place for vernacular [German] literature in the 15th century”.³⁹² Bämmler obviously saw possibility in printing illustrated prose romances that narrated antique histories in German tongue. These form a significant group among his early books. In fact, the very first illustrated print version of a *Prosaroman* is his 1473 edition of Johann Hartlieb’s *Alexander* (Fig. 148),³⁹³ which was followed in 1474 by his edition of Guido de Columna’s *Historia destructionis Troiae* in the translation of Hans Mair von Nördlingen.³⁹⁴ Also, the *editio princeps* of Steinhöwel’s Apollonius published by Günther Zainer in 1471 without images must have sold well on the market that Bämmler took the risk of investing into a richly illustrated edition of the work.

Who constructed the image program that embraces 35 woodcuts is not known (Figs. 149 A–178 A, 180 A–183 A). Bämmler, a polyhistor of book production, a professional illuminator, the author of a chronicle and the possessor of a paper mill, must have played an initiative role, and Steinhöwel himself might have taken part in the work as well.³⁹⁵ The woodcuts themselves have

³⁹⁰ According to Lehmann-Haupt 1929, 119, the binding of the Wolfenbüttel Apollonius was made in the same workshop as the Gotha chronicle and as the following Bollstatter codices: München, BSB, Cgm 213; München, BSB, Cgm 312 and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. 37.17. Aug. Fol. In relation to Cgm 312 Schneider 1973, 48 states that the decorative motifs of its binding recur on the bindings of books that derive from the Augsburg Benedictine house of St. Ulrich and Afra, such as München, BSB, Cgm 402; München, BSB, Cgm 552; München, BSB, Cgm 758 (a Bollstatter codex) and München, BSB, 2^o Inc. c. a. 538a. See Terrahe 2013a, 108 as well.

³⁹¹ The books that are regarded as the oldest illustrated incunabula of all times were published by the Bamberg printer, Albert Pfister, in the early 1460s. On his work see Häussermann 2008. In Augsburg the first illustrated incunabula, two volumes of a Legendry (GW M11402) as well as Jacobus de Theramo’s *Belial* (GW 13945) and *Das goldene Spiel* of the Dominican friar, Ingold (GW M12087) were issued by Günther Zainer in the early 1470s.

³⁹² Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2019, 17.

³⁹³ GW 884. Knape 1995, 341.

³⁹⁴ GW 7233.

³⁹⁵ Bämmler’s paintings and floral decorations can be found e.g. on a bifolio in The Morgan Library and Museum depicting the Crucifixion and St. Leonhard, in two Hebrew manuscripts, and in a Bible printed by Heinrich

been attributed to the so-called Sorgmeister since Helmut H. Schmid's 1958 study on Augsburgian book illustration, an opinion that should be given a second thought.³⁹⁶ It can't be established either, whether the image program and the compositions of the single images were newly conceived or their designers used a manuscript copy of the work with similar illustrations as their model, a common practice in Augsburg that was applied in Bämmler's 1473 Alexander as well.³⁹⁷ The compositions of the images in the Wolfenbüttel Apollonius are different from those of the woodcuts, apart from a rather generic motivic correspondence in the depiction of King Antiochus terrified by the lightning that killed him and the similar form of a throne (Figs. 141, 163 A and 143, 166).³⁹⁸

Whoever selected certain episodes of the story for visual narration while neglecting other ones, the image program he/she compiled is absolutely logical. On the title page there is a portrait of Alexander the Great copied after Bämmler's very successful 1473 Alexander edition (Figs. 147, 148). Besides establishing the (imagined) historical setting for Apollonius and, at the same time, presenting Steinhöwel's work as a continuation of the Alexander romance, the image obviously helped sales-promotion as well. All the other illustrations follow the chapter-divisions of the text. Starting with chapter 2, each chapter is introduced by a short sentence that serves both as image caption and as chapter heading.³⁹⁹ This is followed by a woodcut and a large, printed initial. The only exception to this rule is chapter 33,⁴⁰⁰ where there is no caption/chapter heading and no illustration, but a large initial. Since there are 36 chapters, the total number of images (including the Alexander portrait) is 35.⁴⁰¹ They were printed from 33 woodblocks (two blocks were used twice). The depicted episodes were selected with care: they do not necessarily illustrate the first few sentences of the chapter, but a scene that was certainly considered the most important, interesting, or characteristic of the given text-unit. That the illustrator knew the

Eggenstein in (or somewhat before) 1466. On Bämmler as an artist see König 1997, 195–197; Edmunds 1981; Edmunds 1993; Beier 2004.

³⁹⁶ Schmid 1958, 56–57, 146. Schmid's attributions still serve as the basis, nevertheless, their thorough reconsideration would be timely, especially concerning the distinction between works of the so-called Bämmlermeister and those of the Sorgmeister.

³⁹⁷ On the Augsburg practice of copying illustrations from manuscript in incunabula (for instance in the case of Zainer's 1471/1472 Legendry and 1472 Belial) see Schmid 1958, 36–37; Augustyn 2017, 69. On the Alexander illustrations in manuscript and print see Gossart 2010.

³⁹⁸ Compare the similarities: Wolfenbüttel Apollonius fol. 27v – Bämmler's image 18/19; Wolfenbüttel Apollonius fol. 8r – Bämmler's image 15/16. (For Bämmler's numbers see Appendix IV.) I can't agree with Ott 2004 that Bämmler's images have more in common with the illustrations of the two codices that contain Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland* than with Steinhöwel's own text.

³⁹⁹ There are chapter headings in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript and in Zainer's *editio princeps* too. These are not completely identical with the introductory sentences in Bämmler's edition. Terrahe 2013a, 127, 135, 139, 142.

⁴⁰⁰ This, and the following chapter numbers are given according to the modern text edition: Terrahe 2013a. For reasons that will be discussed later (see note 404), Bämmler's chapter numbers are not completely identical with those of the text edition. For the concordance see Appendix IV.

⁴⁰¹ For the depicted subject matters see Appendix IV.

plot very well, is also clear from such remarkable cases, where the image is more accurate than the text. For instance, in Bämmler's edition we read that King Archistrates' daughter, princess Cleopatra, invited the shipwrecked, almost naked Apollonius to his father's court, but in the corresponding picture, in agreement with the older text version maintained by the Wolfenbüttel Apollonius, another manuscript copy and the *editio princeps*, a servant of the king replaces the princess (Fig. 161 A).⁴⁰²

Since the image program follows the chapter divisions, it reflects the narrative structure of the text. The result is a compact picture cycle, which marks the most important turning points of the plot and tells the story with a focus on the main protagonists, but doesn't elaborate on such details as the unfolding love of Apollonius and his future wife, the death of the nurse of Apollonius' daughter, or the punishment of the wicked stepparents and the brothel keeper, important episodes that are told in the text and that found visual rendering in the contemporaneous illustrated copies of Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland*.⁴⁰³ Nevertheless, in Bämmler's edition the images were not simply subordinated to the text. To the contrary, the original chapter divisions found in Zainer's 1471 *editio princeps* were also modified in view of the prospective images.⁴⁰⁴

How important the illustrations were for Bämmler and his associates is evident from the fact that they were willing to shorten the text in order to fit in an extra image. It has not previously been observed that Bämmler's Apollonius survives in two slightly different versions. A copy of the first is found in Berlin, a copy of the other, improved variant is held in Munich.⁴⁰⁵ Both have the same colophon and both are identified as 2274 in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, but the number of the chapters and therefore that of the images is different in the two. In the Berlin version there are only 35 chapters and 34 woodcuts, one less than in the Munich copy. The reason for the difference is that in the Munich version Zainer's original chapter 10 has been split into two in order to accommodate a second image, the illustration of Apollonius' fatal shipwreck (Fig. 158 A). To this end, the third and fourth page of chapter 10 were reset. The first 12 text lines of the third page were shortened, the remaining 8 text lines were moved to the

⁴⁰² The other early manuscript copy is Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Donaueschingen 150, which was made in 1468, in the same year as the Wolfenbüttel Apollonius.

⁴⁰³ Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689; Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886. See Chapter II. 5.

⁴⁰⁴ In the *editio princeps* and in the modern text edition (Terrahe 2013a) there are 37 chapters. Bämmler split Zainer's chapter 2 and chapter 10 into two, while he didn't consider Zainer's chapter 6, 15 and 30 as separate units. Since in the two oldest manuscript copies of the work (see note 350), the chapter divisions are almost completely identical with Zainer's solution, it is very likely that they reflect Steinhöwel's intentions. For the concordance of Zainer's and Bämmler's chapter numbers see Appendix IV.

⁴⁰⁵ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 8 Inc. 73; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Inc. c.a. 77 m-2.

fourth page, which was not filled completely with text originally. An image caption/chapter heading and the woodcut depicting the shipwreck were inserted in the space left free on page three, and an initial was placed at the beginning of the text on the fourth page to maintain the visual logic of the text-image structure, the unity of chapter/chapter heading-image caption/image/initial (Figs. 184, 185). In other words, to make room for the depiction of a crucial scene a new chapter-opening was introduced, and the text was altered during the production process, even though it required the resetting of two pages.⁴⁰⁶

In the design of the book and in the page layout Bämmler followed an established practice. The text is printed in one column, the images are placed either at the top, in the middle or at the bottom of the page, depending on where the preceding chapter ends. Already the Bamberg printer, Albrecht Pfister, employed a similar approach in one of the first known illustrated incunabula of all times, Ulrich Boner's fable collection,⁴⁰⁷ and the same arrangement appears in Günther Zainer's 1472 *Belial*, too. It became a standard form in Bämmler's practice, which he liked to use for narrative materials, for instance in the aforementioned 1473 Alexander edition, and in Thüring von Ringoltingen's German Melusine translation that he published in 1474.⁴⁰⁸

In the history of further illustrated editions of Steinhöwel's Apollonius, Bämmler's edition, more precisely its Munich version proved to be normative. The five subsequent editions employed a similar system of illustration and followed the example of Bämmler in the book-design and in the concept of the page-layout.⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, they used either Bämmler's woodblocks or copies made after them for most of the images. Nevertheless, there are conspicuous modifications as well. The comparison of the different versions is of interest for many reasons: it provides direct insight into various practical aspects of the production of early modern illustrated books, moreover into the network of and the cooperation between printers and artists within the walls of the city of Augsburg and far beyond.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁶ For further evidence on possible alterations happened during the production process see the implications of the Spanish *Vida e historia del rey Apolonio* in Chapter II. 7. The resetting of pages and the insertion of further images is a practice that was followed by Bämmler in his 1474 Melusine (GW 12655) as well. See: Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2022, 150–157. I thank Dr. Falk Eisermann for kindly calling my attention to this publication.

⁴⁰⁷ GW 4839.

⁴⁰⁸ GW 12655.

⁴⁰⁹ Since the number of lines (the amount of text) accommodated on a page is different in each of the incunabula, there is a shift in the placement of the chapter headings/image captions and of the images.

⁴¹⁰ In the following comparisons, I will refer to the images according to their number in Bämmler's Munich version, see Appendix IV.

GW 2275

Bämmler's edition must have sold out quickly because it took only three years that the second illustrated Apollonius incunabulum, GW 2275, appeared in Anton Sorg's printing house in Augsburg. Sorg, who had a close relationship with Bämmler,⁴¹¹ used Bämmler's woodblocks for an almost identical image-cycle. There are only a few differences. In one case the alteration was unintentional: a woodblock (image 6, Apollonius returns to Tyre) was turned upside down (Figs. 186 A - B), in three other cases it was deliberate: Sorg replaced image 14, the invitation of the almost naked Apollonius to the court of King Archistrates with a new, less precise but more conventional woodcut depicting the clothing of Apollonius in the court (Fig. 161 B), and for image 16 (Cleopatra asks her father to give shelter to Apollonius) he used Bämmler's woodblock of image 5 (Apollonius asks for the hand of King Antiochus' daughter). Moreover, he completed the image program with an illustration of the wedding of Apollonius' daughter, Tarsia, a truly important episode told in the only chapter that, for reasons unknown, had no illustration in the Bämmler edition (Fig. 179).⁴¹² As a result, he worked with 36 images printed from 33 woodblocks (three woodblocks were used twice).⁴¹³

GW 2276

The more decent way Sorg's edition depicted Apollonius' reception by King Archistrates became the standard form in the younger incunabula (Fig. 161 C), while they didn't follow Sorg's example in the inclusion of the wedding of Tarsia in the image program. Moreover, significant changes were introduced in the next edition of the work, GW 2276, published in 1488 by a member of the next generation of Augsburg printers, Johann Schönsperger the elder, the son of Bämmler's wife, Barbara, from her previous marriage.⁴¹⁴ Its illustrations were printed with a completely different series of woodblocks (Figs. 149 B–165 B, 167 B–169 B, 171 B–174 B, 176 B, 178 B, 180 B, 182 B, 183 B), and the need for alteration was not a matter of taste, for quite a few of the new images are reversed versions of the woodcuts used by Bämmler and

⁴¹¹ Anton Sorg was the third important member of the Bämmler-Schönsperger network of Augsburg printers. In addition to professional cooperations, he must have had a personal contact with Bämmler, for his widow even lived with Bämmler for a while. Künast 1997b, 1207–1208. On the beginnings of printing in Augsburg and the interrelationships between the families of Augsburg printers see also Künast 1997a, 12; Künast, 2017, 44.

⁴¹² Because this episode and its depiction is at the end of (Zainer's) chapter 33, the illustration of the following chapter, together with the image caption/chapter heading has been moved from the beginning of the chapter to the middle and was followed by an initial.

⁴¹³ In fact, there are only 35 images in the most complete copy of Sorg's 1479 edition (Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4° Ink 231), because the page with the first image of the Bämmler cycle, the portrait of Alexander the Great is missing. Since this image is present in all the younger incunabula, I suppose it was not absent from Sorg's edition either.

⁴¹⁴ Concerning the literature on the relationships between Augsburg printers see note 411. On Schönsperger: Künast 1997b, 1211.

Sorg. Rather, Bämmler's woodblocks were no longer available in Augsburg. They travelled surprisingly far to be reused in an incunabulum containing a Spanish translation of the story of Apollonius, an adaptation distinct from that of Steinhöwel, the *Vida e historia del rey Apolonio*, published around 1488 by the Hurus (Huros) brothers.⁴¹⁵ Schönsperger's Apollonius differs from the editions of Bämmler and Sorg not only in that most of its images are reversed and simplified. The illustration program became a bit shorter: instead of 35 it consists of only 30 images, which were printed from 27 woodblocks (one woodblock was used twice, another one three times).⁴¹⁶ Moreover, 9 images (printed from 8 woodblocks) were borrowed from an edition of Thüring von Ringoltingen's *Melusine*, which was likely published by Schönsperger himself around 1488, i.e. roughly at the same time when he worked on his Apollonius (Figs. 187–194).⁴¹⁷ A tenth image is a revised version of a woodcut found in an earlier *Melusine* edition, that of Bämmler from 1474.⁴¹⁸

GW 227610N, GW 2277 and GW 2278

In 1494, Schönsperger published Steinhöwel's Apollonius once again, but this edition, GW 227610N, is known to us only from a few photos. He possibly used the same woodblocks this time again. In any case, his illustrations as we know them from the 1488 edition provided the model for our last two incunabula, Konrad Dinckmut's 1495 and Johann Zainer's 1499 edition that were made in Ulm, GW 2277 and GW 2278 respectively. Dinckmut and Zainer worked with an almost identical set of images. There is only one illustration in Zainer's edition, the equivalent of Bämmler's image 14 (Apollonius is invited to the court of King Archistrates) that slightly differs from the one applied by Schönsperger and Dinckmut (Figs. 195 A–B). Both

⁴¹⁵ See Chapter II. 7. The connection between the woodcuts illustrating Bämmler's and Hurus' Apollonius editions was also recognized by Lacarra 2015a.

⁴¹⁶ There are no equivalents for Bämmler's image 19, 23, 28, 30 and 33: the punishment of the wicked King Antiochus, the childhood of Apollonius' daughter, her tribulations in the brothel, her efforts to cheer up Apollonius and one of the most important episodes of the plot, the reunion of Apollonius with his wife. Why these scenes were left out is not clear.

⁴¹⁷ The *Melusine* in question is GW 12662. Gisela Fischer-Heetfeld in her 1991 entry in the KdiH provides a list of the images that were borrowed from the *Melusine*, however, with reference to Schramm 1920–1943, Bd. 4 (Die Drucke von Anton Sorg in Augsburg), she attributes the *Melusine* to Anton Sorg and dates it to 1485. Moreover, she considers the borrowed Apollonius woodcuts as recuttings. See:

<https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/druck/7/2/c> (01.09.2022). Since the only copy of this *Melusine* edition is in Munich, while that of Schönsperger's Apollonius is in the Huntington Library, I couldn't prove whether the images were made from different woodblocks. In the photos I was not able to discover any differences, and I find it very unlikely that – in case the creators of Schönsperger's Apollonius would have devoted time and energy to making new woodblocks – they would have copied images, whose subject doesn't always completely fit into the context. (See Chapter III. 3.) Schönsperger's nine images that were borrowed from the *Melusine* are (according to their number in Bämmler's image program): 5, 6, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 26, 27. (See Appendix IV.)

⁴¹⁸ Bämmler's *Melusine* is GW 12655. Schönsperger's image in question is the equivalent of image 7 in Bämmler's Apollonius image program. See Gisela Fischer-Heetfeld's 1991 entry in the KdiH, <https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/druck/7/2/c> (01.09.2022).

Dinckmut and Zainer printed their illustrations from 25 woodblocks, but Dinckmut used only one block twice, while in Zainer's edition two blocks were used twice and two others were used three times. Therefore, there are 26 images in Dinckmut's and 31 in Zainer's edition. In addition to the illustrations that were already omitted by Schönsperger, Dinckmut left out four further episodes from the image program.⁴¹⁹ In turn, three of these, moreover the depiction of a scene that was missing from both Schönsperger's and Dinckmut's edition, the reunion of Apollonius with his wife, were restored by Zainer. That is why he used a few blocks for two or three times.⁴²⁰ Although it is difficult to establish, it seems to me that Dinckmut acquired most of the woodblocks from Schönsperger,⁴²¹ while Zainer's images, or quite a few of them, were not printed from Dinckmut's woodblocks, rather, they were remodeled on the example of the latter (Figs. 196 A–B–C).⁴²²

As seen from the above presentation, Bämmler's image cycle had a lasting impact on the visual narration of the story of Apollonius in German incunabula. His images circulated widely among Augsburg and Ulm artists and printers, his woodblocks were often reused, remodeled and copied. Certainly, the wandering of woodblocks from printer to printer and from book to book was not only characteristic for the Apollonius material. The secondary use of woodblocks as well as their multiple use within a single book were common practice in the early history of the printed book that helped to solve production related problems. They reduced the costs and significantly shortened the production time, but sometimes they disturbed the consistency of a picture-cycle or confused the text-image dialogue. Therefore, they have usually been considered as initial weaknesses of the new medium. As customary as they were, the multiple use of woodblocks for the illustration of different episodes within a book and the borrowing of woodblocks either from earlier editions of the same work or from incunabula containing other texts are such new features in the illustration history of the Apollonius story that need to be studied in detail. I will return to this in Chapter III. 3, in the context of the narrative strategies

⁴¹⁹ There is no corresponding illustration to Bämmler's image 31, 32, 34, 35 (Apollonius recognizes his daughter, Apollonius sails to Ephesus with his daughter and her husband, the family sails to Antioch and Tarsus, Apollonius rewards the poor fisherman).

⁴²⁰ It is conspicuous that he did not replace the illustration of one of the most dramatic episodes of the plot, the one in which Apollonius recognized his daughter.

⁴²¹ Dinckmut's images that differ from their Schönsperger models are (according to their number in Bämmler's image program) image 3, 4, 10, 22 (King Antiochus leaves his daughter's bedchamber after raping her, the heads of the suitors of King Antiochus' daughter are cut off, Apollonius leaves Tarsus on the advice of Stranguillio, Apollonius entrusts his baby daughter to Stranguillio and his wife in Tarsus).

⁴²² In many cases Zainer's illustrations (which are younger than those of Dinckmut) show a bit more of the figures on the sides, or there is a bit more space at the edges, moreover, the facial features are also different here or there. See for instance the illustrations that correspond to Bämmler's image 16/27 on the one hand, and to Bämmler's image 10 on the other. In the first case, Zainer shows a larger part of the horse and of the head of its rider (Fig. 196 A–B–C), in the second there is more space above the head of the left figure.

employed in various Apollonius image programs, where I will show that, preceded by conscious decision and selection, the repetition and the borrowing of particular images could be used on purpose as an efficient tool with high narrative potential.

Due to Bämmler's image cycle and its derivatives, Apollonius depictions spread in the circles of an unprecedentedly large and diverse German readership in the last decades of the 15th century. The image program introduced by Bämmler made even more far-reaching impacts. In Hans Zimmermann's edition of Steinhöwel's Apollonius published in 1552 in Augsburg, quite a few of the compositions originated in Bämmler's images, more precisely, they followed Schönsperger's woodcuts.⁴²³ As already established, these latter were made around 1488, at the time when Bämmler's woodblocks, testifying to a cross-border network of printers, were reused in the *Vida e historia del rey Apolonio*, a Spanish incunabulum published most likely in Zaragoza, some 1000 miles from Augsburg. This will be discussed in the next chapter together with a French, a Netherlandish and an Italian incunabulum that together witness the popularity of the tale and the interest in its illustrated editions across early modern Europe.

⁴²³ VD 16 A 3136. According to See Gisella Fischer-Heetfeld's 1991 catalogue entry in the KdiH, <https://kdiH.badw.de/datenbank/druck/7/2/i> (16.11.2022), they were printed from Schönsperger's woodblocks.

II. 7. The Spread of Apollonius Illustrations Across Early Modern Europe (GW 2279; 228510N; 2285; 228430N)

The last decades of the 15th century saw the enormous success of Heinrich Steinhöwel's German *Apollonius von Tyrus*, appearing in no fewer than six illustrated print editions. At the same time, the story of king Apollonius inspired the publication of further four illustrated incunabula across Europe. All of them contain vernacular versions of the tale: the oldest one was published around 1482 in French, the next one around 1488 in Spanish, they were followed by a Dutch and an Italian edition in 1493 and at the very end of the century, respectively. The French text in question is considered as a 15th-century composition close to the RSt redaction of the Latin *Historia*,⁴²⁴ the Italian print contains Antonio Pucci's 14th-century *Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro*, while the Spanish and the Dutch versions are based on that shortened redaction of the story, which was included in the *Gesta Romanorum*.⁴²⁵ The Spanish *Vida e historia del rey Apolonio* was illustrated with the woodcuts made for Johann Bämmler's 1476 edition of Steinhöwel's Apollonius and thus it works with a lengthy image program,⁴²⁶ in the other three books there is no continuous visual narration.

Romant de Appollin roy de Thir, GW 2279

According to its colophon, the incunabulum containing the anonymous French *Romant de Appollin roy de Thir*, GW 2279, was printed in Genève by Louis Cruse (alias Louis Garbin).⁴²⁷ He was the son of Gerwin Kruse, a well-to-do German physician, who lived in Genève from the 1430s and was the owner of quite a few houses there. Louis Cruse became citizen of the city in 1491, but he was already active as a printer from 1479 until 1513. In fact, he was the most productive printer in Genève at the turn of the 15th-16th century.⁴²⁸ His *Romant de*

⁴²⁴ Burgio 2002, 264. Galderisi 2011, vol. II/1, 81 also discusses the text version of the French incunabulum under the derivations of the Latin RSt redaction and as a close relative of the text preserved in one of our illustrated Apollonius manuscripts, London, BL, Royal 20 C II (for this latter see Chapter II. 4). Nevertheless, he states that it is a mixed version, „Édition d'une version mixte (traduction littérale de la version latine RT avec de nombreuses omissions)”. McCulloch 1965, 112 associated the text of the incunabulum with that of a group of French manuscripts (among them Paris, Arsenal, 2991), which was discussed as “group A” by Lewis 1915. This group is related to the Latin *Historia*'s RB redaction by McCulloch 1965, 112, while it appears as a derivative of the RT redaction in Delbouille 1969, 1187, in Woledge 1975, 25, and in Galderisi 2011 vol. II/1, 79.

⁴²⁵ On the Spanish version Lacarra 2015, 97, with reference to Serís 1962 and Alvar 1976. See also Schrott 2016, 171. On the Dutch version Kok 2013, Vol. I. 125.

⁴²⁶ On the incunabula containing Steinhöwel's Apollonius see the previous chapter.

⁴²⁷ The book begins as *Cy cōmence la cronicque et hystoire de appollin roy de thir*. The title of the work appears in the colophon. For descriptions of the book see Lewis 1915, 248–249; Woledge 1975, 26; Lökkös 1978a, 75–76; Lökkös 1978b, 8; Lökkös 1982, 224; Pettegree, Walsby, Wilkinson 2007, Nr. 1491.

⁴²⁸ Gardy 1932, 163–164; Lökkös 1978a, 55.

Appollin is not dated, but its typographical features suggest that it was made around 1482.⁴²⁹ Thus, it is an early work of him, and, at the same time, it is among the oldest illustrated incunabula in French, the first, also containing a literary narrative, being Adam Steinschaber's 1478 *Melusine* edition printed in Genève.⁴³⁰

While the position of the *Romant de Appollin* as one of the oldest French romances that received an illustrated print edition is similar to the role Steinhöwel's Apollonius played in the German speaking lands, it presents the story in a different way than Steinhöwel's semi-humanist adaptation. It is a medieval romance in which classical references are faded,⁴³¹ a „simplified, easily understood adventure story”, told in a Christianized tone.⁴³² That the intended readers Cruse had in mind and the market he worked for were different from those of Steinhöwel is also seen in the language of the work and in the small number of its extant copies. The repeated use of the form “*vous aures*”, made McCulloch think that the given text version was “composed for a listening as well as a reading public”.⁴³³ Of course, we don't know whether Cruse played any role in the translation for instance as patron or otherwise, or whether he deliberately chose the specific text version out of the various existing French Apollonius translations. But regardless of that, the book he published was perfectly suitable for reading aloud. As for the market: at least six different French prose Apollonius versions (including the text of the Cruse incunabulum) were composed in the 13th-15th century, which shows the popularity of the story among the French readers.⁴³⁴ However, Cruse's incunabulum survived only in two copies, one

⁴²⁹ Lewis 1915, 248; Gardy 1932, 162–163; Lökkös 1978a, 75–76. (Galderisi 2011, 82, with reference to Vincensini 2006 dates the incunabulum to 1482–1490, but Vincensini 2006, 510 does not argue against Gardy or Lökkös, simply follows Gaullieur 1855.)

⁴³⁰ GW 12649. Lökkös 1980, 20. See also Bock 2013.

⁴³¹ Archibald 1991, 200–201.

⁴³² McCulloch 1965, 114.

⁴³³ McCulloch 1965, 114.

⁴³⁴ On the various French Apollonius versions see Delbouille 1969, 1187–1189; Zink 1982, 41–43; Archibald 1991, 188 (V8), 193–194 (V14), 199–201 (V21–24); Burgio 2002, 282–283; Galderisi 2006, 425–426; Zink 2006, 32–34; Galderisi 2011, vol. II/1, 79–82; Agrigoroaei 2013, 44–45. In addition to the six 13th-15th-century French prose versions, the story circulated in verse as well. Moreover, there is a seventh prose version, which was published in 1521 as part of *Le violier des histoires romaines*, the French translation of the *Gesta Romanorum*. Archibald 1991, 200 and Burgio 2002, 283 state (after Brunet 1858, XXIII–XXIV) that it circulated in manuscript, and discuss it among the 15th-century Apollonius text versions. McCulloch 1965, 120; Galderisi 2006, 426; Galderisi 2011, vol. II/1, 79 and Agrigoroaei 2013, 44, in turn, consider it as an early 16th-century translation, like the editor of its recent text edition, Hope 2002, XIX.

in the Bibliothèque de Genève (Hf 5198 Rés), another one in the Musée Dobrée, Nantes (imp. 538),⁴³⁵ indicating that the print run was not very large.⁴³⁶

The book works with a one-column layout and it is embellished with eight woodcuts placed at the top, in the middle or at the bottom of the page, depending on where the previous text unit ends (Figs. 197–204). There are no chapter headings, but each image is preceded by an image caption that is found either above the image or on the previous page. They usually describe a series of the most important episodes that follow. After the images there are places reserved for initials, in the Genève copy they have not been carried out.⁴³⁷ Interestingly, the eight woodcuts contain references to altogether twelve episodes, because four images (3, 4, 5, 7) depict two consecutive incidents that nevertheless form a visual unity. The first two images are devoted to the conflict between Apollonius and King Antiochus. (1. Apollonius meets King Antiochus and his daughter, who is depicted as a child; 2. King Antiochus sends a man after Apollonius to kill him.) The next two illustrations frame the marriage of Apollonius and Lucina. (3. Apollonius sails from Tarsus to Pentapolis (Cyrene), at the shore of which he loses all his ships; 4. Apollonius leaves Pentapolis with his wife then buries her at sea.) The 5th and 6th image tell the story of Apollonius' daughter, Tarsia. (5. Dionysias wants to kill Tarsia, but pirates take her to Mytilene; 6. Tarsia is in the brothel.) The last two images depict the well-deserved reward of the main protagonists: the restoration of their social standing and the reunion of the family. (7: Apollonius sails from Tarsus to Mytilene, where he marries his daughter to Athenagoras. 8: Apollonius, Tarsia and Athenagoras arrive in Ephesus and find Lucina, depicted as an abbess, in the temple of Diana.)

The person of the artist responsible for the illustrations is not known, but his/her work survived in another incunabulum published by Cruse. Made around 1481/1482, roughly at the same time as the Apollonius and illustrated with twelve images, this book contains the *Patience de Grisélidis*, a French version of the tale of Boccaccio translated from Petrarch's adaptation that

⁴³⁵ The Genève copy is digitized: https://www.e-rara.ch/gep_g/doi/10.3931/e-rara-29299 (24. 10. 2020). For its description under GLN 15–16 (bibliography of 15–16th-century prints published in Genève, Lausanne and Neuchâtel) see: <http://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/bd/bge/gln/notice/?no=GLN-6564> (22.11.22). The text of the Nantes copy was edited by Vincensini 2006. The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* discusses the two incunabula as copies of the same edition (2279). Lökkös 1980, 26, responding to a misunderstanding in Woledge 1975, 26, definitely states that they are identical. I compared the digital version of the Genève copy with the text edition made from the Nantes copy. This showed that the beginning and ending words are identical on each page of the two. Moreover, based on Vincensini's description, it seems to me that the images in the Nantes copy depict the same episodes and are positioned at the same place in the text as the illustrations in the Genève copy. Nevertheless, according to Morrison 2019 27, the two copies "are not of the same edition or print run".

⁴³⁶ The first illustrated edition of Steinhöwel's Apollonius published by Johann Bämmler in 1476 survived in five copies. See Nr. 2274 in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* at <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de> (21.02.2025).

⁴³⁷ Since I have not seen the copy in Nantes, I can't tell whether it has initials.

we have already found in the company of illustrated Apollonius books made in France (likely in Paris) and in Augsburg.⁴³⁸ As for the quality: the technique of our artist didn't exceed the good average of the time, but the way he/she merged consecutive episodes into coherent compositional units without repeating the protagonists is inventive.

Whether and to what extent Louis Cruse took part in the shaping of the image program is not clear, but he obviously realized the potential inherent in the illustrated editions of popular texts. In the prologue to his illustrated *Olivier de Castille et Artus d'Algarbe* editions printed in the early 1490s,⁴³⁹ he promotes the illustrations as *hystories* that bring visual delectation, consolation and pleasure to all.⁴⁴⁰ How his *Romant de Appollin* was received and who the actual readers were, is nevertheless hard to tell. The scarce evidence based on which we can form some idea about his clients' interest in the story is provided by the books that were read together with it. Both the Nantes and the Genève copy were bound together with other romances printed in Genève, the Nantes copy with the *Roman du roi Ponthus et de la belle Sidoine* published by Simon Dujardin around 1480,⁴⁴¹ the Genève copy with Cruse's first edition of the *Olivier de Castille et Artus d'Algarbe*, which appeared in 1482 without illustrations.⁴⁴² Both are medieval compositions, adventurous chivalric-romantic biographies, that were popular among the elite. Written by Philippe Camus and discussed by Rosalind Brown-Grant as a "historico-realist romance",⁴⁴³ the latter was directly dedicated to Jean de Croy, Count of Chimay, an influential member of the ducal court of Burgundy, one of the most refined literary centers in late medieval Europe.⁴⁴⁴ Not much is known about the early possessors of the two colligata that contained Cruse's Apollonius, however, the provenance of the Genève volume is not without interest. It strengthens the impression that, like the two romances that were associated with it, Cruse's Apollonius was well received in the highest social strata. Once covered by the fragment of a medieval manuscript,⁴⁴⁵ it came from the Lavallaz collection, a library in Sion (Sitten), which

⁴³⁸ GW M31589. Lökkös 1978a, 73–74; Lökkös 1980, 27; Lökkös 1985, 428–429. For the French and Augsburgian illustrated Apollonius books that contain the story of Griselda see Chapter II. 4 (Boston, Public Library, Ms. f. Med. 91) and II. 6 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol.).

⁴³⁹ GW 277005N, GW 277010N, GW 2771, GW 277105N, GW 277110N.

⁴⁴⁰ "Et pour ce que Maistre Loys Garbin cytoyen et imprimeur de genesue a este par aulcuns sollicité de l'imprimer à la décoration de l'hystoire et visible délectations des liseurs et à la consolation des désirans: il a fait faire les hystoires devant les chapitres pour rendre la dicte hystoire plus fructueuse au plaisir de chacun." Lökkös 1980, 20; Lökkös 1982, 40–41; Lökkös 1985, 423.

⁴⁴¹ GW 12716. Lökkös 1978a, 35; Burgio 2002, 267.

⁴⁴² GW 2770. Lökkös 1978a, 77, Lökkös 1982, 40; Burgio 2002, 267. The dates of origin of the two romances that were bound together with Cruse's Apollonius indicate that the latter was also made around the same time. Cf. note 429.

⁴⁴³ Brown-Grant 2012.

⁴⁴⁴ On the literary circle around Philip the Good duke of Burgundy see Chapter II.4 as well.

⁴⁴⁵ Gardy 1932, 159, dating the fragment to the 16th century. As I was kindly informed by Thierry Dubois, conservateur of the Bibliothèque de Genève, the fragment that served as the cover of the two incunabula must

was established in the late 15th-early 16th century by the mighty Sion prince-bishop, Walter Supersaxo, and his son, Georges.⁴⁴⁶ Perhaps it is also indicative that in the 19th century the Nantes copy belonged to Louis-Philippe, king of France.⁴⁴⁷

Vida e historia del rey Apolonio, GW 228510N

While the images that illustrate the *Romant de Appollin* are most likely local products made for Louis Cruse, most of the woodcuts illustrating the Spanish *Vida e historia del rey Apolonio*, GW 228510N, came from as far as Augsburg: first they appeared in Johann Bämmler's 1476 then in Anton Sorg's 1479 edition of Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* (Fig. 205). Translated from the *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Vida e historia* is a shortened, moralizing prose version of the story of Apollonius, which has come down to us in a single edition, in an incunabulum, whose only copy was discovered in 1962 by Homero Serís in the Hispanic Society, New York.⁴⁴⁸ It has no colophon, nevertheless, Serís established, and it is generally accepted that it was made in Zaragoza around 1488 in the printing house of Pablo Hurus (Paulus de Constantia) and his brother, Juan. The German origin of the woodcuts, recognized by María Jesús Lacarra, is further evidence that supports this view.⁴⁴⁹

Born to a patrician family in Konstanz, the Hurus (Huros/Hyrus) brothes, mostly Pablo (Paulus), who lived a longer life than his brother, founded one of the most important early publishing houses in the Iberian Peninsula, a successful office in Zaragoza, which continued its printing activities well into the 16th century.⁴⁵⁰ The first document of Pablo's stay in Spain is from Barcelona, where he, on 14th December 1475 in collaboration with Johannes de Salsburga (Salzburg), published one of the oldest dated books printed in Spain, Nicolaus Perottus' *Rudimenta grammatices*.⁴⁵¹ Less than a year later he was already in Zaragoza. Here, on 22nd October 1476 he signed a printing contract with another German printer, Anrixus de Saxonia (Heinrich Botel of Embich). They agreed to publish the *Fori Regni Aragonum* (Laws of Aragon) by 1st May 1477 on pre-publication subscription basis.⁴⁵² While being settled in Spain,

have been lost in 1989, when the volumes were rebound in the studio of Jean-Luc Honegger. In 1978 the two incunabula already had different shelfmarks (Hf 5197 Rés and Hf 5198 Rés), but they were still bound together. See Lökkös 1978a, 75; Lökkös 1978b, 8.

⁴⁴⁶ Gardy 1932, 159. Perhaps it was not an early aquisition, at least it is unlikely that Walter Supersaxo, who died in 1482, owned it. On the Lavallaz/Supersaxo library see: Riggerback 1931.

⁴⁴⁷ Gardy 1932, 160.

⁴⁴⁸ Serís 1962. It is kept under shelfmark Inc 146.

⁴⁴⁹ Lacarra 2015a.

⁴⁵⁰ On the life and work of the Hurus brothers see Witten 1959, esp. 92–93, 104 and Lülfiing 1974, accessible online under <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz36095.html> (11.07.2023).

⁴⁵¹ GW M31136.

⁴⁵² GW 10174

Pablo maintained his German contacts. He made visits to German lands in 1480 and likely between 1482–1485 too. At the end of the 1480s, when the Apollonius incunabulum was in work, the office was run by his brother, Juan, who died in 1491.⁴⁵³ After his death Paulus remained in Spain for another nine years, but in 1500 he returned to Konstanz, where he must have been received as an honored citizen of the town. The last traces of him are from 1505, this year he was a member of the city council.

Pablo's visits to German lands in the 1480s certainly provided him with occasions for networking as well as for learning about new publications and new trends in book printing. Also, during his journeys he obviously acquired printing equipment, like woodblocks, on a regular basis. Woodcuts of German origin are found not only in the Apollonius, but in other publications of the office.⁴⁵⁴ These include further popular literary narratives, like the Spanish translation of Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (*De las ilustres mujeres*), which appeared in 1494 with the woodcuts that Anton Sorg had employed for his 1479 German Boccaccio,⁴⁵⁵ and a collection of tales, the *Siete sabios de Roma*, which came out between 1485 and 1495 with another set of Augsburgian woodcuts used by Sorg, the illustrations of his 1480 edition of the *Sieben weisen Meistern*.⁴⁵⁶ It seems that these works, the Apollonius too, were translated to Spanish directly on the initiative of the Hurus brothers, who shaped their books on the model of the corresponding German editions and employed business strategies similar to those of their German colleagues. In the case of the *Vida e historia* the impact of Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* is seen not only in the illustrative material but also in the role assigned to textual and visual elements in the book and in some features of the vocabulary. Like in its German forerunner, in the *Vida e historia* images are preceded by image captions and they are used to indicate chapter divisions. It is also indicative that although the *Vida e historia* was based on

⁴⁵³ Lacarra 2015a, 93; Lacarra 2015b, 767.

⁴⁵⁴ Schmid 1958, 78; Lüfling 1974; Lacarra 2015a, 101; Lacarra 2015b, 766–767. Based on a search in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* I was not able to overprove all the references Lacarra makes.

⁴⁵⁵ Hurus' Boccaccio is GW 4491, that of Sorg, the text of which is a translation made by Heinrich Steinhöwel, is GW 4487. Sorg worked with woodcuts that are reversed copies of the illustrations used by Johann Zainer in Ulm for his Latin and German editions of the work in 1473/1474 (GW 4483; GW 4486). On the German tradition of illustrated manuscripts and incunabula containing the *De claris mulieribus* or its translation see: Domanski 2007; Domanski 2010.

⁴⁵⁶ Hurus' edition is GW 12880, that of Sorg is GW 12859. Since Hurus' edition is not digitized, I could not study its relationship to Sorg's edition. On their similarity see Lacarra 2015b, 765 (with the reproduction of image 1) and Abad 2018, Vol. I, 536 (reproducing image 1, 8, and 22). The former dates Hurus' edition to around 1488, the latter to 1485–1499. According to the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* it was not published before 1485 and not after 1495. Lacarra finds that Sorg's edition became the model for further German incunabula, like Schönsperger's 1481, 1486, 1494 and 1497 editions of the *Sieben weisen Meistern* (GW 12860, 12862, 12865, 12867). However, in the case of the 1481 edition at least some of the images, while in the case of the further three copies most of the images were printed from new woodblocks. The relationship of these image cycles, moreover those of two further Schönsperger editions from 1488 and 1490 (GW 12863, 12864) that have no digital copies, needs further study.

the Latin text of the *Gesta Romanorum*, in contradiction to it and in agreement with the *Apollonius von Tyrus* it calls Apollonius's wife Cleopatra instead of Lucina.⁴⁵⁷ The use of German woodblocks in the Hurus office evidently testifies to the cross-border exchange between printers and,⁴⁵⁸ not less interestingly, indicates the appearance of a similar public in various segments of continental Europe.

Measuring ca. 27x18 cm,⁴⁵⁹ the *Vida e historia* is a medium-sized book, whose text is printed in one column. It has 35 images, which, as already established, divide the text into chapters. They are placed on the top, in the middle or at the bottom of the pages, depending on where the text of the preceding chapter ends. The image captions are found either directly above them or, in case there is no room above the image, on the preceding page. Since the text column is wider than those in Bämmler's and Sorg's *Apollonius* editions but the images are the same size, these don't take the complete column-width. The place that remains next to the images either on their left or right side is filled with text too. It is here where spots were reserved for initials that should have been painted by hand. This didn't happen. While the pages are larger than those of Bämmler and Sorg, the text of the *Vida e historia* is much shorter than the *Apollonius von Tyrus*. Therefore, Hurus' volume numbers ca. third as many pages as its German counterparts.⁴⁶⁰ Since the number of images is almost the same in the three volumes in question, the pace of their succession in the *Vida e historia* is accelerated. There is an image, occasionally even two on almost every single page, which results in a very fast visual narration.

The comparison of the image program with those of Bämmler and Sorg is revealing. The differences characteristic of the *Vida e historia* are indicative of the model and the ideas of the Hurus brothers on the one hand, while, on the other, they provide insight into a specific moment of the planning process during which the number of the woodcuts and their themes were defined back in Augsburg. Without the evidence provided by the *Vida e historia*, this would otherwise remain hidden from us. A first glance at the three books shows that it was not Bämmler's but Sorg's version that the Hurus brothers worked from. Wherever Sorg departs from Bämmler, the *Vida e historia* follows the former (Figs. 161 A, 206).⁴⁶¹ But there are a few instances in which

⁴⁵⁷ Lacarra 2015a, 99–100.

⁴⁵⁸ Since Hurus' *Vida e historia* and the few copies of Bämmler's and Sorg's *Apollonius von Tyrus* are kept in different libraries, I could not study their images side by side. Nevertheless, they are so similar to one another that they must have been made from the same blocks. Their size is also identical, ca. 7,2–7,5x8,5–9 cm each.

⁴⁵⁹ Monedero 1987, 62; Lacarra 2015b, 770.

⁴⁶⁰ The *Vida e historia* consists of 46 pages, Bämmler's *Apollonius* has 160, Sorg's edition in its complete state must have had 144 pages.

⁴⁶¹ The differences between Bämmler's and Sorg's edition in question are: the repetition of the image that corresponds to Bämmler's image 5; the replacement of Bämmler's image 14 with a more decent depiction of

the Hurus brothers introduced alterations into the image cycle themselves. Although they might have had its woodblock, it seems that they did not use the Alexander portrait that served as title page in Bämmler's and Sorg's edition,⁴⁶² and, likely to avoid conspicuous repetitions, they left out another image as well.⁴⁶³ In another case they chose a different woodblock for multiple use than Sorg.⁴⁶⁴ Also, they replaced an image with a woodcut that was most likely made anew, since its style and quality of execution significantly differs from the rest of the image cycle (Fig. 207).⁴⁶⁵ The most interesting novelty is, however, the inclusion of such an episode into the image program that has no counterpart in Bämmler's or in Sorg's edition (Fig. 208). Depicting how a fisherman showed Apollonius the way to Pentapolis (Cyrene), the woodcut in question follows the one in which Apollonius, after suffering shipwreck, meets a fisherman at the shore (image 11) and precedes the one, in which Apollonius serves King Archistrates in the bath at Pentapolis (image 13). The style of the inserted image agrees with the further German woodcuts in every single detail, indicating that it was made from a woodblock that belonged to the original set made in Augsburg. This, in turn, implies that either Bämmler or Sorg ordered more woodblocks to be made than they ended up using: the number and the theme of the single illustrations were defined during the production process. This gives us unique insight into the making of an illustrated narrative the communicative strategies of which were based on a well-structured interplay between text, image and image caption and shows that its creation was a complex task that required careful consideration.⁴⁶⁶

Not much is known about the early readers of the *Vida e historia*, but what we have is all the more telling. Apparently, the tale and its visual rendering was still popular among women in the 16th century. In 1514 a volume listed as "Del Rey Apolonio de enprenta con cubierta de pargamino" appears in the will of a certain Aldonza de Santa Fe; and in 1550 "la Vida y historia del rey Apolonio" was in the possession of a Violanta de Litago. Both were widows in

Apollonius' invitation to the court of King Archistrates; the completion of the image program with a woodcut depicting the wedding of Tarsia and Athenagoras. See Chapter II.6.

⁴⁶² In its present state the *Vida e historia* has no binding and it is hard to tell whether it had extra page(s) at the beginning. Lacarra 2015a, 103 observes that the Alexander portrait appears in books printed in Spain, like the *Cato et contemptus*, published in 1508 by another German printer in Zaragoza, Jorge Coci. Coci's image differs from Bämmler's in quite a few details. In case he worked from Bämmler's woodblock then it was heavily retouched.

⁴⁶³ Hurus has no corresponding image to Sorg's image 27 (Tarsia saves her chastity in the brothel), which is a repetition of his image 26 (Tarsia is visited by Athenagoras in the brothel).

⁴⁶⁴ While Sorg repeats image 32 (Apollonius sails to Ephesus) as image 34 (Apollonius sails home), Hurus uses the woodblock of image 30 (Apollonius recognizes Tarsia) for image 32 (Apollonius sails to Ephesus).

⁴⁶⁵ This is Hurus' image 29 depicting how Tarsia tried to comfort Apollonius.

⁴⁶⁶ On alterations happened to the setting and the image program during the production of Bämmler's 1476 Apollonius see Chapter II. 6.

Zaragoza.⁴⁶⁷ It is not without interest that Violanta had a copy of the “Libro de los siete sabios de Roma” as well, for it seems that this latter work was sometimes bound together with the *Vida e historia*, or, as Lacarra argues, it is possible that the Hurus brothers originally published the two as parts of a single volume.⁴⁶⁸ In the 1802 book-list of Antonio Pascual de Borbón, Duke of Calabria, mention is made of a “Historia de los siete sabios de Roma y del rey Apolonio, 1 tom. fol. perg., Sevilla, 1495”.⁴⁶⁹ In case such a parchment edition was indeed made in 1495 in Sevilla then it perished without any trace. However, it is also possible that the information given in the catalogue of the Duke’s library is inaccurate. The single extant copy of the *Siete sabios* printed before 1500 hails from the library of the Duke,⁴⁷⁰ and Lacarra, who has discovered it fairly recently in Scotland, believes that it might have been the first part of a book the second part of which was nothing else than our *Vida e historia*.⁴⁷¹ For the time being, this possibility can be neither denied nor proved. But taken into consideration the popularity of both the tales included in the “Seven sages of Rome” and the story of Apollonius, it doesn’t seem to be unlikely that they appeared in more than one incunable edition in Spain, that the book mentioned in the 1802 list indeed existed. There is a conspicuous feature of the *Siete sabios*, which, in my view, speaks strongly against the possibility that it formed a single volume together with our 1488 edition of the Apollonius. Unlike the text of both the *Vida e historia* and Sorg’s *Sieben weisen Meistern*, the woodcuts of which served as the model for the *Siete sabios*, the text of this latter was printed in two text columns.⁴⁷² If the *Siete sabios* and the *Vida e historia* copies that we know today had been originally conceived of by the Hurus brothers as parts of a single book, I don’t think they would have used different layouts for them. On the

⁴⁶⁷ Lacarra 2016, 50. See also the entry written by María Jesús Lacarra in 2016 in the online Catalogue of Medieval Works Printed in Castilian (COMEDIC) <https://comedic.unizar.es/index/read/id/187> (19.07.2023).

⁴⁶⁸ Lacarra 2015a, 94; Lacarra 2015b, 770–771; Lacarra 2016, 50–53. Based on the information given by Marden 1917, XXXVII that Ramón Menéndez Pidal saw a reference to a “Historia de los Siete Sabios y del rey Apolonio. Sevilla, 1495. Gótico, con grabados en madera. 1 volumen, folio, pasta” in the catalogue of a private library, already Serís 1962, 20 speculated about the possibility that the New York *Vida e historia* was the second part of a book that started with the *Siete sabios*.

⁴⁶⁹ Lacarra 2015a, 94; Lacarra 2015b, 761; Lacarra 2016, 50.

⁴⁷⁰ GW 12880. See Lacarra 2015a, 96; Lacarra 2015b, 760.

⁴⁷¹ See Note 468. Among other things, like the identical size of the two items, this speculation is based on the observation that the first page of the *Siete sabios* is numbered a2, and that the folio numbers of the *Vida e historia*, as noticed already by Serís 1962, 20, have been modified. Lacarra thinks that once the two works were introduced by a common title page and that after their separation the page numbers of the Apollonius part were modified. She also believes that both items were once in the possession of the painter and book collector, Charles Fairfax Murray. For me it doesn’t seem likely that either of the two Apollonius books mentioned in the 1907 catalogue of Murray as “Historia de Apolonio de Tiro” (Murray 1907, 103) is identical with the *Vida e historia*. This latter was acquired by Archer M. Huntington as early as in 1904/1905 and it was donated to the Hispanic Society upon his death. (Deyermund 1973, XIII; Monedero 1987, 62; Lacarra 2015a, 95.) Serís 1962, 20 assumes that Archer M. Huntington acquired the book from Marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros, although he could not find the volume in his catalogues.

⁴⁷² This is stated in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* and can be seen in the example of the single page reproduced by Lacarra 2015b, 760.

contrary, they would have sought to make the visual appearance of the volume consistent. That said, the appearance of the *Siete sabios* next to the story of Apollonius in the Duke's 15th-century book might shed some light on how the readers of the *Vida e historia* approached the story of Apollonius. The former is a collection of moralizing tales imbedded into a framing narrative on the conflict between the wife of Emperor Diocletian and his son: the stepmother falsely accuses the prince of seducing her, but seven wise men successfully protect him by means of instructive and exemplary stories that point to the wickedness of women. It is not difficult to recognize the common motifs with the Apollonius. Keeping one's moral integrity in danger and women's positive and negative role in society and in marriage might have been prominent among the themes of interest.

Die schoone ende die suverlicke historie van Appollonius van Thyro, GW 2285

Compared to the *Vida e historia*, the visual appearance of our next illustrated Apollonius incunabulum, the Dutch *Die schoone ende die suverlicke historie van Appollonius van Thyro*, GW 2285, makes a modest impression.⁴⁷³ It is a small book consisting of 40 folios and containing four woodcuts: three illustrations made from a single woodblock and a printer device (Figs. 209, 210). On fol. h3v the colophon informs us about the place and date of origin: Delft 1493, but it doesn't name the publisher. His identity is indicated by the woodcut on the last page, fol. h4v, depicting a winged unicorn with a blank shield and the coat of arms of Delft above his head. Used first in 1488 in his *Epistelen ende evangelien* (Epistles and gospels), this was the printer device of Christiaan Snellaert,⁴⁷⁴ who, taking over the press of Jacob van der Meer and working between 1487/1488–1496/1497, was the most prolific early printer in Delft.⁴⁷⁵

By 1493, the story of Apollonius was not unknown to readers in the Low Countries. On the contrary, the *editio princeps* of the Latin *Historia* was published in Utrecht likely by Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gerardus de Leempt as early as in the middle of the 1470s, it was among the first books printed in the region.⁴⁷⁶ From 1481 the story also circulated in Dutch: it was included as chapter 153 into a translation of the *Gesta Romanorum* (*Die gysten van Romem*), which was published first by Gerard Leeu in Gouda, then, in 1483 and 1484 by Jacob van der Meer in

⁴⁷³ According to the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* there is only one copy of this book, it is Middelburg, Planbureau en Bibliotheek van Zeeland, 1108 C 43. Koortekas 1990, 118 reports that there is a copy in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, too, which I was not able to identify.

⁴⁷⁴ Kok 2013, I. 109, Nr. 47.

⁴⁷⁵ Kok 2013, I. 108.

⁴⁷⁶ GW 2272.

Delft and by Peter van Os in Zwolle, respectively.⁴⁷⁷ It was this text version that Snellaert's edition was based on.

In the *Historie van Apollonius* the text is printed in one column and the images are concentrated at the beginning and at the end of the book. The first page, fol. a1r, accommodates the title of the work and a woodcut, which depicts how King Antiochus leaves his castle with his escort and how his daughter greets the arriving King Apollonius from a balcony. The cut-off heads of two previous suitors are put on the wall, foreshadowing the sinister outcome of Apollonius' proposal to the princess. The very same image is repeated on the verso of the title page, fol. a1v, this time without the title, and on the last recto page of the book, fol. h4r. These two pages would have otherwise remained empty for reasons of book design, to wit, Snellaert wanted to start the text on a recto page, fol. a2r, instead of the verso of the title page, fol. a1v, and to close the book with his printer device on the last verso, fol. h4v, but the text ends on the penultimate verso, fol. h3v. Thus, formal considerations led to the repeated use of the image. Based on its stylistic similarity to an illustration found in Snellaert's 1490–1491 edition of the *Spiegel des kersten geloofs*: a priest on a pulpit addressing a group of listeners, Ina Kok established that our Apollonius woodcut was made in Delft for Snellaert's commission.⁴⁷⁸

Publishing illustrated books that contain popular narratives in the vernacular, Snellaert's choices were very similar to those of Johann Bämmler in Augsburg. Just as the latter's *Apollonius von Tyrus* was preceded by his illustrated edition of the story of Alexander the Great,⁴⁷⁹ so in Snellaert's office the *Die historie des coninc Alexanders* appeared in illustrated form a few years before the Apollonius, in 1488 and 1491.⁴⁸⁰ These editions have eleven illustrations printed from seven woodblocks on fifty-four pages, indicating that Snellaert invested somewhat less in the Apollonius. At the same time, certain aspects of the Apollonius-book's design follow practices already employed in the 1491 Alexander edition. Both start with a page containing the title and an image, and both end on the last page with the printer's device and the words "Delf in hollan(d)t". Although in the Apollonius there are no images within the text, Snellaert took care of his readers' orientation within the book. He divided the text into twenty-seven

⁴⁷⁷ GW 10889; GW 10890; GW 10891. Kok 2013, I. 125, Nr. 56. Willem Kuiper in his 2018 article in Neerlandistiek <https://www.neerlandistiek.nl/2018/06/die-schoone-ende-die-suverlickke-historie-van-appollonius-van-thyro-als-feuilleton-voor-niet-luie-lezers/> (27.07.2023) observes that the Dutch text of the story of Apollonius included in the *Die gysten van Romem* was not translated from Gerard Leeu's 1480 edition of the Latin *Gesta Romanorum*, GW 10884. Maybe there was already a Dutch version of the story at hand.

⁴⁷⁸ Kok 2013, I. 125, Nr. 56.

⁴⁷⁹ See Chapter II. 6.

⁴⁸⁰ GW 893; GW 893a, the only two illustrated incunabula in the Low Countries containing the story of Alexander the Great. See: Kok 2013, I. 108, 115–117, Nr. 49. 1–7.

chapters and placed a chapter heading, visually marked by a paragraph sign, at the beginning of each chapter. Moreover, the chapter headings are collected on four pages before the beginning of the story itself, thus, Snellaert's edition is the only illustrated medieval Apollonius book, in which there is a proper table of contents.

Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro, GW 228430N

Printed without colophon but dated to the very end of the 15th century and attributed to Bartolomeo de' Libri,⁴⁸¹ our last illustrated Apollonius incunabulum, GW 228430N, differs from the ones discussed in this chapter so far in many respects. It takes us to Florence, one of the most flourishing centers of late medieval book production, the pre-1500 market of which was large and solid enough to maintain nearly seventy printers and their mass production of books. By way of comparison: approximately fourteen early printers are known from Genève, ten from Zaragoza and four from Delft, while Augsburg had forty-two offices, Rome ca. eighty and Venice over three-hundred.⁴⁸² Issuing around two-hundred-eighty books over his thirty-year long career, de' Libri was one of the most productive printers of the time even by Florentine standards.⁴⁸³ The Apollonius text contained in his edition is not a 15th century prose composition, but a rhymed text version, the *Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro* of the 14th-century Florentine poet, Antonio Pucci. It was a popular work that, like other *cantari*, must have been written for public presentation with musical accompaniment, most likely for solo recitation for instance in such city squares as the Piazza San Martino, "the primary venue for the public performances of the city's *canterini*",⁴⁸⁴ and in the dining halls of communal or private palaces.⁴⁸⁵ No wonder that it is enriched with such a colorful detail as the one, which tells how after suffering shipwreck and being saved by a fisherman, king Apollonius was asked to lit a fire instead of fishing or cooking, but due to lack of experience he failed to do so.⁴⁸⁶ In addition to its obvious oral circulation, the work has become part of the written literary culture as well.

⁴⁸¹ De Marinis 1954, 154–155; Rhodes 1988, 93, Nr. 544, Rabboni 2002, 223.

⁴⁸² These numbers are based on the information given by the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*: <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/> (01.08.2023). I didn't count the offices/books whose printers are not known. Many printers issued only 1-2 books in Venice.

⁴⁸³ Amelung 1995. De' Libri's first/last dated books were made in 1482 and in 1511. For the list of his books see the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/> (01.08.2023).

⁴⁸⁴ Wilson 2013, 273.

⁴⁸⁵ For a recent study on the genre of *cantari* see Morabito 2012, on Pucci as a *canterino* Wilson 2020, 57–74. Speaking about the birth of Pucci's *Contrasto delle donne*, Robins 2001, 8, assumes that the poet, who was employed by the Florentine commune as town-crier and an approver of pledges, was expected to perform in the Palazzo del Popolo and the Palazzo del Commune. "The primary entertainment expected of him would have been solo recitation of short poems as well as longer narratives, probably providing his own musical accompaniment upon a stringed instrument, most commonly in the dining halls of the *podestà* and the *signoria*."

⁴⁸⁶ *Cantare* II/6–8 (Rabboni 1996, 16–17).

Besides seventeen manuscript copies, ten incunable editions are known, de' Libri himself published the work at least twice before investing into the illustrated edition.⁴⁸⁷

De' Libri's illustrated Apollonius incunabulum is a medium-sized book, but Pucci's *Cantari di Apollonio*, written in *ottava rima*, a metre intricately bound with the genre of *cantari*, consists of stanzas whose verses are relatively short. Therefore, there is room for two text columns on each page.⁴⁸⁸ The single known copy of the book has sixteen folios numbered 84–98 by hand,⁴⁸⁹ indicating that bound together with other works once it was part of a miscellany. Its present binding was allegedly made in Paris around 1890.⁴⁹⁰ In contrast to Louis Cruse, the Hurus brothers and Christiaen Snellaert, who employed Gothic typefaces, de' Libri printed with antiqua types that gives his book a Renaissance look. This is reinforced by the style and some *all'antica* details of the five woodcuts that embellish it (Figs. 211–215). Surrounded by frames in different patterns, each one occupies almost the complete width of two text columns and roughly a third of the page length. Except for image 3 at the bottom, the images are placed on the top of the page, above the text columns. There are six stanzas on the illustrated pages and ten on all the other ones, except for fol. 16r, which has eleven stanzas.⁴⁹¹

Out of the five images only four illustrate the plot, while the first one, placed directly under the title on the first page, depicts the contemporary performance of the story: a feminine figure with *viola* in hands stands on a pulpit in front of an audience formed by nine men (Fig. 211).⁴⁹² Although the text is made up of six *Cantari* of roughly fifty stanzas each, there are only four images narrating the story line. Following the 26th stanza of *Cantare I*, the first depicts how Taliarchus sails after Apollonius on King Antiochus's order (Fig. 212). The remaining images are positioned, as far as the page design allows, at the beginning of *Cantare III*, *IV*, *V*,

⁴⁸⁷ For the manuscript copies see Rabboni 1996, XI–XXVII; for the print editions Rabboni 2002. These are GW 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 228310N, 2284, 228410N, 228415N, 228420N and 228430N, de' Libri's illustrated edition. The earlier editions of de' Libri are GW 2282, 2283, dated to around 1485. Robins 2001, 19 points out that Pucci's *Cantari* must have circulated also on loose leaves that served the needs of artisans/performers/entertainers.

⁴⁸⁸ De' Libri's previous edition of Pucci's Apollonius (GW 2282) is printed in one text column layout.

⁴⁸⁹ The folio between fol. 90 and fol. 91 is not numbered.

⁴⁹⁰ De Marinis 1954, 155.

⁴⁹¹ This adds up to three hundred and one stanzas, thirteen stanzas more than in the text edition of Rabboni 1996. *Cantare III* has eight, *Cantare IV* one and *Cantare VI* four extra stanzas. These are found between Rabboni's *Cantare III* stanza 24/25, 26/27, 29/30, 31/32, *Cantare IV* stanza 7/8 and *Cantare VI* stanza 5/6. In the incunable *Cantare II* ends with the stanza that is numbered by Rabboni as *Cantare III/1*, consequently *Cantare III* in the incunable starts with Rabboni's *Cantare III/2*. This must be de' Libri's mistake, for his earlier edition, GW 2282, corresponds to that of Rabboni at this point.

⁴⁹² On the musical aspects of performing the *cantari* and the possible responses (both emotional and visual-imaginary) these performances generated see Wilson 2016.

respectively.⁴⁹³ They tell how Apollonius, after learning about the death of King Antiochus, sets sails to leave Pentapolis (Cyrene) with his wife (Fig. 213), how pirates take Tarsia to Mytilene (Fig. 214) and how she tries to comfort Apollonius at Athenagoras' request (Fig. 215).

While the illustrated episodes can be easily recognized, the identification of the depicted figures with the protagonists of the story is not self-evident. For instance, in the last woodcut we see the dialogue between a young and a bearded figure on a ship. They are surrounded by three people, while a man in profile, positioned at the bottom of the ship, listens to them. Preceding *Cantare V*, the image certainly depicts how Tarsia, who, while living in the brothel at Mytilene, saved her chastity and earned money by singing to the people at the city square, visits Apollonius at Athenagoras' request, and, without being recognized by him, tries to cheer up her father, who hides in the hold of the ship mourning the alleged death of his daughter. Thus, the young figure must be Tarsia, the bearded man Athenagoras and the man in profile can be no one else but Apollonius. What is strange, however, is that Apollonius seems to be younger than Athenagoras and that Tarsia wears an unusual, manly hat. This is all the more interesting, for her appearance makes her very similar to the singer-performer of the first image, who entertains the audience with the story of Apollonius. Due to their resemblance, Tarsia, who asked for a chair and a *viola* earlier in the plot so that she can play for the citizens and strangers on a Mytilene *piazza*,⁴⁹⁴ is presented in the role of a medieval *canterino* and, in turn, the singer-performer has the attributes of Tarsia. Thus, in the first image it is Tarsia, who, as indeed at various points of the text, tells the story of her family, this time through the voice of the singer-performer. Since *canterini* appear to have been men, we must assume that it is the association of Tarsia and the singer-performer that accounts for the ambiguous portrayal of their gender: their feminine features and manly hat. By way of completing the illustrative material with the first image and by establishing a relationship between Tarsia and the contemporary storyteller, de' Libri's edition spanned hundreds of years: the artist of the last medieval illustrated Apollonius book created a visual connection between the ancient time of the plot and the age of his/her own.

The ten Apollonius incunabula studied in the previous and the present chapter make up a significant part of medieval illustrated Apollonius books. They were born within a short time (1476– 1500) and they all contain vernacular text versions, but they reinforce different features

⁴⁹³ They follow the 2nd stanza of *Cantare III*, the 4th of *Cantare IV* and the 50th of *Cantare IV*, which is the penultimate stanza before *Cantare V*.

⁴⁹⁴ *Cantare IV*, 30: *Fammi a la piazza una sedia portare / E fa' ch'io abbia una bona viola, / E poi vedrai come io saprò sonare!* (Rabboni 1996, 48.)

of the story. Containing Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus*, the incunables printed in Augsburg and Ulm offered their readers a historical approach, others emphasized the chivalric, the moral or the entertaining aspects, not that these were mutually exclusive. In any case, these books were made for different markets/readers, which shows in the variety of their visual appearance as well. Their size itself is indicative. Most of them are ca. 18-20 cm in length, but, measuring ca. 27 cm, the edition of Louis Cruse and that of the Hurus brothers are considerably larger. These are elegant, expensive editions, especially the latter, which has more than four times as many woodcuts as the former (35/8). Irrespective of their size, all but one of the Apollonius incunables work with prose text versions printed in one text column, the only exception being de'Libri's edition of Pucci's rhymed *Cantari di Apollonio*. The number of woodblocks employed and the role of the images vary widely. While in the German prints and in the edition of the Hurus brothers woodcuts signalize chapter divisions, and therefore closely follow the textual narration, Snellaert used a single woodblock for three images that, accentuating the beginning and the end of the book, form part of an elaborate introduction to the work and also serve as decorative wrapping.⁴⁹⁵ His book is the only one in which images are separated from the text, as such it is the only one that has picture-pages. In all the other illustrated Apollonius incunables, even in Cruse's and de' Libri's that have no more than eight or five images, the illustrations are placed near the corresponding sections of the text. They fit in the text column and occupy only a third or a half of the page. Except for the patterned frames of de' Libri's woodcuts, they are bordered with simple straight lines or double lines, if at all; the images in Cruse's edition are usually closed by the silhouette of the land- and cityscapes in the background.

All in all, this is a rich material that, with all its variety, testifies to the emergence of a pan-European readership, which was larger here and smaller there, but shared literary interests, ideas concerning the book and possibly habits of consumption alike. As a result of the mutual impact of their expectations and the responsive business strategies of early printers, visual renderings of the story of Apollonius reached a large and, most importantly, unprecedentedly heterogeneous public. The success of the work in early modern book culture indicates its previous popularity: printers would not have invested in illustrated editions of an unfamiliar, unfashionable story. In turn, showing various signs of experimentation, the illustrated Apollonius incunables contributed to the formation of the new medium. In them, the old tale appeared in new shapes,

⁴⁹⁵ On the development and significance of title pages and book beginnings in early printed Dutch narratives see Schlusemann 2018.

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which gave new impetus to its wide dissemination in the popular literary culture of the passing Middle Ages.

II. 8. Apollonius Illustrations in High and Late Medieval Luxury Objects of Art

From the illustrated medieval Apollonius books, one might get the impression that there is a large gap in the illustration history of the story, as if there was no interest in imaging the adventures of Apollonius and his family between ca. 1000 and 1300: between the making of the *Apollonius pictus* and the appearance of the first illustrated vernacular copies in Italy. Two carved walrus ivory discs made most likely in the region of Cologne in the last decades of the 12th century show that this was not the case.

The objects in question measure around 6 cm in diameter, and they are stylistically related to one another. They appear to have been part of a set of game pieces used for playing a board game, like checkers or tables, the medieval forerunner of backgammon based on strategy and luck, or otherwise intelligence and turns of fortune, prominent forces in the Apollonius plot itself. While playing, gamers could identify themselves with the protagonists. One of the discs, kept in a private collection, depicts men loading a ship with grain and perhaps with further valuables, while the other one, owned by the Metropolitan Museum in New York, shows two men lowering a finely decorated large chest into the sea, with two men watching from behind (Figs. 216, 217). The images were identified with two crucial episodes of Apollonius' story: his secret flight from Tyre with a fleet of ships filled with grain, gold, silver and clothing and the burial of Lucina, his wife at sea.⁴⁹⁶

Game pieces made of expensive materials were not rare in elite culture. Back in the 1920s Adolph Goldschmidt could list some hundred and fifty items that he dated to between the 11th and the early 13th century, later Vivian B. Mann listed two-hundred-thirteen Romanesque pieces.⁴⁹⁷ Many of them must hail from Cologne. They depict scenes from the Old Testament and from classical Mythology: episodes from the life of Samson, Judith and Hercules, as well as figures of popular tales, like Aesop's fable of the fox and the stork. Some others are decorated, for example, with animals, legendary beasts and zodiac signs. They were all luxury objects, but not of the same artistic quality. The workmanship of our discs is outstanding. The carving is fine, some details are almost three dimensional, and the compositions have spatial depth. On stylistic grounds, Goldschmidt attributed the New York piece, which was in the Hohenzollern collection at Sigmaringen at that time, to the hand, who was responsible for the

⁴⁹⁶ Goldschmidt 1923, 48, Nr. 231; Mann 1977, 342–343, Nr. 206; Little 1997; Little 1999; Kessler 2011, 70.

⁴⁹⁷ Goldschmidt 1923, 7–10, 41–52, Nr. 161–300; Goldschmidt 1926, 55–57, Nr. 277–283, 294–297; Mann 1977.

walrus ivory carvings of a basilica-formed reliquary.⁴⁹⁸ This, in turn, was identified by him as the work of the productive Cologne workshop that is best known for the walrus ivory carvings on the distinguished cupola reliquary or tabernacle of the so-called Guelph treasure in Berlin and its twin in London.⁴⁹⁹ His attribution seems to hold true after a century as well.⁵⁰⁰

Since checkers and tables are played by two players with twelve/fifteen game pieces or tablemen on both sides, there must have been pieces telling further episodes of the story of Apollonius. Perhaps they were juxtaposed with scenes from the New Testament. At least it seems that a third piece depicting most likely the Entombment of Christ and kept in the Burrell Collection at Glasgow belonged to the same set.⁵⁰¹ But even if it was a typological collection of game pieces, the whole assemblage must have included a detailed Apollonius image-cycle. Whether this, together with the *Apollonius pictus*, which was most likely kept in the library of the Benedictine monastery at Werden an der Ruhr during the 11th–12th century, indicates that there was a widespread tradition of Apollonius imagery in the area of Cologne at the time, is hard to tell.⁵⁰² What is certain, however, is that the story was so well known among the region's elite that its episodes were recognized without the text. Thus, the significance of the game pieces goes far beyond the fact that they fill a gap in the medieval illustration history of the Apollonius story. They demonstrate that images could become the primary means of telling the tale and, at the same time, show that the adventures of Apollonius and his family circulated well beyond the literate layers of society. This rhymes with the testimony of the *Carmina Burana*, the famous collection of 11th–13th-century Latin and German songs, whose 97th poem could recall the adventures of Apollonius by vague references to the climaxes of its plot.⁵⁰³ This also shows how well-known the tale must have been in the German speaking world and suggests that it was passed down by word of mouth in various forms.

⁴⁹⁸ Goldschmidt 1923, 3, 10; 20–21, Nr. 53. The other Apollonius game piece was not known to him. The basilica-formed reliquary is in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles. See: [https://www.carmentis.be/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.\\$TspTitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=1&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=0](https://www.carmentis.be/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.$TspTitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=1&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=0) (09.08.2023).

⁴⁹⁹ Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, <https://recherche.smb.museum/detail/1632643> and London, Victoria and Albert Museum, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O81507/tabernacle-unknown/> (19.08.2023). For a detailed description and possible function as a tabernacle of the latter see Williamson 2010, 290–303, with earlier bibliography.

⁵⁰⁰ Mann 1977, 342–343, Nr. 206; Little 1999.

⁵⁰¹ Mann 1977, 115, 342–344, Nr. 206, 207; Little 1997; Little 1999. Kessler 2011, 69–70 finds details that are not typical for a depiction of the Entombment of Christ. Nevertheless, it is not likely that the image, as he speculates, meant to represent the burial of King Antiochus. Antiochus, punished for his incestuous relationship with his daughter, was killed by lightning, thus he couldn't have been considered worthy of being buried with honor.

⁵⁰² Kessler 2011, 70–71 speculates whether the game pieces were modeled on the *Apollonius pictus*.

⁵⁰³ Hilka, Schumann 1985, 336–340.

Another object, the fragment of a tapestry from around 1400 shows the indirect impact of the story of Apollonius on the material culture of the elite (Fig. 218). More than three meters high, this textile depicts the beginning of a *chanson de geste* known as *Jourdain de Blaye*, a French epic poem from around 1200.⁵⁰⁴ Inspired by the story of Apollonius but set in the time of Charlemagne, it is a Christianized reworking of the plot, in which Apollonius, alias Jourdain, is the son of the lord of Blaye. Fleeing after a battle against Fromont (Antiochus), who had earlier killed his parents, Jourdain is captured by Saracen sailors, but escapes and arrives at the court of a Christian King, Marcus, defends his city from a pagan army and thus wins the hand of the princess, Oriabel (Lucina). They leave in search for Jourdain's stepparents, but Oriabel gives birth to their daughter at sea and must be thrown overboard in a box to calm a storm that her bleeding caused.⁵⁰⁵ She reaches shore at Palermo, where she is revived by the bishop of the town with the help of the miraculous oil that was used to anoint the body of Christ. Leaving his daughter, Gaudisce (Tarsia), at Orimonde, Jourdain seeks to find his wife and his stepparents. By the time they all arrive back in Orimonde, Gaudisce has been taken to Constantinople, where her parents fortunately find her before she is sold to a brothel. She is married to the prince of Constantinople, while Jourdain returns to Blaye to claim his rightful inheritance.⁵⁰⁶

Accompanied at the top by short text-lines of five strophes in Picard dialect, the tapestry tells how Fromont sails to Blaye, where he is received warmly by his nephew, Jourdain's father, Girart. This is the very beginning of the story, which was later cut literally short on the right, truncating the text lines of the fifth strophe. How long the original piece was or whether the narrated episodes were arranged on a set of tapestries is a question that can't be answered. In any case, undoubtedly continued with the depiction of further episodes, it was an impressive work of art that could fulfill the highest expectations. Made around 1400 by a Franco-Flemish workshop perhaps in one of the period's two best known centers of the tapestry industry, Paris and Arras, at a time when the production of large historiated tapestries became increasingly fashionable, it is among the early extant examples of its kind.⁵⁰⁷ Tapestries were essential embellishments of the royal and ducal households of France and Burgundy, the example of which made them popular all over the courts of Europe, both in secular and in religious settings. Sometimes called "mobile frescos of the North",⁵⁰⁸ they could be adapted to various needs, they

⁵⁰⁴ On the text versions see the Arlima database: https://www.arlima.net/il/jourdain_de_blaye.html (20.08.2023). The only text version that predates the tapestry is published by Dembowski 1991. Its modern French translation is found in Ribémont 2007.

⁵⁰⁵ On the motive of the sea rejecting blood in the *Jourdain de Blaye* see Ross 1985; McCracken 2002, 71–74.

⁵⁰⁶ The story is summarized by Smyth 1898, 78–83. See also Singer 1895, 16–31; Ribémont 2007.

⁵⁰⁷ For catalog descriptions of the tapestry see Souchal 1974, 38–41; Jugie 2004, (with earlier literature).

⁵⁰⁸ Delmarcel 1999, 16.

were used in receptions and festive ceremonies, in processions on the streets, even on the battlefield. Symbolizing power and wealth, they were diplomatic gifts of very high value as well.⁵⁰⁹

Jourdain de Blaye must have been in vogue at the time, for it seems possible that at least two tapestries were dedicated to the story. In 1386 Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, bought one from the Paris merchant, Jehan (Jacques) Dourdin, a piece that was woven with gold.⁵¹⁰ Since the existing fragment is made of less expensive materials, it is unlikely to be identical with that of the duke,⁵¹¹ nevertheless, it can't be excluded that the two pieces were based on the same cartoons. Anyway, neither the designer of our fragment nor its patron/first possessor is known to us. Perhaps it was kept in Padua already from the late 15th century on.⁵¹² With regards to the Italian elite's well documented interest in Franco-Flemish tapestries, this would not be surprising at all.⁵¹³ But, irrespective of its owners, the case of the Jourdain tapestry clearly indicates that a lengthy visual narration inspired indirectly by the story of Apollonius was enjoyed in Franco-Flemish aristocratic circles around 1400. This is all the more interesting, because the Jourdain cycle is roughly contemporaneous with the Boston Apollonius codex and somewhat older than the Bruxelles and London Apollonius books, products of the French and Burgundian courts that are illustrated with only one/three images.⁵¹⁴ Whether the creators and consumers of the Jourdain tapestry(s) were aware of the dependence of the story on the adventures of Apollonius is uncertain. At the same time, Jourdain de Blaye's plot and visual rendering show how profound the fertilizing power of the Late Antique tale was, they reveal how deeply it permeated and shaped medieval literature and art.

With the two 12th-century game pieces and the Jourdain tapestry we arrived at the end of the overview of medieval Apollonius images. Before drawing general conclusions, it needs to be emphasized that the luxury objects presented in this chapter are not simply curiosities, interesting addenda to the material, whose majority is made up of book illustrations. In their

⁵⁰⁹ For some overviews on the history of tapestry see Cavallo 1993; Delmarcel 1999; Hourihane, 2012.

⁵¹⁰ Souchal 1974, 41; Cavallo 1993, 63. Jugie 2004.

⁵¹¹ Souchal 1974, 41 states that there is no gold in our tapestry, therefore it cannot be identical with that of the Duke. Jugie 2004 observes that several metal threads were used for the work, and perhaps for this reason she is less definite about the question of the original ownership.

⁵¹² Souchal 1974, 41 reports that at the beginning of the 19th century the tapestry was in a palace at Padua, which belonged to the Santa Croce family since the end of the 15th century, the latest. Today it is in the Museo Civico in Padua.

⁵¹³ In the 1450s there were Flemish tapestries at the Este court at Ferrara, in 1459 a set of Alexander the Great tapestries was taken to Francesco Sforza, lord of Milan, by the son and the nephew of a Tournai agent, Pasquier Grenier, in 1476 Federico Montefeltre paid for tapestries depicting the Troyan war to Jean Grenier, son of Pasquier. Moreover, craftsmen from Arras worked in Ferrara and Milan, too. See Delmarcel 1999, 38, 41, 66–68.

⁵¹⁴ On these see Chapter II. 4.

own particular way, both the game pieces and the tapestry provide unique information on the extent to which Apollonius images were diffused and show specific forms of their reception. They tell that the story of Apollonius, motifs of its eventful plot and its somewhat tale-like protagonists could step out of the pages of books to enter the collective memory and to populate the imagination of medieval folks.

Conclusions

The survey of medieval Apollonius images offers three compelling matters for further reflection. The first concerns the changing dynamics of the interest in visual renderings of the story of Apollonius, the second is connected to the inter-relationships between Apollonius images/image programs, questions of traditions and innovations within the pictorial material as well as the design of Apollonius books as artefacts, the third regards the text-image dialogue. In what follows, I will address the first point (I.) concisely, because it opens such new sets of questions that, as scholarship currently stands, cannot yet be answered exhaustively. The second point (II.), which explores the inner links within the corpus of Apollonius images, will be discussed at length. In turn, the third one (III.) will feature here again rather shortly, only from the viewpoint of how images responded to the alterations of the story in various translations and adaptations. Further aspects of how texts and images work together will appear in the following, final chapter, within the study of the various possible roles Apollonius illustrations played in the story-telling.

I. Out of the twenty-six illustrated Apollonius books discussed, one is from around 600 (A), one, the *Apollonius pictus* (B), was made in a German monastery around the first millennium, while twenty-four come from the 14th-15th century. Six of these were made between ca. 1300 and the early 15th century for a socially varied readership in Italy, four of them are still in Latin as opposed to the vernacular. Five codices, born between ca. 1400 and the 1470s, were read in or around the royal and ducal courts of France, Burgundy and England. Three manuscripts and six incunables were made in South-German and Austrian territories, mostly in such mercantile cities as Augsburg and Ulm, between ca. 1465 and 1499. Four further incunables were published in the last two decades of the 15th century in Genève, Zaragoza, Delft and Florence. Besides the socially broadening readership in general, what we see here is an interesting pattern of arising and declining interest in imaging the story of Apollonius in various regions and circles of mostly late medieval Europe, and I wonder whether it is only attributable to the sheer chance of the given books' survival. If the snapshots that we see through the surviving material show more general tendencies, what I suspect, then are these specific to the Apollonius material or there are underlying dynamics due to which they fit into more general trends, like, for instance, the varying interest in stories of Antique origin or in making illustrated books on secular narratives?

Regarding these questions a comparison with the corpus of manuscripts containing Terence's Comedies, whose early illustration history also roots in Late Antiquity and shares characteristics with our *Apollonius pictus*, is instructive. Interestingly, the spatial and temporal dispersion of the forty-eight currently known illustrated medieval copies of the Comedies shows a very different map than that of the *Apollonius*: French regions play a prominent role in it.⁵¹⁵ But then, what were the factors that lead to the shifts in the interest of *Apollonius* images in particular? How and to what extent were they shaped by changing fashions of book design and visual narratives or by the varying popularity of semi or pseudo historical fictions, especially of those that told stories of Antique heroes? These questions can only be answered by a combined analysis of the medieval illustration history of further related stories, like the legends of Troy, the deeds of the Romans and most of all Alexander the Great, which was often read together with the *Apollonius*. This is a long overdue, large-scale investigation that goes far beyond the scope of my work. Nevertheless, my research results on the *Apollonius* provide solid comparative material and, serving as point of reference, will hopefully give an impulse to further research in this field.⁵¹⁶ Already a first look at illustrated *Apollonius* books within this broader context reveals interesting specificities. It shows that although the story of *Apollonius* was translated into various vernacular languages at an early stage of its transmission,⁵¹⁷ it was likely not among those secular vernacular narratives traditionally discussed as courtly literature, to which the first illustrated editions were devoted in the 13th century.⁵¹⁸ The popularity of illustrated *Apollonius* books was rather a late medieval phenomenon.

II. Illustrated *Apollonius* books show a great variety in the number of illustrations and in the selection of depicted episodes.⁵¹⁹ This variety goes hand in hand with the diversity of texts illustrated: many of the books in question contain different versions of the story. As a result, there are no long-lasting image traditions in the material, at least not in the sense of Kurt Weitzmann's image philology.⁵²⁰ There are only two groups in which more or less stable image redactions, i.e. image cycles copied after one another or from common models are found. The first is constituted by the two contemporaneous illustrated manuscripts of Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland* (N, O), the second is made up by the six late 15th-century

⁵¹⁵ For a survey of the illustrated manuscript copies of Terence's comedies see Radden Keefe 2015. For similarities between the *Apollonius pictus* and early Terence illustrations see Boreczky 2019a.

⁵¹⁶ For the survey of illustrated Alexander books see Ross 1963/1986; Ross 2019.

⁵¹⁷ See Chapter I.

⁵¹⁸ A fundamental work on the impact of vernacular literature on various artistic media between the 12th and the 16th century is Curschmann 1999. For a recent, concise overview of high and late medieval illustrated vernacular books in particular see Manuwald 2016.

⁵¹⁹ For a comparative list of all the *Apollonius* episodes that were illustrated see Appendix I.

⁵²⁰ On Weitzmann's methodology in the example of the *Apollonius pictus* see Boreczky 2019a.

print editions of Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* (Q, R, S, T, U, V) and the Spanish *Vida e historia* (X), to which the woodblocks of the first and second illustrated *Apollonius von Tyrus* incunables (Q, R) were used.

A comparison of the subject matters depicted in the first images of Apollonius books either containing a single opening miniature or an image cycle is indicative of the heterogeneity of the complete material, and, at the same time shows that the diversity is not equal to the complete lack of traditions or at least similarities. The opening miniatures that constitute the only images in the two manuscripts of the second French prose version (I from ca. 1400, J from ca. 1455) are different: the older one depicts Apollonius before King Antiochus (Fig. 78), the younger, showing King Antiochus in the bed chamber of her daughter, alludes to the incest he committed (Fig. 85). The former scene, Apollonius' appearance before King Antiochus, was already chosen as the opening miniature in one of the Italian HA copies around 1300 (D – Fig. 68), while the latter, an almost direct depiction of King Antiochus raping her daughter serve as introduction in the 15th-century manuscript copy of another (fourth) French prose text version, in the royal book that most likely enriched the library of Edward IV king of England (L – Fig. 89). Here the basic idea of the composition, the division of the image into an interior and an exterior space is similar to that of the slightly older depiction of the incest, which might indicate some sort of connection between the two (J, L – Figs. 85, 89). Further books show that there were still other ways to begin the story by means of an image. Four volumes focus on the encounter of Apollonius with King Antiochus and his daughter (K, M, W, Y – Figs. 88, 93, 197, 209), another one starts (at least in its present state) with the death of King Antiochus' wife (X), most of the *Apollonius von Tyrus* editions open with a whole-page portrait of Alexander the Great (Q, R, S, U, V – Fig. 147), while in Pucci's *Cantari* the reader is "invited" to the musical presentation of the story by a *canterino* in the opening image (Z – 211).

The comparison of image cycles that (would have) embellish(ed) six manuscripts (B, E, F, G, N, O) and seven incunable editions (Q, R, S, T, U, V, X) with continuous narrations of the story is more difficult, because many of them are incomplete. The oldest manuscript in question, the *Apollonius pictus* (B), has come down to us in a fragmentary state and thus contains only the second half of the work. Another manuscript was heavily damaged in fire (E), while in further two (F, G) the images were not carried out.⁵²¹ Still, as we will see, it is clear that together with the two *Apollonius von Tyrland* codices (N, O) that work with the same image program, and

⁵²¹ A seventh manuscript (H) was likely planned to contain an image cycle too, but only two pages have survived of it, therefore it will not be considered here. Illustrated Apollonius books that have only 3/5/6/8 images (C, L, P, W, Z) will not be studied among image cycles either.

the seven incunables that, as mentioned above, constitute a coherent group (Q, R, S, T, U, V, X) they represent altogether six different image redactions. Itself the number of the images indicates that we deal with different versions. Thirty-eight drawings remained from the illustration cycle of the *Apollonius pictus* (B), the Venetian *Historia de miser Apollonio* (E) kept the traces of thirty-two images that embraced the depiction of at least forty-four episodes, the complete *Apollonius von Tyrland* cycle (found in N) consists of hundred and twenty-eight images, out of which forty belong to the original plot of the HA, while the longer version of the first illustrated print edition of the *Apollonius von Tyrus* (Q) works with thirty-five woodcuts.⁵²² In the unfinished HA manuscript (F) spaces were reserved for at least forty-seven illustrations, and there would have been twenty-eight Apollonius images in the finely illuminated copy of Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon* (G).⁵²³ It is even more telling, if we compare the number of images only in that part of the narrative that survived in the *Apollonius pictus* (B). With its thirty-eight drawings that cover the story from Athenagoras' visit in the brothel until Tarsia's defense of Theophilus, this is by far the most detailed Apollonius cycle we know of. In the *Historia de miser Apollonio* (E) the corresponding section of the plot had only sixteen images depicting around nineteen episodes, and the two German versions (N, Q) have ten/eight illustrations for this part of the story. The unfinished HA manuscript (F) would have told these episodes in at least eighteen, the *Pantheon* manuscript (G) in nine pictures. What is remarkable here, apart from the diversity of the material, is that the pace of the visual narration significantly changed over the centuries: the temporal distance between consecutive images largely increased.

The selection of episodes for visual rendering also shows that our image cycles represent six different redactions. Although there are incidents that are depicted in many of the Apollonius books in question, they illustrate such critical points of the plot (the shipwreck of Apollonius, Lucina's coffin being thrown into the sea and landing at Ephesus, baby Tarisa's being left in the care of stepparents, later being attacked by Theophilus and taken to Mytilene by pirates, Athenagoras' visit to the brothel, Apollonius' return to Tarsus and the highly emotional reunion of Tarsia with his father), that their inclusion into the visual story-telling was self-evident also without common models. At the same time, there are illustrations that seem to be specific only to particular image redactions. For instance, the death of King Antiochus' wife, the clothing of the shipwrecked Apollonius in the court of King Archistrates, as well as the mocking of Stranguillio's daughter appear only in the German and the related Spanish incunables (Q, R, S,

⁵²² This includes the opening picture with the portrait of Alexander the Great.

⁵²³ For the reconstruction of the image programs in these two codices see Appendix VI. and VII.

U, V, X – Figs. 149, 161, 171, 206). The scene, in which the citizens of Tarsus erect a statue for Apollonius is found only in the *Historia de miser Apollonio* (E), Lucina crowns Apollonius only in the *Apollonius von Tyrland* manuscripts, and it is also here that we see how the citizens of Pentapolis (Cyrene) greeted the returning family of Apollonius at the shore (N, O – Fig. 108, 133).⁵²⁴ With its comprehensive image program, the *Apollonius pictus* has a number of unique illustrations too, like the ones that show Athenagoras asking for the hand of Tarsia and Apollonius presenting Tarsia to her mother (Figs. 39, 51).

Considering the thematic diversity of Apollonius image cycles, it is surprising that the method applied for the arrangement of images within the books remained basically stable over the centuries: they are placed in the physical proximity of the text units they visualize. This is not self-evident. To name but a few other possibilities: from the 12th century on images of Old Testament narratives and those of the Life of Christ often formed prefatory image cycles in Psalters. Biblical narratives fill consecutive image pages with three-four episodes on every single page in the 13th-century Morgan Picture Bible.⁵²⁵ Or, to remain in the field of secular narratives of antique origin, the early 13th-century illustrated copy of Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneas* works with systematically alternating text and image pages, the latter usually divided horizontally into two registers,⁵²⁶ while in a copy of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, also from the 13th century, there are, among others, two openings (pairs of verso-recto pages) that hold five consecutive images.⁵²⁷ There are no such Apollonius image cycles that consist of historiated initials or work with multi-compartment opening miniatures, i.e. images divided into four-six scenes that occupy the majority of a page, an attribute of many French codices in the late Middle Ages.⁵²⁸

Nevertheless, the layout and the visual appearance of Apollonius books holding image cycles are not uniform either. Some of them has one (E, F, H, Q, R, S, T, U, V, X), others have two text columns on a page (B, G, N, O). As a result, and also because of the different length of the image cycles, the size of the pictures as well as the proportion between pages with or without images is varied. In the *Apollonius pictus* (B) there are no pages without images, some of them have even as much as eight, which makes a rhythmical impression and enables a completely

⁵²⁴ All of these episodes correspond to those parts of the plot that has been lost from the *Apollonius pictus*, which might have included them as well.

⁵²⁵ New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.638.

⁵²⁶ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. Fol. 282.

⁵²⁷ Paris, BnF, Fr. 1610.

⁵²⁸ A number of studies show a growing awareness of questions related to layouts of manuscripts containing visual narratives. See e.g. Stones 1976; chapters in Maekawa 2000; Walworth 2007; Manuwald 2009; Manuwald 2016, 174, Boreczky 2019a, to mention but a few.

synchronized reading of text and image (Fig. 20). The *Apollonius von Tyrland* manuscripts (N, O) are full of movement, in them pages having no image alternate with pages that has one or two pictures of varying sizes, moreover there are three full-page images too (Figs. 95, 114, 135, 139).⁵²⁹ The overall appearance of the *Historia de miser Apollonio* manuscript (E) and that of the incunables in the *Apollonius von Tyrus* group (Q, R, S, T, U, V, X) is more regular. In the manuscript fifty-four pages accommodate thirty-two images, thus, there is an image, but only one, on every or every second page (Fig. 71). In the incunables, depending on the size of the book and its letters, pages with usually only one image are followed by a few text pages (Figs. 149, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 191, 193, 205, 206).

Why were Apollonius images bound to their direct textual context? Were specific details of the story not familiar enough for readers to recognize them without words? This can be at least one of the reasons, for although the story was widespread and circulated even orally, and although the two game pieces attest that in some cases images could be understood without any comment, such new translations as the *Historia de miser Apollonio*, the *Apollonius von Tyrland* and the *Apollonius von Tyrus* must have been made to invite new readerships, i.e. to tell the story to people less familiar with the plot. At the same time, it occurs to me that there were other factors in play. In many of our books Apollonius images are structural elements that had a role in the organization of the text and, serving as signposts, helped the reading-understanding process. This aspect, together with the possible interrelationship between image programs and book design will be discussed in Chapter III. 4 and in the Closing Remarks.

When were our six Apollonius image redactions devised? Were they born together with the books that contain them? Or did they already exist in older Apollonius books now lost? Did image redactions migrate from one text version to another, for instance from an illustrated HA to an illustrated vernacular translation in a similar way as the set of woodcuts migrated from the *Apollonius von Tyrus* to the *Vida e historia*?

The *Apollonius pictus* (B) was already studied from this perspective by Kurt Weitzmann, who believed that being the (perhaps indirect) copy of a Late Antique book, the fragment is the ultimate evidence for the quondam existence of illustrated romances in antiquity, a book type that has been lost almost completely.⁵³⁰ My investigations refined Weitzmann's view.⁵³¹ As we

⁵²⁹ These have come down to us only in the Gotha manuscript (N), but they must have constituted part of the Vienna copy (O) as well. See Chapter II. 5.

⁵³⁰ Weitzmann 1959, 102–104; Weitzmann 1979, 246–247, by Malcolm Bell. On the circulation of novels in antiquity and their illustration see Robins 2025, on the ancient novel in the context of their modern graphic equivalents see Cueva 2014–2015.

⁵³¹ Boreczky 2019a; Boreczky 2025b.

have seen, the long and detailed image program of the fragment has no parallel in the later material, and a closer look reveals that it was compiled so that the images mark all the changes in the number of the “acting” protagonists and the localities (Figs. 20–56).⁵³² This selection criterium of illustrated episodes is based on the principles applied in the scene and act division of antique dramatic texts, like the aforementioned comedies of Terence, whose early image program follows the same rules indeed. In addition to the non-medieval, i.e. Late Antique underlying logic of the image cycle in the *Apollonius pictus*, it seems that some motifs of its images made more sense among a Late Antique than a medieval readership. For instance, the depiction of the statue erected by the citizens of Mytilene for Apollonius and Tarsia portray Tarsia in the pose of *Pudicitia*, a Roman goddess personifying such feminine virtues as modesty and marital fidelity (Fig. 45). It is not very likely that medieval readers were familiar with the goddess and her specific posture, but perhaps it is even more telling that the depiction corresponds to another version of the HA text than the one contained in the *Apollonius pictus*. In Rec. A, the inscription of the statue speaks about *Tarsia pudicissima*, while in the text of the *Apollonius pictus*, which belongs to Rec. α , the statue was dedicated to Tarsia *prudentie sanctissime*. This implies that the image migrated from a Rec. A manuscript originally made for a Late Antique public, which, recognizing *Pudicitia*, could properly read and understand the meaning of the image.⁵³³ The recent discovery of the Sinai Apollonius (A) confirms that the story was told in pictures by the 6th century the latest, but it also highlights the differences between a Late Antique and an early medieval illustrated Apollonius. The most important distinguishing features concern the format of the book and the layout of its pages. While the Sinai Apollonius was a relatively small book with square-like pages that must have held one text column each, and while its image took a large part of the page if not the whole, the *Apollonius pictus* has two text columns on its pages of considerable size, and relatively small images inserted into the text columns (Figs. 9, 20). Since I found that this layout gained popularity from the age of the Carolingians, I believe that the image cycle in the *Apollonius pictus* is a revised version of a Late Antique book, the textual and visual elements of which were re-organized according to modern criteria of book design in a Carolingian workshop and the illustrations of which were later refashioned in Ottonian style.⁵³⁴ This co-existence of

⁵³² Németh 2016.

⁵³³ Boreczky 2019b. The depiction of a beast at the door of the Ephesian temple of Diana in the *Apollonius pictus* also seems to be a motif that made more sense in Late Antiquity. See Boreczky 2016.

⁵³⁴ For the specifically Ottonian traits of the images see Chapter II. 2.

features characteristic of different historical periods is what I called in a previous study the multilayered historicity of medieval manuscripts.⁵³⁵

As opposed to the *Apollonius pictus*, a derivative of a Late Antique book, the single manuscript of the *Historia de miser Apollonio* (E) and the first illustrated *Apollonius von Tyrus* incunable (Q) were made roughly at the time or not much later than the text versions they contain were written, in the middle of the 14th century and in 1476, respectively. Their image programs were likely devised anew. This is shown in both cases by the aforementioned strong structural text-image relationship, and in the case of the incunable by the experimentations, the alterations of the image program during the production process.⁵³⁶ Instead of the traces of an older image tradition that was reshaped over the time, in their example we see Apollonius image redactions in *statu nascendi*, which is no less exciting. I will return to this in Chapter III. 4. The image cycles in the two illustrated *Apollonius von Tyrland* manuscripts (N, O) are also specific to their text version, for they contain depictions of the long interpolations not found in other adaptations or translations. But since this text was written around 1300 and its illustrated manuscripts were made in the 1460s, it is possible that the image program was already devised in the meantime.⁵³⁷

Besides their thematic variety, illustrated Apollonius books also differ from one another in the level and type of their embellishment. Many of the manuscripts were illustrated with drawings (A, B, C, I, J, K, N, O, P) that were usually colored (Figs. 9, 20–56, 62–63, 78, 85, 88, 95–134, 140–145). This was likely related to the genre rather than to the lower demands and/or financial means of their patrons. At least it is conspicuous that four of them, and not only the oldest ones, are written on parchment (A, B, C, I), in some of them (C, N) cover-paint and gold is used for coloring (Figs. 62–63, 134 A): in the Gotha *Apollonius von Tyrland* (N) oddly applied on paper, moreover, in the Boston Apollonius made in Paris (I) the grisaille image is accompanied by fine marginal decoration (Fig. 78). The most splendid copies, however, and the ones that represent the highest artistic quality are the 14th-century Italian codices made in Bologna, Milan and Venice (D, E, G,) and the 15th-century manuscripts that were used in the royal court of England (L, M), all made of parchment and illuminated in cover paint (Figs. 68, 71, 89–94). Out of these only the Milanese *Pantheon* (G) and the Venetian *Historia de miser Apollonio* (E) contained or would have contained Apollonius image cycles. The HA copy made around 1300 in Bologna (D) like the royal copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (M) has a single Apollonius miniature, the other royal book (L) has three, however the images in the two latter manuscripts

⁵³⁵ Boreczky 2019a.

⁵³⁶ See Chapter II. 6 and II. 7.

⁵³⁷ Traces of an early 15th-century illustrated *Apollonius von Tyrland* have been found. See Chapter II. 5.

form part of lengthy image cycles that correspond to further textual units contained. Printed on paper and completed with woodcuts, the appearance of the incunables follows the aesthetics of manuscripts illustrated with drawings. Like these, woodcuts also offered themselves for coloring. Enriched this way, the Berlin copy of Bämmler's 1476 edition of the *Apollonius von Tyrus* (Q) became a very pretty book indeed (Figs. 147, 149 A–157 A, 159 A–178 A, 180 A–183 A).

The respective sizes of the illustrated Apollonius books only partially correspond to the hierarchy of their workmanship: measures are at least as much related to the prospective uses of the volumes than to the demand for representation of wealth and power. While the two royal books (L, M) with their 38 and 44 cm height were made not only for reading but for display, the similar size of the *Apollonius pictus* (B) was likely defined by that of the complete Vergil, a schoolbook, with which it formed a single unit for long. Despite of its superb and rich illustration cycle, the Venetian *Historia de miser Apollonio*, in turn, is a medium-sized book that must have been made primarily for either private use or for reading-hearing-viewing in a small circle, like the incunables that are usually rather small.

It is only in this matrix of the number and subject matter of the images, their artistic quality, the value of the materials used, and the design employed that the characteristics of single illustrated Apollonius books and thus the meaning of Apollonius imagery for patrons, creators and recipients took shape before us in the previous chapters. We saw a very colorful picture – obviously not irrespective of the diverse social-cultural milieu of commissioners, artisans and users. Although most of the illustrated Apollonius books are in the vernacular and although it is usually believed that the readership of illustrated vernacular romances is to be sought among the secular elite, the public of illustrated Apollonius books, like the initiators of their making, was not an unchanging entity, certainly not across nine-hundred years of the Middle Ages in which these books were made. As time went on, the group of patrons, creators and readers included socio-cultural strata as diverse as the Roman secular elite, monks of an imperial Benedictine monastery, 14th-century Italian urban (mercantile?) aristocracy, ducal and royal courts, humanist high priests, Central-European lower nobility, patricians in German towns, and the broadening circles of urban literates.

III. Concerning the text-image dialogue, the question that interests me at this point is whether images followed the alterations the story went through in the different adaptations and translations. Given that in many of the text versions that were illustrated it is not the plot but rather the tenor of the story, like the presence or the lack of Christian versus pagan motifs that

have changed; that many of our illustrated Apollonius books have only an opening miniature; and that creators of illustrated books obviously didn't aim to highlight those features of the text that diverged from older variants but intended to shape a coherent unit of text and image, it should come as no surprise that the relationship between illustrations and novelties of text versions is not necessarily straightforward. For example, no image was devoted in Louis Cruse's incunable (W) to the peculiar scene told only in the seventh French prose version included in this book in which Dionysias puts a dead sheep in Tarsia's "sepulchre" to make it smell, and we will search in vain for an image depicting Apollonius' unsuccessful attempt at cooking in De Libri's edition of Pucci's *Cantari di Apollonio* (Z) too. It is also remarkable that opening miniatures depicting the sinful relationship between King Antiochus and his daughter are found in copies of the second and fourth French prose version and not in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, although Gower incorporated the story of Apollonius into his collection of tales directly as an exemplum of incest (Figs. 85, 89, 93). This doesn't mean, however, that specific characteristics of text versions are not reflected in images at all, or that images don't resonate with their texts. The long interpolations in the *Apollonius von Tyrland* generated completely new series of images, and even the aforementioned unique depictions that are specific for the illustrative material of this adaptation – Apollonius' crowning by Lucina and the family's reception by the citizens of Pentapolis (Cyrene) – have their precise textual basis in Heinrich von Neustadt's adaptation, they correspond to episodes that enrich the original plot (Figs. 108, 133). Furthermore, the woodcut showing the death of King Antiochus' wife in the *Apollonius von Tyrus* incunables is the visual equivalent of an episode that has no counterpart in the HA, but that is narrated by Heinrich Steinhöwel (Fig. 149). Nevertheless, even in the cases when the new text versions and their images were composed in dialogue, illustrations were not meant to be simple literal translations of texts into images. The spectrum of their possible functions and, consequently, that of the narrative techniques they applied were much broader. This is what I will explore in the next, final chapter.

Chapter III. What Do Apollonius Images Do?

When designing an illustrated book, creators had (and still have) to make several decisions concerning the size, the raw materials to be used, the layout, the number and the subject matter of the images, their distribution within the book and their arrangement on the page, their compositions and details. Many factors, financial and human resources among them, could influence their decisions, and creators had to consider the genre of the work included, the intended functions of the book, how and by whom it would be read, heard and seen, and how the material and visual features of the book would best enable these uses. Certainly, they didn't have to invent everything anew. There were, especially by the 14th-15th century, when the majority of our illustrated Apollonius books were made, established book-types and occasionally older copies of the same text redaction/version were at hand too. But even if creators had a direct model, they had to see how and to what extent they want and can follow its example. Illustrated Apollonius books offer a very rich source for the study of the possible functions attributed to illustrated books and particularly to images and to investigate the corresponding narrative techniques involved. In what follows, I will attempt to make a typology of narrative strategies applied throughout the material.

III. 1. Characterization

One of the most obvious roles narrative illustrations could play is the portrayal of the protagonists and their setting: the characterization of their emotions, states of mind, social positions, relationships to one other, the built and natural environment they populate as well as the indication of the changes in either one of these. Since many text versions of the Apollonius story tell the plot mostly without detailed descriptions of the protagonists and their surroundings, they provided ample possibilities for illustrators to visualize them. As a result, images became an integral part of the story-telling by animating the protagonists and literally coloring their realm. The tools most frequently applied in Apollonius images for such characterizations were representations of clothing and body language: gestures and postures. Facial features are seldom expressive, the suggestive depiction of Apollonius' indignation at the relationship between King Antiochus and his daughter in the opening miniature of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (M) is exceptional (Fig. 93).

Over Apollonius' long medieval illustration history, the protagonists of the story put on a variety of costumes. In the *Apollonius pictus* (B) men wear historical garments of antiquity, *tunica* and *chlamys*, women appear in long ageless tunics (Figs. 22, 23, 39, 40, 44, 45). In the Bolognese manuscript of the HA from around 1300 (D), Apollonius embodies a civil lawyer, this way he represents justice over the sinful King Antiochus (Fig. 68). A century later Apollonius is a fashionable young man of the French royal court (I – Fig. 78). In the 14th-century Venetian *Historia de miser Apollonio* (E), Stranguillio and his wife (Apollonius' friends and Tarisa's would be stepparents) are depicted with crown, although there is nothing in the text to suggest that they are monarchs (Fig. 71). King Antiochus and his daughter form highly elegant aristocratic couples dressed according to the latest fashion in the two manuscripts that were read in the English royal court (L, M – Figs. 89, 93). Besides the protagonists' socio-cultural identity, clothing can also indicate alterations in their social position. For example, within a single image in the *Apollonius pictus* Tarsia is seen first barefoot in a simple dress and then, after being liberated from the brothel, in ornate attire with prominent headgear: the image speaks about the transformation of her situation in a direct and intelligent way (Fig. 44).⁵³⁸ Since the illustrator was able to indicate such differences, it is noteworthy that Apollonius'

⁵³⁸ Radden Keefe 2011, 55, thinks that the woman in ornate dress is one of the prostitutes Tarsia liberates, while observing that her headgear is similar to the one Tarsia wears in another image. The central position of the figure and her dominance make it unlikely that she is one of Tarsia's unnamed mates.

appearance remains the same throughout the manuscript. This suggests a pronounced interest in Tarisa's tribulations over those Apollonius had to stand.

If the socio-cultural environment of the protagonists is shown primarily by means of clothing, then it is their body language that indicates their reactions and interrelationships. Disproportionally large, "speaking" hands and specific gestures play a rhetorical role in the *Apollonius pictus*. They express even complex states of mind such as Apollonius' perplexity over learning about the (alleged) death of his daughter (Fig. 27), and they picture peculiar attitudes, like the harsh grasp of Tarsia's hand by her father or spouse at her wedding, an apparent sign of her submission to men's will (Fig. 46).⁵³⁹ Women in prostrate position asking for mercy or approval reappear at various points of the material. In the *Apollonius pictus* it is Tarsia, who beseeches the overseer of the brothel to save her (Fig. 24), while in the Gotha manuscript containing Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland* (N) Lucina bends down before her father hoping that he will consent to her marriage to Apollonius (Fig. 111). Due to their speaking, pointing, greeting hands that follow the courtly etiquette, protagonists of the latter manuscript appear as members of an elite society (Fig. 106, 107 A, 118 A, 124 A, 134 A).

By means of different postures even the very same episode could be articulated in various ways. This is seen in the example of the two contemporaneous images that allude to King Antiochus' rape of his daughter. While in the royal Apollonius manuscript (L) we see the daughter of King Antiochus trying to resist her father's aggressive approach (Fig. 89), the attack is far less evident in Jean de Wavrin's book (J). Here, it is the contrast between the fully dressed king standing by his daughter's bed and the princess lying naked under a blanket that makes the impression of something went wrong (Fig. 85). The proper reading of this latter image required some familiarity with the story. In turn, the royal Apollonius book operates with an unmistakable visual formula: the depiction of a man embracing a woman against her will, which was also applied in Louis Cruse's French Apollonius incunable for imaging the attempt of the brothel's overseer to deflower Tarsia (W – Fig. 202).

In many of the Apollonius images the protagonists move in an indefinite setting, in which references to the environment are rather seldom or generic. Ships are the sole motifs that form an integral part of the visual story-telling in most of those Apollonius books that contain more illustrations than an opening miniature/woodcut. One could even study the medieval history of

⁵³⁹ On the body language of the *Apollonius pictus* see Boreczky 2019b.

sailing in the *Apollonius pictus* (B), in the *Historia de miser Apollonio* (E), in the Apollonius of the English royal court (L), in the two illustrated copies of Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrlant* (N, O) and in all but the Delft incunable editions (e.g. Figs. 25, 32, 34–38, 53, 91, 101, 113–116, 120, 121, 124–126, 132, 133, 143, 153, 157, 158, 166, 167, 172, 173, 176–178, 180, 182, 199–201, 203, 204, 212–215). The importance of ships roots in the story itself, where they are not simply vehicles, but constitute the surroundings for such crucial moments of the plot as Tarsia's birth, the seeming death of her mother and the recognition of Tarsia by her father. Besides emphasizing the Odyssey-like aspects of the story, ships make wandering, both in the physical and spiritual sense, a central theme of the books they embellish. The salient appearance of nature in the Wolfenbüttel *Apollonius von Tyrus* (P) and in the Vienna *Apollonius von Tyrlant* (O) must be related to the topic of journey as well. In the former roads feature prominently in all but one image (Fig. 140–142, 144, 145), in the latter the reader is led through land and sea, the way takes him/her by towns and by rocky hills (Figs. 97 B, 109 B, 114 B, 117 B, 118 B, 132 B, 133 B, 134 B), in the images illustrating Heinrich von Neustadt's interpolations even to exotic countries, caves and forests (Figs. 219, 220). It is also in this manuscript that special significance is attributed to city-views. Numerous depictions of walled medieval towns feature in the Gotha *Apollonius von Tyrlant* too (N), but they are rather generic. In turn, the illustrators of the Vienna copy found particular pleasure in architectural details (e.g. Figs. 99, 109, 118, 122–126, 137). Nevertheless, the compositional role towns play in the two *Apollonius von Tyrlant* manuscripts is similar: seen from outside and sometimes partially from a birds-eye view they appear as background- or landscape-elements. It is only in some of the woodcuts that illustrate the incunable editions of Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* and the Spanish *Vida e historia* (Q, R, S, T, U, V, X) that the medieval town becomes the real setting of the plot. Here the protagonists of the story, although identified as royals by means of crowns, live in urban spaces (e.g. Figs. 155, 160, 162, 164, 169, 170, 171). The simplicity of their interiors, for instance that of King Archistrates' dining room or Lucina's bedroom (Figs. 162, 164) is conspicuous in comparison with the two depictions of the bedroom where King Antiochus raped his daughter (J, L – Figs. 85, 89), especially with the fine aristocratic furnishing seen in the manuscript that formed part of the English royal library (L).

Concerning the various possible ways images could contextualize the story and its settings, the depictions of the Ephesian temple of Diana, where Lucina lived after being separated from Apollonius until the family reunion, is indicative. It shows how the creators thought, certainly with their readers in mind, about the antique, pagan origin of the work, how they visualized the cult center of a distant, different culture. There are two moments in the plot where the temple

can be depicted. In the first Lucina becomes a priestess of the goddess, this is seen only in the two *Apollonius von Tyrland* codices (N, O). In the second Apollonius appears before Diana and finds his wife in her temple. This latter is one of the climaxes of the story, therefore it features in four manuscripts, including the two *Apollonius von Tyrland* copies (B, N, O, P), in three incunable editions of Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* (Q, R, V), in the *Vida e historia* (X) and in Louis Cruse's edition of the seventh French prose version (W). The illustrator of the *Apollonius pictus* marked the temple as a demonic place with a giant beast standing at its door (fol. 3r – Fig. 50, hardly visible).⁵⁴⁰ In the Gotha *Apollonius von Tyrland* it is first a neutral, nondescript edifice (fol. 22r – Fig. 118 A) then a sanctuary-like interior with an empty altar (fol. 134v – Fig. 131 A). The illustrator of the Vienna *Apollonius von Tyrland* went one step further and in the first case (fol. 9r – Fig. 118 B) connected the temple to a convent and its church marked with a cross, while in the second represented it as a walled, semi-open space enclosing an altar with a reliquary-like object in the form of a church on top of it (fol. 109r – Fig. 131 B). Another pagan temple, that of Venus, appears three times in that part of this manuscript that contains one of Heinrich von Neustadt's interpolations. As opposed to the associations of the Diana temple with a church, it is depicted as an interior with a prominent Venus statue standing either on an altar or on a pillar (fol. 72r, 74r, 78r – Fig. 221). This indicates that the transformation of the Diana temple, the elimination of the pagan connotations especially from its first depiction must have been intentional.⁵⁴¹ Weakening the perhaps disturbing relationship of Apollonius' virtuous wife with the goddess, the image transplants Lucina's story into a familiar, late medieval context: she enters a convent.

Instead of demonization, Christianized reinterpretation or neutralization, two further Apollonius books emphasized the difference between temple and church, they experimented with the visualization of otherness. In the Wolfenbüttel *Apollonius von Tyrus* (P) a non-gothic, open structure using classical forms is seen, there is an idol over a column in its center (Fig. 145). In Louis Cruse's edition (W) the temple, also an open edifice including an idol, is characterized by means of a large central dome as an exotic, oriental building (Fig. 204). In the first case the focus is on the story's historicity, on its Antique origin, in the second it is the Mediterranean context that was made prominent.

⁵⁴⁰ On the possible Late Antique roots of this iconography see Boreczky 2016.

⁵⁴¹ The second depiction of the Diana temple in the Vienna *Apollonius von Tyrland* is similar to a further image of a pagan temple in this manuscript, that of Juno (fol. 86v). Why the illustrator omitted the Juno statue, which appears in the corresponding image in the Gotha *Apollonius von Tyrland* (fol. 111r), is not clear.

III. 2. Interpretation and Articulation

As seen in the examples discussed, by means of characterization images reinforce specific aspects of the story, they contextualize and interpret it in various ways. There were other tools that helped the visual articulation of the text, most notably the selection of episodes/protagonists for depiction or their neglect and the sizing of the images.

The theme of a single opening miniature or opening woodcut can set the tone by itself, and short image series can draw the reader/viewer's attention to certain parts and protagonists of the story as well. For example, in the late 13th/early 14th-century manuscript that was made most likely in Genoa (C) two out of three images show the first encounter of Apollonius and Lucina (Fig. 62), while not a single image is dedicated to the tribulations of Tarsia. The pronounced interest in Lucina and the obvious disinterest in Tarsia is also evident in the Apollonius manuscript of the English royal library (L). Here, in addition to the opening miniature depicting King Antiochus in the bedroom of his daughter, there are two images. In the first Apollonius kneels before Lucina and takes over the letter in which she tells her father about her love of Apollonius, in the second we see how Lucina's coffin is found at the shore of Ephesus (Figs. 90, 91). By putting greater emphasis on the burgeoning affection between Apollonius and Lucina, these two manuscripts thematize love and portray Apollonius as a more active participant in the relationship than the text, where he appears as a passive recipient of Lucina's emotions. In turn, in Bartolomeo de' Libri's edition of Pucci's *Cantari di Apollonio* (Z), preference was given to the dramatic turning points of Tarsia's life: she features in two out of four narrative images, while Lucina is nowhere to be seen (Figs. 214, 215).

It was possible to put greater emphasis on specific parts/protagonists of the story even in those lengthy image cycles that closely follow the story line. A comparison of the image program of Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrlant* (N, O) with that of Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* (Q) will suffice to demonstrate this. In the former Apollonius' story is told in forty,⁵⁴² in the latter in thirty-five images, but there are only sixteen identical episodes among them. The location changes twelve times in the plot,⁵⁴³ and these shifts are precisely indicated in both versions, but the additional images direct the reader/viewer's attention in different ways. *Apollonius von Tyrlant* devotes a more detailed visual narration to Lucina's

⁵⁴² There are more than forty images in the *Apollonius von Tyrlant*, but they illustrate Heinrich von Neustadt's interpolations.

⁵⁴³ For the twelve locations see Appendix I.

life-events, and the conclusion of the story is more pronounced as well. Of the two image programs it is only the *Apollonius von Tyrland* that includes the punishment of the brothel keeper and that of the wicked stepparents, and it is also in this image redaction that the joyful reception of the returning family in Pentapolis (Cyrene) is told in two images (Figs. 127, 130, 132, 133). The woodcuts in the *Apollonius von Tyrus*, in turn, emphasize causal relations of the plot and thus explain motivations of the protagonists. By looking at consecutive images the reader/viewer discovers the connection between the death of King Antiochus' wife and the flaming of his sinful passion, understands how the shipwrecked Apollonius' service of King Archistrates in the bath led to his invitation to the court and how the mocking of Tarsia's stepsister by the citizens of Tarsus set the stage for Tarsia's tribulations. Instead of the family's arrival in Pentapolis (Cyrene), the last image of this program depicts Apollonius and Lucina already restored to their social rank. Clothed in regalia they sit on a throne and, exemplifying royal justice, reward the poor fisherman (Fig. 183).

By selecting episodes for visualization, image programs stressed their importance. At the same time, omissions could also play a role in guiding the reader/viewer's attention in definite ways. For instance, Simone Schultz-Balluff has pointed out that the image program of the *Apollonius von Tyrland* codices (N, O) carefully avoids representing weak moments of the protagonists.⁵⁴⁴ It must have also been intentional that the bath-scene, in which naked men, Apollonius and King Archistrates, appear in physical proximity, was not depicted in these two manuscripts and in the Wolfenbüttel copy of Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* either (P). In the former, Apollonius meets King Archistrates at the front of the bathhouse, in the latter, the ballgame, *i.e.* another moment of the episode describing Apollonius' first encounter with the king was chosen. Thus, the erotic overtone present in the text was de-emphasized, or the focus of the reader/viewer was steered towards a more acceptable, courtly form of social interaction (Figs. 104, 142). It is likely that the creators of these image programs had a (partly) feminine readership in mind, for the *Apollonius von Tyrland* was written on the request of a young lady and its Vienna copy (O) was directly made for a noble woman. The *Apollonius von Tyrus* incunables and their Spanish descendent (Q, R, S, U, V, X), in turn, include very straightforward depictions of the bath-scene (Fig. 160). This supports the likelihood that the early Apollonius prints were made for a different circle of recipients, likely in terms of both gender proportions and social-cultural background.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁴ Schultz-Balluff 2006, 301, 309.

⁵⁴⁵ See Chapter II. 6.

Besides the thematic composition of an image program, the different sizing of images could also be used for emphasis, highlighting and prioritization. Interestingly, such differentiation of images is found among illustrated Apollonius books only in the two *Apollonius von Tyrland* manuscripts. Here, in both the Gotha (N) and the Vienna copy (O), two text columns alternate with column pictures and two-column wide pictures in varying height, moreover there are (there were) three full-page miniatures as well.⁵⁴⁶ Since the Vienna copy is damaged, my following observations are based on the Gotha manuscript, in which the complete image cycle survived.⁵⁴⁷ It consists of one hundred twenty-eight images, out of which forty illustrate the original Late Antique plot, the further eighty-eight correspond to either one of Heinrich von Neustadt's two interpolations. The three full-page images appear in the first interpolation and depict dense battle-scenes (Fig. 135). By presenting Apollonius in the role of a military leader, they underline his qualities that were completely missing from the Late Antique tale and which in the *Apollonius von Tyrland* made him a representative of a medieval monarch, the ideal hero of a chivalric romance.

The logic behind the hierarchization of those forty images that illustrate the original plot is more difficult to understand. It is true that the large, two-column wide images highlight the significance of such turning points of the narrative as the shipwreck of Apollonius, his encounter with King Archistrates on occasion of the aforementioned ballgame, his wedding with and loosing of Lucina, Tarsia's tribulations in the brothel and her recognition by her father, the punishment of the wicked stepparents, the reunion and homecoming of the family (Figs. 102, 105, 112, 116, 122, 126, 130, 132, 133). However, large image fields were given to less crucial episodes as well. These show how Lucina's suitors appear before King Archistrates, how she asks for her father's consent to her marriage with Apollonius, and how Tarsia manages to keep her integrity in Mytilene by entertaining the citizens with music and eloquent talk (Figs. 109, 111, 123). In turn, those important episodes, in which Lucina plays music before Apollonius for the first time, in which Apollonius mourns over the seeming death of his wife, in which Theophilus attacks Tarsia and in which she is captured by pirates are depicted only in column pictures (Figs. 107, 115, 120, 212). It is also noteworthy that, compared to the image fields, figures are usually rather small. From these observations it follows that the primary function of larger/smaller images was not to foreground/downplay single episodes or to provide

⁵⁴⁶ On the strong relationship, the similarities and differences between the picture cycles illustrating the Gotha and the Vienna copies of the *Apollonius von Tyrland* see Chapter II. 5.

⁵⁴⁷ Schultz-Balluff 2006, 113–320 provides an exhaustive and insightful study on the structure and function of the *Apollonius von Tyrus* image programs from a textual-narrative point of view that I made very good use of.

close-ups for the protagonists. The hierarchization worked at a more general level. For instance, everything that happened to Apollonius before he reached Pentapolis (Cyrene) where he won the hand of Lucina and Lucina's life in Ephesus without Apollonius are de-emphasized, while the significance of the happy end, including the moral teaching apparent in the punishment of the bad ones, is literally enlarged. Based on the number and sizing of the images it is also clear that the female protagonists, Lucina and Tarsia, play an equally important role as Apollonius himself does. This, again, supports the presumption that women were among the intended readership or audience.

That said, it must be noted that the different sizing of the images was not solely for the purpose of interpretation/articulation. More precisely, there might have been other reasons for assigning smaller or larger spots, vertical or horizontal image fields to an episode than the significance attributed to it in the story-telling. The example of the *Apollonius von Tyrland* shows that compositional considerations could also play a role: there were connections between thematic groups, image sizes and formats. Most of the episodes are set in open, public places, but those few that, showing moments of privacy, play in such interiors as a bedchamber or the sanctuary of a temple, are all told in columns pictures (Figs. 119, 221). The only exception to this rule is reasonable, since it depicts one of the climaxes of the story, Apollonius' appearance in the Ephesian temple of Diana, where, after fourteen years, he finds his lost wife, Lucina (Fig. 131). Battles, combats and ceremonies, in turn, usually needed more space (Figs. 95, 112 135).⁵⁴⁸

Creating image groups within a picture cycle by means of similar size and/or akin depicted themes, designers established connections between the individual images in a cycle. This way, a picture cycle became much more than a set of consecutive illustrations. In other words, it was not only the subject matter and the characteristics of an individual image, but its positions in the cycle and relationship to other images that conveyed information. Due to such inter-pictorial cross-references, images were enriched with new layers of meaning, carried and communicated messages that went beyond the primary content level. The question of how exactly images put in dialogue with one-another conditioned the understanding of the narrative will be discussed below.

⁵⁴⁸ Schultz-Balluff 2006, 115–117.

III. 3. Cross References and Associations

So far, we have seen how images and image cycles could characterize the protagonists and their social-cultural environment by means of, among others, clothing and body language, how they interpreted the story in different ways by reinforcing or de-emphasizing its underlying themes, how they provided clues to the reader/viewer for approaching the story by guiding his/her attention to or from certain episodes, protagonists, motifs. In what follows, I will argue that cross-references within an image cycle and associations created between Apollonius images and images of other narratives that the recipients might have already known, encouraged readers/viewers to deepen their understanding of the story while moving back and forth within its plot and looking out of it, while exploring its inner correspondences/contrasts and reading it together with parallel narratives. My starting point and primary source material here will be provided by the picture cycles illustrating the incunables that contain Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* (Q, R, S, U, V).⁵⁴⁹

Like in other illustrated incunables, the image-cycles in these books are made up of woodcuts, some of which were used two or three times within a single visual narrative. Thus, it occurs that different episodes were depicted in the very same way. The multiple use of images within a book is, of course, a genre-specific characteristic of incunables, which helped to solve production problems. The recycling of woodblocks from which the images were printed significantly reduced the costs and shortened the time of manufacturing. Since these kinds of repetitions could disturb the consistency of a picture-cycle or disrupt the correspondence of text and image, the reuse of woodcuts has been usually treated in scholarship as a weakness of the new medium of print in an early stage of its development.⁵⁵⁰ Indeed, practical considerations were among the driving forces, when creators decided to recycle woodblocks. However, their reuse must have been preceded by their selection, a conscious decision-making process, and the result must have met the expectations of the prospective reader/viewer, it had to be intelligible. What made images suitable for multiple use and what narrative strategies did repetitions serve?

In her book on the incunables published by Albrecht Pfister, Sabine Häusermann devotes a whole chapter to image recycling, in part to the repetition of narrative images. As she points

⁵⁴⁹ For the detailed presentation of their image cycles see Chapter II. 6 and Appendix IV.

⁵⁵⁰ See, for example, Hind 1963, expressing the view that the economizing of woodcuts was “not without detriment to the appearance of the book” (p. 1) and that “Bellaert of Haarlem and Grüniger of Strassburg were notable sinners in this respect, applying the same blocks to various situations and often combining several blocks in one subject” (p. 284). Recently, the reuse of woodblocks was studied as a positive example of technical experimentation by Booton 2018, 53–80.

out in the example of the *Vier historien*, a book that retells the story of four Old Testament protagonists, Joseph, Daniel, Judith and Esther, in German tongue, woodcuts depicting certain types of actions such as travel, battle or feasting can easily be applied to illustrate similar situations. For example, the same image might be used to illustrate both the banquet of Judith and Holofernes and that of Esther and Ahasuerus.⁵⁵¹ It is the generic character of the illustrations and the reliance on conventions that made scenes and protagonists easily interchangeable in the *Apollonius von Tyrus* volumes as well.

There are two pairs of repeated images in Bämmler's Apollonius edition (Q), each completely logical. The first pair (image 27, 28) depicts consecutive episodes that take place in the brothel at Mytilene. In the first image, Athanagoras, king of the city, visits Apollonius' daughter, Tarsia, but spares her chastity. In the second, Tarsia beseeches the overseer to save her (Figs. 174 A, 175). Thus, Athenagoras and the figure of the overseer are depicted identically, with the sole difference that from the latter image Athenagoras' crown was cut off. The other pair (image 32, 34) occurs near the end of the book and shows two stages of Apollonius' last travels. First, he sails to Ephesus with his daughter and her husband, then, after finding his wife there, he sets sails for Antioch and Tarsus (Figs. 180 A, 182 A).

In the later editions some of these episodes were paired by means of identical images with further/other scenes. For example, Schönsperger (S) illustrated Athanagoras' visit to Tarsia in the brothel with the same image that he used for the depiction of the episode in which Apollonius' future wife asks his father to give shelter for Apollonius (Figs. 163 B, 174 B). This latter scene, in turn, was illustrated by Sorg (R) with the woodcut that he used at the beginning of the book to depict Apollonius asking for the hand of King Antiochus' daughter, not knowing about their incestuous relationship (Figs. 222 A–B). Finally, in Zainer's book (V), Schönsperger's pair was completed with a third scene, the crucial one, in which, after fourteen years of wandering, Apollonius and his wife find each other in Ephesus (Figs. 223 A–B–C). Except for Apollonius' first proposal, all these scenes involve conversations between kings and princesses and as such they fit into the scheme established by Häussermann: they all depict basically similar actions, even if the situations and the relationships between the protagonists are very different. This also applies to another series of three identical images in Zainer's edition (V): they relate various sea voyages of Apollonius.⁵⁵²

⁵⁵¹ Häussermann 2008, 110–126.

⁵⁵² Apollonius leaves for Tyre, Apollonius sails to Ephesus with Tarsia and Athenagoras, Apollonius returns to Antioch and Tarsus with his family.

From these examples it is clear why the depictions of strictly formalized, and to a certain extent analogous social interactions were transposable. However, it remains to be considered how repetitions functioned within an image program. A closer look at the episodes that were linked through identical images in the *Apollonius von Tyrus* editions reveals that, by means of signaling cross-references within the story, repetitions acted as narrative tools in the visual story-telling.

It might seem strange that in Sorg's edition an image of a king and a young man in dialogue illustrates both Apollonius' encounter with the wicked King Antiochus and the episode in which a woman, Apollonius' future wife, Cleopatra, beseeches her father, King Archistrates, to house Apollonius (Figs. 222 A–B). Sorg worked with Bämmler's woodblocks, and it is possible that the woodblock Bämmler used for the latter scene had been lost by the time Sorg published his edition in 1479. Nonetheless, the pairing of the two scenes is meaningful in that it sets a negative and a positive representative of paternal love, King Antiochus and King Archistrates against one another and contrasts Apollonius' unfortunate first proposal with the warm welcome and love he received from Lucina and her father. When, in turn, Schönsperger connected the latter episode with that of King Athanagoras' visit to Tarsia in the brothel (Figs. 163 B, 174 B), he related the story of the mother to that of the daughter. Providing the common denominator is the fact that both Lucina and Tarsia find themselves in a situation in which their happiness and destiny were subordinated to the will of a man. Ironically, the woodcut used by Schönsperger was borrowed from another incunable, the 1488 edition of Thüring von Ringoltingen's *Melusine*,⁵⁵³ which depicted a king respectfully taking the hand of a lady (Figs. 189, 190). It might not have been the most fitting illustration of the two Apollonius scenes, but nevertheless it established a cross-reference between them that was intelligible and expressive.

In addition to calling attention to similarities and contrasts between the respective protagonists and their situations, the two series of three identical images in Zainer's edition highlight the structure of the narrative. Apollonius' first depicted journey rhymes with his last one, just as the beginning of the relationship between Apollonius and Lucina rhymes with their happy reunion and, so that these two frame the tribulations of their daughter (Figs. 223 A–B–C). By repeating images, it was possible to encourage readers to move back and forth within the story, to recall previous events of the plot at a given point, and to anticipate following ones. By means of repetitions, the image program, rather than simply employing consecutive illustration to

⁵⁵³ GW 12662. Likely it was also published by Schönsperger. Further Apollonius images borrowed from the *Melusine* and the wandering of woodblocks from book to book as a narrative strategy will be discussed below.

subordinate itself to the chronological sequence of events in the plot, could introduce cross-currents and establish itself in counterpoint to the flow of the text.

Besides pointing to similarities/dissimilarities and reoccurring motifs of the narrative and besides enabling an alternative reading of the story, cross-references between Apollonius images mutually broadened the interpretative field in which the episodes could be seen. The pairing of Apollonius images with illustrations of other narratives fulfilled a similar role. Such inter-pictorial dialogues could be created easily in books, in which Apollonius appeared in the company of other stories, like the manuscript of Jean de Wavrin (J), and the richly illuminated royal copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (M).⁵⁵⁴ In the former, Apollonius follows a romantic story, *Paris et Vienne*. Both texts are introduced by an opening image, in which love-scenes are depicted, but while in the first Paris gives serenade to his beloved Vienne in a socially appropriate manner, in the second King Antiochus is about to rape his daughter (Figs. 85, 86). Together the images thematize the difference between accepted and unacceptable forms of love, between a delicate and obedient courtly relationship on the one hand and vicious sexual desire on the other. In the *Confessio Amantis* Apollonius' story is one within a long series of tales. Its single illustration is the last image of a picture cycle (fol. 187v), therefore, by the time the reader/viewer meets its protagonists, viz. King Antiochus, his daughter and Apollonius, he/she has already seen kings, queens, princes and princesses (or personalities of the Old Testament as well as antique history and mythology depicted as such) in a variety of situations. This enabled the attentive reader/viewer to make comparisons (Figs. 224 A–B), to place King Antiochus in the company of armored Saul and Agag (fol. 175r), young Alexander the Great (fol. 65r), old Solomon (fol. 179v), elegant Philip II of Macedonia (fol. 146r), to name but a few, or to notice the omission of such a specific decorative headwear from the depiction of the princess as the one worn by women of power or significance, like Penelope (fol. 68v) and Olympias (fol. 146r). In the context of the picture cycle, the meaning of the Apollonius image went beyond the simple depiction of the story's first scene, it became one of the examples of good and bad rulership.⁵⁵⁵

In Jean de Wavrin's manuscript and in the *Confessio Amantis*, the reader/viewer could see Apollonius illustrations and images of other stories almost simultaneously. In further cases Apollonius images were designed so that they reminded the reader/viewer of images he/she might had seen before, so that they evoked associations. For instance, in those images of the

⁵⁵⁴ Both are discussed in Chapter II. 4 at length.

⁵⁵⁵ For possible interpretations of the image cycle see my Chapter II. 4. as well, with reference to previous literature.

Apollonius pictus (B) that depict how Tarsia prostrated before the overseer in the brothel begging him to save her chastity and how she was forcefully grabbed by the wrist when she was given in marriage, the artist employed visual formulas that were used to tell in another manuscript how St. Margaret was led to the scaffold and how she bow down in prayer before her execution (Figs. 59, 60).⁵⁵⁶ Even if the reader/viewer of the *Apollonius pictus* did not know this particular *libellus* that contained the Life of St. Margaret, the visual language must have been familiar to him/her from other contemporaneous illustrations of similar contents. Thus, he/she could recognize the likeness between Tarsia's tribulations and the martyrdom of saintly women.⁵⁵⁷ In the *Apollonius pictus* it can also be seen that, besides single images, the layout, more precisely the visual appearance of the opened book could function in the same associative way. With its altogether four text columns (two on each page) and unframed line-drawings inserted into the text (Fig. 20), *Apollonius pictus* resembled illustrated papyrus rolls, the book of classical antiquity. Since in the tenth-eleventh century, when the *Apollonius pictus* was made, antiquity was a determining point of reference in creating cultural self-identity, the allusion encapsulated in the layout could serve as an identifier of the work's historicity that significantly increased its value.

The associations in the *Apollonius pictus* worked through similarities: Apollonius images recalled other ones that the reader/viewer remembered. With the advent of the early printed book and the possibility of reproduction, more direct links could be made between images of Apollonius and those of other narratives, it was possible to borrow woodcuts that were originally created to illustrate other incunables. Like the layout of the *Apollonius pictus*, a borrowed image could also act as an identifier. For instance, the portrait of Alexander the Great made for the 1473 edition of Johann Hartlieb's *Alexander*,⁵⁵⁸ and later used as the opening image in the *Apollonius von Tyrus* editions, fitted the introduction of this text version of our story, but, more importantly, were employed as a "trademark". It indicated the genre of the text, emphasized its historicity and, at the same time, presented *Apollonius von Tyrus* as the continuation of the popular and top-selling book on Alexander (Figs. 147, 148). In other cases, like Schönsperger's 1488 edition of the *Apollonius von Tyrus* (S), borrowed images were reinterpreted. The characteristic that made images suitable for such recontextualization was the genericness of their themes and compositions, the same attributes that fostered the repeated use of woodcuts within a picture cycle. Depictions of socially determined forms of personal

⁵⁵⁶ Hannover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz Bibliothek, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hs. I. 189.

⁵⁵⁷ There is more on the relationship between the *Apollonius pictus* and the *libellus* in Chapter II.2.

⁵⁵⁸ GW 884.

interactions like receptions, feasts, weddings; compositions in neutral settings such as a room or a ship; figures placed around the standard fixtures of urban settings such as houses, city walls and gates, were interchangeable. Accordingly, the decisive criterion of selection for borrowing was not the similarity of two plots but rather that of the action within a single episode, the behavior and the interaction of its protagonists.

In Schönsperger's *Apollonius* there are thirty illustrations out of which no fewer than nine came from the aforementioned *Melusine*, a book that was likely also made by Schönsperger around the same time (Figs. 187–194). The story of Melusine is a prose romance: the myth of the origin and history of the Lusignan family that revolves around a taboo. Melusine is a siren who marries Raymond on the condition that he will not see her on Saturdays. After many years of happy marriage and prosperity, Raymond, however, discovers her secret, thereby losing her and his fortune forever. The plot, cultural setting, and motifs governing the story of Melusine differ greatly from those of the *Apollonius*. Nevertheless, *Apollonius*' proposal at the court of King Antiochus (Fig. 152 B) lent itself to being illustrated by the image of a courtier paying tribute to one of Melusine's sons, Gyt, when he is crowned king of Armenia. In turn, *Apollonius*' sailing to Tyre (Fig. 153 B) could be represented by an image of the sea voyage of the brothers Uryens and Gyt to Cypress. Likewise, a wedding feast from the *Melusine* served to depict the reception of *Apollonius* at the feast of King Archistrates (Figs. 187, 188). In like fashion, Melusine's fainting after being accused by Raymond for the misfortunes of the family could substitute for the love sickness of *Apollonius*' future wife (Figs. 191–192).

Of course, it can't be taken for granted that everybody recognized the borrowings and understood them as citations. However, given that people were exposed to far less visual information than today, and their memory was less dependent on written or visual records, there might have been readers/viewers, who noticed and appreciated the double meaning brought by images transplanted into a new context. Indeed, as Nicolaus Potysch has pointed out, image repetitions within a single narrative and the ambiguity created by means of illustrating different episodes with the same image might have been a consciously employed narrative strategy of early printed books.⁵⁵⁹ Even if the inner logic behind the reappearance of specific images in a new context remained hidden before the recipients (and before us), the wandering of woodcuts between narratives shows that there was a certain fluidity: it implies that, due to common motifs, the borderlines between the narrated stories themselves were somewhat permeable.

⁵⁵⁹ Potysch 2019.

A closer look at how images were selected for borrowing reveals a further possible role for Apollonius images that has not been addressed so far. It is conspicuous that in some cases, the images Schönsperger chose from *Melusine* relate to their captions rather than to their narrative context in the story of Apollonius. For instance, the wedding of Apollonius and Lucina is illustrated with an image of the wedding of Uryens and the daughter of the king of Cypress (Figs. 193, 194). In accordance with the story of Melusine, the image depicts the king of Cypress lying sick in bed, a disturbing motif that is incongruous in the context of Apollonius' wedding. However, the image caption – *Wie der künig Appolonio die tochter gab* (How the king gave the daughter to Apollonius) – required the figure of a king, and other Melusine illustrations that depict wedding scenes did not include one. Since image captions served as chapter titles as well, this strong correlation between image and image caption as opposed to image and text is indicative of the organizational role images could play. It suggests that besides animating the protagonists and outlining their socio-cultural milieu, emphasizing specific underlying themes of the story, revealing its reoccurring motifs through cross-references and enriching its possible meanings by means of associations, images could act as structural elements of the book they embellished. In what follows, I will demonstrate that they could also become primary means of a book's visual organization. Employed as "segmentation marks", tools that marked beginnings/ends of smaller or larger text-units, they participated in the reader/viewer's orientation throughout the work and had a direct impact on the reading process.

III. 4. Visual Organization, Orientation, Reading Process

As mentioned earlier, the number and placement of images was one of the first decisions creators had to make when working on illustrated books. This was a minor issue when the plan was to include only an opening miniature/woodcut or no more than a few images, but in cases where an image cycle was envisioned, the arrangement of textual and visual elements required careful consideration. From a modern perspective, one might think that the simplest way to create a parallel narrative of text and image would be to follow the structure of the text, for instance to devote an image to each section that marks a climactic moment in the story or indicates changes in location and protagonists involved. Indeed, in the case of Terence's comedies András Németh observed that illustrations in its Carolingian copy, the Vatican Terence, were situated at those points of the text where the late antique edition (exemplified by the so-called Bembo Terence) signaled the beginning of the scenes by the names of the performing characters in red.⁵⁶⁰ However, late antique and early medieval texts, such as our Apollonius, were not necessarily segmented into neat chapters or paragraphs at all. As Nigel F. Palmer has shown, out of seven late antique copies of Vergil's *Aeneis* there is only one in which paragraph signs are used for the organization of the text, all the other ones are written in continuous script (*scriptura continua*).⁵⁶¹ In the *Apollonius pictus* (B), the oldest Apollonius copy that holds a picture cycle, there are no "segmentation marks", the only way the scribe occasionally indicated the beginning of textual units was by means of moving the first letter out of the area assigned to the text column and placing it to its left.

In his seminal paper on the organizational principles of medieval books, Palmer has studied in detail and with respect to different genres and languages the steps that led to the multi-level hierarchization of texts, to their segmentation into books/chapters/paragraphs. He has also explored the gradual appearance of "segmentation marks": chapter titles, headings, rubrics, initials etc., and the various possible ways of their arrangement and use. Although the systematic integration of images into his source material exceeded his aim, he pointed to their importance in a few examples.⁵⁶² The survey of illustrated Apollonius books shows that images could indeed play a constructive role in the process by which books became easy-to-use objects which helped the readers' orientation via their increasingly clear structure.

⁵⁶⁰ Németh 2016, 110–113. The Carolingian Vatican Terence is Rome, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3868, the Late Antique Bembo Terence is Rome, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3226.

⁵⁶¹ Palmer 1989, 48.

⁵⁶² Palmer 1989, 74.

The 14th-century Venetian manuscript *Historia de miser Apollonio* (E) provides a clear example of images serving as the primary tool of organization (Fig. 71). Although this book has come down to us in a heavily damaged state, its original appearance as well as the placement and subject matter of its images could be reconstructed with a high degree of certainty.⁵⁶³ It is undoubtable that images and initials go hand in hand throughout the volume: an image is always followed by an initial and an initial is always preceded by an image. Since there are no other “segmentation marks” employed, it is the image-initial pair that segmented the text into chapters. Many of the images depicted two consecutive episodes side by side within a common frame. The first one (on the left) referred to the preceding text unit, the second one (on the right) anticipated subsequent events of the plot. While marking the end of the previous chapter and the beginning of the next one, images also linked chapters together by means of summarizing and foreshadowing. Interestingly, the late fifteenth-century incunable editions of Heinrich Steinhöwel’s *Apollonius von Tyrus* (Q, R, S, U, V) worked with a very similar method. The only difference is that their images are introduced by image captions and each one depicts a single episode chosen from the following chapter (Fig. 225). The same system would also have been used in the 14th-century copy of Godfrey of Viterbos’s *Pantheon* (G), in which the Apollonius images have not been completed (Fig. 11). However, the text here is in verse and therefore written in two columns, as opposed to the one-column per page arrangement employed in the *Historia de miser Apollonio* and in the incunables.

The prominent role attributed to images in the organization of the text and, along with it, in the construction of the book is evident in the changes introduced during production to the oldest illustrated *Apollonius von Tyrus* incunable, Bämmler’s 1476 edition (Q). As shown before, Bämmler initially planned to include 34 woodcuts, but the picture cycle was finished with a 35th image depicting Apollonius’ shipwreck - indeed an important episode of the plot.⁵⁶⁴ The insertion of the new image brought with it the creation of a whole new chapter: a new image caption was placed before the image and the first letter of the following line of text was replaced by an initial (Figs. 184, 185). What is remarkable here, besides the experimentation, is that the construction of the image program, i.e. the selection of episodes for visual rendering had a direct impact on how the text was organized into chapters!

In the case of both the *Historia de miser Apollonio* and the *Apollonius von Tyrus* we see image cycles *in statu nascendi*, i.e. we are dealing with image programs that were very likely devised

⁵⁶³ See Chapter II. 3 and Appendix V.

⁵⁶⁴ See Chapter II. 6.

almost parallel to the birth of the text versions they illustrate and organize. Is there a causal link between this and the fact that the segmentation of these texts is intertwined with the composition and content of the cycles of images that illustrate them? Considering the testimony of the image redaction which is found in the two *Apollonius von Tyrland* codices (N, O), and which provides a counterexample, I tend to think so (Figs. 95, 109, 112, 114, 139).

The history of the organization of this text version and that of its illustration differs greatly from what we have seen in the example of the *Historia de miser Apollonio* and of Bämmler's Apollonius. The text, written in verse, was composed around 1300 and has survived only in 15th-century copies. Their comparative analysis, carried out by Simone Schultz-Balluff, has revealed that in the now-lost early copies the text was segmented into units by means of at least 321 initials, which were preserved in the younger copies. In addition to this, at a later stage of the transmission, more than seventy chapter numbers and chapter titles were introduced to the text. Thus, a hierarchical structure was set up: larger sections of text containing several smaller text-units were created.⁵⁶⁵ In the illustrated copies there are no chapter numbers or chapter titles, which, together with the higher number of images (128) indicates that the image program was devised more or less independently from (perhaps before?) the organization of the work into chapters. This is also demonstrated by the fact that while some of the images are placed at a point in the text where, in other copies, a chapter number/chapter title is found, and some depict scenes indicated in corresponding chapter titles, many of the images do not conform to any chapter number or chapter title at all. Interestingly, there is no automatic correlation between the positioning of the images and the organization of the text in smaller text units either: in many cases the image appears in the middle of a text unit and, consequently, it is not followed by an initial. This does not mean, however, that the image program is illogical or that images cannot play a structural role. Many of them indicate climactic moments in the story and signal beginnings or ends of episodes by depicting events that are told before or after them.⁵⁶⁶ Like chapter numbers and chapter titles in other copies, they create a hierarchical framework: between two images smaller text-units are still marked by initials.

Due to the aforementioned variable sizing of the images in the two *Apollonius von Tyrland* copies (N, O), as well as due to the fact that image-initial pairs are not systematically used as “segmentation marks” and caption-image-initial groups are not used at all, the overall visual appearance of the *Apollonius von Tyrland* manuscripts is irregular. The visual appearance of

⁵⁶⁵ Schultz-Balluff 2006, 51–111; Schultz-Balluff 2010.

⁵⁶⁶ Schultz-Balluff 2006, 57–58; Schultz-Balluff 2010, 343.

the *Historia de miser Apollonio* and the *Apollonius von Tyrus* incunables is, in contrast, highly standardized. This had a significant impact on the reading of the respective books and, consequently, on the process of the work's reception. While in the *Apollonius von Tyrland* manuscripts the continuously changing visual appearance of the page keeps the recipient's fantasy in motion, images in the *Historia de miser Apollonio* aid the reader/viewer's orientation. Moreover, by linking two chapters and foreshadowing episodes, they arouse their curiosity and lead them along in the book. Finally, images in the *Apollonius von Tyrus* incunables worked directly as signposts. When read together with their captions, they not only guided the reader/viewer through the book, but also summarized the plot and helped to recall its most important moments, thus making it easier for recipients at a lower level of reading competence to understand the narrative. This demonstrates the fact that illustrated Apollonius books could tell the story to a much broader readership than that of the unillustrated copies. Indeed, as it was presented in the example of two 13th-century codices by Julia Walworth not long ago and with reference to a substantial body of earlier literature, illustrated books had many possible readers/viewers and many possible uses; in response to the different textual and visual literacy of the recipients, they could assist a variety of reading practices. Illustrated books offered some sort of reading experience even to illiterates, especially in case they already knew the story through oral performance and/or through other images.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁷ Walworth 2007, e.g. XVII–XVIII.

Closing Remarks

When I started studying medieval Apollonius images, I thought that the primary outcome of the research would be an insight into how images interpreted the story in different periods, regions and socio-cultural environments of medieval Europe, or what images tell us about how people's interest in Apollonius' adventures changed. As I delved deeper into the material, I realized that the possible functions of narrative book illustrations move on a much wider scale, I understood that images can play many communicative-narrative roles at once. It is this complexity of options in which the high potential of illustrated books lies and to which I tried to dedicate a systematic overview in this chapter. Exploring the great variety of jobs images could do, I also gained insight into the multiplicity of factors creators of illustrated books could, in fact had to consider. I recognized that there was an inherent, mutual relationship between the functions attributed to images and image programs on the one hand and, on the other, the visual appearance of the books they shaped. For instance, when creators wanted to play with image sizes to emphasize selected episodes or protagonists, they had to employ a flexible layout, they had to devise pages with different arrangements. In turn, in case the composition of the image program participated in the segmentation of the text into chapters or complied with an already established structure of it, the visual appearance of the book became more standardized. These observations imply that not only reading practices, but (obviously not irrespective of them) principles followed in the construction of illustrated texts had a lasting impact on the evolution of new book types, on the changing fashions of book design.

That said, the question regarding the shifts in the interpretation of the story through images remains relevant, thus, at this final point it is worth some reflection. Due to its many faces, Apollonius could be presented and read in a variety of ways and, indeed, most of the illustrated Apollonius books tend to reinforce this or that of its underlying themes. While by the nature of things these meanings are never exclusive, it can be said without overemphasis that in the *Apollonius pictus* (B), made in the late tenth-early 11th century for a monastic readership the images underlined aspects of the story that made it similar to saints' lives (Figs. 21–56), that in the oldest illustrated copy of a French text version likely made in Genoa around 1300 (C) the romantic aspects were slightly intensified (Fig. 62), that in the early 15th-century manuscript that comes from the circle of the French royal court (I) fashionable appearance and etiquette-like behavior became important (Fig. 78). The two 15th-century manuscripts that were made for aristocratic circles in Flanders, in turn, focus on the socially accepted forms of love (J) and on

the motif of incest (L), while the *Confessio Amantis* of the English royal library (M) brings questions of rulership and queenship to the fore (Figs. 85, 89, 93). Image cycles illustrating Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland* (N, O) created partly for women of the lower nobility underscore the chivalric characteristics of this adaptation of the story (Figs. 95–135). In the Wolfenbüttel copy of Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* (P) wandering was made a central issue (Figs. 140–145), at last, woodcuts in the incunable editions of the same text version that were to reach a varied public (Q, R, S, U, V) set the story in a pronounced urban context (Figs. 147–183). What is remarkable here is not the rather evident tendency to harmonize the supposed interest of the intended readership and the story's features put under spotlight, but the intention to make the protagonists and their environment familiar to the recipients. This largely facilitated the reader/viewer's identification with the protagonists and their fate, without which no story can enter one's private, personal sphere ever and no story would have a real effect.

Appendix I. Depicted Scenes in the Illustrated Apollonius Books

This is a list of all the depicted scenes that appear in any of the twenty-six illustrated Apollonius manuscripts and incunables discussed in the book. Sigla of the manuscripts in which the images have not been carried out (F, G, H) and scenes that have not been realized are indicated in grey. Images that illustrate the interpolations of Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrlant* are not included. From the two versions of Johann Bämmler's 1476 edition of Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* (Q), reference is given to the longer, Munich version.

Title pages / preliminary images

Alexander the Great: P 1 (?), Q 1, R 1(?), S 1, U 1, V 1, 2

A *canterino* tells the story of Apollonius: Z 1

I. Antioch

Death of King Antiochus' wife: Q 2, R 2, S 2, U 2, V 3, X 1

King Antiochus rapes his daughter F1, J, L 1

King Antiochus leaves his daughter's bedchamber: Q3, R 3, S 3, U 3, V 4, X 2

The heads of the suitors of King Antiochus' daughter are cut off: F2 (?), Q 4, R 4, S 4, U 4, V 5, X 3

Apollonius meets King Antiochus and his daughter: K (?), M, W 1, Y

Apollonius asks for the hand of King Antiochus' daughter: D, F2 (?), I, N 2, P2, Q 5, R 5, S 5, U 5, V 6, X 4

Apollonius sails away from Antioch: F3, G 2, Q 6, R 6, S 6, U 6, V 7, X 5

King Antiochus sends Taliarchus after Apollonius to kill him: F4, W 2

II. Tyre

Apollonius leaves Tyre: N 3, O 1, game piece

Taliarchus arrives in Tyre: Z 2

Taliarchus seeks Apollonius in Tyre: N 4, O 2, Q 7, R 7, S 7, U 7, V 8, X 6

III. Tarsus

Apollonius arrives in Tarsus: F5, Q 8, R 8, S 8, U 8, V 9, X 7

Hellenicus warns Apollonius that King Antiochus chases him: N 5, O 3

Apollonius gives grain to the citizens of Tarsus to save them from hunger: E 4a, N 6, O 4, Q 9, R 9, S 9, U 9, V 10, X 8

The citizens erect a statue in honour of Apollonius: E 4b

Apollonius says goodbye to Stranguillio: N 7, Q 10, R 10, S 10, U 10, V 11, X 9

Apollonius sails away from Tarsus: W 3a

IV. Pentapolis (Cyrene)

Apollonius suffers shipwreck: F6 (?), G 3, N 8, Q 11, R 11, S 11, U 11, V 12, W 3b, X 10

A poor fisherman helps Apollonius and shares his cloak with him: F7, N 9, Q 12, R 12, S 12, U 12, V 13, X 11

The fisherman shows Apollonius the way to Pentapolis (Cyrene): X 12

Apollonius in Pentapolis (Cyrene): F 8 (?), G 4 (?)

Apollonius before the bath in Pentapolis (Cyrene): N 10, G 5

Apollonius meets King Archistrates in the bath: Q 13, R 13, S 13, U 13, V 14, X 13

Apollonius participates in a ballgame in Pentapolis (Cyrene): N 11, O 5, P3

King Archistrates sends a servant after Apollonius: F 9 (?)

A servant invites Apollonius to the court of King Archistrates: Q 14

Apollonius at the court: E 5, F 10

Apollonius is clothed at the court: R 14, S 14, U 14, V 15, X 14

Apollonius talks to Lucina: N 12a,

King Archistrates talks to two men: N 12b

Lucina plays music (harp) at the festive dinner of his father: C 1, F 12, G 7, N 13, O 6, Q 15, R 15, S 15, U 15, V 16, X 15

Apollonius plays music (harp) at the court of King Archistrates: C 2, G 8

Lucina crowns Apollonius: N 14

Lucina gives silver, clothing and servants to Apollonius: F 13

Lucina beseeches her father to give shelter to Apollonius: Q 16, R 16, S 16, U 16, V 17, X 16

Apollonius is offered shelter in the court of King Archistrates: F 14

Lucina gets sick of love: G 9 (?), Q 17, R 17, S 17, U 17, V 18, X 17

Three young men ask for the hand of Lucina: F 15, N 15, O 7

Lucina asks Apollonius to deliver her letter to her father, in which she tells her love of Apollonius: L 2, N 16

Lucina asks her father to let her marry Apollonius: N 17

King Archistrates agrees to marry Lucina to Apollonius : G 10

Wedding of Lucina and Apollonius: E 7a (?), N 18, Q 18, R 18, S 18, U 18, V 19, X 18

King Antiochus and his daughter are killed by lightning: F 17 (?), G 11, P 4, Q 19, R 19, X 19

Apollonius and Lucina at the harbor of Pentapolis (Cyrene): N 19,

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Two ships in the harbor of Pentapolis (Cyrene): N 20, O 8

Apollonius (saying goodbye to King Archistrates) leaves Pentapolis (Cyrene) with his wife: E 7b, G 12, N 21, O 9, W 4a

At sea

Apollonius at sea: Z 3

Apollonius mourns over the seeming death of Lucina: N 22, O 10

Lucina's coffin is thrown into the sea: F 18 (?), G 13 (?), N 23, O 11, Q 20, R 20, S 19, U 19, V 20, W 4b, X 20, game piece

V. Ephesus

Lucina's coffin is found at Ephesus: F 18 (?), G 13 (?), L 3, N 24, O 12, Q 21, R 21, S 20, U 20, V 21, X 21

The doctor's student revives Lucina: E 9, F 19, G 14

The doctor establishes Lucina among the priestesses of Diana: A (?), F 20, G 15, N 25, O 13

VI. Tarsus

Apollonius entrusts his baby daughter to his friends in Tarsus: A (?), E 10a, F 21, G 16, N 26, O 14, Q 22, R 22, S 21, U 21, V 22, X 22

Apollonius sails away from Tarsus: E 10b

Tarsia goes to school: A (?), Q 23, R 23, X 23

Tarsia learns about her parents and lineage from her dying nurse: E 11a, F 22, G 17, N 106, O 91

Tarsia organizes a burial to her nurse: E 11b, F 23

Stranguillio's daughter is mocked by the citizens of Tarsus: Q 24, R 24, S 22, U 22, V 23, X 24

Dionysias wants to kill Tarsia: W 5a

Dionysias commands Theophilus to kill Tarsia: E 12

Theophilus attacks Tarsia at her nurse's sepulcher: B (lost image), E 13a, F 24, G 18, N 107, O 92

Pirates take Tarsia away: E 13b, F 25, G 19 (?), N 108, O 93, Q 25, R 25, S 23, U 23, V 24, W 5b, X 25, Z 4

VII. Mytilene

Tarsia is taken to Mytilene and is put up for sale: E 15 (?), F 26, G 19 (?), Q 26, R 26, S 24, U 24, V 25, X 26

Tarsia is led to the brothel: F 27

Tarsia in the brothel: N 109, O 94

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Athenagoras visits Tarsia in the brothel, gives her money but spares her chastity: B 1, E 16, F 28, G 20, Q 27, R 27, S 25, U 25, V 26, X 27

Athenagoras talks to Tarsia's next visitor: F 29 (?)

Tarsia hands over the gold pieces to the pimp: B 2a, E 17a

The pimp tells the overseer to deflower Tarsia: F 30 (?)

The overseer leads Tarsia away, to take her chastity: B 2b, F 30(?)

The overseer wants to take Tarsia's chastity: W 6

Conversation between Tarsia and the overseer: B 3, E 17b

Tarsia beseeches the overseer to spare her: B 4

Tarsia saves her chastity in the brothel: Q 28, R 28

Tarsia entertains the citizens of Mytilene with music and eloquent talk: E 18, F 31 (?), N 110, O 95

VIII. Tarsus

After fourteen years Apollonius arrives in Tarsus (and speaks to Stranguillio and his wife): B 5, E 19, F 32 (?), G 21 (?), N 111, O 96, Q 29, R 29, S 26, T 1, U 26, V 27, X 28

Stranguillio hastens to his wife to let her know about the arrival of Apollonius: B 6

Apollonius asks about his daughter from Stranguillio and Dionysias: B 7

Apollonius visits the 'sepulchre' of Tarsia. B 8, E 20a, F 32 (?)

Apollonius departs from Tarsus: B 9, E 20b, F 33 (?)

IX. Mytilene

Escaping from a storm Apollonius arrives at Mytilene: B 10, E 21, F 33 (?), W 7a

Apollonius' crew celebrates Neptunalia: B 11, G 22 (?)

Apollonius' decorated ships: B 12

Athenagoras speaks to the crew of Apollonius / Athenagoras visits Apollonius in the hold of the ship: F 34 (?)

Athenagoras celebrates with Apollonius' crew: E 22

Athenagoras asks Tarsia to comfort Apollonius / Athenagoras sends for Tarsia (?): B 13, E 23

Tarsia tries to comfort Apollonius: B 14 (Apollonius' ship in the harbor), G 23, Q 30, R 30, X 29, Z 5

Apollonius gives two hundred gold pieces to Tarsia and sends her away: B 15, F 36 (?)

Athenagoras sends Tarsia back to Apollonius: F 36 (?)

Tarsia returns to Apollonius and tells riddles to him: B 16 (decorated ships), E 24, N 112, O 97

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Apollonius attacks Tarsia: B 17, G 25 (?)

Apollonius recognizes Tarsia: B 18, F 37, G 26, N 113, O 98, P 5, Q 31, R 31, S 27, X 30

Athenagoras asks for Tarsia's hand: B 19

Conversation between Apollonius and Athenagoras (Athenagoras calls the citizens of Mytilene to save the city from Apollonius' revenge?): B 20

The citizens of Mytilene drag the pimp to the forum: B 21

Athenagoras presents Tarsia (?): B 22

The brothel keeper is burnt to death: B 23, F 39 (?), G 27 (?), N 114, O 99

The wealth of the pimp is given to Tarsia : F 39 (?)

The overseer before Apollonius and Tarsia: N 115, O 100

Tarsia gives the property of the pimp to the overseer and her fellows: B 24

Apollonius rewards the citizens of Mytilene: B 25, H 1

The citizens of Mytilene erect a statue for Apollonius and Tarsia: B 26, F 40 (?), H 2 (?)

Apollonius gives Tarsia in marriage to Athenagoras: B 27, F 40 (?), H 2(?), R 32, X 31, W 7b

Apollonius leaves Mytilene: B 28, F 40 (?)

At sea

Apollonius at sea: B 29 (an angel sends Apollonius to Ephesus), Q 32, R 33, S 28, V 28, X 32

X. Ephesus

Apollonius, Tarsia and Athenagoras arrive in Ephesus, where they find Lucina: W 8

Apollonius tells his story in the Ephesian temple of Diana, Lucina recognizes her husband: B 30-31, F 41-42, N 118, O 103, P 6, Q 33, R 34, V 29, X 33

Apollonius introduces Tarsia to her mother: B 32

The family holds a feast: B 33, F 43 (?)

Apollonius leaves Ephesus with his family: B 34-35 (Apollonius takes forces with him), F 43 (?), Q 34, R 35, S 29, V 30, X 34

Apollonius arrives in Antioch (?): E 29

XI. Tarsus

In Tarsus Stranguillio and Dionysias are brought before Apollonius: B 36, F 44, N 116, O 101

Stranguillio and Dionysias are stoned to death: B 37, G 28 (?), N 117, O 102

Theophilus is brought before Tarsia: E 30

Tarsia saves the life of Theophilus and liberates him: B 38, F 45

XII. Pentapolis (Cyrene)

Apollonius in Penatpolis (Cyrene)? F 46

Apollonius with his family arrives in Pentapolis (Cyrene), King Archistrates receives them: N 119, O 104

The citizens of Pentapolis (Cyrene) greet Apollonius and his family: N 120, O 105

Apollonius and his family in Pentapolis (Cyrene) with King Archistrates: C 3

Apollonius rewards Hellenicus and the old fisherman: F 47, Q 35, R 36, S 30, V 31, X 35

Appendix II. Image Program of the *Apollonius pictus* (B)

Traces of images (fol. 1rv, cap. 31–34), among them: Theophilus and Tarsia at the sepulchre of Tarsia's nurse; Stranguillio and Dionysias (?), a standing man; remains of a building; remains of a man.

Image 1 (fol. 1v, cap. 34): Athenagoras gives money to Tarsia, and leaves her chastity

Image 2 (fol. 1v, cap. 35): Tarsia hands over the gold pieces to the brothel keeper; the overseer of the brothel leads her away, to take her chastity

Image 3 (fol. 1v, cap. 35): Conversation of Tarsia and the overseer

Image 4 (fol. 1v, cap. 35): Tarsia beseeches the overseer to spare her

Image 5 (fol. 4r, cap. 37): After fourteen years Apollonius returns to Tarsus

Image 6 (fol. 4r, cap. 37): Stranguillio hastens to his wife, Dionysias, to let her know about the arrival of Apollonius

Image 7 (fol. 4r, cap. 37): Apollonius asks about his daughter from Stranguillio and Dionysias

Image 8 (fol. 4r, cap. 38): Apollonius is led to the „sepulchre” of Tarsia

Image 9 (fol. 4r, cap. 38): Apollonius leaves for Tyre

Image 10 (fol. 4r, cap. 39): Escaping from a storm Apollonius arrives at Mytilene

Image 11 (fol. 4r, cap. 39): Apollonius' men celebrate *Neptunalia*

Image 12 (fol. 4v, cap. 40): Apollonius' decorated ships

Image 13 (fol. 4v, cap. 40): Athenagoras asks Tarsia to comfort Apollonius

Image 14 (fol. 4v, cap. 41): Tarsia tries to comfort the grieving Apollonius (?)

Image 15 (fol. 4v, cap. 41): Apollonius gives two hundred gold pieces to Tarsia and sends her away

Image 16 (fol. 4v, cap. 41): Tarsia returns to Apollonius at the command of Athenagoras (?)

Image 17 (fol. 2r, cap. 44): Apollonius attacks Tarsia

Image 18 (fol. 2r, cap. 45): Apollonius recognizes Tarsia in the presence of his servants and Athenagoras

Image 19 (fol. 2v, cap. 45): Athenagoras asks for the hand of Tarsia

Image 20 (fol. 2v, cap. 45): Conversation between Apollonius and Athenagoras

Image 21 (fol. 2v, cap. 46): The inhabitants of Mytilene drag the brothel keeper to the forum

Image 22 (fol. 2v, cap. 46): The brothel keeper before Apollonius and Tarsia

Image 23 (fol. 2v, cap. 46): The brothel keeper is burnt to death

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Image 24 (fol. 2v, cap. 46): Tarsia gives the property of the brothel keeper to the overseer and her former companions

Image 25 (fol. 2v, cap. 47): Apollonius rewards the inhabitants of Mytilene

Image 26 (fol. 2v, cap. 47): The inhabitants of Mytilene erect a statue for Apollonius as he is trampling on the brothel keeper, on his right a statue of the seated Tarsia is placed

Image 27 (fol. 3r, cap. 47): Apollonius weds Tarsia to Athenagoras

Image 28 (fol. 3r, cap. 48): Apollonius leaves for Tarsus together with Athenagoras and Tarsia

Image 29 (fol. 3r, cap. 48): In his dream, Apollonius is sent to Ephesus by an angel

Image 30 (fol. 3r, cap. 48): Apollonius, Athenagoras and Tarsia arrives at the temple of Diana in Ephesus

Image 31 (fol. 3r, cap. 48): Lucina recognizes her husband, Apollonius

Image 32 (fol. 3v, cap. 49): Apollonius introduces Tarsia to her mother

Image 33 (fol. 3v, cap. 49): Celebrating their reunion, Apollonius, Lucina, Athenagoras and Tarsia hold a feast

Image 34 (fol. 3v, cap. 50): Apollonius leaves Ephesus with his family

Image 35 (fol. 3v, cap. 50): Apollonius and his family sail to Tarsus with forces

Image 36 (fol. 3v, cap. 50): Stranguillio, Dionysias and Theophilus before Apollonius and Tarsia

Image 37 (fol. 3v, cap. 50): Stranguillio and Dionysias are stoned to death

Image 38 (fol. 3v, cap. 50): Tarsia saves Theophilus from being killed

Appendix III. Image Program in Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland* (N, O)⁵⁶⁸

- Image 2/Ø (N fol. 5v): Apollonius asks for the hand of King Antiochus' daughter
- Image 3/1 (N fol. 6v/ O fol. 1v): Apollonius leaves Tyre
- Image 4/2 (N fol. 6v/ O fol. 1v): Taliarchus seeks Apollonius in Tyre
- Image 5/3 (N fol. 7r/ O fol. 2r): Hellenicus warns Apollonius that King Antiochus chases him
- Image 6/4 (N fol. 9r/ O fol. 3v): Apollonius gives grain to the citizens of Tarsus to save them from hunger
- Image 7/Ø (N fol. 10r): Apollonius says goodbye to Stranguillio
- Image 8/Ø (N fol. 10r): Apollonius suffers shipwreck
- Image 9/Ø (N fol. 11r): A poor fisherman helps Apollonius
- Image 10/Ø (N fol. 11r): Apollonius before the bath in Pentapolis (Cyrene)
- Image 11/5 (N fol. 12r/ O fol. 4r): Apollonius participates in a ballgame in Pentapolis (Cyrene)
- Image 12/Ø (N fol. 13r): Apollonius talks to Lucina; King Archistrates talks to two men
- Image 13/6 (N fol. 13v/ O fol. 5v): Lucina plays music (harp) before her father and Apollonius
- Image 14/Ø (N fol. 13v): Lucina crowns Apollonius
- Image 15/7 (N fol. 15r/ O fol. 5*r): Three young men ask for the hand of Lucina
- Image 16/Ø (N fol. 16r): Lucina asks Apollonius to deliver her letter to her father, in which she tells her love of Apollonius
- Image 17/Ø (N fol. 16v): Lucina asks her father to let her marry Apollonius
- Image 18/Ø (N fol. 17r): Wedding of Lucina and Apollonius
- Image 19/Ø (N fol. 18r): Apollonius and Lucina at the harbor of Pentapolis (Cyrene)
- Image 20/8 (N fol. 19r/ O fol. 6v): Two ships in the harbor of Pentapolis (Cyrene)
- Image 21/9 (N fol. 19r/ O fol. 6v): Saying goodbye to King Archistrates and his wife, Apollonius and Lucina leaves Pentapolis (Cyrene)
- Image 22/10 (N fol. 19v/ O fol. 7r): Apollonius mourns over the seeming death of Lucina
- Image 23/11 (N fol. 20r/ O fol. 7v): Lucina's coffin is thrown into the sea

⁵⁶⁸ This list registers the images found in the Gotha and the Vienna copy of the work (N, O), however, images that illustrate the interpolations composed by Heinrich von Neustadt (N: 1, 27–105, 121–128; O: 15–90, 106–109) are not included in it. Nevertheless, image numbers are given according to their position within the complete image cycles. Both image cycles are described in detail by Krenn 2013, 190–219, with reference to the line number of the verses that the images are related to.

Image 24/12 (N fol. 20v/ O fol. 8r): Lucina's coffin is taken to the doctor's house at Ephesus

Image 25/13 (N fol. 22r/ O fol. 9r): The doctor establishes Lucina among the priestesses of Diana

Image 26/14 (N fol. 22r/ O fol. 9v): Apollonius entrusts his baby daughter to his friends in Tarsus

Image 106/91 (N fol. 119r/ O fol. 94r): Tarsia learns about her parents and lineage from her dying nurse

Image 107/92 (N fol. 120v/ O fol. 95r): Theophilus attacks Tarsia at her nurse's sepulcher

Image 108/93 (N fol. 121r/ O fol. 95v): Pirates take Tarsia away

Image 109/94 (N fol. 123r/ O fol. 98r): Tarsia in the brothel

Image 110/95 (N fol. 124r/ O fol. 99r): Tarsia entertains the citizens of Mytilene with music and eloquent talk

Image 111/96 (N fol. 125v/ O fol. 100r): After fourteen years Apollonius arrives in Tarsus and speaks to Stranguillio and his wife

Image 112/97 (N fol. 129v/ O fol. 104r): Tarsia tells riddles to Apollonius

Image 113/98 (N fol. 130v/ O fol. 105r): Apollonius recognizes Tarsia

Image 114/99 (N fol. 131v/ O fol. 106r): The brothel keeper is burnt to death

Image 115/100 (N fol. 132r/ O fol. 106v): The overseer before Apollonius and Tarsia

Image 116/101 (N fol. 133r/ O fol. 107v): In Tarsus Stranguillio and Dionysias are brought before Apollonius

Image 117/102 (N fol. 134r/ O fol. 108v): Stranguillio and Dionysias are stoned to death

Image 118/103 (N fol. 134v/ O fol. 109r): Apollonius tells his story in the Ephesian temple of Diana

Image 119/104 (N fol. 136r/ O fol. 110r): Apollonius and his family arrive in Pentapolis (Cyrene), where King Archistrates receives them

Image 120/105 (N fol. 137r/ O fol. 111r): The citizens of Pentapolis (Cyrene) greet Apollonius and his family

Appendix IV. Image Programs in Incunabula containing Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Apollonius von Tyrus* (Q, R, S, U, V)⁵⁶⁹

Number of the image in Bämle's Berlin and Munich version (1476)	Subject matter	Chapter number in the <i>editio princeps</i> (1471)	Chapter number in Bämle's Berlin version (Q)	Chapter number in Bämle's Munich version (Q)	Images in Sorg's edition (1479) (R)	Images in Schönsperger's edition (1488) (S)	Images in Dinckmüt's edition (1495) (U)	Images in Johann Zainer's edition (1499) (V)
1/1	Portrait of Alexander the Great	I.	I.	I.	?	+	+	++
2/2	Death of King Antiochus' wife	II/1.	II.	II.	+	+	+	+
3/3	King Antiochus leaves his daughter's bedchamber after raping her	II/2.	III.	III.	+	+	+	+
4/4	The heads of the suitors of King Antiochus' daughter are cut off	III.	IV.	IV.	+	+	+	+
5/5	Apollonius asks for the hand of King Antiochus' daughter	IV.	V.	V.	+	+	+	+
6/6	Apollonius sails home to Tyre	V. VI.	VI.	VI.	+	+	+	+
7/7	Sent by King Antiochus, Thaliarchus seeks Apollonius	VII.	VII.	VII.	+	+	+	+
8/8	Apollonius arrives in Tarsus	VIII.	VIII.	VIII.	+	+	+	+

⁵⁶⁹ In this chart I will refer to Apollonius' wife as Cleopatra, for her name appears in this form in the *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

9/9	Apollonius gives grain to the citizens of Tarsus to save them from hunger	IX.	IX.	IX.	+	+	+	+
10/10	On the advice of Stranguillio, Apollonius leaves Tarsus	X/1.	X/1.	X.	+	+	+	+
Ø/11	Apollonius suffers shipwreck	X/2.	X/2.	XI.	+	+	+	+
11/12	A poor fisherman shares his cloak with Apollonius	XI.	XI.	XII.	+	+	+	+
12/13	Apollonius meets King Archistrates in the bath	XII.	XII.	XIII.	+	+	+	+
13/14	A servant of King Archistrates invites Apollonius to the court	XIII.	XIII.	XIV.	+	+	+	+
14/15	Princess Cleopatra, daughter of King Archistrates speaks to Apollonius	XIV. XV.	XIV.	XV.	+	+	+	+
15/16	Cleopatra beseeches her father to give shelter to Apollonius and to allow her to learn music from Apollonius	XVI.	XV.	XVI.	+	+	+	+
16/17	Cleopatra gets sick of love	XVII.	XVI.	XVII.	+	+	+	+
17/18	The wedding of Cleopatra and Apollonius	XVIII.	XVII.	XVIII.	+	+	+	+

18/19	King Antiochus and his daughter are struck dead by lightning, Apollonius leaves for Antioch	XIX.	XVIII.	XIX.	+	∅	∅	∅
19/20	After giving birth to a child, the lifeless body of Cleopatra is thrown into the sea.	XX.	XIX.	XX.	+	+	+	+
20/21	Cleopatra's coffin is washed ashore and found by a doctor at Ephesus	XXI.	XX.	XXI.	+	+	+	+
21/22	Apollonius entrusts his baby daughter to Stranguillio and his wife in Tarsus and names her Tarsia	XXII.	XXI.	XXII.	+	+	+	+
22/23	Tarsia goes to school	XXIII.	XXII.	XXIII.	+	∅	∅	∅
23/24	Stranguillio's daughter is mocked by the citizens of Tarsus, while Tarsia is praised	XXIV.	XXIII.	XXIV.	+	+	+	+
24/25	Tarsia is captured by pirates	XXV.	XXIV.	XXV.	+	+	+	+
25/26	Tarsia is taken to Mytilene, where she is sold to a brothel keeper	XXVI.	XXV.	XXVI.	+	+	+	+
26/27	Athanagoras visits Tarsia in the brothel but he spares her chastity	XXVII.	XXVI.	XXVII.	+	+	+	+

27/28	Tarsia manages to save her chastity in the brothel	XXVIII. .	XXVII.	XXVIII.	+	∅	∅	∅
28/29	Apollonius arrives in Tarsus, where Stranguillio tells him that Tarsia has died	XXIX. XXX.	XXVIII. .	XXIX.	+	+	+	+
29/30	Athanagoras calls Tarsia to cheer up Apollonius	XXXI.	XXIX.	XXX.	+	∅	∅	∅
30/31	Apollonius recognizes Tarsia	XXXII.	XXX.	XXXI.	+	+	∅	∅
∅	The wedding of Tarsia and Athanagoras	XXXIII. .	XXXI.	XXXII.	+	∅	∅	∅
31/32	Apollonius sails to Ephesus with his daughter and her husband, Athanagoras	XXXIV. .	XXXII.	XXXIII.	+	+	∅	+
32/33	Cleopatra recognizes Apollonius	XXXV.	XXXIII. .	XXXIV.	+	∅	∅	+
33/34	Apollonius sails to Antioch and Tarsus with his family	XXXVI. .	XXXIV. .	XXXV.	+	+	∅	+
34/35	Apollonius rewards the poor fisherman	XXXVI. I.	XXXV.	XXXVI.	+	+	∅	+

Appendix V. Reconstructed Image Program of the *Historia de miser Apollonio* (E)

The following chart contains an overview of the reconstructed image program of the *Historia de miser Apollonio* (E). After the number of the image in the 1st column, in the 2nd and 3rd column it indicates the folio number and the textual context of an image. Chapter and „verse” numbers are given according to Sacchi, 2009. „Verses” may consist of more than one sentence and images are sometimes found within a „verse“. In the 4th column the number of episodes an image contained is given. Episodes narrated in the text directly before and after an image are referred to in the 5th and 6th column. In the 7th column one finds a description of what can be seen in an image. The 8th column contains the identification of the depicted episode. Those frequent cases when the depicted episode is identical with the one(s) narrated in the text before or after the image are underlined. Names of individuals and places are given according to the Latin text published by Archibald, 1991. In the event of a discrepancy, the Italian versions of the personal names are given in parentheses at the time of their first mention.

Image number	Folio number	Chapter number	Number of depicted episodes	Preceding text	Following text	Image description	Depicted episodes
1.	2r	After 3:5?	?	The suitors of Antiochus’ daughter are beheaded, their heads are put on top of the gate.	Apollonius appears before Antiochus.	Two standing figures.	
2.	3r	Within 7:1?	?	Apollonius leaves Tyre.	The people of Tyre mourn over the disappearance of Apollonius.	Remains of a figure in red garment.	
3.	4r	Within 9:1?	?	Apollonius arrives in Tarsus and meets Hellenicus (Elanico), who tells him that	Apollonius meets Stranguillio (Stranquilion).	A standing figure in striped garment.	

				King Antiochus has proscribed him.			
4.	5r	After 10:5	2	Apollonius offers grain to the city of Tarsus.	The citizens erect a statue in honour of Apollonius .	1. Apollonius sits on a throne surrounded by people. 2. Remains of the statue and two standing figures.	<u>1. Apollonius offers grain to the city of Tarsus.</u> <u>2. The citizens erect a statue in honour of Apollonius.</u>
5.	7r	Within 16:3?	?	Apollonius feasts with King Archistrates (Archistrato), king of Cyrene and his daughter.	Apollonius feasts with King Archistrates (Archistrato), king of Cyrene and his daughter.	Four figures behind a table.	<u>Apollonius feasts with King Archistrates (Archistrato), king of Cyrene and his daughter.</u>
6.	8r	Within 18:7?	?	Archistrates ' daughter becomes ill of love.	Archistrates and Apollonius meet the suitors of the princess.	Remains of two figures.	
7.	10r	Within 25:1	2	Apollonius and his wife say goodbye to King Archistrates .	Apollonius and his wife set sail for Antioch.	1. Archistrates between his daughter and Apollonius. 2. Figures in a grey ship.	<u>1. King Archistrates weds his daughter to Apollonius or Apollonius and his wife say goodbye to King Archistrates.</u> <u>2.</u>

							<u>Apollonius and his wife set sail for Antioch.</u>
8.	10v	Within 26:2?	2?	Apollonius orders the coffin of his wife to be thrown into the sea.	A doctor at Ephesus discovers the coffin washed ashore.	1. Figures in a ship. 2. Remains of two figures.	
9.	11r	Within 27:3?	2 The 2nd episode has been destroyed.	A student of the doctor revives Apollonius' wife.	The doctor restores the health of Apollonius' wife and adopts her.	Apollonius' wife sits up in a coffin, beside the coffin stands a man in green hat.	<u>A student of the doctor revives Apollonius' wife.</u>
10.	12r	Within 28:7	2	Apollonius entrusts his baby daughter to Stranguillio and Dionysias (Dionisia) in Tarsus.	Apollonius sails away.	1. Apollonius and his retinue appear before the crowned figures of Stranguillio and his wife, who are accompanied by three figures. Baby Tarsia is held by Dionysias. 2. Remains of a grey ship.	<u>1. Apollonius entrusts his baby daughter to Stranguillio and Dionysias (Dionisia) in Tarsus.</u> <u>2. Apollonius sails away.</u>
11.	13r	After 30:4	2	After the death of her nurse, Tarsia returns to	Dionysias walks with her daughter	1. Tarsia's nurse in bed, covered	<u>1. Before her death, Tarsia's nurse tell</u>

				school, but takes care of the tomb of her nurse.	and Tarsia in the city.	with a striped blanket; Tarsia kneels beside the bed. 2. Four figures behind a large object.	Tarsia about her lineage. 2. Tarsia organizes the burial of her nurse.
12.	13v	After 31:8	2	Tarsia takes care of her nurse's tomb.	Theophilus attacks Tarsia.	1. Two standing figures. 2. Two standing figures.	1. Dionysias commands Theophilus (Theochilo) to kill Tarsia.
13.	14r	After 32:6	2	Theophilus returns to the farm.	Dionysias pretends to mourn over Tarsia's death.	1. Theophilus stands with a sword behind the kneeling figure of Tarsia; a group of pirates appear behind Theophilus. 2. Remains of a grey ship?	1. While Theophilus attacks Tarsia, pirates arrive. 2. The pirates sail off with Tarsia.
14.	14v	After 32:11	2?	Dionysias erects a monument to Tarsia.	Tarsia is put up for sale at Mytilene.	A group of standing figures.	
15.	15r	Within 33:7	2 The 2nd episode has been destroyed.	A brothel keeper and prince Athenagoras (Anthinagos)	Tarsia is led away by the brothel keeper.	1. Three men appear before a fourth figure.	1. <u>A brothel keeper and prince Athenagoras</u> (Anthinago

				ras) bid for Tarsia.			<u>ras) bid for Tarsia.</u>
16.	15v	After 33:12	2 The 1st episode has been destroyed.	The brothel keeper commands the overseer to decorate a room for Tarsia, then she is offered to the clients.	Athenagoras visits Tarsia in the brothel as the first client.	2. Two standing figures, one of them in a simple beige dress, the other one, Athenagoras, in green robe, red cape and green cap.	<u>2. Athenagoras visits Tarsia in the brothel as the first client.</u>
17.	16v	After 35:3	2	Tarsia gives the money she earned to the brothel keeper.	The brothel keeper commands the overseer to deflower Tarsia.	1. Two standing figures, one in beige, the other one in red robe. 2. Tarsia in red robe kneels before a standing figure.	<u>1. Tarsia gives the money she earned to the brothel keeper.</u> <u>2. Dialogue between the overseer and Tarsia.</u>
18.	17r	After 36:1	?	Tarsia entertains the citizens of Mytilene with her eloquence and musical skills.	Tarsia entertains the citizens of Mytilene with her eloquence and musical skills.	A colourful group of standing figures.	<u>Tarsia entertains the citizens of Mytilene with her eloquence and musical skills.</u>
19.	17v	After 36:5	2?	Tarsia entertains the citizens of Mytilene with her eloquence and musical	Apollonius arrives in Tarsus and seeks his daughter.	1. Remains of figures. 2. Four standing figures,	<u>2. Apollonius arrives in Tarsus and seeks his daughter.</u>

				skills, Athenagoras protects her.		one in red robe wearing a crown.	
20.	18r	After 38:2	2	Dialogue between Apollonius and Dionysias.	Apollonius visits the tomb of Tarsia.	1. Three figures, one wearing a crown, behind a large sarcophagus. 2. Remains of a grey ship.	1. Apollonius visits the tomb of Tarsia 2. Apollonius sails away from Tarsus.
21.	18v	After 38:6	1	Apollonius sails away from Tarsus.	A storm takes Apollonius to Mytilene.	Figures in a grey ship and two standing figures.	<u>A storm takes Apollonius to Mytilene.</u>
22.	19r	Within 39:11	1	Athenagoras boards the ship of Apollonius and celebrates with his men.	Athenagoras asks about the master of the ship.	Figures in a grey ship.	<u>Athenagoras boards the ship of Apollonius, celebrates with his men and asks about their master.</u>
23.	20r	Within 40:10	1	A man of Athenagoras asks the brothel keeper to send Tarsia to the ship.	Athenagoras asks Tarsia to comfort Apollonius.	Figures in a grey ship.	<u>Athenagoras asks Tarsia to comfort Apollonius.</u>
24.	22r	After 43:2	1	Tarsia tells riddles to Apollonius.	Tarsia tries to drag Apollonius to light.	Figures in a grey ship.	<u>Tarsia tells riddles to Apollonius and tries to drag him to light.</u>
25.	23v	Within 46:5	1?	The brothel keeper is brought before	Athenagoras tells the citizens of Mytilene to	A colourful group of	

				Apollonius and Tarsia.	take revenge on the brothel keeper.	standing figures.	
26.	24r	Within 47:4	?	The citizens of Mytilene erect a statue in honour of Apollonius and Tarsia.	Apollonius gives Tarsia in marriage to Athenagoras.	Very faint traces of standing figures.	
27.	24v	After 48:3	?	An angel tells Apollonius to visit the temple of Diana at Ephesus.	Apollonius sails to Ephesus.	The image is almost completely washed away.	
28.	25r	After 48:10	2?	Apollonius' wife (the priestess of Diana) receives Apollonius and his family in the temple of Diana.	Apollonius, Tarsia and Athenagoras fall at the feet of Apollonius' wife.	Kneeling figure of a woman in red garment by an altar.	
29.	26r	After 50:1	2	Apollonius arrives in Antioch and takes possession of the city.	Apollonius sails to Tyre and gives the city to Athenagoras.	1. Figures in a grey ship. 2. Group of figures.	<u>1. Apollonius arrives in Antioch and takes possession of the city.</u>
30.	26v	After 50:8	2?	Apollonius presents Tarsia to Stranguillio, Dionysias and the citizens of Tarsus.	Theophilus is brought before Tarsia.	Two men, one in green the other one in beige robe drag a third man wearing a red-blue mi-parti tunic.	<u>Theophilus is brought before Tarsia.</u>
31.	27r	After 51:1	?	After Stranguillio and	Apollonius returns with his	Colourful groups of figures.	

				Dionysias are killed, Apollonius restores the walls and towers of Tarsus.	family to Cyrene and rejoices with the old King Archistrate s.		
32.	27v	Within 51:9	1?	Apollonius rewards the old fisherman and Hellenicus.	Apollonius ' wife gives birth to their son, and they live happily ever after.	A group of figures seems to appear before two figures on the right.	

Appendix VI. Hypothetical Image Program in HA Rec. St, Paris, BnF, Lat. 8502 (F)⁵⁷⁰

- Image 1 (fol. 1r, before Cap. 1. lin. 11): King Antiochus rapes his daughter
- Image 2 (fol. 1v, after Cap. 4. lin. 1): The suitors of King Antiochus' daughter are beheaded / Apollonius before King Antiochus
- Image 3 (fol. 2r, after Cap. 5. lin. 4): Apollonius leaves Antioch
- Image 4 (fol. 2v, after Cap. 6. lin. 2): King Antiochus sends Taliarchus after Apollonius
- Image 5 (fol. 3v, before Cap. 8. lin. 3): Apollonius arrives in Tarsus
- Image 6 (fol. 4v, after Cap. 12. lin. 4): Apollonius suffers shipwreck / Apollonius complains about his misfortune at the shore of Pentapolis (Cyrene)
- Image 7 (fol. 5r, around Cap. 12. lin. 17): The fisherman shares his cloak with Apollonius
- Image 8 (fol. 5r, after Cap. 13. lin. 3): ? (Apollonius in Pentapolis (Cyrene?))
- Image 9 (fol. 5v, after Cap. 14. lin. 6): ? (King Archistrates sends one of his servants after Apollonius)
- Image 10 (fol. 6r, after Cap. 14. lin. 15): Apollonius feasts with King Archistrates
- Image 11 (fol. 6r, after Cap. 14. lin. 17): ?
- Image 12 (fol. 7r, after Cap. 16. lin. 11): Lucina plays music in the court of his father
- Image 13 (fol. 7v, after Cap. 17. lin. 5): Lucina gives silver, clothing and servants to Apollonius
- Image 14 (fol. 8r, after Cap. 17. lin. 19): Apollonius is offered shelter in the court of King Archistrates
- Image 15 (fol. 8v, after Cap. 19. lin. 4): Three men ask for the hand of Lucina
- Image 16 (fol. 9r, around Cap. 21. lin. 6): ? (King Archistrates reads the letter of Lucina)
- Image 17 (fol. 10r, after Cap. 24. lin. 5): Apollonius learns that King Antiochus has died / death of King Antiochus
- Image 18 (fol. 10v, after Cap. 25. lin. 29): Lucina's coffin is thrown into the sea / Lucina's coffin is washed ashore at Ephesus
- Image 19 (fol. 11r, after Cap. 26. lin. 18): Lucina is revived by the student of the doctor
- Image 20 (fol. 12, after Cap. 27. lin. 19): Lucina becomes a priestess of Diana
- Image 21 (fol. 12r, after Cap. 28. lin. 8): Apollonius entrusts her daughter to Stranguillio and his wife
- Image 22 (fol. 12v, after Cap. 29. lin. 8): Tarsia learns about her parents and lineage from her dying nurse

⁵⁷⁰ Chapter and line numbers are given after Archibald, 1991, 112–179.

- Image 23 (fol. 13r, after Cap. 30. lin. 5): Tarsia buries her nurse
- Image 24 (fol. 13v, after Cap. 31. lin. 25): Theophilus attacks Tarsia
- Image 25 (fol. 14r, after Cap. 32. lin. 6): Pirates take Tarsia away
- Image 26 (fol. 14v, after Cap. 33. lin. 2): Tarsia is taken to Mytilene
- Image 27 (fol. 15r, after Cap. 33. lin. 15): Tarsia is taken to the brothel
- Image 28 (fol. 15v, after Cap. 34. lin. 3): Athenagoras visits Tarsia in the brothel
- Image 29 (fol. 16r, after Cap. 34. lin. 13): Athenagoras gives forty pieces of gold to Tarsia / Athenagoras talks to a man who wants to visit Tarsia
- Image 30 (fol. 16v, after Cap. 35. lin. 12): The pimp commands the overseer of the girls to deflower Tarsia / The overseer talks to Tarsia
- Image 31 (fol. 17r, after Cap. 36. lin. 4): Tarsia asks the overseer to let her play music to the people / Tarsia entertains the citizens with eloquent talk and music
- Image 32 (fol. 18r, after Cap. 38. lin. 7): Apollonius talks to Stranguillio and Dionysias / Apollonius visits the 'tomb' of Tarsia
- Image 33 (fol. 18r, after Cap. 38. lin. 15): Apollonius leaves Tarsus / Apollonius arrives in Mytilene
- Image 34 (fol. 19r, after Cap. 40. lin. 2): Athenagoras speaks to Apollonius' crew / Athenagoras visits Apollonius in the hold of the ship
- Image 35 (fol. 19v, after Cap. 40. lin. 18): ? (Apollonius sends Athenagoras away)
- Image 36 (fol. 20v, after Cap. 41. lin. 25): Tarsia leaves Apollonius / Tarsia is sent back by Athenagoras
- Image 37 (fol. 22r, after Cap. 45. lin. 14): Apollonius recognizes Tarsia
- Image 38 (fol. 22v, after Cap. 45. lin. 25): ? (Athenagoras calls the citizens of Mytilene to save the city from Apollonius' revenge)
- Image 39 (fol. 23r, after Cap. 46. lin. 20): The brothel keeper is burnt to death / The wealth of the brothel keeper is given to Tarsia
- Image 40 (fol. 23v, after Cap. 47. lin. 14): The citizens of Mytilene erect a statue for Apollonius / Apollonius gives Tarsia in marriage to Athenagoras / The family leaves Mytilene
- Image 41 (fol. 24v, after Cap. 48. lin. 22): Apollonius in the Ephesian temple of Diana
- Image 42 (fol. 25r, after Cap. 49. lin. 1): Lucina recognizes Apollonius
- Image 43 (fol. 25v, after Cap. 49. lin. 12): The family celebrates reunion / Apollonius leaves Ephesus with his family
- Image 44 (fol. 25v, after Cap. 50. lin. 4): Stranguillio and Dionysias are brought before Apollonius

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Image 45 (fol. 26r, after Cap. 50. lin. 28): Tarsia saves the life of Theophilus and liberates him.

Image 46 (fol. 26v, after Cap. 51. lin. 9): Apollonius in Pentapolis (Cyrene)

Image 47 (fol. 27r, after Cap. 51. lin. 25): Apollonius rewards the old fisherman and Hellenicus

Appendix VII. Hypothetical Apollonius Image Program in Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*,
Paris, BnF, Lat. 4895 (G)⁵⁷¹

Image 1 (fol. 80r, before strophe 1): ?

Image 2 (fol. 80v, before strophe 10): Apollonius flees from King Antiochus

Image 3 (fol. 80v, before strophe 19): Apollonius suffers shipwreck

Image 4 (fol. 81r, before strophe 28): ? (Apollonius in Pentapolis (Cyrene))

Image 5 (fol. 81r, before strophe 30): Apollonius in the bath in Pentapolis (Cyrene)

Image 6 (fol. 81r, before strophe 35): ?

Image 7 (fol. 81r, before strophe 40): Lucina plays music at the court of her father

Image 8 (fol. 81r, before strophe 44): Apollonius plays music in the court of King Archistrates

Image 9 (fol. 81v, before strophe 51): Lucina gets sick of love / she sends a letter to his father

Image 10 (fol. 81v, before strophe 57): Lucina recovers after her father agrees to her marriage to Apollonius

Image 11 (fol. 81v, before strophe 60): Death of King Antiochus and his daughter

Image 12 (fol. 82r, before strophe 76): Apollonius leaves Pentapolis (Cyrene)

Image 13 (fol. 82r, before strophe 82): Lucina's coffin is thrown into the sea / Lucina's coffin is found at Ephesus

Image 14 (fol. 82r, before strophe 89): Lucina is revived by the student of the Ephesian doctor

Image 15 (fol. 82r, before strophe 93): Lucina becomes a priestess in the temple of Diana

Image 16 (fol. 82v, before strophe 97): Apollonius entrusts his daughter to his friends in Tarsus

Image 17 (fol. 82v, before strophe 104): Before her death, the nurse of Tarsia tells about Tarsia's lineage

Image 18 (fol. 82v, before strophe 116): Theophilus attacks Tarsia

Image 19 (fol. 83r, before strophe 126): Tarsia's chastity is respected by the pirates / pirates take Tarsia to Mytilene

Image 20 (fol. 83r, before strophe 131): Athenagoras visits Tarsia in the brothel

Image 21 (fol. 83r, before strophe 145): ? (Apollonius seeks Tarsia)

Image 22 (fol. 83v, before strophe 148): ? (Great festivities are held in Mytilene)

Image 23 (fol. 83v, before strophe 152): Tarsia tries to cheer up Apollonius.

⁵⁷¹ The text version in the manuscript and thus the numbers of strophes conform to Singer's 1895, 153–177 edition of text V³ (Waitz: E).

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Image 24 (fol. 84r, before the last prose paragraph of the dialogue between Apollonius and Tarsia): ? (Tarsia grabs the clothes of Apollonius)

Image 25 (fol. 84r, before strophe 157): ? (Apollonius hurts Tarsia)

Image 26 (fol. 84v, before strophe 165): Apollonius recognizes Tarsia

Image 27 (fol. 84v, before strophe 180): The citizens of Mytilene celebrate the reunion of Apollonius and Tarsia/Punishment of the brothel keeper

Image 28 (fol. 85r, before strophe 191): ? (Stranguillio and Dionysias are punished)

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Figures

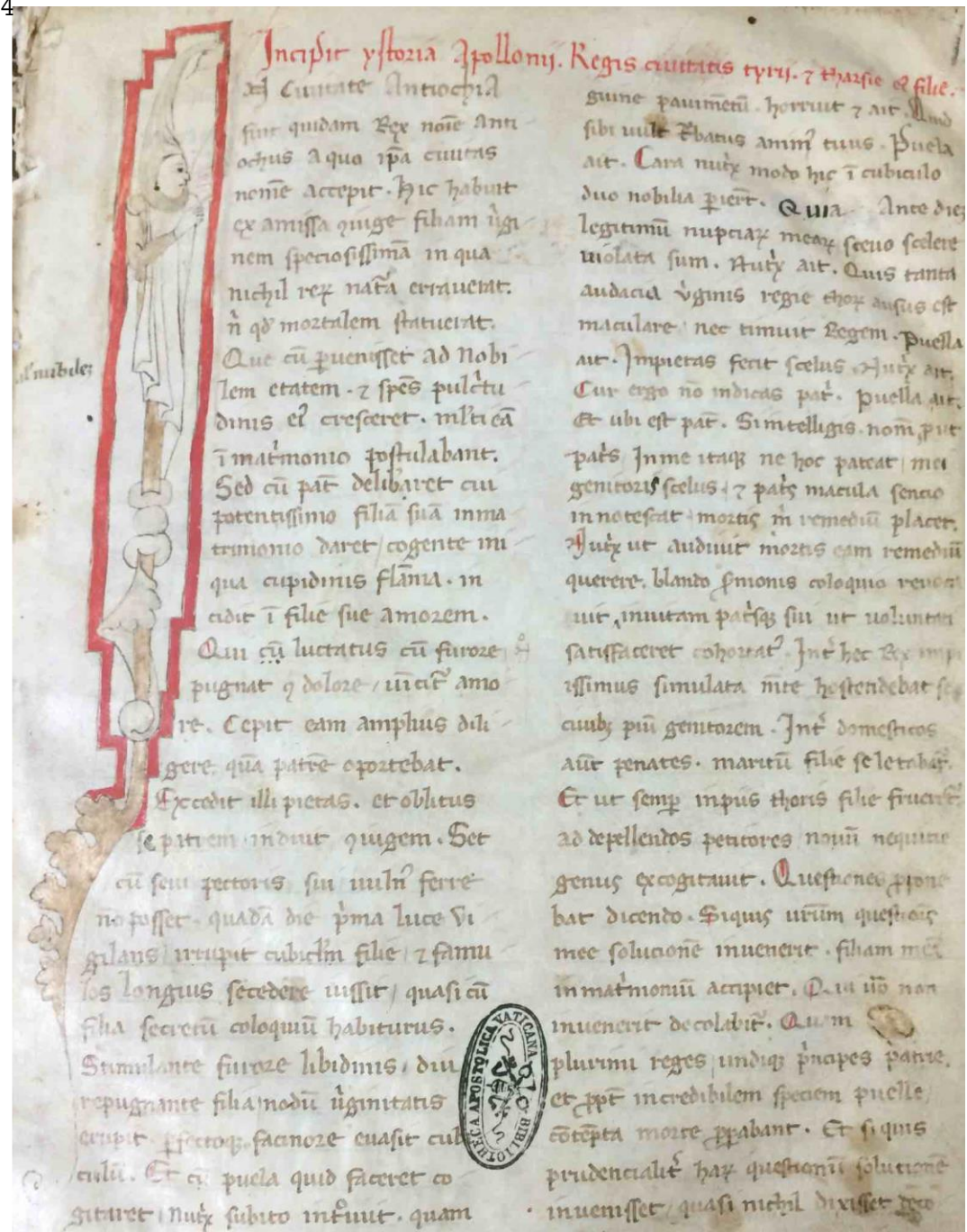


Fig. 1. Figural initial. HA. 13th century.
 Rome, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 1855, fol. 1r.

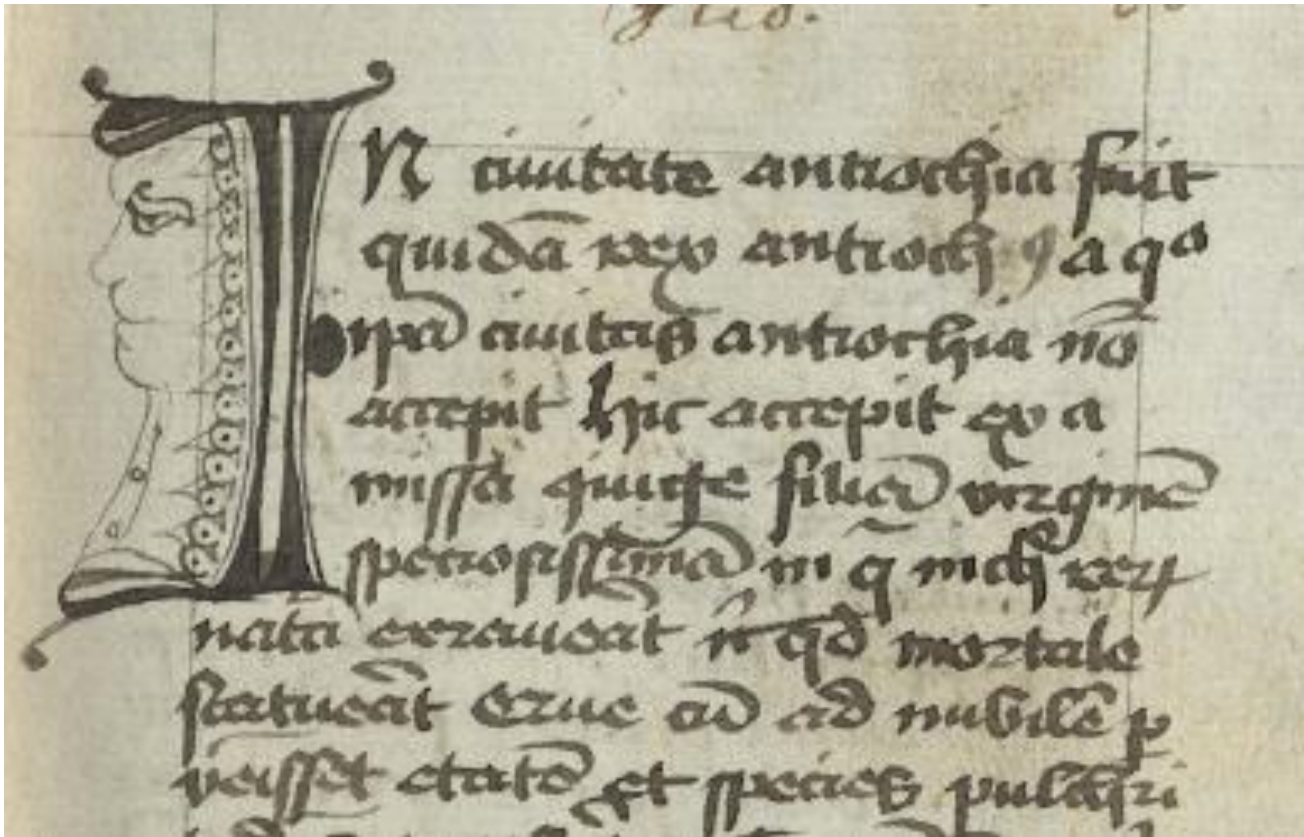


Fig. 2. Initial of the story of Apollonius. 15th century. München, UB, Cod. Oct. 154, fol. 80r.

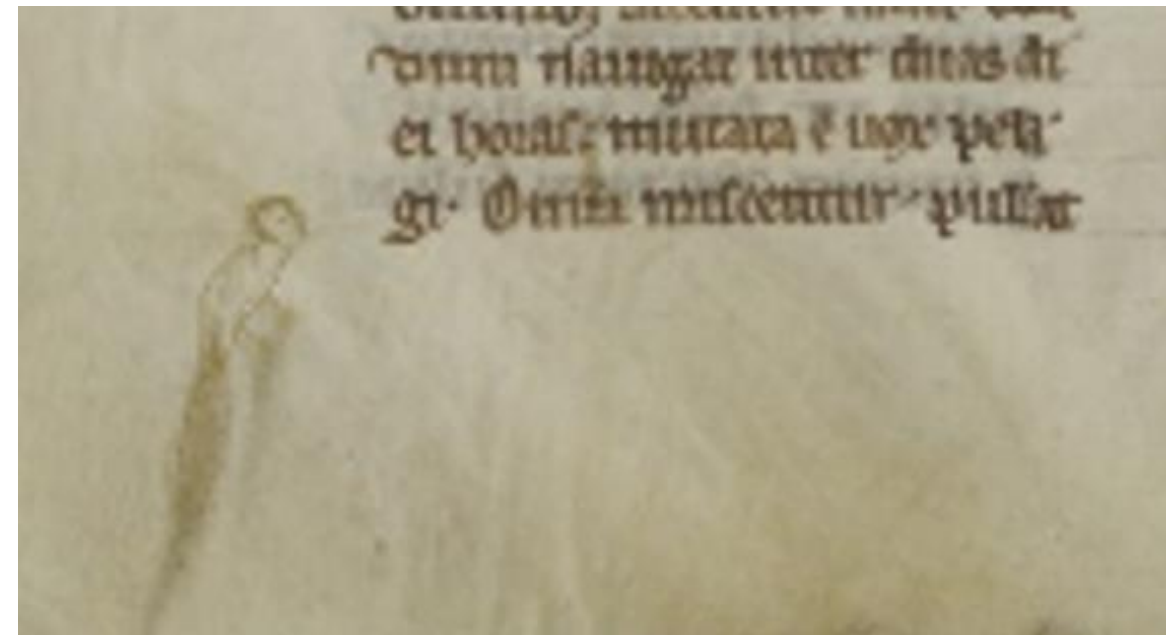


Fig. 3. Marginal drawing. HA. 13th century. Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 163, fol. 110v.

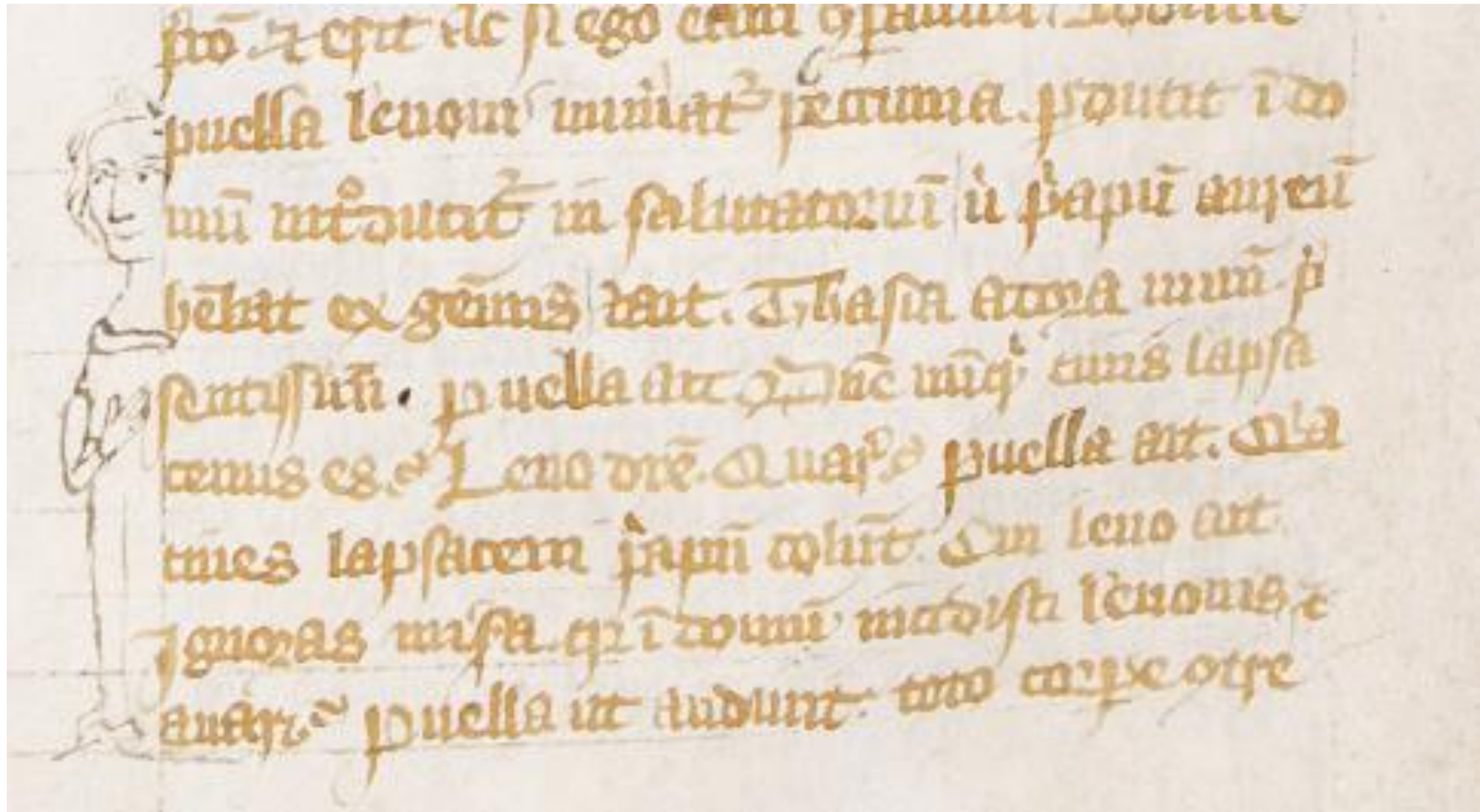


Fig. 4. Tarsia. HA. 14th century. London, Library of the College of Arms, Ms. Arundel 1, fol. 211r.

Fig. 5. Lucina. HA. 14th century.
London, Library of the College of
Arms, Ms. Arundel 1, fol. 209r.

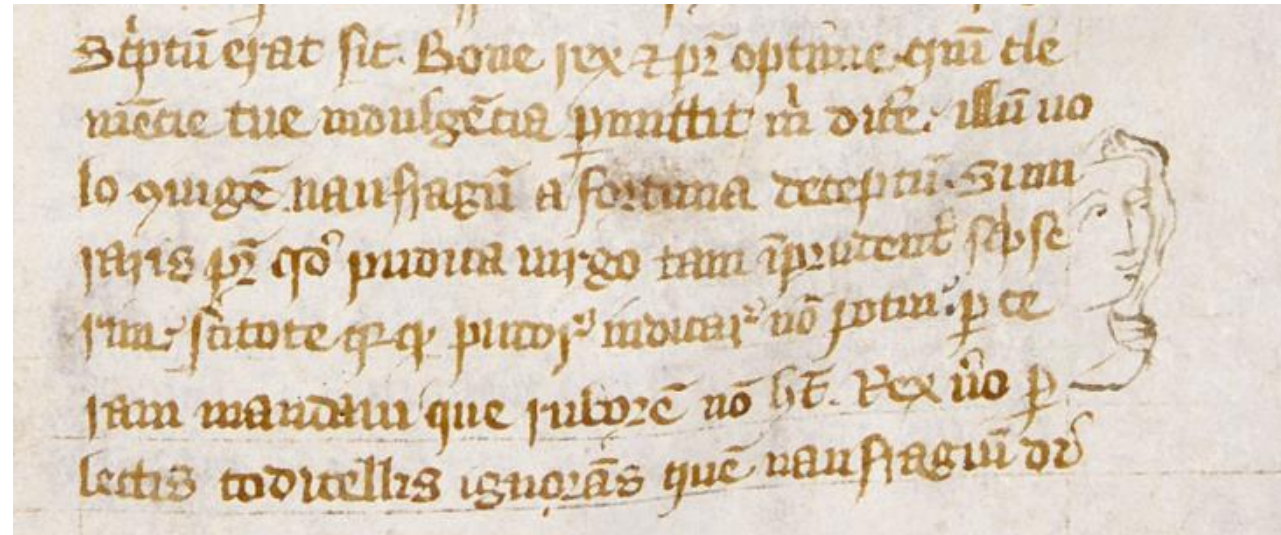


Fig. 6. King Antiochus. HA. 14th
century. London, Library of the
College of Arms, Ms. Arundel 1,
fol. 209v.

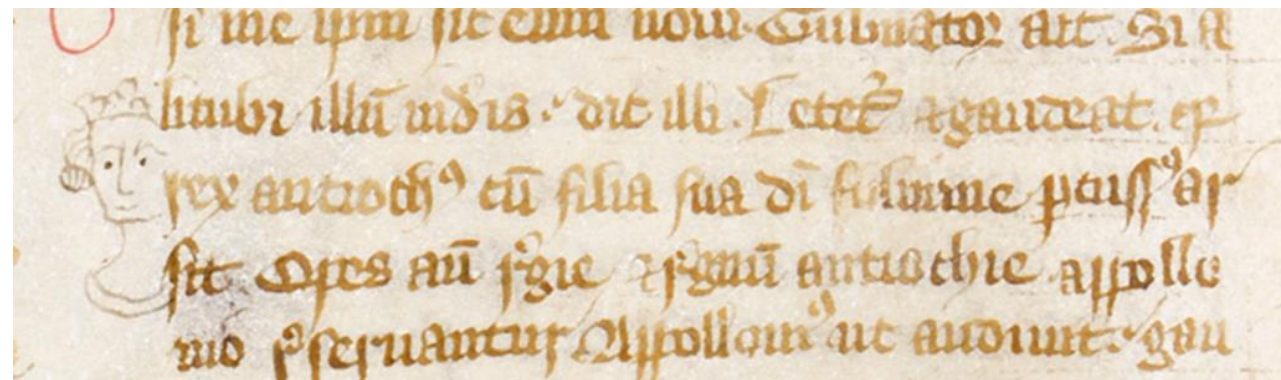
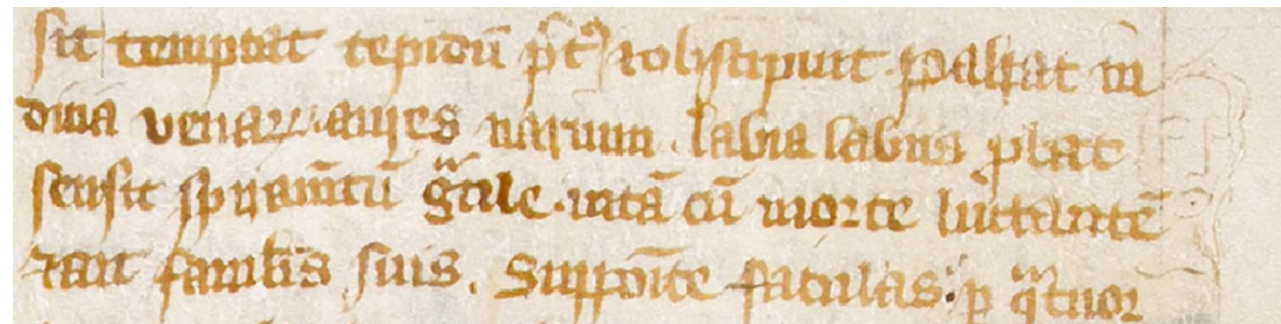


Fig. 7. Lucina in the state of false
death. HA. 14th century. London,
Library of the College of Arms,
Ms. Arundel 1, fol. 210r.



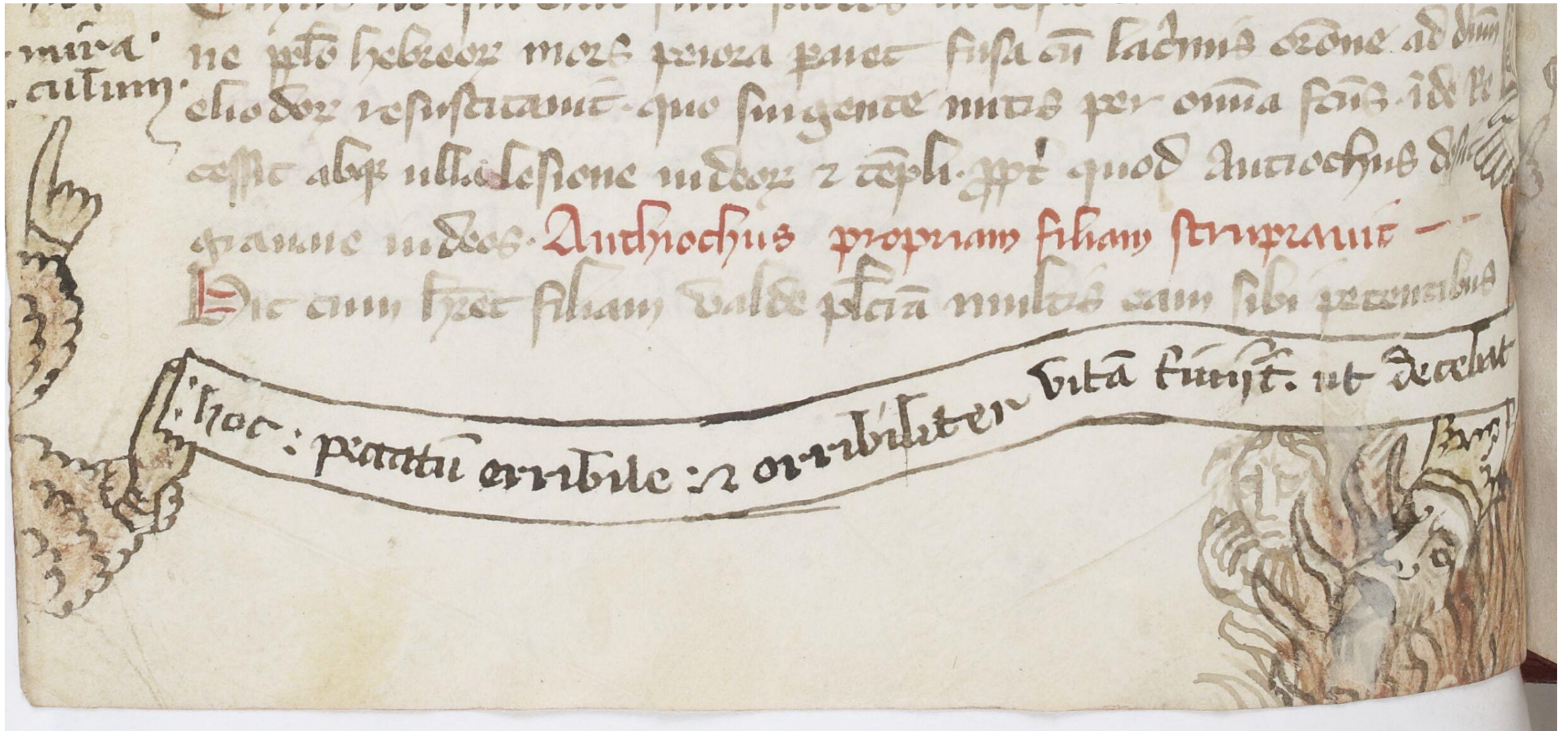


Fig. 8. Marginal drawing: King Antiochus and his daughter surrounded by flames. Godfrey of Viterbo: *Pantheon* (abbreviated version). Early 15th century. Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 4935, fol. 26v.

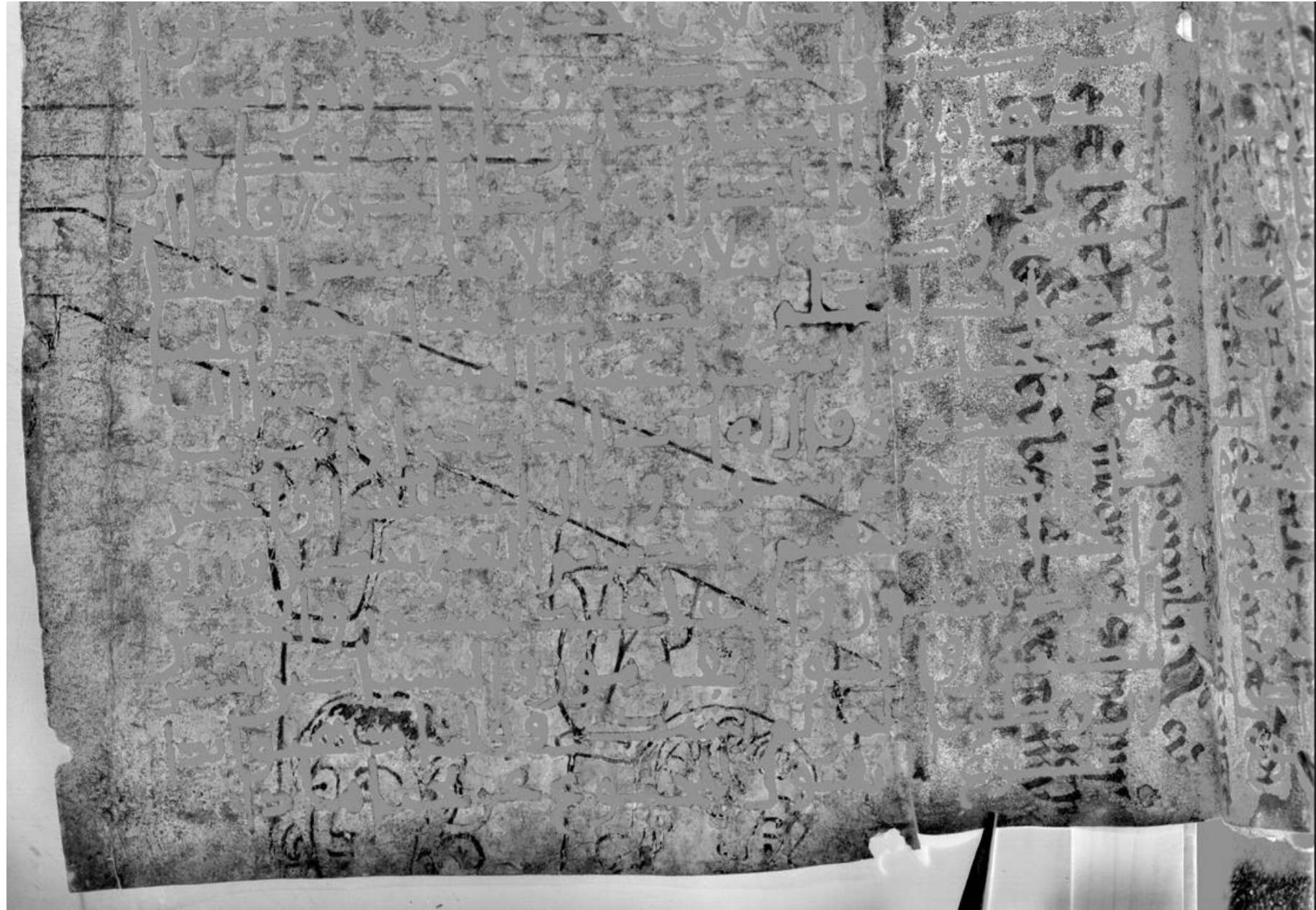


Fig. 9. Palimpsested fragment of a scene. HA. Constantinople (?), ca. 600. Mount Sinai, Saint Catherine's monastery, Arabic NF 8, fol. 18r.



Fig. 10. Baby Tarsia is taken to Tarsus.
Historia de miser Apollonio. Venice,
middle of the 14th century. Torino,
Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria,
N.V.6, fol. 12r.

82

D e nichilo nichilū pietas tua me relatauit.
 R ebus advenant scito spoliū beaur.
 H ege uchaue me ueritaur air.
 H e pat' audito loq' ubo redimio.
 F ulla quid fiant tu glificata mauro.
 A nte uiri p'ra gaudia fonte aco.
 T olle q'at' q'mas auni totiq' uocē.
 A uachū collao quo agaudem' honoē.
 S p'nsaq' ce sequar' m'la mouē.
 T u m' par fueras nūc oibe tuo dominatio.
 P ilus ante m' d'is nūc ē p'ario. Ap
 P ge fca fili si fape regna tibi. pullo
 hūis tendit antechiam si uxor que in
 uxor meas in p'ari p'bian' m'mar.

O rdine regali annulus de more pan.
 E t regis ap'ari mandant q' illa crem an.
 D isapulus media fore uocatis air.
 N o opus ē uiri corpus tumuli ne panu.
 P usus adhan uis regna p'ruar.
 H anc m' uerūā s'ha nū pan.
 D ic ei arimon p'ur es s'ha med'ianis.
 A n octua merla mar' si fore p'amos an.
 D isapulus silens ecc' uerebis air.
 S epe secondina p'ri uenēte tuua.
 S e nimis melmar maē male uicari m'mar.
 V ude soler mulier meo'is uir uam.
 C rete m' ceumō uulūq' remate m'mar.
 P estue q' gelidus fringit diastema maē
 S ic q' d'elūca m'la puella iacet.
 A l' au' si regna d' mox uabio.
 C o'p'ia mortua finet' contra tuua p'bab.
 A d e tibi d'isapuli māapūq' uabis.

P igitur apollonius sacro ai pace manēt.
 P e'gūe' n' nante uero ualio uenēte.
 I amq' p'lequitur sp'la uocati uirum.
 C onuige p'ruante p'ur qua uenit an.
 S; mans i medio male tepelate m'mar.
 P amurēs maē mortua m'la uace.
 P ulla uua q'd' si ma' ob'le p'uatē.
 C apta sano digna p'fime clauis p'aman.
 A u' s'ly p' annulo rex f'omille datur.
 P etur q' d'oula p' mox p'caua m'la.
 D ua fierē pulca p' nobilitate sepulca.
 C ongrua regne q' maris aura sine.
 F lebil' hac arca p'ū femina p'om' ama.
 A rca tullur carā p'p'rio gramate p'ca.
 Q ue loquē' quid sit. quid uelit unde uenit.
 D ū modo nepauis mē p' l'itua finus.
 F unex munus marū finus exap' im.
 F lucib; eecai s'ica r'rentat humus.

T he panis ap'ri loci medice calcificā.
 E xolloo r'acū alio manib; retractū
 I mposuit corp' sepe callente manu.
 I gnib; apollinis uaguetā pop'ima nulle.
 D e u' c' ai h'ur flacū pulūq' remisit.
 D im b'n ualut pauca loquella d'elir.
 A n octua regna loq' s'imp'ra med'iana.
 H uc h'ar d'm'che ne uerē aua marua.
 S ūq' regna turpia nulla fina.
 V nie casta uolo ma' u' ab' m'ua uolo.
 N e uollanda toto tribuar' laa m'osa pozo.
 N o h'itue s'uo p'f'icuentū uolo.

S ic medicus mane tullur h'ic ad tēpla diane.
 O rdine uirgineo qua p'ap' hanc d'itare.
 A nq' uer uane p'ingua t'hum d'are.
 T r'is q' m'f'ile p'loar' regna fidel.
 V uigumb; sonata sacro uellatūq' uelhs
 C o'g'uar' eff'isys solus uota reus.

Fig. 11. Godfrey of Viterbo: *Pantheon* with places reserved for Apollonius illustrations. Milan, 1331. Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 4895, fol. 82r.

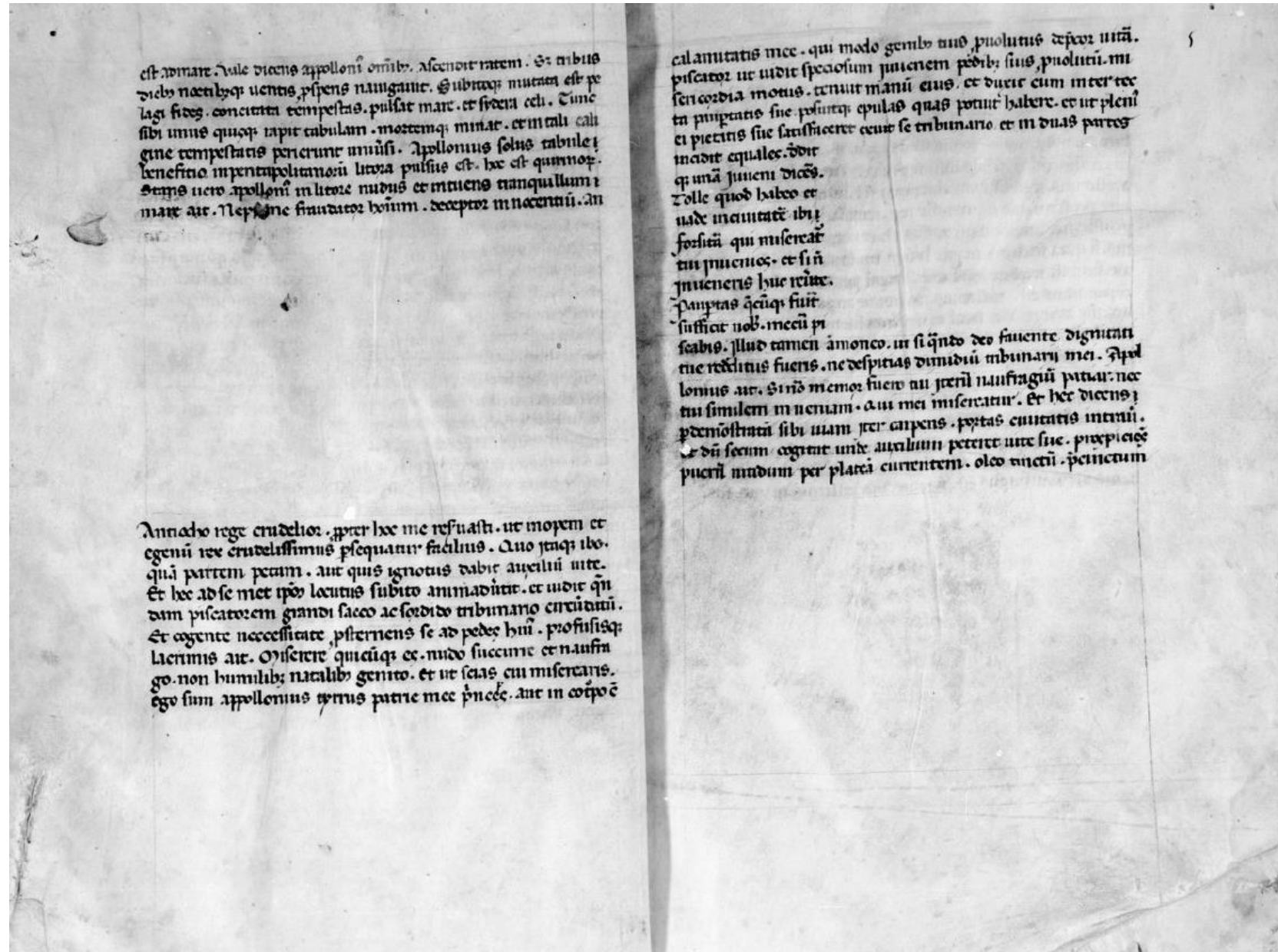


Fig. 12. HA with places reserved for illustration. Italy, ca. 1300. Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 8502, fol. 4r–5v.

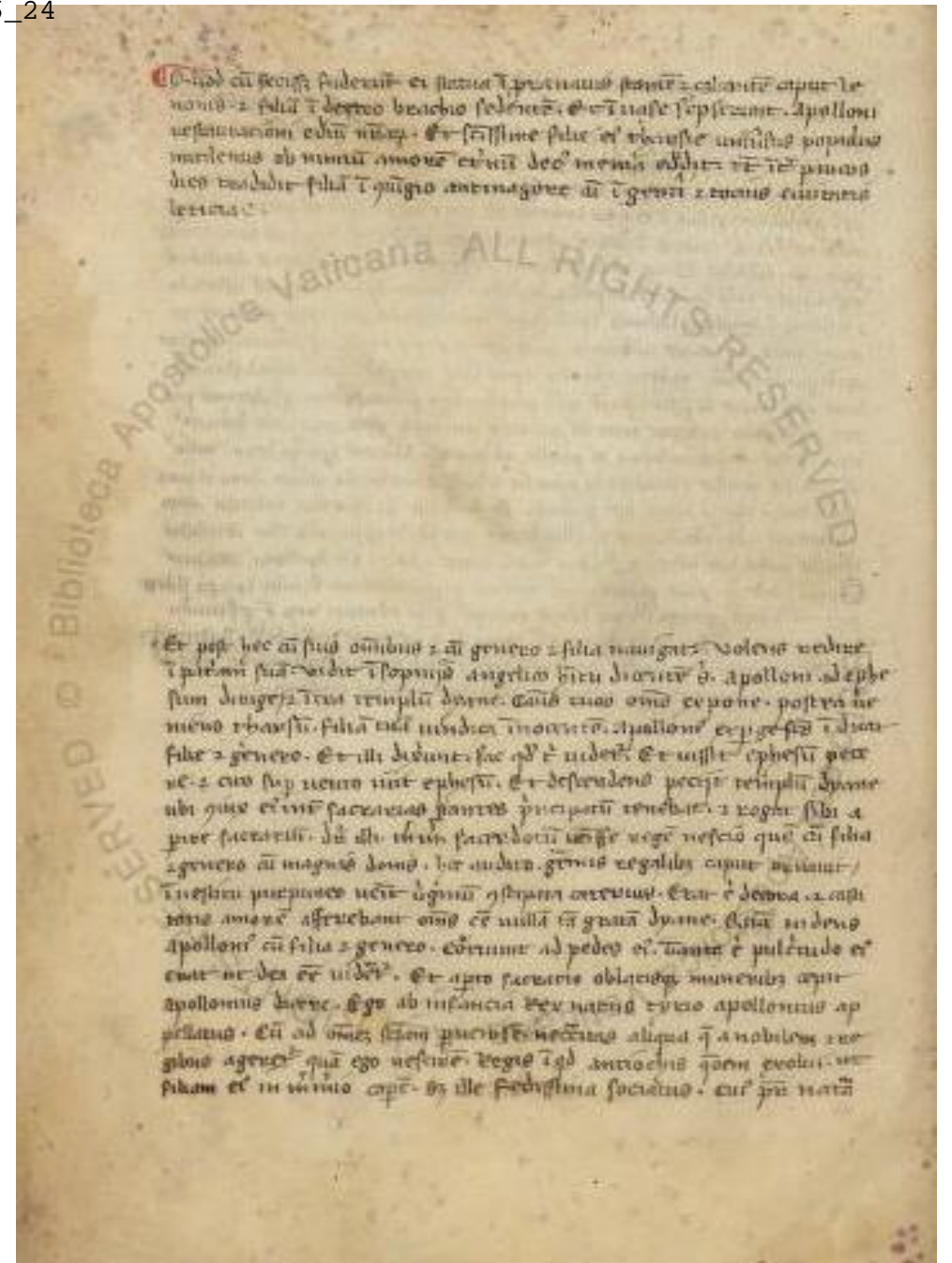


Fig. 13. HA fragment with places reserved for illustration. Italy, second half of the 14th/early 15th century. Roma, BAV, Archivio di S. Pietro E 36, fol. 65v.

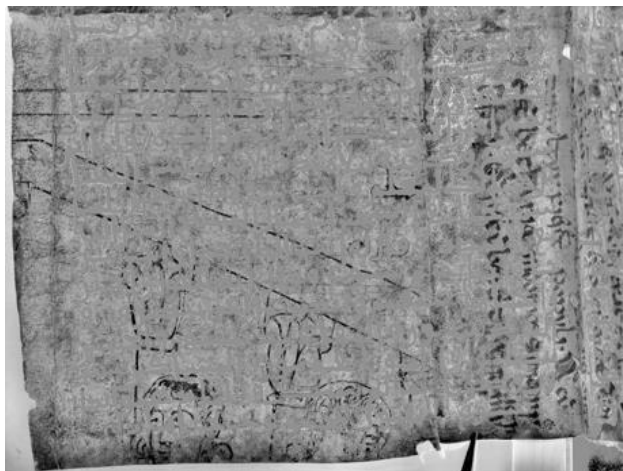


Fig. 14. Palimpsested fragment of a scene. HA. Constantinople (?), ca. 600. Mount Sinai, Saint Catherine's monastery, Arabic NF 8, fol. 18r.



Fig. 15. Annunciation. Ivory carving. Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Avori 14.



Fig. 16. Presentation of David to Saul. Silver plate. Constantinople, 613–629/630. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.397.

Fig. 17. Detail of Fig. 16.

Fig. 18. Detail of Fig. 16.

Fig. 19. Detail of Fig. 14.



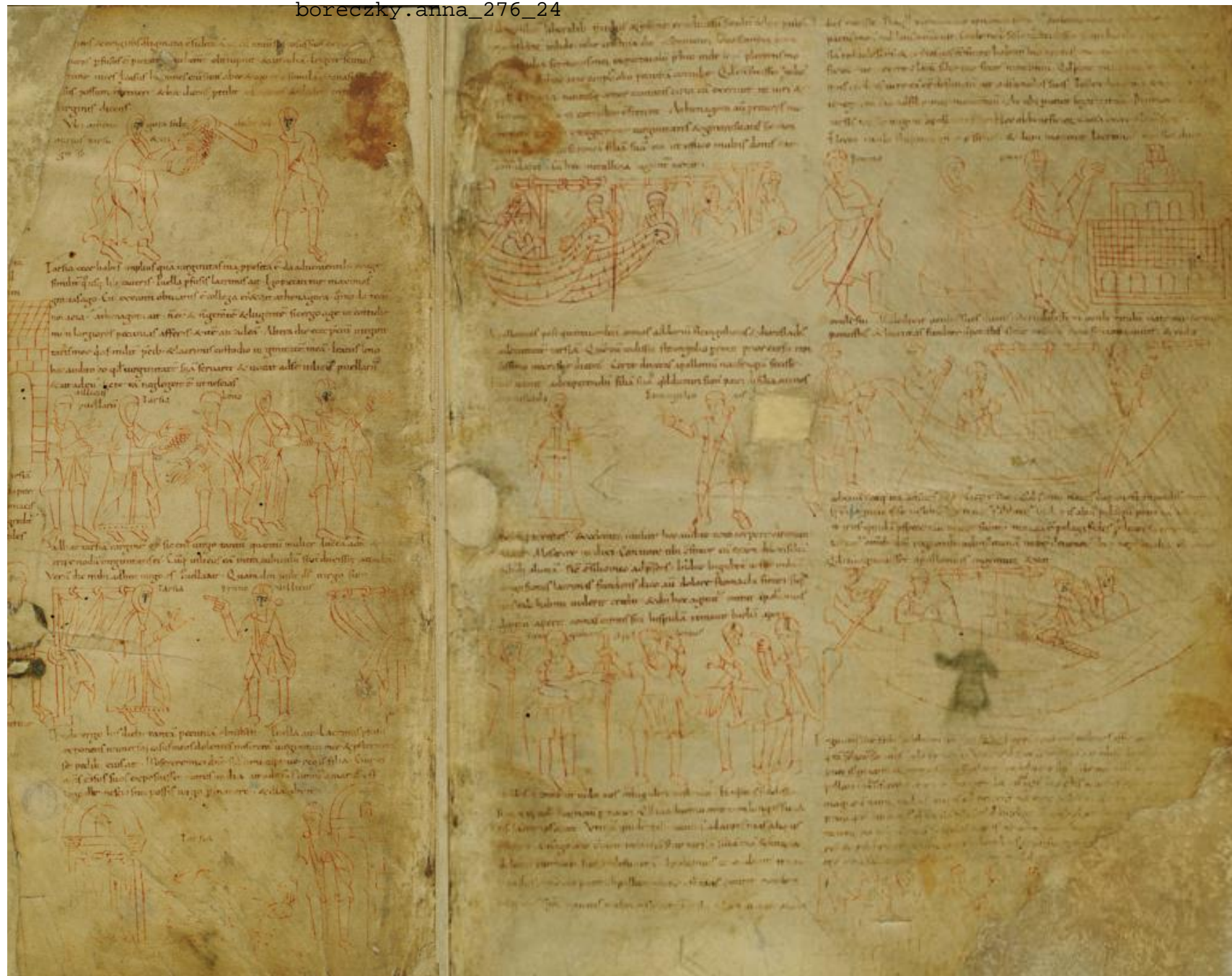


Fig. 20. *Apollonius pictus*.
 Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca.
 1000. Budapest, National
 Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4,
 fol. 1v–4r.

21.



Fig. 21. Athenagoras gives money to Tarsia. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 1v.

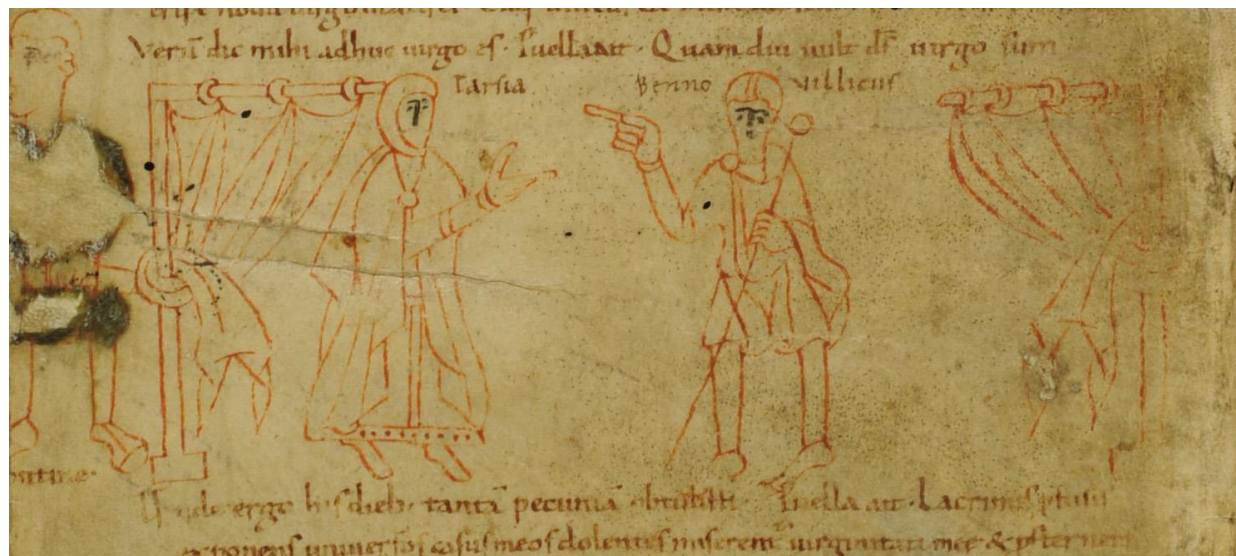
Fig. 22. Tarsia hands over the gold pieces to the brothel keeper; the overseer of the brothel leads her away. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 1v.

Fig. 23. Conversation between Tarsia and the overseer. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 1v.



22.

23.



24.



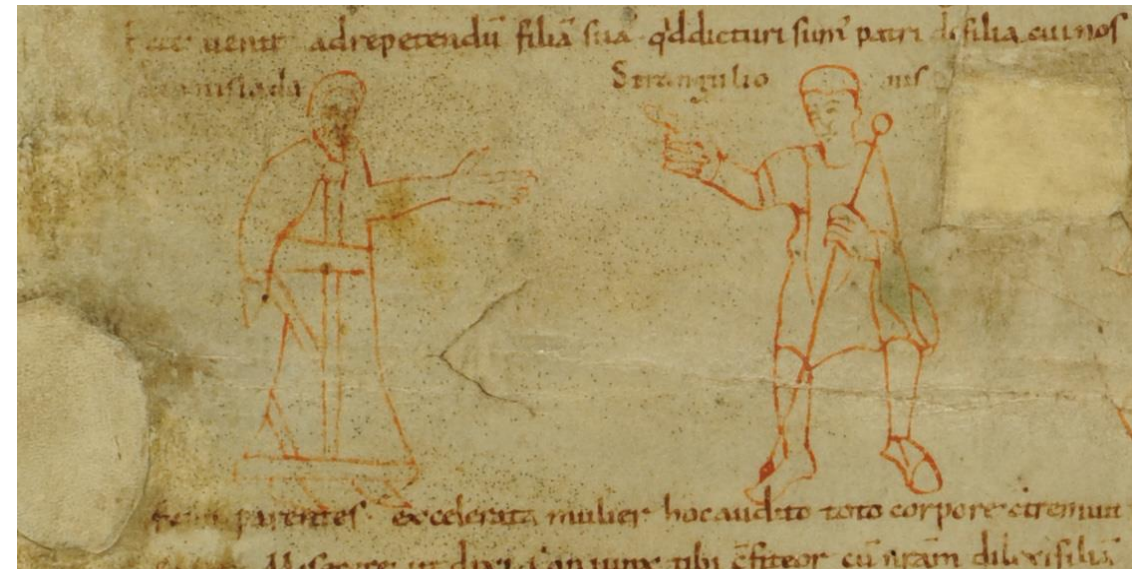
Fig. 24. Tarsia beseeches the overseer to save her chastity. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 1v.

Fig. 25. After fourteen years Apollonius returns to Tarsus. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4r.

Fig. 26. Stranguillio hastens to his wife. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4r.



25.



26.

27.



Fig. 27. Apollonius asks about his daughter from Stranguillio and Dionysias. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4r.

Fig. 28. Apollonius by the „sepulchre” of Tarsia. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4r.

Fig. 29. Apollonius leaves for Tyre. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4r.

28



29.



30.



Fig. 30. Apollonius arrives at Mytilene. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4r.

Fig. 31. Apollonius' men celebrate *Neptunalia*. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4r.

Fig. 32. Apollonius' decorated ships. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4v.



31.



32.

33.



Fig. 33. Athenagoras asks Tarsia to comfort Apollonius. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4v.

Fig. 34. Tarsia tries to comfort Apollonius (?). *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4v.

Fig. 35. Apollonius gives gold pieces to Tarsia. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4v.



34.



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36.

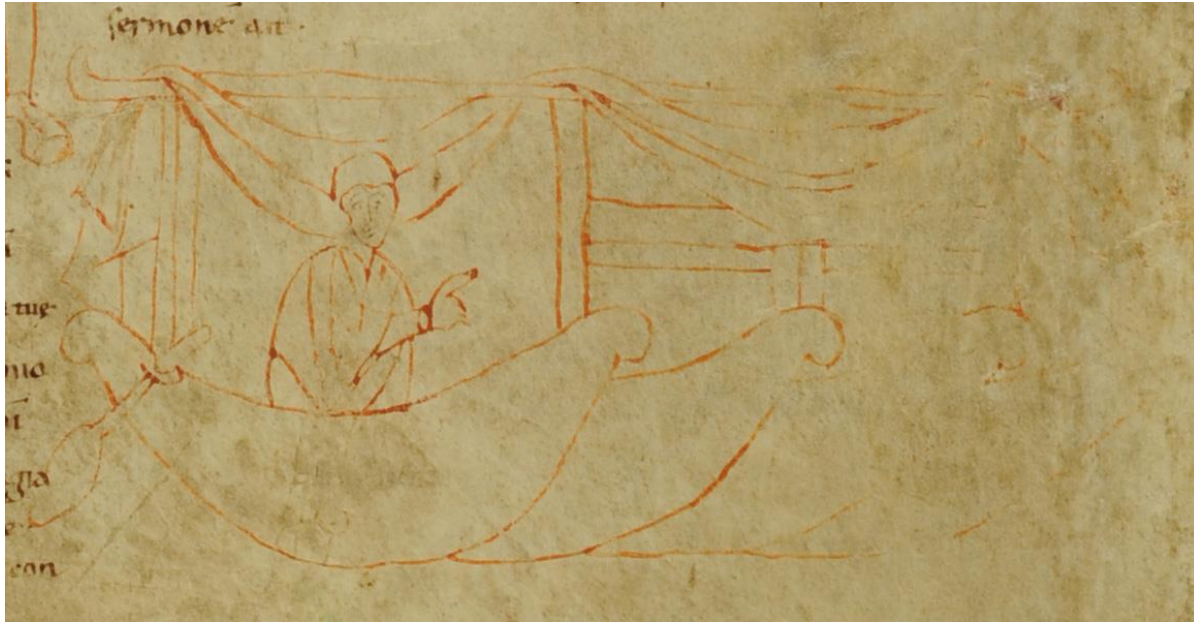


Fig. 36. Athenagoras sends Tarsia back to Apollonius (?). *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4v.



37.

Fig. 37. Apollonius attacks Tarsia. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2r.

Fig. 38. Apollonius recognizes Tarsia. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2r.



38.



Fig. 39. Athenagoras asks for the hand of Tarsia. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2v.



Fig. 40. Conversation between Apollonius and Athenagoras. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2v.

Fig. 41. The inhabitants of Mytilene drag the brothel keeper to the forum. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2v.



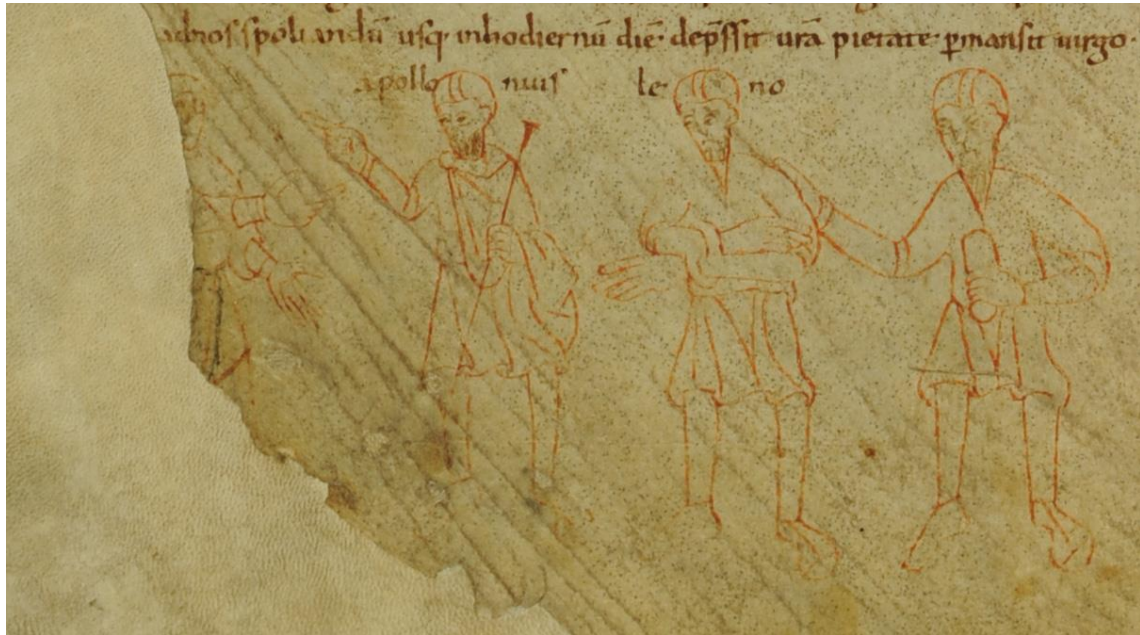
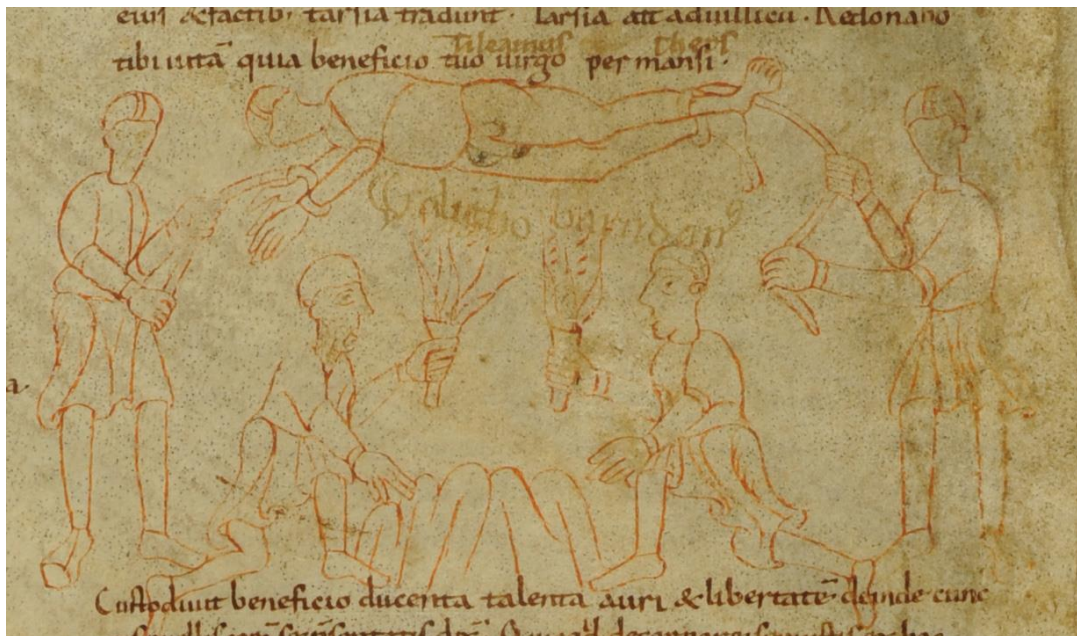


Fig. 42. The brothel keeper before Apollonius and Tarsia. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2v.

Fig. 43. The brothel keeper is burnt to death. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2v.

Fig. 44. Tarsia gives the property of the brothel keeper to the overseer and her former companions. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2v.



43



44.

45.

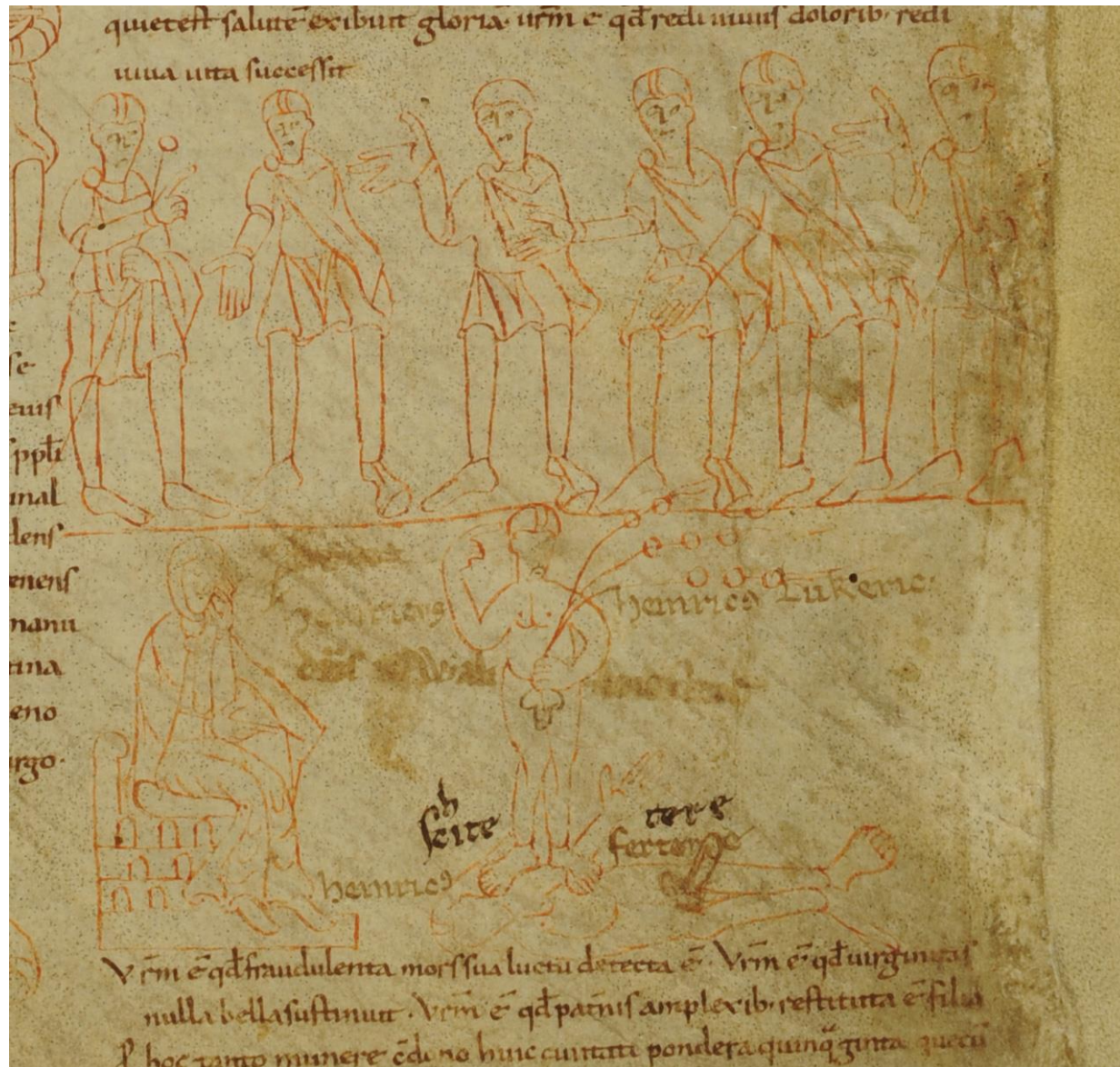


Fig. 45. Apollonius rewards the inhabitants of Mytilene; they erect a statue for Apollonius and Tarsia. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2v.

Fig. 46. Apollonius weds Tarsia to Athenagoras. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3r.



46.

47.

boreczky.anna_276_24



Fig. 47. Apollonius leaves for Tarsus with Athenagoras and Tarsia. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3r.

Fig. 48. In his dream, Apollonius is sent to Ephesus by an angel. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3r.

Fig. 49. Apollonius and his family meets Lucina at the temple of Diana. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3r.



48.



49.



Fig. 50. Lucina recognizes Apollonius. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3r.

Fig. 51. Apollonius introduces Tarsia to her mother. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3v.

Fig. 52. Apollonius celebrates the reunion with his family. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3v.



51.



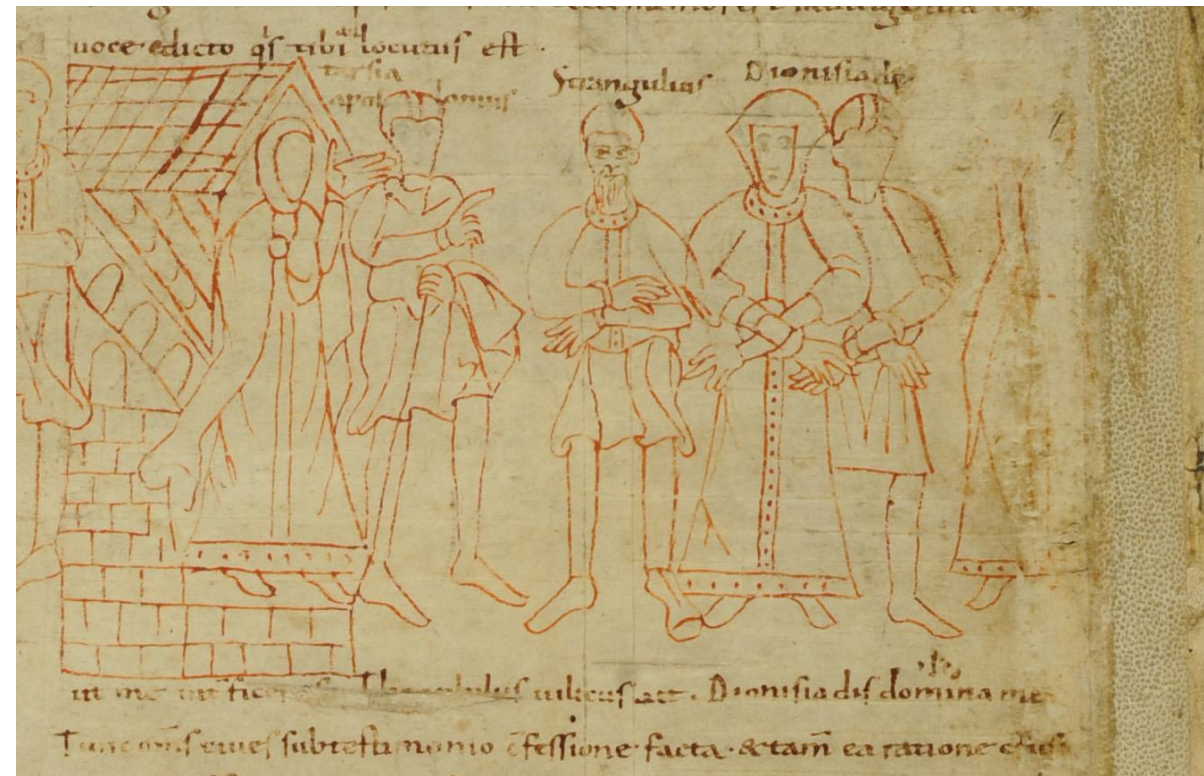
52.

53.



Fig. 53. Apollonius leaves Ephesus with his family; they sail to Tarsus with forces. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3v.

Fig. 54. Stranguillio, Dionysias and Theophilus before Apollonius and Tarsia. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3v.



54.

55.



Fig. 55. Stranguillio and Dionysias are stoned to death. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3v.

Fig. 56. Tarsia saves Theophilus from being killed. *Apollonius pictus*. Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca. 1000. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3v.

56.

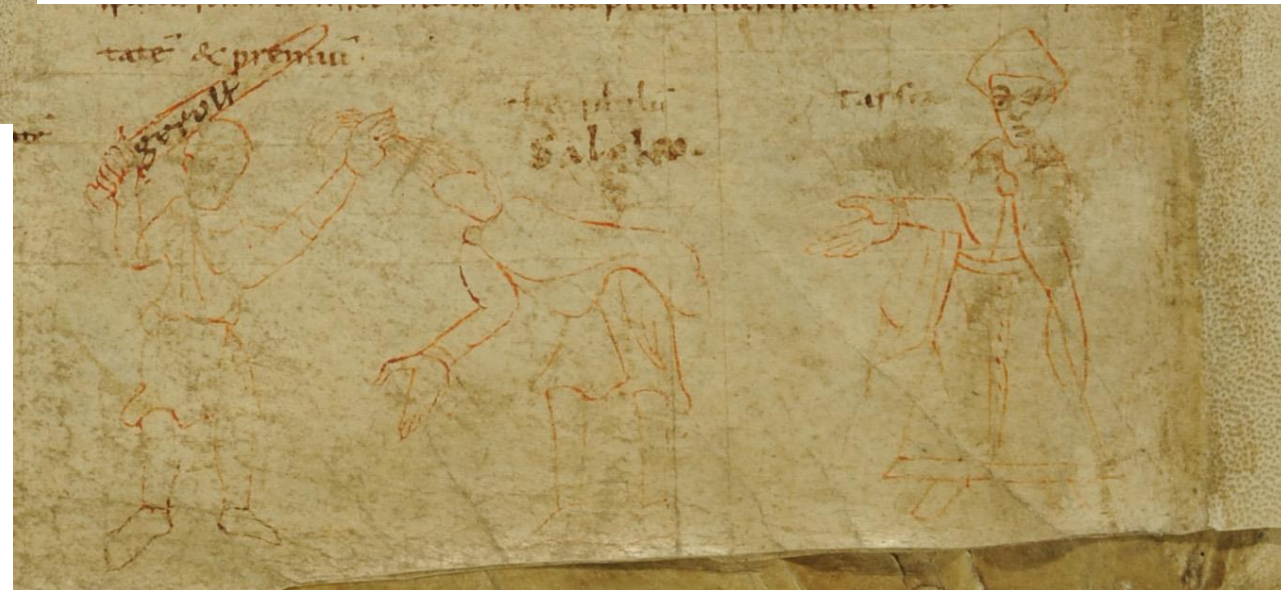




Fig. 57. Scene from the Life of St Kilian.
Libellus of St. Kilian and St. Margaret. Fulda,
ca. 970. Hannover, Niedersächsische
Landesbibliothek, Hs. I. 189, fol. 4v.

Fig. 58. Detail of Fig. 45.





Fig. 59. Martyrdom of St. Margaret of Antioch. *Libellus* of St. Kilian and St. Margaret. Fulda, ca. 970. Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hs. I. 189, fol. 32r.

Fig. 60. Detail of Fig. 22.

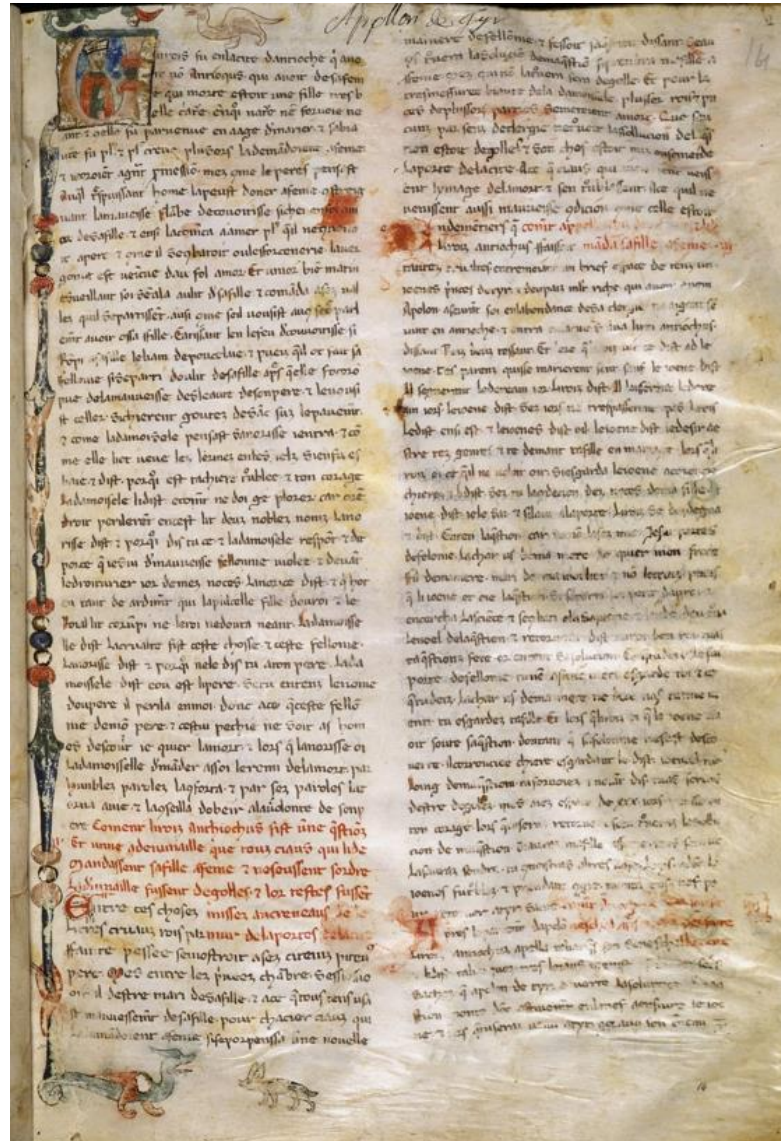


Fig. 61. Figural initial. First French prose version of the story of Apollonius. Genoa, late 13th century. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ash. 123, fol. 14r.



Fig. 62 A-B. Lucina plays the harp;
Apollonius plays the harp for Lucina and
her father. First French prose version of
the story of Apollonius. Genoa, late
13th century. Florence, Biblioteca
Medicea Laurenziana, Ash. 123, fol. 15v.





Fig. 63. Apollonius and his family. First French prose version of the story of Apollonius. Genoa, late 13th century. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ash. 123, fol. 22v.



Fig. 64. King Arthur and his knights. *Roman de Tristan*. Genoa, ca. 1300. Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 760, fol. 87v.



Fig. 65. Five kings preparing an attack on King Arthur. *Roman de Tristan*. Genoa, ca. 1300. Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 760, fol. 56v.



Fig. 66. Lady playing the harp. *Roman de Tristan*.
Genoa, ca. 1300. Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 760, fol. 115r.



Fig. 67. Birdmen. *De arte venandi cum avibus*. Southern Italy, middle of the 13th century. Rome, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1071, fol. 90v.



Fig. 68 A-B. Apollonius before King Antiochus.
Bologna/Padua, ca. 1300. Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 8503, fol.
1r.





Fig. 69. Nectanebus or Alexander the Great on his throne. Bologna/Padua, ca. 1300. Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 8503, fol. 7v.



Fig. 71. Baby Tarsia is taken to Tarsus.
Historia de miser Apollonio. Venice,
middle of the 14th century. Torino,
Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria,
N.V.6, fol. 12r.

Fig. 72 A-B. King of Hungary adopts St. Alban.
Legenda de misier Sento Alban and other texts.
 Venice, 3rd third of the 14th century. Venice,
 Biblioteca Correr, Ms. 1497 (cl. I 383), fol. 18r.

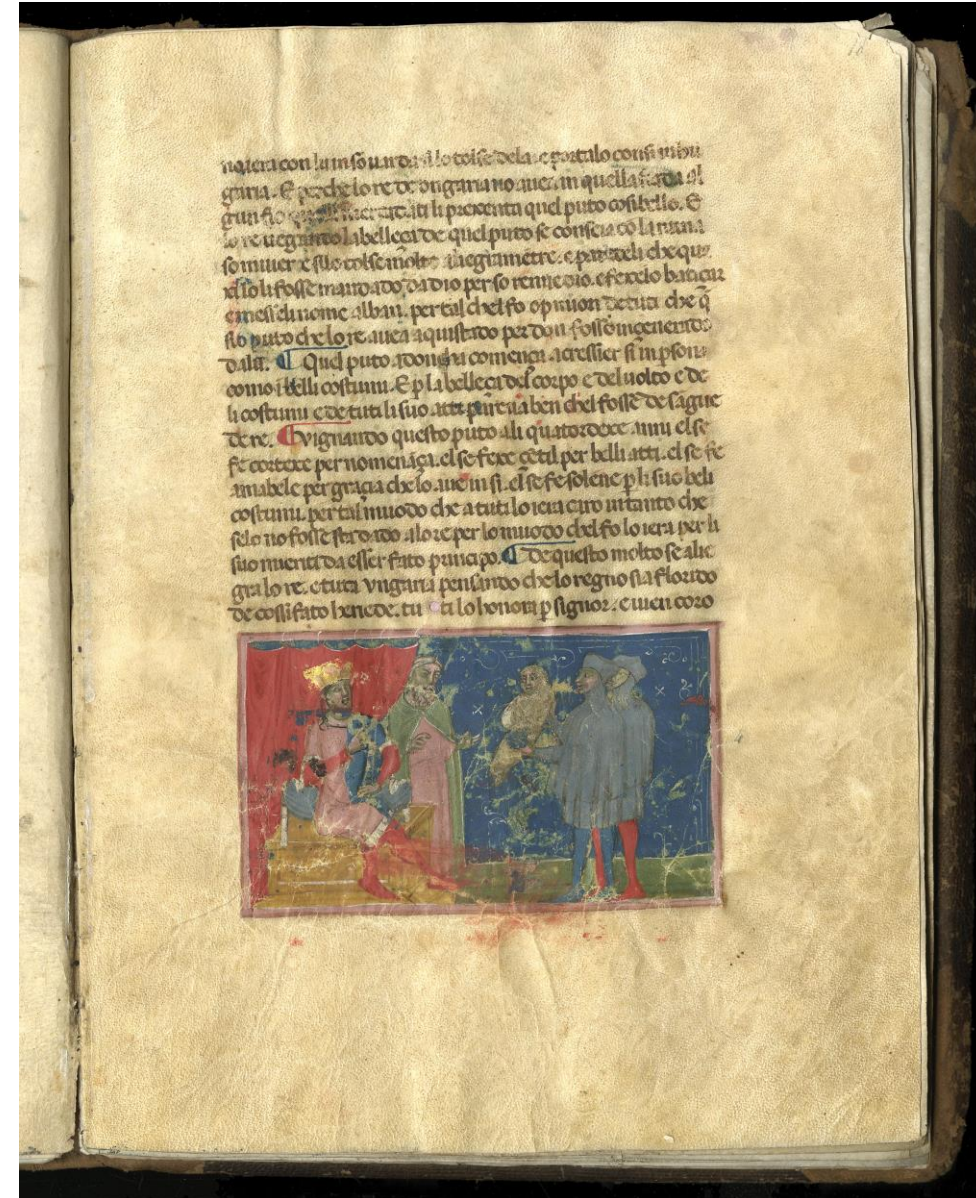




Fig. 74. Philip knights Alexander.
Roman d'Alexandre. Northern
Italy, ca. 1300. Venice, Biblioteca
Museo Correr, 1493, fol. 4r.

Fig. 75 A-B. Marriage of Paris and Helen. Guido de Columnis: *Historia destructionis Troiae*. Venice, around 1370 (?). Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 78, fol. 23v.

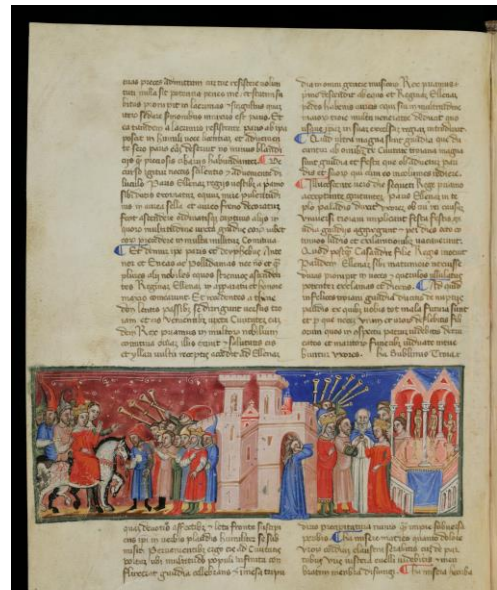
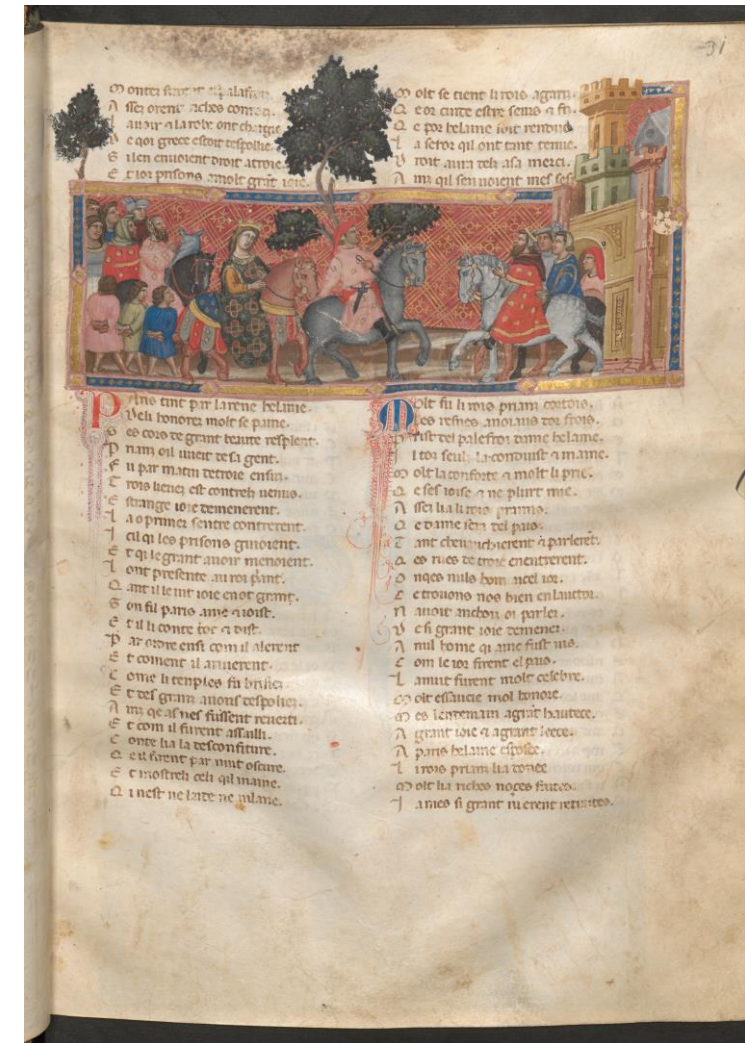


Fig. 76 A-B. Paris and Helen arrive in Troy. Benoît de Sainte-Maure: *Roman de Troie*. Padua, ca. 1320. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2571, fol. 31r.



S i arcuadi uelleas uos iuuua.
 p modulo legno fieri possemus annui.
 r e legna pari nra puella dan.
 a mure hys deis pure regna s'fona pu.
 e r arcuadi sanguant se ppuata.
 p ems gladijs uulna puq par.
 h ys h' ita conafis q uulne dante labie.
 t ana manie huc iulite q' uolote.
 h oc fintonia dies nra ferre folene.
 v ulnib' amidos unius isichatur ebri.
 u i iacer in lectis ppl' languet chamana.
 i mpoias gladijs colla secant' ei.
 o iubi oculis sic dina puella rixit.
 f ribi a'fous q' recta parna reuultit.
 e rxiatq' unis p'da fir ampla fuis.
 A r p' un' sic arguit eadme natos.
 C rudo ego uideo reges i fraude necatos.
 I nq'q' mox ppli .mox in die erit.
 e ce iebula l' euei .l' canauq.
 A q' gomeni dicit monant' ebria.
 A o'fius ero moxsi fipiacat' mei.
 D e uarijs h'is uenient huc plangit' fuit.
 p uula turba fuit' p'ana q' t'unt' un'.
 q' a' timco ne nos mox cohequer' bon'.
 q' e'p'det' puen. p' ur q'p' rata uerens.
 N o ne for' nra fup'it' flicat' muliens.
 C ulpa sic eribil' penna p'dempnis erit.
 D u' tunc ulla iacob celest' uoce uocat.
 C u' ficut' i' uelhel' ibi par' f'ibi plena par.
 P g'it' q' hic peadu' p'p'ul' omne gen'q.
 C ut' facite' d' t'oi' tenuit' chanaueob.
 N e p'ua' p'fugos hos p'fegrent' ebrieos.
 h e' deus ipe' uos' adine' faluat' eos.

Figu i' rehel' an' p'farcha fidel'.
 q' ignat' i' cufina' p'ami' celebrare' nichil'.
 q' q'nam' hic' d'ant' ma' ab' inde' perie.
 N oia' nate' i' iacob' e'ch'it' u'f'ra' f'ioz.
 e' f' rube' f'imeo' juda'q. leu' g'ar' q' a'fer.
 v' f'achar' q' z'abulo' da. neptali' e' q' i'olep.
 v' l'innis' i' p'ens' bonami' ille' f'it.
**Capitulum de Job qui natus est ex filij
 elau fratris iacob i' m'fopotamia f'rie**

In no ab ada 9999 lxxx. Adilluino de
 luy. Anno ad uulite' liguaz. d' luy. Anie
 f'up'p' a'f'f'moz. c' lxxxix' regnat' ap' a'f'
 nos reg' .xj. Salco. Et f'icomez reg' .ix.
 ad elapo' noie' q' anguoz reg' .c'io' noie' ap'
 ad ozuar' y'f'iac. Cu' e'f' anoz' e' lxxx. T'uc
 can' filij' eius' iacob' et' elau' centum' u'
 g'na' annozum.

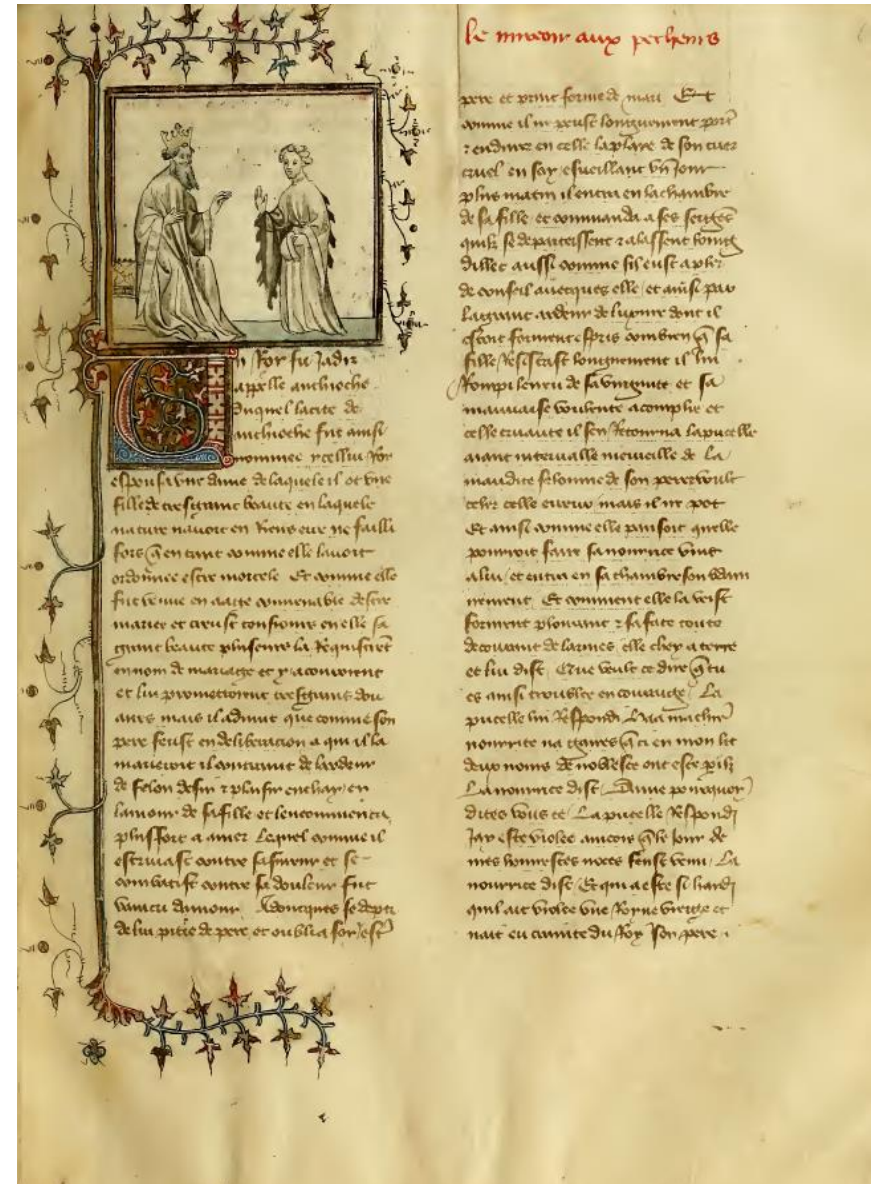
Ob de quo beatus gregorius i' moralibus

gloriosam edidit expositionem natus e
 de filijs elau fratris iacob p'p' q'd de ipe' b'ro
 Job ip'na pagina cura' t'rancaum' iacob
 q' elau' aliquam' uolumus' i'f'f'ice' p'one'
 lectone'. u'f'f'is' i'gnit' ancliamus.
Cripte' ada' l' enoch. noc. siml' e' abrahā loth.
 Et h' rebecha iacob' y'f'iaach' elau' ueniat' iob.
Surge deus' f'abaoth' d'coi' er' acco' ad hoc.
Dogmate' de' cel'. u'f' u'ccas' q' oie' f'it'.
No' f'ur' e'bra' g'f'is' neq' ur' moyses.
Er' tam' alma' dei' g'na' f'uit' ei.
Pgenes' elau' de' g'f'ab' e' o'ium'.
N auis' q' i' f'ep'p' f'yr' regiom' alumpn'.
Ded'aus' ob'f'equijs' nocte' dieq' dei.
No' ouis' aut' uiculus' no' amib' y'molar' e' d'.
Inmo' tu' e'f' q' m'elchite' u'f'olene.
P amib' q' u'ino' f'ac'h'ada' u'edie.
No' u'ides' lectu' q' no' p'ue' amof'f'co.
Ita' f'ac' d'ra' nec' ab' ordine' uenit' e'brae.
No' f'ac'm' genaltes' f'ima' u'illor' u'eo.
Melchite' d'eb' er' e' g'f'ed' e'nt' chanaueus.
Filus' e' noc' f'em' noie' u'illus' e'brae.
Tac' e'nt' i' m'udo' cu' u'illor' illa' u'ens.
Melchite' d'eb' ab' me' d' b' h' b'ama' u'ra.
Du' f'ilio' reges' u'ra' f'ic'at' e'lanu'at'.
O b' u'illor' q' d'ecimas' t'uc' p'or' ille' f'ias.
Vnde' p'at' genes' ad' f'ac'm' f'uit' p'iozes.
C on'f'ar' q' e'brae' l' d'um'ne' p'of'f'ices.
I n' u'eq' i' u'ole' f'ac'm' p'ora' f'ouene.
S i' d'amas' ab' ab'ah' pagano' folu' e'brae.
No' p'ecar' f' i' f'olur' cas' nob' p'har'f'us.
C u' d' p'ius' i' f'aur' cel'us' q'p' deus.
P lum' e' lectu' d' Job' f' i' no' f'it' g'f'if'as.
P f'ac'm' g'rigoz' p'ura' m'ed'ia' d'f'ces.
Nec' q' d'ns' conca' d'co'nt' u'f' ero.
Mox' y'f'iaach'.



Fig. 77. Birth of Job and death of Isaac. Godfrey of Viterbo: *Pantheon*. Milan, 1331. Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 4895, fol. 36r.

Fig. 78 A-B. Apollonius before King Antiochus. Second French prose version of the HA. Paris, ca. 1400. Boston, Public Library, Ms. f. Med. 91, fol. 69r.



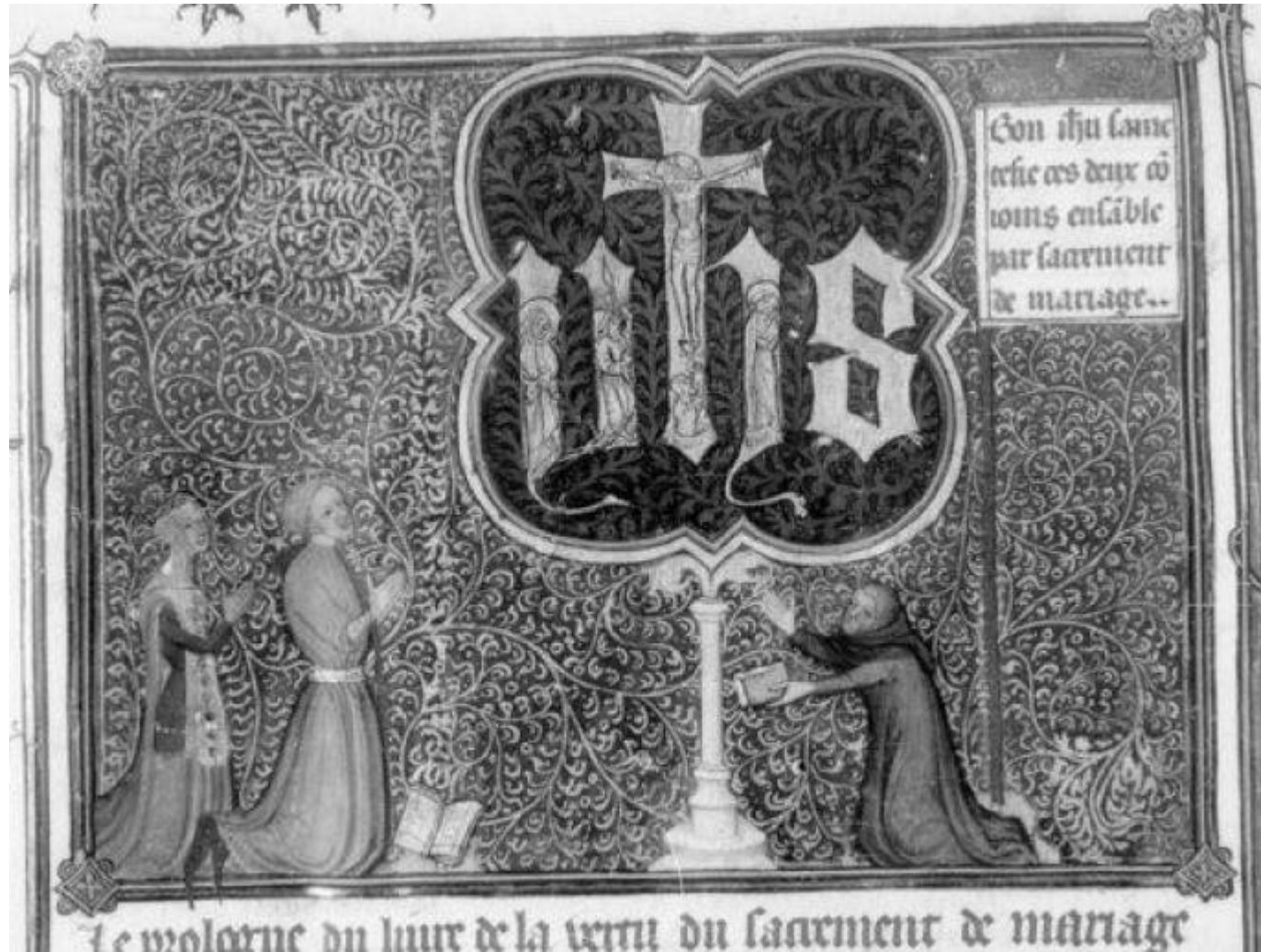


Fig. 79. Philippe de Mézières presents his work to Pierre de Craon and his wife, Jeanne de Châtillon. *Le livre de la vertu du sacrement de mariage et reconfort des dames mariees*. Paris, ca. 1400. Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 1175, fol. 1r.

Fig. 80 A-B. Dedication picture. Collection of texts, among them the story of Apollonius. Paris, ca. 1400. Boston, Public Library, Ms. f. Med. 91, fol. 1r.





Fig. 81. Presentation of the book to Valentina Visconti.
Honoré Bovet: *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun*. Paris,
ca. 1400. Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 811, fol. 1v.



Fig. 82. Group of musicians. John of Salisbury: *Policraticus*. Paris, ca. 1372. Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 24287, fol. 73v.



Fig. 83. Golden Legend. Paris, ca. 1400. Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 242, fol. 23r.



Fig. 84. Zabyon before the king. Collection of texts, among them the story of Apollonius. Paris, ca. 1400. Boston, Public Library, Ms. f. Med. 91, fol. 10r.



Fig. 85. King Antiochus in the bed chamber of his daughter. Second French prose version of the HA. Lille, ca. 1455. Bruxelles, KBR, 9632–33, fol. 138r.

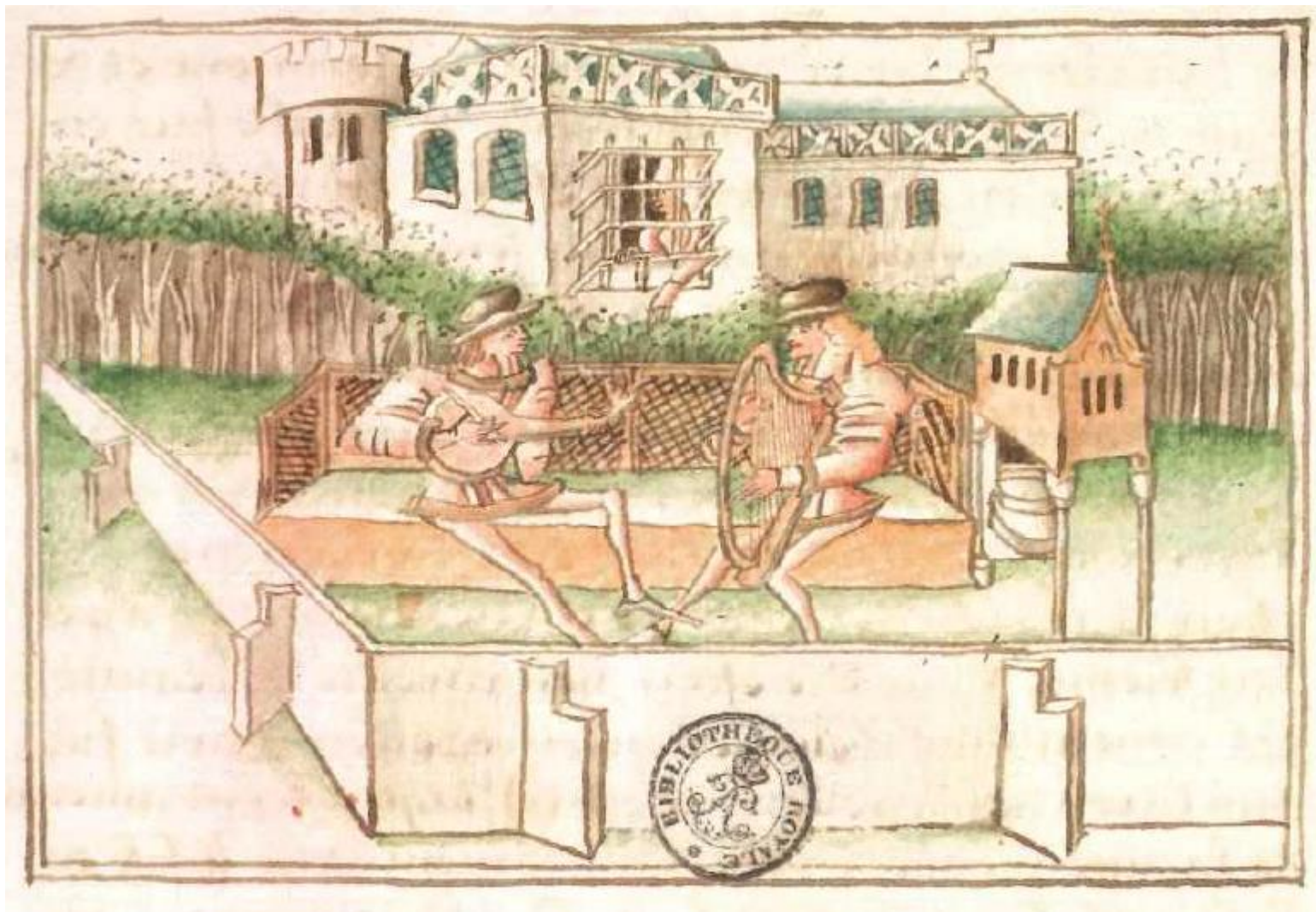


Fig. 86. Paris and his friend give serenade to Vienne. *Paris et Vienne*. Lille, ca. 1455. Bruxelles, KBR, 9632–33, fol. 1r.



Fig. 87. Unidentified scene. Lille, ca. 1455. Bruxelles, KBR, 9632–33, fol. 168r.



Fig. 88 A-B. King Antiochus and his daughter before their castle. Third French prose version of the HA. Southern Netherlands, middle of the 15th century. Bruxelles, KBR, 11192, fol. 1r.



Fig. 89 A-B. King Antiochus rapes his daughter. Fourth French prose version of the HA. Bruges, 1470s. London, BL, Royal 20 C II, fol. 210r.



lamour a apollin Sy se
pensa quelle se feroit
malade et se mist au lit
Et quant le for vit sa
fille malade si fist venir
tous les mires de sa cite
pour sauoir quelle ma-
ladie la fille auoit si se
garderent toutes les
bannies mais Jh ne seu-
rent oncques trouuer
quelle eust nul mal ne
dangier.



Comment la fille de
chicastes rescriuit a
son pere quelle vouloit
auoir pour mary celluy
qui fu fortune en mer.

Fig. 90. Lucina asks Apollonius to deliver her letter to her father. Fourth French prose version of the HA. Bruges, 1470s. London, BL, Royal 20 C II, fol. 217v.



Comment la femme de ap-
polin fu mise au coffre et
gettee en la mer arriua
au tiers jour en la terre
des effes.

Fig. 91. Lucina's coffin is found at Ephesus. Fourth French prose version of the HA. Bruges, 1470s. London, BL, Royal 20 C II, fol. 222r.



Fig. 92. Opening miniature. *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Bruges, 1470s. London, BL, Royal 20 C II, fol. 1r.



Fig. 94. Arion bringing concord. John Gower: *Confessio Amantis*. London, ca. 1470. New York, Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126, fol. fol. 7v.

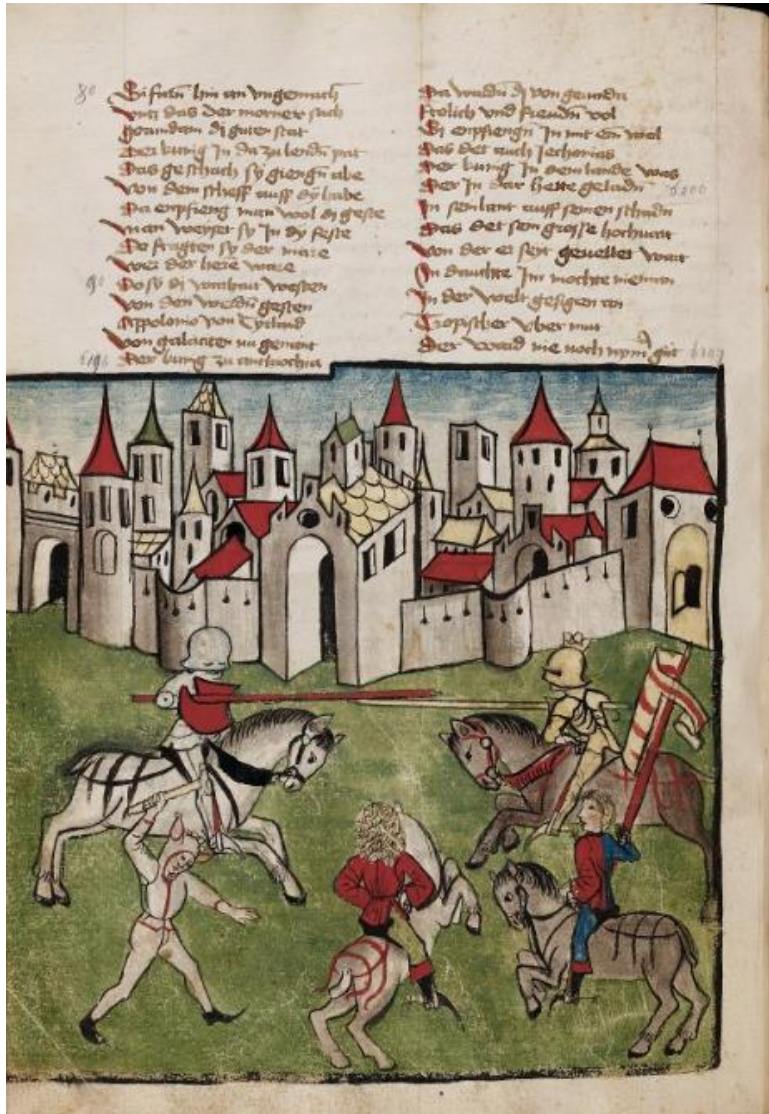


Fig. 95. Combat between Apollonius and Jechonias. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.
A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 49v.
B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 34v.



Fig. 96. Apollonius asks for the hand of King Antiochus' daughter.
Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrlant*. South German
regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 5v.



Fig. 97. Apollonius leaves Tyre. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 6v.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 1v.



Fig. 98. Taliarchus seeks Apollonius in Tyre. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 6v.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 1v.



Fig. 99. Hellenicus warns Apollonius. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 7r.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 2r.



Fig. 100. Apollonius gives grain to the citizens of Tarsus. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.
A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 9r.
B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 3v.



Fig. 101. Apollonius says goodbye to Stranguillio. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 10r.



Fig. 102. Apollonius suffers shipwreck. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 10r.



Fig. 103. A poor fisherman helps Apollonius. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 11r.



Fig. 104. Apollonius before the bath in Pentapolis (Cyrene). Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 11r.



Fig. 105. Apollonius participates in a ballgame in Pentapolis (Cyrene). Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.
A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 12r.
B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 4r.



Fig. 106. Apollonius talks to Lucina; King Archistrates talks to two men. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrlant*. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 13r.



Fig. 107. Lucina plays music. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 13v.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 5v.



Fig. 108. Lucina crowns Apollonius. Heinrich von Neustadt:
Apollonius von Tyrland. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha,
Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 13v.



Fig. 109. Three young men ask for the hand of Lucina. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrlant*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 15r.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 5*r.



Fig. 110. Lucina asks Apollonius to deliver her letter to her father. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrlant*. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 16r.



Fig. 111. Lucina asks her father to let her marry Apollonius. Heinrich von Neustadt:
Apollonius von Tyrlant. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek,
Chart. A. 689, fol. 16v.



Fig. 112. Wedding of Lucina and Apollonius. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 17r.



Fig. 113. Apollonius and Lucina at the harbor of Pentapolis (Cyrene). Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrlant*. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 18r.

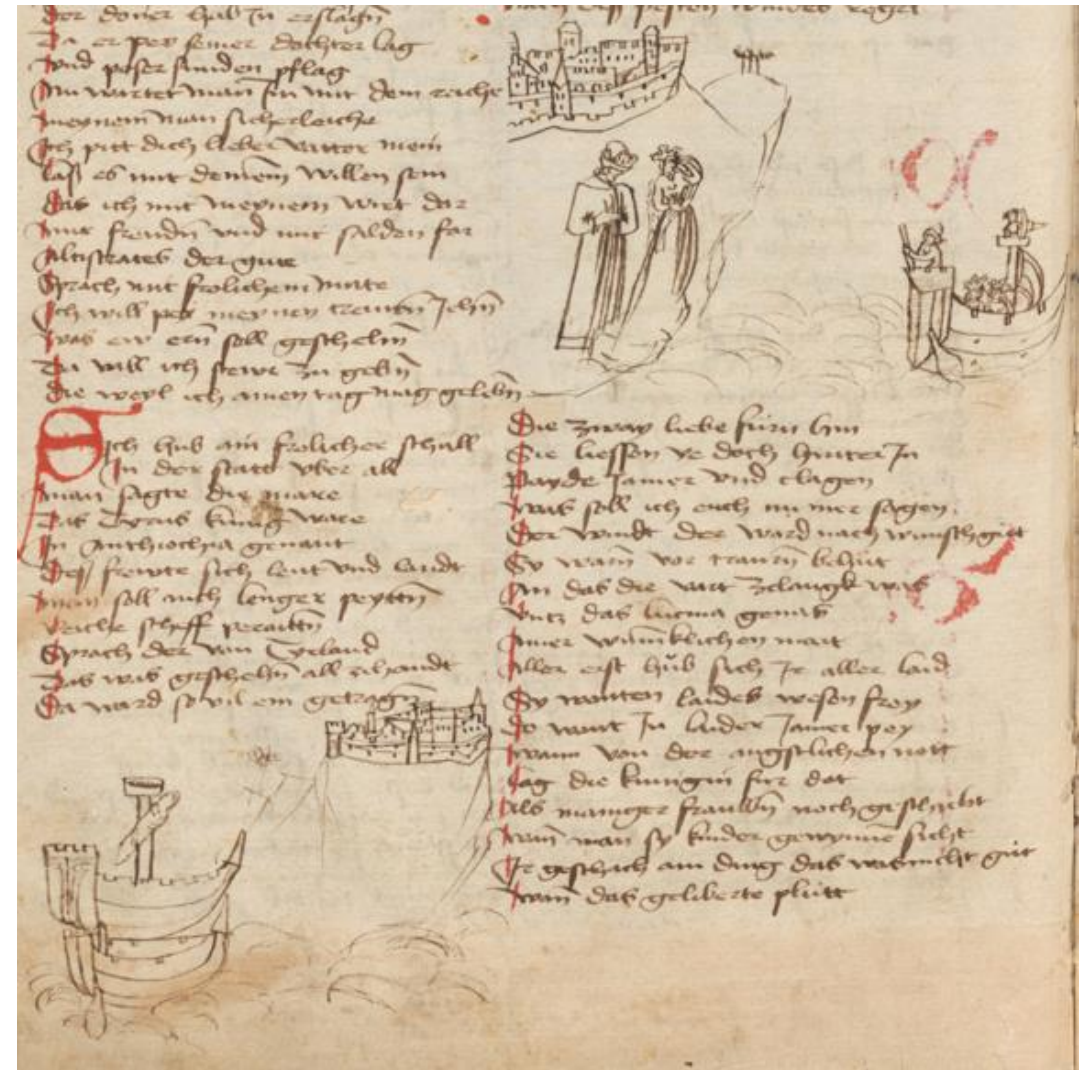


Fig. 114. Two ships in the harbor of Pentapolis (Cyrene); Apollonius and Lucina say good-bye to King Archistrates and his wife. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 19r.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 6v.



Fig. 115. Apollonius mourns over the seeming death of Lucina. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrlant*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 19v.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 7r.



Fig. 116. Lucina's coffin is thrown into the sea.
Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.
A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha,
Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 20r.
B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467.
Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 7v.



Fig. 117. Lucina's coffin is found at Ephesus. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 20v.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 8r.



Fig. 118. The doctor establishes Lucina among the priestesses of Diana; Apollonius entrusts his baby daughter to his friends in Tarsus. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 22r.

B–C. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 9r-v.



Fig. 119. Tarsia at the bed of her dying nurse. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 119r.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 94r.



Fig. 120. Theophilus attacks Tarsia at her nurse's sepulcher. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 120v.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 95r.



Fig. 121. Pirates take Tarsia away. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

- A. South German regions, ca. 1465.
Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 121r.
- B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467.
Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 95v.





Fig. 122. Tarsia in the brothel. Heinrich von Neustadt:
Apollonius von Tyrland.

- A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 123r.
- B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 98r.





Fig. 123. Tarsia entertains the citizens of Mytilene. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 124r.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 99r.

Fig. 124. Arriving in Tarsus Apollonius speaks to Stranguillio and Dionysias. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

- A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 125v.
- B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 100r.





Fig. 125. Tarsia tells riddles to Apollonius. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrlant*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 129v.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 104r.

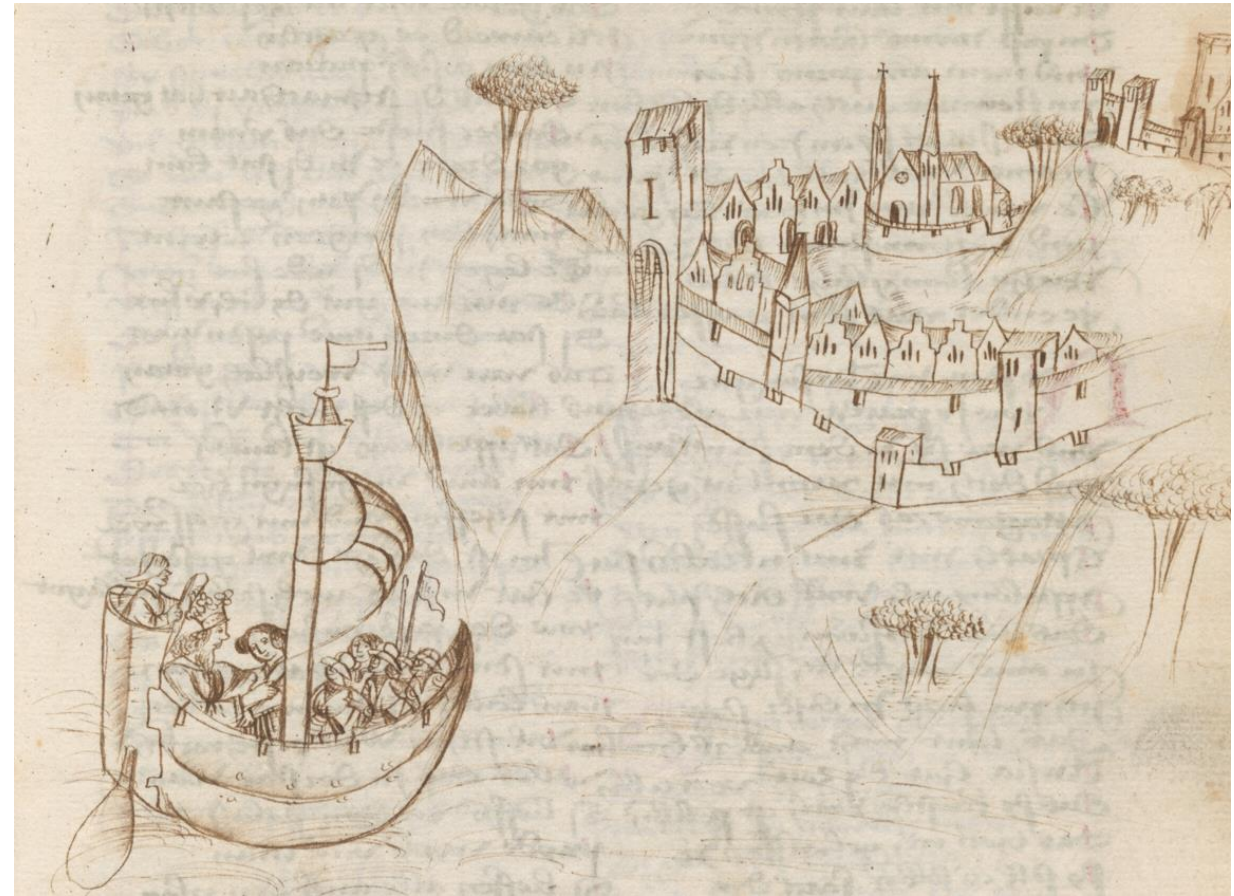


Fig. 126. Apollonius recognizes Tarsia. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 130v.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 105r.



Fig. 127. The brothel keeper is burnt to death. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 131v.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 106r.



Fig. 128. The overseer before Apollonius and Tarsia.
Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

- A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha,
Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 132r.
- B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna,
ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 106v.



Fig. 129. Stranguillio and Dionysias before Apollonius. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 133r.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 107v.





Fig. 130. Stranguillio and Dionysias are stoned to death.
Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

- A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 134r.
- B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 108v.





Fig. 131. Apollonius meets Lucina in the Ephesian temple of Diana. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 134v.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 109r.



Fig. 132. King Archistrates receives Apollonius and his family in Pentapolis (Cyrene). Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

- A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 136r.
- B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 110r.

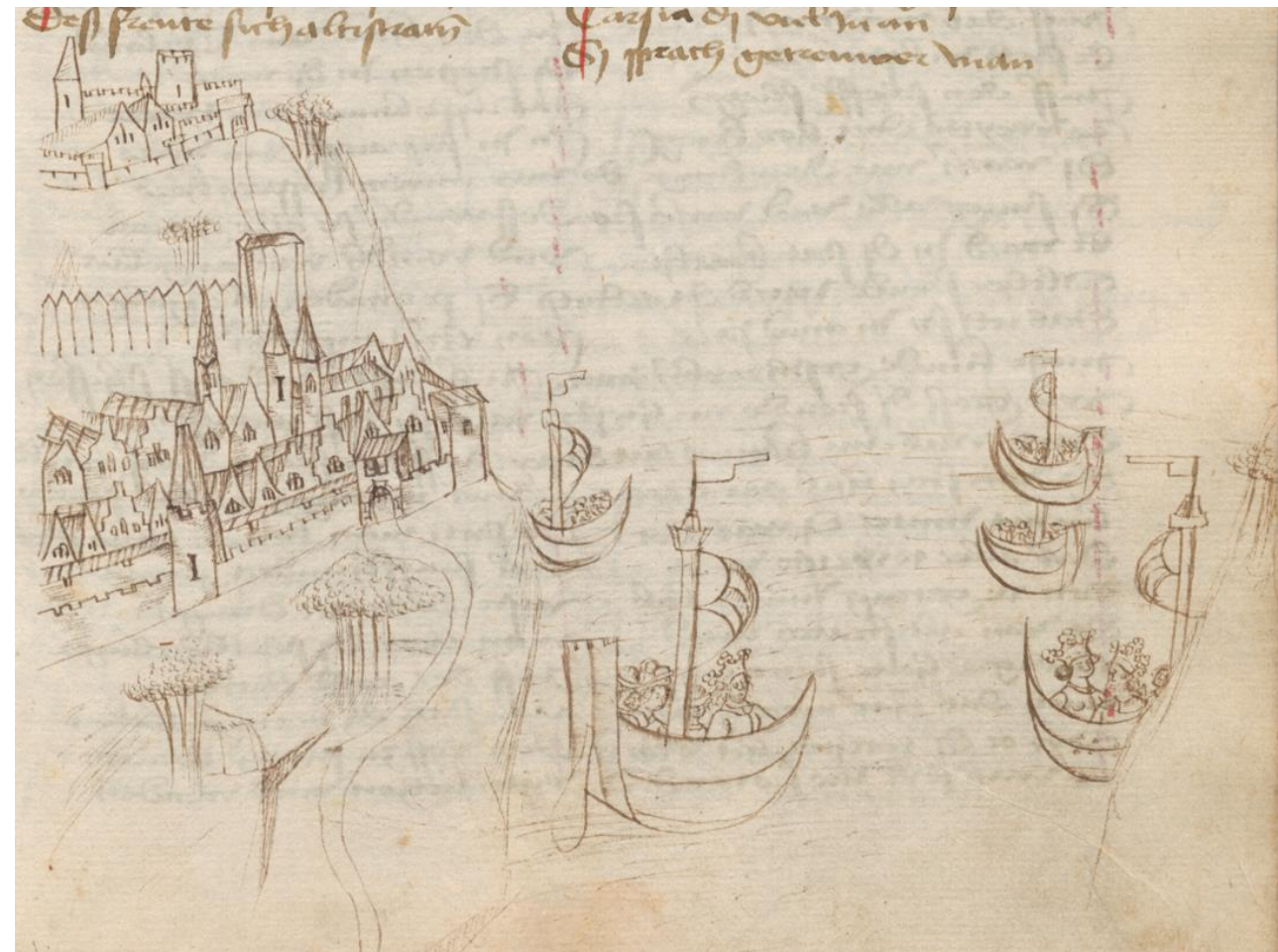




Fig. 133. The citizens of Pentapolis (Cyrene) greet Apollonius and his family. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

- A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 137r.
- B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 111r.

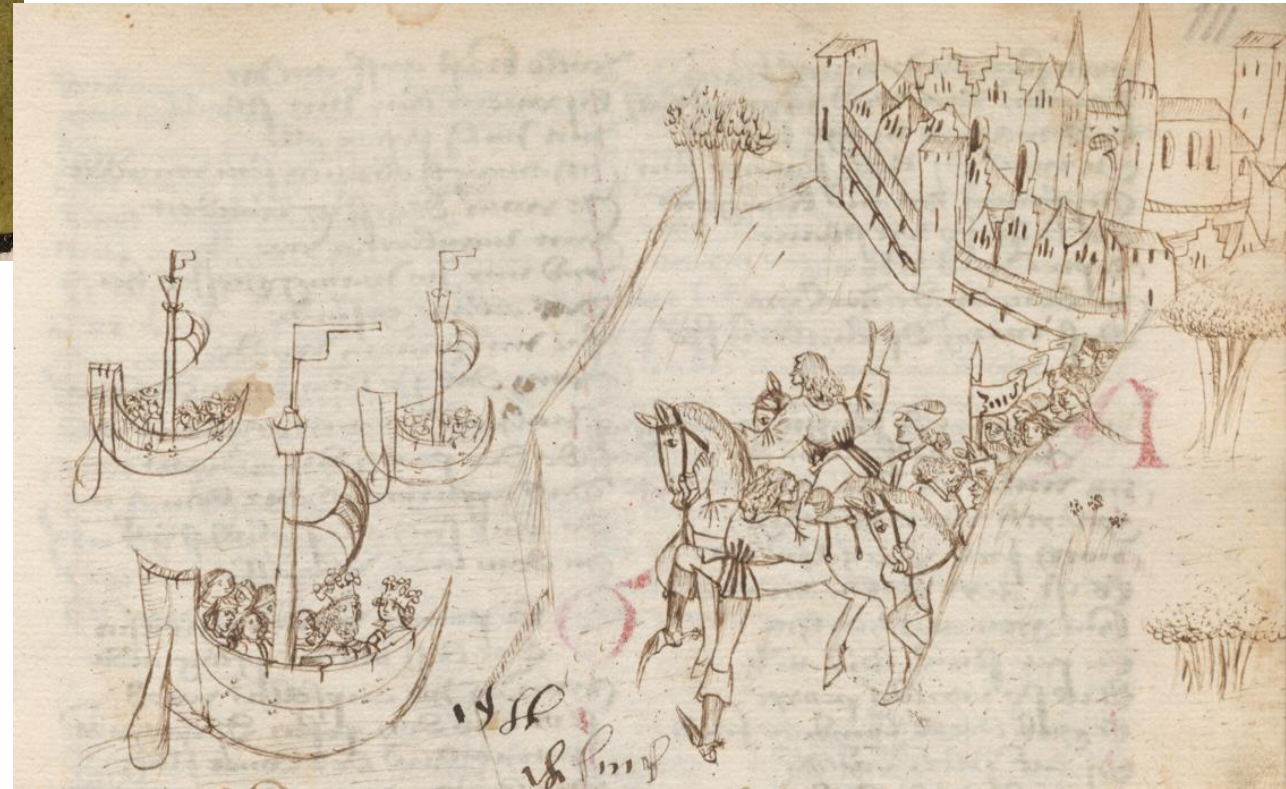




Fig. 134. Apollonius meets Cirilla. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*.

A. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 45r.

B. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 30v.



Fig. 135. Apollonius fights with King Prothaseus. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrlant*. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 109v.



Fig. 136. Battle scene. Sigismund Meisterlin: *Augsburger Chronik*. Augsburg, 1457. Stuttgart, WLB, HB V 52, fol. 36r.

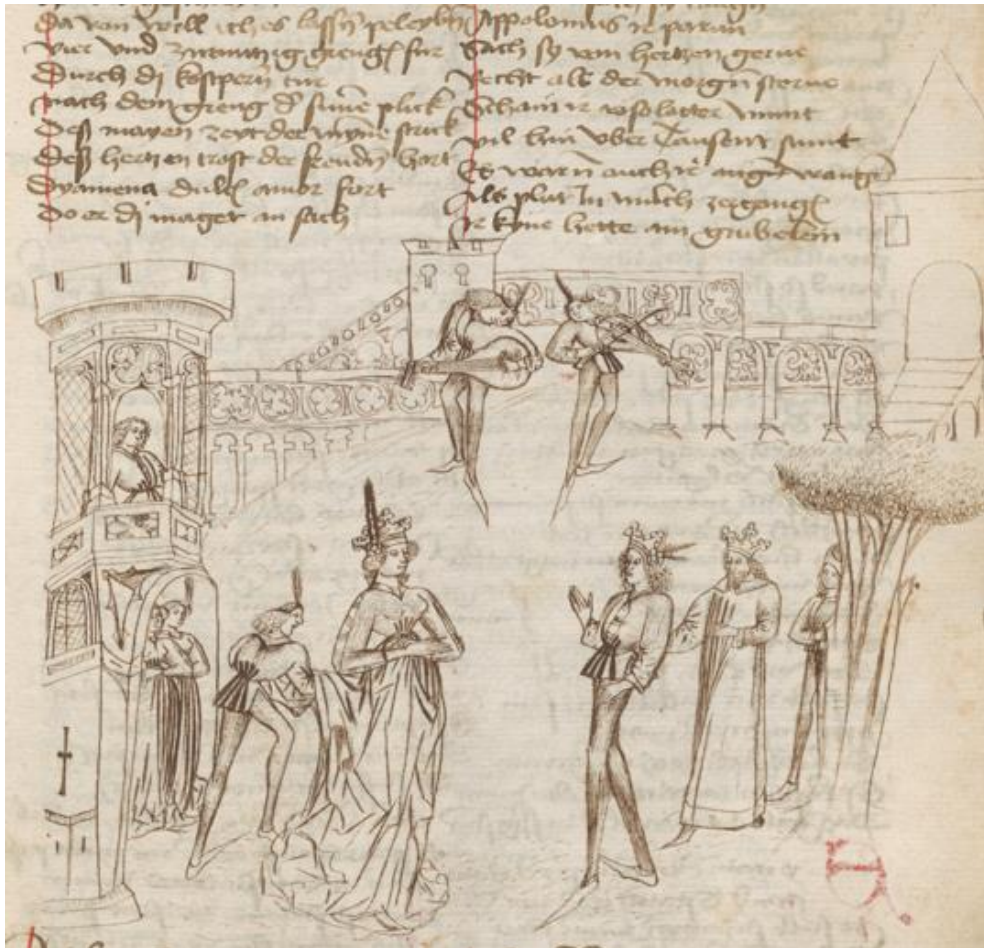


Fig. 137. Apollonius meets King Candor's daughter, Diomena. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrland*. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 81r.



Fig. 138. Meister WH: Garden of Love. 1470/1480. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. Nr. K 8222.

77
 In al was saching schuch loecht
 Er schreiet sich uml des her pfan
 Per tines Gotz das sroer
 Er slug den ale al
 In sturben mang mal



Do Di hant verdrach
 Vagleich such der nach stuch
 Alsuf genos der wode nun
 Das hatte pilagus gertin
 Er was müde und lach
 Der gen ravanis es af
 Er wand lach von müde gen
 Er pot jr den wölde er
 Er af traudt und wald so stuch
 Er sprach hier ich lunder maude
 Er gab ich nach umb alfund
 Umb fust ich der so gebir wal
 Sprach du in appolonius
 Des dardet in vint pilagus

Die der her an lunder
 Am grossen mer vunder
 Es herte wol quering fust
 Der gangt was vofuste
 Es was wal an blaster hoch
 Eine zage es nach in zoch
 Per was prau als an isch
 Es was ein vngesicht vifit
 Der leyb was quarer wanne prau
 Gemlicher es der her schmit
 Er was sthane es vor in sthange
 Er wam setis als lang
 Do es pilagus gestuch
 Er den tize er sprach
 Fleuch drate wuhngesch
 Es mag anders nicht gemese
 Er sprach hie vint fluchend vif
 Was hat mir du von gestuch
 So fluch in ab das paimie vor
 Das der breuch hietrege expon
 Der pageyffer es sich do mit
 So qelhet er sich an alle pie
 Er in in des wassers gunt
 So pistu der an der stund 777

Er was dich als ein pain
 Inang zering er wam
 Slug es auf den ale
 Er lach und grosse quake
 Vagleich such lebong was
 Es es viel auf das gias
 Er sprang auf in alle pit
 Er wand sich uml in rly von wind
 Des vofulige wasser wald
 Schof mit den haupt such de schilt
 Es such der vil warden
 In den stuch in der wden
 Er herte ul nalsent verzager
 Pilagus dort her jager
 Er gab der nalen eine slag
 Das p vor den stuch lag

779

Die
 Vint
 Spr
 Des
 O
 Es h
 Ser
 Es v
 Am
 Per
 Es v
 Ein

Fig. 139 A-B. Apollonius fights with an eel by the Ganges. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrlant*. South German regions, ca. 1465. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 689, fol. 78v.



Fig. 140 A-B. Alexander the Great (?). Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. Augsburg, 1468. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol., fol. 2v.



Fig. 141 A-B. Apollonius before King
 Antiochus. Heinrich Steinhöwel:
Apollonius von Tyrus. Augsburg, 1468.
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek,
 Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol., fol. 8r.

ngonant zu dem
 ex willen hatt ze
 diuon zu hande
 roard ain ruff. In
 dem bade. Dae
 Einigt wechyssea
 tos kompt zu
 baden. Apollo
 mus gieng sine
 Das pad in ze
 schatven. Do.
 sach ex her gon
 den Einigt wech
 ysseatos mit die
 sinax diuon.
 Einetwail teyden
 mit dem palla



Do gadacht der
 nackent Apollo
 mus. Das spil
 komest du dich
 ain maister zu
 sein. Dnd imoche
 mit dhälten. Ex
 liess dem palla
 engegen dnd slug
 in so subilliglich.
 Das dae Einigt
 ain besunder uff
 sehen auff. In halt
 Ex fließ sich auch
 Das ex dem Einigt
 den pall mere
 zu schlug. Wan
 ex in gepuet sein
 gleichen. Das.
 Also die aber im
 das pad kominen
 Apollonius
 machet sich zu
 den Einigt in.
 zu diuon. Ho
 paldt aber wech
 ysseatos das ex
 sieht. Do hiesse
 ex von im gon
 alle sein diuon



Fig. 142 A-B. Apollonius takes part in a ballgame in Pentapolis (Cyrene). Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. Augsburg, 1468. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol., fol. 19v.

Das er se dan wachen
 wetzet, gahaben hatt
 Daz vatter secket
 Des tag, daz hoch-
 zeyt, und ließe be-
 ruffen allen seinen
 Adel und die nach-
 bare schaffte, und
 sprach zu ihm, Ich
 bin auch zu wissen
 Das mein tochter
 mit manne willen
 Apollonius von
 Tyrus zu einem
 manne genome hat
 Darumb ich auch
 pitt mit mir und
 man freunde zu
 haben. Do ward
 beröht nach künig-
 licher windigkeit
 geofft vonet schaffte
 die wachet manich
 tag, und se gienge
 mit freunden und
 ward Apollonius
 gekönigt, und ein
 Jarvaltiger tochter
 man das künigeb
 wechse waltos ge-
 haissen. In dreyen



zaitten hyn nach
 ward die tochter
 Schwanger da
 von manigliche
 seföot ward.
 Wie der künig
 Antiochus ver-
 prean und sein tocht
 von dem heiligen
 feine auff dem
 mere und als ma
 suchet Apolloniu
 in allen landen im
 pliche zu erunden
 Das er das künig-
 wechse besiffte &



Fig. 143 A-B. King Antiochus and his daughter are killed by a lightning. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. Augsburg, 1468. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol., fol. 27v.

laydas er gahet
 vunde in den ich
 alle mein hoffnung
 gahet von 4.
Wie Apollo
Wunns son tocht
erfennen ward
aufs see rade.
die sie geton hat
und sie empfing
mit grossen freuden.



Als pult
 sie ab
 anfang
 zu pult
 das die

auff dem mace
 geboren ware
 do lofet Apol-
 lomius flussig
 kuchen auff. und
 macebat an alln
 zentwozten das
 sie sein tochter
 was. und dial te
 ombe den hals
 und kisset sie
 und kummat in me-
 lichen vor gross
 freuden und sprach
 mit lauttez stym
O. kernhertzig
gott das du ben-
 nast die hymel
 und die treffin
 das halle und
 die haimlichkeit
 aller betrubten
 hertzen. **Be-**
segnat sey dein
 name. **O** aller
 suessste tochte
 mein sale und
 leben. Ich will
 fruchtbaß mit seiden
 von deine wun



Fig. 144 A-B. Apollonius finds his daughter
 in Mytilene. Heinrich Steinhöwel:
Apollonius von Tyrus. Augsburg, 1468.
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs.
 75. 10. Aug. Fol., fol. 47v.

zu neman. Do
 frue ich auß mit
 meinem Swangn
 weyb. die mir ain
 tochter gepac uff
 mare. Doch sach
 sie mir an der
 gepinet. Do ließ
 ich Fran tottan laich
 name in ainorn
 Sach auß das
 mare mit gold
 und silber lagon
 ob die auß come
 das sie damit wird
 igklich bestattet
 wird. und diß
 mein tochter hatt
 ich beuollen zu
 laxen und zu naza
 dan aller schalck
 hastigisten lautten
 bis das die zu ja
 tagen edina. die
 nach in dem diez
 zehenden jare.
 Als ich wider kom
 im Tarßin mein
 tochter zu suchon
 Sprachon die die
 waz gestorben.

Das gelaubet ich
 und setzet mir sine
 dremmb in teure
 und laide all man
 tag zu der teure
 und also er sterben
 In dem hie hie u
 mein tochter one
 sine betachten.
 wider geben worden
 wie die künigin
 Cleopatra hien.
 Wohlhal erkonet
 bey der rede die
 er tüt vor der
 Gottyn Diane



Fig. 145 A-B. Apollonius at the temple of
 Diana in Ephesus. Heinrich Steinhöwel:
Apollonius von Tyrus. Augsburg, 1468.
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek,
 Hs. 75. 10. Aug. Fol., fol. 51r.



Fig. 146. A Roman emperor in the company of three kings.
Jakob Twinger von Königshofen: *Deutsche Chronik*. Augsburg,
1467. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A. 158, fol. 108r.



Fig. 147. Alexander the Great. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 1r.



Fig. 148. Alexander the Great. Johann Hartlieb: *Alexander*. GW 884, Augsburg, 1473. Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Inc-III-23, fol. 1v.

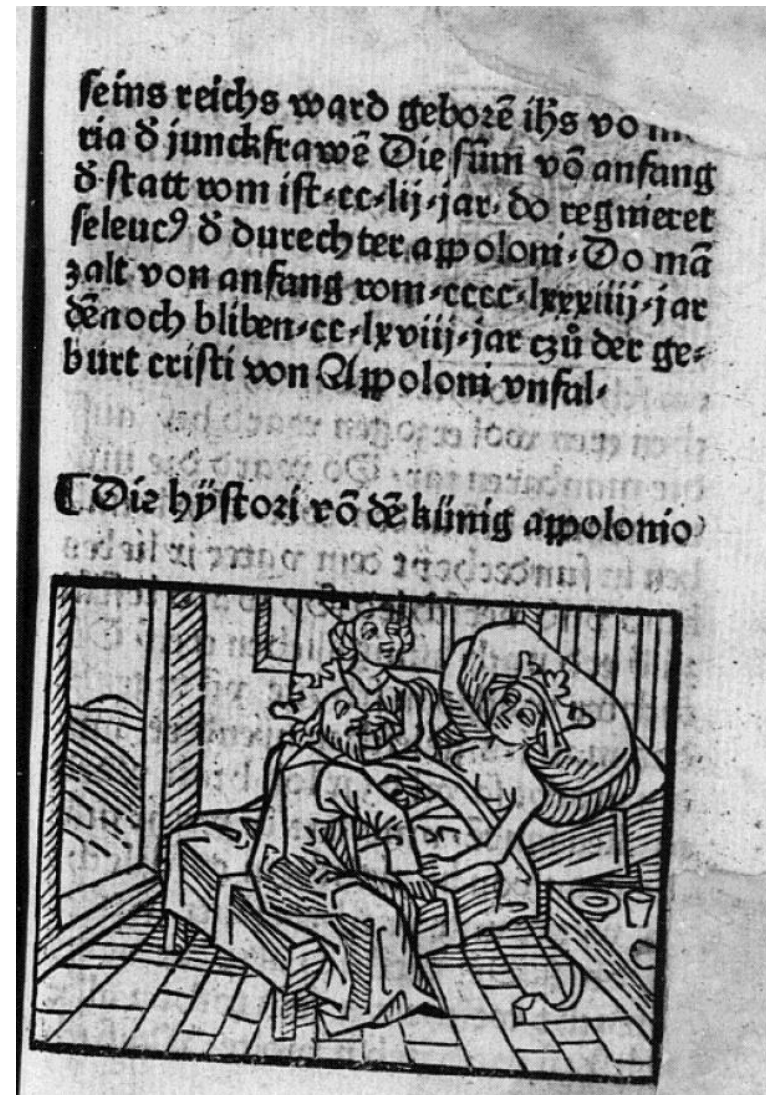


Fig. 149. Death of King Antiochus' wife. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 9r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. a8r.



Fig. 150. King Antiochus leaves his daughter's bedchamber. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 10r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. b1r.



Fig. 151. The head of the suitors of King Antiochus' daughter are cut off. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 11v.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. b2v.



Fig. 152. Apollonius before King Antiochus. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 13r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. b4r.



Fig. 153. Apollonius leaves for Tyre. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 15v.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. b6r.



Fig. 154. Taliarchus seeks Apollonius. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 17v.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. b8r.



Fig. 155. Apollonius arrives in Tarsus. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 19r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. c1v.



Fig. 156. Apollonius saves the citizens of Tarsus from hunger. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 21r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. c3v.



Fig. 157. On Stranguillio's advice Apollonius leaves Tarsus. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.
A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 24r.
B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. c6r.



Fig. 158. Apollonius suffers shipwreck. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Munich, BSB, 4 Inc.c.a. 77 m-2, fol. 25r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. c7r.



Fig. 159. A fisherman shares his cloak with Apollonius. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 26r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. c8r.



Fig. 160. Apollonius meets King Archistrates in the bath. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.
A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 28r.
B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. d1v.



Fig. 161. Apollonius is invited to the court of King Archistrates. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 29v.

B. GW 2275, Augsburg, 1479. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Ink 231, fol. 25v.

C. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. d3r.

B. C.

A.





Fig. 162. Lucina (Cleopatra) plays music to Apollonius. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 31v.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. d5r.



Fig. 163. Lucina (Cleopatra) asks her father to give shelter to Apollonius. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.
A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 35r.
B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. d8r.



Fig. 164. Lucina (Cleopatra) gets sick of love. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 37r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. e1v.



Fig. 165. Wedding of Lucina (Cleopatra) and Apollonius. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 40r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. e4r.



Fig. 166. King Antiochus and his daughter are killed by lightning, therefore Apollonius leaves for Antioch. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 41v.



Fig. 167. The coffin of Lucina (Cleopatra) is thrown into the sea. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 44r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. e7v.



Fig. 168. The coffin of Lucina (Cleopatra) is found at Ephesus. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.
A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 46r.
B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. f1v.



Fig. 169. Apollonius entrusts his baby daughter to Stranguillio and Dionysias. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 48v.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. f4r.



Fig. 170. Tarsia goes to school. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 50r.



Fig. 171. Stranguillio's daughter is mocked, while Tarsia is praised. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 52r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. f7r.



Fig. 172. Tarsia is taken by pirates. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 54v.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. g1r.



Fig. 173. Tarsia is sold to a brothel keeper in Mytilene. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 56r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. g2v.



Fig. 174. Athenagoras visits Tarsia in the brothel. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 58r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. g4v.



Fig. 175. Tarsia in the brothel. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 60r.



Fig. 176. Apollonius seeks his daughter in Tarsus. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 61v.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. g8r.



Fig. 177. Tarsia tries to comfort Apollonius. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 65v.



Fig. 178. Apollonius recognizes Tarsia. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 71r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. h7v.



Fig. 179. Wedding of Tarsia and Athenagoras. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2275, Augsburg, 1479. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Ink 231, fol. 65r.



Fig. 180. Apollonius sails to Ephesus with Tarsia and Athenagoras. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 74r.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. i2v.



Fig. 181. Lucina (Cleopatra) recognizes Apollonius. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 76v.



Fig. 182. Apollonius and his family sails to Antioch and Tarsus. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. A.

GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 77v.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. i5r.



Fig. 183. Apollonius rewards the poor fisherman. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 79v.

B. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. i6v.

also bewogt das grosse der wellē vñ ie
 vngestümikeyt ire schiff yetz zū grunde
 des mezes / yetz in l. d. he der wolden ge
 sehen wurden. Affricus vnd Zephirus
 in widerwertigem starcken wāen zū
 rissen alle segel. die schiff zū prachē / dar
 umb sy in todes nöten kamen / yeder be
 halff sich so er pest mocht / Do gieng in
 mezes grund alle künigliche zierd von
 gold / silber / gewand / edel gestam des
 küniges appoloni / Alle seine diener ver
 durben / er schwam auff einem pret das
 er beziffen hett nacktet so lang piß in dz
 mer außschlug an das Tirenisch gestad
 Als er aber auff kam da stünd er an dē
 land vnd sprach also. O du vngetreuer
 trugenhaftiger Neptune. wie hast du
 mich beraubt aller meiner eren vñ gü
 tes / das ich nackteder vñ ellēder on alle

hoffnung der hilff steen muß. dz gelück
 rat hat mir den namen geben eines kün
 niges von Tiria vñ Sydomia / des hast
 du mich beraubt. vñ dar für armüt vnd
 ellend geben. für gute gestalt vnd ge
 zierd meines leibes machest du mich na
 cket vnd ellend / vor grosser keltē ziteren
 vñ krafftloß / dz ich mit waiss an welch
 es ende ich keren sol

Wie ein armer vischer dem künig
 Appoloni o sein armüt mittel vñ
 in zū der stat Pantapolim weisset



Aschwā auß auf einē
 pret dz er begriffē hett
 nacktet so lāg piß in dz
 mer außschlug an das
 Tirenisch gestad. Als
 er auf kā do stünd er an dē land vñ spr
 ach also O du vngetreuer neptune wie
 hast du mich beraubt aller meiner eren
 vñ güz / dz ich nackted vñ ellēder on alle
 hoffnüg d hilff steen muß. dz gelückrad
 hat mir dē namē geben eines küniges
 vñ Tiria vñ Sidomia des hast du mich
 beraubt vñ dar für armüt gebē / für gü
 te gezierde meines leibs machst du mich
 nacktet vñ ellēder / dz ich mit waiss wo hē
 ich keren sol

Wie ein armer vischer dē künig
 Appoloni o sein armüt mittel

Fig. 184 A-B. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.
 GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8
 Inc 73, fol. 25r–25v.

Fig. 185 A-B. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.
 GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Munich, BSB, 4 Inc.c.a. 77 m-
 2, fol. 25r–25v.



Do ward appoloni betru
bet in disen worten vñ
in grosse sorgen gieng
er wider in seyn schiff
mit allem seinē volcke
vnd für wider in sein künigreich Ticia
Aber als pald er vō dannē kam berüft
anthiochus seinen hofmeister. Taliar-



Do ward Appoloni betriebe
in disen worten vñ in grossen
sorgen gieng er wider in sein
schiff mit allem seinem volcke
vnd für wider in sein künigreich Ticia
Aber als pald er von dannen kam berüft
anthipchus seinen hofmeister. Taliar-
chus vnd sprach zū im also. D aller lieb-
ster Taliarche. du bist der. D mein herze

Fig. 186. Apollonius leaves for Tyre. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 15v.

B. B. GW 2275. Augsburg, 1479. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Ink 231, fol. 13v.

zū mein tisch des er mich nach seiner
geberdt nicht vn würdig, sunder gar
wol würdig bedunckt.

Wie Apollonius gen hoffte kam vñ
beklapdet ward vñnd wie er sich ob
dem tisch hielt.



d.iiij.

Fig. 187. Apollonius is invited to the court of King Archistrates. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. d3r.

Hienach halten sy die hochzeit vnd siesen al
le zū tisch vnd trincken vnd essen mit eman
der gar freüntlich.



Er graf von Potiers hieß darauf
zū potiers ein gar grosse hochzeit
machen vnd seine vetten den gra-
fen vom Forst darzū beruffē wān
er sich des mit seinen lehenmānen zehūn be-
raten het vnd auff die selben hochzeit kam
nun der genant graff vom Forst vñnd mit
m drey seiner sūn gar mit weydelicher zu-
cht vnd ordnung Auf diser hochzeit d graff
von Potiers genant Enrich den selben gra-
fen vom Forst vnd seine sūn eret nach dem

Fig. 188. Wedding scene. Thüring von Ringoltingen: *Melusine*. GW 12662, Augsburg, ca. 1488. Munich, BSB, Ink C-689, fol. 3v.



An handt darnach nā
 dz hofgesind vrlaub
 von dem künig vnd
 gieng ved in sein bee-
 berg- apoloni? stün-
 de auch auf vñ spra-
 ch also. D guter künig d armē barmh-
 zikept vñ du künigin ein liebhaberim

Fig. 189. Lucina (Cleopatra) asks his father to give shelter to Apollonius. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. d8r.

Wie die fürstin vnd künigin dē künig vō El-
 sas in d stat Prag entgegen gieng vnd in gar
 erlichen vnd schon empfieng vnd einleitet.



Der künig tröst sō vnd sprach Lybe-
 nitell gehabe dich wol. wān ob dyc
 dein vatter ab gegangen ist vnd dir
 dein land etwas verirret ist worden.
 dz ist nun vō der genad vñ hilff des allmehti-
 gen gotz erlichen vnd wolgerochen. wān als
 dein vatter mein huld sätiger von dē thürck-
 ischen keyser nach seinē tod vbrant ist worden
 Zu gleicher weis hab ich in vñ die seinē auch
 vbrant vnd sy seind jres soldes bezalt. vnd byß
 frölich d eren dyc dir zehanden gangen seind.

Fig. 190. Queen receives the King of Elsas in Prag. Thüring von Ringoltingen: *Melusine*. GW 12662, Augsburg, ca. 1488. Munich, BSB, Ink C-689, fol. 48v.



Fig. 191. Lucina (Cleopatra) gets sick of love. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. e1v.

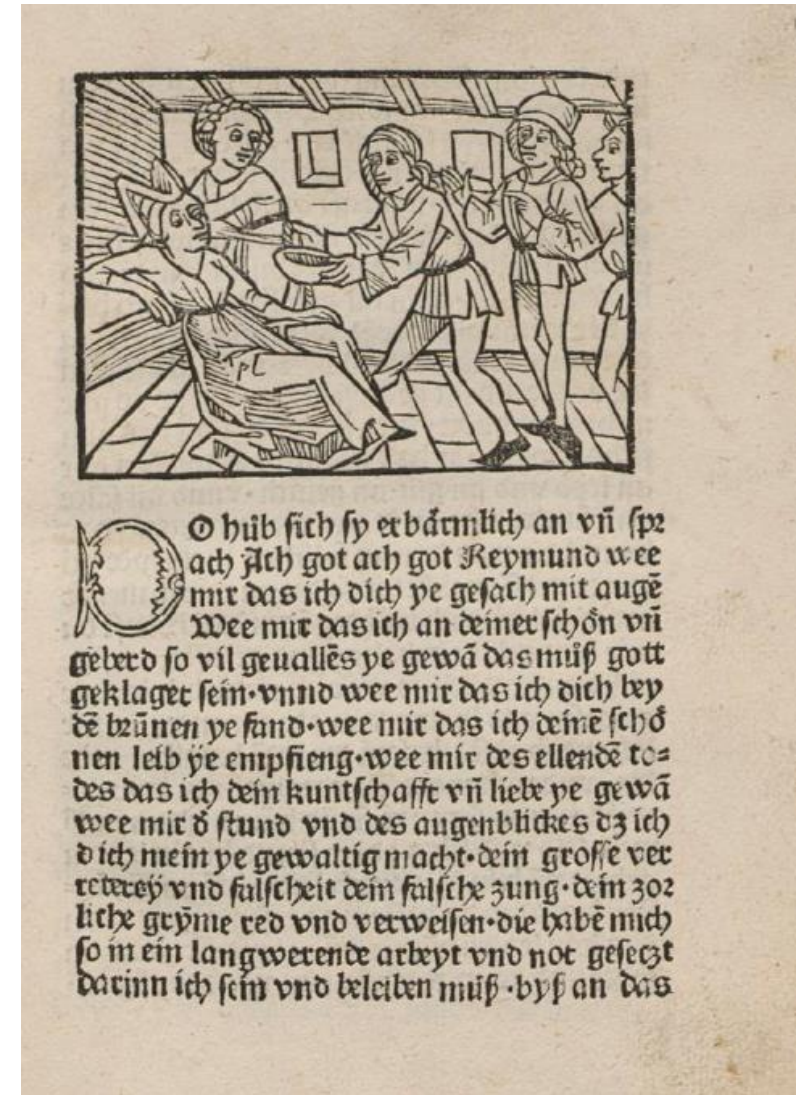


Fig. 192. Melusina gets sick. Thüring von Ringoltingen: *Melusine*. GW 12662, Augsburg, ca. 1488. Munich, BSB, Ink C-689, fol. 69r.

etlich senden. s̄ne namen vrlaub v̄m̄d
schieden von damen.

Wie der k̄nig Apollo
die tochter gab v̄nd
wie er hochzeit het.



e.iiij.

Fig. 193. Wedding of Lucina (Cleopatra) and Apollonius. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. e4r.

ter meht ganzes k̄nigreich zu hauf stewart.
Des erstewart sich alles volck von Cyp̄ren.
w̄n ynen allen Vriens gar wol gefiel Vrīs
̄ antwurt v̄n sprach zu d̄e k̄nig. Gnediger
herz got sey ewer gedank. v̄n w̄r ewers le-
bens ein hoffnung so wolt ich dise gabe nit v̄o
euch empfahen noch nemen Zu stund wurde
sy zusamen vermehelt bey des k̄niges ange-
sichte vor der messe. dye da selben vor dem k̄nig
gehalten wurde.

Wie Vriens v̄nd des k̄nigs tochter v̄o Cyp̄-
ren Hermȳn zusamen vermehelt wurde. v̄n
wie der k̄nig darnach gar bald starbe.



Fig. 194. Wedding of Uriens and the Princess of Cyprus. Thüring von Ringoltingen: *Melusine*. GW 12662, Augsburg, ca. 1488. Munich, BSB, Ink C-689, fol. 31v.



Fig. 195. Apollonius is invited to the court of King Archistrates. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.
A. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. d3r.
B. GW 2278, Ulm, 1499. Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, 34774, fol. b5r.



A

Fig. 196. Athenagoras visits Tarsia in the brothel. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*.

A. GW 2276, Augsburg, 1488. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Rare books 89922, fol. g4v.

B. GW 2277, Ulm, 1495. Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, FP VIII2 3:2, fol. d6r.

C. GW 2278, Ulm, 1499. Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, 34774, fol. c8r.



B



C



Fig. 197. Apollonius meets King Antiochus and his daughter.
Romant de Appollin roy de Thir. GW 2279, Genève, ca. 1482.
Bibliothèque de Genève, Hf 5198 Rés, fol. a2r.



Fig. 198. King Antiochus sends a man after Apollonius to
kill him. *Romant de Appollin roy de Thir*. GW 2279, Genève,
ca. 1482. Bibliothèque de Genève, Hf 5198 Rés, fol. a4r.

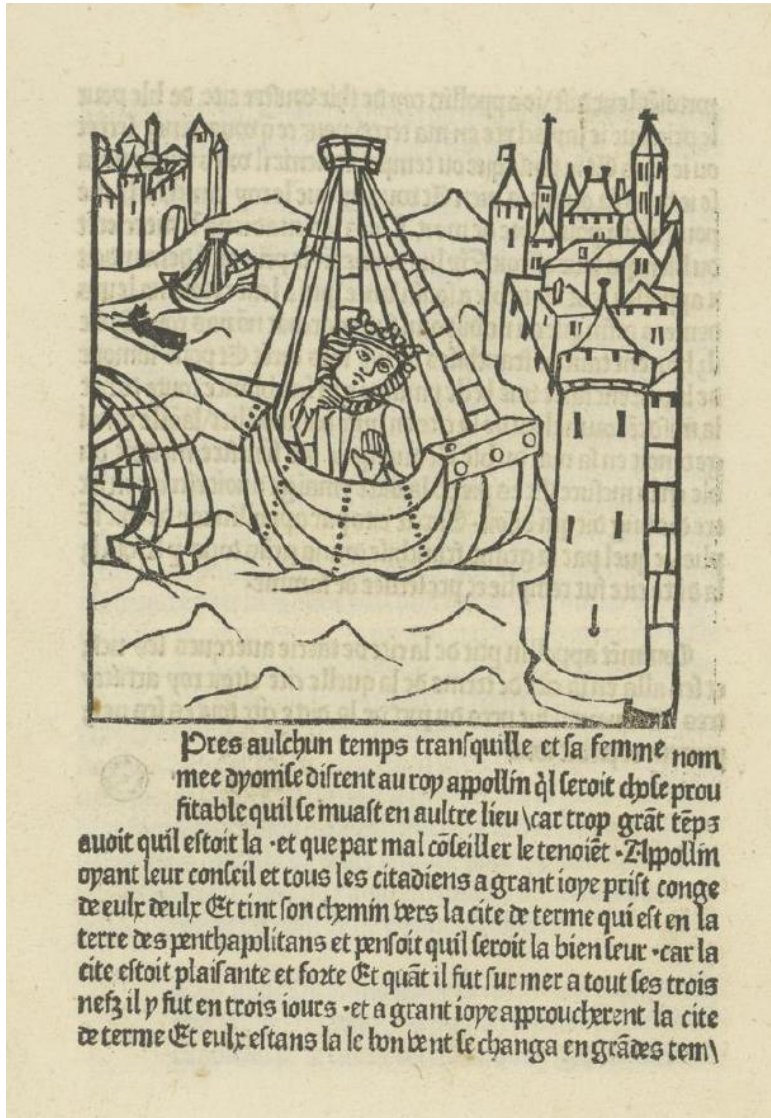


Fig. 199. Apollonius sails to Pentapolis (Cyrene), where he suffers shipwreck. *Romant de Appollin roy de Thir*. GW 2279, Genève, ca. 1482. Bibliothèque de Genève, Hf 5198 Rés, fol. a6v.

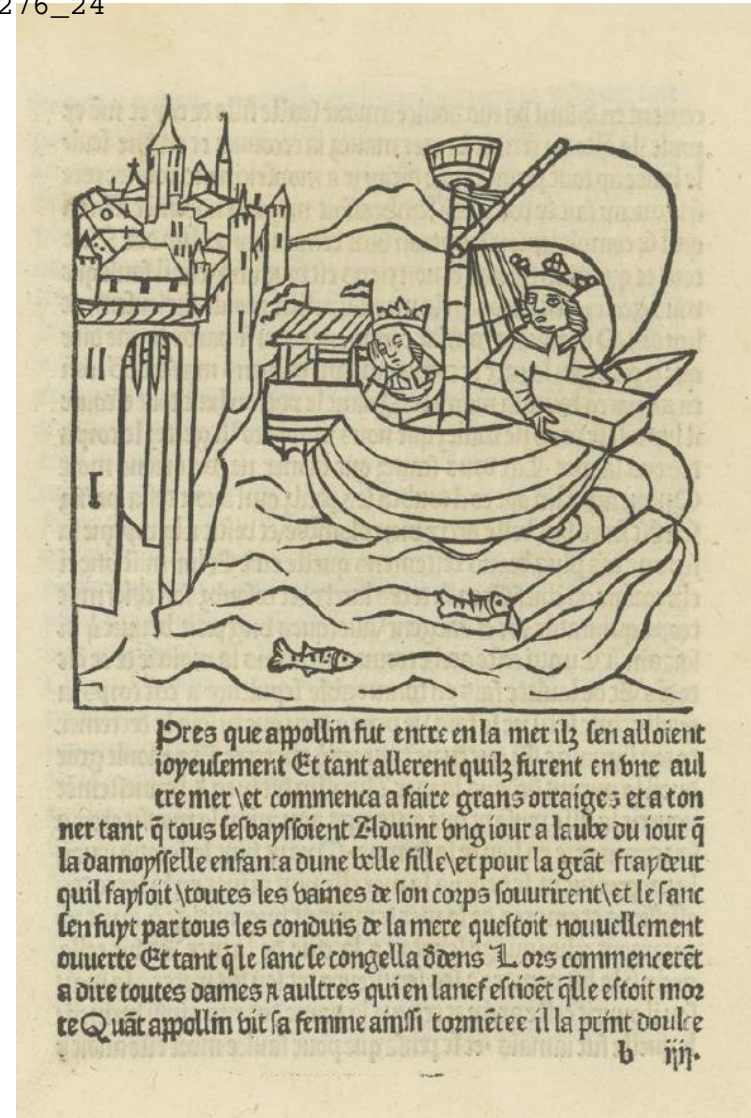


Fig. 200. Apollonius leaves Pentapolis (Cyrene) with his wife and burries her at sea. *Romant de Appollin roy de Thir*. GW 2279, Genève, ca. 1482. Bibliothèque de Genève, Hf 5198 Rés, fol. b4r.

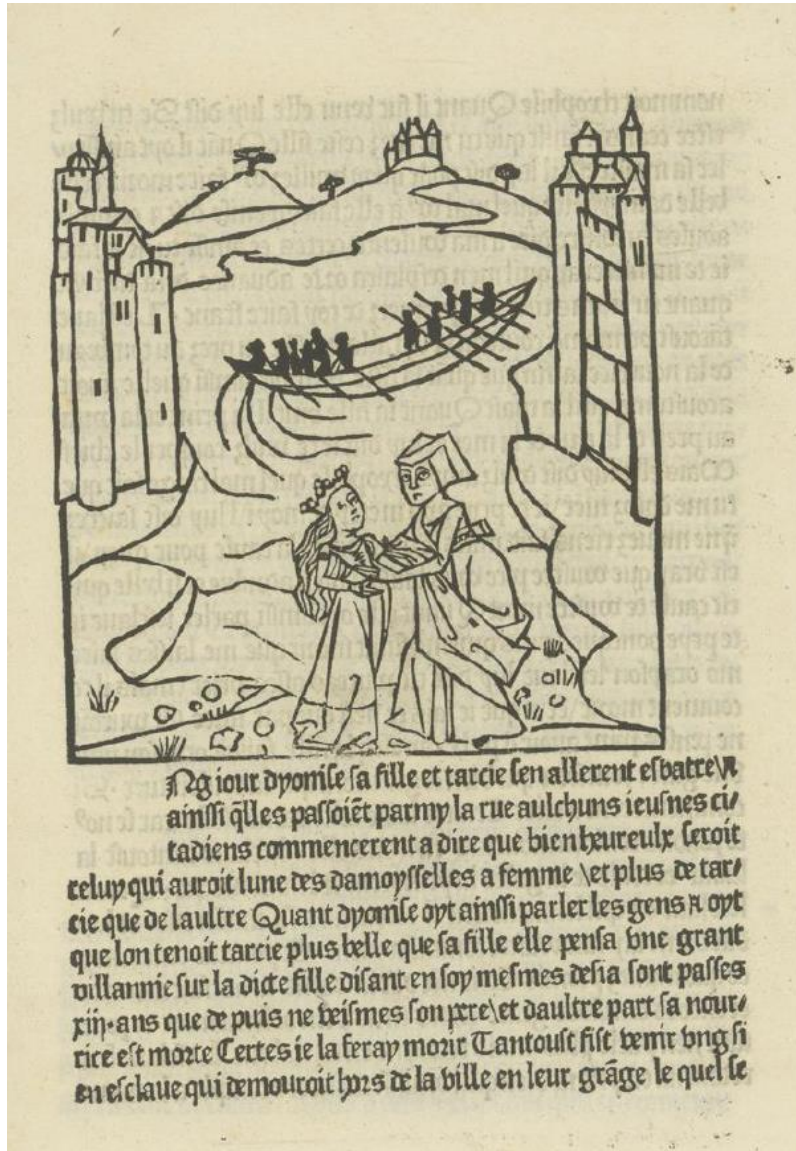


Fig. 201. Dionysias wants to kill Tarsia, but pirates take her to Mytilene. *Romant de Appollin roy de Thir*. GW 2279, Genève, ca. 1482. Bibliothèque de Genève, Hf 5198 Rés, fol. b7r.

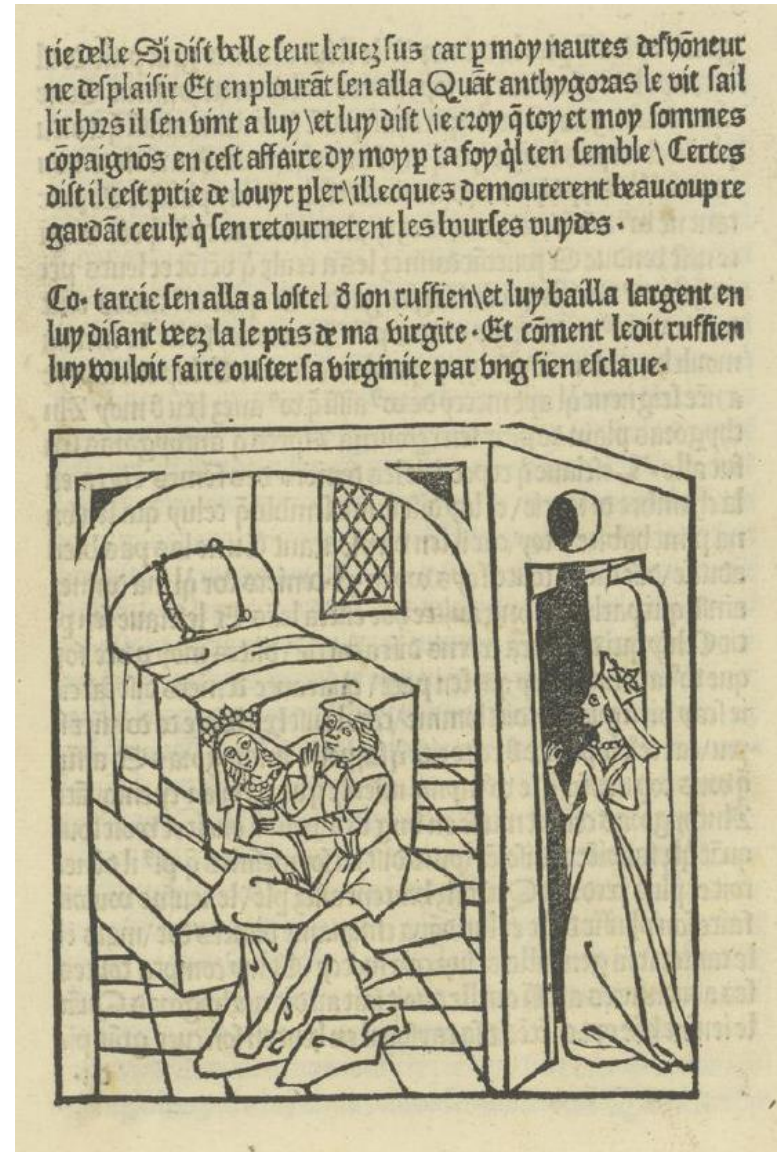


Fig. 202. Tarsia in the brothel. *Romant de Appollin roy de Thir*. GW 2279, Genève, ca. 1482. Bibliothèque de Genève, Hf 5198 Rés, Fol. c1v.



Fig. 203. Apollonius arrives in Mytilene and marries his daughter. *Romant de Appollin roy de Thir*. GW 2279, Genève, ca. 1482. Bibliothèque de Genève, Hf 5198 Rés, fol. c6r.

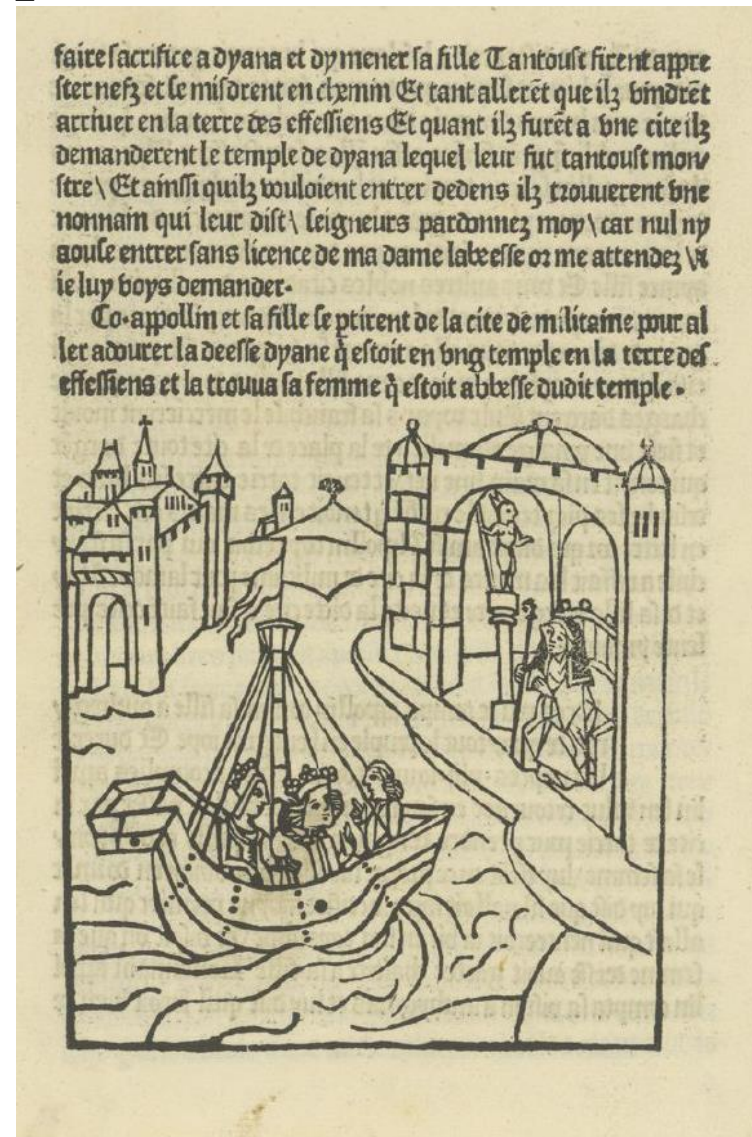


Fig. 204. Apollonius sails to Ephesus with his family and finds Lucina there. *Romant de Appollin roy de Thir*. GW 2279, Genève, ca. 1482. Bibliothèque de Genève, Hf 5198 Rés, fol. c7v.



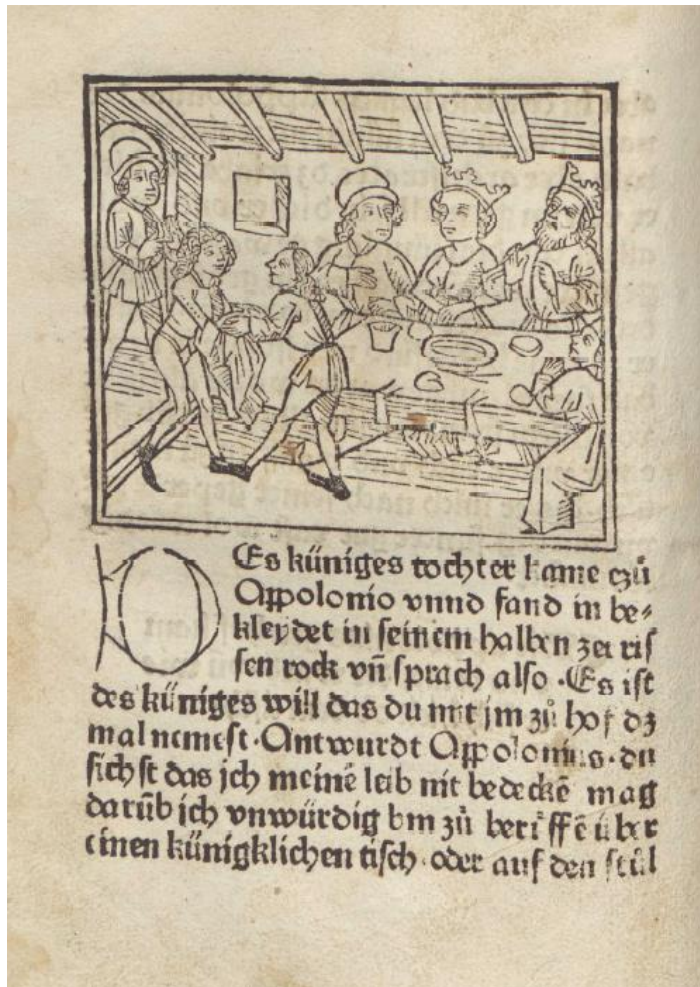
lonio pido. El rey como viesse las lagrimas de su fija alçó la de tierra: 7 assi la fabla diziendo: mi amada fija no seas pensosa de alguna cosa. por que tal has deseado qual yo mesmo por que assi como vi que amando soy fecho padre. yo soy alegre de te casar con el sin tardança. E assi otro dia siguiente fueron llamados los amigos delas ciudades cercanas para el rey: a los quales dize. mis muy amados amigos la mi fija se quiere casar con apolonio su maestro. pido vos a todos q̄ lo ayays en plazer. por que mi fija a hombre prudente se ayūta. estas cosas dichas con alegria de todos señalo dia cierto para las bodas. las quales celebradas ella concebio en breue.

**Como el rey anthioco murio mala muerte 7 fue buscado a
b 11**

Fig. 205. Wedding of Lucina (Cleopatra) and Apollonius.

A. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 40r.

B. *Vida e historia del rey Apolonio*. GW 228510N, Zaragoza, ca. 1488. New York, Hispanic Society, Inc 146, fol. b2r.



Alauaua el rey: constantemente se lleuó a el: 7 tomando dela
 agua del banyo con mano destrada lauo a el cō fortaleza: dēde
 en el estrado muy agradable lo recreo: 7 assi saliente el dī of-
 ficio: se partio. Dixo el rey a sus amigos despues que se apar-
 to el mancebo: juro vos que nunca mejor me soy lauado q̄
 oy por seruicio de vn mancebo: no se quien es. E dixo a vno
 de sus familiares. Mira quien es aquel mancebo que me la-
 uo. El qual siguiendo le: vio lo vestido de ropa no limpia: 7
 tomando al rey: dize aquel mancebo es escapado de algū na-
 uio que ha perescido. El rey le pregunta: donde sabes. El
 dize el habito muestra la causa haun que el calla. dende el rey
 le manda venir a cena.

De como apolonio vino al palacio del rey: el qual lo man-
 do vestir: 7 del modo que assepto en la mesa.



Apolo-
 nio co-
 mo oyo
 obedescio:
 7 con el mē-
 sajero vino
 al rey. El
 criado en-
 trando dize
 al rey. He a-
 qui el nau-
 frago: mas
 por la vile-
 za del habi-
 to ha vguā-
 ga de entrar

7 assi mando el rey que lo vestiesen de ropas dignas: 7 que
 entrasse a cenar. Enrudo apolonio la sala del rey en lugar
 senyalado en derecho del rey: se assepto. Traxieron viandas
 7 enconsequente la cena real. E apolonio haun q̄ los otros
 cenassen: no comia nada: mas llorado por gran spacio el oro
 7 la plata dela varilla del rey miraua. Entonces vno de los

Fig. 206. Apollonius is invited to the court of King Archistrates.

A. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2275, Augsburg, 1479. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Ink 231, fol. 25v.

B. *Vida e historia del rey Apolonio*, GW 228510N, Zaragoza, ca. 1488. New York, Hispanic Society, Inc 146, fol. a7r.



Fig. 207. Tarsia tries to comfort Apollonius.

A. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2275, Augsburg, 1479. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Ink 231, fol. 57v.

B. *Vida e historia del rey Apolonio*, GW 228510N, Zaragoza, ca. 1488. New York, Hispanic Society, Inc 146, fol. c2r.



Fig. 208. The fisherman shows Apollonius the way to Pentapolis (Cyrene). *Vida e historia del rey Apolonio*, GW 228510N, Zaragoza, ca. 1488. New York, Hispanic Society, Inc 146, fol. a6r.

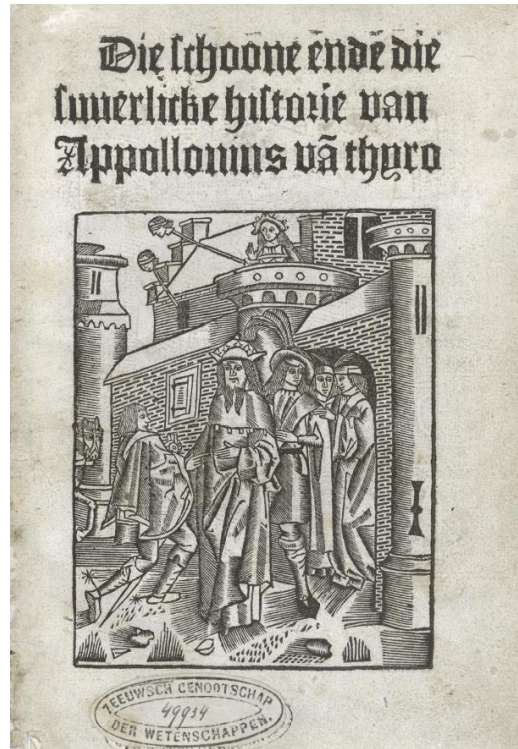


Fig. 209. Apollonius arrives to the castle of King Antiochus. *Die schoone ende die suverlicke historie van Appollonius van Thyro*. GW 2285, Delft, 1493. Middelburg, Planbureau en Bibliotheek van Zeeland, 1108 C 43, fol. a1r.



Fig. 210. Printer device of Christiaan Snellaert. *Die schoone ende die suverlicke historie van Appollonius van Thyro*. GW 2285, Delft, 1493. Middelburg, Planbureau en Bibliotheek van Zeeland, 1108 C 43, fol. h4v.

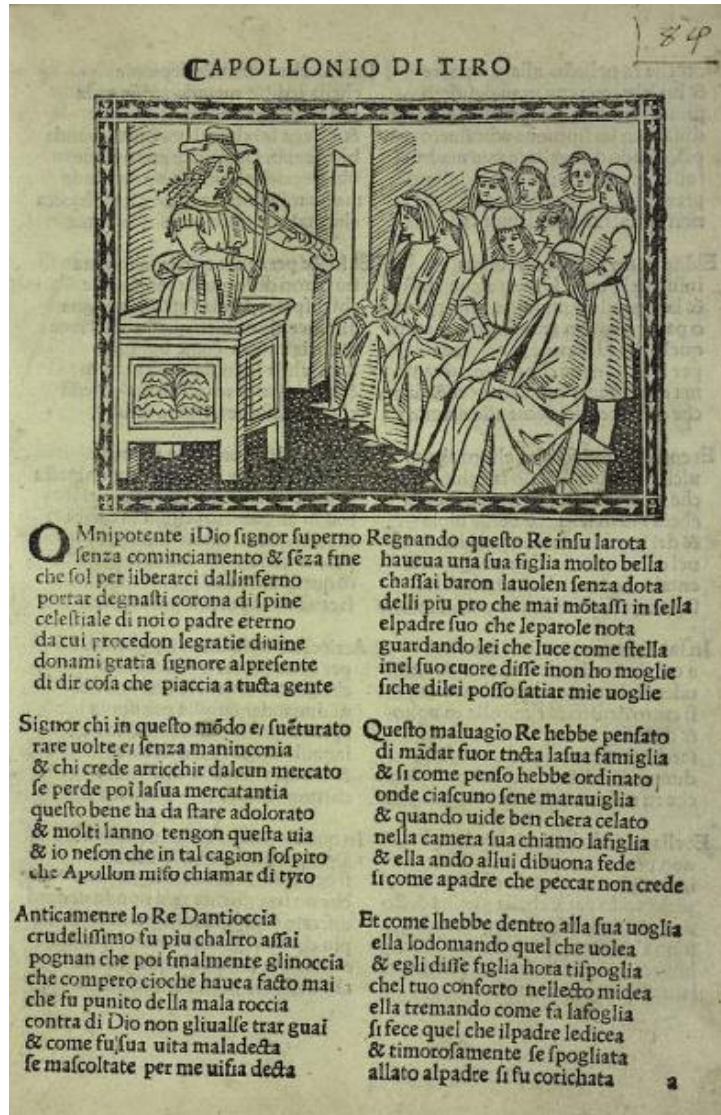


Fig. 211 A-B. A canterino performs the story of Apollonius. Antonio Pucci: *Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro*. GW 228430N, Florence, late 15th century. Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, fol. a1r.

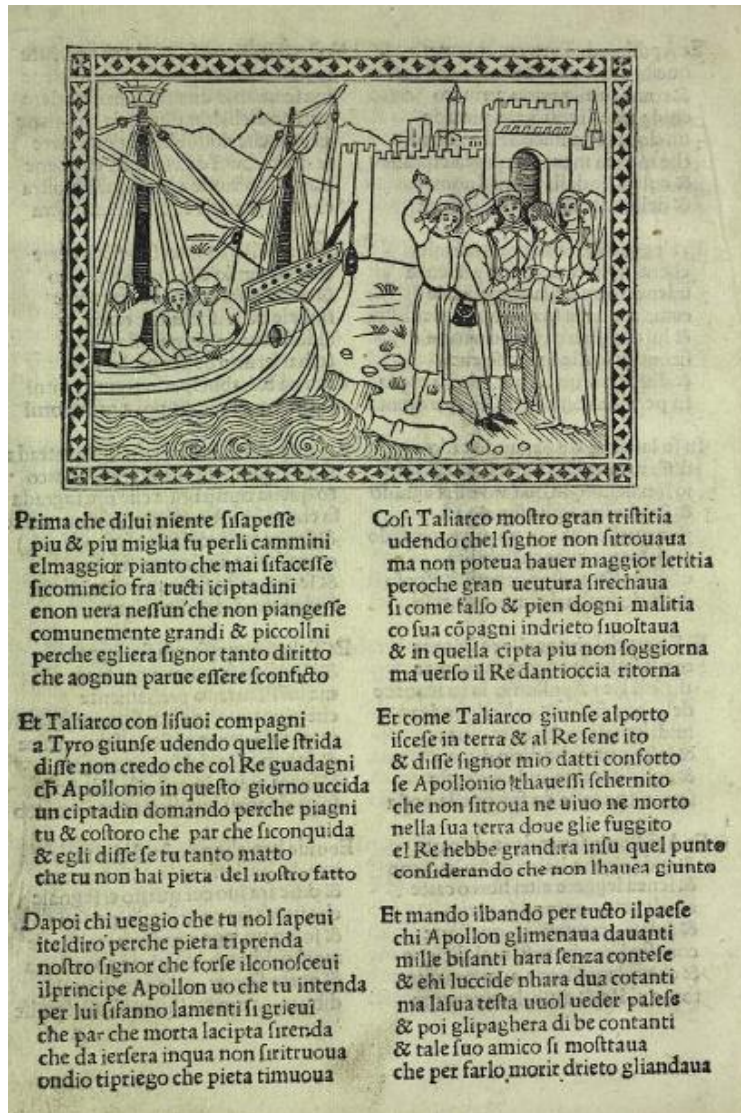


Fig. 212 A-B. Taliarchus sails after Apollonius. Antonio Pucci: *Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro*. GW 228430N, Florence, late 15th century. Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, fol. a2v.

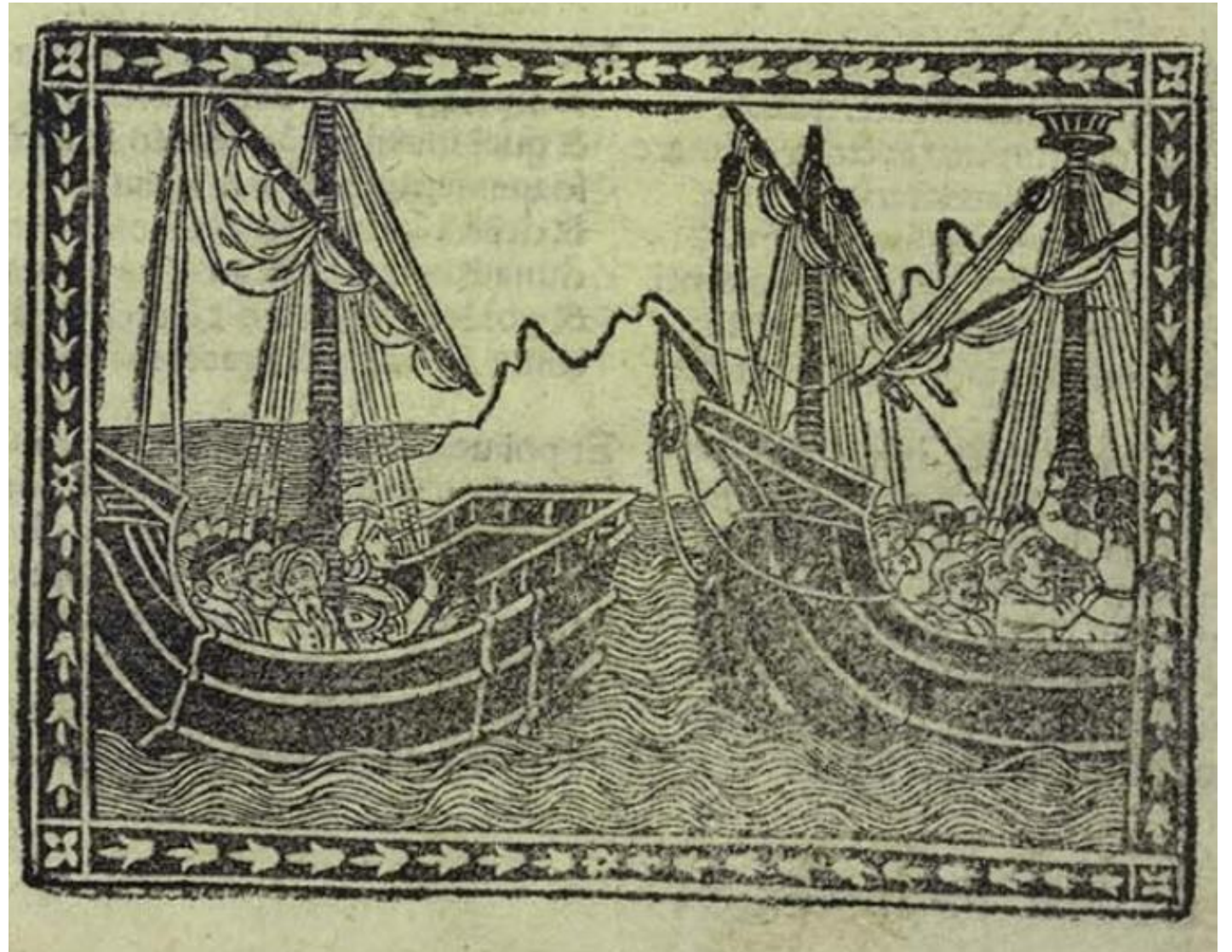
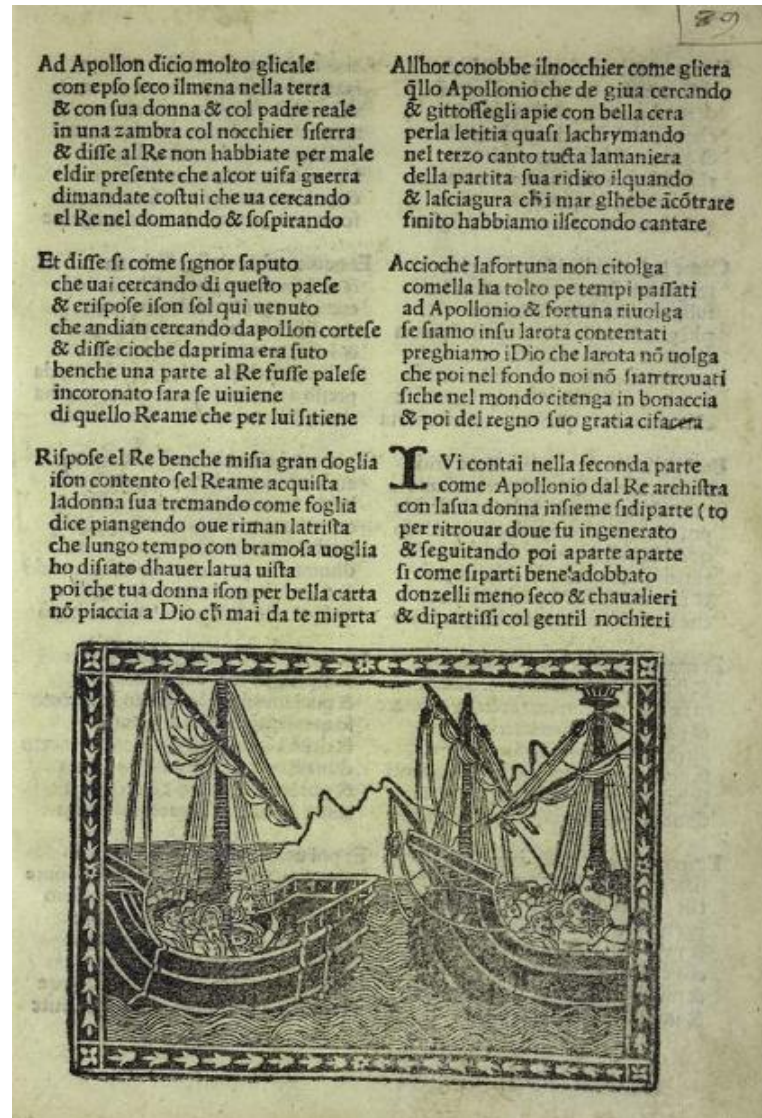


Fig. 213 A-B. Apollonius leaves Pentapolis (Cyrene). Antonio Pucci: *Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro*. GW 228430N, Florence, late 15th century. Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, fol. a6r.

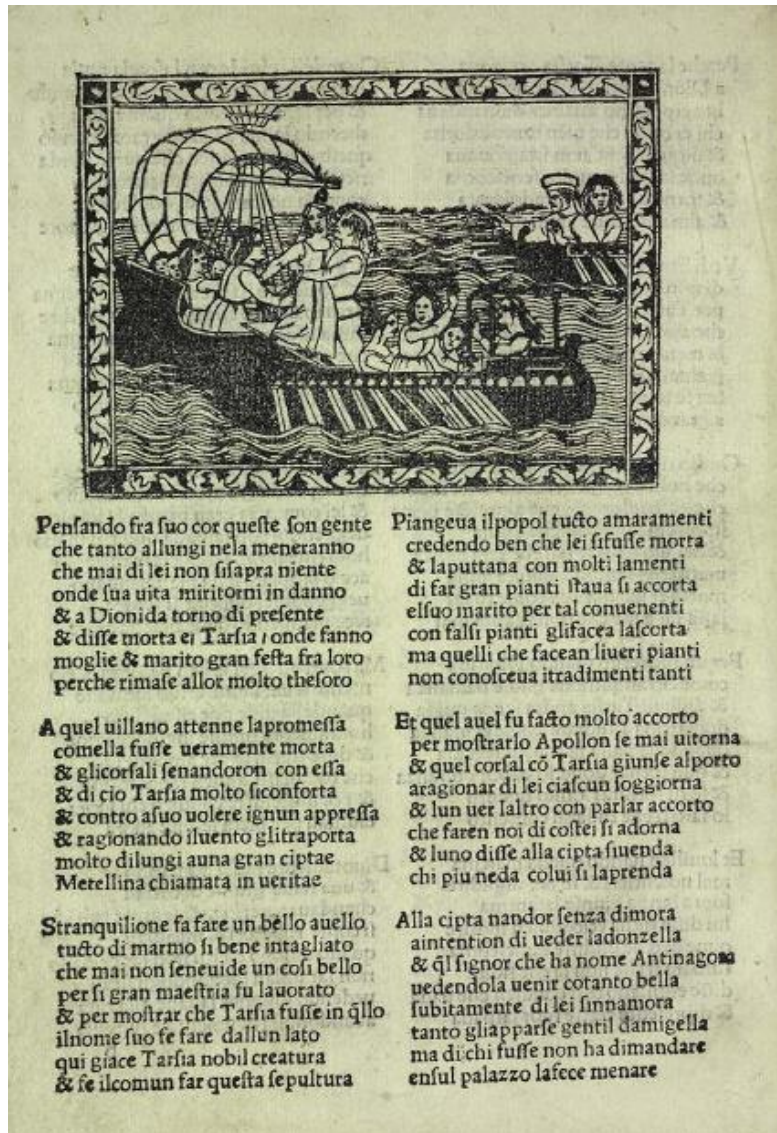


Fig. 214 A-B. Pirates take Tarsia to Mytilene. Antonio Pucci: *Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro*. GW 228430N, Florence, late 15th century. Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, fol. b1v.

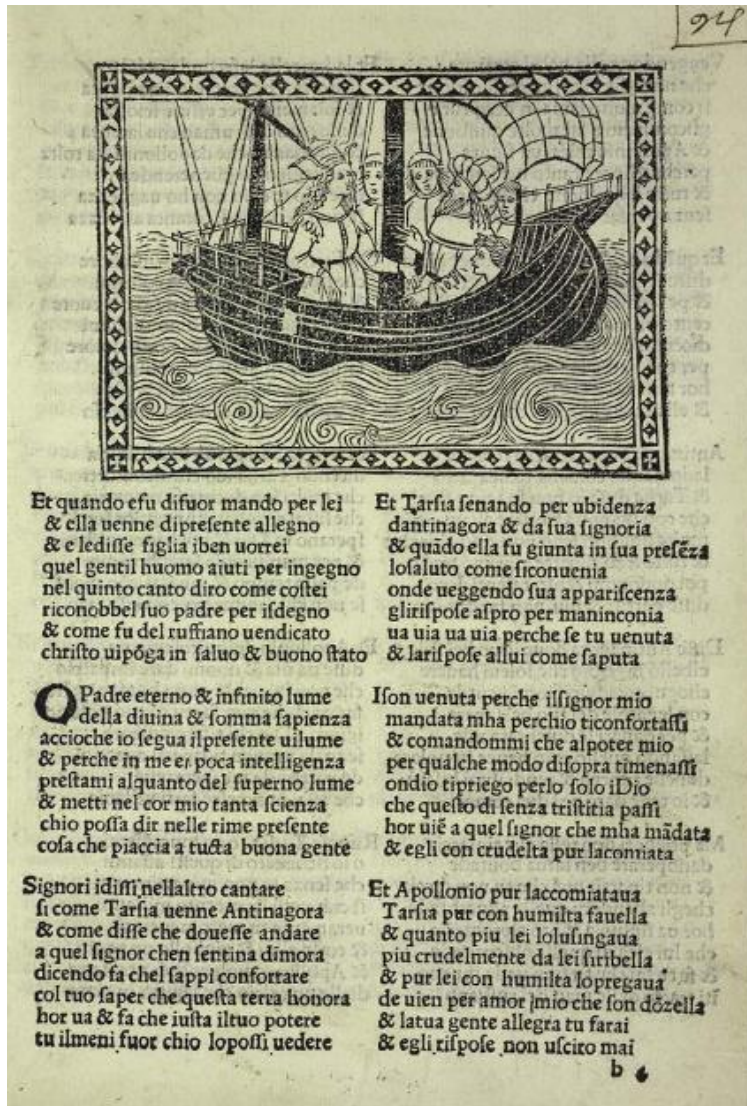


Fig. 215 A-B. Tarsia tries to comfort Apollonius. Antonio Pucci: *Cantari di Apollonio di Tiro*. GW 228430N, Florence, late 15th century. Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, fol. b4r.

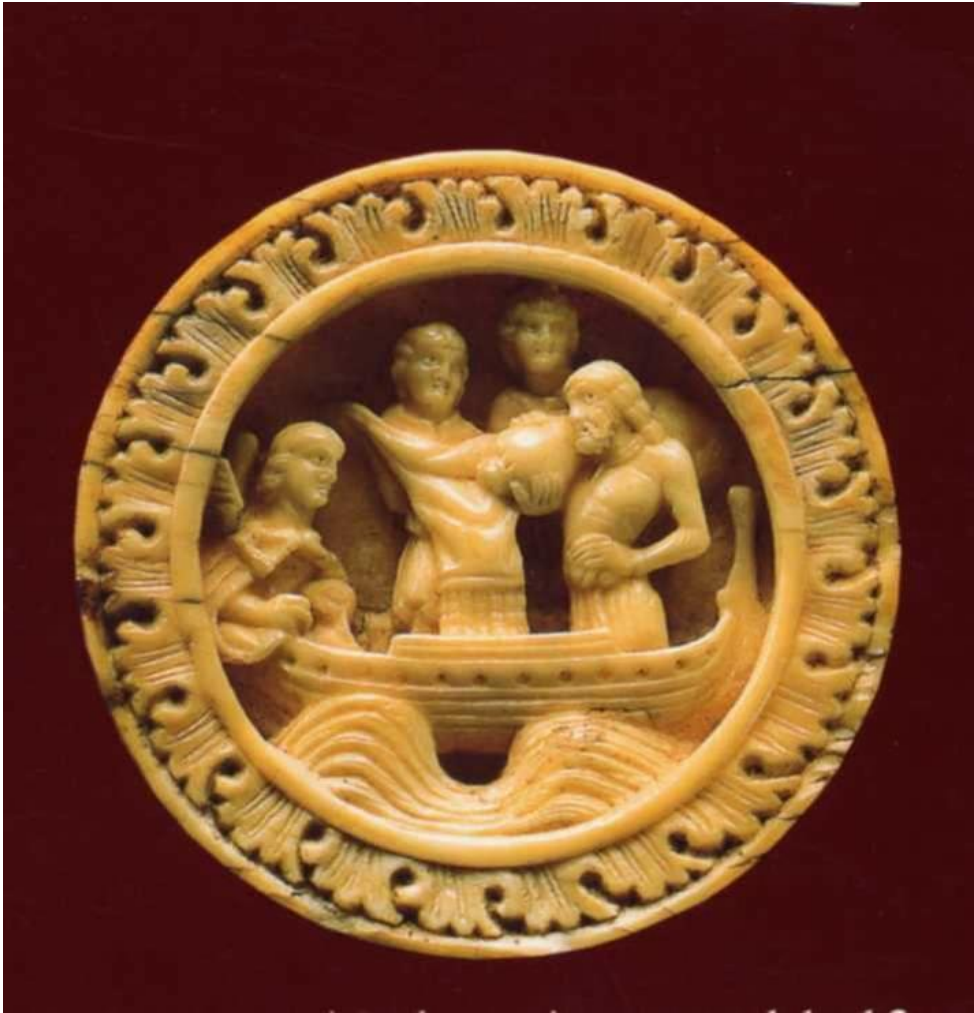


Fig. 216. Apollonius leaves Tyre. Walrus ivory game piece. Region of Cologne, last decades of the 12th century. Private collection.



Fig. 217. Lucina's coffin is thrown into the sea. Walrus ivory game piece. Region of Cologne, last decades of the 12th century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 218 A-B. Fromont („Antiochus”) sails to Blaye and meets Girart („Apollonius’ father”). *Jourdain de Blaye* tapestry. Franco-Flemish workshop, ca. 1400. Padua, Museo Civico.





Fig. 219. Apollonius frees himself from the captivity of a dragon. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrlant*. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 56r.



Fig. 220. Apollonius meets a wild man, Pylagrus. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrlant*. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 59r.



Fig. 221. Apollonius prays to Venus. Heinrich von Neustadt: *Apollonius von Tyrlant*. South German/Austrian regions, 1467. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, fol. 78r.

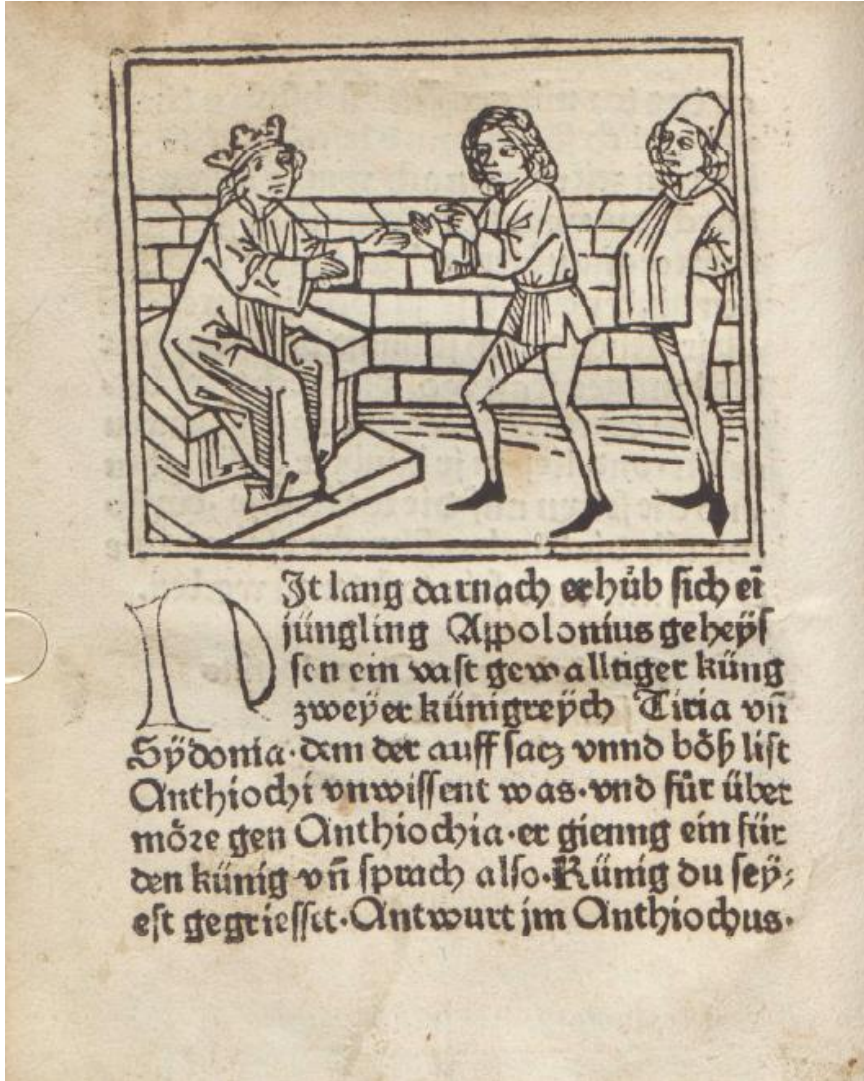


Fig. 222. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2275, Augsburg, 1479. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Ink 231.

A. Apollonius before King Antiochus (fol. 11v).

B. Lucina (Cleopatra) asks her father to give shelter to Apollonius (fol. 30r).

mir sol wolgefalle was du ym zu erē thūst. zehand ging sy auß vñ bracht. cc. marcē gold vñ so vil silbers vñ kostlich gewand. vñ ordnet ym knecht zu vñ mayd die sein pflagen vñnd sprach. See allerliebster iüngling nym die gab von meinem vater vñd mir der eren du wol würdig bist von deiner kunst wegen. do ward sy gelobt.
Wie die tochter den vater bat zu lernen die Musica.



O nam das hoffgesind vilob von dem künig vñ gieng yeder in sein herberg. Appolonius stund auff vñ sprach **O** güetiger künig der armen barmhertzigkayt. vñd du künigin ain liebhaberin der künsten. Ich sag euch danck vñ die grossen güetigkayt vñ tugent die ir an mir nackenden erzaygt haben. **O** oberst got wöll euch bewarn vñd sprach zu seinen knechten die man ym erst zu geben hert. Nement hin die gab das wir aufgeen vñ herberg suchen. Do aber die künigin höret das **O** iüngling von ir schayden solt. in des liebe sy entzündt was do ward sy betrübt in irem gymüt. vñ sach iren vater ynnig klich an vñ sprach also. **O** allerliebster vater du hast Appolonium heit reich gemacht. du solt nie leyden das er

boreczky.anna_276_24



A mit beriffet er seinen knecht vñd sprach zu ym. **D** Laß mir die diernen zieren mit kostlichen klaydern vñ gependen. vñd schreib ain zedel an das tor welcher der erst wöll sein zu Tarsia der soll geben ain schilling guldin. der ander ain halbē. darnach yeder ains. Aber der künig athanagoras het befohle das er d erst sein wolt. vñ ging heimlich vñ verbündē in die kamer tarsie vñd liebt sich zu ir nach vnzymlicher bewegung des gemüts. do Tarsia das ersach sy viel ym für die süß vñd sprach **O** heri biß mir barmhertzig vñ den willen des obersten gots. Du bist ain künig vñ sollest alle tugent in dir erleichten. so bit ich dich du wöllest durch die tugent der sterck dein en bösen gelust wöll steen vñ hör von meiner vngefelle. so wirst du mit mir laydig werden. Ich bin von künigliche geschlecht von vater vñd mäter. ich bin auff dem ir di geborn. ich ward in dem ellend befohen zu lernen vñ nō en Strangwilioni. **D** wolt mich lassen tödten do ward ich erledigt vñ den möraubern die mich in das fūnelich lebē verkauft habē **O** künig das laß dich erbarmen. wann es wol zymlich ist das künigliche geschlecht

kām das sy damie bestätet wurd. vñd dise mein rochter herich bevolhen zu lernen vñd zu nō en den aller schalckbarsten vñd berümtisten leuten byß das sy zu iren tagen kām Darnach in dem. xij. iar als ich wider kam in Tarsiam mein tochter zu suchen. sy war gessorbē das glaube ich. vñ setz mir darum für in trawien vñd layd all mein tag zu vertreiben vñ also ersterben. In dem ist mir mein liebe tochter on sūrbetrachtung wider geben.
Wie Cleopatra iren man Appolonium erkennet.



Je weil er aber also redt do mochte sy Cleopatra nit lenger auffenthaltē. sy ging zu dem knechtē Appolonio vñ vñsieng in begirlich mit iren armē vñ wolt in kusst habē. Appolonius weret sich in vnge dult vnwissent seins weibs. do sprach sy mit wainenden augen. **O** heri mein trost mein sele vñ mein lebē. mit thū also. Ich bin dein weib des künigs Archistrates tochter. so bistu Appolonius mein man vñ mayster der mich gelernt hat. du bist mein schiff. **D** higer den ich lieb hab habe vñ erwölt hab nit vmb leiplich begird sūnder von künsten vñ weißhayt wege. do das Appolonius erhörte

Fig. 223. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2278, Ulm, 1499. Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, 34774.

A. Lucina (Cleopatra) asks her father to give shelter to Apollonius (fol. b7r).

B. Athenagoras visits Tarsia in the brothel (fol. c8r).

C. Apollonius finds Lucina (Cleopatra) in Ephesus (fol. d6v).



Fig. 224. John Gower: *Confessio Amantis*. London, ca. 1470. New York, Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.126.
A. Apollonius before King Antiochus and his daughter (fol. 187v).
B. Nectanebus before Philip II of Macedonia and Olympias (fol. 146r).

Wie die Künigin ein tocht gepar auf
de mer/vn wie sy starb an d gepurt vn
i einē sarch auf dz mer geworffē ward



D sy aber wenig tage
gefuren/von de ynge-
stumē bewegē des mer
es/ward dz geplüt der
Künigin v wandelt vn

Fig. 225. The coffin of Lucina (Cleopatra) is thrown into the sea. Heinrich Steinhöwel: *Apollonius von Tyrus*. GW 2274, Augsburg, 1476. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 8 Inc 73, fol. 44r.