ANNA BORECZKY*

CLASSICAL PROTAGONISTS – MEDIEVAL POSTURES

BODY LANGUAGE IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF LATE ANTIQUE TEXTS[1]

In memory of Sándor Tóth (1940–2007)

Abstract: The primary aim of my paper is to reveal the possible role of illustrations in the (re)interpretation of a text as seen in the example of an Ottonian image cycle illustrating a Late Antique adventure story. The work in question is the so-called *Apollonius pictus* (Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4), a manuscript fragment consisting of three and a half large parchment leaves that contain the oldest known illustration cycle of the History of Apollonius, king of Tyre (*Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*). The images (thirty-eight red line drawings) focus on the protagonists; with the exception of some ships, a few buildings and curtains, there is almost nothing that alludes to the *mise-en-scène*. In spite of their relative simplicity, the images effectively articulate the meaning of the story by means of the protagonists' body language. Through the study of their postures and gestures in relation to the text and in the context of other early medieval visual narratives, I arrive at the conclusion that the images offer an alternative reading of the story. This reading gives the leading role to one of the female protagonists, Tarsia, and emphasizes special personality traits and life events that make her similar to saints. Analyzing the communicative function of the illustrations, I shed light on the Ottonian reception and use of classical narrative traditions from a specific perspective.

Keywords: visual storytelling, medieval communication, body language, medieval reception of Antiquity, Ottonian monastic book culture, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden an der Ruhr

In medieval studies it is a commonplace that the making of codices – handwritten medieval books, also referred to as manuscripts – was usually based on a practice that combined copying with transformation. The majority of these books contained works that had been composed in the past and presented them in a form that was fashionable or suited the interests and expectations of the contemporary recipients. Accordingly, the alterations were various in type. Some of them were simple mistakes or insignificant changes in spelling, contractions or punctuation, while others were conscious modifications of the content and/or its visual presentation. Revisions that were carried out with the intention of making the old content relevant in the present mirrored changes in the interpretation

of the work. Thus, these revisions can be studied as indicators of the meaning and significance attributed to a text and possibly to its illustrations at a specific time and place, as clues that may lead us to a fuller appreciation of the agency of a book in its own cultural setting.

The smaller or larger teams of usually anonymous medieval patrons, editors, designers, scribes, artists and bookbinders – for the sake of simplicity, I will refer to this team as bookmakers – possessed a great variety of tools that allowed them to express their understanding of the work being copied. Even in the case of canonized or authoritative texts, the deliberate alteration of which was unthinkable, the bookmakers could add comments and explanations or highlight certain details. Perhaps it is somewhat less obvious, but illustrators could also play an important role in the process of interpretation and actualization. Although the iconography, the composition or the depicted

* Anna Boreczky PhD, Budapest, National Széchényi Library; e-mail: boreczky.anna@oszk.hu

motifs could be subject to the rules of artistic conven-
tion, tradition, ideological or religious concerns, illus-
trators were able to specify and modify the message of
their books by various means. Illustrations from ear-
lier copies could be reshaped, and new images or even
completely new image programs could be devised at
any stage in the transmission of a text. In the case of
narratives, the characteristics of the single images,
their arrangement within the book and the compila-
tion of the image program, that is, the (re)assignment
of episodes for depiction, could emphasize or neglect
the events and protagonists of a story. Moreover, as
we learn from, e.g., an eleventh-century manuscript
containing the sixth-century *vita* of St. Radegund, the
image program could underscore some personal traits
of the protagonists or stress aspects of their lives that
had specific significance at the time.[2]

To reveal the possible role of illustrations in the
reinterpretation of a text is the aim of the present
paper, a case study based on a single manuscript that
provides penetrating insight into the Ottonian recep-
tion and use of classical narrative traditions. The work
in question is the so-called *Apollonius pictus* (Buda-
pest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4),[3] a
fragment consisting of three and a half large parch-
ment leaves that contain the oldest known illustration
cycle of a Late Antique adventure story, the History of
Apollonius, king of Tyre *(Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri)*
(Fig. 1).[4] Let me briefly recall some features of the plot
and present the manuscript.

The History of Apollonius, king of Tyre, is an
entertaining story, whose Latin redactions and ver-
nacular translations were widely known in the Middle
Ages. It tells the adventurous fate of a righteous king,
Apollonius, and his family, including the tribulations
of his wife, Lucina, and their daughter, Tarsia. With
its equally important male and female protagonists,
the *Historia* could be read as an Odyssey, the travels
of King Apollonius, while it provided role models for
women at various stages in their lives. Lucina, who,
after losing her husband and daughter for fourteen
years, becomes a priestess of Diana at Ephesos, was an
exemplar of the faithful spouse and the loving mother,
whereas Tarsia, betrayed by her wicked stepparents
but persevering in chastity even in a brothel, embodied
the virtue of virginity. With its somewhat stereotypical
protagonists and happy end, the Late Antique family
story was easily reinterpreted as a medieval *exemplum*
of redemption, reward earned through suffering. This
adaptability of the work certainly contributed to its
medieval success.

Apollonius pictus is an early copy of that story. It
was made around 1000 CE, and from as early as the
eleventh century was used in the imperial Benedic-
tine monastery at Werden an der Ruhr.[5] Being a frag-
ment, it contains the second part of the story. Thus, its
thirty-eight uncolored red line drawings illustrate the
vicissitudes of Tarsia as well as her marriage to Prince
Athenagoras of Mytilene, the festive reunion of the
family, and the punishment of the villains. The draw-
ings are very simple in that they focus on the protago-
nists: with the exception of some ships, a few buildings
and curtains, there is almost nothing that alludes to
the *mise-en-scène*. In the absence of groundlines or sea
waves, the figures and the ships move in an indefinite,
abstract space. Nevertheless, with their postures and
disproportionately large hands, the protagonists speak
a sophisticated body language that says a lot about
their character, thoughts, feelings, social positions,
and interrelationships. The images are surrounded by
the air of Antiquity; many of the figures wear tunics
and chlamyses, while curtains and sails are twisted
around poles in a classical-like fashion.

Because of the relative simplicity of the images,
there are three main aspects that might help reveal
the Ottonian bookmakers' reading and comments
on the story. We can study the image program (the
criteria upon which episodes and protagonists were
selected for visual rendering), and the arrangement
of the images within the text – the layout – and the
body language of the protagonists. Basing my findings
on the observations of András Németh, I showed in
a previous study that the image program follows the
logic of the classical drama's divisions into acts and
scenes. Assuming that medieval image programs were
compiled on different grounds, I arrived at the con-
clusion that the image program in the *Apollonius pictus*
was very likely devised in Late Antiquity, roughly at
the time when the *Historia* was written.[6] The images
are inserted irregularly into a layout of two columns
of text per page, which results in an almost simul-
taneous reading of alternating text units and images.
I managed to prove that this arrangement of the
images follows a design that started to circulate in the
age of the Carolingians. Evoking the appearance of
classical papyrus rolls, this layout spoke – by means
of visual rhetoric – for the antiquity and authentic-
ity of the book.[7] In short; it seems that neither the
image program nor the layout type is an invention of
the Ottonian bookmakers, although they might have
applied them consciously and intentionally as a ref-
erence to the classical origin of the work. Therefore,

Fig. 1. Apollonius pictus. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 3v.

Fig. 2. *Pudicitia* – Statuette of an imperial woman. 4th century. Courtesy Princeton University Art Museum, Museum purchase, Caroline G. Mather Fund (y1989–22)

in what follows, I will focus on the third aspect, the body language of the protagonists, which has not been thoroughly analyzed so far. I will argue that such an investigation has the potential to shed new light on the Ottonian artists' way of portraying the protagonists and articulating the meaning of the *Historia*. Since body language is performative and ephemeral, it is useful to start with considerations regarding the degree to which its history can be studied and an overview of the sources.

That postures and gestures, the way one holds his or her head, walks, stands, sits, bows, prostrates, etc., as well as the various positions and movements of the hand constitute a language, is an old concept that can be traced back at least to Cicero. In his *Orator* he wrote about the *sermo corporis*, the language or speech of the body,[8] and in his *De oratore* he stated that "Every motion of the soul has its natural appearance, voice and gesture; and the entire body of a man, all his facial and vocal expressions, like the strings of a harp, sound just as the soul's motion strikes them."[9] Although this implies that body language is spontaneous, Cicero was aware that, as a learned system of nonverbal communication, it can be just as much artificial and artistic.[10] While the instinctive-universal and disciplined-ritual nature of bodily forms of expression and their relationship to one another are questions still open to debate, it seems clear that, although the use of body language is partially subconscious, it is a culturally determined way of communication. As such, it has 'dialects', variations according to, e.g., regions, social affiliations, occasions, and even more importantly from our point of view, historical periods. This means that in principle a differentiation between classical and medieval gestures and postures is possible. However, in practice it is rather difficult, for, although both classical and medieval society were highly ritualized, the relevance of the sources is limited.

Concerning the body language of classical antiquity, the most important written records are treatises on rhetoric, like Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (The education of the orator). Quintilian, a first-century Roman teacher of this highly valued art form in Roman public life, paid special attention and devoted an entire chapter to the delivery of a speech, that is, to voice and gesture.[11] While rhetoric remained an integral part of medieval learning, and Quintilian's reputation was not challenged, it seems that his teachings on delivery had no serious influence on medieval oratory. The specifically medieval genres of rhetoric – the *ars dictaminis*, the *ars poetriae*, and the most important

Fig. 3. Sostrata as *Pudicitia*. Vatican Terence. 9th century. Rome, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3868, fol. 68r.

Fig. 4. Thais as *Pudicitia*. Vatican Terence. 9th century. Rome, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3868, fol. 29v.

from the viewpoint of delivery, the *ars praedicandi* – were developed in succession from the late eleventh century on, and their focus was the composition of texts rather than their presentation.[12] In fact, both classical and medieval theorists warned orators to perform moderately and to avoid theatrical effects. This implies that even if theater was considered an inferior and perhaps somewhat immoral and vulgar branch of the performing arts, actors, classical rhetors and medieval preachers might have shared a common vocabulary of expressive tools when addressing similar audiences.[13] Theater was obviously a segment of culture that demanded elaborate body language, and we will see that illustrations of plays, such as those in the numerous early medieval manuscripts containing Ter-

ence's comedies, are precious visual sources of both classical and medieval postures and gestures.

During the Middle Ages, several new aspects of life developed in which body language was an indispensable way of communication. New ceremonies, both religious-liturgical and secular-courtly, new hierarchies, social relationships, and legal acts gave rise to new forms of behavior, including bodily encounters, signs, and symbols. In Jean-Claude Schmitt's words, "Gestures transmitted political and religious power; they made such transmission public, known by all, and they gave legal actions a living image, as for example when a lord received in his hand the homage of his vassals or when a bishop laid his hand on the head of a newly consecrated priest. Gestures bound

ANNA BORECZKY

Fig. 5. Thais. Terence's comedies. 9th century.
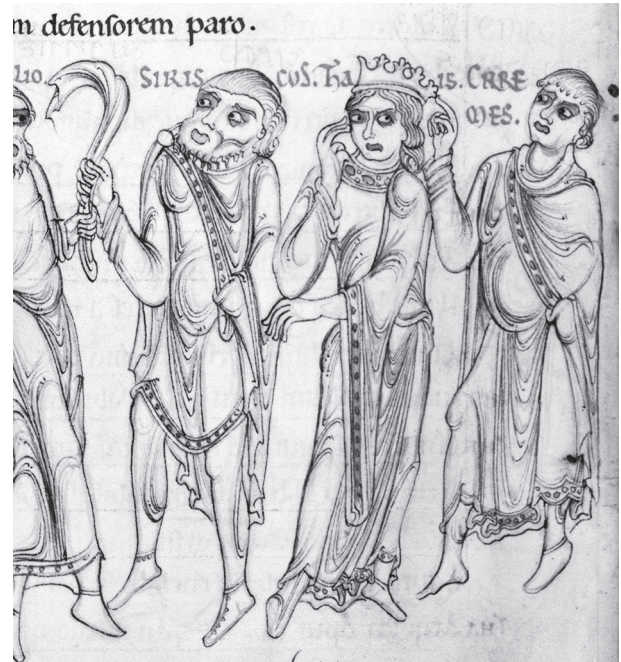Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 7899, fol. 56v (detail)

Fig. 6. Thais. Terence's comedies. 12th century.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Auct. F 2. 13, fol. 55v (detail)

Fig. 7. Dialogue between Dionysiadas and Strangulio. Scene 6 in the *Apollonius pictus*.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 4r.

together human wills and human bodies."[14] In other instances gestures directly replaced conversation, for example, in a tenth-century Cluniac sign language and its Fleury, Hirsau and Canterbury variants, which allowed monks to "speak" even during the long hours of *silentium*.[15] Another highly refined sign language, the "finger calculus" of classical origin was used for computation, as attested, e.g., by the Venerable Bede's *De temporum ratione*.[16] In accordance with the significance and abundance of body language in medieval social life, there is a large and diverse corpus of written sources that may guide us in its exploration. Legal texts and monastic rules are not alone in offering insight into this lost segment of medieval communi-

cation. Chronicles, literary works, and hagiographic or secular stories all do the same when describing the motions of their protagonists in order to portray their state of mind, personal traits or social position.[17]

Since body language and the meaning of postures and gestures changed from era to era, from place to place, and from occasion to occasion, one needs to consult a variety of documents in order to form a possibly credible idea about the repertoire of bodily tools of expression in a historical period or culture. This is what Aldrete has done in an exemplary manner in his "Gestures and Acclamations in Ancient Rome."[18] For the same reason, the proper interpretation of the sources requires careful analysis, and this applies to
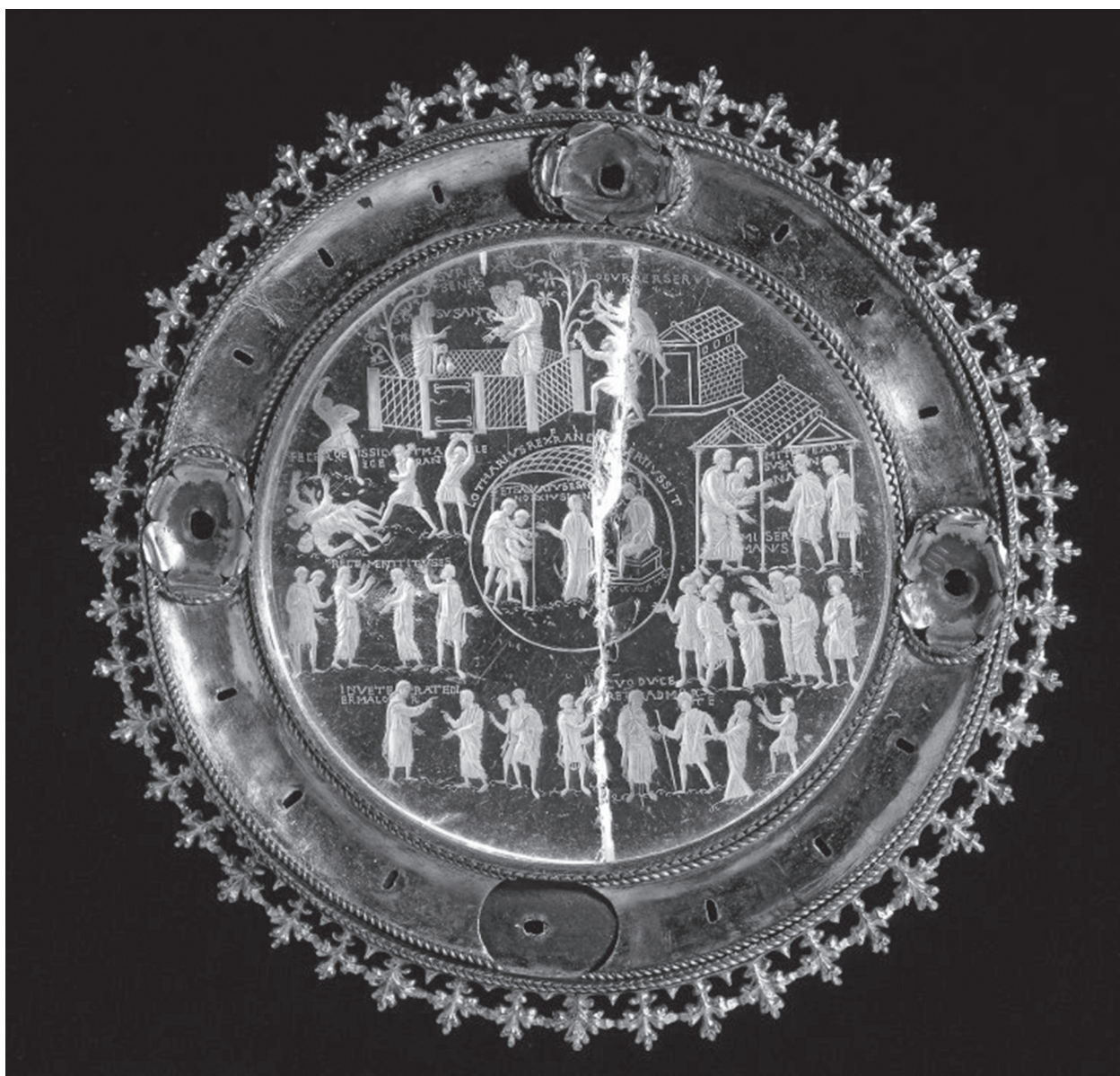

Fig. 8. Susanna and the Elders. Lothair Crystal. 9th century. London, British Museum
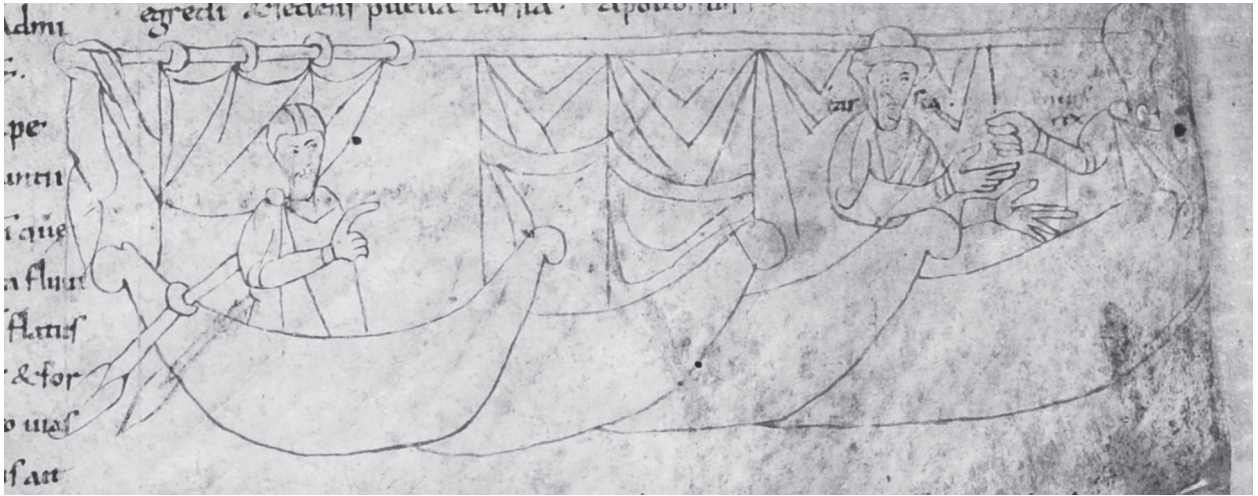
Fig. 9. Apollonius hits Tarsia. Scene 17 in the *Apollonius pictus*. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 2r.

Fig. 10. Apollonius recognizes Tarsia. Scene 18 in the *Apollonius pictus*.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 2r.

the visual representations of body language as well. In decoding the meaning of depicted postures and gestures, such catalogues as Garnier's "Le langage de l'image au Moyen Age" might be of great help.[19] However, the message an artist wished to convey when characterizing the protagonists through their body language has to be analyzed within its specific context.[20] The complexity of the problems can be seen, for example, in the above-mentioned Terence manuscripts.

The second-century BCE comedies of Terence have come down to us in a high number of illustrated codices made from the ninth through the twelfth centuries and further on. At least five of them have similar cycles of illustrations usually believed to derive from an early fifth-century model.[21] These have a lot in common with the illustrations of the *Apollonius pictus*: a focus on the protagonists and their body language and a conspicuous disinterest in the surroundings. As in the case of the *Apollonius pictus*, it is very difficult to assess to what degree the Terence images and the body language of their protagonists depend on the hypothetical Late Antique prototype. Aldrete finds that they "may offer the most complete visual counterpart to Quintilian's handbook," and points out that "many of the gestures made by these comic actors are exactly those used by orators as described by Quintilian."[22] Aldrete draws some of his examples from one of the

ninth-century codices (Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 7899), which is perhaps the only illustrated Terence manuscript that was directly copied from a Late Antique model.[23] Taking into account the other four copies as well, we see that although the postures and gestures of the protagonists are alike, they are not always identical. These deviations suggest that the evidence provided by the Terence illustrations on classical body language should be used circumspectly and analyzed on a case-by-case basis. Whether the differences are due to intentional modifications or misunderstandings (or maybe both) is hard to tell. Medieval artists were not necessarily eager to follow every single detail of their models, and we cannot be certain that they were always able to decipher the meaning of the classical postures and gestures transmitted by their models. In this respect Aldrete's examples of depictions of female protagonists in the unmistakable posture of *Pudicitia* are of interest (*Fig. 2*).[24] The Roman personification and goddess of a combination of virtues like modesty, continence, and marital fidelity, *Pudicitia* is typically portrayed as a standing figure with her left arm crossing her body at the waist, her right elbow supported by her left hand, and her right hand moved toward her face. In the ninth-century Vatican Terence (BAV, Vat. Lat. 3868) there are two *Pudicitia* figures. One of them is Sostrata, a faithful wife maligned by her husband and trying to clear herself. Here the illustration speaks for her innocence (*Fig. 3*).[25] In another instance, the

artist uses this figure type with pronounced irony when depicting Thais, a prostitute, in the posture of *Pudicitia* (*Fig. 4*).[26] Whoever the Late Antique inventor of this image was, he could rely on the readers' understanding of the joke. In turn, it seems that medieval recipients were not necessarily aware of who *Pudicitia* was, and thus the satiric allusions of the image might have faded. In the ninth-century Paris Terence (BnF, Ms. Lat. 7899), Thais' posture becomes less explicit, whereas in a twelfth-century copy (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Auct. F. 2. 13) the artist follows his model with considerable accuracy (*Figs. 5–6*).

Through the portrayal of Sostrata and Thais, we get an impression of how body language could be used by artists as visual commentary on the story they illustrated. This takes us back to our original questions concerning the Ottonian (re)interpretation of the *Historia Apollonii* as seen in the bodily postures and gestures of the protagonists in the *Apollonius pictus*. The manuscript invites a combined study of interconnected text units and images, and the investigation of the descriptions of the thoughts and emotions of the protagonists in light of their depictions or rather *vica versa* is mutually revealing.

The majority of gestures in the *Apollonius pictus* accompany speech: raised, pointing, and open hands indicate lively conversations between the protagonists in a more or less ageless way that can frequently be found in both Late Antique and medieval works of art

Fig. 11. Apollonius presents Tarsia to her mother, Lucina, he found after fourteen years of wandering.
Scene 32 in the *Apollonius pictus.* Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 3v.

Fig. 12. Prince Athenagoras asks for the hand of Tarsia in marriage. Scene 19 in the *Apollonius pictus*.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 2v.

(Fig. 7). By comparison it will suffice to refer to such randomly selected, but well-known examples as various scenes on the second-century Trajan's column or the images on the Lothair Crystal, a Carolingian work depicting the story of Susanna and the elders *(Fig. 8)*.[27] Among the more specific gestures and postures seen in the *Apollonius pictus*, some are so obvious that they hardly need any explanation. In this category belong Apollonius' assault on Tarsia in scene 17 and the depictions of the embracing couples Apollonius–Tarsia and Apollonius–Lucina in scenes 18 and 32. These three pictures illustrate the most dramatic episodes in the

story. In scene 17 Apollonius does not recognize Tarsia, and in his desire to be left alone with his grief over the seeming death of his beloved ones (Tarsia and Lucina), he knocks her to the floor *(Fig. 9)*. Scene 18 is the climax of the narrative: Apollonius is exuberant when he realizes Tarsia is his daughter. Later, scene 32 is the beginning of the happy end; after fourteen years of wandering, Apollonius finds his wife Lucina, serving as the priestess in the temple of Diana at Ephesus *(Figs. 10–11)*.

Alongside these easily understandable images, *Apollonius pictus* presents a number of peculiar gestures and postures whose meanings become clear when read together with the text and compared to Late Antique and Early Medieval visual conventions. In scene 19 we see an embracing couple labelled Apollonius and Tarsia, and a third figure in front of them positioned horizontally, but depicted in a standing position with his arms raised and hands open *(Fig. 12)*. He is not Leno, the Mytilenian pimp – as the scribe incorrectly indicates – but the prince of the city, Athenagoras, who "[…] threw himself at Apollonius' feet and said: 'By the living God, who has restored you as father to your daughter, I beg you not to marry Tarsia to any other man!'"[28] Although the scribe had difficulties in understanding the image, the artist's solution is perfectly intelligible. He depicted a figure in the posture of supplication, similar to many contemporary images, for instance, the Egyptians before Joseph in

Fig. 13. Egyptians before Joseph. Hexateuch. London, British Library, Cotton Ms. Claudius B IV, fol 69r.
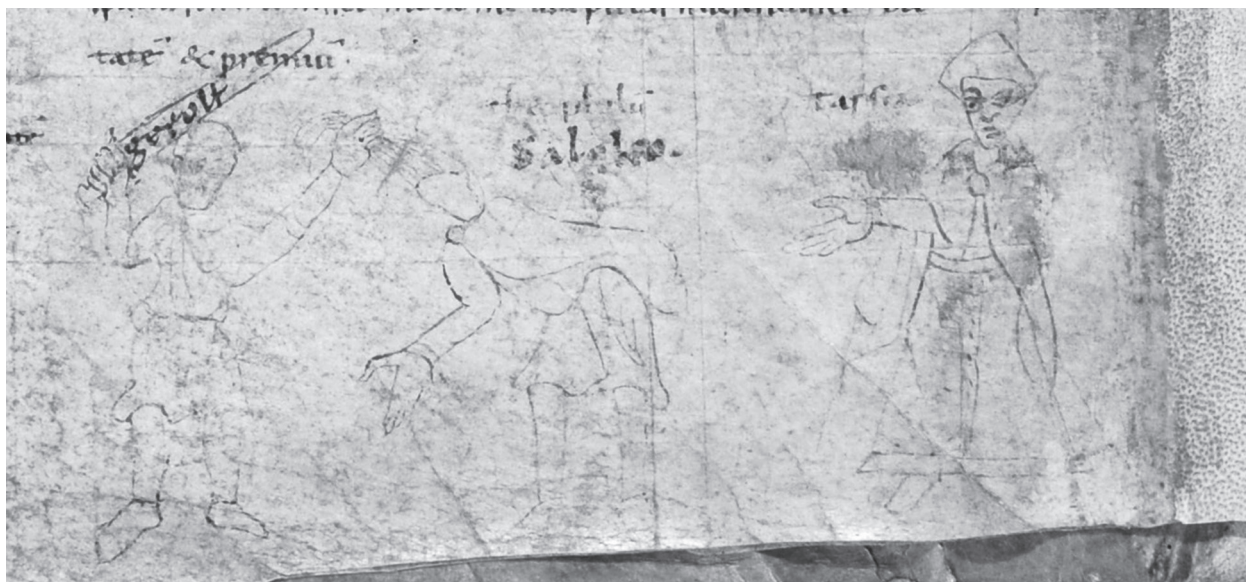
Fig. 14. Tarsia saves Theophilus from being killed. Scene 38 in the *Apollonius pictus*.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 3v.

the illustration of an eleventh-century Hexateuch from Canterbury (*Fig. 13*), but in a rotated form, in order to express prostration.[29] Whether the gesture has Late Antique roots, as some Terence illustrations might suggest,[30] is a question we have to leave open.

Nevertheless, the presence of Late Antique visual conventions is evident, for instance, in scene 38, the last image of the cycle. It depicts the attack against Theophilus, the servant of Dionysiadas, the wicked stepmother who wanted Tarsia killed. Although Theophilus' life was finally saved by Tarsia, the way he is grabbed by the hair corresponds to Late Antique representations of mortal attacks, such as that against St. Menas on a carved pyxis from the sixth century (*Figs. 14–15*).[31] The portrayal of Tarsia in scene 26, which is a depiction of the statue erected in honor of Apollonius by the citizens of Mytilene after he liberated his daughter from the brothel, might have derived from Late Antique sources too. Restored to her social rank, Tarsia sits on a throne and seems to embody *Pudicitia*, although in a reverse position, with her left hand supported by the right and raised to her face. Different readings of the statue's inscription in various text redactions support the supposition that the image was indeed meant to recall the figure of *Pudicitia* and that Tarsia-*Pudicitia* might have belonged to an older layer of the image cycle, the proper meaning of which was perhaps unfamiliar to the Ottonian artist.[32] Whereas in redaction RA, which is considered to be the oldest extant form of the text, Tarsia is said to be *pudicissima*, this adjective is absent from the some-

Fig. 15. Martyrdom of St. Menas. Pyxis, 6th century.
London, British Museum

what later redaction RB, and also from the text of the *Apollonius pictus* itself (*Fig. 16*).[33] At the same time, since *Apollonius pictus* seems to merge various traditions of the text,[35] the relationship between its own text version and its image cycle is not straightforward. While the depiction of Tarsia as *Pudicitia* seems to rely on redaction RA, her sitting posture corresponds to redaction RB, which is followed in the text of the *Apollonius pictus* at this point too.[35]

In other instances, as in scenes 7 and 15, early medieval visual conventions might help us decode the meaning of specific gestures. In scene 7, Apollonius arrives in Tarsus and asks the stepparents about his

daughter, Tarsia. In scene 15, prince Athenagoras witnesses Apollonius sending Tarsia away. Apollonius in the first image and Athenagoras in the second both point to their own heads with their index fingers (*Figs. 17–18*). Dodwell has found that in eleventh-cen-

tury body language this could express perplexity and is used, for example, to show St. Peter's puzzlement over Christ's washing the feet of the apostles.[36] Perplexity might well apply to Apollonius' state of mind after learning about the alleged death of his daughter,
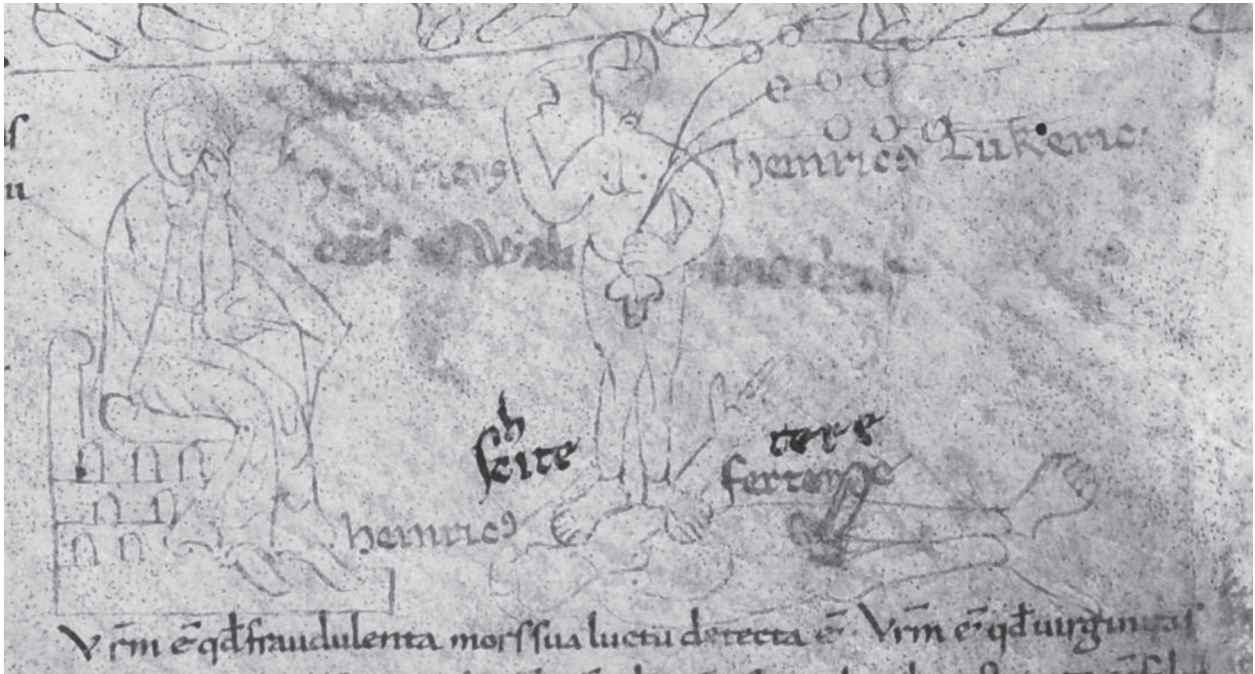

Fig. 16. The statue of Apollonius and Tarsia. Scene 26 in the *Apollonius pictus*.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 2v.

Fig. 17. Apollonius meets Tarsia's stepparents in Tarsus. Scene 7 in the *Apollonius pictus*.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 4r.

Fig. 18. Athenagoras witnesses that Apollonius sends Tarsia away. Scene 15 in the *Apollonius pictus*. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 4v.

and also to that of Athenagoras, who sent Tarsia to console Apollonius in vain. Nevertheless, the meaning of the very same gesture in a third image, the above-mentioned scene 26, is rather obscure: here we see the statue of the victorious Apollonius pointing to his head with no obvious reason.

Concerning the Ottonian (re)interpretation of the story by means of illustrations, the most interesting images are those that diverge from the text and/or from Late Antique visual conventions. Apollonius' statue in scene 26 is telling in this respect too (*Fig. 16*). According to the text, the citizens of Mytilene "[…] cast a huge statue of him standing on the prow of a ship, with his heel on the pimp's head […]."[37] In sharp contrast to this very precise description, Apollonius' statue is depicted as a nude figure standing with both feet on the corpse of the pimp. As we have seen, Tarsia sits separately on her throne, and there are no traces of the ship at all. Based on the text, it does not make too much sense to depict the statue of Apollonius as a nude. I rather think that the Ottonian artist intended to recall the generic image of an antique statue, very similar to those that appear in relation to the pagan cult of gods in one of the Carolingian copies of Prudentius' *Psychomachia* (*Fig. 19*).[38] The most apparent contradiction to Late Antique visual conventions, however, is found in scene 27, depicting the wedding of Tarsia and Athenagoras. Instead of the traditional image of a Roman marriage representing mutual agreement by means of *dextrarum iunctio*, the clasping of right hands, Tarsia is grabbed by the wrist

by a man, either her father, Apollonius, giving her in marriage to Athenagoras, or her husband himself (*Fig. 20*).

Tarsia's portrayal as a subject of men's will is even more pronounced in scenes 2-4, which depict her vicissitudes in the brothel. In scene 2, the pimp receives the pieces of gold Tarsia earned after discussing her misfortunes with her clients; then the overseer leads her away in order to deflower her. Scene 3 represents the dialogue of the two, while in scene 4, Tarsia beseeches the overseer to spare her chastity (*Figs. 21–23*). The number of images is noteworthy in itself, since the second part of scene 2 and the two consecutive scenes depict a single episode, the dialogue between Tarsia and the overseer. Even if the illustrator wished to distinguish between the location where Tarsia is when she is led away and the overseer's room where the dialogue took place, two images would have been enough. However, together with scene 4, which depicts the very moment of the dialogue when Tarsia throws herself at the overseer's feet, saying "Have pity on me, master, help the captive daughter of a king,"[39] the image program puts greater emphasis on Tarsia's tribulations. There is no way to establish whether scene 4 was already part of a hypothetical Late Antique image cycle or whether it was devised by the Ottonian illustrator. Nevertheless, by means of Tarsia's and the overseer's body language in scenes 2 and 4, the Ottonian artist succeeded in recalling the early medieval depictions of trial and martyrdom suffered by women. The way Tarsia is

Fig. 19. Faith defeats the pagan cult of gods. Prudentius: *Psychomachia*. Around 900.
Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 264, p. 69

Fig. 20. Apollonius gives Tarsia in marriage to Athenagoras. Scene 27 in the *Apollonius pictus*.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 3r.

grabbed by the overseer in scene 2 is very similar, for instance, to the body language of the figures in the lower right section on the above-mentioned Lothair Crystal, in which Susanna is lead off for trial *(Fig. 8)*. The correspondences between scenes 2 and 4 in the *Apollonius pictus* and the depiction of the execution of St. Margaret of Antioch in a roughly contemporary manuscript are even more apparent. This latter manuscript might have once been in the possession of the community of nuns in Essen, the residence of some family members of the Ottonian emperors only a few miles away from Werden an der Ruhr. It is a tenth-century *libellus* of St. Kilian and St. Margaret that narrates the martyrdom of St. Margaret in four scenes merged into one image consisting of two registers *(Fig. 24)*.[40] In the first scene St. Margaret is lead off to the scaffold, in the second she prays for the last time, in the third she is being killed, and finally in the fourth her soul is taken to Heaven. It is not by sheer accident that the gesture of Tarsia's overseer in scene 2 is nearly identical to that of the soldier leading St. Margaret off and that the posture of Tarsia in scene 4, her prostration before the overseer, recalls the last prayer of St. Margaret (Cf. *Figs. 21, 23*

and *24*). Indeed, for Tarsia deflowering would have been equal to death.

By drawing parallels between Tarsia's tribulations in the brothel and the trial and martyrdom of saints, the Ottonian illustrator framed scene 3, the dialogue between Tarsia and the overseer, in a specific way. Relying on visual associations, the artist offered an alternative reading to the *Historia*, a reading which gave Tarsia the leading role over Apollonius. It is conspicuous, in any case, that while the representation of Apollonius' social relations and clothing is constant over the whole image cycle, and thus his portrayal does not reflect on his misfortunes, the depictions of Tarsia follow precisely the dramatic changes in her position. At first she is an innocent victim, the subject of men's will, but due to her perseverance she succeeds in staying chaste until her liberation, when she is restored to her social rank and becomes a model of *pudicitia*. Even her reluctance at her wedding is an expression of her virtuous character and praise for her virginity. Although the role of Tarsia in the *Historia Apollonii* could be understood simply as that of an obedient girl and a modest wife, the illustrations of the *Apollonius pictus* add an extra layer to the story, emphasiz-

ing special personality traits and events in her life that make her similar to saints. By doing so, these images make a possible reading of the *Historia* explicit, a reading that was already inherent in the later version of the text, in redaction RB, and which is present in the *Apollonius pictus* too. According to its inscription the statue in scene 26 is dedicated to Tarsia, the sacred.[41] Was the *Apollonius pictus* meant to be read by women?

Fig. 21. The overseer leads Tarsia away to deflorate her. Scene 2 in the *Apollonius pictus*.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 1v.

Fig. 22. The dialogue of Tarsia and the overseer. Scene 3 in the *Apollonius pictus*.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 1v.

Fig. 23. Tarsia beseeches the overseer to save her chastity. Scene 4 in the *Apollonius pictus*.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 4., fol. 1v.

Fig. 24. Martyrdom of St. Margaret of Antioch. *Libellus* of St. Kilian and St. Margaret.
Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, HS. I. 189, fol. 32r.

ABBREVIATIONS

Libraries

Leiden, UB   Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek
Paris, BnF   Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
Poitiers, Bibl. Mun.   Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipale
Rome, BAV   Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ADAMIK 2012 – ADAMIK, Tamás (ed.): *Cicero összes retorika-elméleti művei* [The Complete Works of Cicero on Rhetorical Theory], Pozsony: Kalligram, 2012.

ALDRETE 1999 – ALDRETE, Gregory S.: *Gestures and Acclamations in Ancient Rome,* Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins Universwity Press, 1999.

ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM 1971 – ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM, Elisabeth: The Finger Calculus in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages. Studies on Roman Game Counters I. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 5. 1971. 1–9.

ARCHIBALD 1991 – ARCHIBALD, Elisabeth: *Apollonius of Tyre. Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations Including the Text of the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri with an English Translation,* Cambridge, MA, 1991.

BARRAL I ALTET 2011 – BARRAL I ALTET, Xavier: *Observations sur la fonction et les stratégies de représentation des images de l'Apollonius de Budapest, au début de l'époque romane,* in BORECZKY– NÉMETH (eds.) 2011, 127–142.

BARRAL I ALTET 2016 – BARRAL I ALTET, Xavier: Au sujet des architectures de l'Apollonius pictus. Autor de la transmission de modèles à travers le Haut Moyen Âge, in BORECZKY (ed.) 2016, 92–105.

BELL 1979 – BELL, Malcolm – Four Leaves from an Illustrated History of Apollonius, King of Tyre, in WEITZMANN, Kurt (ed.): *Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978,* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979. 246–247.

BENSON 1980 – BENSON, Robert G.: *Medieval Body Language. A Study of the Use of Gesture in Chaucer's Poetry.* Kopenhagen: Rosenkilde-Bagger, 1980.

BORECZKY 2011 – BORECZKY, Anna: *Apollonius Pictus. Object and History,* in BORECZKY– NÉMETH 2011, 23–40.

BORECZKY 2014 – BORECZKY, Anna: The Wanderings of King Apollonius of Tyre in the Realm of Imaginations. Late Medieval Visual Narratives from a Late Antique Perspective, in CIPOLLARO, Constanza – THEISEN, Maria (eds.): *Res gestae – res pictae. Epen-Illustrationen des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts,* Purkersdorf: Hollinek, 2014. 78–90.

BORECZKY 2016 – BORECZKY, Anna: The Illustrated Life of Apollonius and Tarsia. A 'Papyrus-style' Narrative in Ottonian Art, in BORECZKY (ed.) 2016, 76–91.

BORECZKY (ed.) 2016 – BORECZKY, Anna (ed.): *Classical Heritage and Medieval Innovation. Illustrated Texts from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages = Convivium* III/1. 2016.

BORECZKY 2017 – BORECZKY, Anna: Epizódok Apollonius király históriájának középkori hagyományozódástörténetéből. Szövegváltozatok és képi elbeszélések [Epi-

sodes from the Transmission History of the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri. Text-variants and Visual Narratives], in MIKUSI, Balázs – RÓZSAFALVI, Zsuzsanna – SIRATÓ, Ildikó (eds.): *Fordítás, tolmácsolás, értelmezés* [Translation, Interpretation, Explanation] (Bibliotheca Scientiae et Artis 9), Budapest: Bibliotheca Nationalis Hungariae – Gondolat, 2017. 213–225.

BORECZKY 2019 – BORECZKY, Anna: Apollonius pictus Reevaluated. Kurt Weitzmann's Legacy and the Multilayered Historicity of Medieval Manuscripts, in KITZINGER–O'DRISCOLL (eds.) 2019, 433–457.

BORECZKY–NÉMETH (eds.) 2011 – BORECZKY, Anna – NÉMETH, András (eds.): *Apollonius Pictus. An Illustrated Late Antique Romance around 1000 / Egy illusztrált késő antik regény 1000 körül,* Budapest: Bibliotheca Nationalis Hungariae, 2011.

BREMMER–RODDENBURG (eds.) 1992 – BREMMER, Jan – RODDENBURG, Herman (eds.): *A Cultural History of Gesture,* Ithaca, New York, 1992.

BRUCE 2007– BRUCE, Scott Gordon: *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism. The Cluniac Tradition ca. 900–1200,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

CARRASCO 1990 – CARRASCO, Magdalena Elizabeth: Spirituality in Context. The Romanesque Illustrated Life of st. Radegund of Poitiers (Poitiers, Bibl. Mun. Ms. 250), *Art Bulletin* 72/3. 1990. 414–435.

DENOËL 2019 – DENOËL, Charlotte: Imaging Time, Computation and Astronomy. A Computus Collection from Micy-Saint-Mesmin (Vatican, BAV, MS Reg. Lat. 1263) and Early Eleventh-Century Illumination in the Loire Region, in KITZINGER–O'DRISCOLL (eds.) 2019, 118–160.

DODWELL 2000 – DODWELL, Charles Reginald: *Anglo-Saxon Gestures and the Roman Stage.* Prepared for publication by Timothy Graham. Cambridge, UK – New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

FÖGEN 2009 – FÖGEN, Thorsten: Sermo corporis. Ancient Reflections on gestus, vultus and vox, in FÖGEN, Thorsten – LEE, Mireille M. (eds.): *Bodies and Boundaries in Graeco-Roman Antiquity,* Berlin – New York: De Gruyter, 2009, 15–43.

GARNIER 1982–1989 – GARNIER, François: *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Age. Signification et Symbolique,* 2 vols. Paris: Léopard d'or, 1982–1989.

GRAF 1992 – GRAF, Fritz: Gestures and Conventions: The Gestures of Roman Actors and Orators, in BREMMER–RODDENBURG (eds.) 1992, 36–58.

JONES–MOREY 1930–1931 – JONES, Leslie Webber – MOREY, Charles Rufus: *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence Prior to the Thirteenth Century,* 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton Univerity Press, 1930–1931.

Hahn 1990 – Hahn, Cynthia: Picturing the Text. Narrative in the Life of the Saints, *Art History* 13/1. 1990. 1–33.

Hahn–Immel 1988 – Hahn, Cynthia J. – Immel, Hans: *Passio Kiliani, Ps. Theotimus, Passio Margaretae, orations,* Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1988.

Kessler 2011 – Kessler, Herbert: *The Late Antique and Medieval Contexts of the Apollonius Fragment,* in Boreczky–Németh (eds.) 2011, 63–73.

Kienzle 2002 – Kienzle, Beverly Mayne: Medieval Sermons and their Performance. Theory and Record. In: Muessig, Carolyn (ed.): *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages.* Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2002, 89–124.

Kitzinger–O'Driscoll (eds.) 2019 – Kitzinger, Beatrice – O'Driscoll, Joshua (eds.): *After the Carolingians. Redefining Manuscript Illumination in the 10th and 11th Centuries,* Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter, 2019.

Kortekaas (ed.) 1984 – Kortekaas, George A. A. (ed.): *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri. Prolegomena, Text Edition of the Two Principal Latin Recensions, Bibliography, Indices and Appendices,* Groningen, 1984.

Kortekaas 2004 – Kortekaas, George A. A.: *The Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre. A Study of its Greek Origin and an Edition of the Two Oldest Latin Recensions,* Leiden, 2004.

Kortekaas 2007 – Kortekaas, George A. A.: *Commentary on the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri,* Leiden, 2007.

Langlands 2006 – Langlands, Rebecca: *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome,* Cambridge, UK – New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Murphy 1982–1989 – Murphy, James J.: Western Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, in Strayer, Joseph R. (ed.): *Dictionary of the Middle Ages,* New York, 1982–1989. 351–364.

Murphy 1990 – Murphy, James J.: Quintilian's Influence on the Teaching of speaking and Writing in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, in Enos, Richard Leo (ed.): Oral and Written Communication. Historical Approaches, Newbury Park, CA, 1990.

Németh 2011a – Németh, András: Text versus Image? The Illustrated Historia Apollonii: Late Antique, Carolingian and Ottonian Times, in Boreczky–Németh (eds.) 2011, 75–98.

Németh 2011b – Németh, András: The Text of Apollonius Pictus: A Critical Transcription, in Boreczky–Németh (eds.) 2011, 153–173.

Németh 2016 – Németh, András: Continuous Narration through Scenic Depictions. The Apollonius pictus, in Boreczky (ed.) 2016, 106–121.

Radden Keefe 2011 – Radden Keefe, Beatrice: *Making the Budapest Apollonius,* in Boreczky–Németh (eds.) 2011, 43–61.

Radden Keefe 2019 – Radden Keefe, Beatrice: Creative Borrowing in a Leiden Terence (UB, MS VLQ 38), in Kitzinger–O'Driscoll (eds.) 2019, 57–85.

Schmitt 1990 – Schmitt, Jean-Claude: *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval,* Paris, 1990.

Schmitt 1992 – Schmitt, Jean-Claude: The Rationale of Gestures in the West: Third to Thirteenth Centuries, in Bremmer–Roddenburg (eds.) 1992, 59–70.

Simon 2013 – Simon, Attila: Sermo corporis. Cicero: A szónokról III. 216-227, *Ókor. Folyóirat az antik kultúráról* 12/3. 2013. 17–23.

St. Clair 1996 – St. Clair, Archer: Imperial Virtue: Questions of Form and Function in the Case of Four Late Antique Statuettes, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50. 1996. 147–162.

Utz 2019 – Utz, Sabine: The Master of the Bern Psychomachia. Reconstructing an Artistic Personality in the Late Ninth Century, in Kitzinger–O'Driscoll (eds.) 2019, 17–56.

Victor 2014 – Victor, Benjamin: The Transmission of Terence, in Fontaine, Michael – Scarufo, Adele C. (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, 699–716.

Weitzmann 1959 – Weitzmann, Kurt: *Ancient Book Illumination,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Weitzmann-Fiedler 1966 – Weitzmann-Fiedler, Josepha: Zur Illustrationen der Margaretenlegende, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* III/17. 1966. 17–48.

Winterer 2009 – Winterer, Christoph: *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar in Göttingen. Benediktinische Observanz und Römische Liturgie,* Petersberg: Imhof, 2009.

Wright 2006 – Wright, David H.: *The Lost Late Antique Illustrated Terence,* Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006.

NOTES

[1] This paper is an improved version of my presentation at the 44th Annual Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies, Saint Louis University, October 13-14, 2017, in a panel organized by Sabine Utz under the title "Editing the Antique. Copies of Illustrated Antique and Late Antique Manuscripts in the Long 10th Century," and its polished version held at the Sándor Tóth Memorial Conference, Budapest, December 8, 2017. The paper was written with the support of the Res Libraria Hungariae Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the National Széchényi Library.

[2] Carrasco 1990 points out that the images in the manuscript (Poitiers, Bibl. Mun., Ms. 250) call attention to the places connected to St. Radegund's life in the nunnery she founded in Poitiers; at the same time, they emphasize the saint's asceticism and pious care for the poor. On one hand they serve as a visual argument for the importance of St. Radegund's community in the eleventh-century power-structure of Poitiers, and on the other they present her as a true follower of Christ and a model for women of high social rank.

[3] Through the work of Kurt Weitzmann, the fragment was known in art history as a descendant of a Late Antique manuscript, as the most important evidence in support of Weitzmann's theory of the erstwhile existence of the illustrated classical romance (Weitzmann 1959, 102–104; Bell

1979). After the significance of the image cycle in the history of Ottonian art was recognized by the present author, *Apollonius pictus* began to attract increasing attention. For its facsimile edition, see BORECZKY–NÉMETH (eds.) 2011. Here, on the part of art history, Beatrice Radden Keefe discussed the making of the manuscript, Herbert Kessler studied the Late Antique and medieval contexts of the image cycle, Xavier Barral i Altet analyzed visual strategies of representation, while I investigated the history of the manuscript (RADDEN KEEFE 2011; KESSLER 2011; BARRAL I ALTET 2011; BORECZKY 2011). Later on András Németh explored the logics of the image program, while Xavier Barral i Altet devoted special attention to the architectural details (NÉMETH 2016; BARRAL I ALTET 2016). In the last couple of years, I have also intensely studied *Apollonius pictus* as well as other illustrated medieval copies of the text. Following Kessler's method, I tried to distinguish the classical and Ottonian motifs in the images and to interpret the specific Ottonian coexistence of pagan and Christian elements (BORECZKY 2016). Most recently I have studied the question of the hypothetical Late Antique archetype of the image cycle, combined with a reevaluation of Weitzmann's methodology (BORECZKY 2019). For further illustrated copies of the *Historia*, see BORECZKY 2014, and BORECZKY 2017.

4 For the text edition of the *Historia*, see KORTEKAAS (ed.) 1984; KORTEKAAS 2004; KORTEKAAS 2007. For its text edition, English translation, medieval dissemination and reception, consult ARCHIBALD 1991. There is only one illustration of the *Historia* that I know of that is older than the images in the *Apollonius pictus*: a single drawing found in a palimpsest Arabic manuscript in the Library of Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai. I owe special thanks to Michelle P. Brown and David Ganz for calling my attention to this fascinating discovery.

5 For the history of the manuscript, see BORECZKY 2011.

6 NÉMETH 2016; BORECZKY 2019.

7 BORECZKY 2019.

8 Cicero: *Orator* 56.

9 Cicero: *De oratore* 3.216: "Omnis enim motus animi suum quendam a natura habet vultum et sonum et gestum; corpusque totum hominis et eius omnis vultus omnesque voces, ut nervi in fidibus, ita sonant, ut a motu animi quoque sunt pulsae." The English translation is quoted from GRAF 1992, 40. For a Hungarian translation, see ADAMIK 2012, 446. For a recent study on ancient views concerning the *sermo corporis*, see: FÖGEN 2009.

10 On Cicero's conflicting or complementing ideas about the natural versus artificial aspects of body language, see SIMON 2013.

11 *Institutio oratoria* 11.3.

12 MURPHY 1982–1989; MURPHY 1990.

13 On the ambivalent relationship between classical oratory and theatrical performance, see ALDRETE 1999, esp. 67–73. On the performance of medieval sermons, see KIENZLE 2002.

14 SCHMITT 1992, 60.

15 On the Cluniac sign language and its variants, see BRUCE 2007.

16 On the classical and medieval tradition of "finger calculus," see ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM 1971. For an eleventh-century copy of the *De temporum ratione* with depictions of the "finger calculus," see DENOËL 2019.

17 On the wealth and variety of medieval theories and sources of gestures, see SCHMITT 1992 (which is a short but very useful summary of SCHMITT 1990). The importance of literary works for the study of medieval body language can be seen in the scope of scholarly works that make very good use of them. One of the best-known examples is BENSON 1980.

18 ALDRETE 1999.

19 GARNIER 1982–1989.

20 In the case of anonymous artists, there is usually no way to determine whether they were men or women. Although today it seems that women's participation in artistic creation was more significant than previously thought, for the sake of simplicity, I will use the masculine pronoun.

21 The five codices are: Rome, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3868 (9th century); Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 7899 (9th century); Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 7900 (9th century); Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana H 75 inf (10th century); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Auct. F. 2. 13 (12th century). The fundamental work on illustrated Terence manuscripts is JONES–MOREY 1930–1931. For a more recent study, see WRIGHT 2006. The interrelationships between text variants and image cycles and the dependence of the image cycles on a Late Antique model seem to pose a more complex set of questions than previously thought. For a "deviant" image cycle in a Terence manuscript (Leiden, UB, VLQ 38), which has been proved to still rely on at least one earlier model, see RADDEN KEEFE 2019.

22 ALDRETE 1999, 57.

23 RADDEN KEEFE 2019 with reference to VICTOR 2014.

24 ALDRETE 1999, 65–66. On *Pudicitia*'s role in Roman society, see LANGLANDS 2006. On the *Pudicitia* statuette in the Princeton University Art Museum (my Fig. 2), see ST. CLAIR 1996.

25 Terence: *Hecyra*, act 2, scene 2. For a complete digital copy of the manuscript, consult https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3868 (last accessed on May 8, 2019).

26 Terence: *Eunuchus*, act 4, scene 7.

27 The Lothair Crystal is kept in the British Museum under Museum No. 1855, 1201.5. For its documentation, see https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=59031&partId=1 (last accessed on July 10, 2019).

28 Translated by ARCHIBALD 1991, 169. In the *Apollonius pictus* this reads as: "Et mittens se Athenagora ad pedes: 'Per Deum vivum quem te patrem reduceret, ne alio viro Tarsiam tradas!'" See NÉMETH 2011b, 167.

29 The Hexateuch in question is kept in the British Library, London, as Cotton Ms. Claudius B IV. On its figures in the posture of supplication, see DODWELL 2000, 129–132. For a complete digital copy, consult http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Claudius_B_IV (last accessed on May 8, 2019).

30 DODWELL 2000, 78–80.

31 The pyxis is kept in the British Museum under Museum No. 1879, 1220.1. For its documentation and bibliography, see https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=8882&partId=1 (last accessed on July 10, 2019).

32 For the Latin text of the two most important variants, redaction RA and RB, see KOORTEKAS 1984.

[33] Cf. cap. 47 in Kortekaas 1984, 398–399, as well as Németh 2011b, 169.

[34] Németh 2011a.

[35] Cf. cap. 47 in Kortekaas 1984, 396–397, as well as Németh 2011b, 169.

[36] Dodwell 2000, 102–111.

[37] Archibald 1991, 171.

[38] Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 264, p. 68–69. On the illustrations of this manuscript, see Utz 2019. For a digital copy, consult https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/bbb/0264/ (last accessed on May 4, 2019).

[39] Translated by Archibald 1991, 153–155. In the *Apollonius pictus* this reads: "Et prosteueris se pedibus eius et ait: 'Miserere mei, domine, subveni captive regis filia!'" See Németh 2011b, 160.

[40] Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, HS. I. 189. On the manuscript and its image program, see Weitzmann-Fiedler 1966; Hahn–Immel 1988; Hahn 1990; Winterer 2009, 71–86.

[41] In the *Apollonius pictus* the inscription reads "Apollonio restituendorum dierum nostrorum et Tarsia prudentiae sanctissimae virginitatem servanti et casui vilissimo incurrenti universiter populus Mitilinensium hominem amorem eternum decus memoriae dedit." See Németh 2011b, 169.