ROBERT COPLAND'S
KYNGE APPOLYN OF THYRE

by Hubert J. Spekkens

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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Benigne lector: Ignoscas aliquot erroribus vel machinae vel calami!
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This thesis is a study and an edition of Robert Copland's version of the Apollonius of Tyre legend. Because Copland translated his tale out of the French, an examination of the Old French versions of the Apollonius of Tyre legend is included.

In 1963, noting the confusion that surrounded Copland's work, I felt that this question would warrant further investigation. Research completed in subsequent years has convinced me that this investigation is indeed worthy of prosecution. A considerable amount of work has been done on the early English book, but since Copland's Kynge Appolyn was omitted from Pollard and Redgrave's Short Title Catalogue it is invariably not discussed.

A considerable amount of the research on early sixteenth century books was completed in what might well be thought one of the least likely places where the student of early printed English books could find help -- the Library of the University of Toronto. Thanks to the enlightened policy of library authorities, the University has a collection of over two thousand microfilms of early books and a wealth of equipment for their use.
In conclusion, I desire to thank all those who have aided me in the preparation of this work: my parents for assistance both moral and actual; Mr. Blackburn, the Director of Toronto University Library, where most of the research was done; Mr. Wolfgang Arnold, whose camera skill was equal to my most particular requirements; the director of the British Museum for microfilms of the original sources as well as for helpful information on those points where only an actual examination of the texts might suffice; Dr. Josef Raith of Munich, to whose correspondence several valuable references are due; Mrs. Yolande Renaud, Inter-Library Loan librarian of the University of Ottawa Central Library; and last because most, Dr. A.P. Campbell, without whose constant encouragement, advice, and supervision this thesis would not have been written.
Because we are going to be discussing the basic plot of the story a great deal, we will give at this point what may seem a rather lengthy summary of the argument. It is remarkable how, in spite of the greatly divergent versions of the Apollonius tale which are encountered, the basic story, inconsistent and incoherent though it be, remains untampered with. The outline will contain elements of both principal versions of the tale, known as RA and RB texts, and thus will resemble in a way that mixed version most common in the mediaeval period which is known as an RC text. It is not based upon any particular RC text. The chapter numbering is that of the RA and RB texts. Since the form of proper names varies greatly among the various texts, in this outline as well as in the thesis itself, when the general character is meant as opposed to the particular characterization revealed in any one text, an anglicised form of the RA or RB version will be used. It is to be understood that this form is not in any way better or more common than any of the variants; it will have been arbitrarily chosen.

Chapter 1. There once was a king named Antiochus, who reigned in a city that was named Antioch after him. He possessed a daughter of such unbelievable beauty that
suitors flocked from far and wide asking her hand. But the father fell into a sinful desire for the body of his daughter. One morning he gave in to lust, entered her room, and violated her.

Chapter 2. While the maiden sat weeping, her nurse entered. Upon being told what had happened, she comforted the maiden and persuaded her to yield to her father’s desires.

Chapter 3. In order not to lose his daughter through her marriage, the king announced that all suitors must answer a riddle. Those who failed to solve it would pay the forfeit with their necks. Nevertheless, many suitors came; they failed and were decapitated.

Chapter 4. While the king persisted in these cruelties, there came a suitor a youth from Tyre named Apollonius. After Apollonius had acknowledged that he was aware of the forfeit, king Antiochus presented him with a riddle which in ambiguous terms described the king’s own shame. After a moment of thought, with the help of God, Apollonius presented the correct solution.

Chapter 5. When he heard his crime thus exposed, Antiochus was troubled, but feigning anger he declared that the answer was wrong. Nevertheless he gave a respite of thirty days so that the youth might reconsider his answer. Apollonius returned to his homeland.
Chapter 6. When Apollonius had departed, king Antiochus sent after him Thaliarch, one of his trusted servants, with orders to kill the youth. Apollonius, arriving home, reconsidered the question and concluded that in spite of all the king's denials he had solved the riddle correctly. He realised that his life was in danger, ordered a ship laden with his treasures, and in the middle of the night struck out on the sea.

Chapter 7. The next day his citizens looked for him in vain and greatly mourned his departure. Thaliarch returned to Antiochus and reported the flight. Antiochus thereupon set a high price on Apollonius' head, so that the prince of Tyre was now mercilessly hunted not only by his foes but also by his former friends.

Chapter 8. Apollonius meanwhile had arrived at Tharsia, where Ellanicus, an old retainer, told him of king Antiochus' edict.

Chapter 9. Then Apollonius met Strangulio and asked him for assistance. Strangulio told him that he would be unable to provide any because Tharsia was suffering a famine. Apollonius coincidentally happened to have a ship laden with wheat, which he offered to sell at cost to the citizens if they would hide his flight.

Chapter 10. After Apollonius had distributed the wheat, he
gave back the money he had received for it, lest he be called a mere merchant. The grateful citizens erected a statue in his honour.

Chapter 11. A few months later, Strangulio and his wife Benyse suggested that Apollonius go to the larger city-state of Pentapolis, where he would be safer. Apollonius took the advice, but on the open sea a severe tempest came up.

Chapter 12. Apollonius' ship sank and he alone of all on board managed to get to shore. There he was aided by a poor fisherman who shared his food and cloak with the shipwrecked man but advised him to try his luck in the town.

Chapter 13. As Apollonius arrived in the town, he saw a youth inviting all to the gymnasium. Apollonius joined the crowd at ball-playing and through his dexterity impressed king Archistrates.

Chapter 14. After the game, Apollonius was invited to the royal palace. At first he was loth to obey on account of his wretched clothing, but he came after he had been provided with a magnificent gown. At the meal, instead of eating, he stared around and mourned his loss. The king tried to cheer him up.

Chapter 15. While Apollonius sat in the royal hall, the king's daughter, a lovely girl named Archicastres, came in.
The Story

She inquired after Apollonius' name and origin.

Chapter 16. Apollonius told her his story, but the telling of it renewed his grief and he burst out in tears. The good old king saw this and told his daughter to console him. She ordered her harp brought. All present admired her playing except Apollonius. When challenged for his churlishness he offered to demonstrate what the harp should sound like. He proved himself a master of the instrument.

Chapter 17. In the daughter, the pity for the poor shipwrecked man meanwhile had melted into love. She rewarded Apollonius richly for his playing, but since the thought of his departure was to her unpleasant she offered him lodging in the palace.

Chapter 18. The daughter was deeply struck by this stranger. After a sleepless night she asked her father to let the stranger teach her his art. The maiden's love increased until she fell sick. Physicians were summoned but could effect no cure.

Chapter 19. Some time after this, Apollonius and the king, walking through the town, met three young men. They asked for the hand of the princess and the king, leaving the choice to his daughter, asked them to write their names on a tablet. He gave the letters to Apollonius and sent him to his daughter.
Chapter 20. The daughter read the names of the suitors but did not find the one name that she most desired. She answered her father with a note stating that she wanted the shipwrecked man.

Chapter 21. The king was puzzled by this reply. One of the suitors claimed that he had been shipwrecked, but his rivals at once gave the lie to that statement. Finally the king gave the note to Apollonius, who when he read it blushed. Then the king understood the message.

Chapter 22. Joyously the king returned to the palace. His daughter admitted her love for Apollonius.

Chapter 23. The king now summoned the nobles and citizens and announced the wedding. The ceremony took place with great splendour.

Chapter 24. Six months after the wedding, a ship arrived from Antioch with the message that king Antiochus and his daughter had died. All citizens were waiting for Apollonius, their new king. Apollonius made immediate plans to set out for his kingdom. His wife persisted in accompanying him, though she was six months pregnant.

Chapter 25. Accompanied by a nurse they set out. On the trip she gave birth to a daughter. At the insistence of the sailors, who did not want to keep a corpse aboard, Apollonius fashioned a chest and placed her in it.
Chapter 26. The chest was placed in the water and after three days of floating washed up on the shore of Ephesus. There it was found by the doctor Cerimon. He opened the chest and found a regally dressed woman, with beside her gold and a letter. The letter stated that the finder of the chest was to bury the woman and take half of the treasure for his pains. Then Cerimon directed one of his assistants, young in years but old in knowledge, to prepare the corpse for burial. The youth found some traces of life and applied heat and massage.

Chapter 27. The woman revived and her first words were a plea to her rescuers to respect her chastity. Since she desired not to marry she joined the company of maidens at the temple of Diana.

Chapter 28. Meanwhile, griefstricken, Apollonius set course for Tharsia where he told of his loss to Strangulio and Denyse. He left the child in their care to be brought up together with their own daughter. He also left the nurse Lycoridis and much gold and treasure. He promised to return for his daughter's wedding and set off for Egypt.

Chapter 29. In Tharsia, Apollonius' daughter, who had been called Thasia, grew up and increased in beauty. She was well educated in the liberal arts. One day, when she had reached the age of fourteen, she returned home from school
to find her nurse ill. The nurse, feeling that death was near, revealed to Thasia her father's name and her royal origin. She advised the girl that if ever she should need help, she should go to her father's statue in the town square and reveal her origin.

Chapter 30. The nurse died and was buried beside the sea. Daily Thasia visited the monument and offered a sacrifice.

Chapter 31. One day, while Denyse was walking through the town, she heard Thasia praised highly and her own ugly daughter criticised. She became violently jealous. Since Apollonius had not returned these fifteen years, she felt that she could with impunity steal the treasures of his daughter. She ordered a slave, Theophilus, to murder the maiden when she went to pray at her nurse's monument. Thasia begged for mercy but perceiving that it was in vain asked for time to say her last prayers.

Chapter 32. While she was praying, there came a ship with pirates. The frightened slave ran away and Thasia was taken aboard ship. The slave reported to his mistress that Thasia was dead. Denyse then told the people that Thasia had died and ordered a large monument erected beside that of the nurse.

Chapter 33. The pirates took Thasia to the city of Mitilene and sold her to a brothel-keeper. The keeper took Thasia to
her room and sent a servant out to announce his new acquisition about the town.

Chapter 34. On the third day Athenagoras, prince of the town, came to her. She fell down at his feet and persuaded him to spare her virginity. Nevertheless Athenagoras gave her forty pieces of gold. Then a second suitor came who, to prove that he loved her more, gave her a whole pound. Still, Thasia persuaded him to respect her virginity.

Chapter 35. In this way Thasia kept her virginity with all comers. The keeper wondered at her merry spirit and when Thasia finally revealed her secret the angered man sent his slave to sleep with her. She persuaded the slave to spare her and intercede for her with his master.

Chapter 36. Because she had been well educated, it was permitted Thasia to earn her keep by playing the lyre. Athenagoras was especially zealous in sending her customers.

Chapter 37. Meanwhile Apollonius had arrived at Tharsia. Strangulio and Denyse simulated great grief and told him that his daughter had died of a stomach-pain. Apollonius was grief-stricken and inquired after her goods.

Chapter 38. To bolster up her story, Denyse sent Apollonius to the monument. When he read the inscription he was struck with grief, returned to ship, and descended into the hold.
Chapter 39. The ship was driven by a storm into the harbour of Mytylene on the day that the feast of Neptune was being celebrated. Athenagoras wondered at the strange ship and talked with its crew. The sailors told him that the owner was a man called Apollonius.

Chapter 40. Athenagoras remembered that Thasia had told him that her father's name was Apollonius. He entered into the hold but was unable to persuade Apollonius to talk. He then ordered Thasia fetched and offered to redeem her for thirty days from her master if she would persuade Apollonius to come out of the hold.

Chapter 41. Thasia sang a song which cheered Apollonius, but the joy lasted only a moment. He gave her money to leave, but Athenagoras sent her back. She proposed that she would present riddles to Apollonius. If he could not solve them he would come with her; otherwise she would return the money he had given her and depart.

Chapter 42. Thasia presented a set of six riddles, all of which Apollonius solved.

Chapter 43. Thasia presented four more riddles, which Apollonius also solved.

Chapter 44. Apollonius once more asked her to leave him in peace. She refused and in struggling fell and hurt herself.
She loudly bemoaned her fortune and her vicissitudes.

Chapter 45. From this plaint Apollonius recognised that she was his own daughter. He embraced her.

Chapter 46. Then Apollonius mounted on the deck and removed his mourning garments while the people greatly rejoiced. The brothel-keeper was burned at the stake but the assistant who had been merciful to Thasia was spared.

Chapter 47. Apollonius gave rich presents to the city and the citizens erected a statue in his honour. After a few days Apollonius gave his daughter to Athenagoras to wife.

Chapter 48. Then Apollonius set out to return to Tharsia, but in a dream an angel-like figure commanded him to set course for Ephesus. There he was to go to the temple and recount his adventures to the chief priestess. It was in this temple that his supposedly drowned wife Archicastres was chief priestess, like to a goddess in beauty.

Chapter 49. From his story she recognised her husband. After a joyous reunion they boarded ship.

Chapter 50. Apollonius arrived soon at Tharsia where he revealed Denise's crime. Denise and Strangulio were dragged out of town by the populace and lapidated. Thasia prevented them from killing Theophilus, because he had given her time to pray.
Chapter 51. After fifteen days of celebration Apollonius returned to Mitilene. The aged king Archistrates was still living and he joyously recovered his children. Apollonius rewarded the fisherman and Hellenicus. Then Apollonius begot a son and lived in peace for seventy-four years. He set down his adventures in two volumes, one of which he deposited in the temple of Diana, and the other one he kept in his own library.

From the original Latin, the story was soon translated into the vernacular literatures. The following two chapters of the thesis will trace this development from the Latin into French.
The tale of Apollonius of Tyre spread through all of Europe during the middle ages and was without a doubt one of the most beloved stories of the time. Before this development into the vernacular literatures can be considered, it is important to outline the spread of the story in its Latin form.

A study of the Historia Apollonii must cope with a special handicap which springs from the very nature of the extant texts. Not only has no copy of the original version come down to us, but we have a confusion of two subsequent versions, both of equal authority, which present divergent readings. Consequently, working back from the extant texts in an effort to reconstruct the lost original, we must assume much and can prove little.

Surprisingly, no exact checklist of extant Latin manuscripts has been made. Riese gave a list of the manuscripts he had actually collated and used in his editions but concluded: "Permulti alii extant codices Apollonii Parisiis, Londini Oxoniae Santabrigiae, Stuttgarti Monaci Lipsiae Gottingiae Vratislauiae, Basileae, Vindobonae Budapestae, Romae Florentiae, et si qui alii me refellerunt." 1 A more specific figure is given by Tycho

Mommsen who noted that Haupt told him in a letter that he knew about one hundred manuscripts of the Latin Apollonius. This is echoed by Penon. Elmar Klebs has remarked that after Mommsen's statement "spuken die hundert Handschriften des Apollonius in allen Aufsätzen und Schriften über die Historia herum. Selbst wenn man die Handschriften der lateinischen Bearbeitungen, die Haupt wahrscheinlich mit im Sinne gehabt hat (das Carmen de Apolonic, Gotfried von Viterbo, Gesta Romanorum) mit etwa 10 in Anschlag bringen und abziehen will, erscheint die angegebene Zahl doch sehr stark nach oben abgerundet." More recent critics give us as little help. Goolden merely talks about "the large number of manuscripts"; Raith mentions that "es sint über ein halbes Hundert Handschriften bekannt"; Miss Hibbard employs intuition when facts lack: "Over one hundred manuscripts of this Latin prose version are known, but many are as yet unedited". Prof. Hoeniger reverts back to

1 T. Mommsen, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, Oldenburg 1857, p.xii n.3.
2 G. Penon, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, Groningen, 1880, p.82.
3 *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus*, Berlin 1899, p.17.
the old school: "about a hundred medieval Latin manuscript versions of the romance". The only authoritative statement on the subject remains therefore that of Klebs, although it is over half a century old:

Ich bezweifle durchaus nicht, dass es noch einzelne Handschriften gibt, deren Existenz mir entgangen ist, obwohl ich zu sammeln bemüht war, was sich an Nachrichten über die Handschriften des Apollonius findet. Aber im Ganzen ist trotz mancher Lücken die Katalogisierung der Handschriften doch soweit vorgeschritten, dass man einen erheblichen Zuwachs der von mir bezeichneten Zahl nicht erwarten kann. In jedem Falle werden diejenigen, die fürderhin von jenen mythischen Hundert reden wollen, anzugeben haben, wo der verborgene Schatz vergraben liegt.

Klebs' research was in fact so thorough that less than half a dozen new texts have been located: Nillsen has noted three Latin manuscripts in the Prague Library and Raith has found one in Harburg Castle. An exhaustive census to establish definitely the number of Latin Apollonius of Tyre manuscripts extant or known to have been destroyed would be of considerable value.

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2 Erzählung, p. 17-18.
4 Bruchstücke, p. 86.
The origin of the story is disputed. Circumstantial evidence heavily favours a Greek origin of the Apollonius of Tyre story. Critical opinion has always leaned in this direction. Velser stated in 1595 that the text was a translation from the Greek. Riese, while noting the dissent of Haupt, concluded "Has fabularum graecarum auctores ex omni Graecorum antiquitate, uel ex Homero, sumere non dubitant. Unde noster quoque tabulam et pilae lusum et regis conuuiium ab Ulixis naufragio et Phaeacibus habet." Lapaume was even more positive in his statements:"Christiano autem viro, tanquam auctori, imputandum esse Apollonii l.s., fabularve, quarto et decimo saeculo, e graeco versam in latinum sermonem..." and "Tria genera sunt vocum quae, apud nostrum Apollonii interpretem, spectandae videntur. Primum genus est graecarum vocum quas romanis, tanquam toga, literis vestivit...". Among the twentieth century commentators, this idea has persisted. Prof. Heeniger feels that "one may reasonably assume that the original was a Hellenistic novel somewhat like those by Xenophon, Heliodorus, and Achilles Tatius." Laura Hibbard notes some dissent but inclines

1 Source quoted in Klebs, Erzählung, p.10.
2 Op.Cit., p.v fn3
4 Shakespeare's Pericles, p.xiii.
towards a Greek origin for the tale. A typical statement of this position is found in Goolden:

Examination ... strongly suggests that the work was originally composed in Greek. The use of certain Greek words and the forms in which they appear seem due rather to the process of translation from a Greek text than to the presence of these words in the language of a Latin author. ... Further the social, political, and-religious life described is Greek, as are all the names of places and persons in the story. The most cogent evidence is provided by a comparison of the Historia with the Greek romances, notably with Xenophon of Ephesus. The similarities revealed in both theme and treatment are striking and are plainly derived from the same tradition. The story of Apollonius contains most of the stock themes of this Greek genre, of which imitation of one author by another, leading to constant repetition of similar situations and motives was a characteristic feature. ... From these lines of evidence, taken together, it may reasonably be concluded that the Historia is in basis a Latin version of a previously existing Greek novel.¹

But literary criticism should not be practiced on a democratic basis. In spite of the number of critics favouring a Greek original and in spite of the circumstantial evidence on their side, they may be wrong.

Although Mauritz Haupt is one of the earliest critics to dissent from the generally accepted view, he did not present any reasons for his statement. It remained for Illebs to show through a careful study of the format and elements of the story that it sprang, at least in the form

in which it has been preserved until this day, from Latin
stock. Klebs' exposition was accepted by Lewis and Singer,
and while ignored by many subsequent critics has never been
refuted. Suffice it to say that Klebs insists that the
Historia was originally written in Latin, but that some of
the motifs may have been based on a possibly Greek model.
It would be this which explains the peculiar flavour of
Greek romances which is encountered at times in our tale,
for example in the effects of love on Thasia or in the
brothel episode, that has misled other commentators. Thus
the supposed correspondences to Xenophon of Ephesus'
Habrocomes and Antia, which have been adduced by many critics
as sources and by at least one as a development, are in
fact only analogues, or at best remote sources.

On the basis of his investigations, Klebs dates the
Latin original in the third century. It is noteworthy that
Dr. Penon and Miss Haight, though both favour the theory of
a Greek origin, have dated the story between 210 and 325 AD
on the basis of other evidence.

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1 Erzählung, p. 187-227. Since the original language
of the story is of peripheral interest to this thesis, and
since in any case the writer is unequipped to evaluate the
arguments, a detailed exposition of Klebs' arguments will
not be attempted. The interested reader is referred to Klebs.

2 C.B. Lewis, "Die altfranzösischen Prosa-versionen
des Apollonius-Romans" Romanische Forschungen 34, 1915, p.158

3 S. Singer, Apollonius von Tyrus, Halle, 1895, p.227


The earliest reference we find to Apollonius is in the fifth century, in one of the lyrics of Fortunatus (Fl. 566-568). There is a reference to the gender of "gymnasium" based on an Apollonius story in the seventh century "Tractatus de dubiis nominibus", and an "Item 'historiam Apollonii regis Tyri' in codice uno" is found in a catalogue compiled by Jando, the abbot of Fontenelle. 1

The existence of many small variations in the manuscripts which cannot be traced back to an earlier edition, but which frequently clear up an earlier corrupt passage, proves that a great many texts have been lost. It is ironic that, though the great number of extant manuscripts testifies to the popularity of the story, it is this very popularity which has caused uncounted other texts to have been destroyed, literally read to pieces.

The extant Latin texts can be grouped into three principal classes, RA, RB, and RC texts. The name of the first two groups is derived from the fact that Riese, in his second edition, printed the RA group at the top of his pages and the corresponding RB text underneath it. The name of the last group has sprung up by analogy. It consists of all texts which contain a mixture of RA and RB traits. This group is by far the largest which has been preserved.

1 These early references are fully quoted by Goolden, Op.Cit., p. xii.
The pure RA and RB class texts are seldom found in late middle age texts. It must be kept in mind however that the earliest manuscript still extant, the tenth century Laurentius 66, represents a stage undoubtedly late in the development of the story itself. Most of the texts preserved have elements of both RA and RB in them in varying proportions.

As Klebs points out:


When seeking to establish which manuscript the author used the modern researcher has cause to be thankful that the Historia was not copied with the same care as ecclesiastical writings were. Many of the copies are so only in a relative sense. Even in the best texts, articles and prepositions were added or omitted; tenses and moods changed; words

1 Erzählung, p.50
replaced by synonyms. In some of the less strict transcriptions entire phrases, clauses, or paragraphs were omitted or, in later versions, added to explain aspects of life quite evident to the reader of the original Historia. Thus the "lusus pilae" of chapter 13 was rendered by an uncomprehending Anglo-Saxon scribe as "he swangpone top" but recurs in several mediaeval versions as a fencing match. It is easy to see how Shakespeare could develop this hint into the tourney of Act II. It is on the basis of these additions and omissions that we can distinguish between half a dozen major transmission channels.

With reference to RA and RB texts, Klebs reacts against Riese's assertion of the superiority of the RA redaction:

RA und RB sind zwei von einander unabhängige Bearbeitungen eines verlorenen Textes R; jede von beiden hat den ursprünglichen Text willkurlich umgearbeitet und vielfach interpolirt; jede von ihnen hat vielfach allein das Ursprüngliche bewahrt. ... Das Endergebnisz aller dieser Untersuchungen ist demnach, dass wir es in RA und RB mit zwei gleichwertigen Bearbeitungen (nicht Handschriftenklassen) desselben Textes R zu thun haben. Beide sind vielfach interpoliert; RA in gröszerem Umfang und viel intensiver als RB. Jede von beiden hat ursprüngliche Elemente bewahrt, welche der anderen fehlen. Nur durch die Vergleichung beider gewinnen wir ein Bild vom Inhalt und von der Form von R. 1

One example will suffice: in chapter 30, RA reads: "uella uero corpus nutricis suae sepulturae mandauit, lugens eam anno. Et deposito luctu induit priorem dignitatem et petit

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1 Erzählung, p. 32; 45.
scolam suam et ad studia liberalia reuersa non prius
sumebat cibum, nisi primo monumentum intraret, ut ferens
ampullam inueheret coronas. Et ibi manes parentum suorum
inuocabat." This same scene is depicted in the RB redaction
in the following words: "Nutrix sepelitur, et iubente
Tharsia in litore illi monumentum fabricatum est. Et post
paucos dies puella rediit in studiis suis, et reuersa de
auditorio non prius suum cibum edebat, nisi nutricis suae
monumentum introiret et casus suos omnes exponeret et
1
fleret." Here the RA text contains the idea of a year
of mourning, the offering to the dead, and the cult of the
spirits, but RB contains the essential point that the grave
monument is located on the sea-shore.

Our knowledge of the RA text springs from two codices.
Codex Laurentianus − lut. LXVI 40 is an incomplete text
of which we still have chapters 1 to 11; 34 to 39; and 43 to
46. The gaps in this text can be filled in by means of
the corrections in Vatican Ms. 1984, which is an RC text
that has been collated with and corrected from an RA manuscript.
The second codex is Paris Ms. Cod. Lat. 4955, a fourteenth
century text. Usually the Laurentianus Ms. is better, but
sometimes the Paris Ms. has the more correct reading. RA
suffers from interpolations which cannot have been in the

1 Riese, Historia, p.58-59. Subsequent references
to the Latin text as printed by Riese will be indicated by
page and line if needed in brackets after the quotation.
original; Klebs remarks "Sodann ist das Latein in diesen Stücken erheblich schlechter, Wendungen wie "de aliqua re cogitare\', 'scrutaul', 'obsequuis factis' u.s.w. kommen nur hier vor." In chapter 27, Archestrates' first words upon being revived are "deprecor itaque, medice, ne me contigas aliter, quam oportet contigere: uxor enim regis sum et regis filia" (p. 52 9-11). This is of course nonsense since she has no way of knowing that her reviver is a doctor. In chapter 49, Archestrates tries to identify herself in these terms: "tu es Tyrius Apollonius meus, tu es magister, qui docta manu me docuisti ..." (p. 109 4-5). The words "docta manu" here are an echo from chapter 13 "docta manu fricauit regem" and "manu docta remisit pilam" (p. 25 7; 11) but have little significance in the context. Besides these short additions we find some longer ones; it would be pointless to discuss them at any length.

Dependant upon RA is the R-Alpha recension, which is represented by five texts. Except for the text from which Welser printed his incunabulum, these are of no import.

The RB version is represented by three manuscripts: Leiden Ms. Vossianus Lat. Fol. 113, a tenth century fragment which gives the text from the beginning to chapter 36; Oxford Ms. Mary Magdalene College 550, of the eleventh century; and Paris Ms. Cod. Lat. Par. 6487 of the fourteenth century.

1 Erzählung, p. 37.
The text as printed by Riese is misleading since in the first fifteen chapters of his edition he quotes variants from the Oxford Ms. only in two cases although the extracts printed by Klebs show that over two dozen variants exist, while in the second half of his edition he relies very heavily on the Oxford Ms., almost to the exclusion of the others. Klebs on the other hand suggests a text based on a collation of the three principal manuscripts and three others which are predominantly RB. It is to be regretted that he did not live to complete his task. The few scraps he printed are so confused and rearranged that the student must still rely on Riese. Sometimes the RB version will preserve traces of the original text which have been lost in RA. In chapter 50 for example, the RB version preserves a fine classical flavour with its invocation of Hades. This is badly garbled in RA. The story ends on a formal note: "Casus suos suorumque ipse descriptis et duo volumina fecit: unum Dianae in templo Ephesiorum, aliud in bibliotheca sua exposuit." (p.116 3-5) The RA scribe did not understand this classical custom and watered it down to a pat Christian ending: "... in pace atque senectute bona defuncti sunt." (p.116 3-4)

As has already been stated, readings from RA and RB must be combined if we are to get an idea of the original text. But Klebs is quick to point out that this combination will not yield the original text through mechanical juxtaposition of elements:
In einer Zeit, da man für die Ueberreste der antiken Litteratur liebevolle Antheilnahme hegte, da hätte man wohl versuchen können, aus RA und RB einen von Interpolationen und Verderbnissen gereinigten Text herzustellen, der Liebhabern in lesbarer Form die Historia, wie sie in R gestanden hat, annähernd vorgeführt hätte. Aber das würde eine künstlerische Reproduktion auf wissenschaftlicher Grundlage, keine kritische Recension von R sein. Eine solche ist aus RA und RB nicht mehr herzustellen, obwohl man für einzelne Stellen sehr häufig mit Sicherheit sagen kann, wie sie in R lauteten. Man erkennt wohl, dass in RA durchgehend ein Streben zu wortreicher Ausdehnung des Textes herrscht, dass in RB bisweilen der Ausdruck gekürzt ist, aber jeder Versuch, einen Mittelweg zwischen beiden einzuschlagen, würde nur dazu führen, der langen Reihe mittelalterlicher Mischtexte einen modernen beizuzügen. ¹

The RB version of the Historia is the predominant influence in five redactions: the Welser group; the Bern redaction; the Erfurt redaction; the Stuttgart redaction; and the Tegernsee redaction.

The Bern redaction is known through five texts: Bern Ms. 208; Oxford Corpus Christi College 82; Vaticana Lat. Ms. Regiana 905; Casanatensis Minervae 223; Vaticana Ottobonianus 1855. This redaction is based on an RB text which has undergone a few modifications from RA texts. It is mainly marked by amplifications and repetitions and is such a free adaptation in places that it can almost be considered an essentially different work.

The Erfurt redaction is known from six texts: Erfurt Amplonianus 92; Paris Bibl. Nat. Ms. 1423; Charleville Ms. 275; Vatican Lib. Lat. Ms. 1869; Vatican Codex Vat. Reg. 634; and Berlin Codex Berolinensis Ms. theol. Fol. 194.

¹ Erzählung, p. 46-47.
The first four manuscripts of this group are linked together while the last two are influenced by the Erfurt redaction only up to chapter 10, after which they assume entirely normal RB characteristics. The Erfurt version is of little importance in the subsequent versions.

The Stuttgart redaction is represented through ten texts: Stuttgart Hist. Fol. 411, of the twelfth century; Paris Lat. Ms. 7531, belonging to the fifteenth century; Paris Latin Ms. 8502, of the fourteenth century; Vatican Codex Urbinus 456, of the fourteenth century; Oxford Codex Bodleian. 834, a paper Ms. written about 1400; Venetian cod. Matianus classis XXII #106, of the fifteenth century; Vienna codex Vind. Let. 480 of the fourteenth century; Leipzig cod. Haenelianus 3518, a parchment manuscript of the fourteenth century; Munich Ms. Lat. 215, a paper manuscript which is dated 1462; and the text which underlies the ca. 1475 incunabulum printed probably in Utrecht. The Stuttgart redaction contains only the occasional addition to the RA text, which can be accounted for by the relations this text has with the Welser incunabulum which is predominantly RA, but all phrases peculiar to RB are encountered. Of particular interest is the peculiar way in which the description of Apollonius' trip to Ephesus and the recognition scene in the temple are elaborated in chapter 28. The redaction is of the utmost importance to this investigation: "So gering die Bedeutung dieser Redaktion für die Kritik des Apollonius
Textes ist, so wichtig ist sie für die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen. Von diesen gehen sicher auf Handschriften dieser Redaktion zurück die schon erwähnte mitteldeutsche und die sämtlichen italienischen, mittelbar durch diese die neu-griechischen.

The Tegernsee redaction is known from six manuscripts: Codex Monacensis Lat. 19148, a tenth century fragment of only ten leaves; Basel Ms. Cod. basil. D. V. 15, a paper manuscript written towards the end of the fifteenth century; Basel Ms. A. 1. 4, a paper manuscript dated 1492; Vienna Ms. Cod. Vind. lat. 226, belonging to the twelfth century; Vienna Paper Ms. Lat. 3129, of the fifteenth century; and Oxford Ms. cod. Rawlinson B 149, of the end of the fourteenth century. This redaction is in general dependant upon RB, but shows in some manuscripts evidence of a deliberate collation with RA. Most characteristic of this version is the deliberate attempt at christianization. For example in chapter 48 the recognition takes place in a "templum sanctae dei genitoris Mariae ubi coniunx eius Camilla inter sanctas moniales principatum tenebat". The influence of this redaction on the mediaeval versions is small.

In summary therefore, the early development of the Latin text is as follows. The RA and RB forms of the text were not widely distributed. The vast mass of manuscripts

1 Erzählung, p.102-103
2 Ibid., p.67.
THE LATIN TEXT

consists of free renderings of one version or the other, or of a combination of the two. Each of these texts has some peculiar readings which serve to identify it. Some manuscripts show signs of collation with others. This can be seen from interlinear corrections, or from the presence of peculiar readings belonging to different redactions. It is this great spread of Latin texts that accounts for the divergent vernacular translations.

Two further Latin texts must be considered, the Pantheon and the Gesta Romanorum. Strictly speaking, they can be considered as redactions of the Historia, but the changes are so considerable, and their influence so great, that they are more practically considered independently.

This is not the place to undertake a detailed study of the Pantheon. A few brief notes will suffice. The Pantheon was conceived of by Godfrey of Viterbo as a historical work, though Klebs notes that "Gotfried hat bekanntlich in seinem Pantheon Sagen und Fabeln in groszer Masse aufgenommen, seine Weltgeschichte ist recht eigentlich das, was die späteren Römer als Lyth-historia bezeichneten." The connection with a historical monarch, Antiochus the Great (222-187 BC) could easily have been made by a writer who sought to gain credibility for a work of fiction by representing it as history. An interesting alternate

1 Erzählung, p.340-341
suggestion, however, is that the connection was made because in 196-5 BC. Antiochus married his son Antiochus to his daughter Laodice, a practice common enough among the Persian kings but quite capable of creating a scandal among the Greeks and Romans.

The Pantheon is preserved in at least three and possibly as many as five recensions. In the chapter treating of Apollonius we have three variant versions. It is curious that there are little or no textual changes in the individual stanzas but that the number of stanzas increases from 167 to 197 and in the final version to 198. The matter of the Historia is enormously compressed. The first eleven chapters are condensed into fifteen three-line stanzas. All peripheral actions such as the mission of Thaliarch, the encounter of Hellanicus and Strangulio, and the confrontation of the king and the three youths have been omitted.

The essence of the story is found in the argument of the poem: "His temporibus Apollonius, rex Tyri et Sidonis, ab Antiocho juniore Selenco rege, a regno Tyri et Sidonis fugatur: qui navigio fugiens mira pericula patitur, sicut in subsequentibus versificе exponemus." Apollonius impresses the reader less as a youth in love than

1 E. H. Haight, More Essays, p.156-7
2 Singer's edition in Untersuchungen, p.153
as a young man who wishes to show off his wisdom:

Tyrus Apollonius, predoctus grammate legis,
Antiochi regis scelerum problemata legit: 1
"cum patre cuncubuit filia" dixit ei.

This stanza is also interesting in that it shows a misinterpretation found in several mediaeval texts, for example Paris Ms. Lat. 8502. The rather sarcastic comment of RA, "noui et ad portae fastigium uidi" (p. 67) which refers, of course, to the heads of the unsuccessful suitors which are exhibited on the battlements, is interpreted to mean that King Antiochus' riddle was posted on the city gate: "Respondet: Novi; et ad portam civitatis vidi. Quia quaestio conditionis in porta civitatis scripta erat." 2

The treatment of Athenagoras and the bordello scene is interesting. It would be imprudent for a court poet like Godfrey to depict a royal person being bettered by a brothel keeper and then visiting the girl secretly in disguise. So Godfrey made it:

Primus Athenagoras rex querit habere puellam
primitias cui virgines dum leno reservat, _
in thalamum regis Tharsia tracta venit. 3

In general, due to the condensation and in some cases deliberate modification of the matter, the story is entirely changed. Klebs feels that the changes are no improvement: "So trägt die Erzählung bei Gotfried weder

1 Untersuchungen, p. 154
2 Ed. Lapaume, Eroticci Scriptores, Paris 1885. p. 612
3 Untersuchungen, p. 166
antike noch mittelalterliche Färbung, sie ist zeitlos geworden wie ein Märchen; aber es wird uns ohne Naivität von einem gelehrteten Pedanten in verkünstelten, holperigen Versen verabreicht."

The Pantheon, because of its great popularity, helped spread the story of Apollonius of Tyre. Its influence was double. In some cases it influenced the details of another text, for example in Ms. Paris, Lat. 6487, the name Archestrates is replaced by Godfrey's Cleopatra; in both Oxf. Bodl. 834 and Paris Lat. 3503, Apollonius is depicted as "rex Tyri et Sidonis. Secondly, from Godfrey of Viterbo's Pantheon we can derive Steinhöwel's poem, Lamprecht's Alexanderlied, and in English the versions of Gower, Shakespeare, and Wilkins.

A second collection which was extremely popular during the middle ages was the Gesta Romanorum. A problem in discussing this work is that there is not, strictly speaking, any one standard version of this work but that the title has been applied to several anthologies of moralized tales.

1 Erzählung, p. 344.

2 In spite of the unkind words said about it by Klebs and Singer, the standard edition of this work still remains Dr. Hermann Oesterley's Gesta Romanorum, Berlin 1872. This monumental work is based upon the personal examination of 138 manuscripts and the description of a further twenty-seven manuscripts sent to Oesterley by Dr. Leithe of Innsbruch.
Da drängt sich denn die Überzeugung auf, und diese Überzeugung wird durch die ältesten Titel der Gesta befestigt, dass zu einer Zeit, zu der das fremdartigste und widerwilligste moralisiert, d. h. in einem geistlichen oder christlichen Sinne gedeutet zu werden pflegte, wirklich erzählt aus der römischen Geschichte, oder vielmehr Stücke aus römischen Schriftstellern, wie sie schon seit langer Zeit zu Predigtzwecken gesammelt waren, auch lediglich zum Zwecke der moralisierung zusammengestellt und früher oder später mit der Bezeichnung Historia oder Gesta Romanorum moralizata oder ähnlichem versehen wurden. 1

In the light of this, Dr. Oesterley notes the problems involved in establishing a critical edition: "Bis auf die wenigen offenbaren Copien bekannter Vorlagen hatte ich fast so viele Texte wie Handschriften. Oft natürlich zeigte sich fast wörtliche Übereinstimmung, aber noch häufiger erschien eine völlig abweichende Darstellung." 2 For example, to take only the first twelve Gesta Romanorum manuscripts located in England, the contents of which Dr. Oesterley has listed, we discover that they contain 26, 15, 37, 102, 81, 101, 43, 95, 27, 50, 101, 34, 39, and 41 chapters. With this kind of diversity, little wonder that one can do no more than reprint all tales that are anywhere printed in collections called "Gesta Romanorum", number them, and list the contents by referring to these numbers. In this way the text will not correspond to any single manuscript, but the general contents of any manuscript can be reconstituted. The impossibility of recording

1 Hermann Oesterley, Gesta Romanorum, p.260-261.
2 Ibid., p.255
individual variants for the words used is evident with a project of this magnitude.

The manuscripts of the Gesta Romanorum can best be divided into three families: the English manuscripts, usually of half a hundred chapters but sometimes of more than a hundred; the German manuscripts, so different from the English manuscripts that Douce felt this was an entirely different work; and those manuscripts underlying the Vulgate edition printed by Ulrich Zell at Cologne some time between 1472 and 1475, which is a more recent recension strongly influenced by other collections of moralized stories such as Robert Holkot's Moralites. In the light of this complexity of tradition, the search for an original compiler, which occupied Swan, Douce, Madden, Hazzlitt, and other commentators, is bootless. The case for Odo von Cerington, Jacob de Vitracio, Neckam, Stephanus de Borbone, or Berchorius inevitably rests on the fact that these men are known with certainty to have written collections of tales which resemble the Gesta Romanorum. But, as Dr. Oesterley has dryly pointed out "Wer hat im 13 und 14 Jahrhundert nicht Parabeln oder Geschichten im Style der Gesta erzählt, wer hat nicht moralisiert und was ist nicht moralisiert!"  

1 Gesta Romanorum, p. 254.
The Gesta Romanorurn in its different forms is in fact an anthology of spiritual and homiletic reading. Tales were taken from antiquity, and in a manner so loved by the middle ages were given a Christian "significatio". While the bestiaries were frequently written with a view to fitting the moral explanation which had to be made, we can explain the diversity of tales in the Gesta Romanorum by the fact that the authors were restricted at least in a general way in the kind of moral that they could apply to any particular tale. This explains why in some manuscripts the tale itself, because well known, is only indicated with the first few words, while the moralization is written out, and why in some of the older manuscripts we find a blank space left for a moralization that was never written. In some of the last accretions there is no explicit moralization. Such is the case with Apollonius, where the title "de tribulacione temporali, que in gaudium sempiternum postremo commutabitur" is the only clue as to why this tale was included. It is interesting to note that John Gower included the tale in his Confessio Amantis as an example of the evils caused by incest and unnatural lusts.

As regards the origin of the Gesta Romanorum, it is the opinion of Oesterley that the compilation, in the form represented by the older and better manuscripts, most probably originated in England. He points out that much of the dispute about the land of origin has been generated less
by facts than by patriotism: "seltenerweise lieben es die
Engländer, Deutschland, und die Deutschen, England, als die
heimat der Gesta zu bezeichnen".

Several codices of the middle fourteenth century
still remain, the diversity of which can only be explained
by a manuscript tradition of copying and re-collating
with variant texts. The corruption of words in the
Wolfbütte Cod. Gud. 200, which can be dated 1326, proves
that it is a copy of some earlier edition and leads
Oesterley to conclude that the Gesta Romanorum was compiled
towards the end of the thirteenth century:

Bei der verschiedenartigkeit der handschriften schon
aus der ältest erreichbaren zeit -- von jeder
familie ist uns mindestens ein codex aus der mitte
des 14. jahrhunderts erhalten -- und bei dem mangel
jedes nur irgend haltbaren grundes dagegen, kann ich
mich der überzeugung nicht erwehren dasz die
abfaszungszeit der Gesta bedeutend früher fällt,
as bis jetzt angenommen wurde. Die spaltung der
ältesten handschriften in drei, nach inhalt,
darstellungweise und anordnung ganz wesentlich
verschiedene familien weist mit sicherheit darauf
hin, dass zwischen der abfassungszeit des ersten
originals und dieser mannigfaltigen Entwicklung
ein längerer zeitraum liegt, als einige jahre oder
selbst einige jahrzehnte; ja wenn man die spätere
gestaltung des werks als analogie zu grunde legen
darf, so scheint es nicht zu weit gegriffen zu
sein, wenn man die entstehungszeit der Gesta gegen
das ende des 13. oder spätestens in den anfang des

The influence of this work in spreading the
Apollonius story is not a direct function of the quantity

1 Gesta Romanorum, p.262.
2 Ibid., p.257.
of manuscripts of the *Gesta Romanorum*, since at most a
dozen contain the story. Rather it is because a copy
which happened to contain *Apollonius* was used by Ulrich
Zell as text for his Vulgate edition. This assured the
spread of the story since an edition of some two hundred
copies took the place of a number of scribal manhours
few localities were willing to provide. The frequent
fifteenth century reprints of the *Gesta Romanorum* both in
Latin and in the vernacular languages and the tattered
appearance of copies preserved proves that this collection
was widely known and read. For example in England seven
editions were printed between 1577 and 1602 and a further
fifteen between 1602 and 1703. Through sheer coincidence
the *Gesta Romanorum* as printed in England did not contain
*Apollonius*.

Once the *Gesta Romanorum* was available, the more
popular stories would rapidly be "borrowed" by enterprising
publishers, who would bring out small quarto editions of
about fifty pages that could be sold for pence. These
editions could range all the way from the almost verbatim
translations of the Middle Dutch *Suuerlicke Historie* to
the elaborations of Lauwrence Twine's *Patterne of Paineful
Adventures*. It is this spread of the story among all
classes of society which confirmed its hold upon the people.
Through the *Pantheon*, which was directed to a courtly
audience, and through the *Gesta Romanorum*, directed to the
lower classes, *Apollonius* became known to all.
CHAPTER THREE

THE OLD FRENCH VERSIONS

With the growth of general literacy and the increasing importance of vernacular writing, the transmission of the Historia Apollonii has reached a dead end. The publication of Welser's Narratio Eorum quae Contigerunt Apollonio Tyrio in 1595 shows us that at this time, among the learned, the tale had but antiquarian interest. Further growth of the tradition must be sought among the popular vernacular literary traditions. This chapter will examine the growth of the tale in French literature.

There is no such thing as a strictly French literary tradition. A critic has thus summarised the origins:

Le roman, tel qu'il apparaîtra en France au XIIe s., utilise en partie deux groupes de traditions légendaires dont certains éléments parviendront aux écrivains d'alors, grâce à des compilations faites au XI et XIIe s. et dont très peu du reste sont d'origine française. Le premier groupe s'attache à des souvenirs de l'antiquité classique ou post-classique. ... Un Iter Alexandri ad paradisum, du IVe s., reproduisant une légende orientale, est à la source d'un poème abécédaire du IXe s. Au Xe, l'archiprêtre lapolitain Leo consacre au même héros sa fantastique Historia de Israel. ... Le roman byzantin Historia Apollonii Tyri, traduit, puis refait, en latin entre le III et le VIe s. se range dès lors parmi les classiques. Il nous en reste, du Xe s., une traduction anglo-saxonne, et plusieurs adaptations. Une seconde groupe de légendes est formé de divers éléments d'origine celtique. Son histoire est moins claire... 1

Considering this uncertainty about even major points, it can scarcely come as a surprise that the account of the transmission of the Apollonius of Tyre story is shrouded in confusion. The tale, since it appealed primarily to the lower classes, would be broadcast principally through a chain of oral tradition; the tastes of those wealthy patrons of letters who could afford to pay for written books lay in different directions. For example, of the 1239 manuscripts inventoried in 1424 in the Royal Library of the King of France, only 198 were literary works in the French language. A similar lack of interest is shown in the library of Jean de France, Duc de Berry. He possessed some 297 volumes, of which only fifty were literary texts while the rest of the collection contained 39 bibles, psalters and gospel-books; 24 breviaries; 20 missals; 10 other service books; 15 books of hours; 3 prayer books; 20 volumes of patrology; 11 law books, and 64 volumes on science and philosophy.

It is clear therefore that, since the transmission would be mainly by oral narration, we cannot judge from the fact that no tale exists and conclude that none existed. There are several references which prove that the tale was current. For example in the Roman de Flamencus, of the first half of the thirteenth century, in a list of matters for the chansons de geste, we encounter besides the "Roman

---

1 Cedric W. Pickford, "Fiction and the Reading Public in the Fifteenth Century", p.426.
de Thebes" and the "Roman d'Alexandre" also:

L'autre comtava d'apolloine,
Comsi retenc Tyr e Sidoin

Similar references are found in the works of the troubadours
Giraud de Cabeira et Berthun de Paris. The longest, most
complete, and consequently extremely important reference is
found in the work of the Provencal troubadour Arnaut de
Marsan:

D'Apollonius de Tyr
Sapochatz comtar e dir
Con el fos perilhat,
El et tot son bernat,
En mar perdet sas gens
Totas cominalmens,
Lais tenc en son poder
Tot cant en poc aver,
A trastot son esfors,
Lais solamen son cors.
L pueis issic en terre
On li fon obs a guerre
Vianda don hom viu,
Con un paure caitiu.
Tot so pres per amor,
Las pueis n'ac gran honor,
C'amor li rendet say
May que non perdet lay,
Que pas non enqueria
Cela que mais valia,
Mas tan fort l'encobi
Ni anc non l'enqueri,
C'ab bels ditz et ab faitz
Li dava tals gamaitz
Al cor que per petit
La dona non morit.
Et l'ac a son voler
En fetz tot son plazer
E fo reis com demans
Fort e ricx e prezans.

1 Quoted in Erzählung, p. 412.
2 Quoted in Charles B. Lewis, "Die altfranzösische
These few examples quoted are all in Provencal dialect. When the Albigensian War inflicted ruin on this culture, Northern French gradually took over and the Provencal dialect became, for all practical purposes, a dead language. Half a century after the troubles Provencal literature had ceased to exist. Further development of Apollonius must be sought in Old French.

In the late twelfth century Old French Doon de Nanteuil we read how the troubadours

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Et chantent d'Apoloine et del bien Tenebre} \\
\text{Del viel Antiocus, de Porus et d'Otre,} \\
\text{Et de roi Alexandre...} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In Aye d'Avignon of about the same period, we find the interesting detail that Apollonius is considered the leader of a fleet of ships, while in the Historia he is invariable depicted as fleeing with one or at most two vessels:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Si n'a en haute mer un tel estoire mis} \\
\text{Ainz plus grant ne conduit Apolines de Tris.}
\end{align*}
\]

There is a noteworthy reference in the Poeme Moral of about 1200:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mais miez vos vient bir nostre petit sermon} \\
\text{Ze les vers d'Apoloine u d'Aien d'Avinion.}
\end{align*}
\]

This reference proves that there was at least one metrical version of the tale of Apollonius, and that these references

1 Edited Paul Meyer, Romania XIII, p.18
2 Quoted in Lewis, 'af. Prosaversionen', p.149
3 Quoted Erzählungen, p. 413.
are not all to the prose texts that have been preserved. There is also a very brief fragment of a metrical version that has been found in the Danzig Municipal Library. According to Schulze, the language of this fragment indicates that it comes from the thirteenth century. It is only 53 lines, and words at the beginning or end of most lines are trimmed off. This fragment, which depicts the scene of Apollonius answering King Antiochus' riddle, proves that the entire work must have been a couple of thousand lines in length. It is interesting to compare this with the length of Beowulf and similar tales that resulted from oral-formulaic composition. These tales were quite distinct from the later romances such as William and the Werewolf, where the length was chiefly a function of the patron's interest or growing disinterest. A pleasant little touch is found in:

La pucele poor avoit
D'Apollonie molt se cremeoit,
Les deus prieot secreement
Que le roi muent sun talent,
Que il Apollonie n'ocie;
Poise li qu'or l'a en ballie. 1

which is an accretion to the text and represents an endeavour to fill in the character of Antiochus' daughter. This proves that the lost metrical version was more than a mere mechanical translation from some Latin text and may have had not inconsiderable charm and merit of its own.

1 Edited A. Schulze, Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, xxxiii, p.226, lines 3-8.
There exists another metrical version of Apollonius in Old French, but it is so essentially altered that it is hardly recognisable. It is found in the Geste de Blaye, a sequence of two metrical romances which are more or less linked in story: Amis et Amiles and Jourdain de Blaivies. The first romance is rather hagiographical in character and is the story of friendship, sacrifice and expiation of sin. The second chanson of the Geste de Blaye is a continuation of Amis and Amiles in that the protagonist is the grandson of Amis. The tale is based upon a mingling of the motifs of Apollonius of Tyre and the legend of Saint Eustachius. The entire story has, however, been transposed into the time of Charlemagne. The hero of the story, Jourdain, must flee from Charlemagne because he has killed the emperor's son Lohier. The reasons for this enmity are explained but are extraneous to the Apollonius of Tyre plot. After Jourdain has killed Lohier, and is forced to flee, he has a long series of adventures. He is captured by pirates, escapes with the greatest of difficulties, and finally arrives in the Kingdom of Marcasille, where he encounters the king. This king is skilled in fencing but finds his match in the wretchedly dressed Jourdain. He suspects that this stranger is of noble rank and invites him to supper, after which he accepts him as a page. Meanwhile the king's daughter Oriabel provides him with luxurious garments. An invasion by the Saracens threatens Marcasille, but when the kingdom
is on the point of surrendering, Jourdain kills the Saracen leader and the attack collapses. As a reward Jourdain is given the not unwilling Oriabel in marriage, and they undertake a voyage. After a further series of adventures, Jourdain loses his wife and daughter Gaudisce, who had been born during the voyage. Another series of adventures ends in his eventual recovery of them and Gaudisce marries the son of the emperor of Constantinople, through whose influence a reconciliation with Charlemagne is effected.

This brief outline shows that the Apollonius legend has definitely been an influence; it has, however, been so much adapted and modified that it may hardly be considered a version of it. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the last and only complete metrical version of the story in French literature.

The two subsequent centuries have left us half a dozen manuscripts of prose versions of Apollonius. They may best be discussed in two groups. The first group contains the close renderings of the Historia: the Boston Ms, the Chartres Ms., two Paris Ms., and a Brussels Ms. A second group will contain three freer adaptations.

Boston Public Library Ms. 1518 is the earliest prose version extant in Old French. Because this text was not considered by Lewis it will be examined in some detail. The only mention in print is in a rather rare pamphlet which will be quoted at some length. The Boston Ms. is written
in a French Batarde hand, artistically spaced in two columns, with 35 lines per column. The manuscript has 101 vellum leaves and is in folio. A most distinctive trait is the set of 24 miniatures executed in grisaille. The principal contents of this manuscript is a text of Guillaume de Tignonville's *Dits des Philosophes*, which occupies folios 1-68. Then comes, on ff.69-86, a version of *Apollonius* with an incipit "un Roy fu jadis apele Antioche ..." and an ending "Et laissa lautre en sa librairie". The manuscript further contains *Le Livre de Griseldis ou exemplaire des femmes* on ff. 87-93, and *Le Miroir des Pecheurs* on ff.94-101. There is no indication of date in the manuscript, though the names of some previous owners are found on the first page. Miss Munsterberg concludes that "the version in our manuscript may be considered the oldest one extant in French prose," but does not present proof of her dating. The source of the text is ambiguously stated by Miss Munsterberg. She has noted on the one hand that "the Ms. version corresponds, except for slight omissions and repetitions and minor variations in spelling, with a text published by Charles Lewis ... based mainly on a 14th century Ms. in the Library of the Arsenal.

1 The manuscript is described in Bond, Supplement to the Census of Mediaeval and Renaissance Mss. in the United States and Canada, New York, 1962, p.209, and by Margaret Munsterberg, "The Sayings of the Philosophers", *More Books*, 1941, p.315.

in Paris, which is the oldest of the four complete French
manuscripts of the story that he mentions. Apparently he
had not seen the manuscript now in this library." This,
as we shall subsequently see, is only partially correct.
A few pages later she states that "the story in the Library's
manuscript, belonging to the Romance Group, corresponds in
general to the Latin version of the Gesta Romanorum". This
statement is wrong.

The remaining four manuscripts of this first group
can be more summarily described. Chartres Municipal Library
Ms. 419 is a fourteenth century parchment Ms. which contains
on ff. 49r-61v "l'ystoire de Appolonius". Ms. Paris Pat.
Library 20,042 is an early fifteenth century Ms. which has
the Appollonius story on ff. 25v-50v. Ms. 2991 of the
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris contains only the story of
Appollonius, on 23 parchment pages. Brussels Paper Ms. 9633
has "l'istoire de Appollonius roy de Thir" on ff. 138r-167v.
Analysis by Charles Lewis has revealed that these texts are
not copied from one another but are independent versions. In
each text there are a few words not found in the others which
must derive from a correct original. The original Latin text
can be proven on the evidence of peculiar phrases to belong

1.5 Ibid., p. 320
2 These manuscripts are described in detail by Lewis,
"af. Prosaversionen", p. 159-161.
to the Tegernsee redaction, and more specifically, to be closely related to Ms. Bibl. Nat. 17569, with which it shares several phrases found nowhere else.

Part of Miss Munsterberg's ascription of the source of the Boston Ms. can be definitely shown to be erroneous. The relations with the Gesta Romanorum are only incidental.

A few examples suffice:

The riddle of Antiochus in the Boston Ms. goes:

Le roy lui dist per indignacion Or escoutes cet question,
Je fus pere par felonie et y use la chair de ma mere
Je quiers mon frere filz de ma mere marl de ma femme
et si no le puis trouver isrant le jouvensel ot ore
la question il se traist un pou arreiere et en
encherchant en son entendement et en enquerant par
sapience e science il trouva par l'ottroy de dieu la
solution de celle question et il retourne au roy et
lui dist ainsi - Bon roy tu mas propose une question
Or en escoutes la solution. Tu as dit je fus embatu
en felonie tu nas ici menti regarde en toy mesmes ...

The corresponding passage in the Gesta Romanorum is quite a bit briefer:

Indignatus rex ait: Audi ergo questionem: Scelere vehor,
materna carne vescor, quero fratrem meum matris mee
virum, nec invenio. fuer accepta questione paululum
recessit a rege, et cum scientiam quereret, deo
favente solucionem questionis inventit, et reuersus ad
regem ait: Bone rex, proposuisti questionem, audi
ergo solucionem! Nam quod dixisti: Scelere vehor, non
es mentitus; te enim ipsum intuere! 1

The key here lies in the difference between the RA and RB versions:

RA: Audi ergo quaestionem: scelere uehor, maternam carnem
vescor, quero fratrem meum, meae matris uirum, uxor is
meae filium: non inuenio. Iuenis accepta quaestione

1 Oesterley, Gesta Romanorum, p.511
paululum discessit a rege; quam cum sapienter
scrutaretur, fauente deo inuenit quaestionis
solutionem; ingressusque ad regem sic ait: 'domine
rex, proposuisti mihi quaestionem; audi ergo
solutionem. Quod dixisti: scelere uehor, non es
mentitus, te respice ...' (p. 6,8-7,4)

RB: Indignatus rex ait 'audi ergo quaestionem: scelere uehor,
materna carne utor, quæro fratrem meum, matris meae
filium, uxoris meae uirum, nec inuenio'. Puer accepta
quaestiones paululum secessit a rege; et dum docto
pectore quaereret, dum scrutatur scientiam, luctatur
cum sapientia, fauente deo inuenit quaestionis solutionem
et reversus ad regem ait: 'Bone rex, proposuisti
quaestionem; audi eius solutionem. Nam quod dixisti:
scelere uehor, non es mentitus: te respice ...' (p6,9-7,5)

An even more striking example is the scene in chapter 50 of
the final reckoning with Strangulio and the deceitful Denyse:

Ce fist dist il denise ma dame Adont les citioiens la
prindrent et son mary avec elle et les menerent hors
la cite et les lapiderent Ilz vouloient aussi occire
theophille mais elle leur garda et leur dist en
verite se cest home ne meust donne espce de ij
heures a recondnoistre dieu vous pitie ne meust pas
ore mestier et le priest par la main et voulit quil
sen alast sainz et sauf Et donc priest tharcye tout
tce que stragulion et sa femme auoient eumporte auexques
soy Appollonius prist congve des citoyens et leur
donna grans dons dont ils firent refare les murs
et les tours de la cite en la quelle il demeura par
vj moys et quant ilz furent passez il entra en mer
et arriva a Pentapolle en la cite de Cyrene.

Here again the Gesta Romanorum is quite different:

Villicus ait: Dyonisiades domina mea. Tunc cives
rapuerunt Strangulionem et Dyonisiadem, et extra
civitatem trahentes lapidaverunt, volentes et
Theophilum occidero; sed Tharsia eum a morte liberavit
dicens: Nisi mini spatium ad orandum dedisset, modo
eum non defendi. Appollonius dedit munera civitati
ad restaurandum civitatem et moratus est ibi tribus
mensibus, navigans inde Pentapolin civitatem. 1

1 Oesterley ed., p.531-532.
The two versions of the Historia read:

RA: Theophilus ait 'domina mea Dyonisias'. Tunc omnes ciues, sub testificatione confessione facta, et addita uera ratione confusi rapientes Stranguilionem et Dionysiadem tulerunt extra ciuitatem et lapidibus eos occiderunt et ad bestias terrae et uolucres caeli in campo iactauerunt, ut etiam corpora eorum terrae sepultureae negarentur. Volentes autem Theophilum occidere, interuentu Tharsiae non tangitur. Ait enim Tharsia 'ciues piissimi, nisi ad testandum dominum horarum mihi spatia tribuisset, modo me uestra felicitas non defendisset'. Tum a praesenti Theophilum libertatem cum praemio donavit. Itaque Apollonius pro hac re ad laetitiam populo addens munera restaurat uniuersa. Thermas publicas, moenia, murorum turres restituentes moratur ibi cum suis omnibus diebus XV. Postea uero uale dicens clibus nauigat ad Pentapolim Cyreneaem... (p.112,9-3,10)

RB: Villicus respondit 'Dionysias domina mea'. Tunc ciues omnes rapuerunt Stranguilionem et Dionysiadem extra ciuitatem et lapidauerunt. Volentes et Theophilum occidere, Tharsiae interuentu non tangitur. Et ait Tharsia 'nisi iste ad testandum deum horarum mihi spatium tribuisset, modo uestra pietas me non defendisset'. Quem manumissum abire incolumem praecepit, et sceleratae filiam secum Tharsia tuit. Apollonius uero ad licentiam populo dedit munera, restaurans thermas, moenia, murorum turres. Moratus autem ibi sex mensibus nauigat cum suis ad Pentapolim ciuitatem Cyreneaem... (p.112,7-3,8)

The Boston text here follows RB more closely, for example in the time Apollonius spent in Tharsia with the more realistic six months of civic renewal work. Furthermore the "deum horarum" explains the "ij heures". Finally, from these two examples it is clear that the Boston version is not at all related to the Gesta Romanorum.

That the Boston version is closely related to the text transmitted by the Paris, Chartres, and Brussels Mss is evident at once. But careful examination is necessary to
determine the exact nature of this relationship. Lewis has proven that the four texts he edited are not derived from one another, but are independent parallel versions of an original. The question is, therefore, whether the Boston text can be related to any one text in particular, or whether it is a fifth collateral branch. Miss Munsterberg is silent upon this point. An examination of the four texts in parallel may prove informative. First will be examined the first passage quoted p. li on the riddle of king Antiochus:

Chartres: Le roy li dist par indignacion: "Or escoutes donc la question: Je suy pere par felonnie, je use de la char de ma mere, je quier mon frere filz de ma mere, mari de ma femme, et si ne le puis trouver". Quant le jouvencel ot ouye la question, il se tray un pou a part et cherchant en son entendement et en querant par sapience et prudence, il trouva par l'octroy de dieu la solucion d'icelle question, et il li dist: "Bon roy tu m'as propose une question, or en escoute la solucion, tu as dit: 'Je suy embatu en felonnie', tu n'as pas menti, regardes en toy mesmes ... 

Paris Ms. 20042: Le roy ... (as above) ... trouver! Quant le jouvencel ot ouir la question ,il se traist un peu a part et en cherchant en son entendement et en enquerant par sapience et prudence, il trouva par l'octroy de dieu la solucion de ceste question, et il retourne au roy et li dist ainsi: "bon roy tu m'as propose une question, or escoute la solucion, tu as dit: 'Je suy embatu en felonnie', tu n'as menti, regardes en toy mesmes ...

Paris Ms. 2991: Le roy ... (as above) ... trouver". Quant le jouvencel ot ouy la question, il se traist un poy a part et en cherchant en son entendement et en enquerant par sapience et science, il trouva par l'octroy de dieu la solucion de celle question, et il retourne au roy et li dist ainsi: "Bon roy tu m'as
propose une question, or en escoute la solution, tu as dit 'Je suy embatu en felonnie', tu n'as pas menti, regarde en toy mesmes; ...

Brussels 9633: Le roy ... (as above) ... trouver". Quant le jouvencel ot ouy la question, il se tray un poy a part et en son entendement et en enquerant par sapience et science, il trouva par l'octroy de dieu la solution de celle question, et il retourne au roy et li dist ainsi: "Noble roy, tu m'as propose une question, or escoute la solution, tu as dit 'Je suy embatu en felonnie', tu n'as pas menti, regarde en toy mesmes; ...

It can be seen from this that the Boston Ms. sometimes favours the Chartres Ms. reading, eg. "pou", sometimes the Paris Ms. 20042 reading "encherchant", "ansi"; occasionally the Paris Ms. 2991 reading "science"; and sometimes the Brussels Ms. version "regarde". Most significant are the omitted "ainsi" of Chartres, "en" of Paris 20042 and "encherchant" of Brussels, all of which are found in the Boston text. In other passages the Paris 2991 Ms. can also be shown to have gaps which are not in the Boston Ms. This pattern is consistent throughout the entire text, and it may consequently be concluded that the Boston Ms. is not derived from any one of these four manuscripts but is rather a collateral branch going back to a lost source manuscript.

As final example we can take the passage quoted on page lii:

Chartres: Adonques les citoiens la prindrent et son mary avec elle et les menerent hors de la cite et les lapiderent. Ils vouloient aussi occire Theophile mais elle l'en garda et leur dist: "En verite se cest homme ne m'eust donne espace de heures a reconnoistre

Since the manuscripts of these texts were unavailable even in microfilm, I have relied on Lewis, "af. Prosaversionen", p.4.
Dieu. Elle le prit par la main et voulut qu'il s'en alast sain et sauf. Adonc prinst Tharsie tout ce que Stragulion et sa femme avoient et l'emporta avecques soy.

Paris Ms. 20042: Adonques les citoiens la prindrent et son mary avec elle et menerent hors de la cite et les lapiderent. Ilz vouloient aussi occire Theophile mais elle l'en garra et leur dist: en verite se cest homme ne m'eust donne espace de deux heures a recongnoistre dieu vostre pitie ne m'eust pas ore mestier. Elle le prist par la main et voulut qu'il s'en alast sain et sauf. Adonc prinst Tharsie tout ce que Stragulion et sa femme avoient et l'emporta avecques soy.

Paris Ms. 2991: Adonques les citoyens la prindrent et son mary avec elle et les menerent hors de la cite et les lapiderent. Ilz vouloient aussi occire Theophile mais Tharsie le sauva et l'en garra et leur dist: "En verite se cest homme ne m'eust donne espace de deux heures a congoistre dieu, vostre pitie ne m'eust pas ore mestier." Et le prist par la main et voulut qu'il s'en alast sain et sauf. Adonc prinst Tharsie tout ce que Stragulion et sa femme Denise avoient et leur porta avecques soy.

Brussels 9633: Adonques les citoyens la prindrent et son mary avec elle et les menerent hors de la cite et les lapiderent. Ilz vouloient aussi occire Theophile mais Tharsie le sauva et l'en garra et leur dist: "En verite se cest homme ne m'eust donne espace de deux heures a congoistre et prier dieu, vostre pitie ne m'eust pas ore mestier." Et le prist par la main et voulut qu'il s'en alast sain et sauf. Adonc prinst Tharsie tout ce que Stragulion et sa femme Denise avoient vaillant et l'emporta avecques soy.

From these extracts it can again be seen that the Boston Ms. follows no manuscripts consistently. On the one hand it follows the Paris and Brussels manuscripts in specifying the corrupt "deux heures" but has "recongnoistre" which is only found in Chartres and Paris Ms. 20042; yet it follows Paris Ms. 2991 and the Brussels Ms in "et là" rather than "elle le".

1 Texts as edited by Lewis, "af.Prosaversionen", p. 44.
Besides these relatively close translations of the Historia stand three free adaptations into Old French: the Brussels, London, and Vienna texts. Our knowledge of the Brussels version comes from two paper manuscripts, ff 11,192 and 11097, both from the second half of the fourteenth century. Although both manuscripts contain a very similar text they are not copied from one another but are independent copies of another text. This version is characterised by generous expansion of the basic Historia. Characteristic of the method is, perhaps, the longest expansion. When Apollonius in his flight from king Antiochus has taken refuge in Tharsia, a messenger comes summoning the city to deliver the wanted man. The citizens refuse and Apollonius challenges a knight of king Antiochus to a duel. Thaliart, the chief chamberlain of Antiochus, is appointed, ventures out, and is seriously wounded. To save his life he reveals to Apollonius that Antiochus has planned a treacherous attack on him with a hundred knights. Finally, after several battles, the army of king Antiochus, which was besieging Tharsia, is driven back, but the citizens advise Apollonius to flee secretly to Cyrene. At this point the Historia is followed again more closely with only small accretions, such as the detailed description of Lucina's sleepless nights and the eventual wedding. There is a final long addition when, after his wanderings and the recovery of his wife and daughter, Apollonius attempts to
regain his kingdoms. When Apollonius arrives at Antioch and demands recognition, a council takes place where two parties form, one of which declares itself for, and the other against Apollonius. Then follow interminable parleys, duels, treacheries, until finally Apollonius makes himself master of the place. Especially remarkable in this treatment is the recurrence of favorite themes, such as a watchman who refuses Apollonius entry into a town. There is also the parallel of Thaliart I and Apollonius' duel and the fight between Athenagoras and Thaliart II. The treachery of both Thaliarts is again an obvious repetition. It may be deduced that this work was produced by one of the forerunners of those writers of interminable verse romances, or newspaper comic-strips, who will repeat scenes which struck their audience.

In spite of its accretions, the Brussels redaction can be traced to an RC text. It contains special characteristics of the RSt. texts, but has in addition some traits peculiar to the R-Alpha version. Lewis has probed the question of sources at great depth and sees the influence of an Italian version on the French writer.

The Vienna text of the Old French Apollonius story is preserved in one manuscript, Vienna Royal Library I.s. 3428. It is a paper manuscript which contains 57 leaves. "Du noble apoloine" occupies folios 1r to 55r; the rest is left blank. This fifteenth century text has been entirely
rewritten:

Dieser Text aber ist mit der grössten Willkür behandelt worden. Bald schreibt der Bearbeiter ein Stück ziemlich genau ab, dann aber des Abschreibens überdrüssig, interpoliert er ganze Episoden nach eigener Erfindung, bald dagegen tut er seinem Texte Gewalt an, indem er manche Stücke durch Hinzufügung neuer Worte erweitert und ihn gelegentlich auch sachlich verändert; letzteres ist besonders am Ende, ersteres mehr am Anfang der Fall. 1

The beginning of the story has been completely remodeled. King Thobie and his wife Sarra reign over Antioch, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Tharsus. Apollonius is their son. When Apollonius is seven years of age, both his parents die and Antiochus is installed as regent. He sends Apollonius off to Tharsus to learn knightly virtues and acquire skill in playing the harp. While Apollonius is gone, Antiochus greatly oppresses the people, and to prevent the people from fetching back Apollonius, he sends out a troop of thirty knights with orders to see that Apollonius is killed. After these events, Antiochus' wife dies and the incest with the daughter is described as in the Historia. When the troop of knights approaches Tharsus, sixteen of them refuse to participate in a direct assassination. They propose that the youth be taken to Greece, where a hostile knight is oppressing the people; if Apollonius should overcome this foe they feel that he is worthy of being united to Antiochus' daughter. At this time Greece is ruled by

Alexander, who has assembled a hundred-thousand men against the foe. Apollonius agrees to the fight and is victorious. A month later, Apollonius returns to Antioch, where he, as in the Historia, requests the hand of Antiochus' daughter. From here on the tale follows the Historia up to the episode of the three suitors asking for Archestrates' hand. An interesting small addition is in the scene where the shipwrecked Apollonius first meets king Archestratus, who is bathing in a stream with his knights. Apollonius jumps into the water and teaches the king how to swim! Only after this does the ball-game follow. When the king at the banquet asks Apollonius for his name and rank, he replies that he is a "marchant de toutes denrees et par especial de blez" and that he was called 'Perillie': "il avoit este perillie sur mer et il avoit nom perillie." It is from this name that Singer has derived the name of the hero of Shakespeare's romance. This may, however, be carrying criticism a bit far and Hoeniger, while he notes the reference, does not accept it with any enthusiasm. The story has been modified to such an extent that any conclusion as to the original Latin manuscript would be a mere guess.

2 Untersuchungen, p. 33
The last free rendering of the Apollonius story is found in British Museum Royal Ms. 20. C. ii. This vellum manuscript of the fifteenth century contains the Prose romance of Cleriadus and Meliadice and on ff. 210-236 "la cronique et histoire des meruilleuses aventure de appolin Roy de thir." This text is a remarkable handling of the Historia in that there are no additions to the story but several excisions. In general, the job has been carelessly done. For example, the sending of Thaliarch after Apollonius, and the scene on the beach with Helanicus have been omitted, yet at the end we read that

ung jour apollin sen aloit esbatant a la riue de la mer et trouua le pescheur quy luy auoit donne a poire et a mengier et la moitie de son manteau quant il eschappa tout nu de la mer. Sy ... comanda que on lamenast en la presence de sa femme et de tous les gens et dist voyez cy le bon homme qui me donna conf ote ... et comanda que on luy donnast grans heritages et hommes et femmes dessous luy et de honnestes robes et le retint de sa court. Aprez luy vint celluy qui luy dist que le roy anthiocus estoit mort Appolin le baissa et puis luy donna tant de richesses qu'il fut riche toute sa vie. 1

The daughter of king Archestratus is at first correctly called Archestratis, but then several times Tarcye, and finally once again Archestratis. It is difficult to see how Lewis can rema'k that "vom künstlerischen Standpunkte aus betrachtet sind diese Auslassungen entschieden Verbesserungen". One rather gets the impression that here is a task carelessly

1 fol. 235v - 236r.
done by a couple of indifferent translators, the first one of whom attempted a condensation, while the second one, unaware of his predecessor's intentions, contented himself with a skimpy translation of some manuscript. The hand of the Royal manuscript is neat and so regular that it is evident the manuscript was copied from another one. It would be this source manuscript in which the corruption was introduced.

There exists no Latin manuscript which exhibits all the characteristics of the Royal Ms. But through a comparison of peculiar phrases, it can be established that the manuscript belongs to the tradition represented by the Stuttgart redaction. For example, when Apollonius is asked at the banquet about his origins, "Apollonius ait 'si nomen quaeris, Apollonius sum uocatus; si de thesauro quaeris, in mari perdidi'." (RA p.29,2-4) The answer in RB texts is slightly different: "Apollonius ait 'si necessitatis nomen quaeris: in mari perdidi; si nobilitatis: Tharso reliqui'." (RB p.29,3-4) In the Stuttgart redaction, these two phrases have been combined to give: "Apollonius ait: 'si nomen quaeris Apollonius uocor, si opes, in mari perdidi, si nobilitatem Tyre reliqui'."¹ This is reproduced in the Royal Ms: "Appolin respondit se mon nom vous plait a

¹ Source as quoted in Klebs, Erzählung, p. 97.
scauoir jay nom appolin Se vous demandez de mes richesses en mer les ay perdues Se vous demandez de la noblesse a thir lay lassee." (fol. 215v) When Tharsia is introduced to her new surroundings in the brothel, she is told to adore a statue of Priapus "et ait ad Tharsiam 'adora numen praesentissimum meum'." (RB p.67,10-11.) Here RSt. has a little accretion: "et ait Tharsiam 'adora numen praesentissimum'. Puella ait 'nunquam adoraui tale numen'." which is also found in the Royal Ms: " et luy dist fille auure cest ymage respond la fille sire seulf vostre grace je nay pas a coutume de aourrer tel ymage". (fol. 226r).

An even more striking similarity occurs in the recognition scene in the temple, where the Royal Ms. shows decided similarities to the RSt. redaction. Thus, while we have no Latin manuscript which is a verbal source for the London Ms. text, we can safely state that a Stuttgart manuscript was the source.

There is one peculiarity which must be considered. The ending of the tale is characteristic of the RB texts, where we are told that Apollonius wrote his memoirs and deposited them in his library and in the temple of Diana. There is, however, a special characteristic:

appolin vesquit bien lxxiiiij. ans avec sa femme Tottres fois tant comme Il vesquit Il fust roy daanthioce et de thir et de la terre des penthapolis et de citrianne et de tarcyce et en son tempz les

1 Source as quoted in Klebs, Erzählung, p.90.
mit en bonne paix. puis fist escrire ses
adventures et les mist en vj. lieux dont lun fist
mettre en la terre des effes &t laultrre au temple
de dyane &t laultrre en anthioce &t laultrre en
ortrienne &t laultrre en tarcy &t laultrre a thir
ainsi est finee listore et chronique de appolin
de thir. (fol 236r)

This wholesale distribution of his autobiography is not
found in any of the RSt manuscripts, nor in any of the other
known Latin manuscripts. The only two places it recurs
are in Robert Copland's *Kynge Appolyn* and in an undated
incunabulum print of about 1482, printed by Louis Garbin
in Geneva. The relation of these three texts will be
further examined in chapter V of this thesis.

The 1482 Garbin printed edition is the next version
we must examine. Very little is known about it. Klebs
noted the existence of two copies of the incunabulum, but
Lewis, a dozen years afterwards was only able to locate one.
This copy, in the possession of Mr. Stanislas de Lavallez
in Sitten, is so zealously guarded that neither Charles
Lewis nor Dr. Hermann Hagen were allowed to so much as
examine it. From some sketchy bits of information provided
by the owner, Lewis concluded that the edition, while
related to the British Museum Royal Ms., is not at all
similar to it. A further study of this incunabulum might
throw more light on the question.
The Garbin edition is the last version of the Apollonius story in French that will be discussed. This does not mean that it is the last version. During the sixteenth century we encounter the legend in half a dozen different forms. Since all of these subsequent versions were printed, they contributed enormously to the spread of the story. But all of them come after 1510 and thus cannot even be considered as sources for Copland's translation.

Before we proceed with an examination of Copland's translation, one additional item must be considered. About the time that the last of the previously discussed manuscripts were being written, a new process of book production was being introduced. The invention of printing from movable type was not, in its infancy, heralded as anything revolutionary. Yet its impact was such, that it is worthwhile to devote the next chapter to it: the printing revolution.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE PRINTING REVOLUTION

To emphasise the importance of the printing process on literature, this chapter will present a brief summary of the beginnings of printing in England, and discuss in some detail the printing habits of Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and Robert Copland. Against this background, the study of Copland's Kyng apolyn of Thyre will become more meaningful.

Traditionally the link between the manuscript book and its owner was a very personal one. Although many manuscripts carry a short dedication in which the scribe sends forth his work into the world for the enlightenment of young noblemen and ladies, in fact there is reason to believe that these books remained difficult of access. As one critic has noted:

Wealthy and powerful patrons alone could afford to collect and purchase works of literature which in the form of illuminated manuscripts remained inaccessible except to a very small and privileged minority of readers. Such patrons of literature did lend their books, but to a very limited number of people of their own rank and often of their own households. In no sense could it be said that fiction, as preserved in the 15th century manuscripts, reached a wide public, nor was it, in the true sense of the word, popular. 1

This situation changed within a generation, and at first

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1 Pickford, "Fiction and the Reading Public", p.429
almost without being noticed. During the centuries which had preceded printing, those who reproduced manuscripts had availed themselves of the most recent technical advances of their craft. When printing came, it was viewed by the scribes as merely another process of multiplying texts, a bit more rapid than theirs but not a serious challenge. It was not until the mid-sixteenth century that the full significance of the invention was understood and that attempts were made to harness it. Hitherto fiction had to be considered in terms of single copies, or at most a handful. Now the production could be reckoned in thousands. And with the transition from the clumsy woodcut and xylographic books which preceded Gutenberg to movable metal type that could be re-used, setting a book would take little longer than writing it. The lead used for the first type fount, though delicate by twentieth century standards, could be counted upon for thousands of impressions. This is proven by the limitation statutes of the Stationers’ Company which, in 1587, explicitly forbade the printing of more than 1250 or 1500 copies of most kinds of books from one setting of type, to preserve a steady source of work for typesetters and printers. It is estimated that up to the year 1500 more than 40,000 editions

had been printed. If we assume that 500 copies would be
printed per edition, surely not an excessive number, it
would mean that by 1500 there were twenty million books
circulating in Europe. This becomes all the more remarkable
when we consider that the population would only be about a
hundred million, of which perhaps half was literate

In England, the development of printing was different
from that on the Continent. The process on the Continent
is best summed up by Fèvre:

Et d'abord, un fait qu'il importe de ne jamais
perdre de vue: dès l'origine, les imprimeurs et
les libraires travaillaient essentiellement dans
un but lucratif. L'histoire de Fust et Schoeffer
le montre assez. Tout comme les éditeurs actuels,
les libraires du XVe siècle n'acceptent de
financer l'impression d'un livre que s'ils se
jugent assurés de pouvoir en écouter un nombre
suffisant d'exemplaires dans un délai raisonnable.
Qu'on ne s'étonne donc pas si l'apparition de
l'imprimerie a pour effet quasi immédiat de
répandre encore plus les textes qui avaient déjà
connu en manuscrit un grand succès, et de plonger
souvent les autres dans l'oubli. Multipliant ces
textes à des centaines, et bientôt à des milliers
d'exemplaires, l'imprimerie accomplit ainsi une
œuvre d'amplification en même temps que de sélection.
Cela va nous aider à mieux comprendre la nature
de la production imprimée du XVe siècle. 2

In England, however, the printing press was not in the
hands of such tradesmen in its beginnings; subsequent
printers could not change the direction in which Caxton
had set out. The field of printing was severely restricted,

1 Wytze Hellinga, Copy and Print in the Netherlands,
Amsterdam, 1962, p. 9.

2 Lucien Fèvre, L'apparition du livre, Paris, 1958,
p. 377-378
at first by the personal likes of the printer and his patrons, and subsequently by English technical inadequacy. English printers did not possess the apparatus nor the skill to produce bibles, missals, or elaborate editions of classical works. These would be printed in Paris or elsewhere on the Continent, frequently under the imprint of an English printer. On this state of affairs, Duff has remarked:

The educated man was still entirely dependent upon the Continent for such books as he required, for before 1535 the literature of the Renaissance was untouched by the native printers. Wynkyn de Worde from start to finish, roughly speaking, never printed a classic, but was content to turn out rhymes and romances to catch the popular taste. ... There was no press that could print any but ordinary type; even the most learned printer had not sufficient Greek letters to print quotations; and this when foreigners came to England to learn Greek.

It is convenient to subdivide the history of early English printing into four stages: 1) the Age of Caxton, 2) De Worde and Pynson, 3) From 1500 to the death of De Worde, 4) From 1535 to the incorporation of the Stationers' Company.

William Caxton is generally accepted as England's first printer. He was born about 1421 and in 1438 became apprenticed to Robert Large, a leading member of the Mercers Company and Lord Mayor in 1439-40. When Large died in 1441.

he left in his will twenty marks to his youngest apprentice.
Caxton went abroad and practiced the trade of a mercer. In
1453 he was officially received into the livery of the
Mercers' Company, and from 1463 to 1469 was Governor of the
Merchant Adventurers. About 1469 he began to translate the
popular mediaeval romance *Le Recevill des Histoires de Troye.*
Around this time, he entered the service of the Duchess of
Burgundy. On a visit to Cologne in 1471, Caxton saw the new
art of printing being practiced and, struck with its
practical applications, set about learning it. In 1474 he
printed with the assistance of Colard Mansion of Bruges the
*Recuyell*. In 1476 Caxton left Bruges and on Nov. 18, 1477 he
printed at Westminster Earl Rivers' translation of De
Tignonville's *The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers.*
Some other books followed in the same style until in 1480
John Lettou established a press in London. This competition
forced Caxton to improve his printing style. He obtained
new type, began to use signatures, and added woodcuts to his
works. From 1477 to his death in 1491, Caxton was busily
employed in printing and translating his works. The number of
books printed by Caxton in England comes to about a hundred,
of which he himself translated at least a fifth out of French.
It is unfortunate that Caxton's apprenticeship was served in
the North, and that his printing was modelled upon the Low
Countries, where he had lived for so long. At the same time
France and Italy were more advanced technically, and had
Caxton been trained there, English printing might have begun on a higher level of excellence. Caxton used altogether eight separate founts, and he is remarkable in keeping them separated in his printing. All his letter types are Gothic Black letter, with the earliest ones modelled most obviously upon the handwritten character.

It is most important to note Caxton's motives in printing. Caxton was by profession a merchant; literary pursuits were for him a form of recreation. The consequences of this were far-reaching.

Unlike the early continental printers, he was not a professional scrivener turning to the new method of quicker reproduction: he was an English gentleman, a merchant of responsible position, an emissary for the English king, a lover and critic of fine books and literature who, late in life, was seized by the romance of the new art and who took upon himself the immense responsibility and labour of introducing that art into England. The matter does not even rest there: the books he chose to print were the best works English literature had produced, and these he supplemented with his own diligent translations from French and German books which attracted him in the original. Truly this was, in his own words, 'a merytory dede'.

This independence explains many of Caxton's peculiar practices. He tended to be conservative in his printing, introducing such things as running titles and signatures only after their appearance in the work of Lettou. The same held true for illustrations. The 1481 edition of Reynard the Fox, translated from the Dutch, was not printed with woodcuts. It is only in 1484 that Caxton began to use woodcuts regularly.

1 W.J.B. Crotch, Prologues and Epilogues, London, 1928, p. VII.
Duff explains it in these words: "It always looks as though Caxton, and indeed his own words tend to prove it, was much more interested in the literary side of his work than in the mechanical, and therefore only called in the aid of the wood engraver when he thought it absolutely necessary. He wished his books to be purchased on their merits alone, and therefore did not try, like the later printers, to use illustrations merely to attract the unwary purchaser."  

Printing was introduced into England, therefore, as the hobby of a semi-retired merchant. There was a constant influx of books from the continent, but these importations did not seriously interfere with Caxton's wares. Most of his publications were issued under patronage, so that he had few financial worries. Furthermore, Caxton's publications were of interest mainly to the lover of literature, while the importations appealed rather to the student of learning and the practical man. Roberts notes that "both ecclesiastical and humanist demands were satisfied by imports from the Continent, a fact which has been underlined by the recent discovery of such a book printed for Caxton, by Guillaume Maynyal, and the English press, itself the creation of a man of letters, was left free to concentrate on vernacular work in a way that only foreshadowed London's future eminence as a publishing centre." While Caxton's primitive typography

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may be deplored by the bibliophile, it is this very single-mindedness that caused Caxton's importance. He could not hope to compete with Continental printers in classical texts. Realizing this, he set his aims more realistically and provided for the English people the one thing which could not be obtained elsewhere. At a time when our language was undergoing great changes, he recorded for us in texts as reliable as any manuscript the monuments of our own language: the *Morte Darthur*, the *Confessio Amentis*, and the *Canterbury Tales*.

Caxton's death in 1491 came as a blow to English printing. The craft had not yet developed enough to provide an immediate successor to Caxton. For this reason the next decade can be considered as a separate unit. In these ten years we witness the gropings of Caxton's successors: Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson. Neither man was of Caxton's stature. Neither man was as cultured or as personally involved in his trade as Caxton had been. Both men were business men, without patrons, who tried to make a living out of this new art. As a result, they limited their publications to works which they knew would sell. They realised that they could not compete with the Continental printers and so chose their fields in areas which were not explored on the Continent.

Rychard Pynson was a Norman by birth. After a period of obscurity during his training, he became the chief competitor of De Worde for the English market. Yet there was no serious rivalry between them. Pynson is a tasteful printer
who was influenced by French and Italian advances. Most of his printing was official work and legal tomes. This did not compete with De Worde. In that area where he was in competition with De Worde, religious works, the market was so immense that their combined production could barely satisfy it. We must not allow our admiration of Pynson's superior work to blind us to the debt that we owe to Wynkyn de Worde for popularizing the written word and spreading the novel tradition among the people.

Wynkyn de Worde was a native of Wörth in Alsace, but by 1480 he was settled in England. It is possible that he came over with Caxton as an assistant in 1476, or joined him immediately after. Besides a reference to his wife in a deed of 1480, we hear nothing of the man until 1491 when he inherited Caxton's printing business. He seems to have started with little vigour on his own, so little in fact that foreign printers found it profitable to reprint Caxton's editions and sell them in England. Up to 1493 he used Caxton's types and printed only five books. It is towards the end of 1493, in the Liber Festivalis, that De Worde's first own type makes its appearance. There was a French influence apparent in it which shows that these first few years De Worde was engaged in reacting against Caxton's conservatism. But he had not his master's inborn genius; as Duff notes: "We soon see that we have to deal now with a man who was merely a mechanic, and who was quite unable to fill the place of Caxton either..."
as an editor or as a translator, one who preferred to issue small popular books of a kind to attract the general public, rather than the class of book which had hitherto been published from Caxton's house."

It is only in 1496 that De Worde feels sure enough of his ground to start publishing on a larger scale. Before 1500 he had printed about a hundred books. There is a parallel in his social fortunes: on April 20th 1496, he took out letters of denization which made him, to all intents and purposes, an English citizen.

As we compare the total output of De Worde and Pynson in this decade, we see that De Worde published more, but that his work is generally inferior in quality. Since many of the works of both are preserved in scraps and fragments only, it is impossible to arrive at an exact tabulation of their production, but we can account for about a hundred publications each. Part of the production of both comes in folio volumes, but where De Worde averaged 360 pages per volume, Pynson was content with 180. Pynson's average output was more constant, running to about 600 folio pages per year, whereas De Worde reached 2464 pages in 1495, dropped to 404 in 1497, and rose again to 1990 in 1498. Both printers relied, however, on the smaller quarto volumes for their main stock. Here De Worde

1 Duff, Printers of Westminster and London, p.24
produced at least seventy five, while Pynson produced only
about fifty five. In this period, these two printers had the
market almost exclusively to themselves. Their chief
competitor, Julian Notary, produced perhaps a dozen works.

In general the 1491 to 1500 period must be considered
an interregnum. Pynson and De Worde had carried on the
heritage of Caxton as best they might, but without singular
success. In 1500 comes the break: De Worde had discovered
the surest way to survive. He realised that his success as
a printer did not lie among the higher circles of society but
among the middle classes. An era had passed. "With the close
of the fifteenth century many important changes took place
in the English book trade, and its conditions altered to a
great extent, so that the period from 1476 to 1500 has many
essential points of difference from the period between 1501
and 1535"

At the end of 1500, De Worde moved into Fleet Street
where he rented two houses, a dwelling and a work-shop, at
the princely rate of three pounds six shillings and eight
pence. This move is convenient for bibliographers in that it
symbolises a clearly observable break. There is, however, the
danger of over-simplifying matters. It would not do to state
arbitrarily that any book printed in Westminster is an
incunabulum, while the books printed in London are not. The

transition, as Hellinga notes, is more gradual: "To take the end of the fifteenth century as marking the end of the age of the incunabula is, needless to say, somewhat arbitrary. The book did not grow from childhood to manhood overnight but in the course of a transition period. Books of this time are called post-incunabula, a term which originated in the Netherlands. For obvious reasons the periods covered by these vague delineations are not the same for every country."

The difference between the incunabulum and the modern book is not merely a matter of chronology, it is rather the relation of typography to text. "From being an extremely personal piece of work the book was becoming -- though still only in an extremely limited sense of the word -- a mass-produced article." De Worde persisted in his practices for many years after his move to London. As will be seen later, in fact, it might well be argued that he never left the period of the incunabulum.

Typographically however, the move to London was for the better. Most of De Worde's old types are not used again, and many of the wood blocks used to illustrate his books are found in the hands of other printers. Julian Notary seems to have acquired an especially large part of De Worde's old stock. The only three types De Worde took with him are two

1 Hellinga, Copy and Text, p. 25
2 Ibid., p. 25.
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95 mm. texturas and a 53 mm. rotunda. One of these texturas he only used until 1502; the other one is frequently found in works throughout his printing career. The rotunda is the only one used by De Worde. It is sometimes found in the body of the text; generally it is restricted to marginal notes.

During the following thirty years, De Worde printed some seven hundred works; one would be hard pressed to pick out any for special notice. Suffice it to note that the printer's material prosperity was not paralleled by an improvement of his techniques. Towards the end of 1508, when Pynson was appointed printer to the King, De Worde seems to have received some sort of official appointment as printer to the Countess of Richmond. At the same time, De Worde opened another shop in St. Paul's Churchyard with the sign of Our Lady of Pity, and from then on he sometimes used a woodcut of Our Lady in place of his usual device. About 1522 we find that De Worde was employing other presses to do his work. Several books bear his device that could only have come from the press of John Skot. After 1532, his output decreased. In 1535 he died early in the year. His will dated June 5th 1534 was proved January 19th following.

Although he was not a scholar, Wynkyn de Worde during this period was the first to introduce the letters of some of the learned languages into his books. While it must be admitted that before 1535 no classics were printed in England, a few words from the classics were quoted. In 1495,
in his edition of Higden’s *Polychronicon*, De Worde used the first music types known in England. In 1517, in Whittington’s *De Concinitate Grammatices* he used some Greek words. Later, in 1528, in Wakefield’s *Oratio* he printed some Greek words in movable types and showed Arabic and Hebrew words cut in wood. In the same work he introduced italic type into England, employing it for marginal notes.

The production of these last thirty years is in general very consistent. The experiment of what would be most successful and sell best was kept up and determined De Worde’s output for the rest of his life. Briefly, it consisted of issuing in cheap easily handled volumes, quartos of about fifty pages which could be sold for a couple of pence, a variety of books which were sure to have public appeal: tomes religious and homiletic, practical and instructional, and romantic. Pynson followed this general pattern but because of his higher typographical standards turned his attention to the production of law-books. Both printers, without being fully aware of it, were turning to that body of readers whose need was greatest, but whose standards were lowest. The result was predictable: the demand for a maximum of reading material at a minimum price resulted in cheap rather than well made books. Bennett concludes: "So while De Worde, and more particularly Pynson, could and did produce a number of works not without merit as pieces of printing, it is true to say that their output as a whole shows them to be
more concerned with material than with aesthetic ends. De Worde's vast output was achieved by an indifference to good printing and by a knowledge of the considerable demand which existed for works of limited size and small price."

During the first third of the century, Pynson and De Worde were the overwhelmingly important figures in the book producing industry. In the first decade they were responsible for 70% of the entire production of books in English. The other English printers produced only 15%, and the rest was imported. In the next decade they produced 73%, their competitors 10% and foreigners 17%. In the third decade their production decreased to 55%, but the chief gain was by foreign printers who increased their output to 30%.

At this time again, there was no competition between Pynson and De Worde. They exchanged woodcuts at need and their relations seem to have been most amiable. There was a sufficient demand for those books which they produced in common and each had his own special area in which he printed without encroachment. It is indicative of the security of both printers that they farm out printing jobs to other printers, even on the continent. Plomer has examined a series of customs account rolls and concludes "The accounts from Michaelmas 1506 to Michaelmas 1508 reveal few names but those

1 Bennett, English Books & Readers, p. 187.
2 Bennett, "Printers, Authors & Readers" The Library 1949, p. 165 gives and discusses these figures.
of Francis Birchman and Wynkyn de Worde, and their consignments were large and frequent ... At this point I stopped. The repetition of the same names was becoming monotonous."

The final period from 1535 to 1557 is merely the natural development of the preceding period. Because of the enormous inroads made upon the book trade by foreigners, the Christmas Day Act of 1534 annulled the protection previously granted to foreigners. Efforts are being made to stop the importation of books. In the 1540's, when the element of religious struggle and heretical polemics was added, the pretence of censorship afforded another excuse for tighter control of importation. The development is traced by Duff:

The native workman was however distinctly and aggressively jealous of this foreign competition and endeavoured by every means in his power to hinder and restrict the alien in his work. Some of the more important early printers, such as Wynkyn de Worde, who had lived much of their lives in England and had become denizens in the reign of Henry VII when foreign immigration was encouraged, were practically Englishmen and became citizens and free of the stationers. It was the humbler undenizened alien, who worked often in the liberties where he could not be touched, that was most objected to and against whom the "customs of the trade" were more especially directed. From the year 1500, when the older printers and stationers began seriously to feel the new foreign competition and concentrate their forces in London, there appears to have been endless trouble between them and the aliens. 2

The act of 1534 eliminated much of this competition and the

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Native printers flourished. In the 1530's we have records of 550 books; in the 1540s this increased to 928 and in the 1550s to 1040. The number of printers increased to about seventy. Some of them printed only a few books, but the vast majority of them continued in the business all their life.

The quasi-monopoly of the De Worde-yansson combination did not recur. The individual printers exploit the market to the best of their ability, according to their own predilections and their material resources. The protection afforded them did produce an unfortunate side-effect. Technical skills declined even further: "The fifty years of freedom from 1484 to 1534 not only brought us the finest specimens of printing that we possess, but compelled the native workman, in self-protection, to learn and when competition was done away with his ambition rapidly died also. Once our English printing was protected, it sank to a level of badness which has lasted, with the exception of a few brilliant experiments almost down to our own day."

Robert Copland is an obscure figure in the history of early English printing. In the preface to Kynge Appolyyn there is a short autobiographical note:

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my worshypfull mayster .ynkyn de .orde hauynge a lytell boke of an auncyent hystory of a kyng somtyme reygnyng in the countrey of Thyre called Appolyn concernynge his malfortunes and peryllous adventyres right espouentables / bryefly compyles and pyteous for to here. The which booke I Robert Coplande haue me applyed for to translate out of the Frensshe language into our maternal Englysshe tongue at the chortacyon of my forsayd mayster / accordyng to myn auctour. Gladly folowyng the trace of my mayster Caxton - begynnynge with small storyes and pamfletes and so to other.  

A quarter of a century later, Andrew Borde refers in a prologue to "old Robert Copland's, the eldist printer of Ingland". These two references would lead us to suspect that Copland had been an apprentice of Caxton. But nowhere in Caxton's records is any mention of him made. Furthermore, right after the just quoted extract from Kynge Appolyn he asks the readers "yf there be anythyng amysse in the translacyon to pardon myn ignorant youth". It is because of these ambiguous references that the Dictionary of National Biography does not attempt to fix his dates any more precisely than "fl. 1508-1547".

Copland was apparently a good French scholar and from 1508 on made many translations for De Worde. About 1514 he printed an edition of the Lodus Tenendi Curiam Baronum in which his address is given as the Sign of the Sun in Fleet Street, which was also Wynkyn de Worde's house. This book

1 sig. Alv

2 Source as quoted LIB sv. Robert Copland.
contains the earliest form of his printers mark, an elaborate cut of two animals supporting a shield which hangs from a tree. On the shield is a figure resembling an inverted figure four (which may have been derived from Caxton's emblem) surrounded by a garland of roses. A later version of this mark, which eliminated the shield and the two animals, was employed in the 1530 Romander of Prayer and is found in 1557 in The Story of King Arthur with the name "William Copland". Altogether his imprint appears in only a dozen books. The explanation seems to be that Wynkyn de Worde, just as he did with John Skot, employed Copland to do much of his printing for him. Several books issued by De Worde contain introductory lines by Copland, and there is nothing to contradict the theory that they were printed by him at the charge of De Worde and therefore under his imprint. After Wynkyn de Worde's death in 1535, Copland's press almost ceased production. By De Worde's will he received "as many printed bookes as shall amounte to the value of tenne markes sterling". After this, there is mention of Robert Copland as printer of Andrew Boorde's Introduction to Knowledge, but since this book actually did appear under the imprint of William Copland, it may be assumed that Robert Copland had died in 1548.

1 Will as quoted in Duff, Century of the English Book-trade, p.32.
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After this brief history of the printers, it is necessary to examine two technical aspects of their craft: the general attitude of printers towards the purity of their text and their use of woodcuts as illustrations.

Illustrations have always been an important part of the preparation of a manuscript. To many owners, they were the most important part. This attitude was so prevalent that Bühler can generalise "it should be recalled that the calligraphically most beautifully executed manuscripts, which without exception come from the hand of a professional scribe, often contain the worst texts." This tradition was continued in the elaborately printed French incunabula. Many of them contained woodcuts which had been painted in.

England had also shown moments of great glory in the field of manuscript illumination. The Lindisfarne Gospels represent one early peak; the fourteenth century Arundel Psalter (Brit. Mus. Ms. #83) a later one. The subsequent century did not bear out the promise and the art of manuscript illumination came to a standstill. The condition of the country during the Wars of the Roses sufficiently accounts for the abandonment of the art. The deterioration was so rapid that "after the middle of the fifteenth century English illumination may be said to have ceased, for the native style disappears before foreign imported art." 2

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The natural transition from manuscript illumination to incunabulum illustration could therefore not take place.

In general, on the Continent, the use of woodcuts did not provoke any violent reaction from the illuminators. Because manuscripts were often illustrated, printed books had to be also. Woodcuts were used for the process, combining easily as they did with typography. In fact, they had already been used for the purpose of printing block-books around the mid-fifteenth century, and were not considered anything new. If anything, because of their association with the popular productions, they were slightly looked down upon. The technique of making woodcuts improved only gradually and it took the better part of a century before it could compete with the illuminators. And in spite of all improvements, there remained the question of colour. Hand-painted works could be painted in the most exquisite colours but in printing, two colours was the greatest achievement practical.

The earliest xylographed book with illustrations still extant is a 1462 edition by Albrecht Pfister, who conceived the genial idea of including woodcuts with his edition of Bömer's Edelstein. The principal concern of these earliest woodcutters was explanation of the text. But soon artistic feeling took over, and the end of the fifteenth century saw a flourishing woodcut industry in Germany, from whence it spread with the German artists. The achievement
of men such as Dürer can without pretence be called artistic. When the German artists spread the skill to France and Italy, German influences at first were predominant, but were soon neutralised by the active native tradition which it came in contact with. The results were not as happy as in Germany but were, on the whole, quite acceptable. England, with no native tradition, never rose far above the 1462 stage of development and relied mainly on cuts imported from France. Pompen, although he is only concerned with the German, French, and English editions of Drant's Ship of Fools, has succinctly outlined the situation:

The story of the woodcuts as works of art begins and ends at Basel. The Paris and Lyons printers tried to imitate them as well as they could, but what they produced were little more than curiosities. Pynson took as his models those which he found in Riviere's translation, published at Paris in 1497. He succeeded remarkably well, but naturally he did not surpass his model, and no one will pronounce them to be of any artistic value. Wynkyn de Orde never had cutters who could emulate the workmanship of his Westminster colleague; what they produced for Watson's translation are worse than curiosities, they are caricatures.1

It has already been seen that Caxton did not introduce woodcuts into his earliest books. It is only in 1480 that he felt himself forced to introduce signatures and illustrations to counter the competition of John Lettou. The results were far from sensational: "England stumbles on to the book-illustration stage with some of the poorest

cuts ever inserted between covers." The second edition of the Canterbury Tales was ornamented with a series of cuts of the different characters, and one of all the pilgrims seated together at supper at an immense round table. This cut does duty several times in subsequent years as the frontispiece of Lydgate's Assembly of the Gods. Another cut depicted the crucifixion. This was originally used to illustrate the Fifteen Oes. At Caxton's death Wynkyn de Worde inherited his types and woodcuts. One of the most frequently used ones is the crucifixion plate. It affords us towards the end of the century one of the most useful date-tests for undated books. Some time between May 1497 and January 1498 parts of the cap of the soldier who stands on the right side of the cross was broken away, so that any book which contains this cut with the cap entire must be before 1498. In 1499 the cut began to split and in 1500, while an edition of the Mirror of Consolation was in process, the block split in two. Towards the end of 1500, one of the top border lines was removed and the bottom was trimmed. In this cropped state the block was used again until 1502, when it is encountered for the last time in a little tract on Margerie Kempe. Of the cuts in De Worde's reprint of Caxton's edition of Le Morte Darthur of March 25 1498, Duff states "These are no doubt of native workmanship,

and might justly be described as the worst ever put into an English book, being coarsely drawn, badly designed, and incompetently engraved."

The general state of the art in England is best summed up by Bennett:

Some woodcuts had a certain artistic merit, but for the most part our early woodcuts were sorry things compared with those of foreign printers. Even so, they had a meretricious attraction and De Worde and others provided them in plenty, with little attention to their relevance or lack of artistry. For those who could not read, or were struggling with the art, there can be no doubt that these drawings, crude as most of them were, had a great sales value, and it is estimated that De Worde used nearly a thousand of these blocks in the course of his printing career.

When one encounters Caxton's famous crucifixion plate as frontispiece to a book on "The Proprytees and Medycynes for Hors", one should only be mildly surprised.

Pynson and the other printers of quality books made use of compartments and elaborate title page ornaments. These can yield useful information as to the grouping of the presses at different times. But in the cheap quartos which were Wynkyn de Worde's chief product no such ostentation is found. These little tracts would have as title page the title at the top of the first leaf, printed in one of Caxton's types, with below this a woodcut not always very relevant to the subject of the work. De Worde possessed a number of stock cuts on various topics, for

1 Duff, Printers of Westminster and London, p.30
2 Bennett, English Books & Readers, p.215
example two cuts of a master armed with a large birch rod facing a class of students which recur in the grammars and school books. The cuts from Caxton's *Sarum Horae*, such as the tree of Jesse, the rich man and Lazarus, Death and the rioters, David and Bathsheba, came in very useful for theological books.

The use of certain cuts recurs with such regularity that Duff feels justified in supposing that some books of which no copy remains were in fact printed. He explains this reasonable probability:

1. Wynkyn de Worde for example had a certain series of cuts, specially made for certain books; but when he wished to decorate the title page of a small tract, which was not itself to be otherwise illustrated, he used an odd cut out of his sets. Now when we can trace in different tracts odd cuts, manifestly belonging to a series, we may reasonably suppose that the book for which the series was engraved must have been printed. To give a couple of instances. In the unique copy of Legrand's *Book of Good Manners* ... printed about the middle of 1498, there are two cuts which really belong to a series made to illustrate the *Seven Wise Masters* of Rome. These cuts are fairly accurate copies of those used by Gerard Leeu in his edition of 1490. At a considerably later date de Worde did issue an edition of the *Seven Wise Masters*, illustrated with the series of which the two mentioned above formed part, and showing at that time marks of wear. Now as de Worde had the series cut by the beginning of 1498, I think it most probable that an edition of the book was then issued, for it is unlikely that he would go to the trouble of cutting the set unless he was preparing to print the books. Again, before the end of the XV century, de Worde had a series to illustrate *Reynard the Fox*. One cut is found on the first leaf of an edition of Lydgate's *The Horse, The Sheep, and The Goose*, ... another on the title page of Skelton's *Bows of Court*.

---

1 Duff, *Printers of Westminster and London*, p.36
The careless attitude of the printer towards his product is also noticeable in his choice of text as copy. Caxton, when informed that the text of his Canterbury Tales was corrupt, made a special effort to acquire a better text for his second edition "for I fynde many of the sayd booke whyche wryters haue abrydgyd it and many thynges left out And in somme place haue sette certayn versys that he Chaucer neuer made ne sette in hys booke", but such diligence is almost unheard of with the later printers.

When a translator came upon a passage which puzzled him -- whether this was due to his own ignorance or to a corrupt text is immaterial -- as likely as not he would forge ahead with words that transliterated his original and had an English sound but meant nothing. For example, in the Ship of Fools we encounter the expression "turba Getarum". This is rendered by Riviere into French as "la, turbe de gecte vaillante". Drouyn in his edition retains the line but changes "gecte" into "gette". Watson, in his translation for Wynkyn de Worde, translates this "and the turbe of the watche velyaunt in armes". This is printed. Pompen notes about Watson's text: "There are no two sentences in it which can be understood without reference to Drouyn, and from Drouyn to Riviere, and very often we have to go still further from Riviere to Locher." 

1 Quoted in Crotch, Epilogues and Epilogues, p.90-1.
2 Pompen, Ship of Fools, p.303.
The translator was not alone in carelessness. In the
Golden Legend there is a sentence which runs: "Thus endeth
the legend named in latin Legenda Aurea, that is to say
in Englysshe the golden legende, for lyk as golde passeth all
other metals, so this legende exceedeth all other books
wherein be contained all the high and great feasts of our
lord." Wynkyn de Worde reprinted this work in 1493 but
omitted one line. The colophon now read 'For like as gold
passeth all other metalles, wherein ben contained all the
high and grete festes of our lord.' Although this omission
made nonsense of the whole sentence, it is in this form that
both De 'orde and Julian notary reprint it in all later
editions.

The only time when the mediaeval printer seems to
wax indignant over errors is when they are found in a
competitor's work. When Lynson discovered that Robert Redman
had reprinted the Tenures, of which he had been the sole
publisher for some thirty years, he rushed a new edition
through his shop and prefaced it:

Greetings to his reader from Richard Lynson,
Printer to his Majesty the King.

Behold, Fair Reader, Littleton now meets you (if I
mistake not) in more chastened mood. I have taken
care that he is published from my press not only in
a more correct form, but also in more elegant type
than he escaped from the hands of Robert Redman, but
more properly speaking Rudeman, because among a
thousand men you will not easily find one more
unskilled. In fact, I wonder why he can now call
himself a printer unless perchance the devil when he
had made a cobbler into a sea captain also made him
a printer. Formerly the scoundrel professed himself a bookseller as skilled as ever sprang forth from Utopia, well knowing that a thing can be called a book when it merely has the appearance of being one and little else. Yet the villain has dared to promise that by his skill he can print truly and faithfully all the revered and holy laws of England. If you will read Littleton (presuming on your care and diligence) you will see at once whether he is speaking falsehood or truth.

Farewell.

It must be remembered that Pynson was the best printer of his time and that in legal works accuracy was particularly important. Wynkyn de Worde was never so careful, and it is typical of him that, in reprinting The Horse, the Sheep and the Goose from a copy that wanted a leaf, he does not notice anything wrong but prints straight ahead.

The modern reader must remember that these printed books should not be approached as a modern printed text but rather as a mediaeval manuscript, with its own peculiar charm so absent from glazed paper productions.

---

1 STC 15726 sig. Alv quoted Bennett, English Books & Readers, p.223-224.
The legend of Apollonius of Tyre has been current in English literature for over six centuries. It is in Anglo-Saxon that the earliest extant translation of the Historia into a living language is found. The legend is also found in Middle English versions, Elizabethan and even a seventeenth century work. It would be irrelevant, however, to consider these versions in this dissertation. Copland explicitly states that his work was translated from the French. Consequently it is completely divorced from the English texts which preceded it.

Our knowledge of Copland's translation of the tale of Apollonius is based upon one copy of the 1510 printing by Wynkyn de Worde. That Smyth considers it a manuscript is one of his lesser errors. This copy was formerly in the library of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, but has recently been acquired by the British Museum where it has shelfmark C. 132 135. The incunabulum is unique. There is a second copy listed in Bennett's census of Wynkyn de Worde's works as being located in the Huntington.

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1 For a study of the English versions, see my unpublished MA dissertation Apollonius and Appollonius, Ottawa University 1963.


Library. The Huntington Library is not aware of this possession. According to Dr. Jackson, who is editing the revised version of STC, the British Museum copy is unique. The book contains fifty leaves, sig. A^3, B^4, C^3, D^4, E^3, F^4, G^3, H^6. There seems to be no explanation for this collation, unless one assumes that the octave gatherings are double quartos. The gathering in sixes may be a quarto and a folio or three folios. The number of leaves signed is irregular: A3, B1, B3, C1, C3, D1, D2, D3, E1, E2, E3, E4, F1, F2, F3, G1, G2, G3, H1, H3.

This original was reprinted in 1870 by Edmund William Ashbee. This edition, "for private circulation only", is splendid and fit for the shelves of a rich man. The fact that the impression was limited to twenty-one copies made it inaccessible to the poor student. Copy #8 of this reprint is located in the British Museum, at shelfmark C. 34. 1. 18. There does not seem to be a distribution list of the remaining copies. One copy is located at Yale University, but "the volume is bound so tightly and in such fragile condition that photocopying is not possible". The printed catalogue of Edinburgh University Library indicates that there is a copy in the Halliwell-Phillipps.

Collection there. This aspect of the search has not been pursued further. For all practical purposes, the text of Kynge Appolyn is as rare as if no reprint existed. The facsimile has been made by lithography and seems exact. A couple of pages were collated with the incunabulum and no differences were found. The format is identical but the margins have been increased so that the facsimile is 24 x 17 cm. The impression is on one side of the page only and consists of an even hundred single leaves plus a printed title page giving particulars of the edition. A microfilm of the Ashbee facsimile has been used in the preparation of this edition since the single pages permitted a more favorable reduction scale. As has already been stated, for the editorial requirements of this dissertation the facsimile is identical to the incunabulum.

The incunabulum is copiously provided with woodcuts. Although it was the stated aim of Hodnett to "examine every extant book printed in England between 1480 and 1535 inclusive, list every one containing a woodcut, describe every cut, and note every book in which it occurs", he did not include Kynge Appolyn in his study. For that reason the woodcuts in this text will be examined in some detail. Woodcuts occur on the following pages: A1r, A3r, A4r, A5v,

1 English Woodcuts 1480-1535, p. vi.
In the light of De Worde's normal practice, several of these woodcuts might not have been prepared for this edition, which would explain apparent divergences from the text. To test this supposition, other publications of De Worde and his contemporaries were checked. An attempt was made to examine everything printed by De Worde between 1501, when he moved to London, and 1512. In addition as many other works were consulted as time permitted. All in all, about a thousand works were examined.

In the years of particular interest, the works of De Worde are distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Works listed in STC</th>
<th>Works examined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1501</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1502</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1503</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1504</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1505</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1506</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1507</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1508</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1509</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1510</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1511</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1512</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other works examined were either not printed by De Worde or fell outside of these dates. Several factors render this breakdown not fully representative. The STC will lump undated works together in the tenth year. This explains the
large number of books for 1510, at least thirteen of which are not dated 1510. But the STC lists only those works which have actually been examined by its compilers. It is, therefore, a far from complete list of what De Worde printed, and is in fact quite non-representative of his total production. Of those books most like Kynge Appolyn, the cheap popular quarto tales, this list contains only three. Some others, like Kynge Appolyn itself, may have been omitted by mistake; probably dozens more were absolutely read to pieces and have ceased to exist. The vast majority of still extant books consists of schoolbooks, grammars, folio tomes on botany and anatomy, great quantities of bibles, missals, and breviaries. A final problem, and this is purely technical but significant, is that the books were examined on microfilms taken at different dates with different reduction ratios. Since the quality of the paper and ink and the humidity in the air may make as much as a couple of millimeters difference in the dimensions of a plate, under these circumstances it was frequently impossible to be sure that a plate is identical and not merely similar to the one in Kynge Appolyn. The results are therefore tentative, pending examination of the actual books. The list will contain the STC number of the book examined, date, folio the plate is on, brief description of the plate, and location of the plate in Kynge Appolyn.
### ROBERT COPLAND'S KYNGE APPOLYN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STC #</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Folio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>656</td>
<td>1533</td>
<td>A1r</td>
<td>Three royal couples together</td>
<td>H2r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4350</td>
<td>1532</td>
<td>A1r</td>
<td>Knight and retainers</td>
<td>A1r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5198</td>
<td>1502</td>
<td>E3r</td>
<td>Three couples together</td>
<td>H2r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7571</td>
<td>1512</td>
<td>A1r</td>
<td>Three couples together</td>
<td>H2r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7572</td>
<td>1550</td>
<td>A1r</td>
<td>Dead woman and mourning king.</td>
<td>A3r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B2r</td>
<td>Priest joining a couple</td>
<td>G8v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>G1r</td>
<td>Three single figures with scrolls.</td>
<td>F3r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H4r</td>
<td>King sitting on a throne</td>
<td>A5v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I1v</td>
<td>Tower and wall</td>
<td>F4r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M2v</td>
<td>Priest joining a couple</td>
<td>C8v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9985</td>
<td>1515</td>
<td>B5r</td>
<td>Man and servant</td>
<td>G8v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C3v</td>
<td>Two sitting men with scroll</td>
<td>G6v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B5v</td>
<td>Four men</td>
<td>C7r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B5v</td>
<td>King sitting</td>
<td>A5v</td>
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<td>F4v</td>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>F3r</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>F4v</td>
<td>Four men</td>
<td>C7r</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I6v</td>
<td>King tearing his beard</td>
<td>F4r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L6v</td>
<td>Woman in boat at shore</td>
<td>B7r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10002</td>
<td>1528</td>
<td>This is an identical reprint of 9985.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9997</td>
<td>1502</td>
<td>A1r</td>
<td>Crowning of a king</td>
<td>H4v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12945</td>
<td>1510</td>
<td>G2v</td>
<td>Priest joining a couple</td>
<td>G8r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14517</td>
<td>1509</td>
<td>B6v</td>
<td>Crowned king</td>
<td>A5v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C4v</td>
<td>Two kings sitting</td>
<td>G6v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D7v</td>
<td>Man and servant</td>
<td>G8v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15376</td>
<td>1502</td>
<td>A1r</td>
<td>Woman in boat at shore</td>
<td>E7r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17026</td>
<td>1510?</td>
<td>A1r</td>
<td>Man with scroll</td>
<td>B1r</td>
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<tr>
<td>17979a</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td>A3v</td>
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<td>F3r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18569</td>
<td>1529</td>
<td>A3v</td>
<td>Single figures with scrolls.</td>
<td>F3r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A5v</td>
<td>Single figure with scroll</td>
<td>F4r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A6r</td>
<td>City view</td>
<td>C7r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19119</td>
<td>1509?</td>
<td>A1r</td>
<td>Priest joining couple</td>
<td>G8v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18566</td>
<td>1509</td>
<td>A5v</td>
<td>Man with a scroll</td>
<td>B1r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This volume contains a series of a dozen different figures with scrolls in the same style.
This volume "The Noble History of King Ponthus" contains about thirty woodcuts.

While time did not permit an examination of all other printers' work, a sampling showed that some of the cuts did recur elsewhere, chiefly in the productions of Pynson, Skot, Myer, and Copland. This substantiates Isaac's observation that "Despite their rivalry De Worde and Pynson did frequent business together. Mr. Hodnett informs me that De Worde had a far larger stock of woodcuts than Pynson, and that Pynson is often found borrowing cuts from him. As De Worde's cuts were mainly bad copies from French originals, 1 Pynson's books were not improved by them."

The year of the accession of Henry VIII was the meetingpoint in England of three periods of literature. The Middle Ages were declining; Stephen Hawes, who wrote his Conversion of Swearer in 1509, was perhaps one of their last literary exponents. The Italian Renaissance is introduced in England with Erasmus' Encomium Moriae, written under the roof of Saint Thomas More in 1509. And in between these two streams of literature comes that curious zeitgeist known as

"the Early Renaissance" which was active in Germany and France and influenced England. It is this last influence which concerns us most. England was but little influenced by German literary streams, but since the Norman conquest English civilization has been controlled by French standards. Classical works entered England through French translations. One need, therefore, not look any further for sources in other languages when the colophon of a book states that it came from the French.

The source of *Kynge Appolyn* has not yet been discovered. The incunabulum gives us two clues, one in the prologue, the other in the colophon:

my worshypfull mayster Wynkyn de Worde hauynge a lytell boke of an auncyent hystory of a kynge somtyme reygnyngge in the countree of Thyre called Appolyn concernyngge his malfortunes and peryllous adventyres right espouentables / bryefly compyled and pyteous for to here. The which booke I Robert Coplande haue me applyed for to translate out of the Frenshe language into our maternal Englysshe tongue at the chortacyon of my forsayd mayster / accordyngge dyrectly to myn auctour. (sig. Alv)

Thus endeth the moost pytefull hystory of the noble Appolyn somtyme kynge of Thyre newly translated out of frenshe into englysshe. (sig. H6r)

While much of the prologue and colophon may be conventional in style, there is no reason to doubt the facts. Bennett remarks about these dedications: "They may not all be sincere, but on the whole they are to be trusted, and form a useful guide to what actuated the authors in putting their wares before the public. ... What their contemporaries
accepted for the truth we may accept." From the welter of confused critical opinion on the subject, three texts can be drawn which have been suggested as sources for Copland: the British Museum Ms. Royal C ii; the Gesta Romanorum; and Garbin's Geneva printing. Let it be noted by the way that none of the other Old French texts examined in Chapter III of this thesis were seriously be considered as a source.

The Gesta Romanorum was available in French through the Violier des Histoires Romaines. Graesse states "cette traduction de Copland a été faite sur le texte donné dans les Gesta Romanorum et a donné à Shakespeare l'idée de son Pericles." Although the earliest edition of the Violier extant is dated 1521, and Graesse does not list any earlier ones, there is a stronger argument against this text being used. It has already been seen that Apollonius was a late addition to the Gesta Romanorum, and that it was not in the English manuscripts. If a copy of this text had been available to Wynkyn de Worde, he would not have used the condensed version for his translation of the Gesta Romanorum, which he printed some time between 1510 and 1515.

1 Bennett, English Books & Readers, p. 64
Furthermore, a comparison of even a few lines of the text at once shows the differences. For the sake of completeness, the text of both the Latin and Old French versions will be given, followed by the Copland text.

Anthiochus in civitate Antiochia regnavit, a quo ipsa civitas Antiochia nomen accepit. Ex conjuge sua filiam Speciosissimam genitit. Que cum pervenisset ad etatem legitimam et species pulchritudinis accresceret, multe eam in matrimonium petebant cum magna et inestimabili dotis quantitate.  

Le roy Anthiochus regna en la cite de Antioche, du nom duquel est celle cite mommee, lequel eut de son espouse lors une belle fille par excellence, laquelle, comme elle parvint en aage legitime, croissoit sa beaute de jour en jour, et appetoit les jours de mariage. Plusieurs nobles de diverses contrees la requeroient en mariage, promettant grande quantite et inestimable douayre.  

In the authentyke and noble cyte of Anthyoche in the partyes of Syrye was somtyme a myghty kyng the whych hadde to name Anthiogus. This kyng helde under his demayne many terryen sygnouryes & lordeshyppes as cytees / townes / castels and many other fortresses / bycause of the which he was not only fered and dreedde of his subgectes of his realme / but also of other regyons therto adjacent. He hadde also unto wyfe in maryage a moche fayre and elygaunt lady wyse / eloquent and comen of noble lygnage by whome he had a daughter at whose natulyte or byrthe the noble lady and quene his wife dyed whiche was grete harme and dyspleasure to all the realme as here after is declared. ... 

As this mayden was comen unto the age for to be maryed kynges / prynces / dukes / erles / and many other grete and noble estetes came for to haue her in maryage. (Sig. °3v-A4r.)

It is evident from this extract that in some respects

1 Cesterley ed., Gesta Romanorum, p.510
2 M.G. Brunet, Violier des Histoires Romaines, Paris 1858, p.324.
Copland's version is far more detailed and elaborated. There is no way to determine whether this was in the original or whether this was his own contribution, but it seems unlikely that he would add almost fifty percent on his own.

\[\text{Exaudi vocem deprecantis, respice virginem, quia virum talem prudentem mori nefarium est. Si conjugem, quam desideras, deus ex sua gratia tibi restitution, si filiam salvam, quam defunctam dicis, invenire poteris, pre gaudio oportet te vivere. Apollonius, cum verba hec audisset, in iracundiam versus est, surrexit et puellam cum pede percussit. Impulse vero cecidit virgo et genis ejus ruptis caput sanguis effluere. Conturbata virgo caput fleret et dixit:...}\]

Regarde la voix de ta povere suppliante. Regarde la vierge; car il est indecent à un homme mourir, de si noble prudence. Si tu as tel solatium de grace que Dieu te fust trouver ton espouse et ta femme, et aussi pareillement ta fille, vouloir te pas encore vivre. Quant Apollonius entendit celle parole, quasi tout confus de rage, frappa la belle vierge Tharsie du pied, et, pour ce faire plus impetueusement, se leva sus bout. La vierge frappee tomba a terre seignant par le visage, puis dist:...

Alas it is grete domage that a man of soo grete noblenesse as you be sholde use his lyfe in suche doloures and anguysshes / I pray you be of good conforte for whan it pleaseth our creatour he wyll rendre unto you your wyfe and your doughter / and than she toke hym by the goune makynge semblaunt for to drawe hym out from under the hatche. Apolyn seynge that she wolde haue had hym out drewe backewarde / and they pulled so bytwene them that her holde slypped and she fell to the grounde and hurted her knee sore. ( sig. G4v)

This second extract shows that even where the incunabulum is not longer than the Gesta, details of the action differ in important respects. Consequently, the Gesta Romanorum, in

1 Cesterley, ed., Gesta Romanorum, p.528
2 Brunet, ed., Violier, p.357.
either the French or Latin version, can hardly be considered as a source.

Singer does not propose any proofs, but satisfies himself with the statement that "Robert Coplands Kynge Appolyn of Tyre gedruckt bei Wynkyn de Worde, London 1510, ist von der französischen krosa des British Museum abhängig."

In fact, as has already been noted, the peculiar ending is the same. But this parallel cannot be maintained throughout. This is evident when we compare the French passages which correspond to the previously quoted extracts.

Il estoit ung roy appelle anthiocus Lequel print le nom en la cite de antioce lequel roy auoit une femme espousee qui estoit parfaicte en touttes beaultez corporellles de touttes sciences et de touttes noblesses. De la quelle dame le roy euvt une fille qui ressambloit sa mere en touttes vertus en toutte beaulte corporelle. Apres ung pou de tempz la dame morut dont le roy fist intré grant dueil et luy fist faire le service tel comme il appertenoit a une toyne. Et puis fist nourir sa fille et la fist enseignier en touttes bonnes conditions selon lestat royal laquelle fille acEut tant en grant noblesse que cestoit grant merueille a voir...

Now comes the scene of king antiochus' rape of his daughter. Et quant la fille vint en leage de xv ans la renommee se spandit par maintes terres de sa grant beaulte Et pour lamour de ce elle fu demandee en mariage par maintz fils de roys de ducz, de contes et mouit daultres nobles et puissas seigneurs. (fol. 110v - 111r.)

Et luy dist Seigneur ayez mercy de toy car ce seroit dhommage se ung tant bel homme comme tu es mouroit ainsy quant appolin vit la pucelle qui le vouloit tirer de la chartre tout couroucie restrait ses bras que elle tenoit et la pucelle cheyt a terre et frappa contre ung coffre en telle maniere quelle se fist ung grant

1 Singer, Untersuchungen, p.221.
playe aux genoulez et commencha fort aaignier puis
dist tout en plourant:... (fol. 231r.)

It is readily seen from the first extract that there is a
similarity of ideas, though by no means a verbatim parallel.
The second extract also contains parallel ideas, particularly
the detail that Apollonius does not strike or kick the girl
but that she falls by accident. At the same time, it is
impossible to consider this the source manuscript, because
the order in Copland, which is that of most texts, is not
followed in the Royal manuscript.

While Ms. Royal 20 ii. cannot be the source, it
nevertheless presents so many similarities that a close
relationship must be assumed. Most striking is the
description of how Apollonius transcribes his adventures
and how he distributes them. The description of Archestrates'
burial at sea in the chest and her discovery by Cerimon also
present parallels. It might be concluded that the incunabulum
and the manuscript are collateral branches of a tradition.
The exact degree of kinship cannot be ascertained.

The theory that the Garbin incunabulum was used has
been advanced by P.Z. Round: "Louys Garbin printed La
chronique et histoire d'Apollin roy de Thier at Geneva in
1482, and probably it was this, put into English by Copland,
which Wynkyn de Worde publisht in 1510." Recently it has

1 P.Z. Round, ed., Pericles, a facsimile of the
been repeated by Dr. Raith: "Zugrunde liegt der Genfer Druck von J. Garbin (1482)." Neither man has produced any evidence. Brunet lists the Garbin edition adding "Livre très rare, qui est annoncé dans le catal. de Du Fay, n° 2366; il est sans doute tiré des Gesta Romanorum." Brunet also lists Kynge Appolyn, misprinting the date to 1528, with the comment "traduction faite sur le français, par Robert Copland." It is significant that he does not relate the two.

No description of the Garbin incunabulum has ever been published. While both Dr. Hagen and Ch. Lewis were not permitted to examine it, Lewis does provide some information which was communicated him by Mr. Stanislas de Lavalvez. The incunabulum was printed in 1482 in Geneva and contains the "Histoire d'Olivier de Castille et d'Arthus d'Olgarve" and the story "d'appolin roi de Thyr". The book is of thirteen leaves, which makes fourty-nine pages. Each page has twenty-nine to thirty-one lines, and the booklet contains seven illuminations.

1 Raith, Apollonius-Ruhestucke, p.2
3 See Graesse, Tresor, on this error, p.166.
4 Brunet, Manuel, p.102
Two texts are quoted by Lewis, but the extracts are too brief to provide positive evidence. The beginning:

"Cy commence la vie et le travail d'ung vaillant roy qui avait non appollin, si estoit roy d'une cite qui s'appelloit thir, et de la peine qu'il souffrit par mer. Et premierement comment il s'enfuyt par mer pour la paour du roy d'anthioche. Comment vous aures cy ensuyvant. Et puis aures comment il secuerit et remplit de la famine qui y estoit si tres-grande l"

is totally unlike that of Copland. The repeated use of "aures" makes this sound like the beginning of a troubadour's spiel. The second extract is the very end of the story. It is very similar to Copland, but with some differences, notably in the distribution of the six volumes.

"Puis apres appollin heut ung filz de sa femme qui fut roi de thir, puis s'en retourna a Antioche et la vesquit l'espace del lociiii ans. Et ainsi en sa vie fut roy de thyr d'Anthioche et de terme et de plusieurs aultres royaumes lesquels il tint en bonne paix tant qu'il vesquit. Et sa vie durant voulut escrire les aventures qui lui estoient advenues. Et en fist .VI. livres desquels l'ung fut au temple de dyana, l'autre en la terre des effessiens, l'autre en Anthyoche, l'autre en terme, l'autre en tarce, et l'autre en son royaulme gentil de thir. Apres ces choses il mourut et en mourant il embrassa sa femme et la baysa; dont elle mourut avecque luy. Et leurs furent faiz tels monumens come a roy et a roygne appartient. Et ainsi dieu les appella en son royaume de paradis lequel nous doint le pere et le fis et le benoist saintesprit. Amen."

This is much closer to Copland than the Royal 20 C ii

2 Ibid. p.248-249.
Quant touttes ces choses furent passées appolin engendra ung filz de sa femme roy de anthioce appolin vesquit bien lxxiiiij. ans avec sa femme Toutesfois tant comme il vesquit Il fust roy danthioce et de thir et de la terre des penthapolis et de citrienne et de tarcye et en son tempz les mit en bonne paix. Puis fist escripre ses aduentures et les mist en vi. lieux dont lun fist mettre en la terre des effes et laultre au temple de dyane Et laultre en anthioce Et laultre en cytriennne Et laultre en tarcye Et laultre a thir ainsi est finee listore et cronique de appolin de thir. ( fol. 236 r.)

Before discussing this extract, it is necessary to consider the source, which was an RB type manuscript:

Mis expletis genuit de coniuge sua filium quem in loco cui eius archistratis constituit regem. Ipse autem cui coniuge sua benigne uixit annis septuaginta quattuor. Tenuit regnum Antiochiae, Tyri et Cyrenensium. Qui tam uita per omne tempus suum duxit. Casus suos suorumque ipse descripsit et duo volumina fecit: unum Dianae in templo Ephesiorum, aliiud in bibliotheca sua exposit. Explicit. (Riese p.115,10-116,5.)

The elements of this ending are: a son, peace and quiet, reigns over specified countries, writes his memoirs, and deposits them in specified places. This ending in the British Museum manuscript contains the elements: a son, reigns over certain specified countries, writes his memoirs, and deposits them in specified places. But it does not contain the extended description of his death, which both Copland and the Garbin incunabulum have. In many mediaeval manuscripts, Penthapolis is taken as the name of a town, while more properly it should be in the plural as being a district, a federation of five villages. This is correctly
put in the plural "des pentapolis" besides the singular "de citriane" which makes it unlikely that the scribe of the Royal I.s. added this detail on his own. In the Copland translation, one of the volumes is deposited "in the temple of dyane in the londe of Ephesym" while the Garbin print has "l'ung fut au temple de dyana, l'aultre en la terre des effessiens". But the temple of Diana is in the land of Ephesus. Therefore, Copland has the correct text while the Garbin incunabulum is corrupt. A second instance is in the scene where -apollonius dies: "il embassa sa femme et la baysa; dont elle mourut aveque luy". This sounds strange, to say the least. Copland, however, in this scene tells how he kissed his wife "and kyssed her in takynge his leue. --md she for veray pure sorowe and loue enbracd him and makinge grete lamentacyons and complayntes she gauue up her spyryte with hym." It would seem that the Garbin incunabulum omitted one line here. But Copland has this line, which makes it unlikely that he used the Garbin text.

In the light of these details, a hypothetical stemma might be:

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X
 /  \
Y   British Mus. Ms. Royal†C. ii
 /
|  
Garbin  Copland
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with † as the general ancestor of the tradition, the British
Robert Copland's Kynge Appolyne

The museum text being an abridgement of this version. The Y text may be identical with X. It is the manuscript or printed text which Copland used for his translation. It is also the text which Garbin printed his version from. Only an examination of the complete Garbin text could prove or counter this theory.

Two minor points must still be discussed before we can proceed to the edition: the language and the manner of translation. An examination of the language would be inconclusive. The text is so late that the dialectical peculiarities have been submerged. At best, it can be noted that the dialect is Southern English, lacking any peculiar Northern characteristics. A noteworthy characteristic is the great number of French words which occur with only the slightest English gloss.

The style is colourless. Workman has shown that fifteenth century translators did not impose their style upon the work but rather, like King Alfred and his translations, adopted chameleon-like a style which resembled that of their source. This manner of translation, which he describes as "stencil translation" is described by Workman: "If these three books of Jaxton's, the Jurial, the Mirour, and Aymon are anonymous, and the derivative nature of them unknown,

we should certainly assume them to have three different Englishmen as authors. Even as it is, no one of these three styles can be called Caxton's own. What has led this man to write in such different ways is clearly his habit of 1 close translation." It is this which accounts for such gallic phrases as "she doubtynge his inhumanyte" (A4v 7) or such inversions as "chambre vyrgynall" (A4v 25). About the only thing to remember on language and style of translation is, therefore, that from this one work we may not generalize. Obscure phrases may be cleared up sometimes by considering what the French equivalent would be. Further than that we can not go.

Ames, Joseph and William Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1785, Vol. I, 437 p. This work represents one of the first studies of the early English printers. Although it is in some respects outdated, it contains descriptions of books which have been lost or destroyed since.

Aurner, Robert R., "Caxton and the English Sentence", *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. 18, 1923, p. 23-59 This study demonstrates that Caxton in his translations does not possess any particular style but is guided by the style of the work he is translating.


Beck, J.W., "Quaeritur an recensio christianae historiae Apollonii regis Tyri in Gallia orta esse possit", *Album Gratulatorium in Honorem Henrici van Herwerden*, Rheims, Kemink, 1902, p. 1-6. This essay, while it accepts Klebs' thesis that the tale of Apollonius is not a translation from the Greek, goes one step further and attempts to prove that it originated in France. The arguments are not convincing.

Bennett, H.S., *English Books and Readers, 1475-1557*, University Press, Cambridge, 1952, xiv-337 p. This is a study in the history of the booktrade from Caxton to the incorporation of the Stationers' Company in 1557. While it does not add much to the work of Duff, the research is carried out with the aid of modern bibliographical tools. Of particular importance are the check-list of works printed by Wynkyn de Worde and the list of translations into English printed between 1475 and 1560.
Bennett, H.S., "Printers, Authors, and Readers, 1475-1557" The Library, V ser., Vol. IV, 1949, p. 155-165. This paper read at a meeting of the Bibliographical Society on March 15, 1949 discusses the condition of the booktrade during the first eight decades of its existence in England.


Gavin Bone argues that Gower's Confessio Amantis and Lydgate's Siege of Thebes are based on manuscripts formerly owned by Roger Thorne. We can see how certain errors crept into the text through misreadings of the manuscript.


This play is almost contemporary with Shakespeare and the relations with Pericles show how the brothel scenes could be handled in a different manner.


This edition contains as chapter 125 "De la tribulation temporelle qui sera a la fin en joye commune" (sic) which is a translation of chapter 153 of the Gesta Romanorum.


This history of the beginnings of the book emphasises the similarities between early printing practices and scribal habits. Many bibliographical puzzles can be solved by considering the book as if it were a manuscript. Of great value is the list of foot-notes, which is a course outline by itself.

This article is a reassertion of Rohde's position that the Apollonius story is derived from a Greek original. The arguments are unconvincing, but the article is valuable for the parallels to Greek works that it adduces.


This work provides some references to articles on Pericles. Its great importance lies in that it establishes those facts about the play which are known.


This collection of the plays, romances and novels which were Shakespeare's sources contains a reprint of Gower's Confessio Amantis, Twine's Patterne, and Plutarch's Pericles.

Copland, Robert, Kynge Appolyn of Thyre, London, Wynkyn de Worde, 1510.


This volume provides in a readily available text the statements by William Caxton about his times and his art. There is in addition a long introduction on Caxton and his work. The bibliographical references in this book are so inadequate as to be totally useless.


This article examines modern tales still current in the remoter parts of Greece which are retellings of the Apollonius legend.
This volume lists the hundred and seven books printed by Caxton or with his types. It gives a detailed bibliographical description of each book with a history of all extant copies. It profits from Henry Bradshaw's patient and accurate investigations and is therefore an improvement upon Blades' treatment of the subject.

The family of tales which in Oesterley were listed as LIII, LVI, LVIII, and LXVI was deemed of small value until the similar but dated Innsbruck manuscript proved that this was the oldest extant version of the text. This edition represents the Gesta Romanorum as it was current a hundred and thirty years before the recension printed by Oesterley was known. The Apollonius of Tyre story is not found, though this text contains two hundred and twenty tales, a remarkable amount.

This book contains in dictionary form short notices of all printers, stationers, bookbinders and others connected with the trade from the first dated book in 1457 to the incorporation of the Company of Stationers in 1557. For the major printers, on whom information can easily be found in DNB and other standard works, the most important facts only are given; in the case of minor figures as much information as possible is supplied.

This monograph contains a bibliographical description of 431 fifteenth century English books. The author has examined the vast majority of these incunabula personally and this gives the book a uniformity of description impossible to achieve with collaborated works. An appendix of fifty three plates illustrates all the different types used by printers at the time. The typographical index lists what types were used when and aids in dating undated books.

This series contains lists of all known printers, their works, and other works which are assigned to them on the basis of other testimony. A few of the printers' marks are added as illustrations.
This book incorporates two sets of Sanders Lectures. Since the period from 1476 to 1500 is essentially different from the 1501 to 1535 period, the book is divided into two separate parts. A disadvantage of this is that in the case of transitional figures like De Worde or Pynson it is necessary to read two widely separated chapters.

The value of this 1888 revision of Dunlop's original edition of 1816 lies in that the footnote corrections and additions show the mass of new material on Apollonius which came to light during the nineteenth century.


This volume traces the growth of the printing industry in Europe and especially in France. It covers in part the same ground as Bühlcr but continues into the sixteenth century.


This is a basic text for any study of the Anglo-Saxon fragment. It contains in parallel the Anglo-Saxon text with variant readings from previous editions and a Latin text which is culled from various manuscripts. A special feature of this edition is the detailed commentary which discusses obscure points in the text. There is a very good introduction, but the glossary could be improved upon. There is a select bibliography which unfortunately lays too much stress upon the Latin editions.

A generally favorable review, but the excessive restriction of Latin texts is noted.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

EETS OS 82.
A reliable edition of Gower's English works. Although there are relatively few notes in relation to the mass of textual material, they show a thorough knowledge of the field. When discussing Book VIII, Macaulay shows that he is familiar with the work of Hagen, Klebs and Singer. The work does not possess an adequate glossary; unless the reader is aware of all possible variant spellings of a word he may not find it. The work has been reprinted from the same plates in the edition of the Complete Works.


A rather popular treatment of the story of Apollonius. The author is well aware of the critical background to the subject but presents no startling new insights. The principal quality of this work for use in a scholarly dissertation is the abundance of foot-note references to detailed discussions of the various fine points.

This is one of the fundamental studies on incunabula, by a former editor of the German Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke.

Hagen, Hermann, Der Roman vom Konig Apollonius von Tyrus in seinen verschiedenen Bearbeitungen, Berlin, Habel, 1878, 32 p.
This is one of the seminal works in the study of Apollonius legends; most subsequent works are indebted to it or copy from it.

This work presents a century by century analysis of the Dutch book, from the beginnings to the twentieth century. Then there is a study of the text, from manuscript to print. Finally there is a section of 219 plates with a detailed description.
This work is the most complete study in English of the Gesta Romanorum. The commentary is based on Madden's monumental but inaccessible work. Herrtage does not hesitate to differ, however, when he feels that Madden is in error. There is no version of Apollonius in De Worde's edition of the Gesta Romanorum.

This work is a study of the sources and analogues of the non-cyclic metrical romances in England. The 1960 edition of the work contains a supplementary bibliography. While most of Miss Hibbard's conclusions are based on Smyth, and consequently wrong, her bibliography lists several items not mentioned elsewhere.

Although this monograph has the avowed intention to examine every early English illustrated book, Copland's Kyng Appolyn has not been indexed. An attempt to cross-refer in this thesis to Hodnett's numbering proved impossible because the descriptions are frequently so vague as to be useless. In spite of these shortcomings the work is a masterly examination of early English illustrated books.

This PhD. dissertation is an analysis of Shakespeare's romances: Pericles, Cymbeline, Winters Tale, and Tempest. The relationship of the structure of Pericles to that of the mediaeval mystery play is brought out. While the author does not go so far as to argue a direct derivation, he feels that Pericles is a product of the same tradition as produced the mystery plays, especially Mary Magdalene and the plays on Tobit.

The second edition of this work is important because the preface reprints Hoffmann's essay on the sources of the Apollonius motif. He notes a parallel in the Antiochus-Apollonius relation with the Solomon-Markolf story.
This general survey is valuable principally for the bibliographical notes preceding and following each chapter. The author is a member of that unfortunate clan of critics who visualise the mediaeval scribe as a motif-hoarder with not a whit of originality. This approach leads him to link Amis et Amiles far more closely with Jourdain de Blavies than the original scribes could have intended.

--------, English and Scottish Printing Types, 1535-58 * 1552-58, Oxford University Press, Bibliographical Society, 1932, no pagination.
These three works by Isaac are a continuation of Duff's Fifteenth Century English Books. Isaac discovered that while in general printers' founts are indistinguishable, the forms of the "s", "f", "v", "w", and "y" vary with individual printers. This permits him to date many books very accurately.


This is without doubt the single most important book on the Apollonius legend. The first 322 pages treat of the original Latin texts. The different versions are classified into RA, RB, and RC texts. The second part discusses the later versions of the Historia. After a discussion of the Pantheon and Gesta Romanorum, the spread of the story is examined country by country. There is also a list of the location of sixty-two manuscripts of the Latin Historia.

An extremely wretched edition of a Paris Manuscript with no critical notes whatever. The print is small and difficult to read. Nevertheless it is one of the few texts in print. When one considers Klebs' corrections, it represents the Stuttgart recension.


This study by Lewis presents an edition of the widely differing Chartres and Brussels manuscripts, with variant readings in footnotes. The linguistic apparatus is particularly well elaborated.


This edition was used for the text of *Marina*.


This report, read before the Bibliographical Society 21 January 1924, discusses the early printers' use of compartments. Since De Words was not in the habit of using compartments, the principal value of this work lies in its analogy to the use of woodcuts.


This monograph presents a detailed grammatical study of the Anglo-Saxon fragment. Since the Latin text is RB, the conclusions reached in the second part are worthless.

Munsterberg, Margaret, "The Sayings of the Philosophers", More Books, VI ser., Vol. VI, 1941, p. 315-21. This brief note is the only printed reference to the Boston Manuscript of Apollonius.

Nilsson, Nils Ake, Die Apollonius-Erzählung in den Slavischen Literaturen, Uppsala, Almquist & Wiksells, 1949. 169 p. This dissertation is important for the many parallels it adduces between the Slovene and Old French versions.


Pollard, A.W., et al., "Facsimile Reprints of Old Books", The Library, IV Ser., Vol. VI, 1926, p. 305-328. This seminar covers in broad outlines modern methods of editing an old text. Editorial principles, methods of reproduction, and historical background are provided.

This study is concerned with a subject closely related to the present dissertation. In addition to serving as a general model in some respects it has provided a host of useful references.


This book not only provides a reliable edition of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon texts but also reprints the Wimbourne fragment. The three texts are separately printed with little attempt at interrelation. The chief importance of this work lies however in the detailed introduction which accompanies the edition. This is of capital importance to any serious student of the Apollonius legend.


This is a consideration of early English printing from a strictly technical aspect. It frequently provides an insight not afforded by the more artistic or literary considerations of bibliographers.


This second edition is still the definitive work on the RA and RB versions of the Historia. In the light of Klebs' investigations a new edition might be desirable, but its shortcomings do not rob the present one of its authority. The RA and RB text are printed on the top and bottom halves of the page. By using different sizes of type the printer has managed to keep the two texts parallel despite their varying length.


In this third edition, besides a series of footnotes commenting upon oversights in Rohde's first edition of 1876, Fritz Schöl has added an appendix listing the principal discoveries of the last quarter century. The case for a Greek origin of *Apollonius of Tyre* is most fully argued.

Schreiber, E.W., Zum Texte der Historie Apollonii, Korneuburg, städt. Verlag, 1900, 49 p. This analysis of a twelfth century Viennese manuscript is an investigation of the nature of early versions of the RC redaction.


--------, Pericles, ed. F.D. Hoeniger, London, Methuen, 1963, xci-138 p. This edition is based upon the quarto texts and not upon previous editions. In this way it avoids the cumulation of errors which had crept into Deighton's edition. While the earlier edition is sometimes valuable for notes, this edition has been used for the text. The introduction and notes have been completely rewritten. Mr. Hoeniger suggests that John Day may have had a hand in the play. He also notes the similarity in structure between Pericles and the mediaeval mystery play.

--------, Pericles, ed. Sidney Lee, a facsimile of the first 1609 edition, London, Oxford University Press, 1905, 48-6-51 p. This is a valuable edition which contains, in addition to a facsimile reproduction of the first edition, a census of all known copies and a general discussion of the Apollonius legend. Mr. Lee suggests that Shakespeare was the reviser of Wilkins' play.

--------, Pericles, ed. P.Z. Round, a facsimile of the first 1609 edition, London, Praetorius, 1886, 70 p. To this edition must go the honour of guessing (it can not have been anything else) that Copland was related to the Garbin incunabulum. Mr. Round feels that Wilkins and Rowley collaborated in finishing an uncompleted early play of Shakespeare.

--------, The Winters Tale, ed. Horace Howard Furness, New York, Lippincott, 1898, xiii-432 p. This edition contains a reprint of Greene's Pandosto which, though slightly bowdlerized, adequately proves that the links with the Apollonius story are remote.
Singer, Samuel, Apollonius von Tyrus. Untersuchungen Über das fortleben des antiken Romans in spättern Zeiten, Halle, Niemeyer, 1895, 228 p.
This study presents a text of the three recensions of the Pantheon. Treatment of the legend is confused. Singer starts with Jourdain de Blaivies and by means of a two page discussion of a Danish version ends the chapter while discussing Shakespeare's play and Wilkins' novel. There are many valuable points to be found in the work but they must be gleaned from the confusion which permeates the work.

This review shows Singer at his worst. It charges that whatever is worthwhile in Klebs' work was taken without acknowledgement from his Untersuchungen.

Although ostensibly a review of Smyth, this article is in fact an elaboration of Singer's Untersuchungen in relation to the Old French versions of Apollonius. The first few paragraphs justly annihilate Smyth.

That this work is the only survey of work done on the Apollonius legend which is in English is its only value. The essay contains a great number of references to other works, most of which are accurate, and extracts from various texts, most of which are inaccurate. Treatment of the legend is country by country which makes interrelations difficult but has the advantage of obvious clarity. Smyth has reprinted a text of chapter 153 of the Gesta Romanorum without indicating its sources. While the text in general is mangled beyond recognition, Singer has deduced from some of the readings that it must be from his own edition in Untersuchungen.

The lack of a running motive in the imagery is taken by this critic as a reason to doubt Shakespeare's authorship of Pericles.

The articles by W.H. Bond "Manuscripts and the Library" and J. Roberts "Printed Books to 1640" are useful.

This Dover Book reprint of the 1876 Bohn's Library edition makes the classic work accessible to students. It is not a particularly good translation of the *Gesta Romanorum* and it is designed for the general reader rather than for the scholar. In spite of this the text is the only modern English translation and is often quoted. The long introduction is rather outdated but is valuable because it is either the source or a link for transmission of many misconceptions. It furnishes in addition an excellent summary of previous research.


The first edition of the Anglo-Saxon fragment. A translation based on the *Gesta Romanorum* is printed on pages facing the Anglo-Saxon text. The glossary is incomplete and lists only those words not found in the *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*.

Trojel, Isaac, *De wonderlijke gevallen van Apollonius van Tyr*, Amsterdam, Antonius, 1710, 122 p.

This edition is closely related to Le Brun's 1710 Paris edition of a French text.


A facsimile reprint of the 1595 edition.


The principal value of this edition is that it continues the work of Duff and Isaac into the seventeenth century and later.


This index contains descriptions of all manuscripts in the British Museum that contain the story of Apollonius. In most cases the description is completed with a list of the contents of the entire manuscript. Mr. Ward derives too many texts from the *Gesta Romanorum*. 

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UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA - SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
One of the first discussions of the *Gesta Romanorum*. Although a great many suppositions have since been disproved, it is remarkable, considering the scarcity of manuscripts which Warton had access to, how often he is right.

Although this is a book written for popular consumption, the author is an experienced actress and director. Consequently, however shallow her scholarship be, her opinions on the presentation of *Pericles* on the modern stage are valid.

The principal reason that Muir published his edition was that the Mommsen edition was difficult to get. Both editions are reliable. Mommsen precedes his edition with a long dissertation on the Apollonius legend which is too old to be of value. Muir discusses the relationship of the novel and Shakespeare's play. He also emphasises Wilkins' indebtedness to Twine.


This study does not include the Apollonius legend but provides background on Elizabethan prose.

An important discussion of the early translators. The author suggests that English translators did not possess a style strong enough to impose upon their translation.

The introduction provides a good discussion of Greek romance but does not mention the Apollonius story.

Although this book offers nothing new on the Apollonius legend, it provides a background against which the Old French tradition must be viewed.


This edition was prepared after Zupitza's death by Prof. Napier, from Zupitza's notes. Critical notes in the text are useful but are mainly of a textual nature. In a few cases Napier has registered dissent in a note of his own.

Zupitza lists nine points where he feels that Thorpe's edition could be improved. These changes are later encountered in his own edition.

Zupitza concludes that Corpus Christi College Cambridge Ms. 318 is nearer to the Anglo-Saxon text than any of the other suggested sources. He ends his exposition with a request that anyone who may have access to texts confirming or negating his theory contact him.
EDITORIAL PRACTICE

This edition will be prepared in accordance with the rules which Pollard calls for: "The literary student takes refuge in a type facsimile, and here he has, I think, a right to feel safe. He ought to be able to rely on getting the original readings, misprints and all, the original spelling, and the original punctuation or lack of punctuation." In the fifteenth century, language was handled with a singular disregard for logical grammar. To attempt to confine it in strict twentieth century grammar would demand a rewriting of the work. Even to impose a system of punctuation upon it would risk misleading the reader. The story is simple; any scholar can make sense out of it with a minimum of help. Some of the rare words or obvious mistakes will be discussed in the notes that follow the edition.

Two small concessions will be made to the readers' convenience. Those letters which in the incunabulum are indicated by a dash over the preceding letter will be spelled out and underlined. Thus "me" will be typed out as "men". Since initial U is regularly printed as V, it will be resolved as U in the transcript.

Such typographical peculiarities as the use of the "long S" or letters from different fount have been disregarded. In those cases where an actual mistake resulted, a note will

call attention to it. The curious inverted D which marks the beginnings of paragraphs, since it is not available on a typewriter, will be replaced by #. The photostat reproduction of folios H5b and H6a shows what the incunabulum actually looks like.

It has proved impossible to adjust the length of the lines exactly in correspondence with the incunabulum; there is, however, not much difference. For this reason, while the lines are counted and numbered as they appear on the typed page, they are numbered starting at the beginning of each folio of the incunabulum. In this way any reference can be at once located in either the thesis or the incunabulum since the two sets of line numbers will never be more than a few integers apart.
ful volumes of bokes. of the whiche one remained in the temple of Dyane in the londe of Ephesyn. the seconde in the pyte of Term. the thyrde in the pyte of Anthypoche. the fourthe in the pyte of Mylyagne. the fuyth in the pyte of Thareye. and the lyte in his realme gentyl of Thyre. After all these thynges and many other he dyseal out of this worde. and in deycenge he embraced his wyfe and kysed her in takynge his leue. and the for very ale pyre took he and luyse dyne and makynge grete lamentations and complaynes the gauhe by her sypyte w hym wherefo the realmes made grete doles and isowe And than they were bothe taken up and layde in an arc of golde and they were ephorulated according to theye estayne. And thys it pleased a nuyght geode to call thepy to the regne and to hym. theye reigne nobles which mought not alway endure.
Kynge Appolyn of Thyre

Full page woodcut; knight on horseback, two retainers,

# The prologue of the translatoure.

For that in tyme past hystoriagraphe dayly wrote and
dyurnally do the hygh feates of nobles & chyualrous
champyons of theyr marcyall dedes / of theyr loue /
and of they adventures and fortunes happy and malfortunateto theyr unyuersall renownes by be reason wherof theyr
glorie is eternally registred in the boke of fame.
Therefore to thende that theyr lawde maye be ferder sprede
amonge be people it is conuenyent that translatcions be
used to our recreacyon and exemplyfycacyon in the
auoydynge of osiuyte and ydlenes portresse of synne
doynge after be good and eschewynge be euyll ( All this
consydered) my worshypfull mayster Wynkyn de Worde
hauynge a lytell boke of an auncyent hystory of a kynge
somtyme reygnyng in the countrie of Thyre called Appolyn
cconcernynge his malfortunes and peryllous adventures right
espouentables / bryefly compyled and pyteous for to here.
The which booke I Robert Coplande haue me applyed for to
translate out of the Frensshe language into our maternal
Englysshe tongue at the chortacjson of my forsayd
mayster / accordynge dyrectly to myn auctour. Gladly
followynge the trace of my mayster Caxton - begynnyng
with small storyes and pamfletes and so to other. Therfore
I beseche all the reders and herers of this present
hystorye yf there be anythyng amysse in the translacyon
to prayed my ignorant youth / & yf it be fruitfull to
gader therof to be nurvysshyng of theyr soules /
thankyng our lorde of his grace / & to pray to hym
bat I may perseuer to do some thynge to his honour. And
I shall pray for them that they may come to his glory / 30
to be whiche he brynge us all. Amen

Explicit prologus.

Here after foloweth the table of this present boke.A2r

How pe kyng of Anthyoehe begate on his wyfe a fayre
doughter at whose byrth his wyfe deyed. Ca. j.
How by lechery and temptacyon of the deuyll pe kyng
anthiogus vyoled his daughter. Ca. ij.
How kynge appolyn assoyled pe questyon of kyng
Anthiogus of Anthyoeche. Ca. iiij.
How pe kyng of Anthyoehe sent his stewarde towards
kynge Appolyn of Thyre for to put hym to dethe. Ca. iiiij.
How kynge Appolyn mounted secretly on pe see. Ca. v. 10
How kynge Appolyn aryued at pe cyte of Tarcye. Ca. vi.
How kynge Appolyn met with an aeged man & of theyr
deuyseys. Ca. viij.
How kynge Appolyn deluyered the cyte of Tarcye fro
grete famyne and honger. Ca. viij.
How kynge Appolyn sayled towards pe cyte of Terme
wheras his shyppe perysshed nygh unto ye porte and
all his men drowned and he onely preserued. Ca. ix.
How kynge Appolyn poorely arayed entred within pe cyte to Terme and played with the kynge. Ca. x. 20

How kynge Appolyn dyned in the kynges hall. Ca.xj.

How kynge Appolyn fell in conceyte with Archycastres the kynges doughter for playnge on the ha:pe. Ca. xij.

How Archycastres was loue seke for Appolyn. Ca.xiiij.

How two kynges sones came for to haue had fayre Archycastres in maryage. Ca. xiiiij.

How Appolyn bare letters unto the kyng. Ca. xv.

How kynge Appolyn espoused the fayre damoysell Archycastres the kynges doughter of Terme. Ca. xvj.

Howe tydynges came by a caley to kynge Appolyn pat the kyng of Anthyoche was deed. Ca. xvij.

How kynge Appolyn entred the see with his wyfe / and how she was delyuered of a doughter. Ca. xviiij.

How after that Archycastres was delyuered was cast into the see in an arche of leed. Ca. xix.

How archycastres was founde & made hole and after went in to a monastery of Dyane. Ca. xx.

How kynge Appolyn aryued at Tarcye & left his doughter with Tranquylyte and Dyonyse his wyfe. Ca. xxj.

How the nouryce recounted to be chylde Tharcye who was her fader and who her moder & than dyed. Ca. xxij. 10

How Dyonysy Tranquyls wyfe ymagyned be dethe of Tharcye kynge Appolyns doughter. Ca. xxiiiij.

How a galye came and socoured Tharcye as she shold haue be slayne. Ca. x:iiiij.
How be galey men solde Tharcye to a ruffyen. Ca. xxv.
How Tharcye gaue her money to be ruffyen / and how he wolde haue made his esclaue to lye with her. Ca. xxvij.
How kyng Appolyn came to the cyte of Tharcie for to see his daughter. Ca. xxvij.
Of the lamentacyon of kyngge Appolyn. Ca. xxviiiij. 20
How kyngge Appolyn aryued at Mylytayne / & how his daughter luted afore hym / & other meters. Ca. xxix.
How Tharcye complayned of her mysfortunes before kyngge Appolyn / for hertynge of her knee. Ca. xxx.
Of the Joye of kyngge Appolyn & Tharcye. Ca. xxxij.
How be ruffian pat kept Tharcye was brent. Ca. xxxij.
Of be maryage of Anthygoras prynce and of Tharcye kyngge Appolyns daughter. Ca. xxxiiij.
How Appolyn and his daughter wente to the temple of Dyane where as his quene was abbesse. Ca. xxxiiiij. 30
Of be Joye that was betwene Appolyn and his wyfe in the temple of Dyane. Ca. xxxv. A3r
How Appolyn was crowned in Anthyoche / and after returned to Tharcye and caused execucyon to be done upon Tranquyle and Dyonyse his wyfe. Ca. xxxvj.
How Appolyn was crowned kyngd of Penthypolytayne after his wyfes fader. Ca. xxxvij.
How kyng Appolyn dysceased and his wyfe also/ and how theyr sone reynd after them. Ca. xxxviiij.
Thus endeth the table.
How be kynge of Anthyoche begate on his wyfe a fayre daughter / at whose byrthe his wyfe deyed. Ca. j. woodcut; birth of daughter; king mourning

In the authentyke and noble cyte of Anthyoche in the partyes of Syrye was somtyme a myghty kynge whych hadde to name Anthiogus. This kyng helde under his demayne many terryen sygnouryes & lordeshyppes as cytees / townes / castels and many other fortresses / bycause of the which he was not only fered and dredde of his subjectes of his realme / but also of other regyons therto adjacent. He hadde also unto wyfe in maryage a moche fayre and elygaunt lady wyse / eloquent and comen of noble lygnage by whome he had a daughter at whose natuiyte or byrthe the noble lady and quene his wife dyed whiche was grete harme and dyspleasure to all the realme as here after is declared. The doole was grete amonge the people for the losse of theyr quene. The funer alles and obsequyes ended of the quene / the kynge made his daughter wel and ryally for to be nourysshed and fostred as it appertayned unto the daughter of suche a kynge. This mayden encreased and became so beautyfull that all they that sawe her Jugged her to be the fayrest creature that was in all the worlde / for lyke as te reed rose and the lely passeth all other naturall floures in beaute and nobles so that mayden passed all other maydens and women in her tyme / for nature had put nothynge in oblyuyon at the fourmynge of her but as a
chefe operacyon had set her in the syght of the worlde
tyl be enmy of goodnes and mankynde by incessaunt enuy
had ouerthrown & caste her in his snare as here after ensueth in thystory.

#How by lechery and temptancyon of the deuyll the
kynge vyoled his daughter. Ca.

As this mayden was comen unto the age for to be maryed
kynges / prynoes / dubes / erles / and many other grete
and noble estates came for to haue her in maryage. The
kynge made his counseyle for to be assembled for to
knowe what man was moost conuenable for to haue his
doughter. Durynge this tyme pe kynge by euyll
enhauffement and by temptacyon of the deuyll fyxed and
set his loue on his daughter / and by the inextynguybl
persecucyons and prouocacyons of the enemy he was
moesed in his slepe / &

arose in a mornynge at the sprynge of the day and
entred in to his doughters chambre & commaunded all
that were there for to yssue out in makyng semblaunt
that he wolde speke with her in secrete for certayne
thynges to her behoue and prouffite. ..nd he abydyng
alone with her of ardaunt desyre put hymselfe in bedde
with her / and she doubtynge his inhumanite durst not
gaynsay hym. And so moche he dyde bat he not onely maculed
her bedde / but also he bereft the treasure of her
vyrgynyte & left her dystytute of all consolacyon tenderly 10
wepynge / & so yssued out of her chambre. Thus as she
lamented & wepte her nouryse entred in to the chambre &
founde her in grete desolacyon & demaunded her the cause
of her waylynge. The poore lady durst not relate it for
thabhomynacyon bat she had in the fayt. The nouryce than
began for to say. A my most honourable & of me so well
beloued lady & doughter knowe ye bat my lyege lady your
moder left you unto me whan she passed this lyfe / &
I that so moche loue you and haue so derely holden &
tenderly nourysshed prayeth you for to tell me the cause 20
of your dyscomforte. Whan be lady herde that she prayed
her so swetely she sayd. Aryght dere moder and nouryse
this same day I haue had be gretest losse of the fayrest
and rychest Jewell bat I had / that is be treasoure of
my chambre vyrgynall / for it is corrupte & defyled or
suer I had ony treaty of maryage. The nourysse than sayd
/ who is he bat hath ben so hardy such a thynge to
undertake to be dyshonour of the kynge & of his realme
/ & began for to crye / but the lady sayd. A my nouryse
for god mercy / for yf ye say ony thynge I am but deed 30
& you also For suche hath done it that it is not
conuenyent for to say And to thende that ye knowe : it
was my lorde my fader pe
whiche this day came hyder / and so she recounted all A5r
the maner and fayt unto her nourysse / and prayed her
for to holde it secrete. And than be nourysse began for to appease be lady shewynge her bat the kynge bare the culpe & synne.

As this cursed kynge had acconplysshed this this horryble synne as it is aboue sayd he shewed semblance before his people as good and debonayre unto his doughter / and that he was in mynde for to enquyre for some noble man for to gyue his doughter in marryage / the which thynge he thought not / but he purposed that his doughter shold remayne alway with hym in bat inhumayne synne. And to eschewe and cause that none sholde haue her / and for to fere them that shold demaunde her he purpensed a falacious polycy & cautelous wyle / and made a proposycyon in this wyse. He that shall haue my doughter to wyfe shall be called sapyent & worthy to haue a kynges doughter / & he that feleth hymselfe unable and ygnoraunt in the solucyon of my questyon lete hym not prease to it / for I shall do smyte of his heed as nought worthy for to haue a kynges doughter. The which proposycyon he dyde do set at be gates of be cyte. For this proposycyon (neuertheles) many kynges / dukes / erles / barons / & other grete lorde put them in dannger for the beauty of his doughter dystytute of the solucyon of the kynges questyon. And whan they founde not the solucyon of the questyon the kynge made for to smyte of theyr heedes without mercy accordyng to his
proposycyon / and made them to be put out of the cyte to
thende that they which came for to haue his daughter myght take example / & for to euyte the demaunde of her.

#How kyng Appolyn assoyled pe questyon of kyng Anthiogus of Antychoe. Ca. iij. Woodcuts: the king sitting; Apollonius and servant

The kyng of Antychoe aforenamed ledde his lyfe in that abhomynable synne of lechery by be space of longe tyme. So it happened that be renowne of the beaute of be lady passed thurgh be regyons adiacent and neyghbours tyll it came to be eeres of Appolyn kyng of Thyre whiche was a man fayre / yonge / ioyous / eloquent / and a ryght good clerke / & also he was a bacheler. This kyng herynge of the damoysell aforesaid toke on hym for to assoyle be questyon. And came tofore kyng Anthiogus & salued hym honourably. Whan the kyng of Antychoe sawe hym he doubted hym more than ony of be other (for his wysdome) & to hym sayd. Appolyn I knowe well wherfore bu arte comen

All they that haue wyues ben acquyted. Appolyn answered / that that ye saye is the laste ende of the cause / for I haue no wyfe / but I desyre for to haue your daughter in maryage. Whan the kyng herde Appolyn thus speke he was so abasshed that he wyst not what to do and than he sayd. Appolyn thou knowest not the condycyons to haue my daughter. Appolyn sayd I haue sene
them wryten at the portall of this cyte and therfore be ryght shall be sene yf it please god. The kynge of Anthyoche than had grete indygnacyon & eyyll wyll towarde kynge Appolyn / and unto hym sayd. Appolyn take hede unto my questyon for it is doubtable / and here it is. #Grete synne do I use / be flesshe of my moder I abuse. I demaunde broder dere / yf I touche my fader nere. I as husbande to my wyfe bynde / and agaynst nature I do kynde.

Appolyn understandynge be questyon withdrew hym a lytell praynge god with good herte / & so moche he dyde that he founde the solucyon / & then came to the kynge and sayd. Kynge of Anthyoche herken to my solucyon. The kyng was ryght dolente of his wordes / and Appolyn sayd. In that thou sayest that pou usest synne pou sayest sothe / for thou holdest thy doughter in synne as I understande. Anthiogus doubtynge pat by Appolyn his synne shold be dysclosed he said unto hym furyously. Certes Appolyn pou arte ferre fro my questyon / & well thou hast desarued for to lose thy heed / but of a specyall grace. I gyue be .xxx. dayes of respyte / & when pou hast founde the solucyon poushalte haue my doughter / & yf not certaynly thoushalte lese thyn heed. And this sayd be noble kynge Appolyn returned to his realme of Thyre.
How the king of Antioch sent his steward towards the king Appolyn of Thyre to put him unto death.

Ca.

Woodcut: King and Thaliarch.

Long after that Appolyn, king of Thyre, was departed from Antioch, king Antyogus called unto him his steward, which was named Thalyarchy and said:

My own trustworthy and faithful friend and servant. Know that Appolyn, king of Thyre, hath found and determined the solution of my question for the which I pray thee and command thee that you mount upon the sea as shortly as you may and pursue him into his realm. And when you come unto Thyre demand for your best friend and for your worst enemy. And do so much by any manner that you may him out of hand for good or for ill, and by any machination of treason here is great sum of money for to do thy voyage, and when you return again I shall satisfy thee at my own desire and pleasure. Then Thalyarchy took his leave of the king and went through the realm of Thyre where as king Appolyn reigned.

How Kynge Appolyn mounted secretly on pe see. Ca.v.

Woodcut: Apollonius in a ship before a city.
Soone after that kyng Appolyn was retourned in to his realme gentle of Thyre it befell bat as he was in his palays he began for to rede in his booke / & when he had redde ynoughe he founde none other solucyon to the questyon of kyng Anthyogus / & sayd to hymselfe Ha Appolyn Appolyn and what menest thou / hast thou not founde the solu­
cyon / yes certaynly. For the questyon of the kyng of Anthyoche is payed & yet haste bou not his dochter. Certes I trowe that he hath lengthened the .xxx. dayes but for to put the to dethe within the sayd terme. And after he sate & studyed a gret whyle / & when he came out of his study he went unto an hauen of the see and spake to some of the patrons / and made them for to make redy thre shyppees and charged them with corne and whete and grete habundaunce of other vtayles with moche treasure and fewe folke / and on a nyght at mydnyght he entred in to be see.

On the morowe after be kyng Appolyn was departed his men came in to his chambr e for to seke hym but they founde hym not where of they were abasshed and meruayled where he was becomen. And the marchauntes and men of crafte of the cyte were a certayne tyme that they opened not theyr shoppes nor dyde no werke but wayled and mourned for theyr kyng that was gone they wyst not whyder / and where well be space of thre
yere makyng grete sorowe for hym. Duryn this pyteous 20
season came Thalyarche the kyng of Anthyoches stuarde
in to the cyte of Thyre and sawe how the people were
so sorowfull. He demaunded of a good aeged man wherfore
the people made such sorowe. The good man answered /
wherfore demaunde ye for ye knowe well syth that our
good and gracious kyng departed from Anthyoch we
sawe hym neuer / nor we wote not where he is. Than
Thalyarchy herde these tydynge he was gladde and
Joyfull and retorned shortly unto the kyng Anthiogus
of Anthyoch. And whan he was comen before hym re-
counted unto hym be maner how he had seen and herde of
kying Appolyn of Thyre / bat which doubtynge your
puyssauence and fyers courage is gone by see pruely
without the knowledge of ony of his realme / and is
gone they can not tell where / wherfore they make grete
lamentacyon and waylynge for hym.

Kyng Anthyogus understandyng the wordes of his
stuard wold by no maner holde hym styl but to hym
sayd that he wolde make a crye that who som euer he
were that brought the persone of kyng Appolyn sholde 10
haue .l. besauntes of golde / and who that brought his
heed sholde haue an .C. And than be sayd Anthyogus
made for to make redy shyppes and he wold be captayne
of them hymselfe. Now leue we to speke of kyng Anthyogus
and retorn we unto kyng Appolyn of Thyre
beyng upon the see.
Upon a day as kynge Appolyn was upon the see in grete heuinesse and thought the patron sayd. Syr haue ye no fere of our arte. And Appolyn sayd. I haue no fere of your arts nor of the see / but I haue fere of pe kyng of Anthyoeche that me pursueth. The mayster of pe shyppe sayd / we haue nede of many thynges pat unto us belongeth wherfore go we and take porte at the cyte of Tharcye pat is hereby and than may we take fresshe water & all that we haue nede of. It pleaseth me well sayd Appolyn. Than sayled they forthe / and be wynde was good that within shorte tyme they came to the sayd cyte of Tharcye with theyr shyppes / and than yssued Appolyn and came upon the londe and walked by the portes syde. And thus as he walked in grete thoughtes and heuynesses upon be ryuage of be see there came a man unto hym and sayd secretly God saue pe Appolyn kyng of Thyre. I pray be syr kyng dyspyse not my pouerte but herken what I wyl saye for perauenture thou knowest it not. Say on sayd kynge Appolyn. Knowe thou for certayne sayd the poore man that thou art banysshed out of thy countree and kyngdom with crye and sowne of trompettes. Appolyn answered / who may banysshe me out of my countre or out of any other also. Certaynly sayd the good man it was the kyng of Anthyoeche for that thou wold marye his daughter. And he hath sayd also that what man that bryngeth the afore hym shall haue .1. besauntes of fyne
golde / & he that bryngeth thy heed shall haue an hondred. And thercfor e I pray the to departe and go ferder unto the tyme that you knowe a better ende / & by be grace of god it shall be other wyse to thy pleasure and hertes ease in shorte tyme. This conforted well the sorowfull kyng / kyng appolyn / and he gaue hym an hondred besauntes of golde and sayd. Here is as moche as yf thou had borne my heed to be kyng of Anthyoche. The good man than sayd / neuer wyll I take ony salayre or rewarde of you for this cause / for to a good man nedeth neuer no rewarde / and so the good man went his waye and lefte the kyng.


As soone as the good man was gone be kyng Appolyn sawe comynge another good auncyent man with an hoore heed and a chere sadde and stedfast that had to name Tranquyle the which man kyng Appolyn knewe well and sayd to hym / ye be ryght welcome Tranquyle. And be olde man answered / be be well founde noble kyng of Thyre. Tell me now by thy fayth how thou art comen in to these regyons / for me thynketh that thou arte troubled in thy courage. Truely sayd kyng Appolyn I shall tell it the. Knowe thou that I haue payed and assoyled a questyon
unto the kynge of Anthyoche and demaunded his doughter in maryage (the whiche he entreteyneth for his para-mours) and therfore he maketh me to be pursued for to make me dye. Wherfore yf thou mayst do so moche that I may abyde here a certayne space of tyme thou shold do me a grete pleasure. Syr sayd Tranquyle this cyte is so lytell and thy puysaunce is so grete that thou mayst not be lodged in it. And an other cause is also / for the famyne and honger is so grete that none may exteme be vehemente payne that we endure & sustayne / for we haue none esperaunce nor no good trust for to haue any adiutory and conforte / but onely in the cours and torne of fortune. Than Appolyn answered and sayd. Tranquyle my dere frende rendre graces and thankes unto our lord of the good fortune that hathe made me for to aryue here at the porte of this cyte / for I shall gyue unto this cyte an hondred thousande charges of wheet & corne / upon the condycyon bat ye holde me secretly within your cyte. And whan Tranquyle herde hym say so he fell downe prostrate at his fete and sayd. Lorde yf thou gyue unto the poore cyte famyshed for honger socours we not onely shall hold the secretely within the enclose of our sayd cyte but we shall be all well content for to lyue and deye with the. Whan be noble kynge Appolyn sawe his frende Tranquyle so lye grouelyng on the grounde petyously wepynge for the persecuycyon of the cyte he lyke a curteys kyng and
humble prynce toke hym up from the grounde and set hym on his fete confortyng heym saynge. Ha Tranquyle myn olde good frende be of good conforte and make glad chere for I shall not fayle you as longe as I may lyue. Than Tranquyle thanked hym hyghly and anone went and tolde 30 unto the gouernoures of be cyte how kynge Appolyn of Thyre was aryued at the hauen and what he had sayd & promysed.

How kynge Appolyn delyuered the Cyte of Tharcye fro grete famyne and honger. Ca. viij.

Woodcut: Appolonus and an attendant; three men in front of the city walls.

Whan the lordes and chefe of the cyte herde this they were surprysed with grete Joye & anone they assembled togyder in councyle for to wyte what were to be done / and than they concluded for to go in goodly ordynaunce to mete the kynge / and whan they came to his presence they fell too the grounde graciously besechyng his highnes for to helpe them & delyuer theyr cyte from the mortall plage of honger / and he toke them up promysynge 10 helpe so that they wolde kepe hym in theyr cyte secretly / whiche they promysed to do. Than they brought hym in to the cyte with grete honour & reuerence. Appolyn than in the myddes of be cyte in a place before all the people mounted upon a soaffolde
and sayd unto be cytezyns of Tharcye which susteyned and suffred grete famyne of honger. I Appolyn kynge dystytute of Thyre dooth you for to knowe and understande bat I wyll fulfyll and furnysshe your cyte with wheet for be same price that I bought it in my realme to thende and on condycyon that ye holde & kepe me secrete in your cyte where as I am / & I thynke that in tyme future ye wyll not put in oblyuyon yf euer I haue done you ony good / & I tell you that the kynge of Anthyoche pursueth me of a pursuyte mortell and therfore haue I left my realme and am come hyder secretly with such shyppes as ye se for to be socoured of you. Than the cytezyns remercyed & thanked him of be grete goodness that he them offred. So they gaue hym the pryce that he demaunded / and Appolyn gaue them plente and habundaunce / & that none he rendred to them theyr money to thende that it shold not be sayd bat he were a merchaunt and no kynge. And when he had gyuen all this fraunchyse and bounte to them they in remembaunce of hym and for an extreme colaudacyon made an ymage or statue of clene golde unto his semylytude and semblaunce and situate it in the myddes of the cyte upon an hygh colomne or pyler / be whiche ymage or statue helde in his ryght hande a shefe of whete / & with his lyft fote he put corne into the measure. And at be fete of the sayd ymage upon the pyller was wryten in letters of golde a clause vercyfyenge
in this wyse. Tharcye cyte by Appolyn kynge of Thyre was furnysched / & by his fraunchyse it was releued / with wheet and corne he hathe it fostred / and from the swerde of honger he hathe it delyuered / and from the stroke of dethe he hathe it preserued.

How kynge Appolyn of Thyre sayled towarde the cyte of Terme whereas his shyppes peryshed nygh unto the porte / and all his men drowned and he onely preserued by a fyssher. Ca. ix.

Foodcut: A port with corpses floating; a fisher saving \( \text{Apollonius} \)

Than when Appolyn kynge of Thyre hadd so Journed longe tyme in the cyte of Tharcy it fortuned on a daye that he was in company with the auncyent man Tranquylle and his wyfe named Dyonyse the whiche sayd unto kynge Appolyn that it were thynge utyle & expedyent he for to withdrew hym and retrey into some other countre / for longe tyme it was syth he came thyder / for longe contynuauonce in a place maketh reuelacyon and knowlege to the persones adiacent and neyghbours. Appolyn herynge pe counceyle of them toke leue ioyously of all the cytezyns pe which were sory for his departynge / and entred into his shyppes and mounted on the see for to goo to the cyte of Terme that was in be countree of Pentapolytayns /
thynkynge there to be sure for the cyte was pleasaunt & stronge. And whan he was upon be see with his thre shyppes they exployted so moche that with in three dayes they approched nygh to the cyte of Terme. And they beynge there be ayre chaunged / be wyndes waxed furyous / be weder torned into grete tempestes and blastes heuynge the see rorynge with tempestyous wawes and droue be thre shyppes here and there agaynst the rockes and sande / and all toroue and sparpeled them in thousands of pyeces / bothe maste / sayle/ and stere / & drowned all within them bothe man and goodes without remyssyon saufe all onely appolyn bat saued hymselfe upon a poost and all naked came to the see side. And whan he was out of the peryll of be see he turned hym towarde the place where as his shyppes & men were drowned and with lachrymate chekes tenderly he sayd. 0 fortune ingenyous of men / fals/fekyl / and unstedfast euer tornynge and varyenge as a feder in be wynde without cease / haste thou abiden & wayted this grete peryll for to do me so moche harme at one tyme / for thou hast put me totally in extreme pouerte and hast lefte me alone and all naked of goodess and of all esperaunce / cursed be thou. Certaynly yf so were that kyng Anthyogus coude do me no harme thou hast done me more than suffycyent for hym / wors than enraged is he that trusteth in thy feate / alas. He beyng in this calamynous sorowe sawe comynge towarde hym a fyssher poorely arayed & ragged with a
blacke mantell and gyrded with a roten corde. Appolyn was in many tribulacyons and anguysshes for he hadde doubte /thought / melancholy/ heuines / sotowe / honger / thyrst / and inwarde care / he went and fell downe flat at the fete of the fyssher and sayd. Dere broder who someuer thou be I requyre the that bou wylte haue mercy on the poore naked the whiche hath lost all that he had in be body of be see. And to thende that thou mayst knowe what I am / knowe thou that I am named Appolyn kyng of Thyre the which by fortune and the see is brought in to perdycyon / wherfore I praye the haue compassyon ouer me and that thou gyue me some conforte and helpe of lyuynge (This sayd) the fyssher behelde hym longe & sawe hym so fayre and gracyous and understode that he was a kyng pyte moeued his spirytes by maner of compulcyon to haue compassyon upon hym / & than he ledde Appolyn unto a lytell hous besyde the see wheras he withdrew hym when he had fysshed and gaue hym of suche poore meetes as fysshers do ete when they ben hongry. And the better for to accomplyshe his good deede and for inwarde pyte that he had of hym he gave unto hym be one halfe of his black mantell for to couer his body with / and sayd unto hym go into the cyte of Terme the which is hereby and thou shalt fynde some that wyll haue pyte upon the. And yf thou fynde none that wyll haue pyte upon the retorne agayne to me here / and for all my poute I shall not fayle the of suche as I haue and yf
it so be we two shall take fysshe for to gete our lyuynge. But I pray the yf fortune be and that god wyll that thou remounte unto thyn estate that thou dyspyse me not of that the whyche I haue gyuen to the bat is the one half of my mantell. Appolyn sayd / yf I thynke not on be goodness that thou haste done to me another tyme may I suffre the daungerous perylles of be see and that I may neuer fynde ony good persone that wyll haue mercy upon me. Than the fyssher shewed hym the way / and so Appolyn went to the cyte poorely arrayed as he was.

#How kynge Appolyn poorely arrayed entred within be cyte of Terme and played with the kynge. Ca. x.

Woodcut: Apollonius and the king with swords in hand; five spectators. /

Kynge Appolyn oomen into the cyte he wyyste not what to do / but behelde all about to se the cyte in abydynge the soonercyon of fortune / and as he wente towarde the kynges palays he sawe comynge a younge man that cryed to the lorde / cytezyns / pylgrymz and all other of what estate or degree soeuer they were that wolde play with the swerde rebated and at the shelde lete them appareyle theyr feate redy and come to a place that he assygned. When Appolyn herde this crye he be-crye he began for to complayne hymselfe and sayd thus. Clr
Alas poore caytyf and myserable kyng, what shalte thou do / whyder shalt thou go / thou hast grete cause for to complayne seynge that thou a kyng hast not soo moche as a poore begger or pylgryme / wher ben thy treasours and rychesses / wher ben thy precyous vestures and clothes / wher ben thy lorde and seruantes thy grete coursers & stedes for to ryde upon thy fotemen and pages to conduyte the whereas thou wolde be / thou arte dysytutute and unpurueyed of all thynges belongynge unto the / for in stede of treasours and rychesses thou hast pouerte and rede / in stede of precyous vestures and clothes thou arte wrpped in a pyece of an old mantel or cloke / in stede of lorde and seruantes to reioyce the thou arte all alone in a straunge regyon full of sorowe and dolour of herte / in stede of coursers and myghty stedes to ryde upon thou goost on thy fete upon the bare stones in the fylthy stretes and wayes / in stede of fotemen and pages to conduyte the thou hast a staffe for feere of beestes goynge amonse poore pylgrymes and beggars whiche take scorne of the / alas pou mayst well complayne thy grete mysfortunes yet neuertheles pou shalt not abyde behynde but put thyselfe forthe amonse the other poore pylgrymes to se the kyng and the maner of his realme (& yf it happen) to playe with some persone. In makynge these complayntes with mynde many syghes and teeres the myddaye passed. And after dyner the kyng named Archystrates and all the lorde came for to se the playe
Than they began to playe both lorde and other gentylmen a grete whyle. Whan Appolyn had longe beholden be playe he demaunded of one and of other of poore estate yf they wolde playe for to do pleasure to the company / but of them all none there was that wolde answere hym but Clv dysdeyned to play with hym for his poore clothes and rayment This seynge the kyng Archystrates lorde of the cyte he entred into the play accompanyed with many knyghtes & squyres and sawe that there was none that wolde playe agaynst Appolyn / he toke up the swerde and began to smyte fast / and as euyll clothed as Appolyn was he retorned to the kynge and helde hym ryght shorte. The lorde seynge Appolyn so poorely arayed smyte unto the kynge so hardely they wolde haue chased hym away / but the kynge commaunded them to lete hym alone. The kynge played yet another torne / and Appolyn retorned it more styfly. Whan the kynge saw hym play so he merueyled of hym gretely / and sware to be knyghtes by his crowne that neuer in his dayes he had founde none that played soo nymbly snd soo expertly as he dyde. Whan Appolyn herde how the kynge praysed and commended his playenge to the knyghtes he rejoyced gretely / and in manere halfe shamefast and glad he shewed certayne strokes of be shelde or bokeler whiche pleased the kynge moche. And whan the playe was fynyshed Appolyn toke leue curtesly of be kynge and departed. Whan he was gone the kynge sayd unto his knyghtes I swere to you by my
saluacyon that syth the daye of my natyuyte I sawe neuer a better and more gentyll player at the swerde and shelde than he is to my gre and pleasure / & it dyspleaseth me that I knowe not what he is / for myn herte Jugeth hym to be extrayt of some noble house. And anone he called one of his gentylmen and badde hym for to go and se yf he myght fynde the poore man that played at the shelde hym and brynge hym to the courte. Than the gentylman departed and founde Appolyn / and when he sawe hym apparyled in so vyle and poore vestures he returned without saynge of ony worde and went to be kynge and sayd. Sir that man that ye demaunde ought and semeth to be a fyssher or elles a rower in a galey or els some shyppe swayne. How knowest thou it sayd the kynge. Certaynly his habyte or clothynge demonstreth and sheweth it by reason. Ha say' the kynge the habyte maketh not the relygyous man / and therfore incontynent retourne thou to hym and tell hym that I demaunde hym. Than the gentylman returned as the kynge commaunded hym & founde Appolyn syttyng & wepyng for his departynge from so noble a company and sayd to hym. Aryse and come and speke with the kynge for he demaundeth the. This herynge Appolyn he wypped his vysage/ and than he sayd unto the gentylman. Frende I wyll not entre for ony thynge: for there within is none but men of worshyp & grete estates / and to me for to entre within a palays royall so euyll arayed it were grete scorne and shame.
But goo unto the kynge and praye hym to tell the his wyll and I shall abyde the here. The squyre went unto the kynge and sayd. Syr the poore man bat ye demaunde is at the gate & wyll not entre for he sayth that he shall be ashamed for to come into suche a noble court as yours is in so euyll & foule clothyng. Than the kynge commaunded bat he sholde haue one of his robes & that he sholde be well clothed / and so it was done. Whan kynge Appolyn was well appoynted he entred in to the palays / whan he came into the hall he made reuerence ryght honourably unto the kynge and unto all the lordes and assystentes. Thenne the kynge ryght curteysly welcomed hym and badde hym sytte saynge / thou shalte soupe this daye with me among my knyghtes. Appolyn than beynge shamefast late hymselfe somewhat to be prayed but at the laste he sate hym downe at the table / and without etynge he behelde the noble company of lordes and grete estates for he had ben accustomed for to lyue in nobles and to be nourysshed in honour. Thus as he loked all about a grete lorde that serued at the kynges table sayd unto the kynge. Certes syr this man wolde gladly your honour for he dooth not ete but beholdeth hertely your noble magnyfycence and is in poynt to wepe. Certaynly sayd the kynge peraduenture he hath lost mo goodes than these ben / and therefor he hath remembraunce of theym now.
# How kynge Appolyn souped in the kynges hall. Ca. xi.

Woodcut: dinner table with seven persons.

As he sate an' behelde the kyng bad hym ete and be mery & better thinges and greter gyue you god. And in saynge these wordes came in the kynges daughter accompanied with many ladyes and damoysselles whose splendente beaute were to longe to endyte / for her rosacyate colore was medled with grete fauour. She dranke unto her fader and to all the lordees / and to all them that had ben at be play of the shelde. And as she behelde here and there she espyed kynge Appolyn & than she sayd unto her fader. Syr what is he that sytteth so hye as by you / it semeth by hym that he is angry or sorrowfull. The kyng sayd I can not tell what he is my lefe daughter / but I sawe neuer so nimble and pleasaunt a player at the shelde and therfore haue I made hym for to come & soupe with my knyghtes. And yf ye wyll knowe what he is demaunde hym / for peraduenture he wyll tell you sooner than me. And whan he hathe tolde you ye may tell hym some thynge & gyue hym some good / for me thynke that he is departed frome some good place / and I thynke in my mynde that some thynge is befallen hym for the whiche he is sory. This sayd the noble damoyssell wente unto Appolyn & sayd.

Fayre syr graunt me a boone. And he graunted her with
good herte / & she sayd unto hym. all be it that your vysage be tryst & heuy your behaouer sheweth noblesse and facundyte / and therfore I pray you to tel me of your affayre and estate. Appolyn answered / yf ye demaunde of my rychesses I haue lost them in be see. The damoysell sayd I pray you that ye tell me of your adventures pat I may understonde you playnly.

How Appolyn fell in conceyte with the kynges doughter of Terme for playenge on the harpe. Ca. xii

Appolyn herynge the wyll of the damoysell began for to tell his aduersytees and unfortunate adventures had upon the see and elles where. And when he had ended his parlement he began for to wepe tenderly with many sadde syghes. WHEN the kyngge sawe hym so wepe he sayd unto his doughter. Certaynly ye haue doone euyll / for thorow your worde he hasthe renouelled and begon his dolours. Sherfore I wyll that for to appease all his sorowes and persuacyons ye gyue hym of myn all that it pleaseth you. When the damoysell Archycastres understode pat she had puyssaunce for to gyue hym what she wolde she had grete pleasure / & anone she came unto Appolyn and sayd. Leue thy wepynge from hensforthe / for synth it hath pleased unto my fader that I gyue
the of his goodes I shall make pe ryche. Appolyn all
wepyng thanked her humbly & sayd.

Honourable lady I thanke you of the worshyp bat ye
wold me (more than I am worthy. Durynge this tyme pe
kyng came to his daughter and sayd. Fayre daughter I
praye you play a lytell upon your harpe for to reioyce
this gentyl man and brynge hym out of his heuy thoughtes
into lyghter The damoyssel anone sent for her harpe /
and when it was conen she sowned so swetely as in the
worlde had not ben her parayle. Appolyn behelde her
ryght amourosly & sayd never a worde. Than sayd the
kyng unto hym. Gentylman what do ye thynke / eche man
reioyceth of the fest of my daughter and ye say
nothyng how say ye playeth she not well. Sir sayd
Appolyn your daughter sowneth meruaylously well and
singeth armonyously. But yet for feere of your dyspleasure
and hers yf I helde the harpe I coude shewe you where
she fayleth. Than the mayden gaue her harpe unto Appolyn
the whiche began to sowne so swetely that echone
meruayled of his favre playenge sayng that he was
parfyte in the arte. Than was the damoysell soo amourous
on Appolyn that it may not be recounted / and than she
sayd unto her fader. Ye haue promysed me that al that
I wolde gyue unto this gentylman sholde contente you.
Truly sayd the kyng I am content that ye gyue hym what
it pleaseth you. Than archycastres amouroously behelde
Appolyn and sayd. Dere frende for pe loue bat I haue
unto you / & for your well playenge on the harpe with
the lycence of my faèr I gyue you CC. besauntes of
golde / & xx: mark of syluer / & cloth of golde to
clothe you with / & .xxiiiij clothes of sylk for .xxx.
of your men / & so it was done : wherfore echone
prayse the fraunchyse of be kyng & his daughter.

"How Archycastres was loue seke for Appolyn. Ca. xiii"

When the feest was fynysshed and doone Appolyn toke leue of the kyng and of his daughter and thanked them ryght humbly of be honoure and worshyp that they had doone unto hym. After that he hadde taken leue he toke that bat was gyuen to hym / and than he and his servantes went theyr waye togyder for to take their lodgys in the towne. But when the damoysell sawe that her welbeloued frende went his way she doubted that she sholde neuer se him agayne and sayd unto her fader. Fayre fader syth that it hath pleased your debonayte for to do so moche 10 honour & goodness unto this gentyll man I pray you let hym not go out of your palays for to lodge in the towne / for unto you it sholde be grete shame saynge bat there is lodgis suffycyent for hym within your court. And on the other parte he is a straunger not knowynge the maner and condycyons of the people of this your realme / wherfore some may doo hym suche thynge that ye sholde not be well content. It pleaseth me well sayd
the kynge that he abyde in the courte and haue a chambre for him and for his seruauntes. The damoysell than hadde grete joye and sente a squire after Appolyn and made him for to retorne unte her / and than she made for to appareyle a fayre chambre nygh unto hers. Kynge Appolyn was so fyxed in pe herte of Archycastres that she myght not forbere the presence of hym / ne suffre hym to go out of the courte / she myght not slepe nor take her reste / but alwaye thought on the beaute & bounte of Appolyn / and laye tornynge and walowynge without ony repose or ease. For to tell the sorowe that she made for Appolyn were to longe for to recounte. On a mornynge betyme as she laye in her bedde and myght not slepe for the thynkynge on kynge Appolyn / she arose and as halfe amased for loue she went out of her chamber and entred into the chamber of the kynge her fader. And whan the kynge saw her he sayd. Fayre doughter what eyleth you that ye be risen thus erly. Whan Archycastres herde the voyce of her fader as she had awakened out of her slepe she gaue a sterte / and sodainly al abasshed she sayd. Pyght honoured fader knowe ye that the grete voluute and wyll bat I haue for lerne the scyence of this gentylman letteth me for to slepe and to take my naturall reste / and therfore I beseche you bat it wyll please you for to speke unto hym / and bat he shewe and teche me his arte. The kynge ryght joyous of the wordes of his doughter and of her wyll arose and went
into the chambre of Appolyn whome he founde makynge a
song of his mysfortunes and unhapynesses / & songe it
with many syghes and lamentacyons and played it on an
harpe syttinge in his bedde. Than the kynge salued
hym / and Appolyn hym agayne gyuynge hym good day and
than Archystrates sayd. O gentyll man the vertue of
your affyled engyn and of your armonyous scyence
moeueth my daughter Archycastres incessauntly for to be
endoctryned of you. Wherfore I promyse you upon the
fydelyte & trouthe that I owe unto be dyademe of Terme
that yf ye wyll do my volunty and heest for to rendre
unto you moche as ye haue loste in the see and upon the
londre Appolyn answered ryght humbly that he was redy
and content for to fulfill and do therin his commandement.
Than Appolyn arose and made hym redy and came into
Archycastres chambre where he founde her syttynge sore
studyenge. And when Appolyn approched to her and that
she espyed hym lytell lacked that she ne swouned for Joye
but she abstyned her courage & hydde her chere as
wel as she coude / and than he salued her and she hym
agayne reuerently and anone sent for her harpe &
prayed hym for to teche her of his Arte. And he shewed
her dylygently so that within a whyle she became a
good maystresse of his Arte. For she had a parfayte
style & an excellente wytte / & many goodly wordes
speake she unto hym / and in no maner coude she unto her
gre shewe her loue unto hym tyll on a day that she was
so fervently taken in his loue that she coude no longer bear it / and than she fayned an other accydent & layde her downe seke in her bed. And when pe kynge wyst it he was sory & sente for physycyens & syrgyens but they founde no sekenes in her that they myght remedy / & thus was she longe seke / and the kynge her fader was dolente / for he had no chylde but her / the whiche was al his Joye.

How two kynges sones came to haue had Archicastes in maryage. Ca. xiiii.

Upon a day the kynge went out at the gate of the palays for to solace and sporte hym in be feldes / and when he hadde gone a whyle he espied comynge two kynges sones the whiche oft tymes had demaunded his daughter in maryage. They salued the kynge in the honourablest wyse that they myght / and he ful frendely and curteysly rendred them their salutacyon. And after many wordes they entred in to be palays with grete solemnnyte and tryumphhe. When they had soliourned there a certayne tyme pe kynge demaunded of them soyence. How & wherfore are ye comen hyder togyder. Certaynly syr sayd one of them ye knowe well that we demaunde and requyre your daughter to wyfe / we haue ben here certayne tymes & ye haue alwayes prolonged us with wordes
/ and ye knowe wel of what lygnyge we ben comen / and therfore we ben hyder comen for to knowe unto whiche of us bothe it pleaseth you best for to gyue your daughter. As for that scyd be kynge ye be ryght welcom / but ye ben comen in an euyll season as in bat poynyt for my daughter lyeth seke and hath done longe whiche sore dyspleaseth me. And for that ye say that I prolonge you by wordes wryte eche of you his name in a rolle and I shall sende it to my daughter / and when she hath redde the rolles she shall chese one of you bothe the whiche her semeth best to her owne pleasure / and as she cheseth I shall holde me contente. And than eche of them wrote his name in a rolle and gaue them unto the kynge / and forthwith he dyde sende them unto Archycastres his daughter by Appolyn pe whiche after salutation made presented them unto Archycastres saynge. All the souerayne celestyall goddes gyue you good lyfe and Joye. The kynge your moost wel beloued fader greteth your ladyship by me simple and unworthy seruant sendynge you these rolles for to certyfye whiche of the two prynces ye seme best unto your honour and preemynence. And when the damoysell sawe & herde the noble Appolyn speke so demurely and sawe the goodly countenaunce of hym and his behauoure she hadde grete Joye and sayd Gentylman how ben ye comen here al alone without company or felawshyp. Madame sayd Appolyn. Ly lorde the kynge your fader sent
me hyder with these two rolles and prayeth you that ye sende bryefly be response. Than the damoysell toke the rolles of Appolyn and began for to rede them / and when she had redde thaym she stode stylle and sayd no worde / and than she behelde Appolyn in costynge a grete sygh and after she sayd unto hym : By the faythe of your body would ye not haue grete dolour in your herte yf I toke you to husbande and leue all other lordes for your sake. Appolyn be whiche thought no harme answered and sayd. Certes madame I sholde haue grete joye yf ye hadde suche a prynce to your make as unto your hyghnes apperteyneth for there can none be to bountefull for your persone for ye are parfayte in beaute / bounte / and scyence. Certaynly sayd the damoysell Archicastres yf that ye loued me as moche as I loue you at the herte and corage ye wolde not saye as ye do for nothynge. And whan she hadde fynisshed her wordes she toke paper penne and ynke and by grete hardynesse of loue that embraced her herte towards Appolyn she wrote a lettre conteynynge the feruent desyre and amourous prouocacions of her mynde and sealed it with a knotte of loue / and than she gauè it unto Appolyn her loue for to bere it to her fader / and the wrytyng sayd thus

Ly moost redoubted and of me moost honoured my lorde
my fader syth that it hath pleased your grace for to wryte your mynde and voluntary goodness unto me your humble doughter and handmayden for myn honour and
felycyte that is for to put me to be choyse of one of
the two noble prynces for to elect and take to lorde
and make / ( I indygne sauf onely by be feate of your
hyghnes ) wherof I inwardly thanke you. But knowe ye
pat I will and yf it please your haboundaunt bounte
haue hym the whiche hath passed the daungerous undes
and perylls of the see / all other to refuse. And
meruayle you not of me so symple a vyrgyn without
shame & dyshonoure to haue wryten unto you my wyll
whiche I durste not shewe by the relacyon of my tonge.

# How Appolyn bare letters unto the kynge. Ca. xv.

As be lettre was made and sealed Appolyn receyued it of the fayre damoysell Archycastres and toke his leue of her ryght curteysly / & she of hym full amourously / and lothe for to haue hym out of her felawshyp. And when he came before the kynge he delyuered hym the lettre. 'han kynge Archycastres had receyued it he went a lytel asyde & redde it / whan it was redde he torned hym to the two prynces & sayd. 'hich of you hathe passed the perylls of the see. Than answered one of them. I am he. The other prynce this herynge was moeued with anger and sayd. How darest thou say suche thynges before the kynge and me. for thou and I haue ben nourysshed togyder all our lyfe dayes without
separacyon and neuer we entred into pe see / how mayest thou than haue passed the perylles of it. When the kynge understode bat it was none of them twayne he sayd Appolyn. Rede ye this lettre for to se yf ye can understande that the which I can not. Appolyn at the kynges commaundement redde the lettre and founde that it spake of hym / than he waxed all reed and drewe hym asyde. Than the kyng sayd / haue ye founde the tenoure of the lettre / & Appolyn answered neuer a worde. The kyng behelde his countenance and sawe that he sayd no worde / he aduysed hym of the perylles of the see that Appolyn had passed and than he knewe perfytely that the lettre spake of hym and the loue that his doughter Archycastres had to hym / wherof he had grete Joye in saynge unto Appolyn / wher fore are ye ashamed of the endytyng of this lettre for I haue grete pleasure of that that my doughter wylleth the thynge that I desyre. 30 Notwithstandynge that I neuer she wed nor durst tel ne make relacion to her of it. Whan they hadde fynyshed theyr communycacyon the kynge wente towarde the two kynges sones and sayd. Truely I tolde you that ye were not comen in a good season forcause of be infyrmite & sykenesse of my doughter Archycastres / wherfore ye may retorne into your countrees / and when she is guarysshed and hole I shal sende for you for at this tyme ye can not spede. This heryng the two prynces they were not well content. And than they toke leue of
the kynge honourably and returned into theyr countrees unpurueyed of theyr entencyons. Than the kynge Archycastres toke Appolyn by the hande and entred joyously into be palays & so into the chambre of the fayre damoysell Archycastres And as sone as she espyed her fader she salued hym honourable / and he rendred her salutacyon and sayd. 

moost welbeloued daughter whom haue ye chosen for your lorde and husbonde. The damoysell herynge theexamynacyon of her fader espouentably kneled downe afore hym and sayd. O myghty kynge and fader syth it hath pleased you for to knowe my mynde and femynyne volunte be whiche is reasonable / knowe ye therfore that I hadde leuer haue hym the whiche hath passed the daungerous passages of be see that is Appolyn than ony kynge or prync that lyueth in this worlde. And of one thynge the whiche I shall tell you I beseche you for to pardon me and that ye wyll accepthe my petycyon / that is that yf ye gyue me not unto hym certaynly ye shall lese me and neuer durynge my lyfe shall I haue Joye and consolacyon without the presence of his persone. And for his loue I haue suffred many infyrmytees and greuous afflyccyons of ardaunte desyres of loue syth be fyrst tyme that he played before the barony in your presence upon my harpe without that euer ony knewe it.

The kynge herynge the amourous and pyteous wordes of his daughter sayd. Ha welbeloued daughter know you
certaynly that that pe whiche pleaseth you dyspleaseth me not / and all your pleasure shall be fulfylled in this poynt at your owne desyre.

How kynge Appolyn espoused pe fayre damoysel Archycastres the kynges daughter of Terme. Ca. xvi.

Woodcut: priest joining hands of Apollonius and Archestrate.

Then incontynent kynge Archycastres sent for all the barons and grete lordes of his realme & sayd unto them. Lorde and frendes knowe ye that I wyll shewe unto you myn entent & wherfore that I haue sent for you. The cause is this that I wyl gyne my doughter Archicastres unto Appolonyn in maryage. And therfore dysplease you not / for it pleaseth me and my doughter also. And thankyd be our lord bat she hath chosen a man so secreete and so intellectyf as he is. Whan the barons understode be wordes of the kynge and the effect of his entent they were accorded & were ryght Joyfull of it. The noble kynge seynge the perfeyte wyll and true entent of his baronny he was ryght well pleased and thanked them seynge that as true subiectes they had accorded unto thayr souerayne and lyege lorde. And that he assygned unto his barons a certayne day for to come unto pe spousayles of his daughter / for he wolde that they shold be there in the honourablest wyse that
myght be ordeyned and had / & that they sholde spare for
no' exspence / and so they dyde. Than pe day of the
spousaylles was comen pe damoysell Archycastres was
appareylied and aourned in the moost tryumphaunt
maner that coude be deuysed / in clothes of golde set
with fyne perles and precyous stones / and owches of
grete value. And pe noble kynge Appolyn was clothed in
the same suyte also. Than after that pe espousaylles
was finysshed they reentred into the palays with grete
melody of mynstrelles and musycyens. But for to recount
of pe seruyces that day / pe tryumphe and noblesse of
that feest: pe games and dedes of worthynes that was
there determyned / of the ryche gyftes that were gyuen
to lorde and ladyes it were to longe for to recount. 30
What sholde I make longe processe all thynge was doone
so nobly that no man was myscontent / but reioyced
gretly of pe excellence
thorof. And the feest accomplishysshed and done the lorde
Dlv & estates of the realme toke theyr leue of the kynge &
at Appolyn and at the fayre damoysell Archicastes and
returned with grete Joy and tryumphe into theyr countrees
and lordshyppes.

# How tydynges came by a galey to kynge Appolyn that
the kynge of Anthyoche was deed. xvj.

Woodcut: perspective of a city; happy man and woman;
a ship on the sea.
A certayne tyme after the ryche maryage and espousalles of the noble Appolyn was acheued and done be damoysell Archicastrae waxed grete of a daughter wherof be kyng her fader and Appolyn were ryght Joyous. Upon a certayne day as Appolyn came from studye / he and his spouse fayre Archicastrae wente for to sporte them upon the ryuage of the see / and as they walked under the shadowe of be boughes they sawe where as came swimminge a myghty vessel that aryued at the port or hauen of be cyte. Whan Appolyn hadde seen and beholden it a while he sayd fayre loue and lady let us go and se yonder fayre vessel / with a good wyll sayd Archicastrae / so they wente unto the galey. And whan Appolyn had longe beholden it and aduysed be maner and speche of be galyotes and by many other sygnes he knewe that it was of his realme of Thyre. Than he demaunded of the patron of whens the galey was / and wherfore it was so decked and arayed with blacke. The patron all sorrowfully sayd / we ben of be kyngdome af Thyre. Appolyn this herynge was gladde / & in a maner sory / for he wyst not wherfore it was comen into bat countree / wyder for his socoure or for to destroy hym. And than Appolyn sayd / ye ben of my countree. Dere syr sayd the patron I knowe you not / but I pray you tell me yf it please you yf ye knowe ony tydynges of the lorde of Thyre. Certaynly syd Appolyn I wote when he is. Alas syr sayd the patron for god / yf ye
wolde shewe hym ye myght do to hym grete honour and to
me grete Joy and pleasure / for we ben comen hyder for
to feche hym and to brynge hym in to his realme royall
of Thyre / for kyng Anthiogus of Anthyoche & his daughter
for whom our noble kynge is out of his realme royall &
countrree ben deed wretchedly by be thonder that fell
upon them / and all his kyngdomes / lordesbyppes and
treasoures be kept for our good kynge Appolyn. Than
was Appolyn gladde and sayd unto his wyfe Archycastres.
Swete loue now may ye knowe yf be aduentures that I
haue tolde you ben true or not. And I
praye you hertely as ye loue me that ye be not
dyspleased of one thynge that is that I wyll go &
receuyue my preteryte realme & the other the which ben
for me attendaunt and comen by ryght. The damoysell
than wepyng sayd. Appolyn swete lorde and frende I
thynke this that yf ye were ferre fro me ye wolde come
unto myn enfauntement and deluyeraunce of cnylde.
Wherfore I pray you bat you leue me not alone / but
haue me with you. Appolyn seynge and understandynge
the parfayte loue that she hadde unto hym sayd. I am
content yf it please my lorde youre fader. Than wente
the damoysell unto the kynge her fader and sayd. Right
honoured and redoubted fader reioyce you and be mery /
for true it is that kynge Anthiogus of Anthioche and his
daughter ben put to dethe by thonder of be heuens for
that he enhabyted & kept her as paramours / and all his
kyngdomes & seygnouryes apperteyneth unto my well beloued husbande & lorde Appolyn the whiche wyll go and receyued them / for a galey of his countree is aryued at an hauen here by the whiche hath denounced unto hym all the faytes / and abydeth tyll he departe / wherfore I praye you yf it please you for to gyue me lycence to go with hym / for though ye lete go one daughter with the grace of be potencyall goddes we shall retorne twayne. The kynge beynge gladde and Joyful of the wordes of his daughter & of her tydynges he unto her & accorded in all that she wolde. And anone he made to ordeyne and apparyale shyppes and dromondes with all suche thinges as to them necessary was / and many ladyes and damoysselles and her nouryce named Lycordes for to helpe her yf necessyte happened. And than Appolyn & Archicastres toke leue of the kynge and in goodly aray they mounted upon the see for to go unto be realme of D3r Anthyocche and Thyre.

"How kyng Appolyn entred the see with his wyfe / and how she was deleuered of a daughter. Ca. xviiij."

"Woodcut: Apollonius with a chest under his arm; the nurse with an infant."

Kynge Appolyn and Archycastres beynge on the see sayled longe with grete tryumph and Joye and so longe they expoyted by theyr Journeys that they came into the hye
see / and than the fayre weder began for to change and
the wynde arose makynge grete noyse and it thondred and
lyghtned impyteously that all they were sore abasshed. 10
Then on a daie after grete traualye feere and payne
Archycastres began for to traualye of chylde with grete
throwes and dyseases & was deluyered of a fayre daughter D3v
/ but for coldnes and werynes wherwith she was
surprysed all be vaynes of her body opened and the
bloode ranne by al the conduytes of the matryce that
was newly opened soo that the bloode congyled within
her body that she laye as she hadde ben deed. And all
the damoyselles and gentylwomen sayd bat there was no
lyfe in her and that they coude not remedy it for she
hadde taken a surfeyte of colde in her conceuynghe.
Whan Appolyn sawe his wyfe thus tourmented and left
for deed he toke her in his armes kyssinge her swetly
and sayd. Ha my swere loue be onely doughter of a kynge
and myn espouse the which from the perdycyon of the see
hath me deliuered & restored / which in one onely
houre I haue lost. Alas what shall I say to be kynge
your fader bat I haue done with you / alas I wote not /
wyder shall I go / or where shall I reste that my herte
be not sorrowfull / certes I wote not. Ha countreuerse
fortune / varyaunt : unstable be which persecuteth thus
me poore kyng. Suffyseth it not the to haue chased me
out of my realme and drowned my shyppe and seruauntes
but that bou must bereue me of my wyfe that I so moche
loued / and bat was al my conforte and desyre. Truely
thou ponysshest me sore / but neuertheles I am not the
fyrst nor the laste that thou hast had lust to play be
fole with / but alway thanked be god. In makynge these
complayntes & many other he embraced her bytwene his armes
with so feruent affeccyon bat he fel ouerthwarte her
in a swoune more than halfe an houre / & when he came
agayne to hymself he made be pyteoust complayntes bat
ony man myght here. And thus as he complayned the
patron came to hym and sayd. Byr all that we do & we
also ausyleth nothynge / for ye muste cast this body
into the see. Appolyn than loked upon hym furryously
and sayd. C cursed man how arte thou so hardy for to
tell me that I sholde cast into be see the corps that
hath done unto me so moche honour and worshyppe / the
patron than sayd unto hym agayne. But yf ye wyll that
you and all we dye and perysshe in the water cast that
body into the see. For ye knowe wel that be see bereth
no body that deed is. Whan Appolin herde this he
doubted be perylles that he had passed afore tyme. And
recounted unto the patron the maner how he escaped the
perylles of be see / & of the kyndenesses done to hym
by that damoysell.

# How after that Archicastres was deleuered she was
cast into the see in an arche of leed. Ca. xix.

Woodcut: Apollonius with a chest under his arm; the
nurse with an infant.
As Appolin had ended his tale and sawed that he must
neded caste his wyfe into pe see wyte ye well he was sory in his herte / & lete make a fayre arche well leeded and surely / & made for to aray his wyfe in the goodlyest and best aournementes that she had / and set a ryche crowne upon her heed and leyde her so within the arche / and he put under her head an hondred besauntes of fyne golde with a lytell breuet or lettre that sayd thus. Thou that findest this arche take ye halfe of the golde that is therin & with the other halfe lete this corps be honourably sepultured and buryed / the whiche thyn-e ye thou do not I pray to the heuenly goddes that thou mayste dye as a cursed creature / and that thou mayest be the last of thy lygnage / & that thou mayst neuer fynde ony that wyll bury the / and this doone they closed be arche faste so that no water sholde come therin / and with grete sorowe and moche lamentacyon and veypynge they lete it falle into the see softly / prayenge unto the sempyternal goddes for to sende her a good hauen and buryll accordynge to her degree. Than kynge Appolin made his doughter curyously and rychely for to be nourysshed thynkynæ alway that in tyme for to come to shewe her unto her grantfader in the stede of his wyfe. Thus we leue Appolyn upon the see makyng grete lamentacyon for his wyfe / and speke we of Archycastres that arrayued in the londe of Ephesym.
How Archycastres was founde and made hole / and after went in to a monastery of dyane. Ca. xx.

Woodcuts: two women in a house; two men finding a small chest.

The seconde daye after that the quene was cast into the see she aryued in the londe of pe Ephesyens. Than it was so that a physycyan called Cyromon dwelled nyghe to the ryuage of t.e se where as pe arche aryued. This physycyan upon a daye sported hym upon the see stronge and sawe this arche the whiche came tombelynge & rolyng in the wawes of the water that kest it upon the londe. Than he made his servantes for to take it up and bere it home to his hous thynkynge to haue founde therin grete tresoures and made incontynent for to open it and founde the lady within it hauynge be vysage as well coloured as euer she had / and he thoughte that by false dethe she had ben cast into the see. And than he sayd. Ha swete lady ye haue made to cast many a teere of your frendes / and than they founde the byll pat was under her heed and whan they had redde it they thought pat the best remedy was to bury her. Thus as they were thynkyng & delusive there came in one of his prentyses ryght experte & of good wytte the whiche incontynant toke of the best oyntementes that he had & sayd. I.e must se yf this lady haue ony lyfe or not. Than he embawmed all her body softly and
and whan he had done his felawes & his mayster tasted be pounces of her armes / and her nose / and they coude fynde no heet & they all sayd that she was deed / but be apprentyse sayd. Certes I haue good esperance that she is alyue / and yf ye wyll suffre me this nyght with her I shall enforce me to socour her from dethe. His demaunde was alowed of all his felawes / and his mayster accorded / and than he put her in a fayre softe bedde and warmed grete foysone of oyles & dystylyled waters and wrapped her body in warme shetes so that within a whyle be conduytes that were shytte began for to open and flowe / and be blode that was congyled began for to renne in to euery vayne and be joyntes and synewes began for to waxe souple pat tofore was styffe and colde / and her coloure came more & more. And whan the houre of mydnyght came be lady began to speke and sayd. What so euer thou be touch me no more for I am a kynges doughter. Whan the younge physycyan herde her speke for Joy that he hadde he ranne to his mayster and sayd. I requyre you to come & se my cure. Whan his mayster entred into the chambre and herde the lady speke pat he helde for deed he sayd. Certaynly I loue & prayse thy cure / & more conuenyent it were for ye to be a mayster than apprentyse / wherfore I praye ye that thou leue her not for faute of syluer for she hath brought enoughe with her / and than they ordeyned her metes & drynkes.
& all thynges that was necessary for her / so that within shorte space she was parfytyely hole / & than they demaunded her what her entencyon was to doo. And she prayed them for to enquire where ony monastery were wher as honourably she myght dwell / and so they dyde. And she payed them with suche gold as she hadd brought at theyr owne pleasure / and than they ledde her unto a monasteri of women whereas the goddesse Dyane was adoured & worshippmed. and there abode all women that wolde kepe chastite. And they dyde her this honour bycause she sayd always that she wolde kepe chastite.

How Apollyn aryued at tharcye and left his daughter with Tranyuyle and yonyse his wife. Ca. xxj.

Woodcuts: a man and woman in bed and a nurse with a child; a kin., two men, and a youth.

Whan Apollyn had cast the quene his wyfe in to the see he sayled so longe with many dolorous complaintes that he aryued in the cyte of tharcye be whiche he hadd delyuered from hunger. And none he wente to the hous of his frendes Tranyuyles and Dwonyse his wyfe whereas he was honourably receyued / & unto them he recounted his pynfull aduentures wherof they hadde grete doole. And than a olde sayd unto them. Frendes with I haue loste my moost welbeloued ladv and wyfe in this maner I praye you that ye haue this wynden my daughter
and her nourysse for recommended / and that it will please you for to holde my daughter at whom with you for to be endoctrined and taught in good maners & thewes. For I haue esperance that she shall haue goodes & come to grete dominantyons. And I wyll that she be called and haue to name after your cyte that is Tharcie. And here is golde and syluer / perles and precyous stones / clothes of golde and sylkes / to thende that she be well and honestly retayned and besene as apperteyneth to her estate / & in tyme to come I shall 20 rendre the goodes that ye doo to her. And thus the goddes haue you in kepynge for I wyll go and receyue the realmes that ben ordeyned for me. And I make a vowe unto god that I shal neuer shaue my berde unto the tyme that my daughter be maryed. And I promyse you when she is of age to be maryed that I shal come and se you and not afore. And than eyther toke leue of other / & Appolyn remounted upon the see makynge grete sorowe for his wyfe. #Now leue we Appolyn upon the see takynge his cours toward the countree of Egypte / & speke we of his daughter that he left with Tranquyle & Dyonyse his wyfe for to be instructe and lerned. #3r

# Whan the mayden was of the age of v. yeres Tranquyle set her to scole with a yonge mayden his daughter bat he had. Whan she was of the age of xiiij. yere she was so well taught in all nurtures and
sciences and of so good behauteur that eche persone spake of her beauete / bounte / and curtayse. Upon a daye as she came fro the scole she founde her nouryce seke / and she went and sate her downe by her for she loued her moche / and she demaunded her what she eyled and conforted her in pe best maner that she coude. Her nouryce herynge the confortable wordes / and perceuyynge the goodly mayntene and amyte of pe mayden that was so tender of age sayd in this wyse. Ryght honoured and moost excellent mayden & daughter. I am sore seke. Wherfore I pray you gyue to me audyence and understaunde well my wordes for they slal be to your salute and helthe in tyme comynge. Saye me fayre mayden who thynke ye is your fader & your moder / of what countree ye be and of what lygnage. This herynge pe mayde she was sore abasshed for she went that Tranquyle had ben her fader and Dynyse her moder & sayd. Certaynly my swete nouryse I thynke that Tranquile is my fader and Dynyse his wyfe my moder / and that I am borne in this cyte of Tharcye wherof I bere the name / for I was neuer in no straunge countrees or regyons / ne I neuer knewe that I had other fader and moder. The nouryse herynge and knowynge the ygnouraunce of the mayden began strongly for to wepe in saynge unto her. Dere daughter herken unto me to thende that no persone bere shame ne domage neyther to you ne to your fader I shall shewe and declare unto you who is your fader and
who is your moder and the lignage out of the whiche ye be abstracte and spronge.

# How the nouryce recounted to the chylde Tarcy who was her fader and who was her moder and how her nouryce dyed. Ca.

Certaynly your fader was named Appolin & is kyng of Thyre & of many other realmes / & your moders name is archicastes daughter of Archycastres kyng of be cyte of Terme & ye were borne upon be see / and your fader her intoo the see in an arche of leed full of golde and syluer and a rollet or lettre that savd/ who that sholde fynde her sholde bury her honourably. Whan your fader hadde this done he toke all his confort in you / and deliuered you unto me and unto Tranquyle and Dyonyse his wyfe / & left with them grete rychesses for to mayntene you with and for to endoctryne and teche you maners. And whan he departed he made a uowe neuer to shaue his berde unto the tyme pat ye were maryed. ...nd he promysed Tranquyle for to retorne whan ye were of the age to be maryed. But syth it is that he is abyden so longe & that he hath sent no mesenger I thynke that he be deed / and therfore aduyse you. For after my dethe they that ye
thynke for to be your fader and moder wolde do agaynst your honoure and therfore I wyll that ye goo into the market place of this cyte / and there ye shall fynde on a pyler the ymage & semblance of your fader / take it by the hande and declare unto the people all that I sayd unto you: And when ye cytezyns shall here you they wyll remembre be goodnes that I haue herde say that your fader dyde to them in tyme past. Than be mayden thanked her nouryse debonary rely sayenge. Dere moder and nouryse yf that ye had dysseased or ye hadde shewed me this I sholde not haue knownen whoas my fader and moder / and in sayenge these wordes the nouryse gae up the goost. And than be mayden wept and complayned pyteously and began for to cry so hye that all they that were in the hous had meruayle what it myght be and came in to the chambre and founde her nouryse deed therfore they were gretly abasshed and sore dysmayed / and they founde Tharcye that made be pyteoust complayntes that ony myght make / for all her affyaunce and trust was in her. Then after the custome they wounde her and entyered her by the see syde. And by the commaundement of them of the cyte of Tharcye was made a monument of coper for remembraunce of kynge Appolyn. When the mayden hadde worne the doole as longe as she ought for to do she left it and than went unto be scole. And always as she came homewarde she toke a bacyn full of water & wente and wasshed the tombe of her nouryce
and kepte it contynually fayre and clene.

Now Dyonyse Tranquyles wyfe vyngyned the dethe of Tarcye kynge Appolyns daughter. Ca. xxij.

Woodcut: Aship on the sea; a rocky shore with a girl and a statue._/

Upon a daye Dyonyse Tranquyles wyfe her doughter and Tarcye went for to sporte them and as they passed through the stretes / some young cytezyns or bachelers began for to say that well happy were he bat myght haue one of yonder two damoyselles unto his wyfe / and more of Tarcye then of the other. Whan Dyonyse herde the people prayse Tarcie for her beaute & semelynesse more than her doughter she thought a grete velany and contracte agaynst be same mayden saynge within her selfe It is all redy xiiiij. yere passed syth her fader sawe her / and on the other syde her nouryce is deed / and now hath she none to kepe her but I / certes I shall fynde be meanes to be dysacombred of her and put her to some secrete dethe / for yf she lyue she wyll haue the good renowne and reporte of be people / and moreouer she shal gete her a ryche maryage / and my doughter shall be set at nought. Whan she had ended her malycyous thought and purpose as an unreasonable & enuoyous beest she sente for an esclaue and drudge of hers named Theophyle be whiche dwelled without be cyte / whan she was comen Dyonyse sayd. Thou knowest
well that thou hast serued me longe / and I haue wel rewarde the / and forthe I toke neuer none other into my seruyce / wherfore yf thou wylte kepe my councyle secrete bat I shall tell ye truely I shal make ye ryche and I wyll do for the that thou shalt be content. The esclaue or bondwoman answered / all that lyeth in my power is redy for to do you seruyce. Certes sayd the cursed woman I wyll that thou go and put this mayden to dethe. Whan she herde her maystres speke so she sayd. Wherfore wyll ye put to dethe this fayre damoysell in whom all excellent beaute resplendyssheth / what harme hath she doone unto you whan the cursed woman herde that thesclaue petyed her she as furyous and halfe enraged sayd. How darest thou be so hardy and counterdysaunt for to contrary and gaynsay my commaundement and wyll. Certes yf thou do not as I haue boden the I shall shewe pe that it dyspleaseth me. Now auaunce the shortly and go and sle her incontynent. And when thou hast slayne her I promyst the that I shall make the fre of thy seruage. Thesclaue than anone toke a knyfe and wente and hydde it by the tombe of be nouryse to thende bat when the mayden came as she was accustomed she than to slee her. Whan the mayden came as tofore issayd for to wasshe the tombe of her nouryce be esclaue toke her and had her to the see syde / & sayd to her. I wyll out of thy heed. Whan the mayden herde her say so she was all aрайed
of her wordes and countenaunce & in wepynge tenderly she sayd. A swete frende Theofyle what harme haue I done unto the that thou wylt sle me and defyle thy handes in my symple and virgynall blode I pray the haue mercy upon me. Whan Theophyle herde her speke so pyteously she wept & sayd. I knowe well that ye neuer dyde harme unto me / but I shall tell you be cause wherfore I wyll sle you. It is true that your fader lefte you well adoubed and rychely arayd & a ryght fayre damoysell the whiche is the cause of your dethe. Whan the mayden herde thesclaue sayde so she sayd. I requyre ye syth that I muste dye that you suffre me to make my prayers and commende my spyryte unto god the fourmer of all creatures. Thou mayst pray ynough sayd thesclaue / but nedes must thou dye / and this that I do is by force & constrainct. And therfore thinke not that I haue be culpe for puttynge of the to dethe / but I praye the pardon me. Euen so as she made her prayers there came a galey swymmynge bytwene two waters that apperceyued wel that she wolde put the mayden to dethe. And than they began for to crye as loude as they myght. Traytresse traytresse leue that damoysell for yf we may gete the you shalde deye & not she. Whan be esclaue herde how they of be galey cryed and sawe that they approached the lande she lefte there the mayden and ranne away as faste as she myght / & they of the galey came and toke Taroye &
had her with them & demanded her wherfore she wold haue put her to dethe. And she answered that she coude not tell.

How after that the galey had away Tarcy the esclaue tolde Dyonyse that she had slayne her & of the fayned sorowe that Dyonyse made. 

Woodcut: two men and two women inside a tomb.

When the esclaue sawe that they ledde her awaye / she returned to Dyonyse & sayd. I haue done your maundement. And therefore holde that ye haue promysed me. Why sayd her maystresse hast you commysed murdre & yet demandest grace. Certes thou hast well deserved dethe / and therefore speke therof no more / but retorne shortly to thy laboure without delay. The esclaue than all angry retorned unto her werke in prayeng god for to shewe some example unto that cursed woman / and rendered grace unto hym that he hadde not accomplisshed the synne of homycyde in that mayden and was ryght Joyous of bat the galey had saued her. The cursed & abhominable woman Dyonyse for to hyde and couer her cursednes and be dethe of the damoysell sent for all her kynnesmen and frendes and some of the cytezyns of Tharoye. And whan they were comen she with fayned semblance came out of her chambre all clothed in blacke, unhosed & unshodde in her heer makyng.
semblaunt for to be doleful and sory and began for to saye. by kynnesmen and frendes knowe ye pat Tarcye daughter of kynge Appolyn dyed this other day of sondayne dethe wherof we ben in grete sorowe / & in dyenge she prayed me that she myght be buryed and entyered besyde her nouryce / and so I haue buryed her there. And therfore I haue sente for you to thende that we doo some honoure unto her for the loue of her fader the whiche hath doone so moche good for this cyte in tyme paste / when they herde these tydynges they hadde grete doole for they wende that that she hade sayd hadde ben verytable and trewe. Soo they ordeyned for her a fayre sepulture and monumete of syluer curiously and rychely wrought as it appertayned unto the daughter of a kyng and that she sholde be entiered & layde at be fete of her nouryse as she had desyred / and so it was done honourably and put in wrytyng. Tarcye vyrgyn daughter unto E7r kynge Appolyn for the goodnes that her fader hath doone to this cyte in tyme passed hath ful well deserved thus to be buryed. And when all this was done they lete enclose be two tombes with walles of fayre marble. Thus stynte we to speke of the cytezyns makyng grete lamentacyon for the dethe of Tarcye / and lete us shewe of them that hadde her in the galey.
How the galey men solde Taroye to a ruffyen in the 
cyte of mylytayne. Ca. xxv. 10

Woodcut: a ship with Tharsia in it along the shore; a sailor and a knight on shore.

The Galey in the which Taroye was aryued at a cyte named milytayne and there they ledde her for to sell as an esclaue and bondmayden / There was a ruffyen bat was mayster of all be impudyke women and harlottes / & helde many wenches & women in publyke & open place. And whan he sawe Taroye so fayre he thought that she shold wynne more than one of be other. And so he offred an hondred besauntes of fyne golde. But Anthygoras that was prynce of the cyte sette her at fyfty to thende that he sholde leue her / & bycause he sawe her so fayre he thought bat sholde be grete pyte that she were put in suche a shamfull place. And the ruffyen sayd bat he wolde gyue alway .x. besauntes more than ony other. Anthygoras bat herde hym thus speke sayd unto hymselfe. What may I auayle to stryue agaynst this meschaunte and unthryfty man for I maye nothynge wynne / for whan I se that he hath her I may be the fyrst that shall haue to do with her yf it please me / and as good shall she be to me as yf I hadde bought her with myn owne money. And thus she abode unto be ruffyen pe whiche dyde lede her into be bordell & publyke place & put her into a chambre wherin was an ymage ouer
detestable & abhomynable for to se / and he badde her
to worshippe bat ymage. But Tarcye bat was sore
dyspleasaunt to se it sayd. Neuer be god pleased yf
I adoure and do honour unto suche an ymage. Thou
knowest not sayd the ruffyen that I haue bought the
but knowe thou that I haue bought the for to put ye
in this place publyke for to wynne thy lyfe amonge
other women / and to occupy thy body as they do. When
pe damoysell herde the ruffyen speke thus she fell
downe unto his fete & sayd. A good syr
I pray you haue mercy on me/ and bat I lese not thus
my wyrgynyte and maydenhede & not to be put in so
abhomyble synne. Then pe ruffyen sayd in mockynge her.
Ryse up lady for wepyng before a ruffyen ben but
teeres lost. And than he called an esclaue that
mynystred to all the other women & sayd. I wyll that
thou make redy a fayre chambre in be bordell for this
mayden and that she be curiously clothed / and that
thou go and make a crye through be cyte that of all
men that shall enhabyte with her carnally be fyrst
shall gyue me a pounde of golde / and after that
echone a peny of golde. Whan the thyrde day came bat
the crye was made Tarcye was ledde into be bordell
with sownes of taboures and trompettes. Than anone as
Anthygoras prynce of the cyte it wyste went and he
dysguysed hymselfe and went to the bordell where as
Tharoye was & whan he came there he sate hym downe by
her & wolde haue kyssed her & done his pleasure. But the mayden anone fell downe to his fete & sore wepynge helde up her handes saynge. Syr what so euer ye be haue pyte & compassyon upon me / & take not fro me in this wyse my vyrgynyte / for ye knowe not what I am nor from whens I come. And to thende that ye knowe / I am daughter of be kynge of Thyre named Appolin / and than she recounted unto hym all her adventures and fortunes. Whan Anthigoras herde the damoysell speke in pat wyse he was moeued with mercy and pyte & sayd unto her. Fayre damoysell ryse up for by me ye gete no maner of harme ne dyshonoure but all be pleasure and seruyce that I may do shall be at your commaundemente. 30 And abasshe you nothynge for euery persone must passe his good or euyl fortunes and predestynacyons euen so as the celestyall god hath ordeyned unto his pleasure. It is not longe syth my wyfe dysceased and hath left me a daughte pe which god maye in lyke wyse dyspose yf it be his wyll. And therfore dysconforte you not & here is fourty pens in golde more than your vyrgynyte is solde for. And therfore gyue it to them that shall come to you in prayenge them for to saue your honoure and kepe your madenhene / & when ye haue gyuen all ye shall haue more of me. The damoysell thanked hym ryght humbly prayenge hym that he sholde say nothyng. And than she sayd / I 10 beseche the hye god that he haue myserycorde upon you
as ye haue had compassyon ouer me. Than Anthygoras full of pyte retorned in be cyte all sorowfull for be poore damoysell that was in so fould mysery and perplexyte / that is beynge in feere for to be lost in carnall concupyscence and to lese bat treasure of her vyrgynyte. Than as soone as Anthygoras was gone be sclaue that receyued the wynnynges of be pudyke women entred into be chambre of Taroye and sayd unto her. He thynkebath that he which gooth away hath not habyted with the for he gooth wepyng. Thou hast not well aduyysed hym sayd Taroye / but neuertheles here is .xl. pence of golge bat he hath gyuen me. And thus as they were spekyng another man entred into the chambre and thesclaude departed. And be man pat abode with Taroye sayd. Tell me by your trouth what he hath gyuen you bat came to you fyrst. Forty pens sayd Taroye. I knowe well nay sayd be man for he wolde haue had shame to haue gyuen so lytell / for he is prynce of this cyte and is named Anthygoras / & to the ende that ye knowe that I loue you better than he here is fyfty. Anthigoras was hydde in a place wheras he herde and sawe all bat euer they dyde & sayd. And than he sayd secretly unto hymselfe / the more that I sholde gyue Flr be more sholde I lese. Whan he had spoken ynough the younge man wolde haue doone his wyll with her & gau her .xl. pence of golde / but she anone kneled downe & cryed hym mercy / and tolde to hym her adventures as she
had done unto Anthigoras. When the young man herde and understode her reason he had grete pyte in his hert / and sayd to her. Fayre syster aryse ye up / for by me ye shall neyther haue dyspleasure ne shame / & wepyng for pyte went his way. Whan Anthygoras saw hym out he went streyght unto hym & sayd. I trowe that thou and I ben felawes in this affayre / tell me by thy faythe what it semeth the. Certes it is grete pyte for to here her speke / there they abode longe behoedyng them pat retorned with theyr purses empty.

How Tarcyce gaue her money to the ruffyen / and how he wolde haue made his esclaue to lye with her. Ca. xxvj.

Woodcuts: man with a sworde; two women; one woman opening a door.

As soone as pe nyght was comen Tarcyce went into be Flv hous of her ruffyen and gaue his wyfe all the money that she had receyued in sayenge / haue here the pryce of my vyrgynyte & maydenhede. The ruffyen sayd I cannot tell how thou arte so Joyous of this tekynge / it behoueth pe to take more largely than this / and so she brought euvery daye more. Upon a daye the ruffyen sayd unto thesclaue pat kept her / certaynly I knowe well that Tarcyce is yet a mayden / wherfore I wyll that thou go & lye with her this nyght for to bereue her of her maydenhede. Than the esclaue at nyght ledde her
into a fayre chambre wher as he thought to haue hadde
his pleasure / and when he had made hyn redy and wolde
haue gone to bedde with her he sayd. Tel me by thy
faythe yf thou be yet a mayden or not. Amd she answered
/ what wolde ye yf I be or not. Certaynly sayd he for
I wyll knowe / for yf thou be a mayden thou shalte be
none or it be mornynge. Tarcye this herynge was ryght
persyf and myscontent / and with a meke and sorowfull
herte sayd. Veryly a mayden I am end shall be as longe
as my creatoure wyll gyue me grace for to kepe me so.
The esclaue than said. I haue grete meruayle how thou
gestest so many pyeces of golde euery daye & arte yet a
mayden as thou sayest. By my helthe sayd she a mayden
am I / for whan ony man cometh hyder unto me they gyue
me it / and than I fall downe upon my knees & crye
them mercy and unto than shewe and reheorce myn estate
and adventures wherof they haue grete pyte and
compassion / and they go theyr way and leue theyr
money with me the which I gyue unto your mayster. And
than the esclaue sayd. Knowe you that our mayster
hath sente
me hyder and hathe commaunded me for to slepe with the
this nyght and to take away thy maydenhede / wherfore
haste the and make the redy and go to bedde that I may
accomplysshe and fulfyll his commaundemente. Tarcye
than all ferefull and espouented of his wordes fell
prostrate at the fete of the esclaue & cryed hym mercy
in prayenge unto god deuoutly sayenge. Fayre fader fourmer of be heuens and preseruatour of people I repete and praye ye for to preserue and kepe be vyrgynal body of me thy poore ancylle and handmayden / and deiyuer me that I be not thus vylaynously defouled and corrumped in this horryble vyce of lechery / and reconforte me poore desolate and dystytute kynges daughter. Than thesclaue herde bat she sayd bat she was a kynges daughter he was sore admeruayled and sayd. Arte thou a kynges daughter for veray cartaynte / ye syr in rood sayde she that am I. And than she began for to wepe and shewed and declared unto hym her infortunate aduentures as she hadde done unto the other aforesayd. Than thesclaue hadde grete pyte on her and sayd. In an ewyll houre was our mayster borne for to holde and retayne suche a noble damoysell in suche a foule and dyshonest place for to be defloured in this vyle synne / and I doubt me moche of one thynge that is that ye may not longe kepe your pusyllage or vyrgynyte. It shall be kept sayd she as long as it pleaseth my creatour bat it be so. But wolde god that I had a lute for to playe on for by the meanes of a lute I thinke for to kepe my maidenhede well for I shall make suche a melody with it that all that shall hore it shall haue grete meruayle and delyte in be sowne of it. Damoysell sayd thesclaue gyue me monye I shall bve you one / & so she dyde. And he wente in
to the cyte & bought a fayre lute & forth with he brought it unto her saynge. God ayue the grace to play with it according to thy desyre. And when she had it she was ryght joyous. And than she began for to playe on it so melodiously and soo meruaylously well that a man wolde haue left his mete and drynke for to here her melody / wherfore the people were sore admeruayled and came from all partes of the cyte for to here and se her playe. And the more pe she sawe the people come pe more she sowned hye / & loude and the faster and better she played. And when that she hadde played ynough ypon the lute she began for to syngge balladdes and rondelles that it was joy for to here / and in syngynge she began for to recount and tell her aduentures in suche wyse that the people hadde grete pyte and lamented her moche. and than they toke her into so grete loue for her behauour and gracyous mayntene that they gaue her more than she demaunded for to gyue unto her ruffyen to thende that she sholde not lese her vyrgynyte. And in this maner she lyued without synne by the space of longe tyme kepynge her body pudyke and clene from be abhominable and fylthy synne of lechery. Anthygoras be prync of the cyte hadde so grete feere that she sholde lose her vyrgynyte that he gaue her every day more than she ought to gyue unto her ruffyen.
How kynge Appolyn came to the cyte of Tharcye for to see his daughter. Ca. xxvij.


This tyme durynge Kynge Appolyn aduysed hym of his daughter Tarcye / & sayd in hym selfe that he wolde goo and se her / and anone he made for to make redy a fayre shippe with all suche thynges as longed therto and as it appertayned unto so noble a man. And than he mounted upon the see and within a shorte space they aryued at the cyte of Tharcye / and Appolyn wente into the towne so secretely that none of the cytezyns knewe of it / and wente and lodged hym in the hous of Tranquyle and the cursed woman Dyonyse his wife be whiche mysknewe hym longe tyme tyll that Tranquyle espyed that it was he / and than he sayd unto his wyfe secretely. Cursed and meschaunte woman thou sayd that Appolyn be kyng of Thyre was deed & he is now here / tell me now what rekenynge we shall gyue hym of his daughter Tarcye. Certes sayd Dyonyse I shall fynde a good excusacyon / for we shal clothe us with blacke and say bat his daughter is deed of the oolyke passyon or sekenesse of the wombe. And thus as they were spekynge Appolyn entred into the hall whereas they were and when the cursed malicyous woman espyed hym she toke of her spattle & instede of
of teeres she wette her eyen and her husbande also / and in that maner they came afore Kyng Appolyn makyng the gretest complayntes and lamentacions that myght be seen or herde. And when that Appolyn sawe them in that plyght he sayd. What meneth this that at my comynge hyder ye make these sorowes & lamentable complayntes. Certes sayd Dyonyse the grete dolours pat we haue maketh us thus to wepe. And I shall tell you wherfore. It is trouthe that your daughter Tarcey is dyceased and deed this other day of sodayne dethe Whan Appolyn herde these tydynges it nedeth not for to be demaunded yf he were sorowful or not for forthwith he fell in a swoune on the erthe / & was a grete whyle that he myght not speke / & when he came agayne to hymselfe he sayd. A my frendes the anguysshe and payne pat streyneth my herte no man can tel. Alas what may I do / cursed be fortune so unstedfast and moenable. I pray you gyue me her jewelles that I may haue remembraunce of her / and than anone they were delyuered unto hym. And than the cursed woman sayd unto hym. We & all be cytezyns haue had grete dole for the dethe of her / & for the goodness that ye haue done in tyme past unto this cyte they haue made for her a fayre monumente or sepulture all of fyne syluer to entyer your daughter & haue layde her at be fete Fur of her nouryce as ye shall se. Than the cursed wyfe doubtyng pat he wolde go & se the tombe of his daughter
advised her of a cautelous wyle / for in bat hous was a shepe that had been deed foure dayes bat stanke ryght fore which she toke & bare to Tarcyes tombe to thende that Appolyn sholde thynke that the stynke came from her / and then she retorned without makyng semblance of ony thynge.

ff

Of the lamentacyon of kynge Appolyn. Ca. xxviiiij. 10

Woodcut: Apollonius with two retainers.

As kynge Appolyn had abyden there a whyle he sayd that he wolde go and se the mouument of his dere and tendre doughter Tarcye and toke two or thre of his mooste secrete men for to go with hym / and commaunded his other seruantes for to take the Jewelles and bere them to the shyppe / and so incontynent they dyde. Than he went to be seesyde and founde the sepulture of his daughter / & than he foundred in teeres & all wepyng with a greuous pange of trystres of herte he sayd. 0 fortune. And than without power to pronounce one onely word he stode styll / & with a ryght sorowful courage he behelde the superscrpycon that the cytezyns hadde made upon the monument. And knowe ye that there was a grete stynke about it forcause of the deed shepe that the cursed wyfe hadde put there / & whan he had redde it he sayd with an hye voyce. O malheureous & unhappy eyen how may ye gyue me syght to
se and rede the dyscrypoyon and remembaunce of be dethe of my daughter without source of lacrymous sprynges. O unhappy tongue how mayst thou pronounce the fynall memoryall of my daughter. O unfortunate body how & in what maner mayst thou be upholden and susteyned with thyn other corporall membres / without tremblynge and fallynge downe prostrate with anguysshous sorowes makyng lamentacyon for thy naturall chylde / seynge that she that was so fayre delectable & swete lyeth here foule abhomynable and stynkyng as a rotten beest or caryon. Alas my daughter that somtyme was named the fayre Tarcye / now arte thou foule / lothely / and ferefull to loke upon I am come oute of my realme noble of Thyre with grete bobaunce to fetche the and to mary the unto a kynge or to some other potencyall man with hye magnyfycence Gir / & now I must leue the dystytute of all beaute bounte & saauytude in a straunge regyon ferre from thy frendes and parentes. And than in maner of takynge his leue he sayd. Farwell my daughter Tarcye be onely fode of my lyfe corporall. Farwell the Joyes of my dayes / farwell my conforte and consolacyon / farwell farwell for neuer shall I se ye more. And in makyng these complayntes with many other he fell downe in a swoune / & whan he reuyued and came agayne to hymselfe he went to the monument of his daughter & takynge his leue he kyssed it. And in that melancoly and dystresse he mounted upon
the see saynge that he wolde neuer haue Joy ne
consolacyon. Than he purposed for to go into his realmd of thyre for to perfourme his dayes in dolourous &
lamentable sorewynges. And whan they were nygh unto Thyre al sodaynly be wynde reuerted agaynst them so
impyteously that they were constrayned to abandon theyr vessell & lete it folowe the cours of the water and wynde. Than Appolyn sawe be weder so impyteous & stormy and poundred his contreuers fortunes for very pure & anguysshe he lefte be rest of his caban and for no man he wolde retornne into it but went byneth under the batche whereas was no maner of clerenes nor lyght of the day / and there lay wepyng & sobbynge makyng his regretes & bewaylynges / & he was dryuen from coste tyll all wery they were dryuen unto the cyte of lylytayne where as his doughter Tarcye was / but he knewe nothynge of it. Thus they aryued upon the feest of Saynt Johan on the whiche day the patron of the shyppe and all the company reioyced them for the good dayes sake. Appolin was under be hatche in grete doloure & whan he herde the chere that they made he had Glv grete meruayle and demaunded them wherfore they made suche Joy and reuell / and the patron answered. Syr we reioyce us for the hyghe and solempne feest and for the loue of Saynt Johan for whom this day is made celebracyon & solempnyte. Than Appolyn sore syghynge unto them sayd. I pray you that ye everychone assemble
togyder & make you mery for my sake. And than he called his treasourer and commaunded hym for to gyue unto eche of the maryners fyue pens of golde and a marke of syluer for to rejoyce them with that day / and than he sayd to them I requeyre you that ye pray all for me unto our lorde that it may please him for to sende me Joy and conforte and releas of my bytter sorowes / and than all wepynge he made for to couer pe hatche aboue his heed where as he sayd that he wolde lede his lyfe in tenebrosite and derkenes to the tyme that god sholde sende hym Joy and consolacyon. Than the patron descended from the shyppe for to go and puruey for all suche things as to them was behouable. And when he was returned he apparyled pe shyppe ryally / and dysplayed the baners that were fayre & bryght for the honoure of the good day / and as the custome is of maryners / & than he made for to apparyle theyr dyner and couered the tables.

# How kynge Appolyn aryued at Kylytayne / and how his daughter luted afore hym / & other maters. Ca. xxix.

Woodcut: Tharsia with a lute on shore; Apollonius in the ship._7

Anthygoras prynce of the cyte of Kylytayne went sportynge hym by the ryuage of the see for his recreacyon and sporte and sewe pe shyp of kynge Appolyn /
and he thought that it was the fayrest shyppe that euer
he hadde seen to his aduyse / and he sayd unto his
chyualry. Certes lordes the beaute of this shyp pleaseth
me moche. The patron than beynge nigh unto hym sayd.
Syr the shyppe is at your commaundement and good
pleasure / and syth that ye are so nygh / come aborde
and se it / and yf it please you dyne with us. The
prynce was ryght well content of the wordes of the
patron and sayd. Byth ye say it with so good hert here
is v. besauntes of golde & certaynly I wyll dyne with
you. And incontynent they toke a barge for hym and
aborded the shyp when he was entred he sawe them ete
theyr mete all heuely
wherby he thoughte that be mayster of be shyppe was not
there. And than he demaunded of be maryners for the
mayster of the shyppe / and the patron answered to hym
and sayd. Our mayster is in wepynges & waylynges / for
he hath lost his wyfe on the see & his doughter that
he had on londe. Than be prynce sayd to the patron /
here is two pens of golde and go unto your mayster &
tell hym / that here is the prynce of the cyte that
wyll speke with hym / ye shall pardon me sayd the
patron for he hath sayd that the fyrst that were so
bolde for to speke to hym sholde lese his heed. Now
than sayd Anthygoras syth ye dare not go to hym shewe
me his name and of what countree he is. Truely sayd be
patron he is named Appolyn and is kynge of be londe of
Thyre. When Anthygoras herde hym speke of Appolyn of Thyre he had grete meruayle and thoughte upon Taroye his daughter be whiche he knewe in be cyte & how she had tolde hym that Kyngre Appolyn of Thyre was her fader / and anone he went to the hatche as be maryners had ensygned hym and entred to hym in callynge hym by his name saynge. Hayle Appolyn kyngre of Thyre. Appolyn the whiche knewe hym not answered neuer a worde. When Anthygoras herde bat he gaue hym no responce ne rendred his salutacyon / he sayd agayne. Appolyn speke unto me for knowe thou bat I am prynce of this cyte and am hyder comen for to behold be beaute of this vessell / and your maryners of theyr fre volunte prayed me bat I sholde come dyne with them and soo I haue done / and I demaunded them where theyr mayster was / and they answered that ye were in grete wepynges & waylynges be whiche dyspleaseth me sore. But of one thynge I pray you that ye wyll yssue out of this derstenes & reioyce you in esperance that god shall helpe you. And Appolyn answered wepyng. Dere frende whatso euer ye be that ye make good chere and reioyce you with my folke / & shewe no semblaunce of Joye ne myrth unto me / for I am euyll fortuned and voyde of all consolacyon and conforte. Than Anthygoras sayd/ ye must ye must ye must yf it please you yssue out of this tenebrous and obscure place. Appolyn sayd pardon me for this tyme / and than he torned hym
asyde sore syghynge. And Anthygoras returned to them that dyned and sayd that he might not retray theyr meyster fro that derke place that he was in / for gladly he wolde have founde some meanes to have withdrawn hym thens. And thann he sayd secretely to one of his seruantes. Go in to the bordell and say unto the meyster of the ruffyens that he come and speke with me / & that he brynge Tarcye with hym with all her musycall instrumentes / for she is a parfayte meystresse in all maner of Joyous playes and melodyes / and we shall se yf by case of aduenture she may reioyce hym. Than the seruant went as his lorde had commaunded hym. And when the ruffyen understode the tydynges of the seruant it greued hym moche for to haue Tarcye thyder / but force it was so to do for to obey unto his souerayne. Whan Tarcye was comen to the shyppe Anthygoras sayd. Fayre damoysell ye must shewe here your scyence / for it is of necessite for to reioyce the meyster of this shyppe the whiche hath lost his wyfe on the see and his daughter on the londe / he is here benethe in tenebres and obscurete / and for nothynge that I may do he wyll not yssue out of the place where as he is. And yf ye may do so moche as to make hym yssue here is thyrty pens of golde for your labour / and .1. other for to kepe your vyrgynyte. Than incontynent she wente went to the hatche and sayd unto Appolyn. Syr god sende
you salute and Joye. I desyre and requyre you that ye wyll rejoyce you at my comynge hyder / for ye are not vesityd of a woman corrupt and befouled / but of a mayden chaste and vyrgyn / for lyke as the rose growtheth amonge thornes and sharpe pryckes and is not of itseluffe pryckynge all in semblable wyse is it of me / for I remayne amonge people infect and unchast / and yet neuertheles I haue obserued and kept my vyrgynyte hyderto with all my dylysence. And therewith I haue a specyall confydyence & trust in god / for I thynke that when it lyketh hym he shall delecte and delyuer me from that vylenes / and so he wyll when he thynketh tyme. And therfore fayre syr conforte your selfe Appolyn than lyft up his heed and sayd unto her. Fayre damoysell I praye you speke not to me of consolacyon & conforte / for I desyre them not / neuertheles my thynke that ye be exstrayte of some noble place / but I requyre you go your way and that ye pardon me of that ye desyre / all be it I beseche almyghty god that he sende me Joye or I returne into my realme. And certaynly ye haue done me more pleasure than bat ye had made me for to come out of this place. And for your good wyll and loue I gyue unto you two hondred pens of golde for to kepe your vyrgynyte / & I beseche you that ye traualye no more for me / for your tender and amyable wordes reneweth my dolorous anguysshes. The mayden toke the golde that he hadde gyuen her and thanked hym hyghly
pryenge god to sende hym his hertes desyre and wolde 
haue yssued out of the shyppe / but Anthygoras retorned 
er her and sayd. Fayre syster haue ye holpen the poore 
dyscomforted for to leue and cease of his sorowes and 
lachrymous lamentacyons. Certes fayre lor 
de sayd Tarcyey I haue dons all therto that lyeth in my G4r 
power but nothynge it auseyleth / and he hathe gyuen to 
me two hondred pens of golde and prayed me to go my 
wayne and lete hym alone for my wordes renouelleth his 
doloures. Than Anthygoras sayd I shall gyue you foure 
hondred pense of golde so that ye retorn to hym and 
shewe hym that ye desyre nothyng of hym but his 
welfare and helthe. Than the mayden mekely retorned at 
his commaundement streyght to Appolyn and sayd to hym. 
Syr I wyll sytte me doune by you yf it please you and 
yf ye can shewe to me the solucyon of a yuestion or 
twayne I shall go fro you / & yf ye can not than must 
ye reioyce you by some meanes / and here is your pens 
for I wyll nothyng but your salute and welfare and 
that ye enioye in my saynges / and anone she began her 
questyon in this maner. There is a lodges in the erthe 
that souneth with an hye voyce / be host that 
enhabyteth in it is dombe and sayth noo worde / and yet 
neuertheles the lodges and the hoost entre ensueth 
togyder / now answere dyrectly unto this question. 
Appolyn incontynent answered / the lodges that ye say 
souneth with an hyghe soune is the see / the hoost
therin enhabtaunt & is dombe without saynge of ony worde
and that entre ensueth ben the fyshes pe whiche foloweth
the cours and rennyng of the see / and that is the
solucyon of your question The mayden then preposed an
other questyon sayenge in this maner In the water of the
floode that renneth by the brymme spryngeth that of the
whiche musyke and swete songe is made / & is not of
colour sable / the messenger of allegraunce by
touchyne. Than Appolyn answered that bat spryngeth in
the brymme of the flode ben be redes wherof musyke is
made & swete soune when one maketh a pype or other
instrument of rede / for it is not of blacke colour/
but it is whyte / messenger of allegraunce when it is
touched upon the pertuys and holes / for it is made to
gyue what soune that one nyll. The mayden preposed an
other questyon in saynge. All about gooth the fyre in
the hous and dooth noo harme / and maketh soo grete
lyght in the myddes of the hous that with grete payne it
may be endured / and pe hoste is naked within the hous.
Appolyn answered and sayd The hous is a bayne into the
whiche the fyre entreth all about and maketh grete hete
and may do no harme / the hoste is naked for he
hath noo nede of clothyng in a bayne. The damoysell
then preposed another questyon the whiche is this.
Within this monster shynyng / approacheth alway an
endynge / the moone often resembleth the sonne / &
sheweth nothyng but that that is to come. Appolyn then
remembrynge his dolours fel to wepyng ag yne. Whan the
damoysell hadde made her questyons and that Appolyn
had soyled them all saue the last wherto he sayd nothynge
she had meruayle / and in beholdynge him she sawe that 20
he wept / wherfore she wyst not what to do but went and
toke hym in her armes saynge. Alas it is grete domage
that a man of soo grete noblesse as you be sholde use his
lyfe in suche doloures and anguysshes / I pray you be
of good conforte for whan it pleaseth our creatour he
wyll rendre unto you your wyfe and your doughter / and
than she toke hym by the goune makyng semblaunt for
to drawe hym out from under the hatche. Appolyn saynge
that she wolde haue had hym out drewe backwarde / and
they pulled so bytwene them that her holde slypped and 30
she fell to the grounde and hurte her knee sore. Whan
she fetel that she was hurte she began pyteously to
wepe saynge.

# How Tarcye complayned of her mysfortunes before kynge G5r
Appolyn for hurtynge of her knee. Ca. xxx.

A gracyousgod fourmer of thynges inteyour and
exteyour of nought and suffreth all operacyons for to
be thoughtand determyned / how mayst thou suffre that
thy symple and humble handmayden not culpable of any
malyce to endure so many greuous perylls and mysfortunes
/ for syth the houre that I was borne I haue had but
aduersytees and trybulacyons / for of the dolour that
my mother hadde with me in my natkuyte she departed 10
oute of this lyfe / & was casten into the see in an
arche leeded / and afterwarde I was brought into the
cyte of Tharcye of the whiche I bere the name / and was
delyuered and recommaunded unto a cytezyn of that same
cyte named Tranquyle / and unto his wyfe named Dyonyse / and unto a nouryce admytted by my fader the whiche ryght wel and dylygently kept me. And when that she laye upon her deed bedde she recounted unto me before her her dethe all myn extraught & lygnage / and all the aduentures whiche I hadde passed in myn adalescency / and yf she had not toMe me than I had not knowen who was my fader ne who was my moder / for I had wende afore that Tranquylebad ben my fader Dyonyse his wyfe my moder / by the whiche Dyonyse I was prepayred to be slayne of her esclaue upon the see syde / but it happened that a galey came swymmyng ther by that toke me and delyuered me from the handes of the esclaue / and the men of the sayd galey solde me in this cyce unto a ruffyen whiche hathe kept me by force in the place publyke for to haue made me enclyne to that moost vyle symne
of luxurye / but graces be'gyuen to our lorde by whose G5v power I haue kept my vyrgynyte unto this houre. Alas my lorde my fader was named Appolyn and was kynge of pe londe of Thyre / and than she began for too complayne
in saynge with a pyteous voyce. Ha my ryght dere fader 
where be ye now / in what londe ben ye remaynynge bat 
ye come not for to se me/ and delyuer me from this 
payne and shameful scandalyzacyon in the whiche I am / 
& where I haue soo longe abyden without conforte sauf 
onely of the curteys prynce of this cyte whome our 
lorde rewarde.

Of the Joye bytwene Appolyn & Tarcy. Ca. xxxi.
Kynge Appolyn heryng pe wordes of his daughter in that 
maner was so feruently taken and surprysed with Joye 
and gladness that of longe tyme he coude not speke & 
pronounce a worde / but when his speche came without 
aduyse he began for to crye. O all ye my seruantes 
leue your heuynes and make Joye. Than all they of the 
shyppe ranne unto hym wenynge that he had ben from 
his wytte. And whan they came they founde hym holdynge 
his daughter bytwene bothe his armes / and than he 
sayd unto theym. certaynly my dere frendes here is my 
doughter Tarcy for whome I haue had so moche trauayle 
& endured so many sorowes. Than he and she deuysed and 
talked of many thynges & of theyr straunge aduentures 
/ and after he yssued with grete Joye. Than Appolyn 
clothed his daughter with ryche aournementes & clothes 
and apparylled hymselfe at al poyntes. And Anthygoras 
had grete pleasure to se that aduenture. Than she 
began for to tell her fader.
how she was solde unto the cursed ruffyen the whiche 
worde haue maynteyned her in synne and voluptuousnes 
& what payne she hadde for to kepe her vyrgynyte / & 
how the prynce Anthygoras had ayded and socoured her 
for to to kepe her vyrgynyte and to saue her frome that 
horryble synne of carnal concupyscence. So after the 
complayntes made of the one and of be other they 
demeaned grete Joye bytwene them of theyr sodayne 
encountrynge. and at the laste Anthygoras prayed kynge 
Appolyn instauntly that he wolde gyue unto hym his 
doughter Tarcye in maryage / the whiche Appolyn hym 
ottroyed and graunted for be pleasure that he hadde doone 
to her in helpynge her for to kepe her body immaculate 
and vyrgynall / & than he sayd to Appolyn. I recoure 
you to gyue me a gyft / and Appolyn graunted hym / and 
the prynce sayd. I demaunde of you vengeansse to be 
executed upon this cursed and meschaunt ruffyen whiche 
in this wyse hath withholden your doughter / to the 
whiche request Appolyn accorded lyghtly Than anone 
Anthygoras ledde Appolyn and his doughter Tarcye in to 
be cyte with grete magnyfycence and tryumph. And when 
they were entred & had abyden awhyle Anthygoras the 
prynce commaunded that all the cytezyns sholde be redy 
in goodly ordynaunce for to assemble afore kynge 
Appolyn and his doughter Tarcye And as soone as they 
were comen he mounted upon a scaffolde amonge them 
and sayd as here after foloweth.
How the ruffyen that kept Tarcye was brent. Ca. xxxii

Goodcuts: three blocks of figure groups with in scrolls G6v
"Tarcye", "The ruffyen", "Appolyn. Anthygo"

O ye cytezyns of this cyte of Ilylytayne I Anthygoras
prynce of the same and gouernoure for the wele publyke
or commune do you for to knowe and understande that ye
and I ben in grete peryl synth a lytell space. For
Appolyn be myghty kyng of Ilyre and Anthyche is
aryued with an huge nauye of men armes for to be
avenged upon us an' to put our cyte to mortall ruyne
forcause of this cursed ruffyen the whiche hath holden
his daughter Tarcye in be bordell publyke and openly in
the moost shamefull wyse as esclaue and comyn woman.

And therfore I lete you vete to thende that our cyte be
not destroyed for suche an euyll man. And anone al the
cytezyns sayd. Lorde we wyll bat he gyuen to Appolyn /
& that he take vengeaunce on hym at
his pleasure rather than he sholde make our cyte to
be dystroyed. Than incontynent be ruffyen was brought
afore the prynce Anthygoras his handes bounden behynde
hym and there was apparyled a fayre chayre in the
myddes of the cyte / and Appolin was made for to sytte
therin holdynge his doughter by the hande % than he
sayd to all the people there beynge in presence.
Citezyns of Ilylytayne by your grete goodnes and gentylnes
ye ben here assembled for to se the Joy and solace that
I haue of my daughter the whiche I veryly supposed had ben deed in the cyte of Tharoye whome I haue this day founde / be whiche this cursed ruffyen hath holden for esclaue and bonmayden. And yet it suffysed hym not to do so / but he hath holden her in the publyke bordell as impudyke for to dyshonour and shame her for euer / but yet not withstandynge his cruel malyce by the grace of god & adiutory of you & other lordes here present she hath preserued and kept her maydenheed wherof I thanke you cordyally. And for pat I and my daughter shall be beholden unto you for to rendre unto you as grete a pleasure / wherfore I requyre in the way of ryghtwysnes that ye do suche Justyce upon hym as belongeth to suche a cursed and meschaunt man for the retaynynge of my sayd daughter. Than all the cytezyns sayd with one voyce / we wyll that he be brent in be myddes of the cyte. Than anone a grete fyre was made in be market and the ruffyen was bounde to a pyler in be myddes of the cyte. Than anone a grete fyre was made in be market and the ruffyen was bounde to a pyler in be myddes therof / and so with grete payne and shame he fynysshed his dayes before all the people. Than sayd Tarcye to the esclaue that had kept her vyrgynyte and bought her lute / for the wele and seruyce that thou hast done to me I make be free of all seruage and thraldome / and here I gy­ue the an hondred besauntes of golde to make the a good
man. Than she gau to all the women that were in the bordell grete fynaunce and ryches to thende that they sholde leue theyr synne and go oute of that place. After all these thynges done Appolyn arose out of his chayre and sayd to the prynce of cyte. O Anthigoras prynce of grete vertue and replete with bounte I thanke the of be grete goodnes and honoure that thou hast doone to me. For by the I haue gotten my moost welbeloued daughter. And also all you noble cytezyns of mylytayne I thanke and remercy you of the grete debonsyrte and frendshyp that ye haue done unto me and unto my daughter / for by the grace of god and you she hathe yet her vyrgynyte & mayneshede. And for the goodnes that ye haue done to me and to her I gyue you frele fyfty charges of syluer. They seyng his fraunchyse and good wyll thanked hym gretely / and for his sake they dyde do make an ymage or statute too his semblaunce all of fyne syluer / set it in be middle of the cyte. The whiche statue helde in his hande a shyppe / & bytwene his armes his daughter Tarcie / and under his fete he helde be ruffyen in whose handes was a wrytynge in golden lettres that sayd thus. #Appolin the noble kynge of Tyre by his lyberalyte and fraunchyse hath made of newe the walles of the cyte of mylytayne / and fortesfyed it with plente of treasoures and rychesses / for whose loue & his daughter Tarcye vyrgyn pudyke and chaste be cytezyns of be sayd cyte hath do to be made
this present ymage or statue.

Of the maryage of Anthygoras prynce of Lylytayne and of Tarcyey kynge Appolyne's daughter. Ca. xxxij.

Woodcut: a bishop joining a couple's hands.

A certayne tyme after that Appolyn had gyuen his daughter Tarcyey unto Anthigoras for to be his wyfe as is aforesayd he announced it to all the cytezyns / wherof they had grete Joye and than he prepayred and apparylled all suche thynges as to the maryage apperteyned / and than with grete magnyfycence and glory the espoussylles were made & the feest endured .vij. dayes which were to longe to tell. And when the feast was determyned Appolyn desyred sore for to retorne in to Thyre / & wolde passe throughe the cyte of Tharcye for to be auenged on Tranquyle & Dyonyse his wyfe. He beyng in this purpose on a nyght he had a vysyon bat sayd yf he sacryfied not to be goddesse Diane he sholde neuer retorne on lyuc to Thyre / for she hadde keppe bead vyrglynyte of Tarcyey. Than Appolyn shewed it to Anthygoras / & he sayd bat it were well done to make oblacyon to Dyane / and for to lede with hym his daughter Tarcyey. Anone he went and made for to prepare & aray shyppes and set hym on the waye / and so lonce they sayled bat they aryued in the londe of Ephesym / & when they were
in the cyte they demaunded of be people where be temple of Dyane was / the whiche anone they shewed / and when they came to the temple they founde a nonne as be entrynge of the gate the whiche sayd unto Appolyn and his company. Lordes I pray you for to pardone me for none may entre in this temple without the lycence of my lady the abbesse. But yf it please you for to remayne here a whyle I shall go and anounce her of your aduenyment.

How Appolyn and his daughter went to the temple of Dyane where as his quene was abbesse. Ca. xxxiiij.

Woodcuts: a temple with two women; Apollonius and a servant.

In this forsayd temple ne dwelled none other but ladyes Hlr and demoyselles the whiche had made be vow of chastete / and at that tyme Archystrates kynge Appolyns wyfe was chosen abbesse that he helde for deed. And it was .xiii. passed syth she had been therin. The portresse went to the abbesse and sayd unto her that at the gate was a kynge that was rychely arayed and precyously besene and accompanied with grete chyualry and other people the whiche kynge is come for to make oblycyon and prayer unto the goddesse Lyane. When the abbesse understode that it was a kynge she made for to brynge an chayre into the quere of the chyrche / &
when it was brought she dyde sytte her doune therin. And than she commaunded the portesse for to open the gate / & Appolyn entred into the temple holdinge his daughter by the hande and all the chyualry folowed after theym. And when he sawe the lady in the chayre so curyously and so rychely besene he wende that it hadde ben Dyane the goddesse and wolde haue kneled downe before her for to haue made his prayer and oblacyon accordyng to his pylgrymage / but it was tolde hym that it was thabbesse / & than he went towarde the awter / and she made for to open all the tabernacles of Dyane. and than kynge Appolyn fell doune upon his knees ryght deuoutly and made his deuocyons / and than he presented his daughter tofore the trone of Dyane to thende that eche myght knowe wherfore he was comen thyder / and in presentynge her he made this complaynt. O Dyane relucnet goddesse the whiche illumyneth the superiour partyes of the terryen mancyon with thy splendent leames enolyne thyn humblenes unto the contemplatyfe orayson of me Appolyn kynge of Thyre thyn oratoure the whiche hath suffred so many euyls and Hlv grete trybulacyons durynge my lyfe. For when I was of the aegge of XV. yeres I was introducte and endoctryned in al the artes and scyences that a younge man ought to haue / and for that I founde the solucyon of a questyton that the kynge of Anthyoche made unto me for the demaundinge of his daughter which he occupyped
carnally he procured the means for to slee me / for the 
whiche I was constreyned for to leue my realme and 
fledde by the see towards the cyte of Tharcye whiche 10 
I delyuered from honger / & then dredynge to be knowen 
I remounted upon the see / & sayled towards pe cyte 
of Terme where I loste all bat I had and naked I 
entred into the sayd cyte in the whiche reygneth the 
good kynge Archystrates of whome I was receyued / and 
at the last of his grete fraunchyse & noblesse he 
gau to me his daughter inmaryage. And it befell so 
bat I had tydynges how the kynge of Anthyoeche was 
deed / wherfore I concluded for to go and take 
possessyon of his realme the whiche to me belonged. 20 
And when I was on the see and my wyfe with me the 
whiche was grete with chylde / she had not ben longe 
upon the see but for fere and dysease bat she suffred 
she was delyuered of this my daughter whiche I 
present here unto the / at the byrthe of whom my 
wife deyed / whom god pardon / for whose sake to me 
iscomen the grete sorowe whiche I haue suffred And yet 
morouer I was constreyned for to close her in an 
arche leeded with plente of golde and syluer for to 
burye her with as to a kynge's daughter apperteyned & 30 
after that to cast her into pe see. And afterwarde I 
gau my daughter in the cyte of Tharcye unto a man 
whose cursed wyfe had commaunded for to sle her by 
her esclaue the whiche ledde
her to the sea syde for to doo her to dethe / but of adventurere there came a galey that led her to the cyte of ylytayne and solde her to a ruffyen with whom she was longe tyme with grete payne to kepe her ma\_denheed / whereas I dyde fynde her syth. and when I returned thyder for to mary my daughter they told me that she was deed and buryed besyde pe tombe of her nouryce nygh to the see syde. and when I sawe myself so dyspoled and voyde of al welthe and dystytute of my wyfe / and of my daughter I was so surprysed with sorowe that I had leuer haue deyed than lyued. And now gracious goddesse pou hast gyuen me so moche grace bat I haue founde my chylde bat I present the here.

Of the Love that was betwene Apolyn and his wyfe in the temple of Dyane. Ca. xxxv:

Foodcut: three ro\_al couoles together.

When the abbesse Archycastres herde a\_d understode all these thynges she was enspvred with so grete Joye that she wyght not absteyre her selfe tylly she hadde made his oblation or sacr

uncion but ranne unto Apolyn with her arms stretched and embrac\_ed hym by grete feruour of loue and kyssed hym no than an hondred tvmes and after she sayd with an hye vovoe. Ha Apolyn kynge of Thyre hast thou no reco\_nysvnce ne knowelge of me. When Apolyn hadde well herde her & saw her demeanour
was gretely astonyd and sayd. Of the knowlege of you I am unpuruayed for I was neuer in this place. Then she perceuyynge that he mysknewe her sayd all wepyng. Certaynly I am Archycastres your owne espouse that ye kest into the see in a leeded arche / and that ye so moche haue desyred. Than Appolyn & Tarcye toke her in theyr armes and embraced her sore wepyng for Joye so that all they about them went for pyte. And there they recounted theyr fortunes and meruaylous anduentures. O what Joye and consolacyon had that noble kynge for to be fyrst restored into his realme out of the which he was deiect / and secondarily to fynde his naturall chylde the whiche he thought hadde ben buryed at the cyte of Tharcye / and thyrldly how grete Joye hadde he to fynde his moost beloued wyfe and espouse on lyue the whiche with his owne handes he hadde casten into the see / well may ye thynke that he had grete lyesse and Joye / his scrowes were torned to myrthes and consolacyons. He fyrst was unfortunate & lost londes / rychesses / wyfe/ doughter / and al his other goodes / & now he hath founde all agayne. Thus the Joye was so grete amonge theym pat it can not be estemed / and anone it was spredde ouer all the countre that be abbesse had founde her husbande / wherof they of the cyte had grete Joy / and put an other abbesse in her place. And there they soiourned a certayne tyme and after they toke theyr leue thankynge the cytezyns and
so departed & mounted upon the se.

How Appolyn was crowned at Anthycohe & after retorned to the cyte of Tharcye & caused execucyon to be done upon Tranquyle & Dyonyse his wyfe. Ca. xxxvi

Woodcuts: three figures, two of them labelled in scrolls as "Dyonys." "Tranquyle." and Apollonius and a servant.

Appolyn beynge upon the see with his wyfe & his daughter exployted so moche that they arriued at the cyte of Anthycohe / in the whiche cyte be crowne of the realme was kepte for Appolyn. And there he was crowned with grete solem-pnyte and tryumphe & was honourably receued as to a kynge apperteyneth. And than he departed thens & returned to his owne realme of Thyre where as he was also receyued with grete reuerence / and the feestes endured .viii. dayes for the loue of the quene and her daughter. And for his welcome home he gaue unto Anthygoras be sayd countree. Than afterwarde they returned upon the see & went so longe by their Journeys that they arriued at the cyte of Tharcye / where as they were welcomed with grete Joye. And than Appolyn sent for Tranquyle and Dyonyse his wyfe / & when they were ecomen he went in to the myddes of the cyte & stode under the ymage pat was made to his symlyytude / and torned hym to the people and sayd. 0 you cytezyns of
Tharoye ye haue caused me to endure many trybulacyons. And they answered all nay lorde / but we alwayes haue sayd _bat_ the crowne of this cyte shld remayne to you for the benefaytes that in tyme past ye haue doone unto us / & we ben all content for to lyue and dye with you. And _bat_ ymage shall be foreuer a memoryall of your goodnes. Therfore I sayd it sayd Appolyn / for when I went last out of your cyte I left and gauemy daughter with grete ryches to nourysshe unto Tranquyle & Dyonyse his wyfe & when I returned to fetch her they wolde not rendre her to me. Dyonyse _bat_ herynge began for to saye. How sholde we haue rendred her to you when she was deed / and your owne selfe felt the sauour _bat_ came from her when ye redde the superscrypcion of the monyment that the cytezyns dyde make for the honour of her and the luou of you. Than Appolyn was somwhat moeued with impacyence when he herde how falsly she made her excuse and made to call forthe his daughter Tarcye tofore al the people / and than he sayd to her. _In_ fayre daughter now must ye bere wytnesse and recorde of your dethe. Than the maden came tofore Dyonyse and sayd. God saue the Dyonyse I am Tarcye which is rysen from dethe unto lyfe. When the cursed woman herde her speke thus she began for to tremble for feere and wyst not what to say. Than Tharoye commaunded for to brynge forthe thesclaue that sholde haue put her to dethe. And as soone as she was
comen Tarcye sayd to her. Theophyle knowe thou that I am Tarcye of whome thou wolde haue smyten of the heed / wherfore I am comen hyder for to be auenged and do be same to the. And therfore tell here openly who commaunded the so to doo. And thesclaue sayd / certaynly it was Tranquyle and Dionyse his wyfe / and so tofore the cytezyns he recounted al their fayte and false proposycyon of theym. When the cytezyns herde and understode this they creyed all with one voyce brenne them / brenne them. And incontynent without longer abydyng was made two grete fyres and in be one they put Tranquyle / and in the other Dyonyse his wyfe / and thus they fynysshed their dayes for their falsenes. Then they wolde haue brennt thesclaue / but Tarcie saued her lyfe and sayd. For that thou suffred me to saye my prayers I was delyuered from dethe / & therfore I wyll that thou be saued / & also I gyue the an .C. besauntes of golde / & make the fre of all seruage / wherof she thanked her / & went her waye makyng grete Joye that she was so escaped.

"How Appolyn was crowned kyenge of Penthopolytayne / after his wyfes fader. Ca. xxxvii.

Woodcut: the coronation of a king.

After al these thynges abouesseyd Appolyn thanked hymbly the cytezyns & abode there halfe a yere / and he toke
his leave honourably & mounted upon the see and came to be
cyte of Terme whereas his wifes fader reygned. And when
he knewe that his sone Appolyn and his daughter Archycastres
came to hym he went & met them with a grete company
of lordes & welcomed theym hyghly. And there they abode
a yere in grete Joye & solace. And at the ende of the
yere kyng Archystrates dyed for asege / and Appolyn
honourably made hym to be entyered. But or he dyed he
gau to Appolyn the cyte and dyademe of Terme whiche
he receyued and was crowned with grete nobles and
magnyfycence / and the other parte of his realme he
deuyded after his pleasaunce / and he gave the one
halfe thereof unto
Archycastres his daughter / and the other halfe he
gau to Tarcyse be wyfe of Anthygoras / and after bat
the doole was made a yere. And at the ende of the
yere euery persone began for to rejoyce them. And upon
a daye as Appolyn and his wyfe were talkyng of one
thynge and other done in tymes past he bethought hym on
the poore fyssher be whiche hadde gyuen hym the halfe
of his mantell / and forth with he sente for hym. The
poore man was sore afrayed whan he herde be maundement
of the kyng for he thought no more on it / and so he
came all heuely afore hym / and than Appolyn sayd to
the quene. Here is the man by the occasy- of whome
I recouered that whiche I hadde lost in the see for he
gau me the one halfe of his mantell / and shewed me
the way to come to this cyte / wheras I was well receyued of my lorde your fader whome god pardon. And than he toke the fyssher by the hande and sayd. Be ye not remembred how ye saued me and conforted me whan I had loste my shyppes & was caste naked on the see syde / & the poore man sayd yes my lorde. Certes sayd Appolyn I sayd to you pat yf euer I came to myn aboue I sholde thyneke on you / & incontynent he gaue hym .1. besauntes of golde / and thre fayre houses in the cyte / so that he that was be poorest was made the rychest. Than he sent for hym pat had brought hym tydynges from Anthyocche that kynge Anthyogus was deed / and made hym riche in lyke wyse as he dyde the other.

How kynge Appolyn dysceased and his wyfe also / and how theyr sone possessed theyr realmes. Ca. xxxviii.

Woodcut: Apollonius and wife in bed. H5v

By processe and length of tyme kynge Appolyn had a sone by his wyfe Archycastres the whiche was kynge and reyned after theym in the realme of Thyre. Than they retorned in to Anthyocche & lyued there the space of .1xxiii. yere in grete Joye & noblesse / peas and tranquylyte. And thus in his lyfe he was kynge of Thyre of Anthyocche / and of Terme / and of dyuers other realmes the whiche he helde and mayteyned in good peas durynge his lyfe. And durynge his dayes he wrote and
put in remembraunce the fortunes and peryllous
aduentures the whiche unto hym were happened and
comen / and he
compiled .vi. volumes of bokes / of the whiche one
remayned in the temple of Dyane in the londe of
Ephesym. The seconde in the cyte of Terme. The thyrde
in the cyte of Anthychoe. The fourthe in the cyte of
mylytayne. The fyfth in the cyte of Tharcye. And the
syxte in his realme gentyll of Thyre. After all these
thynges and many other he dysceased out of this worlde
/ and in deyenge he enbraced his wyfe and kyssed her in
takynge his leue. And she for veray pure sorowe and
loue enbrac d hym and makinge grete lamentacyons and
complayntes she gaue up her spyryte with hym / wherfore
the realms made grete doles and sorowe And then they
were bothe taken up and layde in an arche of golde and
they were sepultured accordinge to theyr estate. And
thus it pleased almyghty god to call theym to his
reygne and to fynysshe theyr regall nobles whiche myght
not alway endure.

Thus endeth the moost pytefull hystory of the noble
Appolyn somtyme kynge of Thyre newly translated out
of freñsche in to Englysche. And enprynted in the
famous cyte of London in the Fletestrete at pe sygne
of the sonne by Wynkyn de worde. In the yere of our
lorde .\.d.and.x. the xxviii. daye of the moneth of
February. The fyrst yere of the reygne of the moost excellent and noble prynce our ryght naturall and redoubted souarayne lorde kynge Henry the .viii.

\[Wynkyn de Worde's printers device. It is in three sections. The top contains a sun, two large and twenty small stars; the centre Saxtons mark; the bottom a scroll lettered "Wynkyn de Worde" topped by two animals, with along the lower edge ten small roses and one large stemmed one.\]
NOTES

A4r;7: "she doubtyng his inhumanyte". This is a translation of the gallicism "se douter de".


A3r;17: It would seem that chapter vj begins here. The chapter heading as listed in the table of contents is not anywhere in the text. But the end of line 19 is justified with four ornament blocks as is commonly done at the end of a chapter.

B3r;5: "so Journed" The word "so" comes at the end of a line, and there is no dash to indicate the word has been broken. Yet the word "sojourned" would seem to be required for the sense. The use of capital "J" is inconclusive since lowercase "j" is not used at this time except in numbers.

B3v;11: "sparpeled" This word is accepted by NED.

Clr;1: "crye he began" The repetition from the last line of the preceding page is in the incunabulum.
C6v;16: "yf I toke you to husbande and leue all other lorde"  
The text here is corrupt. The meaning may be recovered 
from British museum Royal ls: "si regarda appolin au 
visage Et puis luy dist 0 mon maistre ne seroyes tu 
par bien couroucie se je prenoye mary Respond 
appolin non mais jen auroye grant joye Sy dist la 
pucelle 0 maistre se tu me amoyes autant comme je fay 
toy tu en seroyes couroucye." (fol. 218r-218v.)

C6v;3: "seme" See pED "seem" III,9. Transitive use of this 
verb meaning "to think,imagine" is accepted.

D1r;22: "owches" See pED "Ouch" sb. an accepted word for 
"ornament".

D2v;26: "her & accorded" This"&"seems superfluous.

D2v;28: "dromondes" See pED "Dromond" a very large mediaeval 
ship.

D3r: The woodcut on this page is identical with that on D4r. 
It seems to belong there rather.

Royal ls. has: "Et le mire ouuirt tout doucement le 
coffre et vit la dame qui estoit vestue en estat 
royal si congneut tantost de quoy elle estoit morte 
puis dist a soy mesmes Amye mout de doleurs as laissie 
at tes parens". (fol. 222r.)
"pounces". See LED "pulse" sb. The word "pounce" in all of its meanings has the connotations of force and violent movement. The word "pouse" was an accepted 15th C. variant of "pulse". Either this was misread by the typesetter, or he mistakenly took an underlined "u" for a simple one.

"at whom". This should read "at home".

"honestly". This stress on good manners and polite behaviour is typical of the Renaissance.

"ymagyned" see HED "Imagine" 3, to devise or plot.

"more of Tarcy & than of the other". Here again the Renaissance courtesy comes through. In the original version, as represented by the Royal ..s. Tarsia "est belle et bien enseigne. Et celle qui va de coste elle est si bien nice" (fol 224 v.)

"an hondred besauntes". This clause has been misplaced. The Royal ..s. here is closer to the original: "elle ly gaigneroit grant foysong dargent selle estoit sienne et daunture arriua le seigneur de la cite qui auoit nom anthigoras et quant il vit la pucelle tant belle il en va promettre .x. escus. et le rivault dist quil en donroit .xx. ... et tant que le rivault vint jusques a cent puiz dist que sil y auoit homme qui
en voulsist plus donner quil en donroit .x. escus plus que homme qui y fust" (fol. 225v-226r.)

F1v;5: "Joyous" The text here is corrupt but may be recovered from the Royal i.s.: "respond le ribault je ne scay il me semble se tu fuches corrumpue que tu ne seroyes pas si bonne chiere mais say tant que mon argent soit recouree" (fol. 227 v.)

F3r;9: "wente and lodaded hym" This whole passage seems to rest upon a misunderstood or corrupt original. The Royal i.s. has: "Appolien vint celle part secretement adfin quil ne fust congneu et sen vint a lostel de strangulio Et quant strangulio le vit de loing si le congneut et dist a sa femme ..." (fol. 228r.)

F3v;26: "moenable" There is no such word. Probably moevable is meant. The "U" and "F" are frequently mixed.

G3v;5: "lyke es the rose" The passage from here to the end of line 13 is a poem in most versions. It is in prose in the Royal i.s. also.

G4r: The three riddles solved are "sea and fishes", "reeds" and "bath-house". The final riddle, not solved, is not found in this form in any of the other texts. Closest is the RB "Nulla mihi certa est, nulla est peregrina figura. Fulgor inest intus diuini sideris instar, qui nihil ostendit, nisi in se quod uidet ente." (Dieze, p. 95)
which is solved as "looking glass". The British Museum ms. is no help here since it contains no riddles at all.

G6v;6: "men armes" Either the "s" should be "d" or there is an "&" omitted between the two words.

H4r;17: "creyed all with one voyce..." This passage has particularly strong echoes from the Christ before Pilate bible story.

H55;21: "aboue" There is no such word. The temptation is great to substitute "owne", but it is also possible that the "u" was taken for "d", which would give "abode" in parallel to "remounte unto thyn estate" (sig. 54r line 27).

H6v: It will be seen from the double date given that Wynkyn de Worde used the "New Dating" system, that it, that he began his year in January 1 and not on March 25 as was the habit of Pynson and most other printers.
As testified by the fact that at least fifty manuscripts remain of the Latin version, the legend of Apollonius was one of the most popular stories of the Middle Ages. Translations of it are found in almost all modern languages in Europe. In spite of this popularity, the story has suffered from a lamentable lack of critical attention in our age.

Riese's edition of the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri stimulated a period of interest in the story at the end of the nineteenth century. At least five books and a number of articles appeared during the last two decades of the century, mainly on the Latin versions. Most of this work was done by German scholars and is difficult to obtain today.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the story was neglected, and except for the occasional article on some grammatical point, little was done. Only in the last decade has there been a renewal of interest in the romance. This time the centre of critical activity has shifted to England, and is centred upon the unique Anglo-Saxon version of the story.
This thesis consists of two parts. The first part is a study of the Apollonius legend in its Latin and Old French versions. Then, after a study of the beginnings of printing in England, Robert Copland's translation of Kynge Appolyn of Thyre is discussed. Kynge Appolyn has suffered from a curious neglect. It was published in a lithographic facsimile edition in 1870. This edition was "for private circulation only", and copies of it have become as difficult to consult and almost as rare as the original. But one would think that this publication might have called it to the attention of the world. In spite of this, however, the book has not been indexed in Pollard and Redgrave's Short Title Catalogue. As a result all studies of early English books, which invariably start with STC as a basic finding list, have neglected Kynge Appolyn. For example, although it contains some three dozen woodcuts, it is not mentioned in Hodnett's English Woodcuts 1480-1535.

The second part of the thesis consists of an edition of Copland's Kynge Appolyn of Thyre. The edition consists of an exact transcript of Pynkyn de Porde's 1510 edition. Since the student wants to rely on a type facsimile for as accurate a picture of the text as possible, it has been decided not to impose editorial opinions in the form of additional punctuation or grammatical emendation upon the text.
This thesis has investigated previous references to Kynge Appolyn and a summary of past opinions is given. It has tested these statements, and by going back to original sources has shown where the false ones were in error. While a definite source has not been found for Kynge Appolyn, the author has, from the sources available to him, proposed a stemma for the translation. To achieve as complete coverage as possible, the as yet unedited British Museum MS. Royal 20 J. ii and Boston Public Library Ms. 1518 have been studied. These two manuscripts are discussed, in the chapter on the Old French versions, against the background of the published texts.

Quotations in the introduction are rather long because it has been assumed that the reader will not have easy access to the sources.