

ROBERT COPLAND'S
KYNGE APPOLYN OF THYRE

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Benigne lector: Ignoscas aliquot erroribus vel machinae
vel calami !

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PREFACE

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.

PREFACE

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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.

CHAPTER ONE

THE STORY

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

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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 consoled 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 as 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.

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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

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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 Denyse 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.

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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.

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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^{but died.} At the insistence of the sailors, who did not want to keep a corpse aboard, Apollonius fashioned a chest and placed her in it.

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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, grief~~/~~stricken, 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

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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

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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 griefstricken 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.

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Chapter 39. The ship was driven by a storm into the harbour of Mytilene 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.

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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.

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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.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LATIN TEXT

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: "Permuli alii extant codices Apollonii Parisiis, Londini Oxoniae Cantabrigiae, Stuttgarti Monaci Lipsiae Gottingiae Vratislaviae, Basileae, Vindobonae Budapestae, Romae Florentiae, et si qui alii me fefellerunt."¹ A more specific figure is given by Tycho

¹ A. Riese, *Historia*, Lipsiae, 1893, p. 13.

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Mommsen who noted that Haupt told him in a letter that he knew about one hundred manuscripts of the Latin Apollonius.¹ This is echoed by Penon.² Elimar 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 Apolonio, Gotfried von Viterbo, Gesta Romanorum) mit etwa 10 in Anschlag bringen und abziehen will, erscheint die angegebene Zahl doch sehr stark nach oben abgerundet."³ More recent critics give us as little help. Goolden merely talks about "the large number of manuscripts"⁴; Raith mentions that "es sint über ein halbes Hundert Handschriften bekannt"⁵; Miss Hibbard employs intuition when facts lack: "Over one hundred manuscripts of this Latin prose version are known, but many are as yet unedited"⁶. Prof. Hoeniger reverts back to

(ed.)

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.

4 P. Goolden, ed., The Old English APOLLONIUS OF TYRE, Oxford, 1958, p.xii.

5 J. Raith, ed., Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke, München, 1956, p.85.

6 L.A. Hibbard, Medieval Romance, Franklin, 1960, p.164.

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the old school:"about a hundred medieval Latin manuscript
¹
 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, dasz es noch
 einzelne Handschriften giebt, 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 Katalogisirung der Handschriften
 doch soweit vorgeschritten, dasz 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.²

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 Library³ and
 Raith has found one in Harburg Castle⁴. 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.

¹ F.D. Hoeniger ed., Shakespeare's Pericles, London, 1963, p.xiii.

² Erzählung, p. 17-18.

³ N.A. Nillsen, Die Apollonius-Erzählung in den Slavischen Literaturen, Uppsala, 1949, p.9.

⁴ Bruchstücke, p. 86.

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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.¹ 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 conuiuium ab Ulixis naufragio et Phaeacibus habet."² Lapaume was even more positive in his statements: "Christiano autem viro, tanquam auctori, imputandum esse Apollonii l.s., fabulae, 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..."³ 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."⁴ Laura Hibbard notes some dissent but inclines

1 Source quoted in Klebs, Erzählung, p.10.

2 Op.Cit., p.v fn3

3 A.J. Lapaume, Erotici Scriptores, Paris, 1885, p. 602, 609.

4 Shakespeare's Pericles, p.xiii.

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towards a Greek origin for the tale.¹ 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.²

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 Klebs to show through a careful study of the format and elements of the story that it sprang, at least in the form

1 Op. Cit., p.170-171.

2 Op. Cit., p. ix.

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in which it has been preserved until this day, from Latin stock.¹ Klebs' exposition was accepted by Lewis and Singer,² 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 development⁴, 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 AD⁵ on the basis of other evidence.

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

4 E. Rohde, Der gr. Roman, Leipzig, 1914, p. 412.

5 University of Ottawa - School of Graduate Studies p. 143; Penon, Op. Cit., p. 80.

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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 found¹ in a catalogue compiled by Wando, the abbot of Fontenelle.

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:

Bei einer derartigen Ueberlieferung empfängt man, wenn man zuerst einige Mischtexte abgeschrieben und verglichen hat, den Eindruck eines vollständigen Chaos. Es scheint als ob jede Handschrift einen besonderen Text repräsentire. Bei schärfer Untersuchung erkennt man doch, dass nur eine beschränkte Zahl von Typen vorhanden ist. Ein festes und sicheres Kriterium bietet zunächst das verhältnisz der Stücke aus RA und RB, welche in den Mischtexten vorkommen, namentlich die Stücke, welche jeder von beiden eigenthümlich sind. So hat z. B. R-Alpha keine einzige Interpolation von RB, dagegen sämtliche von RA; genau das Umgekehrte gilt für RSt. Weiter aber hat jede Redaktion die übergelieferten Texte von RA und RB in eigenthümlicher Weise umgeformt und für jede lässt sich eine längere Reihe von Stellen zusammen bringen, die für sie charakteristisch sind. ¹

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 swang pone 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 willkürlich umgearbeitet und vielfach interpoliert; jede von ihnen hat vielfach allein das Ursprüngliche bewahrt. ... Das Endergebnis 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 größerem 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

¹ Erzählung, p. 32; 45.

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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 fleret."¹ Here the RA text contains the idea of a year of mourning, the offering to the dead, and the cult of the spirits, but AB contains the essential point that the grave monument is located on the sea-shore.

Our knowledge of the RA text springs from two cōdices. Codex Laurentianus Plut. 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 need be in brackets after the quotation.

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original; Klebs remarks "Sodann ist das Latein in diesen Stücken erheblich schlechter, Wendungen wie "de aliqua re cogitare", 'scrutau', 'obsequiis factis' u.s.w. kommen nur hier vor." ¹ In chapter 27, Arcestrates' first words upon being revived are "deprecor itaque, medice, ne me contigas aliter, quam oportet contingere: 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, Arcestrates 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 #50, of the eleventh century; and Paris Ms. Cod. Lat. Par. 6487 of the fourteenth century.

1 Erzählung, p. 37.

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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 descripsit 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:

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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 mittelaltlicher Mischtexte einen modernen beizugesellen. 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. Reginae 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 Berolinsius Ms. theol. Fol. 194.

¹ Erzählung, p. 46-47.

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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. Lat. 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

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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.¹"

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 II 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".² 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.

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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 Myth-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 scandal¹ 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 pericula² patitur, sicut in subsequentibus versifice 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

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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.6 7) 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. Quia² qu aestio conditionis in porta civitatis scripta erat."

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 virgineas dum leno reservat, 3
in thalamum regis Tharsia tracta venit.

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, Erotici 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 gelehrten Pedanten in verkünstelten, holperige Versen verabreicht."¹

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. 8503, 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.² 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 Innsbrück.

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Da drängt sich denn die Überzeugung auf, und diese Überzeugung wird durch die Ältesten titel der Gesta befestigt, dasz zu einer zeit, zu der das fremdartigste und widerwilligste moralisirt, d. h. in einem geistlichen oder christlichen sinne gedeutet zu werden pflegte, wirklich erzählungen 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 moralisirung 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

(eq.)
1 Hermann Oesterley, Gesta Romanorum, p.260-261.

2 Ibid., p.255

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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 moralisirt und was ist nicht moralisirt!"¹

1 Gesta Romanorum, p. 254.

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The Gesta Romanorum 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 temporalis, 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

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by facts than by patriotism: "seltsamer weise lieben es die Engländer, Deutschland, und die Deutschen, England, als die heimat der Gesta zu bezeichnen".¹

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 Wolfbüttel 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 abfassungszeit der Gesta bedeutend früher fällt, als bis jetzt angenommen wurde. Die spaltung der ältesten handschriften in drei, nach inhalt, darstellungsweise und anordnung ganz wesentlich verschiedene familien weist mit sicherheit darauf hin, dasz zwischen der abfassungszeit des ersten originals und dieser mannigfaltigen entwicklung ein längerer zeitraum liegt, als einige jahre oder selbst einige jahrzehnde; 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 14. Jahrhunderts setzt.²

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.

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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 Suerlicke Historie to the elaborations of Lauwrence Twine's Patterne of Paineul Aduentures. 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

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 apparaît en France au XII^e s., utilise en partie deux groupes de traditions légendaires dont certains éléments parviendront aux écrivains d'alors, grâce à des compilations faites au XI^e et X^e 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 IV^e s., reproduisant une légende orientale, est à la source d'un poème abécédaire du IX^e s. Au X^e, l'archiprêtre napolitain Leo consacre au même héros sa fantastique Historia de Praeliis. ... Le roman byzantin Historia Apollonii Tyri, traduit, puis refait, en latin entre le III^e et le VI^e s. se rangea dès lors parmi les classiques. Il nous en reste, du X^e 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

¹ Paul Zumthor, Histoire littéraire de la France médiévale, Paris, 1954, p.86.

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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.¹

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 Flamenca, 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 E. Pickford, "Fiction and the Reading Public in the Fifteenth Century", p.426.

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de Thebes" and the "Roman d'Alexandre" also:

L'autre comtava d'apolloine,
Comsi retenc Tyr e Sidoine ¹

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 Provençal troubadour Arnaut de Marsan:

D'Apollonius de Tyr
Sapchatz comtar e dir
Con el fos perilhat,
El et tot son bernal,
En mar perdet sas gens
Totas cominalmens,
Mais tenc en son poder
Tot cant en poc aver,
A trastot son esfors,
Mais solamen son cors.
E pueis issic en terre
On li fon obs a querre
Vianda don hom viu,
Com un paure caitiu.
Tot so pres per amor,
Mas 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.
Ei l'ac a son voler
En fetz tot son plazer
E fo reis com denans
Fort e ricx e prezans. ²

1 Quoted in Erzählung, p.412.

2 Quoted in Charles B. Lewis, "Die altfranzösische Prosaversionen", p.148.

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These few examples quoted are all in Provençal dialect. When the Albigensian War inflicted ruin on this culture, Northern French gradually took over and the Provençal dialect became, for all practical purposes, a dead language. Half a century after the troubles Provençal 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 ~~t~~troubadours

Et chantent d'Apoloine et del bien Tenebre
Del viel Antiocus, de Porus et d'Otre,
Et de roi Alexandre... 1

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 invariably depicted as fleeing with one or at most two vessels:

Si n'a en haute mer un tel estoire mis
Ainz plus grant ne conduit Apolines de Tris.²

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

Mais miez vos vient ßir nostre petit sermon
Ze les vers d'Apoloine u d'Aien d'Avinion.³

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.

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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 cremoit,
 Les deus prioit secreement
 Que le roi müent 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.

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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

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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 Histoire: the Boston Ms., the Chartres Ms., two Paris Mss, 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

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in a French Bâtarde 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 as incipit "un Roy fu jadis apele Antioche ..." and ending "Et laissa lautre en sa librairie". The manuscript further contains Le Livre de Griseldis ou exemplaire des femmes on ff. 87-93,¹ 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,"² 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.

2 Op.Cit., p.319.

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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.¹ 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".^{1.5} This statement is wrong.

The remaining four manuscripts of this first group can be more summarily described.² Chartres Municipal Library Ms. 419 is a fourteenth century parchment Ms. which contains on ff. 49r-61v "l'ystoire de Appolonius". Ms. Paris Nat. Library 20,042 is an early fifteenth century Ms. which has the Apollonius story on ff. 25v-50v. Ms. 2991 of the Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, Paris contains only the story of apollonius, 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 independant 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 Munsterberg, Op.Cit., p.319

1.5 Ibid., p.320

2 These manuscripts are described in detail by Lewis, "af. Prosaversionen" p.159-161.

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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 mari de ma femme
et si no le puis trouver usant le jovensel 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
solucion de celle question et il retourne au roy et
lui dist ainsi - Bon roy tu mas propose une question
Or en escoutes la solucion. 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. Iuer accepta questione paullulum
recessit a rege, et cum scientiam quereret, deo
favente solucionem questionis invenit, et reuersus ad
regem ait: Bone rex, proposuisti questionem, audi
ergo solucionem! Nam quod dixisti: Scelere vehor, non
es mentitus; te enim ipsum intueri! 1

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

RA: Audi ergo quaestionem: scelere uehor, maternam carnem
uescor, quaero fratrem meum, mee matris uirum, uxoris
mee filium: non inuenio. Iuuenis accepta quaestione

1 Oesterley, Gesta Romanorum, p.511

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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, quaero fratrem meum, matris meae filium, uxoris meae uirum, nec inuenio'. Puer accepta quaestione paululum secessit a rege; et dum docto pectore quaereret, dum scrutatur scientiam, luctatur cum sapientia, fauente deo inuenit quaestionis solutionem et reuersus 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 citoiens 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 espace de ij heures a recongnoistre dieu vous pitie ne meust pas ore mestier et le proist par la main et vult quil sen alast sainz et sauf Et donc prist tharcy tout ce que stragulion et sa femme auoient lemporta avecques soy Appollonius prist congie des citoyens et leur donna grans dons dont ils firent refaire 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 Penthapolle en la cite de Cyrene.

Here again the Gesta Romanorum is quite different:

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

¹ Oesterley ed., p.531-532.

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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 Dyonisiadem tulerunt extra ciuitatem et lapidibus eos occiderunt et ad bestias terrae et uolucres caeli in campo iactauerunt, ut etiam corpora eorum terrae seulpturae 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 Theophilo libertatem cum praemio donauit. Itaque Apollonius pro hac re ad laetitiam populo addens munera restaurat uniuersa. Thermas publicas, moenia, murorum turres restituens moratur ibi cum suis omnibus diebus XV. Postea uero uale dicens ciuibz nauigat ad Pentapolim Cyrenaeam... (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 tulit. Apollonius uero ad licentiam populo dedit munera, restaurans thermas, moenia, murorum turres. Moratus autem ibi sex mensibus nauigat cum suis ad Pentapolim ciuitatem Cyreneam... (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

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determine the exact nature of this relationship. Lewis has proven that the four texts he edited are not derived from one another, but are independant parallel versions of an original.¹ 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 jovencel 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 jovencel ot ouir la question, il se traist un peu a part et en encherchant 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 jovencel ot ouy la question, il se traist un poy a part et en encherchant 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

1 "af. Prosaversionen", p.169-172.

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propose une question, or en escoute la solucion, 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 solucion de celle question, et il retourne au roy et li dist ainsi: "Noble roy, tu m'as propose une question, or escoute la solucion, tu as dit 'Je suy embatu en felonnie', tu n'as pas menti, regarde en toy mesmes; ... ¹

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 citiens 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 recognoistre

¹ Since the manuscripts of these texts were unavailable even in microfilm, I have relied on Lewis, "af. Prosaversionen" p.4.

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dieu. Elle le prist par la main et voutt 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 garda et 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 voutt 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 citoiens la prindrent et son mary avec elle et menerent hors de la cite et les lapiderent. Ilz veulent aussi occire Theophile mais elle l'en garda et leur dist: "En verite se cest homme ne m'eust donne espace de deux heures a congnoistre dieu, vostre pitie ne m'eust pas ore mestier Et le prist par la main et voutt qui 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 garda et leur dist: "En verite se cest homme ne m'eust donne espace de deux heures a congnoistre et prier dieu, vostre pitie ne m'eust pas ore mestior." Et le prist par la main et voutt 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. ¹

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 l'a" rather than "elle le".

¹ Texts as edited by Lewis, "af.Prosaversionen", p.44.

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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, # 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 independant 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

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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 Ms. 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

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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

¹ Lewis, "af. Prosaversionen", p. 243.

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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 Arcestrates' hand. An interesting small addition is in the scene where the shipwrecked Apollonius first meets king Arcestratus, 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 este¹ 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.² This may, however, be carrying criticism a bit far and Hoeniger, while he notes the reference,³ 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.

1 Text as edited by Lewis, "af. Prosaversionen", p.246.

2 Untersuchungen, p.33

3 Hoeniger ed., Shakespeare's PERICLES, London, 1963, p.3.

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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 merueilleuses auentures 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 Melanicus have been omitted, yet at the end we read that

ung jour appolin sen aloit esbatant a la riue de la mer et trouua le pescheur quy luy auoit donne a poire et a mengier et la moitié 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 confote ... /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 quil fut riche toute sa vie. ¹

The daughter of king Arcestratus is at first correctly called Arcestratis, but then several times Tarcy, and finally once again Arcestratis. It is difficult to see how Lewis can remark that "vom künstlerischen Standpunkte aus betrachtet sind diese Auslassungen entschieden Verbesserungen". ² One rather gets the impression that here is a task carelessly

1 fol. 235v - 236r.

2 "af. Prosaversionen", p. 242.

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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 perdidit'." (RA p.29,2-4) The answer in RB texts is slightly different: "Apollonius ait 'si necessitatis nomen quaeris: in mari perdidit; si nobilitatis: Tharso reliquit'." (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 perdidit, si nobilitatem Tyre reliquit'."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.

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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 [leno_] 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'." ¹ which is also found in the Royal Ms: " et luy dist fille aoure cest ymage respond la fille sire seulf vostre grace je nay pas a coustume 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 lxxiiij. ans avec sa femme
 Touttes fois tant comme Il vesquit Il fust roy
 danthioce et de thir et de la terre des pentapolis
 et de citrianne et de tarcey et en son tempz les

1 Source as quoted in Klebs, Erzählung, p.90.

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mit en bonne paix. puis fist escripre ses
 aduentures et les mist en vj. lieux dont lun fist
 mettre en la terre des effes Et laultre au temple
 de dyane Et laultre en anthioce Et laultre en
 cytrianne Et laultre en tarcyne Et laultre a thir
 ainsi est finee listore et cronique 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.

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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 Kynge Appolyn 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

¹ Pickford, "Fiction and the Reading Public", p.429

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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.¹ It is estimated that up to the year 1500 more than 40,000 editions

¹ Ronald B. McKerrow, Introduction to Bibliography, Oxford, 1928, p.132.

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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 Fèbvre:

Et d'abord, un fait qu'il importe de ne jamais perdre de vue: dès l'origine, les imprimeurs et les libraires travaillent essentiellement dans un but lucratif. L'histoire de Fust et Schoëffer 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 écouler 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 oeuvre 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 Febvre, L'apparition du livre, Paris, 1958, p. 377-378

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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 dependant 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 Fynson, 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,

1 E. Gordon Duff, Printers of Westminster and London, Cambridge, 1906, p. 235.

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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 Recueil 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

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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'.¹

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 Lettoun. 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,

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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 use¹ 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."² While Caxton's primitive typography

1 Duff, Printers of Westminster and London, p. 13.

2 Stokes. Library Trends, Vol.VII, p.523-524.

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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 Amantis, 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

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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

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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."¹

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 1498.² 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

2 Statistics from H.S. Bennett, English Books & Readers, Cambridge, 1952, p.183.

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produced at least seventy five, while Wynson 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. Wynson 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 1501¹ 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

¹ Duff, Fifteenth Century English Books, London, 1917, p.vii.

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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."² 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,

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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. Wynson 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 Wynson, 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

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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."¹

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 %.² 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.

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of Francis Birchman and Wynkyn de Worde, and their consignments were large and frequent ... At this point I stopped.¹ 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 undenized 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

1 H.R. Blomer, "The Importation of Books into England", The Library, 1924, p.150.

2 E.G. Duff, A Century of the English Book Trade, London, 1948, p. xv.

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native printers flourished. In the 1530's we have records of 550 books; in the forties this increased to 928 and in the fifties to 1040.¹ 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-Lynson 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."²

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

1 Statistics from Bennett, English Books & Readers, p. 194.

2 Frank Isaac, English Printers' Types of the XVI Century, London, 1936, p.240.

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my worshypfull mayster Wynkyn de Worde hauynge a lytell boke of an auneynt hystory of a kynge somtyme reygnyng in the countree of Thyre called Appolyn concernynge his malfortunes and peryllous aduentures 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 / accordynge d̄yrectly to myn auctour. Gladly folowynge the trace of my mayster Caxton - begynnyng with small storyes and pamfletes and so to other. ¹

A quarter of a century later, Andrew Borde refers in a prologue to "old Robert Copland's, the eldist printer of England".² 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 Modus 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 DNB sv. Robert Copland.

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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".¹ 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."¹ 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

1 C. Bühler, The Fifteenth Century Book, Philadelphia, 1960, p. 2

2 E. M. Thompson "Illuminated Mss." Enc. Britannica, 11th ed.

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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

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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. Wynson 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 Worde 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

¹ Aurelius Pompen, The English Versions of the SHIP OF FOOLS. London, 1925. p.292.

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cuts ever inserted between covers." ¹ 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,

1 E. Hodnett, English Woodcuts 1480-1535, London, 1935, p.1

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and might justly be described as the worst ever put into an English book, being coarsely drawn, badly designed, and incompetently engraved.¹ 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.²

When one encounters Caxton's famous crucifixion plate as frontispiece to a book on "The Propytees 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

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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:

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,¹ ... another on the title page of Skelton's Bowge of Court.

1 Duff, Printers of Westminster and London, p.36

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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 bookes whyche wryters haue abrydgyd it and many thynges left out And in somme place haue sette certayn versys that he [Chaucer]¹ 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 valyaunt 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."²

1 Quoted in Crotch, Prologues and Epilogues, p.90-1.

2 Pompen, Ship of Fools, p.303.

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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 Worde 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 Wynson 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 Wynson,
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

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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. 1

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.

CHAPTER FIVE

ROBERT COPLAND'S KYNGE APPOLYN

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 from¹ 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 manuscript² 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 .i 35.³ The incunabulum is unique. There is a second copy listed in Bennett's census of⁴ Wynkyn de Worde's works as being located in the Huntingdon

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

2 A.H. Smyth, "Shakespeare's Pericles and Apollonius of Tyre", Proc. Am. Philosophical Soc., 1898, p.256.

3 Bibliographical data from a personal letter dated Feb. 10, 1966 from the British Museum to H.J. Spekkens.

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Library. The Huntington Library is not aware of this possession.¹ According to Dr. Jackson, who is editing the revised version of STC, the British Museum copy is unique.² The book contains fifty leaves, sig. A⁸, B⁴, C⁸, D⁴, E⁸, F⁴, G⁸, H⁶. 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'.³ The printed catalogue of Edinburgh University Library indicates that there is a copy in the Halliwell-Phillipps

1 Private letter to H.J. Spekkens dated Jan.22 1966.

2 Private letter to H.J. Spekkens dated Feb.3 1966

3 Private letter to H.J. Spekkens dated Oct.11 1965.

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"¹, 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: Alr, A3r, A4r, A5v,

1 English Woodcuts 1480-1535, p. vi.

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A6v, A7r, B1r, B2r, B3r, B4v, C2v, C3v, C5v, C7r, C8v, D1v, D3r, D4r, E1r, E2r, E3v, E4v, E6r, E7r, F1r, F3r, F4r, G2r, G6v, G8r, G8v, H2r, H3r, H4v, H5v. Wynkyn de Worde's printers device occupies H6v.

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:

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

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.

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STC #	Date	Folio	Plate	Folio
656	1533	Alr	Three royal couples together	H2r
4350	1532	Alr	Knight and retainers	Alr
5198	1502	E3r	Three couples together	H2r
7571	1512	Alr	Three couples together	H2r
7572	1530	Alr	Dead woman and mourning king.	A3r
		B2r	Priest joining a couple	C8v
		G1r	Three single figures with scrolls.	F3r
		H4r	King sitting on a throne	A5v
		I1v	Tower and wall	F4r
		N2v	Priest joining a couple	C8v
9985	1515	B5r	Man and servant	G8v
		C3v	Two sitting men with scroll	G6v
		B5v	Four men	C7r
		B5v	King sitting	A5v
		F4v	Woman	F3r
		F4v	Four men	C7r
		I6v	King tearing his beard	F4r
		L6v	Woman in boat at shore	E7r
10002	1528	This is an identical reprint of 9985.		
9997	1502	Alr	Crowning of a king	H4v
12945	1510	G2v	Priest joining a couple	G8r
14517	1509	B6v	Crowned king	A5v
		C4v	Two kings sitting	G6v
		D7v	Man and servant	G8v
15376	1502	H1r	Woman in boat at shore	E7r
17026	1510?	Alr	Man with scroll	B1r
17979a	1522	A3v	Man with scroll	F3r
18569	1529	A3v	Single figures with scrolls.	F3r
		A5v	Single figure with scroll	F1r
		A6r	City view	C7r
19119	1509?	Alr	Priest joining couple	C8v
18566	1509	A5v	Man with a scroll	B1r
		This volume contains a series of a dozen different figures with scrolls in the same style.		

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20108	1511	B4v	Three couples	H2r
		G4r	Three couples	H2r
		J6r	Dinner scene	C2v
		L7r	Dinner scene	C2v
		M3v	Priest joining a couple	C8v
		N8r	Crowned king	H4v
		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, Pynson's books were not improved by them."¹

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 Swearers 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

¹ Frank Isaac, English Printers' Types of the XVI Century, London, 1936, p.2-3.

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"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 Kyngge 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 auntyent hystory of a kyng somtyme reyngynge in the countree of Thyre called appolyn concernynge his malfortunes and peryllous aduentures 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 chortacyon of my forsayd mayster / accordynge dyrectly to myn auctour. (sig. Alv)

Thus endeth the moost pytefull hystory of the noble Appolyn somtyme kyng of Thyre newly translated out of frensshe 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 publis. ... What their contemporaries

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accepted for the truth we may accept."¹ 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 can 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."² 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 1515.³

1 Bennett, English Books & Readers, p. 64

2 Jean G.T. Graesse, Trésor de livres rares et précieux, New York 1950 repr. p.166.

3 Sidney J.H. Merrtage, The Early English Versions of the GESTA ROMANORUM, London, 1379, p. xxi ff.

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Furthermore a comparison of even a few lines of the text at once show^s 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 genuit. Que cum pervenisset ad etatem legitimam et species pulchritudinis accresceret, multi eam in matrimonium petebant cum magna et inestimabili dotis quantitate.¹

Le roy Antiochus regna en la cite de Antioche, du nom duquel est celle cite nommee, 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.²

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 berrien sygnouryes & lordeshyppes as cytees / townes / castels and many other fortresses / bycause of the which he was not only fered and dredde of his subgetes 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 doughter 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 following half page describes the mourning and the beauty of the daughter.]⁷ As this mayden was comen unto the age for to be maryed kynges / prynces / dukes / erles / and many other grete and noble estates came for to haue her in maryage. (Sig. A3v-A4r.)

It is evident from this extract that in some respects

¹ Oesterley ed., Gesta Romanorum, p.510

² L.G. Brunet^{ed.}, Violier des Histoires Romaines, Paris 1858, p.324.

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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.

Exaudi vocem deprecantis, respice virginem, quia virum talem prudentem mori nefarium est. Si conjugem, quam desideras, deus ex sua gratia tibi restituat, si filiam salvam, quam defunctam dicis, invenire poteris, pro gaudio oportet te vivere. Apollonius, cum verba hec audisset, in iracundiam versus est, surrexit et puellam cum pede percussit. Impulsa vero cecidit virgo et genis ejus ruptis cepit sanguis 1 effluere. Conturbata virgo cepit flere et dixit:...

Regarde la voix de ta povre suppliante. Regarde la vierge; car il est indecent a ung homme mourir, de si noble prudence. Si tu avois telle solation de grace que Dieu te fist trouver ton espouse et ta femme, et aussi pareillement ta fille, vouldroye tu 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 2 tomba a terre seignant par le visage, puis dist:...

Alas it is grete damage 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 hache. Appolyn seyng that she wolde haue had hym out drewe backwarde / and they pulled so bytwene them that her holde slypped and she fell to the grounde and hurte 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.

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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 Prosa des British Museum abhängig!"¹ 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 anthioce lequel roy auoit une femme espousee qui estoit parfaicte en toutes beaultez corporelles de toutes sciences et de toutes noblesses. De la quelle dame le roy eut une fille qui ressembloit sa mere en toutes vertus et en toute beaulte corporelle. Apres ung pou de tempz la dame morut dont le roy fist intre grant dueil et luy fist faire le seruice tel comme il appartenoit a une toyne. Et puis fist nourrir sa fille et la fist enseigner en toutes bonnes conditions selon lestat royal laquelle fille acrut 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 moult 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 mourroit ainsi quant appolin vit la pucelle qui le vouloit tirer de la chartre tout couroucie restraist 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.

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playe aux genoulx et commencha fort a saignier 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 C 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 Arcestrates' 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 cronique et hystoire d'appolin roy de thir at Geneva in 1482, and probably it was this, put into English by Copland, which Wynkyn de Worde publisht in 1510."¹ Recently it has

¹ P.Z. Round, ed., Pericles, a facsimile of the first 1609 edition, London, 1886, p.vii.

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been repeated by Dr. Raith: "Zugrunde liegt der Genfer Druck von L. Garbin (1482)"¹ 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."² Brunet also lists Kynge Appolyn, misprinting the date to 1528³, with the comment "traduction faite sur le français, par Robert Copland."⁴ 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 Lavallez. The incunabulum was printed in 1482 in Geneva and contains the "Histoire d'Olivier de Castille et d'Arthur d'Oilgarve" and the story "d'appolin roi de Thyr". The book is of thirteen leaves, which makes for forty-nine pages. Each page has twenty-nine to thirty-one lines, and the booklet contains seven illuminations.⁵

1 Raith, Apollonius-Bruchstücke, p.2

2 J.Ch. Brunet, Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres, Bruxelles, 1838, p.161. See Graesse, Trésor, p.166 on this supposed relation to the Gesta Romanorum.

3 See Graesse, Trésor, on this error, p.166.

4 Brunet, Manuel, p.102

5 Lewis, "af. Prosaversionen", p.248.

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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 avoit non appolin, 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 accuerit et remplit de la famine qui y estoit si tres-grande ¹

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 lcciiii ans. Et ainsi en sa vie fut roy de thyr d'Antioche et de terme et de plusieurs aultres royaumes lesquels il tint en bonne paix tant qu'il vesquit. Et sa vie durant volut 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 pere² et le fis et le benoist saintesprit. Amen.²

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

1 Lewis, "af. Prosaversionen", p. 248.

2 Ibid. p.248-249.

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manuscript which ends:

Quant toutes ces choses furent passees appolin engendra ung filz de sa femme roy de anthioce appolin vesquit bien lxxiiij. ans avec sa femme Toutesfois tant comme Il vesquit Il fust roy danthioce et de thir et de la terre des penthapolis et de citriane et de tarce et en son tempz les mit en bonne paix. Puis fist escrire ses aduentures et les mist en vj. lieux dont lun fist mettre en la terre des effes Et laultre au temple de dyane Et laultre en anthioce Et laultre en cytrianne Et laultre en tarce 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:

His expletis genuit de coniuge sua filium quem in loco aui eius Archistratis constituit regem. Ipse autem cum coniuga sua benigne uixit annis septuaginta quattuor. Tenuit regnum Antiochiae, Tyri et Cyrenensium. Quietam uitam per omne tempus suum duxit. Casus suos suorumque ipse descripsit et duo uolumina fecit: unum Dianae in templo Ephesiorum, aliud in bibliotheca sua exposuit. Explicit. (Riese p.115,10-116,5.)

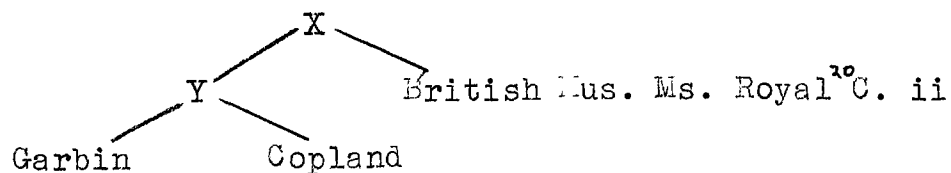
The elements of this ending are: a son, peace and quiet, reigns over specified countries, writes his memoirs, and deposits them in specified places. This ending in the British Museum manuscript contains the elements: a son, reigns over certain specified countries, writes his memoirs, and deposits them 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

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put in the plural "des penthapolis" besides the singular "de citrianne" which makes it unlikely that the scribe of the Royal Ms. 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'autre en la terre des effessiens". But the temple of Diana is in the land of Ephesus. Heretherefore, Copland has the correct text while the Garbin incunabulum is corrupt. A second instance is in the scene where Apollonius dies: "il embrassa sa femme et la baysa; dont elle mourut avecque 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. and she for veray pure sorowe and loue enbracd him and makinge grete lamentacyons and complayntes she gaue 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:



with X as the general ancestor of the tradition, the British

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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.¹ 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,

¹ On this point cf. Alois Brandl, review of Chambers' Continuity of English Prose, Archiv, 1933, p.267-269.

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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 close translation." ¹ It is this which accounts for such gallic phrases as "she doubtyng 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.

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Penon, Georg, Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde, Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1880, Vol. I, 182 p.

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Pickford, Cedric E., "Fiction and the Reading Public in the Fifteenth Century", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, Vol. 45, 1963, p.423-438.

This essay discusses the impact of printing on the French reading public. It refers in footnotes to the latest studies in the field.

Plomer, H.R., "The Importation of Books into England in the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries" The Library, IV Ser., Vol. IV, 1924, p. 146-150.

A list of entries in a recently discovered customs roll.

-----, "An Inventory of Wynkyn de Worde's House", The Library, III Ser., Vol. V, 1915, p. 228-241.

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.

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Pompen, Fr. Aurelius, O.F.M., The English Versions of the SHIP OF FOOLS; a Contribution to the History of the early French Renaissance in England, London, Longmans Green, 1925, xiv-345 p.

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.

Raith, Dr. Josef, Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke, mit dem Text der Historia Apollonii nach der englischen Handschriftengruppe, München, Max Hueber, 1956, xi-132 p.

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.

Reed, Talbot Baines, A History of Old English Letter Foundries, London, Faber & Faber, 1952, xiv-400 p.

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.

Riese, Alexander, ed., Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri, Leipzig, Teubner, rev. ed. 1893, 131 p.

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.

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In this third edition, besides a series of footnotes commenting upon oversights in Rohde's first edition of 1876, Fritz Schöhl 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.

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This analysis of a twelfth century Viennese manuscript is an investigation of the nature of early versions of the RC redaction.

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An edition of the Danziger Stadtbibliothek Neue Hs. Philologie 34 fragment which may be the oldest extant old French Apollonius text.

Shakespeare, William, Pericles, ed. K. Deighton, Methuen 1925, rev. 2nd ed., xxix-147 p.

-----, Pericles, ed. F.D. Hoeniger, London, Methuen, 1963, xci-188 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.

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Singer, Samuel, Apollonius von Tyrus. Untersuchungen über das Fortleben des antiken Romans in späteren 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.

-----, Review of Klebs, Erzählung, in Anglia, Vol. X, 1899, p. 233-239.

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

-----, Review of Smyth, "Shakespeare's PERICLES and Apollonius of Tyre", in Anglia, Vol. X, 1899, p. 98-115. 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.

Smyth, Albert H., "Shakespeare's PERICLES and Apollonius of Tyre", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 37, 1898, pp. 206-312.

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 inter-relations 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.

Spurgeon, Caroline F.E., Shakespeare's Imagery and What it Tells Us, Cambridge, University Press, 1935, xv-408 p. The lack of a running motive in the imagery is taken by this critic as a reason to doubt Shakespeare's authorship of Pericles.

Stokes, Roy B., ed., "Current Trends in Bibliography", Library Trends, Vol. VII, 1959, p. 495-599. The articles by W.H. Bond "Manuscripts and the Library" and J. Roberts "Printed Books to 1640" are useful.

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Swan, Rev. Charles and Wynnard Hooper, Gesta Romanorum, London, Constable, 1959, lxxvi-425 p.

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.

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-----, The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Story of Apollonius of Tyre, London, Arch, 1834, v-93 p.

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.

Twine, Lawrence, A Patterne of Paineiful Adventures, New York, New Rochelle, 1903, 79 p.

A facsimile reprint of the 1595 edition.

Urdike, Daniel Berkeley, Printing Types, their History, Forms, and Use; a Study in Survivals, Cambridge Mass., Belknap Press, 1962, 3rd ed. 2 vols.

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

Ward, H.L.D., Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, London, 1883, Vol. I, xx-955 p.

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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Warton, Thomas, The History of English Poetry, London, Tegg, 1840, Vol. 2, vii-562 p.

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.

Webster, Margaret, Shakespeare without Tears, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1942, 240 p.

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.

Wilkins, George, Pericles, Prince of Tyre, ed. Tycho Mommsen, Oldenburg, Stalling, 1857, xxxvi-83 p.

-----, The Painefull Aduentures of Pericles, Prince of Tyre, ed. Kenneth Muir, Liverpool, University Press, 1953, xv-120 p.

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.

Wilson, R.M., The Lost Literature of Medieval England, London, Methuen, 1952, xiv-272 p.

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

Workman, Samuel Klinger, Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose, Princeton, University Press, 1940, v-210 p.

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.

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

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Zumthor, Paul, Histoire Littéraire de la France Médiévale, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1954, vii-344 p.

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

Zupitza, Julius, "Die altenglische Bearbeitung der Erzählung von Apollonius von Tyrus", in: Herrig's Archiv, Vol. 97, 1896, pp. 17-34.

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.

-----, "Verbesserungen und Erklärungen", Anglia, Vol. I, 1878, p. 463-467.

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

-----, "Welcher Text liegt der altenglische Bearbeitung der Erzählung von Apollonius von Tyrus zu Grunde?", Romanische Forschungen, Vol. III, 1886, p.269-279.

After considering the evidence, 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."¹

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 "mē" will be typed out as "menu". 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

¹ A.W. Pollard, et al., "Facsimile reprints of Old Books", The Library, 1926, p.307.

EDITORIAL PRACTICE

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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.



By processe and length of tyme kynge Appolyn had a sone by his wyfe Archpcastres the whiche was kynge and reygned after theym in the realme of Thyre. Than they retorned in to Anthyoche & lyued there the space of .lxxiii. yere in grete Joye & noblesse / peas and tranquylte. And thus in his lyfe he was kynge of Thyre of Anthyoche / and of Terme / and of dyuers other realmes the whiche he helde and mayteyned in good peas duringe his lyfe. And duringe his dayes he wrote and put in remembraunce the fortunes and peryllous aduentures the whiche unto hym were happened and comen / and he

compyled .xl. volumes of bookes / of the whiche one remained in the temple of Dyane in the londe of Ephezym. The seconde in the cyte of Terme. The thyrde in the cyte of Anthyoche. The fourthe in the cyte of Apolytayne. The fyfth in the cyte of Charcpe. And the syxte in his realme gentyll of Thyre. After all these thynges and many other he dysceased out of this worlde / and in deynge he embraced his wyfe and kyssed her in takynge his leue. And the for very pure sorowe and loue embraced hym and makynge grete lamentacyons and complayntes she gaue by her spyrte hym / wherfore the realmes made grete doles and sorowe. And than they were bothe taken by and layde in an arch of golde and they were sepultured accordinge to theyr estate. And thus it pleased almyghty god to call theym to his reygne and to spynell / they 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 frenche in to englyshe. And enprynted in the famous cyte of London in the fletestrete at y sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde. In the yere of our lord. M.D. and .x. the .xxviii. daye of the moneth of february. The fyrst yere of the reygne of the moost excellent and noble pryncce our ryght naturall and redoubted souerayne lord kynge Henry the .viii.

Kynge Appolyn of Thyre

Alr.

[Full page woodcut; knight on horseback, two retainers.]

The prologue of the translatoure.

Alv.

For that in tyme past hystoriagraphes dayly wrote and
 dyurnally do the hygh feates of nobles & chyualrous
 champyons of theyr marcyall dedes / of theyr loue /
 and of they aduentures and fortunes happy and malfortunate
 to theyr unyuersall renownes by pe reason wherof theyr
 glorie is eternally regystred in the boke of fame.
 Therfore to thende that theyr lawde maye pe ferder sprede
 amonge pe people it is conuenyent that translacyons be
 used to our recreacyon and exemplyfycacyon in the 10
 auoydyng of osiuyte and ydlenes portresse of synne
 doynge after pe good and eschewynge pe 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 countree of Thyre called Appolyn
 concernynge his malfortunes and peryllous aduentures 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 chortacyon of my forsayd 20
 mayster / accordynge dyrectly to myn auctour. Gladly
 followynge the trace of my mayster Caxton - begynnyng
with small storyes and pamfletes and so to other. Wherfore
I beseche all the reders and herers of this present

hystorye yf there be anythyng amysse in the translacyon
 to pardon my ignorant youth / & yf it be fruitfull to
 gader therof to be nourysshyng of theyr soules /
 thankyng our lorde of his grace / & to pray to hym
bat I may perseuer to do some thyng to his honour. And
 I shall pray for them that they may come to his glory / 30
 to be whiche he bryng us all. Amen

¶ Explicit prologus.

¶ Here after foloweth the table of this present boke. A2r
 ¶How be kyng of Anthyoche begate on his wyfe a fayre
 doughter at whose byrth his wyfe deyed. Ca. j.
 ¶How by lechery and temptacyon of the deuyl be kyng
 anthiogus vyoled his doughter. Ca. ij.
 ¶How kyng appolyn assoyled be questyon of kyng
 Anthiogus of Anthyoche. Ca. iiij.
 ¶How be kyng of Anthyoche sent his stewarde towarde
 kyng Appolyn of Thyre for to put hym to dethe. Ca. iiij.
 ¶How kyng Appolyn mounted secretly on be see. Ca. v. 10
 ¶How kyng Appolyn aryued at be cyte of Tarcy. Ca. vi.
 ¶How kyng Appolyn met with an aeged man & of theyr
 deuyses. Ca. vij.
 ¶How kyng Appolyn delyuered the cyte of Tarcy fro
 grete famyne and hunger. Ca. viij.
 ¶How kyng Appolyn sayled towarde be cyte of Terme
 wheras his shyppes perysshed nygh unto ye porte and
 all his men drowned and he onely preserued. Ca. ix.

#How kynge Appolyn poorely arayed entred within þe
 cyte to Terme and played with the kynge. Ca. x. 20

#How kyng Appolyn dyed in the kynges hall. Ca.xj.

#How kyng Appolyn fell in concevte with Archycastres
 the kynges doughter for playnge on the harpe. Ca. xij.

#How archycastres was loue seke for Appolyn Ca.xiij.

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

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

#How kyng Appolyn espoused the fayre damoyzell
 Archycastres the kynges doughter of Terme. Ca. xvj.

#Howe tydynges came by a caley to kynge Appolyn þat 30
 the kynge of Anthyoche was deed. Ca. xvij.

#How kynge Appolyn entred the see with his wyfe / and A2v
 how she was delyuered of a doughter. Ca. xvij.

#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 kyng Appolyn aryued at Tarcy & left his doughter
 with Tranquylte and Dyonyse his wyfe. Ca. xxj.

#How the nouryce recounted to þe chylde Tharcy who
 was her fader and who her moder & than deyed. Ca. xxij. 10

#How Dyonysy Tranquyls wyfe ymagyned þe dethe
 of Tharcy kynge Appolyns doughter. Ca. ~~xxij~~ij.

#How a galye came and socoured Tharcy as she shold
 haue be slayne. Ca. ~~xxij~~ij.

#How þe galey men solde Tharcyē to a ruffyen. Ca. xxv.

#How Tharcyē gaue her money to þe ruffyen / and how
he wolde haue made his esclauē to lye with her. Ca. xxvj. 20

#How kyng Appolyn came to the cyte of Tharcie for to
se his doughter. Ca. xxviij.

#Of the lamentacyon of kyng Appolyn. Ca. xxviij. 20

#How kyng Appolyn aryued at Mylytayne / & how his
doughter luted afore hym / & other maters. Ca. xxix.

#How Tharcyē complayned of her mysfortunes before
kyng Appolyn / for hertynge of her knee. Ca. xxx.

#Of the Joye of kyng Appolyn & Tharcyē. Ca. xxxj.

#How þe ruffian þat kept Tharcyē was brent. Ca. xxxij.

#of þe maryage of Anthygoras prynce and of Tharcyē
kyng Appolyns doughter. Ca. xxxiij.

#how Appolyn and his doughter wente to the temple of
Dyane where as his quene was abbesse. Ca. xxxiiij. 30

#Of þe Joye that was betwene Appolyn and his wyfe
in the temple of Dyane. Ca. xxxv. A3r

#How Appolyn was crowned in Anthyoche / and after
retorned to Tharcyē and caused executyon 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 reyned after them. Ca. xxxviij.

#Thus endeth the table.

#How þe kyng of Anthyoche begate on his wyfe a fayre 10
doughter / at whose byrthe his wyfe deyed. Ca. j.

[woodcut; birth of daughter; king mourning_7

In the authentike and noble cyte of Anthyoche in the A3v
partyes of Syrye was somtyme a myghty kyng 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
subgetes 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 doughter at whose 10
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
funeralles and obsequyes ended of the quene / the kyng
made his doughter wel and ryally for to be nourysshed
and fostred as it appertayned unto the doughter of suche
a kyng. This mayden encreased and became so beautyfull
that al they that sawe her Juge her to be the fayrest
creature that was in all the worlde / for lyke as þe 20
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
nothyng in oblyuon at the fourmyng of her but as a

cheffe operacyon had set her in the syght of the worlde
 tyl þe enmy of goodnes and mankynde by incessaunt enuy
 had ouerthrowen & caste her in his snare as here after
 ensueth in thystory.

#How by lechery and temptacyon of the deuyll the A4r
 kynge vyoled his doughter. Ca. ij.

[Woodcut; daughter in bed; king at the foot of
 the bed. In scrolls inscribed "Lucidas", Anthiogus"]7

As this mayden was comen unto the age for to be maryed
 kynges / prynces / dukes / 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 þe kynge by euyl
 enchauffement and by temptacyon of the deuyll fyxed and
 set his loue on his doughter / and by the inextynguybl 10
 persecucyons and prouocacyons of the enemy he was
 moeued in his slepe / &

arose in a mornyng at the spryng of the day and A4v
 entred in to his doughters chambre & commaunded all
 that were there for to yssue out in makynge semblaunt
 that he wolde speke with her in secrete for certayne
 thynges to her behoue and prouffite. And he abydyng
 alone with her of ardaunt desyre put hymselfe in bedde
 with her / and she doubtyng his inhumanyte durst not
 gaynsay hym. And so moche he dyde þat he not onely maculed

her bedde / but also he bereft the treasure of her
vyrgynyte & left her dystytute of all consolacyon tenderly 10
wepyng / & so yssued out of her chambre. Thus as she
lamented & wepte her nouryse entred in to the chambre &
founde her in grete desolacyon and demaunded her the cause
of her waylynge. The poore lady durst not relate it for
thabhomynacyon pat she had in the fayt. The nouryce than
began for to say. A my moost honourable & of me so well
beloued lady & doughter knowe ye pat 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 pe lady herde that she prayed
her so swetely she sayd. Aryght dere moder and nouryse
this same day I haue had pe gretest losse of the fayrest
and rychest Jewell pat I had / that is pe treasoure of
my chambre vyrgynall / for it is corrupte & defyled or
euer I had any treaty of maryage. The nourysse than sayd
/ who is he pat hath ben so hardy such a thyng to
undertake to pe dyshonour of the kynge & of his realme
/ & began for to crye / but the lady sayd. A my nourysse
for god mercy / for yf ye say any thyng 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 þe nourysse began for
to appease þe lady shewynge her þat the kynge bare the
culpe & synne.

As this cursed kynge had accoplyssed this this horryble
synne as it is aboue sayd he shewed semblaunce before
his people as good and debonayre unto his doughter /
and that he was in mynde for to enquire for some noble
man for to gyue his doughter in maryage / the which 10
thyng he thought not / but he purposed that his doughter
shold remayne alway with hym in þat 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 20
worthy for to haue a kynges doughter. The which
preposycyon he dyde do set at þe gates of þe cyte. For
this preposycyon (neuertheles) many kynges / dukes /
erles / barons / & other grete lordes put them in
dangger 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 accordynge to his

proposycyon / and made them to be put out of the cyte to
 thende that they which came for to haue his doughter 30
 myght take exemple / & for to euyte the demaunde of her.

#How kynge Appolyn assoyled þe questyon of kynge A5v
 Anthiogus of Anthyoche. Ca. iij.

/Woodcuts: the king sitting; Apollonius and servant7
 The kynge of Anthyoche aforenamed ledde his lyfe in
 that abhomynable synne of lechery by þe space of longe
 tyme. So it happened that þe renowne of the beaute of
 þe lady passed through þe regyons adiacent and neyghbours
 tyll it came to þe eeres of Appolyn kynge of Thyre whiche
 was a man fayre / yonge / ioyous / eloquent / and a
 ryght good clerke / & also he was a bachelor. This
 kynge herynge of the damoysell aforesaid toke on hym for 10
 to assoyle þe questyon. And came tofore kynge Anthiogus
 & salued hym honourably. Whan the kynge of Anthyoche
 sawe hym he doubted hym more than ony of þe other
 (for his wysdome) & to

hym sayd. Appolyn I knowe well wherfore þu arte comen A6r
 All they that haue wyues ben acqyted. 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 doughter in maryage. Whan the kynge 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 doughter. Appolyn sayd I haue sene

them wryten at the portall of this cyte and therfore þe
ryght shall be sene yf it please god. The kynge of 10
Anthyoche than had grete indygnacyon & euyll wyll
towardē 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 / þe 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 þe questyon withdrewe hym a
lytell praynge god with good herte / & so moche he dyde
that he founde the solucyon / & than came to the kynge 20
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 þou usest synne þou
sayest sothe / for thou holdest thy doughter in synne
as I understande. Anthiogus doubtynge þat by Appolyn
his synne shold be dysclosed he said unto hym furiously.
Certes Appolyn þou arte ferre fro my questyon / & well
thou hast deserued for to lose thy heed / but of a
specyall grace. I gyue þe .xxx. dayes of respyte / &
whan þou hast founde the solucyon þou shalte haue my 30
doughter / & yf not certaynly thou shalte lese thyn heed.
And this sayd þe noble kynge Appolyn retorned to his
realme of Thyre.

How þe kyng of Anthyoche sent his stuarde towarde A6v
 kyng Appolyn of Thyre for to putte hym unto dethe.
 Ca. iiij.

Woodcut: King and Thaliarch.7

Not longe after that Appolyn kyng of Thyre was
 departed from Anthyoche kyng Anthyogus called unto
 hym his stuarde the which was named Thalyarchy & sayd.
 Myn owne trusty and faythfull frende & seruant. Knowe
 thou for certayne that Appolyn kyng of Thyre hath
 founde and determyned the solucyon of my questyon / for
 the whiche I pray the and commaunde the that þou mount 10
 upon the see as shortly as thou mayest and pursue hym
 in to his realme. And whan thou comest unto Thyre
 demaunde for thy moost frende & for thy moost enmye.
 And do so moche by ony maner that thou slee hym oute of
 handes
 for good or for yll / and by ony machynacyon of treson A7r
 / & here is grete somme of money for to do thy vyage /
 & whan thou retornest agayne I shall satysfy þe at
 thyn owne desyre and pleasure. Than Thalyarchy toke
 his leue of the kyng and went through the realme of
 Thyre where as kyng Appolyn reigned.

#How Kyng Appolyn mounted secretly on þe see. Ca.v.

Woodcut: Apollonius in a ship before a city.7

Soone after that kyng Appolyn was retourned in to his
realme gentle of Thyre it befell þat as he was in his
palays he began for to rede in his bookes / & whan he 10
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 kynge of A7v
Anthyoche is payed & yet haste þou not his doughter.
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 / & whan 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 shyppes and charged them with corne and
whete and grete habundaunce of other vytayles with moche
treasure and fewe folke / and on a nyght at mydnyght 10
he entred in to þe see.

On the morowe after þe kynge Appolyn was departed his
men came in to his chambre 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 þe space of thre

yere makynge grete sorowe for hym. Duryng this pyteous 20
 season came Thalyarche the kynge of Anthyoche 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 gracyous kynge departed from Anthyoche 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 kynge Anthiogus
 of Anthyoche. And whan he was comen before hym re- 30
 counted unto hym þe maner how he had seen and herde of A8r
 kyng Appolyn of Thyre / þat which doubtynge your
 puyssaunce and fyers courage is gone by see pryuely
 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.

Kynge Anthiogus understandynge the wordes of his
 stuarde wold by no maner holde hym styll but to hym
 sayd that he wolde make a crye that who som euer he
 were that brought the persone of kynge Appolyn sholde 10
 haue .l. besautes of golde / and who that brought his
 heed sholde haue an .C. And than þe sayd Anthiogus
 made for to make redy shyppes and he wold be captayne
 of them hymselfe. ¶ Now leue we to speke of kynge
 Anthiogus and retorne we unto kynge 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 arte nor of the see / but I haue fere of þe kynge 20
of Anthyoche that me pursueth. The mayster of þe shyppe
sayd / we haue nede of many thynges þat unto us belongeth
wherfore go we and take porte at the cyte of Tharcy
þat 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 þe wynde was good that
within shorte tyme they came to the sayd cyte of Tharcy
with
theyr shyppes / and than yssued Appolyn and came upon A8v
the londe and walked by the portes syde. And thus as he
walked in grete thoughtes and heuynesses upon þe
ryuage of þe see there came a man unto hym and sayd
secretly God saue þe Appolyn kynge of Thyre. I pray
þe 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 10
answered / who may banysshe me out of my countre or
out of any other also. Certaynly sayd the good man it
was the kynge of Anthyoche for that thou wold marye his
doughter. And he hath sayd also that what man that
bryngeth the afore hym shall haue .l. besautes of fyne

golde / & he that bryngeth thy heed shall haue an
 hondred. And therfore I pray the to departe and go ferder
 unto the tyme that you knowe a better ende / & by þe
 grace of god it shall be other wyse to thy pleasure and
 hertes ease in shorte tyme. This confortd well the 20
 sorowfull kynge / kynge appolyn / and he gaue hym an
 hondred besautes of golde and sayd. Here is as moche
 as yf thou had borne my heed to þe kynge 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 kynge.

#How kynge Appolyn mette with an aeged man and of
 theyr deuyses. Ca. vij.

[Woodcuts: two figures marked in scroll "Tranquylie" B1r
 and "Kynge Appolyn" and a city wall block.]

As soone as the good man was gone þe kynge 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 kynge Appolyn knewe well and sayd to hym
 / ye be ryght welcome Tranquyle. And þe olde man
 answered / þe be well founde noble kynge 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 kynge Appolyn I shall tell it the.
 Knowe thou that I haue payed and assoyled a questyon 10

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 Blv
make me dye. Wherefore 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 puyssaunce 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
pe 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 10
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 pat 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 famysshed for honger
socours we not onely shall hold the secretly within 20
the enclose of our sayd cyte but we shall be all well
content for to lyue and deye with the. Whan pe noble
kynge Appolyn sawe his frende Tranquyle so lye
grouelyng on the grounde petyously wepyng for the
persecucion of the cyte he lyke a curteys kyng and

humble prynce toke hym up from the grounde and set hym
 on his fete comfortynge hym 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 þe 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 B2r
 fro grete famyne and hunger. Ca. viij.

Woodcut: Appolonius and an attendant; three men in
 front of the city walls. 7

Whan the lordes and chefe of the cyte herde this they
 were surp^rysed with grete Joye & anone they assembled
 togyder in counceyle 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 gracyously besechyng his
 highnes for to helpe them & delyuer theyr cyte from the
 mortall plage of hunger / 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 þe cyte in
 a place before all the people mount^{ed} upon a scaffolde B2v

and sayd unto þe cytezyns of Tharcy which susteyned
and suffred grete famyne of honger. I Appolyn kynge
dystytute of Thyre dooth you for to knowe and
understande þat I wyll fulfyll and furnysshe your
cyte with wheet for þe 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 10
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 þe 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 þat he were a merchaunt and no kynge. And
whan he had gyuen all this fraunchyse and bounte to them 20
they in remembraunce 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 / þe
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 þe fete of the sayd ymage upon the
pyller was wryten in letters of golde a clause vercyfyenge

in this wyse. Tharcy cyte by Appolyn kynge of Thyre was
 furnyshed / & by his fraunchyse it was releued / with 30
 wheet and corne he hathe it fostred / and from the swerde
 of hunger he hathe it delyuered / and from the stroke of
 dethe he hathe it preserued.

#How kynge Appolyn of Thyre sayled towarde the cyte B3r
 of Terme whereas his shyppes perished 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 Apollonius.

Than when Appolyn kynge of Thyre hadd so Journed longe
 tyme in the cyte of Tharcy it fortunèd on a daye that
 he was in company with the auntyent man Tranquylle and
 his wyfe named Dyonyse the whiche sayd unto kynge
 Appolyn that it were thyng utyle & expedyent he for to
 withdrawe hym and retray into some other countre / for 10
 longe tyme it was syth he came thyder / for longe
 contynuaunce in a place maketh reuelacyon and knowlege
 to the persones adiacent and neyghbours. Appolyn herynge
 þe counceyle of them toke leue ioyously of all the
 cytezyns þe which were sory for his departyng / and
 entred into his

shyppes and mounted on the see for to goo to the cyte B3v
 of Terme that was in þe countree of Pentapolytayns /

thynkyng there to be sure for the cyte was pleasaunt &
stronge. And whan he was upon þe 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 þe ayre chaunged / þe wyndes waxed furious
/ þe weder torned into grete tempestes and blastes
heuyng the see rorynge with tempestyous wawes and droue
þe thre shyppes here and there agaynst the rockes and 10
sande / and all toroue and sparpeled them in thousandes
of pyeces / bothe maste / sayle/ and stere / & drowned
all within them bothe man and goodes without remyssyon
saufe all onely appolyn þat saued hymselfe upon a poost
and all naked came to the see side. And whan he was out
of the peryll of þe see he torned hym towarde the place
where as his shyppes & men were drowned and with
lachrymate chekes tenderly he sayd. O fortune ingenyous
of men / fals/fekyl / and unstedfast euer tornyng and
varyenge as a feder in þe wynde without cease / haste 20
thou abiden & wayted this grete peryll for to do me so
moch 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 sufficyent for hym /
wors than enraged is he that trusteth in thy feate /
alas. He beyng in this calamynous sorowe sawe comyng
toward hym a fyssher poorely arayed & ragged with a

blacke mantell and gyrded with a roten corde. Appolyn 30
was in many tribulacyons and anguysshes for he hadde
doubte /thought / melancholy/ heuines / sotowe / hon-
ger / thyrst / and inwarde care / he went and fell B4r
downe flat at the fete of the fyssher and sayd. Dere
broder who someuer thou be I requyre the that pou wylte
haue mercy on the poore naked the whiche hath lost all
that he had in pe body of pe see. And to thende that thou
mayst knowe what I am / knowe thou that I am named
Appolyn kynge of Thyre the which by fortune and the see
is brought in to perdycon / wherfore I praye the haue
compassyon ouer me and that thou gyue me some conforte
and helpe of lyuyng (This sayd) the fyssher behelde 10
hym longe & sawe hym so fayre and gracyous and understode
that he was a kynge 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 whan he had fysshed and gaue hym of suche
poore meetes as fysshers do ete whan they ben hongry. And
the better for to accomplysse his good deedes and for
inwarde pyte that he had of hym he gaue unto hym pe 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 20
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
pouerte I shall not fayle the of suche as I haue and yf

it so be we two shall take fysshe for to gete our lyuynges.
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 þe
goodness that thou haste done to me another tyme may I 30
suffre the daungerous perylles of þe see and that I may
neuer fynde any good persone that
wyll haue mercy upon me. Than the fyssher shewed hym B4v
the way / and so Appolyn went to the cyte poorely
arrayed as he was.

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

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

Kynge Appolyn comen into the cyte he wyste not what to
do / but behelde all about to se the cyte in abydynges
the conuercyon of fortune / and as he wente towarde the
kynge's palays he sawe comynge a younge man that cryed
to the lordes / cytezyns / pylgryms and all other of 10
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
assygnd. Whan Appolyn herde this crye he be-
crye he began for to complayne hymselfe and sayd thus. C1r

Alas poore caytyf and myserable kynge what shalte thou
do / whyder shalt thou go / thou hast grete cause for
to complayne seyng that thou a kynge hast not soo moche
as a poore begger or pylgryme / wher ben thy treasours
and rychesses / where ben thy precyous vestures and
clothes / where ben thy lordes and seruantes thy grete
coursers & stedes for to ryde upon thy fotemen and
pages to conduyte the whereas thou wolde be / thou arte
dystytute and unpurueyed of all thynges belongynge unto 10
the / for in stede of treasours and rychesses thou hast
pouerte and nede / in stede of precyous vestures and
clothes thou arte wrapped in a pyece of an old mantel or
cloke / in stede of lordes 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 amonge poore pylgrymes and 20
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 amonge
the other poore pylgrymes to se the kynge and the maner
of his realme (& yf it happen) to playe with some persone.
In makynge these complayntes with many syghes and teeres
the myddaye passed. And after dyner the kynge named
Archystrates and all the lordes came for to se pe play

Than they began to playe both lordes and other gentylmen
a grete whyle. Whan Appolyn had longe beholden þe playe 30
he demaunded of one and of other of poore estate yf
they wolde play for to do pleasure to the company / but of
them all none there was that wolde answeere hym but Clv
dysdeyned to play with hym for his poore clothes and
rayment This seyng the kyng Archystrates lorde of the
cyte he entred into the play accompanied 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 kyng and helde hym ryght shorte.
The lordes seyng Appolyn so poorely arayed smyte unto
the kinge so hardely they wolde haue chased hym away / 10
but the kyng commaunded them to lete hym alone. The
kyng played yet another torne / and Appolyn retorned
it more styfly. Than the kyng saw hym play so he
merueyled of hym gretely / and sware to þe knyghtes by
his crowne that neuer in his dayes he had founde none that
played soo nymbly and soo expertly as he dyde. Whan
Appolyn herde how the kyng prayed and commended his
playenge to the knyghtes he reioyced gretely / and in
manere halfe shamefast and glad he shewed certayne strokes
of þe shelde or bokeler whiche pleased the kyng moche. 20
And whan the playe was fynyshed Appolyn toke leue
curtesly of þe kyng and departed. Whan he was gone the
kyng 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 30
hym and brynge hym to the courte. Then the gentylman
departed and founde Appolyn / and whan he
sawe hym apparayled in so vyle and poore vestures he C2r
retorned without saynge of ony worde and went to þe
kynge and sayd. Syr 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 clothyng demonstrereth
and sheweth it by reason. Ha sayn the kyng the habyte
maketh not the relygyous man / and therfore incontynent
retorne thou to hym and tell hym that I demaunde hym.
Than the gentylman retorned as the kyng commaunded hym 10
& founde Appolyn syttyng & wepyng for his departyng
from so noble a company and sayd to hym. Aryse and come
and speke with the kyng for he demaundeth the. This
heryng Appolyn he wyped his vysage/ and than he sayd
unto the gentylman. Frende I wyll not entre for ony
thyng: for there within is none but men of worshyp &
grete estates / and to me for to entre within a palays
royall so euill arayed it were grete scorne and shame.

But goo unto the kyng and praye hym to tell the his
wyll and I shall abyde the here. The squyre went unto 20
the kyng and sayd. Syr the poore man pat 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 euyl & foule clothyng Than the
kyng commaunded pat he sholde haue one of his robes &
that he sholde be well clothed / and so it was done.
Whan kyng Appolyn was well appoynted he entred in to
the palays / & whan he came into the hall he made
reuerence ryght honourably unto the kyng and unto all 30
the lordes and assystentes. Thenne the kyng ryght curteysly
welcomed hym and badde hym sytte saynge / thou shalte C2v
soupe this daye with me among my knyghtes. Appolyn
than beyng shamefast lete hymselfe somewhat to be
prayed but at the laste he sate hym downe at the table /
and without etyng 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 kyng. Certes syr this man wolde
gladly your honour for he dooth not ete but beholdeth 10
hertely your noble magnyfycence and is in poynt to wepe.
Certaynly sayd the kyng peraduenture he hath lost mo
goodes than these ben / and therfore he hath
remembraunce of theym now.

How kynge Appolyn souped in the kynges hall. Ca. xi.

Woodcut: dinner table with seven persons. 7

As he sate and behelde the kyng bad hym ete and be C3r
mery & better thinges and greter gyue you god. And in
saynge these wordes came in the kynges doughter
accompanied with many ladyes and damoysselles whose
splendente beaute were to longe to endyte / for her
rosacyate coloure was medled with grete fauour. She
dranke unto her fader and to all the lordes / and to
all them that had ben at pe 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 10
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 doughter / 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 thyng & gyue
hym some good / for me thynke that he is departed frome
some good place / and I thynke in my mynde that some 20
thyng 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 behauour 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 þe see.
 The damoyzell sayd I pray you that ye tell me of your
 aduentures þat I may understonde you playnly. 30

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

[Woodcut: the princess and Apollonius sitting on
 a bench in a room with bare walls.] C3v

Appolyn herynge the wyll of the damoyzell began for
 to tell his aduersytees and unfortunate aduentures had
 upon the see and elles where. And whan he had ended
 his parlement he began for to wepe tenderly with many
 sadde syghes. Whan the kyng sawe hym so wepe he sayd
 unto his daughter. Certaynly ye haue doone euyll / for
 thorow your wordes he hathe renouelled and begon his
 dolours. Wherfore I wyll that for to appease all his
 sorowes and persuacyons ye gyue hym of myn all that it
 pleaseth you. Whan the damoyzell Archycastres 10
 understode þat 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 syth it hath pleased unto my fader that I gyue

the of his goodes I shall make þe ryche. Appolyn all wepyng thanked her humbly & sayd.

Honourable lady I thanke you of the worshyp þat ye C4r
wold me (more than I am worthy. Duryng this tyme þe
kyng came to his doughter and sayd. Fayre doughter I
praye you play a lytell upon your harpe for to reioyce
this gentyl man and bryng hym out of his heuy thoughtes
into lyghter The damoyssel anone sent for her harpe /
and whan it was comen she sowned so swetely as in the
worlde had not ben her parayle. Appolyn behelde her
ryght amourosly & sayd neuer a worde. Than sayd the
kyng unto hym. Gentyلمان what do ye thynke / eche man 10
reioyceth of the feest of my doughter and ye say
nothyng how say ye playeth she not well. Syr sayd
Appolyn your doughter sowneth meruaylously well and
singeth armoniously. 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 fayre playenge sayng that he was
parfyte in the arte. Than was the damoyssel soo amorous
on Appolyn that it may not be recounted / and than she 20
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 amourosly behelde
Appolyn and sayd. Dere frende for þe loue þat I haue

unto you / & for your well playenge on the harpe with
 the lycence of my fader I gyue you .CC. besautes of
 golde / & xx: mark of syluer / & cloth of golde to
 clothe you with / & .xxiiij clothes of sylk for .xxx.
 of your men / & so it was done : wherfore echone 30
 praysed be fraunchyse of be kyng & his doughter.

¶ Now Archycastris was loue seke for Appolyn. Ca. xiii

Whan the feest was fynysshed and doone Appolyn toke C4v
 leue of the kyng and of his doughter 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 seruantes
 went theyr waye togyder for to take theyr lodgys in the
 towne But whan the damoyzell 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 lete
 hym not go^uout of your palays for to lodge in the towne
 / for unto you it sholde be grete shame seyng bat
 there is lodgis suffycient 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 thyng 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 damoyzell than hadde 20
grete Joye and sente a squyre after Appolyn and made him
for to retorne unte her / and than she made for to
apparayle a fayre chambre nygh unto hers. Kynge Appolyn
was so fyxed in þe 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 30
she laye in her bedde and myght not slepe for
the thynkynge on kynge Appolyn / she arose and as C5r
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 sodaynly al abasshed
she sayd. Ryght honoured fader knowe ye that the grete
voluute and wyll þat I haue for lerne the scyence of
this gentylman letteth me for to slepe and to take my 10
naturall reste / and therfore I beseche you þat it wyll
please you for to speke unto hym / and þat he shewe
and teche me his arte. The kynge ryght ioyous 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 syttynge in his bedde. Than the kynge salued
hym / and Appolyn hym agayne gyuyng hym good day and
than Archystrates sayd. O gentyll man the vertue of 20
your affyled engyn and of your armonious scyence
moeueth my doughter Archycastres incessauntly for to be
endoctryned of you. Therefore I promyse you upon the
fydelyte & trouthe that I owe unto þe 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
londe Appolyn answered ryght humbly that he was redy
and content for to fulfill and do therin his commaundement.
Than Appolyn arose and made hym redy and came into
Archycastres chambre where he founde her syttynge sore 30
studyenge. And whan Appolyn approched to her and that
she espyed hym lytell lacked that she ne swouned for Joye
but she absteyned her courage & hydde her chere as C5v
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 excellent wytte / & many goodly wordes
spake 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 feruently taken in his loue that she coude no longer 10
 bere it / and than she fayned an other accydent & layde
 her downe seke in her bed. And whan þe 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 Archicastres
 in maryage. Ja. xiiii.

[Woodcut: two knights on horseback.]7

Upon a day the kynge went out at the gate of the C6r
 palays for to solace and sporte hym in þe felde / and
 whan he hadde gone a whyle he espyed comynge two
 kynges sones the whiche oft tymes had demaunded his
 doughter in maryage. They salued the kynge in the
 honourablest wyse that they myght / and he ful frendely
 and curteysly rendred them theyr salutacyon. And after
 many wordes they entred in to þe palays with grete
 solemnyte and tryumphe. Whan they had soiourned there
 a certayne tyme þe kynge demaunded of them sayence. 10
 How & wherfore are ye comen hyder togyder. Certaynly
 syr sayd one of theym ye knowe well that we demaunde and
 requyre your doughter to wyfe / we haue ben here
 certayne tymes & ye haue alwayes prouoked 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 doughter.
As for that sayd be kynge ye be ryght welcom / but ye
ben comen in an euyl season as in pat poynt for my
doughter lyeth seke and hath done longe whiche sore 20
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 doughter / and whan 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 doughter by Appolyn be whiche after salutacyon made
presented them unto Archycastres saynge. All the 30
souerayne celestyall goddes gyue you good lyfe and
Joye. The kynge your moost wel
beloued fader greteth your ladyship by me simple and C6v
unworthy seruant sendynge you these rolles for to
certyfyte whiche of the two prynces ye seme best unto
your honour and preemynence. And whan the damoyzell
sawe & herde the noble Appolyn speke so demurely and
sawe the goodly countenaunce of hym and his behauoure
she hadde grete Joye and sayd Gentyلمان how ben ye
comen here al alone without company or felawshyp.
Madame sayd Appolyn. My lorde the kynge your fader sent

me hyder with these two rolles and prayeth you that ye 10
sende bryefly þe response. Than the damoyzell toke the
rolles of Appolyn and began for to rede them / and whan
she had redde theym she stode styll and sayd no worde /
and than she behelde Appolyn in castynge 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 husbände and leue all other lordes for your
sake. Appolyn þe 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 20
apperteyneth for there can none be to bountefull for
your persone for ye are parfayte in beaute / bounte /
and scyence. Certaynly sayd the damoyzell Archicastes
yf that ye loued me as moche as I loue you at the herte
and corage ye wolde not saye as ye do for nothyng.
And whan she hadde fynisshed her wordes she toke paper
penne and ynke and by grete hardynesse of loue that
embraced her herte towarde Appolyn she wrote a lettre
conteynyng the feruent desyre and amorous prouocacions
of her mynde and sealed it with a knotte of loue / and 30
than she gaue it unto Appolyn her loue for to bere it
to her fader / and the wrytyng sayd thus
My moost redoubted and of me moost honoured my lorde C7r
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 þe choyse of one of
 the two noble prynces for to elect and take to lorde
 and make / (I indygne sauf onely by þe feate of your
 hyghnes) wherof I inwardly thanke you. But knowe ye
 þat I will and yf it please your haboundaunt bounte
 haue hym the whiche hath passed the daungerous undes 10
 and perylles 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.

Woodcuts: king with two retainers; four men; city scene7

As þe lettre was made and sealed Appolyn receyued it C7v
 of the fayre damoyzell 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
 whan he came before the kynge he delyuered hym the
 lettre. Than kynge Archycastres had receyued it he
 went a lytel asyde & redde it / whan it was redde he
 torned hym to the two prynces & sayd. Whiche of you
 hath passed the perylles of the see. Than answered one
 of them. I am he. The other prynce this herynge was 10
 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 þe see / how mayest
thou than haue passed the perylles of it. Whan the kyng
understode þat 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 20
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 thyng that I desyre. 30
Notwithstandyng that I neuer she wed nor durst tel
ne make relacion to her of it. Whan they
hadde fynysshed theyr communycacyon the kyng wente C8r
toward the two kynges sones and sayd. Truly I tolde
you that ye were not comen in a good season forcause
of þe infyrmite & sykenesse of my doughter Archycastres
/ wherfore ye may retorne into your countrees / and whan
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 retorned into theyr countrees
unpurueyed of theyr entencyons. Than the kynge
Archycastres toke Appolyn by the hande and entred 10
joyously into þe 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. My moost welbeloued doughter whom
haue ye chosen for your lorde and husbonde. The
damoySELL herynge the xamynacyon 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 þe whiche is reasonable / knowe ye
therfore that I hadde leuer haue hym the whiche hath 20
passed the daungerous passages of þe see that is
Appolyn than any kynge or prynce that lyueth in this
worlde. And of one thyng the whiche I shall tell you
I beseche you for to pardon me and that ye wyll
accepte my petycyon / that is that yf ye gyue me not
unto hym certaynly ye shall lese me and neuer duryng
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 þe fyrst tyme that he played before 30
the barony in your presence upon my harpe without that
euer ony knewe it.

The kynge herynge the amourous and pyteous wordes of C8v
his doughter sayd. Ma welbeloued doughter know you

certainly that that be whiche pleaseth you dyspleaseth
me not / and all your pleasure shall be fulfilled in
this poynt at your owne desyre.

How kynge Appolyn espoused be fayre damoyssel Archycastres
the kynges doughter of Terme. Ca. xvi.

[Woodcut: priest joining hands of Apollonius and
Archestrate .7]

Than incontynent kynge Archycastres sent for all
the barons and grete lordes of his realme & sayd
unto them. Lordes and frendes knowe ye that I wyll Dlr
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 pat she hath chosen a man
so secrete 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 seyng the perfeyte wyll and true entent 10
of his baronny he was ryght well pleased and thanked
them saynge that as true subiectes they had accorded
unto theyr souerayne and lyege lorde. And that he
assygnd unto his barons a certayne day for to come
unto be spousayles of his doughter / 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. When þe day of the
spousaylles was comen þe damoyzell Archycastris was
appareylled and aourned in the moost tryumphaut 20
maner that coude be deuysed / in clothes of golde set
with fyne perles and precyous stones / and owches of
grete value. And þe noble kynge Appolyn was clothed in
the same suyte also. Than after that þe espousaylles
was finysshed they reentred into the palays with grete
melody of mynstrelles and musycyens. But for to recount
of þe seruyces that day / þe tryumphe and noblesse of
that feest: þe games and dedes of worthynes that was
there determyned / of the ryche gyftes that were gyuen
to lordes and ladyes it were to longe for to recount. 30
What sholde I make longe processe all thyng was doone
so nobly that no man was myscontent / but reioyced
gretly of þe excellence
therof. And the feest accomplysshed and done the lordes Dlv
& estates of the realme toke theyr leue of the kynge &
at Appolyn and at the fayre damoyzell Archicastres and
retorned 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.7

A certayne tyme after the ryche maryage and espousalles
of the noble Appolyn was acheued and done þe damoyzell
Archicastes waxed grete of a doughter wherof þe kyng 10
her fader and Appolyn were ryght Joyous. Upon a
certayne day as Appolyn came from studye / he and his
spouse fayre Archycastes wente for to sporte them D2r
upon the ryuage of the see / and as they walked under
the shadowe of þe boughes they sawe where as came
swymmyng a myghty vessel that aryued at the port or
hauen of þe cyte. Whan Appolyn hadde seen and beholden
it a whyle he sayd fayre loue and lady lete us go and
se yonder fayre vessel / with a good wyll sayd
Archicastes / so they wente unto the galey. And whan
Appolyn had longe beholden it and aduysed þe maner and
speche of þe galyotes and by many other sygnes he knewe 10
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 þe kyngdome af Thyre.
Appolyn this herynge was gladde / & in a maner sory /
for he wist not wherfore it was comen into þat
countree / wyder for his socoure or for to destroy
hym. And then 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 20
of the lorde of Thyre. Certaynly sayd Appolyn I wote
wher 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 doughter
for whom our noble kyng is out of his realme royall &
countree ben deed wretchedly by þe thonder that fell
upon them / and all his kyngdomes / lordeshyppes and
treasoures be kept for our good kyng Appolyn. Than 30
was Appolyn gladde and sayd unto his wyfe Archycastres.
Swete loue now may ye knowe yf þe aduentures that I
haue tolde you ben true or not. And I
praye you hertely as ye loue me that ye be not D2v
dyspleased of one thynge that is that I wyll go &
receyue my preteryte realme & the other the which ben
for me attendaunt and comen by ryght. The damovsell
than wepyng sayd. Appolyn swete lorde and frende I
thynke this that yf ye were ferre fro me ye wolde come
unto myn enfaument and delyueraunce of chylde.
Wherefore I pray you þat you leue me not alone / but
haue me with you. Appolyn seyng and understandyng
the parfayte loue that she hadde unto hym sayd. I am 10
content yf it please my lorde youre fader. Than wente
the damoyzell unto the kyng her fader and sayd. Right
honoured and redoubted fader reioyce you and be mery /
for true it is that kyng Anthiogus of Anthioche and his
doughter ben put to dethe by thonder of þe 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 fayte 20
 / 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 doughter with the grace of þe
 potencyall goddes we shall retorne twayne. The kyng
 beyng gladde and Joyful of the wordes of his doughter
 & of her tydynges he unto her & accorded in all that
 she wolde. And anone he made to ordeyne and apparayle
 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 30
 happened. And than Appolyn & Archicastes toke leue of
 the kyng and in goodly aray they
 mounted upon the see for to go unto þe realme of D3r
 Anthyoche and Thyre.

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

/Woodcut: Apollonius with a chest under his arm; the
 nurse with an infant.7

Kyng Appolyn and Archicastes beyng on the see sayled
 longe with grete tryumphe and Joye and so longe they
 exployted by theyr Journeys that they came into the hye

see / and than the fayre weder began for to chaunge and
the wynde arose makynge grete noyse and it thondred and
lyghtned impyteously that all they were sore abasshed. 10

Than on a daye after grete trauayle feere and payne
Archycastres began for to trauayle of chylde with grete
throwes and dyseases & was delyuered of a fayre doughter D3v
/ but for coldnes and werynes wherwith she was
surprysed all þe 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 damoysselles and gentylwomen sayd þat there was no
lyfe in her and that they coude not remedy it for she
hadde taken a surfeyte of colde in her conceyuyng.

Than Appolyn sawe his wyfe thus tourmented and left 10
for deed he toke her in his armes kyssinge her swetly
and sayd. Ha my swere loue þe onely doughter of a kynge
and myn espouse the which from the perdycon of the see
hath me deliuered & restored / which in one onely
houre I haue lost. Alas what shall I say to þe kynge
your fader þat I haue done with you / alas I wote not /
wyder shall I go / or where shall I reste that my herte
be not sorowfull / certes I wote not. Ha countreuerse
fortune / varyaunt & unstable þe which presecuteth thus
me poore kyng. Suffyseth it not the to haue chased me 20
out of my realme and drowned my shyppes and seruauntes
but that þou must bereue me of my wyfe that I so moche

loued / and pat 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 enbraced her bytwene his armes
with so feruent affeccyon pat he fel ouerthwarte her
 in a swoune more than halfe an houre / & whan he came
 agayne to hymself he made pe pyteoust complayntes pat 30
 ony man myght here. And thus as he complayned the
 patron came to hym and sayd. Syr all that we do & we
 also auayleth nothyng / for ye muste cast this body
 into the see. Appolyn than loked upon hym furiously D4r
 and sayd. O cursed man how arte thou so hardy for to
 tell me that I sholde cast into pe 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 pe see bereth
 no body that deed is. Whan Appolin herde this he
 doubted pe perylles that he had passed afore tyme. And
 recounted unto the patron the maner how he escaped the 10
 perylles of pe see / & of the kyndenesses done to hym
 by that damoyzell.

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. 7

As Appolin had ended his tale and sawe that he must D4v
nedes caste his wyfe into þe 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 layde her so within
the arche / and he put under her head an hondred
besautes of fyne golde with a lytell breuet or lettre
that sayd thus. Thou that findest this arche take ye halfe 10
of the golde that is therin & with the other halfe lete
this corps be honourably sepultured and buried / the ~~whi~~
whiche thynre yf 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 þe arche faste so that no water
sholde come therin / and with grete sorowe and moche
lamentacyon and vepynge they lete it falle into the
see softly / prayenge unto the sempyternal goddes
for to sende her a good hauen and buryell accordynge 20
to her degree. Than kynge Appolin made his doughter
curiously and rychely for to be nourysshed thynkyng
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 makynge grete lamentacyon for his wyfe /
and speke we of Archycastres that arryued 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. 7 Elr

The seconde daye after that the quene was cast into
the see she aryued in the londe of þe Ephesyens. Than
it was so that a physycyan called Cyromon dwelled nyghe
to the ryuage of the se where as þe arche aryued. This
physycyan upon a daye sported hym upon the see stronge
and sawe this arche the whiche came tombelynge & rolling
in the wawes of the water that kest it upon the londe.
Than he made his seruantes for to take it up and bere
it home to his hous thynkyng to haue founde therin
grete tresoures and made incontynent for to open it and 10
founde the lady within it hauynge þe 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. O swete lady ye haue made to cast many a teere of
your frendes / and than they founde the byll þat was
under her heed and whan they had
redde it they thought þat the best remedy was to bury Elv
her Thus as they were thynkyng & deuysynge there came
in one of his prentyses ryght experte & of good wytte
the whiche incontynent toke of the best oyntementes
that he had & sayd. We must se yf this lady haue ony
lyfe or not. Than he enbawmed all her body softly and

dylygently / and whan he had done his felawes & his
mayster tasted þe pounces of her armes / and her nose /
and they coude fynde no heet & they all sayd that she
was deed / but þe apprentyse sayd. Certes I haue good 10
esperaunce 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 foyson of oyles &
dystylled waters and wrapped her body in warme shetes so
that within a whyle þe conduytes that were shytted
began for to open and flowe / and þe blode that was
congyled began for to renne in to euery vayne and þe
Joyntes and synewes began for to waxe souple þat 20
tofore was styffe and colde / and her coloure came
more & more. And whan the houre of mydnyght came þe
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 þat he helde for deed
he sayd. Certaynly I loue & prayse thy cure / & more
conuenient it were for ye to be a mayster than 30
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 E2r
 shorte space she was parfytely hole / & than they
 demaunded her what her entencyon was to doo. And she
 prayed them for to enquire where any monastery were wher
 as honourably she myght dwell / and so they dyde. And
 she payed them with suche gold as she had brought at
 theyr owne pleasure / and than they ledde her unto a
 monasteri of women whereas the goddesse Dyane was
 adoured & worsnypped. and there abode all women that
 wolde kepe chastite. and they dyde her this honour 10
 bycause she sayd always that she wold kepe chastyte.

How Appolyn aryued at Tharcy and left his daughter
 with Tranyuyle and Dyonyse his wife. Ca. xxj.

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

Whan Appolyn had cast the quene his wfe in to the E2v
 see he sayled so longe with many dolorous complayntes
 that he aryued in the cyte of Tharcy be whiche he had
 delyuered from hunger. And none he wente to the hous
 of his frendes Tranyuyles and Dyonyse his wfe whereas
 he was honourably receyued / & unto them he recounted
 his paynfull aduentures wherof they hadde grete doole.
 And than a olde sayd unto them. Frendes with I haue
 loste my moost welbeloued lady and wyfe in this maner
 I praye you that ye haue this yonge mayden my daughter 10

and her nourysse for recommaunded / and that it wyll
please you for to holde my doughter at whom with you
for to be endoctrined and taught in good maners &
thewes. For I haue esperaunce that she shall haue goodes
& come to grete dominacyons. 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
goddess haue you in kepyng 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 doughter be maryed. And I promyse you whan
she is of aege to be maryed that I shal come and se
you and not afore. And than theyther 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 30
/ & speke we of his doughter that he left with
Tranquyle &
Dyonyse his wyfe for to be instructe and lerned. E3r
Whan the mayden was of the aege of .v. yeres
Tranquyle set her to scole with a yonge mayden his
doughter pat he had. Whan she was of the aege of .xiiij.
yere she was so well taught in all natures and

scyences and of so good behauour that eche persone spake
of her beaute / bounte / and curteysye. 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 10
conforted her in þe best maner that she coude. Her
nouryce herynge the comfortable wordes / and perceyuynge
the goodly mayntene and amyte of þe mayden that was so
tender of aegge sayd in this wyse. Ryght honoured and
moost excellent mayden & doughter. I am sore seke.
Wherfore I pray you gyue to me audynce and understande
well my wordes for they slal be to your salute and helthe
in tyme comyng. Saye me fayre mayden who thynke ye is
your fader & your moder / of what countree ye be and
of what lygnage. This herynge þe mayde she was sore 20
abasshed for she went that Tranquyle had ben her fader
and Dyonyse her moder & sayd. Certaynly my swete
nouryse I thynke that Tranquile is my fader and Dyonyse
his wyfe my moder / and that I am borne in this cyte of
Tharcy whereof 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
knowyng the ygnourance of the mayden began strongly
for to wepe in saynge unto her. Dere doughter herkenen
unto me to thende that no persone bere shame ne damage 30
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 E3v
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. xxij.

[Woodcut: man and woman in bed; old woman leaning
over them.]

Certaynly your fader was named Appolin & is kyng of
Thyre & of many other realmes / & your moders name is
archicastes daughter of Archycastes kynge of þe cyte
of Terme & ye were borne upon þe see / and your fader
her intoo the see in an arche of leed full of golde and 10
syluer and a rollet or lettre that savd / who that
sholde fynde

her sholde bury her honourably. Whan your fader hadde E4r
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 þat ye were maryed. and he promysed Tranquyle
for to retorne whan ye were of the aage 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 10
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 & semblaunce of your fader / take it
by the hande and declare unto the people all that I
sayd unto you. And whan þe cytezens shall here you they
wyll remembre þe goodnes that I haue herde say that
your fader dyde to them in tyme past. Than þe mayden
thanked her nouryse debonary rely sayenge. Dere moder 20
and nouryse yf that ye had dyseased or ye hadde shewed
me this I sholde not haue knowen whoas my fader and
moder / and in sayenge these wordes the nouryse gaue
up the goost. And than þe 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 Tharcy that made þe pyteoust complayntes
that ony myght make / for all her affyaunce and trust 30
was in her. Than after the custome they wounde her and
entyered her by the see syde. And by the
commaundement of them of the cyte of Tharcy was made E4v
a monument of coper for remembraunce of kynge Appolyn.
Whan the mayden hadde worne the doole as longe as she
ought for to do she left it and than went unto þe scole.
And always as she came homewarde she toke a bacyn full
of water & wente and wasshed the tombe of her nouryse

and kepte it contynually fayre and clene.

How Dyonyse Tranquyls wyfe ymagyned the dethe of
Tarcy kynge Appolyns daughter. Ca. xxiiij.

[Woodcut: Aship on the sea; a rocky shore with a girl
and a statue.]

Upon a daye Dyonyse Tranquyles wyfe her doughter and 10
Tarcy 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 pat myght haue one
of yonder two damoysselles unto his wyfe / and more of E5r
Tarcy than of the other. Whan Dyonyse herde the people
praysse Tarcie for her beaute & semelynesse more than
her doughter she thought a grete velany and contracte
agaynst pe same mayden saynge within her selfe It is
all redy .xiiij. 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
pe meanes to be dysacombred of her and put her to
some secrete dethe / for yf she lyue she wyll haue the 10
good renowne and reporte of pe people / and moreouer
she shal gete her a ryche maryage / and my doughter
shall be set at nought. Whan she had ended her
malycious thought and purpose as an unreasonable &
enuyous beest she sente for an esclau and drudge of
hers named Theophyle pe whiche dwelled without pe
cyte / whan she was comen Dyonyse sayd. Thou knowest

well that thou hast serued me longe / and I haue wel
rewarded the / and forthe I toke neuer none other into
my seruyce / wherfore yf thou wylte kepe my counceyle 20
secrete pat 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 damoyzell in whome
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 30
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 þe that it dyspleaseth E5v
me. Now auauce the shortly and go and sle her
incontynent. And whan 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 þe nouryse to thende pat whan 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 þe esclaue toke her and had her to
the see syde / & sayd to her. I wyll cut of thy heed. 10
Whan the mayden herde her say so she was all afrayed

of her wordes and countenaunce & in wepyng 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 þe cause
wherfore I wyl sle you. It is true that your fader
lefte you well adoubed and rychely arayed & a ryght 20
fayre damoyzell 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 & constraynt. And therfore thynke not
that I haue þe culpe for puttyng of the to dethe /
but I praye the pardon me. Euen so as she made her
prayers there came a galey swymmyng bytwene two waters 30
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 damoyzell for yf we may gete the you shalde E6r
dye & not she. Whan þe esclaue herde how they of þe
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 Tarcy &

had her with them / & demaunded 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^e he esclaue
tolde Dyonyse that she had slayne her / and of the 10
fayned sorowe that Dyonyse made. Ca. xxiiij.

Woodcut: two men and two women inside a tomb.7

Whan the esclaue sawe that they ledde her awaye /
she retorned to Dyonyse & sayd. I haue done your
maundement. and therfore holde that ye haue promysed E6v
me. Why sayd her maystresse hast you comrysed murdre
& yet demaundest grace. Certes thou hast well deserued
dethe / and therefore speke therof no more / but
retorne shortely 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 rendred graces unto hym that he hadde not
accomplysshed the synne of homycyde in that mayden and
was ryght Joyous of bat the galey had saued her. The 10
cursed & abhominable woman Dyonyse for to hyde and
couer her curseōnes and he dethe of the damoyzell
sent for all her kynnesmen and frendes and some of the
cytezyns of Tharcy^e. And whan they were comen she with
fayned semblaunce came out of her chambre all clothed
in blacke, unhosed & unshodde in her heer makynge

semblaunt for to be doleful and sory and began for
to saye. by kynnesmen and frendes knowe ye pat Tarcy
doughter of kynge Appolyn dyed this other day of
sodayne dethe wherof we ben in grete sorowe / & in 20
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 honoures unto her for the loue of her
fader the whiche hath doone so moche good for this
cyte in tyme paste / whan 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 monumente of
syluer curiously and rychely wrought as it appertayned 30
unto the doughter of a kyng and that she sholde be
entiered & layde at þe fete of her nouryse as she had
desyred / and so it was done honourably
and put in wrytyng. Tarcy vyrgyn doughter unto E7r
kynge Appolyn for the goodnes that her fader hath
doone to this cyte in tyme passed hath ful well
deserued thus to be buryed. And whan all this was doone
they lete enclose þe two tombes with walles of fayre
marble. Thus stynte we to speke of the cytezyns makynge
grete lamentacyon for the dethe of Tarcy / and lete us
shewe of them that hadde her in the galey.

How the galey men solde Tarcy 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 Tarcy was aryued at a cyte E7v
named milytayne and there they ledde her for to sell
as an esclau 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 Tarcy so fayre he thought that she
shold wyne more than one of be other. And so he offred
an hondred besautes of fyne golde. But Anthygoras
that was prynee of the cyte sette her at fyfty to
thende that he sholde leue her / & bycause he sawe her 10
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. besautes 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 III maye nothyng wyne
/ 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 be 20
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 worshyppe pat ymage. But Tarcy pat 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. Whan 30
be damoyzell herde the ruffyen speke thus she fell
downe unto his fete & sayd. A good syr
I pray you haue mercy on me/ and pat I lese not thus E8r
my vyrgynyte and maydenhede & not to be put in so
abhomyble synne. Than be 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 chamb^{re} 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 10
shall gyue me a pounce of golde / and after that
echone a peny of golde. Whan the thyrde day came pat
the crye was made Tarcy 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
Tharcy 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 20
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 doughter of pe kynge of Thyre named Appolin / and
than she recounted unto hym all her aduentures and
fortunes. Whan Anthigoras herde the damoyzell speke in
pat wyse he was moeued with mercy and pyte & sayd unto
her. Fayre damoyzell ryse up for by me ye gete no
maner of harme ne dyshonoure but all pe pleasure and
seruyce that I may do shall be at your commaundemente. 30
And abasshe you nothyng 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 E8v
my wyfe dysceased and hath left me a doughter 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 / & whan ye haue gyuen all ye shall haue more
of me. The damoyzell 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 þe cyte all sorowfull for þe
poore damoyzell that was in so fould mysery and
perplexyte / that is beyng in feere for to be lost
in carnall concupyscence and to lese þat treasoure of
her vyrgynyte. Than as soone as Anthygoras was gone þe
sclaue that receyued the wynnynge of þe pudyke women
entred into þe chambre of Tarcy and sayd unto her. He
thynkeþ that he which gooth away hath not habytet with 20
the for he gooth wepyng. Thou hast not well aduysed
hym sayd Tarcy / but neuertheles here is .xl. pence
of golge þat he hath gyuen me. And thus as they were
spekyng another man entred into the chambre and
thesclaue departed. And þe man þat abode with Tarcy
sayd. Tell me by your trouthe what he hath gyuen you
þat came to you fyrst. Fourty pens sayd Tarcy. I knowe
well nay sayd þe 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 30
I loue you better than he here is fyfty. Anthygoras
was hydde in a place wheras he herde and sawe all
þat euer they dyde & sayd. And than he sayd
secretly unto hymselfe / the more that I sholde gyue Flr
þe more sholde I lese. Whan he had spoken ynough the
younge man wolde haue doone his wyll with her & gaue
her .xl. pence of golde / but she anone kneled downe &
cryed hym mercy / and tolde to hym her aduentures as she

had done unto Anthigoras. When the younge 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. When Anthygoras sawe hym 10
 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 beholdyng
 them pat retorned with theyr purses empty.

¶ How Tarcy e gaue her money to the ruffyen / and how
 he wolde haue made his esclau e to lye with her. Ca. xxvj.

Woodcuts: man with a sword; two women; one woman
 opening a door. 7

As soone as þe nyght was comen Tarcy e went into þe 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 takynge
 / it behoueth þe to take more largely than this / and
 so she brought euery daye more. Upon a daye the ruffyen
 sayd unto thesclau e pat kept her / certaynly I knowe
 well that Tarcy e is yet a mayden / wherfore I wyll that
 thou go & lye with her this nyght for to bereue her of 10
 her maydenhede. Than the esclau e at nyght ledde her

into a fayre chambre wher as he thought to haue hadde
his pleasure / and whan he had made hym redy and wolde
haue gone to bedde with her he sayd. Tel me by thy
faythe yf thou be yet a mayden or not. And 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. Tarcy e this herynge was ryght
persyf and myscontent / and with a meke and sorowfull
herte sayd. Veryly a mayden I am and shall be as longe 20
as my creatoure wyll gyue me grace for to kepe me so.
The esclau e than said. I haue grete meruayle how thou
getest 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 any man cometh hyder unto me they gyue
me it / and than I fall downe upon my knees & crye
them mercy and unto them shewe and reherce myn estate
and aduentures 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 30
than the esclau e sayd. Knowe you that our mayster
hath sente
me hyder and hathe commauded me for to slepe with the F2r
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 commaundement e. Tarcy e
than all ferefull and espouented of his wordes fell
prostrate at the fete of the esclau e & cryed hym mercy

in prayenge unto god deuoutly sayenge. I'ayre fader
fourmer of þe heuens and preseruatur of people I repete
and praye ye for to preserue and kepe þe vyrgynal body
of me thy poore ancylle and handmayden / and delyuer 10
me that I be not thus vylaynously defouled and
corrumped in this horryble vyce of lechery / and
reconforte me poore desolate and dystytute kynges
doughter. Than thesclaue herde þat she sayd þat she was
a kynges doughter he was sore admeruayled and sayd.
Arte thou a kynges doughter for veray certaynte / ye
syr in good faythe sayd 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 20
sayd. In an euill houre was our mayster borne for to
holde and retayne suche a noble damoyzell in suche a
foule and dyshonest place for to be defloured in this
vyle synne / and I doubt me moche of one thyng 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 þat 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 mawdenhede well for I shall
make suche a melody w^{ith} it that all that shall here it 30
shall haue grete meruayle and delyte in þe sowne of it.
Damoyzell sayd thesclaue gyue me money ? I shall bve
you one / & so she dyde. And he wente in

to the cyte & bought a fayre lute & forth with he F2v
brought it unto her saynge. God gyue the grace to play
with it accordyng to thy desyre. And whan she had it
she was ryght joyous. And than she began for to playe
on it so melodyously and soo meruaylously well that a
man wolde haue left his mete and drynke for to here her
melody / wherefore the people were sore admeruayled and
came from all partes of the cyte for to here and se her
playe. And the more þe she sawe the people come þe more 10
she sowned hye / & loude and the faster and better she
played. And whan that she hadde played ynough ypon the
lute she began for to synge 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 20
tyme kepyng her body pudyke and clene from þe
abominable and fylthy synne of lechery. Anthygoras þe
prynce of the cyte hadde so grete feere that she
sholde lose her vyrgynyte that he gaue her euery day
more than she ought to gyue unto her ruffyen.

How kynge Appolyn came to the cyte of Tharcy for
to se his doughter. Ca. xxvij.

Woodcuts: three figures with "Dyonyse", "Tranguylle" F3r
and "Kynge Appolyn" printed in scrolls.7

This tyme durynge Kynge Appolyn aduysed hym of his
doughter Tarcy / & 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 Tharcy / and Appolyn
wente into the towne so secretely that none of the
cytezyns knewe of it / and wente and lodged hym in the
houis of Tranquyle and the cursed woman Dyonyse his 10
wife be whiche mysknewe hym longe tyme tyll that
Tranguyle 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 F3v
deed & he is now here / tell me now what rekenynge we
shall gyue hym of his doughter Tarcy. Certes sayd
Dyonyse I shall fynde a good excusacyon / for we shal
clothe us with blacke and say pat his doughter is deed
of the colyke passyon or sekenesse of the wombe. And
thus as they were spekynge Appolyn entred into the
hall whereas they were And when the cursed malycious
woman espyed hym she toke of her spattle & instede of

of teeres she wette her eyen and her husbande also / 10
and in that maner they came afore Kyng Appolyn
makynge the gretest complayntes and lamentacions that
myght be seen or herde. And whan 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 doughter Tarcy is
dyceased and deed this other day of sodayne dethe
Whan Appolyn herde these tydynges it nedeth not for to 20
be demaunded yf he were sorowful or not for forthwith
he fell in a swoone on the erthe / & was a grete whyle
that he myght not speke / & whan 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 pe cytezyns haue had grete dole for the dethe of 30
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 doughter & haue layde her at pe fete F4r
of her nouryce as ye shall se. Than the cursed wyfe
doubtyng pat he wolde go & se the tombe of his doughter

aduised her of a cautelous wyle / for in pat hous was a shepe that had been deed foure dayes pat stanke ryght fore which she toke & bare to Tarcy's tombe to thende that Appolyn sholde thynke that the stynke came from her / and than she retorned without makynge semblaunce of ony thyng.

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

Woodcut: Apollonius with two retainers.7

As kynge Appolyn had abyden there a whyle he sayd that F4v
he wolde go and se the moument of his dere and tendre doughter Tarceye 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 doughter / & than he foundred in teeres & all wepyng with a greuous pange of trystres of herte he sayd.

O fortune. And than without power to pronounce one 10
onely word he stode styll / & with a ryght sorowful courage he behelde the superscrypcyon that the cytezyens 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 malheurous & unhappy eyen how may ye gyue me syght to

se and rede the dyscrypcyon and remembraunce of þe dethe
of my doughter without source of lacrymous sprynges. O
unhappy tongue how mayst thou pronounce the fynall 20
memoryall of my doughter. 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
makynge lamentacyon for thy naturall chylde / seyng
that she that was so fayre delectable & swete lyeth here
foule abhomynable and stynkyng as a rotten beest or
caryon. Alas my doughter that somtyme was named the
fayre Tarcy e / now arte thou foule / lothely / and
ferefyll to loke upon I am come oute of my realme noble 30
of Thyre with grete bobaunce to fetch the and to
mary the unto a kyn-
ge or to some other potencyall man with hye magnyfycence Glr
/ & now I must leue the dystytute of all beaute bounte
& suauytude in a straunge regyon ferre from thy frendes
and parentes. And than in maner of takynge his leue he
sayd. Farwell my doughter Tarcy e þe onely fode of my
lyfe corporall. Farwell the Joyes of my dayes / farwell
my comforte and consolacyon / farwell farwell for neuer
shall I se ye more. And in makynge these complayntes
with many other he fell downe in a swoone / & whan he
reuyued and came agayne to hymselfe he went to the 10
monument of his doughter & 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 þe 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 þe weder so impyteous & stormy 20
and poundred his contreuers fortunes for very pure &
anguysshe he lefte þe rest of his caban and for no
man he wolde retorne into it but went byneth under the
batche whereas was no maner of clerenes nor lyght of
the day / and there lay wepynge & sobbynge makynge his
regretes & bewaylynges / & he was dryuen from cost to
coste tyll all wery they were dryuen unto the cyte of
Mylytayne where as his doughter Tarcy was / but he
knewe nothyng of it. Thus they aryued upon the feest
of Saynt Johan on the whiche day the patron of the 30
shyppe and all the company reioyced them for the good
dayes sake. Appolin was under þe hatche in grete dolou-
re & 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 euerychone assemble

togyder & make you mery for my sake. And than he called
 his treasurer and commaunded hym for to gyue unto eche
 of the maryners fyue pens of golde and a marke of syluer 10
 for to reioyce them with that day / and than he sayd to
 them I requyre 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
 wepyng he made for to couer þe 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
 thinges as to them was behouable. and whan he was 20
 retorned he apparayled þe 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 apparayle theyr dyner and
 couered the tables.

How kynge Appolyn aryued at Mylytayne / and how his
 doughter luted afore hym / & other maters. Ca. xxix.

Woodcut: Tharsia with a lute on shore; Apollonius G2r
 in the ship. 7

Anthygoras prynce of the cyte of Mylytayne went
 sportynge hym by the ryuage of the see for his
 recreacyon and sporte and sawe þe 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 beyng 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 10
prynce was ryght well content of the wordes of the
patron and sayd. Syth 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 whan he was entred he sawe them ete
theyr mete all heuely

wherby he thoughte pat be mayster of be shyppe was not G2v
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 pat
wyll speke with hym / ye shall pardon me sayd the
patron for he hath sayd that the fyrst that were so 10
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 coun-tree he is. Truly sayd be
patron he is named Appolyn and is kynge of be londe of

Thyre. Whan Anthygoras herde hym sneke of Appolyn of
Thyre he had grete meruayle and thoughte upon Tarcy
his doughter þe whiche he knewe in þe cyte & how she
had tolde hym that Kynge Appolyn of Thyre was her fader
/ and anone he went to the hache as þe maryners had
ensygned hym and entred to hym in callinge hym by his 20
name saynge. Hayle Appolyn kynge of Thyre. Appolyn the
whiche knewe hym not answered neuer a worde. Whan
Anthygoras herde þat he gaue hym no responce ne
rendred his salutacyon / he sayd agayne. Appolyn
speke unto me for knowe thou þat I am prynce of this
cyte and am hyder comen for to behold þe beaute of
this vessell / and your maryners of theyr fre volunte
prayed me þat 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 30
& waylynges þe whiche dyspleaseth me sore. But of one
thyng I pray you that ye wyll yssue out of this
derstenes & reioyce you
in esporaunce that god shall helpe you. And Appolyn G3r
answered wepynge. 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 euylly fortunèd and voyde of all consolacyon and
conforte. Than Anthygoras sayd / 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 retorned to them
that dyned and sayd that he might not retray theyr 10
mayster fro that derke place that he was in / for
gladly he wolde haue founde some meanes to haue
withdrawen hym thens. And than he sayd secretely to
one of his seruantes. Go in to the bordell and say
unto the mayster of the ruffyens that he come and speke
with me / & that he brynge Tarcy with hym with all
her musycall instrumentes / for she is a parfayte
maystresse 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 20
hym. And whan the ruffyen understode the tydynge of
the seruant it greued hym moche for to haue Tarcy
thyder / but force it was so to do for to obey unto
his souerayne. Whan Tarcy was comen to the shyppe
Anthygoras sayd. Fayre damoyzell ye must shewe here
your scyence / for it is of necessite for to reioyce
the mayster of this shyppe the whiche hath lost his
wyfe on the see and his doughter on the londe / he
is here benethe in tenebres and obscurete / and for
nothyng that I may do he wyll not yssue out of the 30
place where as he is. And yf ye may do so moche as to
make hym yssue here is thyrti pens of golde for your
labour / and .l. other for to kepe your vyrgynyte.
Than incontynent she wente
went to the hache and sayd unto Appolyn. Syr god sende G3v

you salute and Joye. I desyre and requyre you that ye
wyll reioyce you at my comynge hyder / for ye are not
vesyted of a woman corrupt and befouled / but of a
mayden chaste and vyrgyn / for lyke as the rose groweth
amonge thornes and sharpe pryckes and is not of itselfe
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 dyligence. And therewith I haue a 10
specyall confydence & trust in god / for I thynke that
whan it lyketh hym he shall delecte and delyuer me from
that vylenes / and so he wyll whan he thynketh tyme.
And therefore fayre syr conforte your selfe Appolyn than
lyft up his heed and sayd unto her. Fayre damoyzell I
praye you speke not to me of consolacyon & conforte /
for I desyre them not / neuertheles my thynke pat ye
be exstrayte of some noble place / but I requyre you
go your way and that ye pardon me of that pe desyre /
all be it I beseche almyghty god that he sende me Joye 20
or I retorne into my realme. And certaynly ye haue
done me more pleasure than pat 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 trauayle 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 30
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 Tarcy I haue done all therto that lyeth in my G4r
power but nothyng it auayleth / and he hathe gyuen to
me two hondred pens of golde and prayed me to go my
waye 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 retorne 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 10
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 / þe host that
enhabyteth in it is dombe and sayth noo worde / and yet
neuertheles the lodges and the hoost entre ensueth
togyder / now answeare dyrectly unto this question. 20
Appolyn incontynent answered / the lodges that ye say
souneth with an hyghe soune is the see / the hoost

therin enhabytaunt & is dombe without saynge of any worde
and that entre ensueth ben the fyshes þe 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 30
colour sable / the messenger of allegraunce by
touchynge. Than Appolyn answered that þat spryngeth in
the brymme of thē flode ben þe redes wherof musike is
made & swete soun whan one maketh a pype or other
instrument of rede / for it is not of blacke coloure/ G4v
but it is whyte / messenger of allegrance whan it is
touched upon the pertuys and holes / for it is made to
gyue what soun that one wyll. 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 þe 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 10
and may do no harme / the hoste is naked for he
hath noo nede of clothyng in a bayne. The damoyzell
then preposed another questyon the whiche is this.
Within this monster shynynge / approacheth alway an
endynge / the moone often resembleth the sonne / &
sheweth nothyng but that that is to come. Appolyn than

remembrynge his dolours fel to wepynge ag yne. Whan the
damoyzell hadde made her questyons and that Appolyn
had soyled them all saue the last wherto he sayd nothyng
she had meruayle / and in beholdyng him she sawe that 20
he wept / wherfore she wist not what to do but went and
toke hym in her armes saynge. Alas it is grete damage
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
wyl rendre unto you your wyfe and your doughter / and
than she toke hym by the gounne makynge semblaunt for
to drawe hym out from under the hatche. Appolyn seyng
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 felte that she was hurte she began pyteously to
wepe saynge.

How Tarcy complayned of her mysfortunes before kynge G5r
Appolyn for hurtyng of her knee. Ca. xxx.

A gracyous god fourmer of thynges interyour and
exteryour of nought and suffreth all operacyons for to
be thought and determyned / how mayst thou suffre that
thy symple and humble handmayden not culpable of any
malyce to endure so many greuous perylles 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 natyuyte 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 Tharcy 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 whan 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 / 20
and yf she had not tolde me than I had not knowen who
was my fader ne who was my moder / for I had wende
afore that Tranquyle had 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 swymmynge 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 30
moost vyle synne
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 þe
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 remaynyng pat
 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 10
 lorde rewarde.

Of the Joye bytwene Appolyn & Tarcy. Ca. xxxi.

Kynge Appolyn heryng þe wordes of his doughter 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 whan his speche came without
 aduysse 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 wenyng that he had ben from
 his wytte. And whan they came they founde hym holdyng 20
 his doughter 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 doughter with ryche aournementes & clothes
 and apparaylled hymselfe at al poyntes. And Anthygoras
 had grete pleasure to se that aduenture. Than she
 began for to tell her fader 30

how she was solde unto the cursed ruffyen the whiche G6r
wolde 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 þe 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 10
doughter Tarcy in maryage / the whiche Appolyn hym
ottroyed and graunted for þe pleasure that he hadde doone
to her in helpynge her for to kepe her body immaculate
and vyrgynall / & than he sayd to Appolyn. I requyre
you to geue me a gyft / and Appolyn graunted hym / and
the prynce sayd. I demaunde of you vengeance to be
executed upon this cursed and meschaunt ruffven whiche
in this wyse hath withholden your doughter / to the
whiche request Appolyn accorded lyghtly Than anone
Anthygoras ledde Appolyn and his doughter Tarcy in to 20
þe cyte with grete magnyfycence and tryumphe. And whan
they were entred & had abyden awhyle Anthygoras the
prynce commaunded that all the cytezens sholde be redy
in goodly ordynaunce for to assemble afore kynge
Appolyn and his doughter Tarcy And as soone as they
were comen he mounted upon a scaffolde amonge them
and sayd as here after foloweth.

/ How the ruffyen that kent Tarcy was brent. Ca. xxxii

Woodcuts: three blocks of figure groups with in scrolls G6v
"Tarcy", "The ruffyen", "Appolyn.Anthygo".7

O ye cytezyns of this cyte of lylytayne I Anthygoras
prynce of the same and gouernoure for the wele publyke
or comune do you for to knowe and understande that ye
and I ben in grete peryl syth a lytell space. For
Appolyn be myghty kynge of lhyre and Anthyoche is
aryued with an huge nauye of men armes for to be
auenged upon us and to put our cyte to mortall ruyne
forcause of this cursed ruffyen the whiche hath holden
his doughter Tarcy in be bordell publyke and openly in
the moost shamefull wyse as esclau and comyn woman. 10
And therefore I lete you wete to thende that our cyte be
not destroyed for suche an euyll man. And anone al the
cytezyns sayd. Lorde we wyll pat he gyuen to Appolyn /
& that he take vengeaunce on hym at
his pleasure rather than he sholde make our cyte to G7r
be dystroyed. Than incontynent be ruffyen was brought
afore the prynce Anthygoras his handes bounden behynde
hym and there was apparayled 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 beyng in presence.
Citezyns of lylytayne by your grete goodnes and gentylnes
ye ben here assembled for to se the Joy and solace that

I haue of my doughter the whiche I veryly supposed had 10
ben deed in the cyte of Tharcy whome I haue this day
founde / þe 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 impudye 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 þat I and my
doughter shall be beholden unto you for to rendre unto 20
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 retaynyng of my sayd doughter. Than all the
cytezens sayd with one voyce / we wyll that he be brent
in þe myddes of the cyte. Than anone a grete fyre was
made in þe market and the ruffyen was bounde to a
pyler in þe myddes of the cyte. Than anone a grete fyre
was made in þe market and the ruffyen was bounde to a
pyler in þe myddes therof / and so with grete payne and 30
shame he fynysshed his dayes before all the people.
Than sayd Tarcy 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 þe free of all
seruage and thraldome / and here I gy-
ue the an hondred besauntes of golde to make the a good G7v

man. Than she gaue to all the women bat were in the
bordell grete fynauce 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 bat 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
doughter. and also all you noble cytezyns of mylytayne 10
I thanke and remercy you of the grete debonayrte and
frendshyp that ye haue done unto me and unto my doughter
/ for by the grace of god and you she hathe yet her
vyrgynyte & maydenhede. and for the goodnes that ye
haue doone 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 20
his armes his doughter 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
fortefyed it with plente of treasoures and rychesses /
for whose loue & his doughter 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 Mylytayne 30
and of Tarcyē kynge Appolyns doughter. Ca. xxxiiij.

Woodcut: a bishop joining a couple's hands. 7 G8r

A certayne tyme after that Appolyn had gyuen his
doughter Tarcyē 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
apparaylled all suche thynges as to the maryage
apperteyned / and than with grete magnyfycence and
glory the espouseylles were made & the feest endured
.viij. dayes which were to longe to tell. And whan þe
feest was determyned Appolyn desyred sore for to
retorne in to Thyre / & wolde passe throughe the cyte
of Tharcyē for to be auenged on Tranquyle & Dyonyse 10
his wyfe. He beyng in this purpose on a nyght he had
a vysyon þat sayd yf he sacryfied not to þe goddessse
Diane he sholde neuer retorne on lyue to Thyre / for
she hadde kepte þe vyrgynyte of Tarcyē. Than Appolyn
shewed it to Anthygoras / & he sayd þat it were well
done to make oblacyon to
Dyane / and for to lede with hym his doughter Tarcyē. G8v
Anone he went and made for to prepare & aray shyppes
and set hym on the waye / and so longe they sayled þat
they aryued in the londe of Ephesym / & whan they were

in the cyte they demaunded of þe people where þe temple
 of Dyane was / the whiche anone they shewed / and whan
 they came to the temple they founde a nonne as þe
 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 10
 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 doughter 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 damoysselles the whiche had made þe vow of chastete
 / and at that tyme Archystrates kynge Appolyns wyfe
 was chosen abbesse that he helde for deed. And it was
 .xiiii. 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 Dyane. Whan the abbesse 10
 understode that it was a kynge she made for to
 brynge an chayre into the quere of the chyrche / &

whan 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
doughter by the hande and all the chyualry folowed
after theym. And whan he sawe the lady in the chayre so
curiously 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 20
accordynge 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 then kynge Appolyn fell doune upon his
knees ryght deuoutly and made his deuocyons / and
than he presented his doughter 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 relucient goddesse the whiche
illumyneth the superiour partyes of the terryen mancyon 30
with thy splendent leames enclyne thyn humblenes unto
the contemplatyfe orayson of me Appolyn kynge of Thyre thyn
orature the whiche hath suffred so many euyls and Hlv
grete trybulacyons durynge my lyfe. For whan I was of
the aege 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
questyon that the kynge of Anthyoche made unto me for
the demaundinge of his doughter which he occupied

carnally he procured the meanes for to sle me / for the
whiche I was constreyned for to leue my realme and
fledde by the see towarde the cyte of Tharoye whiche 10
I delyuered from honger / & than dredynge to be knowen
I remounted upon the see / & sayled towarde þe cyte
of Terme where I loste all þat I had and naked I
entred into the sayd cyte in the whiche reyneth the
good kynge Archystrates of whome I was receyued / and
at the last of his grete fraunchyse & noblesse he
gaue to me his doughter in maryage. And it befell so
þat I had tydynges how the kynge of Anthyoche was
deed / wherfore I concluded for to go and take
possessyon of his realme the whiche to me belonged. 20
And whan I was on the see and my wyfe with me the
whiche was grete wiþ chylde / she had not ben longe
upon the see but for fere and dysease þat she suffred
she was delyuered of this my doughter whiche I
present here unto the / at the byrthe of whome my
wife deyed / whom god pardon / for whose sake to me
iscomen the grete sorowe whiche I haue suffred And yet
moreouer 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 kynges doughter apperteyned & 30
after that to cast her into þe see. And afterwarde I
gaue my doughter in the cyte of Tharoye unto a man
whose cursed wyfe had commaunded for to sle her by
her esclaue the whiche ledde

her to the se syde for to doo her to dethe / but of H2r
 aduenture there came a galey that led her to the cyte
 of .lylytayne and solde her to a ruffyen with whom she
 was longe tyme with grete payne to kepe her mawdenheed
 / whereas I dyde fynde her syth. And whan I retorned
 thyder for to mary my doughter they told me that she was
 deed and buryed besyde þe tombe of her nouryce nygh
 to the see syde. and whan I sawe myself so dyspoyled
 and voyde of al welthe and dystytute of my wyfe / and
 of my doughter I was so surprysed with sorowe that I had 10
 leuer haue deyed than lyued. And now gracious goddesse
 þou hast gyuen me so moche grace þat I haue founde my
 chylde þat I present the here.

¶ Of the Jove that was betwene Appolyn and his wyfe in
 the temple of Dyane. Ca. xxxv:

[Floodcut: three roval couples together.]

Whan the abbesse Archycastris herde and understode 112v
 all these thynges she was enspyred with so grete Joye
 that she myght not absteyne her selfe tyll he hadde
 made his oblacon or sacryfice but ranne unto Appolyn
 with her armes stretched and embraced hym by grete
 feruour of loue and kyssed hym no than an hondred tymes
 and after she sayd with an hye vowe. Ha Appolyn kynge
 of Thyre hast thou no recoynsaunce ne knowelece of me.
 Whan Appolyn hadde well herde her & saw her demeanour

was gretely astonyd and sayd. Of the knowlege of you 10
I am unpuruayed for I was neuer in this place. Than
she perceyuyng 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 & Tarcy toke her in
theyr armes and enbraced her sore wepyng for Joye so
that all they about theym 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 20
delect / and secondaryly to fynde his naturall chylde
the whiche he thought hadde ben buryed at the cyte of
Tharcy / and thyrdly 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
sorowes 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 30
theym pat it can not be estemed / and anone it was
spredde ouer all the countre that pe
abbesse had founde her husbande / wherof they of the H3r
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 Anthyoche & after returned
to the cyte of Tharcy & caused executyon to be done
upon Tranquyle & Dyonyse his wyfe. Ca. xxxvi

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

Appolyn beyng upon the see with his wyfe & his
doughter exployted so moche that they ariued at the 10
cyte of Anthyoche / in the whiche cyte þe 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 H3v
kyngge apperteyneth. And than he departed thens &
retorned 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
doughter. And for his welcome home he gaue unto Anthygoras
þe sayd countree. Than afterwarde they retorned upon
the see & went so longe by theyr Journeys that they
aryued at the cyte of Tharcy / where as they were
welcomed with grete Joye And than Appolyn sent for 10
Tranquyle and Dyonyse his wyfe / & whan they were ~~se~~
comen he went in to the myddes of the cyte & stode
under the ymage þat was made to his symlytude / and
torned hym to the people and sayd. O you cytezyns of

Tharoye ye haue caused me to endure many trybulacyons.
And they answered all nay lorde / but we alwayes haue
sayd pat the crowne of this cyte shhld 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 pat ymage shall be foreuer a memoryall of your 20
goodnes. Therefore I sayd it sayd Appolyn / for whan I
went last out of your cyte I left and gaue my daughter
with grete ryches to nourysshe unto Tranquyle &
Dyonyse his wyfe & whan I retorned to fetch her they
wolde not rendre her to me. Dyonyse pat herynge began
for to saye. How sholde we haue rendred her to you whan
she was deed / and your owne selfe felt the sauour pat
came from her whan 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 somewhat 30
moeued with impacyence whan he herde how falsly she
made her excuse and made to call forthe his daughter
Tarcy tofore al the people / and than
he sayd to her. My fayre daughter now must ye bere H4r
wytnesse and recorde of your dethe. Than the maden
came tofore Dyonyse and sayd. God saue the Dyonyse
I am Tarcy which is rysen from dethe unto lyfe. Whan
the cursed woman herde her speke thus she began for
to tremble for feere and wylt 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 Tarcyē sayd to her . Theophyle knowe thou that I
 am Tarcyē of whome thou wolde haue smyten of the heed / 10
 wherfore I am comen hyder for to be auenged and do þe
 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 theyr fayte and false
 proposycyon of theym. Whan 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 þe one they put
 Tranquyle / and in the other Dyonyse his wyfe / and thus 20
 they fynysshed theyr dayes for theyr falsenes. Than
 they wolde haue brent 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 makynge grete Joye
 þat she was so escaped.

¶ How Appolyn was crowned kyng of Penthypolytayne /
 after his wyfes fader. Ca. xxxvii.

Woodcut: the coronation of a king.7

H4v

After al these thynges abouesayd Appolyn thanked hymbly
 the cytezyns & abode there halfe a yere / and he toke

his leue honourably & mounted upon the see and came to þe
cyte of Terme wheras his wifes fader reigned. And whan
he knewe that his sone Appolyn and his doughter 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 kynge Archystrates dyed for aage / and Appolyn
honourably made hym to be entyered. But or he deyed he 10
gaue 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 doughter / and the other halfe he H5r
gaue to Tarcy þe wyfe of Anthygoras / and after þat
the doole was made a yere. And at the ende of the
yere euery persone began for to reioyce them. And upon
a daye as Appolyn and his wyfe were talkynge of one
thyng and other done in tymes past he bethought hym on
the poore fyssher þe 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 þe maundement
of the kynge for he thought no more on it / and so he 10
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
gaue 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 confortd me whan I
 had loste my shyppes & was caste naked on the see syde
 / & the poore man sayd yes my lorde. Certes sayd 20
 Appolyn I sayd to you pat yf euer I came to myn aboue
 I sholde thynke on you / & incontynent he gaue hym
 .l. besautes 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 Anthyoche that kynge Anthyogus was deed
 / and made hym ryche 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. 7 H5v

By processe and length of tyme kynge Appolyn had a
 sone by his wyfe Archycastres the whiche was kynge and
 reygned after theym in the realme of Thyre. Than they
 retorned in to Anthyoche & lyued there the space of
 .lxxiiii. yere in grete Joye & noblesse / peas and
 tranquylyte. And thus in his lyfe he was kynge of
 Thyre of Anthyoche / 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 10
aduentures the whiche unto hym were happened and
comen / and he

compyled .vi. volumes of bokes / of the whiche one H6r
remayned in the temple of Dyane in the londe of
Ephesym. The seconde in the cyte of Terme. The thyrde
in the cyte of Anthyoche. The fourthe in the cyte of
mylytayne. The fyfth in the cyte of Tharcy. 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
takyng his leue. And she for veray pure sorowe and
loue enbrac d hym and makinge grete lamentacyons and 10
complayntes she gaue up her spyryte with hym / wherfore
the realmes made grete doles and sorowe And than 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 fynysse 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 frensshe in to Englysshe. And enprynted in the 20
famous cyte of London in the Fletestrete at þe sygne
of the sonne by Wynnyn de worde. In the yere of our
lorde .M.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 souerayne 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. 7 H6v

NOTES

A1r: The woodcut on this page has been reproduced in Smyth,
 "Shakespeare's PERICLES and Apollonius of Tyre", p.205.

A4v;7: "she doubtyng his inhumanyte". This is a translation
 of the gallicism "se douter de".

A5r;20: "prease", See NED "Press y 16. "to approach
 venturously."

A8r;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.

C1r;1: "crye he began" The repetition from the last line of
 the preceding page is in the incunabulum.

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C6v;16: "yf I toke you to husbande and leue all other lordes"

The text here is corrupt. The meaning may be recovered from British Museum Royal Ms: "si regarda appolin au visage Et puis luy dist O mon maistre ne seroyes tu pas bien couroucie se je prenoye mary Respond appolin non mais jen auroye grant joye Sy dist la pucelle O maistre se tu me amoyes autant comme je fay toy tu en seroyes couroucyé." (fol. 218r-218v.)

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

D1r;22: "owches" See NED "Ouch" sb. An accepted word for "ornament".

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

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

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

E1r;13: "false dethe" The text here is corrupt. Brit. Ms.

Royal Ms. has: "Et le mire ouuert 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 moult de douleurs as laissie a tes parens". (fol. 222r.)

E1v;8: "pounces". See NED "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.

E2v;12: "at whom". This should read "at home".

E2v;19: "honestly". This stress on good manners and polite behaviour is typical of the Renaissance.

E4v;8: "ymagyned" See NED "Imagine" 3, to devise or plot.

E5r;1: "more of Tarcyte than of the other!" Here again the Renaissance courtesy comes through. In the original version, as represented by the Royal Ms. Tarsia "est belle et bien enseigne. Et celle qui va de coste elle est si bien nice" (fol 224 v.)

E7v;8: "an hondred besauntes". This clause has been misplaced. The Royal Ms. here is closer to the original: "elle ly gaigneroit grant foyson d'argent selle estoit sienne Et d'adventure 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

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en vouldist 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 Ms.: "respond le ribault je ne scay il me samble se tu fuches corrumpue que tu ne seroyes pas si bonne chiere mais say tant que mon argent soit recouure" (fol. 227 v.)

F3r;9: "wente and lodged hym" This whole passage seems to rest upon a misunderstood or corrupt original. The Royal Ms. has: "[Appolin] 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 as 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 Ms. 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. Vulgor inest intus diuini sideris instar, qui nihil ostendit, nisi in se quod uiderit ante." (Piese, p. 95)

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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. B4r line 27).

H6v: It will be seen from the double date given that Wynkyn de Worde used the "New Dating" system, that is, that he began his year in January 1 and not on March 25 as was the habit of Fynson and most other printers.

SYNOPSIS OF

ROBERT COPLAND'S KYNGE APPOLYN OF THYRE

by Hubert J. Spekkens

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.

SYNOPSIS

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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 Wynkyn de Worde'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 C. 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.

