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The Wanderings of *King Apollonius of Tyre* in the Realm of Imagination. Late Medieval Visual Narratives from a Late Antique Perspective*

Anna Boreczky

'Post tristitiam fient gaudia,
post gaudium erit tristitia':
sunt vera proverbia
que fatentur talia.
dicta veritatis,
dicta claritatis
amantur.'¹

" 'After grief there will be joy, after joy grief will come' the proverb is true which speaks so. Sayings clear, sayings true deserve our love"². These are the words of the 97th poem in the *Carmina Burana*, the famous collection of 11th–13th-century Latin and German songs that have come down to us in a single 13th-century manuscript once in the possession of the Benedictine monastery at Benediktbeuren, Bavaria³. Referring to a variety of seemingly unrelated events like shipwreck, the birth of a child and the death of a mother, the short song of altogether ten stanzas recalls a story by naming its protagonists: Antiochus, Astrages, Tharsia, Strangolius, Dyniasiaades, Apollonius and Arfaxus. We learn that the daughter of Apollonius was sold to a pander, but was able to save her virginity even in the brothel, until she was returned to her father and married to Arfaxus. Moreover, the song tells us that the pander and Strangolius were killed. But merely on the basis of these narrative episodes we can hardly reconstruct a reasonable plot unless we, as once the contemporary reader did, already know the

story of king Apollonius of Tyre and of his daughter, Tharsia. The obscurity of the song reveals the medieval popularity of the Late Antique fiction we know today as the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*. The appearance of Apollonius and Tharsia in the *Carmina Burana*, one of our most important sources of medieval secular poetry, attests to their presence in the realm of collective imagination. Far from being constant, medieval imagination certainly kept reshaping the context in which the protagonists of the *Historia* were to play. Once acting in a Late Antique adventure story, they could later play the roles of a moral *exemplum* among others in John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* or sometimes they even put on the costumes of real historical figures as in Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*, to mention only a few of the *Historia*'s many different adaptations and translations. In what follows I will try to track the wanderings of king Apollonius in medieval imagination and to highlight some of the most interesting textual and visual manifestations of his journey. I will focus on a particular episode in the history of the *Historia*, on Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland*. This late 13th/early 14th-century German adaptation is of special interest for Heinrich von Neustadt did not simply retell the original plot, but also transformed it into a romance of late medieval taste, enriching it with a lengthy interpolation of a whole new chain of events. *Apollonius von Tyrland* has come down to us in four 15th-century manuscripts⁴, and the quondam existence of a fifth manuscript is attested by the imprints of two

*) I owe special thanks for The Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation for the support that made it possible for me to carry out my research as a member at the Historical School of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

¹) *Carmina Burana*. Die Lieder der Benediktbeurer Handschrift. Vollständige Ausgabe des Originaltextes nach der von B. Bischoff abgeschlossenen kritischen Ausgabe von A. Hilka und O. Schumann. Heidelberg 1930–1970. Übersetzung der lateinischen Texte von C. Fischer, der mittelhochdeutschen Texte von H. Kuhn. Anmerkungen und Nachwort von G. Berni. München, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 1985³, 336–340 (Lied 97).

²) The Love Songs of the *Carmina Burana* translated by E. D. Blodgett, R. A. Swanson (*Garland Library of Medieval Literature*, B 49). New York–London 1987, 111–112.

³) München, BSB, Clm 4660/4660a.

⁴) Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Ms. 2334 (from 1431); Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 2879 (from 1461); Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Chart. A 689 (finished around 1470); Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 2886 (finished around 1470).

leaves recently found on a paperboard binding⁵. In two of the manuscripts, in Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Chart. A 689 and in Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, both from around 1470, the text is accompanied by long cycles of illustrations that constitute a major part in the medieval history of the *Historia's* visual representation (along with the numerous illustrated early prints that started to circulate at that time). Important as much for art historians investigating late medieval illustration history as for Germanists and literary historians, *Apollonius von Tyrland* is widely studied in scholarly literature⁶. However the recent reevaluation of the oldest known illustrated *Historia Apollonii*, a 1000-year-old fragment originating from the Benedictine imperial monastery at Werden an der Ruhr⁷ opens up new ways to understand the process in the course of which the figure of Apollonius and

those of his relatives stepped out from the invisible imagination of readers and manifested themselves in the depictions of imagined reality.

Written in Latin most probably in the 5th century AD, *Historia Apollonii* became one of the favorite readings of the Middle Ages⁸. Apart from the several 9th–15th century manuscripts that preserve one of its text variants (the main branches of them being RA, RB and RC)⁹ its spread is attested by numerous adaptations and vernacular translations. As we have already seen, its plot was incorporated into different text collections. In addition to the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo, the 12th-century chronicler and *notarius* in the court of the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa, and the 13th-century *Carmina Burana*, it also found its place in Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber Floridus*, a semi encyclopedic, semi historical work of the early 12th century and in *Apollonius von Tyrland's* contemporary, the *Gesta Romanorum* that would become a highly influential literary source for centuries¹⁰. The vernacular translations show a great variety as well. The earliest known example is an Old English fragment probably from as early as the 11th century. From the 13th century we already know about a fragmentary French, a Spanish, a Danish and a Norse version, this latter constitutes only an episode in the Norse variant of the saga of *Dietrich von Bern*. From the 14th century on, we see the flourishing of the *Historia*. To mention only a few: in the 14th century it appears in John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and in Antonio Pucci's *Istoria di Apollonio*, while from the 15th century we inherited among others three different French versions, a Spanish translation of a

⁵) Amorbach, Fürstlich Leiningensches Archiv. W. Achnitz, Ein neuer Textzeuge zu Heinrichs von Neustadt, Apollonius von Tyrland'. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 132 (2003) 453–459.

⁶) Apart from the *editio princeps*: S. Singer, 'Apollonius von Tyrland', nach der Gothaer Handschrift. 'Gottes Zukunft und Visio Philiberti', nach der Heidelberger Handschrift (*Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters* 7). Berlin 1906, I refer only to a small number of titles selected from the most important works published in the last fifteen years. W. Achnitz, Heinrich von Neustadt. Apollonius von Tyrland. Farbmikrofiche-Edition der Handschrift Chart. A 689 der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha. München 1998; H. Birkhan, Leben und Abenteuer des großen Königs Apollonius von Tyrland zu Land und zur See. Ein Abenteuerroman von Heinrich von Neustadt verfasst zu Wien um 1300 nach Gottes Geburt. Übertragung mit allen Miniaturen der Wiener Handschrift C. Bern–New York 2001; *Id.*, „Dies sind abenteuer“ – Zur Herkunft einiger Motive im Apolloniusroman des Heinrich von Neustadt. In: M. Nagy, L. Jónásik in Zusammenarbeit mit E. Madas und G. Sarbak (eds.), „swer sinen vriunt behaltet, daz ist lobelich“. Festschrift für András Vizkelety zum 70. Geburtstag. Piliscsaba–Budapest 2001, 117–131; W. Achnitz, Babylon und Jerusalem. Sinnkonstituierung im „Reinfried von Braunschweig“ und im „Apollonius von Tyrland“ Heinrichs von Neustadt. Tübingen 2002; U. Junk, Transformationen der Textstruktur. *Historia Apollonii* und *Apollonius von Tyrland*. Trier 2003; A. Classen, Die Freude am Exotischen als literarisches Phänomen des Spätmittelalters. Heinrichs von Neustadt Apollonius von Tyrland. *Wirkendes Wort. Deutsche Sprache und Literatur in Forschung und Lehre* 54/1 (2004) 23–46; S. Schultze-Balluff, Dispositio picta – Dispositio imaginum. Zum Zusammenhang von Bild, Text, Struktur und ‚Sinn‘ in den Überlieferungsträgern von Heinrich von Neustadt „Apollonius von Tyrland“. Bern 2006; M. Krenn, Minne, Aventure und Heldenmut. Das spätmittelalterliche Bildprogramm zu Heinrichs von Neustadt „Apollonius von Tyrland“. Marburg 2013.

⁷) Budapest, Széchényi National Library, Cod. Lat. 4. A. Boreczky, A. Németh (eds.), Apollonius Pictus. An Illustrated Late Antique Romance around 1000. Egy illusztrált késő antik regény 1000 körül. Facsimile Edition of the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 4). A *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* hasonmás kiadása (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 4). Budapest 2011.

⁸) When reconstructing the stemma of the *Historia Apollonii* Kortekaas (following in the wake of many others) counted with a possibly 3rd-century AD Greek original. (G. A. A. Kortekaas, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*. Prolegomena, text edition of the two principal Latin recensions, bibliography, indices and appendices. Groningen 1984, 122–131.) However, there is still no scholarly agreement on this question.

⁹) For the complete list of more than 100 manuscripts that contain the Latin *Historia Apollonii*: Kortekaas, *Historia Apollonii* 15–22.

¹⁰) On the circulation and influence of the *Historia Apollonii*: S. Singer, Apollonius von Tyrus. Untersuchungen über das Fortleben des antiken Romans in spätern Zeiten. Halle 1895; G. A. A. Kortekaas, The Latin Adaptations of the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In: H. Hofmann (ed.): Groningen Colloquia on the Novel III. Groningen 1990, 103–122; E. Archibald, 'Apollonius of Tyre' in Vernacular Literature: Romance or Exemplum? In: Hofmann, Groningen Colloquia 123–137; *Ead.*, Apollonius of Tyre. Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations. Including the text of the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* with an English translation. Cambridge 1991 (esp. 45–62, 182–216).

(lost) Portuguese version of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, moreover a new German translation, Heinrich Steinhöwel's work based on the *Pantheon* and on the *Gesta Romanorum*. Taking into consideration the great variety of the Apollonius texts and their cross-relationships, the migration of motives between the different text versions, the fabulous episodes added to the original plot at certain points of its transmission, we get a picture of a network of related texts instead of a conventional stemma of text branches deriving from one another. This colorful tradition most probably resulted from different channels of communication: along with the written forms, less stable oral transmission also had to play a decisive role in the spread of the *Historia*.

It seems that visual representations accompanied the *Historia* from the beginnings, although, interestingly, much less abundantly than we could have expected based on the illustration history of similar narratives. Nevertheless, the oldest known illustrated Apollonius has a firm place among the earliest examples of medieval romance depictions in art history, moreover, it documents the quondam existence of a Late Antique picture-cycle. The work in question is a fragment of an 11th-century manuscript we named *Apollonius pictus*¹¹. It is now kept in the Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Cod. Lat. 4). While it consists of altogether three and a half large parchment leaves (380×298 mm) and thus narrates somewhat less than half of the story, it is illustrated with thirty-eight uncolored, red pen-and-ink drawings. In addition it shows traces of at least six further depictions. The pictures are inserted into the text columns in such a dense sequence that the two columns of one page usually embrace six-seven illustrations (fig. 1). As the depictions are placed next to the short passages they represent, there is no previously determined layout structure that all the pages should follow. Instead, the actual layout of the pages resulted from the selection of episodes that were to be visually narrated. A number of the characteristics of the compositions (such as the emphases put on the representation of figures and their gestures or the lack of frames and backgrounds) as well as certain objects, e.g. men's classical costumes made up of *tunica* and *chlamys* fit very well into Kurt Weitzmann's concept of Late Antique visual narratives. He built up his thesis among others on the few extant illustrated papyrus roll fragments and on a considerable number of medieval works that likely follow Late Antique examples¹².

¹¹) See note 8.

¹²) K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*. Princeton 1947

Although his retrospective methodology has been frequently criticized and although the presence of the mentioned visual elements in the *Apollonius pictus* could be (and to a certain extent they probably are) the result of intentional 11th-century imitation based on a general knowledge of classical art, in this special case there is strong evidence to prove that the makers of the manuscript and most importantly of its picture cycle used an earlier illustrated copy of the *Historia* as their model. It can be clearly seen that the pictures were placed on the parchment before the texts were written (fig. 2). Since the illustrations follow one another in an irregular sequence, it would have been impossible to determine their proper place without a previous plan. Some of the pictures bear witness to precise knowledge of Late Antique visual motives: Tharsia's tomb recalls early Christian *mausolea*¹³, while the last illustration depicts an attack in the same way as a 6th-century carving that represents the martyrdom of Saint Menas (fig. 3, 4). Although the direct model of *Apollonius pictus* did not necessarily have to be a Late Antique illustrated copy, but maybe a Carolingian or perhaps an Insular manuscript, the selection and the sequence of the illustrated scenes as well as a good number of the compositions reflect in all probability the characteristics of a Late Antique cycle of illustrations.

In the course of his later wanderings King Apollonius did not only appear on pages of books, which also attests to the practice of oral transmission. There is a game piece carved out from walrus ivory in 12th-century Cologne¹⁴ (fig. 5). We see on it a coffin being lowered into the sea, representing a crucial scene of the plot, the burial of Apollonius' wife who apparently died in labor when their daughter, Tharsia was born¹⁵. I would consider this work as an early manifestation of those popular 14th–15th-century objects (e. g. ivory boxes in small, carpets in large size) that entertained and served the taste of courtiers with depictions of literary texts they had also known from illustrated manuscripts¹⁶.

(2nd edition with addenda: Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970).

¹³) X. Barral I Altet, *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, *Apollonius Pictus* 127–140 (137).

¹⁴) H. Kessler, *The Late Antique and Medieval Contexts of the Apollonius Fragment*. In: Boreczky, Németh, *Apollonius Pictus* 63–71 (69–70).

¹⁵) Another similar object with less obvious figural representation may also belong to the same set and may also depict a scene of the *Historia*: Kessler, *Apollonius Fragment* 69–70.

¹⁶) R. H. Randall, Jr., *Medieval Ivories in the Romance*

A clear example of this genre is the late 14th-century carpet fragment with scenes of *Jourdain de Blaye*, a metamorphosis of the Apollonius story in the form of the *chanson de geste*¹⁷. From the late 13th/early 14th century on, a few Apollonius episodes were depicted in some Italian, French and English manuscripts¹⁸ (fig. 6), but, unfortunately, lengthy cycles of illustrations (others than those of *Apollonius von Tyrland*) have not come down to us. Thirty-five 14th-century miniatures of an Apollonius manuscript (written in Italian) perished in the 1904 fire of the *Biblioteca Nazionale* in Turin, while forty-three other pictures that were planned to illustrate a late 13th-century *Historia* of Italian origin (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 8502), have never been realized¹⁹.

Before finally turning our attention to Heinrich von Neustadt and his *Apollonius von Tyrland*, we should investigate the reasons of the *Historia*'s popularity and survey the distance Apollonius covered by the time he arrived in the late 13th/early 14th century. For he had travelled broad and wide in medieval imagination there is no doubt of. One of the most important factors that promoted the wide spread of the *Historia* must have been its adaptability. Moved by such universal emotions as joyous, painful and even incestuous love and jealousy, the protagonists committed and/or experienced betrayal, humiliation, the power of prayer, punishment and reward. Readers of different times could easily project themselves into the plot thus directed alternatively by the vicissitudes of fortune, or the trials by God. The protagonists' personal features are not very well worked out, they are more like stereotypes of well-known characters: the travelling hero, the righteous king, the loving husband and the virtuous wife, the widowed father, the wicked foster-mother or the innocent virgin. These stereotypical figures were not only easily moved into different timeframes and

places (as happened e.g. in the Danish *King Apollon of Tyre*, where Apollonius became the king of Naples or in one of the French redactions, where the suitors of Apollonius' would-be wife are the sons of the kings of Hungary and Cyprus)²⁰, but they directly invited the readers' imagination to color them out. In addition to these characteristics, the secret of the success of the *Historia* could have lied in the dichotomy of its plot. It could be read not only as an odyssey of the noble king Apollonius²¹, but also as the exemplary *vita* of his orphaned daughter, Tharsia, who saved her virginity in a brothel, like a number of early Christian saints of the 2nd–4th centuries²². Although it had probably been composed in the milieu of the pagan revival in the 5th century, *Historia Apollonii* later became a piece of monastic reading, as attested among others by the 11th-century *Apollonius pictus* that originates from the privileged Benedictine monastery at Werden an der Ruhr. Seeking the role and function such a profane work could have had in monastic circles, we recall the plays of Hrotsvita of Gandersheim that the 10th-century canoness wrote in order to replace the popular comedies of Terence with more appropriate materials. Not incidentally does she frequently touch upon one of the chief motives of the *Historia*, the importance of virginity, not only as an ideal state of life but also as a state of permanent temptation that, when controlled, can lead to spiritual purification²³. We do not know whether the *Historia* has been ever performed in the Middle Ages²⁴, but it is more than noteworthy that a good number of the illustrations in the *Apollonius pictus* show dialogues of the protagonists in a way very similar to depictions found in a series of 9th–11th-century Terence manuscripts²⁵. The German names written in the course of the 11th–12th century next to the figures of the *Apollonius pictus* also suggest that the protagonists were personified. From the 12th century on, the popularity of the *Historia*

Tradition. *Gesta* 28/1 (1989) 30–40, draws parallels between 14th-century manuscript illumination and a group of ivories depicting romance scenes.

¹⁷) The carpet is in the *Museo Civico* in Padova. On Jourdain de Blaye: P. F. Dembowski (ed.), *Jourdain de Blaye* (Jordains de Blaivies). *Chanson de geste*. Chicago–London 1969. The carpet is also mentioned by M. Theisen, *History Buech Reimenweisz. Geschichte, Bildprogramm und Illuminatoren des Willehalm-Codex König Wenzels IV. von Böhmen*, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Ser. nov. 2643. Wien 2010, 77.

¹⁸) Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 8503; Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ms. Ashburnham 123; London, BL, Royal 20 C II; New York, PML, M 126.

¹⁹) There is reference to the illustrated manuscripts in Archibald, Apollonius of Tyre (1991) 95–96, 196. However, I lean on the database of Paris, BnF: <http://mandragore.bnf.fr/jsp/rechercheExperte.jsp> (downloaded 02/15/14) when dating ms. lat. 8502 and ms. lat. 8503.

²⁰) Archibald, Apollonius of Tyre (1991) 187–188, 199–200.

²¹) In some interpretations *Historia Apollonii* not merely narrates a kind of odyssey, but shares common motives with the *Odyssey* itself: N. Holzberg, *The Historia Apollonii regis Tyri and the Odyssey*. In: Hofmann, Groningen Colloquia 91–101.

²²) Archibald, Apollonius of Tyre (1991) 34.

²³) A. Classen, *Sex on the Stage (and in the Library) of an Early Medieval Convent: Hrotsvit of Gandersheim. A Tenth-Century Convent Playwright's Successful Competition against the Roman Poet Terence*. *Orbis Litterarum* 65/3 (2010) 167–200.

²⁴) The first known dramatized version of the plot is Shakespeare's *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*.

²⁵) For the new evaluation of the tradition and transmission of the illustrated comedies of Terence: D. H. Wright, *The Lost Late Antique Illustrated Terence*. Città del Vaticano 2006.

was obviously interlocked with the growing interest in the Eastern Mediterranean, as the destination of the Crusades. Tyrus, Antiochia, Ephesus, Tarsus, the most important towns in the *Historia*, emerged from the Biblical past to a new level of reality. Tyre itself, captured by the Crusaders in 1124, became one of the most important cities in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It was often depicted e. g. in the French translations of the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of William of Tyre, the chronicler of the Crusades, and it was also given visual emphases in a 14th-century manuscript narrating the story of Alexander, whose famous siege of Tyre could be seen as a prefiguration of the Crusaders' victory²⁶. Although it was hardly possible to find any place for the fictional figure of Apollonius in the narrative of the Crusades, it is highly telling, that in Heinrich von Neustadt's imagination he became the conqueror of fabulous, distant lands, the savior of Jerusalem and even the emperor of Rome.

Heinrich von (Wiener) Neustadt was a doctor in Vienna documented at the beginning of the 14th century²⁷. He was requested by a lady to write his *Apollonius von Tyrland*, the first rhymed German version of the more than thousand-year-old *Historia*, as he proudly states²⁸. The presence of women among his readers is also attested by one of the two illustrated copies (Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 2886) that was in the possession of the 'Edlen Vesten Frauwen...zu Vttendorf'²⁹. However it seems that contrary to the 11th–12th-century Benedictine monks, Heinrich von Neustadt and/or his audience almost completely lost interest in the vicissitudes of Tharsia. Instead of the feminine virtue of perseverance, they responded to the love affairs and exotic travels of a knight in unknown lands. The novelty of Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland* is a long interpolation that would fill a gap in the original plot. Instead of sinking out of our sight for fourteen years (as the Late Antique Apollonius did after he entrusted his orphaned daughter to the care of his friends at Tarsus), Heinrich von Neustadt's hero travels East and West, fights enemies, liberates lands, defends ladies and even gets married three times before setting out in search of his daughter and returning to his real life. The realm of his journey is to be

located in the broad and permeable medieval territory between reality and imagination. Most of the places he visits, among others Barcelona, Galacides, Armenia, Babilonia, Ninive, Ganges, Romania or even Chrysa, the Golden Valley could be considered to exist³⁰, and the monstrous animals Apollonius meets were also familiar from sources that carried a certain authority, e. g. from accounts on the campaign of Alexander the Great in India. Nonetheless, the adventures of *Apollonius von Tyrland* are full of marvelous motives similar to those found in contemporary literature and supposedly understood as fiction.

We have no idea of the circumstances under which the first picture(s) of *Apollonius von Tyrland* were conceived. The two illustrated manuscripts that have come down to us (Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Chart. A 689 and Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2886) were created in the Southern territories of German-speaking lands³¹. Although they both originate from around 1470, and although in both the illustration cycles are made up of drawings, the style of the colored pen-and-ink drawings in the Gotha manuscript differ substantially from the uncolored drawings of the Viennese volume³² (fig. 7, 8). Nonetheless, the two cycles share a number of common features. The selection of the scenes to be depicted is nearly identical and the differences may not reflect the original state but (at least partly) could be the result of later alterations³³. The principles on the basis of which the pictures were placed on the pages are basically the same in both manuscripts and thus the layout-structure is similar as well. The compositions, as far as the number of figures or the nature of backgrounds are concerned, also seem to follow the same models. Most probably, the two series of pictures originate from the same source, the date of which cannot yet been ascertained³⁴. However, we

²⁶) M. Cruse, *Illuminating the Roman d'Alexandre*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264. The Manuscript as Monument. Cambridge 2011, 162–170.

²⁷) P. Ochsenein, Art.: Heinrich von Neustadt. *Verfasserlexikon* 3/2–3 (1981) 838–845.

²⁸) Verses 20.589–20.599. I refer to the numbers according to Birkhan, *Leben und Abenteuer*.

²⁹) Achniz, Heinrich von Neustadt 15.

³⁰) I spell the names according to Birkhan, *Leben und Abenteuer* 375–391. *Romania* was a term used in the 13th century for the Latin Empire of Constantinople. *Chrysa* appears as an Island south of the Paradise on a 13th-century map, the *Ebstorfer Weltkarte*. For this latter: Achniz, Heinrich von Neustadt 12. To what extent can we regard this extraordinary map as a direct mirror of contemporary geographical knowledge is another question.

³¹) Krenn, Minne, *Aventiure, Heldenmut* 80, seeks the place of origin of the Gotha ms. in Bavaria, and that of the Viennese volume in Bavarian-Austrian lands.

³²) The style and most of all the quality of the drawings in the Viennese manuscript are inconsistent and may be the work of more than one hand: Krenn, Minne, *Aventiure, Heldenmut* 62.

³³) Krenn, Minne, *Aventiure, Heldenmut* 62.

³⁴) W. Stammler, Art.: Epenillustration. *Reallexikon der deutschen Kunstgeschichte* 5 (1967) 810–857 (844) speaks about a 14th-century model (without any further explanations).

can assume that the idea of transforming the plot into visual narrative had already existed at the beginning of the 15th century: there were empty places left for illustrations in the early 15th-century manuscript, the imprints of which have been found in Amorbach a few years ago³⁵.

When representing the adventures of *Apollonius von Tyrland* the illustrators not only had to depict such frequently visualized scenes as travel, battle, combat, and courtship (fig. 7, 8), but they also had to give visible form to the imagined reality of distant lands, to unknown folks and their fabulous, sometimes even magical material culture or even to creatures that have never been seen (fig. 9, 10). The inner pictures of the illustrators they projected onto the pages were constructed from the material reality of the age and from the protocol of social contacts (fig. 8). The analogues of the represented themes and pictorial motives, as Margit Krenn pointed out very accurately, are found in illustrations that belong to different text-types, among others to biblical and historical narratives, chronicles, travel accounts or medieval romance literature³⁶.

According to the genre of their physical appearance, the two *Apollonius von Tyrland* manuscripts belong to the circle of those German-speaking, late medieval volumes that have been misleadingly categorized as 'Volkshandschriften', or 'Gebrauchshandschriften' for decades³⁷. Made of paper and usually illustrated with unframed, colored pen- or brush-drawings, these works show the growing 15th-century demand for those continuous visual narratives that succeeded in revealing themselves step by step in time, in line with the story they tell. Their perception required the active participation of the reader, who, in the course of reading, could easily move back and forth in the virtual time of

the plot by turning the pages. The effect of these visual narratives strongly depended on and could be refined by different layout-structures. Placing the pictures for example on the same section in consecutive pages, the illustrator could create an almost stable stage-set for the protagonists. By means of the motion of the figures from one page to the other, the sequence of successive illustrations could thus be transformed into cinematic narration, as happened around 1470 (!) in the *Sigenot* manuscript (Heidelberg, UB, Cod. pal. germ. 67) that was introduced to the scholarly discourse on narrative strategies by Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch³⁸ (fig. 11, 12).

However, the layout-structure used by the editors and/or by the illustrators of the *Apollonius von Tyrland* volumes follows other principles: the depictions are inserted into the text next to the verses they illustrate. As the textual place of the illustrated scenes dominates the visual appearance of the pages, they show great variety. We are probably not very far from the truth in thinking of this method as a very late relative of the Late Antique 'papyrus style illustration', to borrow Weitzmann's terminology he used to describe the series of unframed images physically bound to the corresponding text-columns. Nevertheless, the comparison of the picture cycles of *Apollonius von Tyrland* with the 'papyrus style illustrations' of the Late Antique *Historia Apollonii* transmitted by the 11th-century *Apollonius pictus*, reveals significant differences. The most conspicuous disparity is that while in *Apollonius pictus* there are at least two, but usually six to seven images in each and every page (fig. 1), in *Apollonius von Tyrland* there is typically only one or, exceptionally, two pictures per page (fig. 7–10) and their continuity is broken up by more than half the pages that have no illustrations at all. At the same time thirteen openings in the Gotha and sixteen openings in the shorter Vienna manuscript show pairs of pictures, one on the *verso* and one on the *recto* side³⁹. The balanced rhythm of the picture sequence is intensified in the *Apollonius pictus*, where the images always occupy the width of one column and their height is more or less the same. The *Apollonius von Tyrland* drawings in turn show great variety in their form and size: one- and two-column pictures of different height alternate even with whole-page illustrations, obviously in accordance

In contrast Achnitz, *Ein neuer Textzeuge* 453 argues for the dependence of the Viennese illustrations on the drawings in the Gotha volume. On the basis of the common features of the two picture cycles, but taking into consideration their minor discrepancies as well, Krenn, Minne, *Aventiure, Heldenmut* 29, 80–82, in turn rather tends to count with a common source.

³⁵) Achnitz, *Ein neuer Textzeuge* *passim*. The places left out for illustrations are not completely identical with the places of the corresponding pictures in the Gotha and Vienna volumes. In the manuscript, two leaves of which were maintained by the Amorbach imprints, pictures should have followed verse 15.364 and 15.414, whereas in Gotha the illustrations come after verse 15.340 and 15.406, in Vienna after verse 15.340 and 15.398: Achnitz, *Ein neuer Textzeuge* 455–456.

³⁶) Krenn, Minne, *Aventiure, Heldenmut* 83–172.

³⁷) For the history of these terms and the reevaluation of the 'Bilderhandschriften' in question: L. E. Saurma-Jeltsch, *Zuht und wicze: Zum Bildgehalt spätmittelalterlicher Epenhandschriften*. *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 41 (1987) 42–70.

³⁸) L. E. Saurma-Jeltsch, *Der Codex als Bühne: zum Szenenwandel beim Blättern in der Handschrift*. *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (2009) 77–93.

³⁹) Among the sixteen openings in the Vienna volume two have three illustrations. With very few exceptions the pictures of the openings do not match one another in the two manuscripts.

with the importance of the depicted episodes and scenes (fig. 7–10)⁴⁰. There are no less than 128 images in the Gotha and 109 in the damaged Vienna Apollonius, while the fragmentary *Apollonius pictus* has only thirty-eight illustrations and the traces of at least six additional drawings in it. Still, in both the *Apollonius von Tyrland* manuscripts the number of pictures that narrate the same part of the plot preserved in the *Apollonius pictus* (the story of Tharsia and the reunion of the family) is only twelve⁴¹. Two of these (fig. 13) have no counterparts in *Apollonius pictus*⁴², where, otherwise, the steps between the pictures are regularly much shorter than in *Apollonius von Tyrland*. The uninterrupted flow of textual and visual narratives in *Apollonius pictus*, the effect of which is strengthened by the lack of picture-frames, was replaced in *Apollonius von Tyrland* by the alternate reading of text and images, unframed in the Vienna, framed in the Gotha volume. While the editor and/or illustrator of the Late Antique picture cycle had obviously been interested in the representation of very quick sequences of dialogues and of Apollonius' travels from one place to another, that of *Apollonius von Tyrland* did not simply narrow down the narrative, but sometimes even managed to condense consecutive events into one depiction and translated a good part of the story into different representational forms of social intercourse. The difference between the dramatized series of pictures representing the direct interaction of the protagonists in *Apollonius pictus* and the more ceremonial scenes of *Apollonius von Tyrland* can very well be demonstrated with the images narrating Tharsia's vicissitudes in Mytilene (fig. 13) or Apollonius' return to Tarsus. *Apollonius von Tyrland* devotes only one image to the latter episode, merging the representation of the arrival of Apollonius in Tarsus and his conversation with Tharsia's foster parents into one organic composition

(fig. 14). *Apollonius pictus* in turn tells the story in five consecutive drawings placed on one folio: we follow the events from the arrival of Apollonius through the frightened dialogue of the foster parents and their effort to convince Apollonius about the death of his daughter by showing him 'Tharsia's sepulchre' until the parting of Apollonius in despair (fig. 15).

To be able to investigate the narrative strategies of a late medieval picture cycle in the mirror of what we may believe to be a transmitted Late Antique series of depictions illustrating the same plot is rarely fortunate. It could be revealed that while the principles of the text-image relationship remained similar, the layout structure and most importantly the role of the pictures in the making and in the perception of the narrative had been substantially changed. The works compared are two distant points in the history of the *Historia's* transformation, the most important steps of which could be highlighted. At the same time my case study on the wanderings of King Apollonius of Tyre opens up a whole new set of questions regarding, among others, the history of narrative strategies as reflected in the changes of the layout-structures. It needs further investigation, whether the method of inserting pictures next to the text they illustrate was characteristic of certain periods of time or, rather, related to certain types of texts, whether the direct relationship between text and image implies that the pictures were added to the textual narrative at an early phase of the transmission of the story. Although there is a lot of research to be done in this field⁴³, I suggest that instead of (or in addition to) the linear concept of the genealogy of certain methods of pictorial narration, we should consider the variety of different text-image relationships to be possible options of storytelling that served the demands of different circles of audiences and lived side by side together for long centuries.

⁴⁰) The whole page illustrations are missing from the Vienna volume.

⁴¹) Nr. 107–118, according to the numbering in *Krenn*, Minne, Aventure, Heldenmut 190–219.

⁴²) Nr. 110: Tharsia plays the harp in Mytilene, Nr. 112: Tharsia tells riddles to Apollonius.

⁴³) After finishing my paper I learnt that the 14th-century illustrated Italian Apollonius volume did not completely perish in the 1904 fire in Torino. Although heavily damaged, a number of its pages have survived. Its existence does not modify my present argument, however, a new study will have to be devoted to the analysis of its pictorial narrative with special respect to its place in the illustration history of the *Historia Apollonii*.

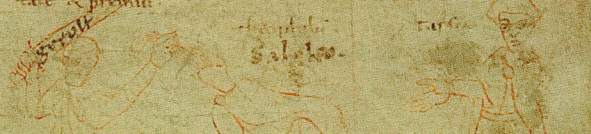


Fig. 1: Apollonius presents Tharsia to her mother (scene 32); The family rejoices (scene 33); The family travels to Tarsus in order to punish the foster parents (scenes 34–37); Tharsia saves Theophilus (scene 38).
Apollonius pictus. Budapest, NSL, Cod. Lat. 4, f. 3v (Werden an der Ruhr, 11th century)



Fig. 2: Apollonius recognizes Tharsia.
Apollonius pictus.
Budapest, NSL,
Cod. Lat. 4, f. 2r
(detail) (Werden
an der Ruhr, 11th
century)



Fig. 3: Tharsia
saves Theophilus
from being killed.
Apollonius pictus.
Budapest, NSL,
Cod. Lat. 4, f. 3v
(detail) (Werden
an der Ruhr, 11th
century)



Fig. 4: Martyrdom of St. Menas (Pyxis).
London, BM, Inv. Nr. 1220.1 (Alexandria, 6th century)



Fig. 5: Lucina's coffin being lowered into the sea (Gamepiece).
New York, MMA, Acc. Nr. 1996.224 (Cologne, 12th century)



Fig. 6: Antiochus and his daughter.
London, BL, Royal MS 20 C II, f. 210r
(detail) (Netherlands, last quarter of the
15th century)



Fig. 7: Tournament of Apollonius and
Jechonias. Heinrich von Neustadt:
Apollonius von Tyrland. Gotha,
Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek.
Chart. A 689, f. 49v (ca. 1470)



Fig. 8: Apollonius and Diomena. Heinrich von Neustadt: Apollonius von Tyrland.
Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, f. 81r (ca. 1470)



Fig. 9: Apollonius meets Pylagrus. Heinrich von Neustadt: Apollonius von Tyrland. Gotha. Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Chart. A 689, f. 77v (ca. 1470)



Fig. 10: Apollonius meets Pylagrus. Heinrich von Neustadt: Apollonius von Tyrland. Wien. ÖNB. Cod. 2886, f. 59r (ca. 1470)



Fig. 11: 'Sigenot'. Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. Germ. 67, f. 69r (Workshop of Ludwig Henfflin, ca. 1470)



Fig. 12: 'Sigenot'. Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. Germ. 67, f. 69v (Workshop of Ludwig Henfflin, ca. 1470)



Fig. 13: Tharsia in Mytilene. Heinrich von Neustadt: Apollonius von Tyrland. Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, f. 99r (ca. 1470)

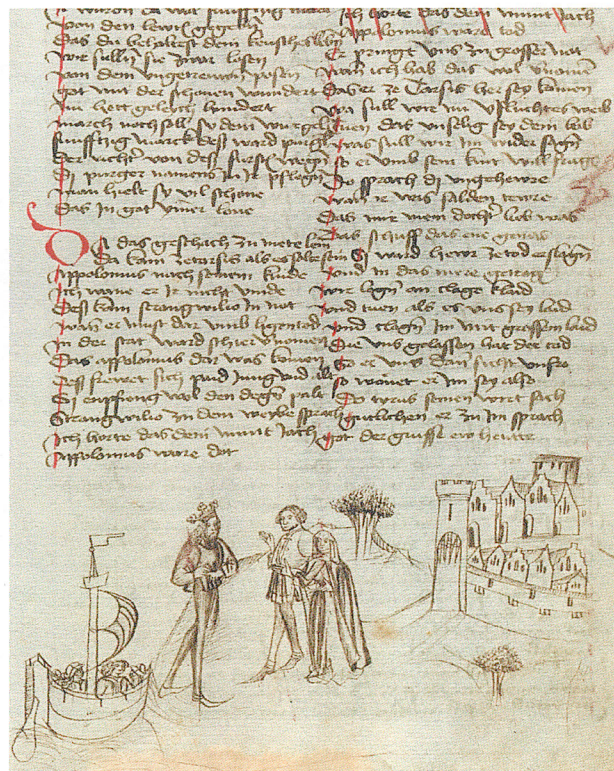


Fig. 14: Apollonius in Tarsus. Heinrich von Neustadt: Apollonius von Tyrland. Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 2886, f. 100r (ca. 1470)



Fig. 15: Apollonius in Tarsus. Apollonius pictus. Budapest, NSL.
Cod. Lat. 4, f. 4r (Werden an der Ruhr, 11th century)