

Stelios Panayotakis
The Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre

TEXTE UND KOMMENTARE

Eine altertumswissenschaftliche Reihe

Herausgegeben von

Siegmar Döpp, Adolf Köhnken, Ruth Scodel

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*The Story of Apollonius,
King of Tyre*

A Commentary

by

Stelios Panayotakis

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Preface

The anonymous *Story of Apollonius, king of Tyre* (*Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*; hereafter, *Hist. Apoll.*) is a difficult text to comment on: what we have is not a single, fixed text, but various versions (also known as recensions) of the story; the earliest of these (rec. A and rec. B) are in Latin and have been composed as late as the fifth/sixth cent. AD, yet (it is argued) they ultimately derive from a lost original of the third cent. AD, which may have been written in Greek in a longer form. The relation of the *Hist. Apoll.* either to the Greek and Latin texts classified as ‘the ancient novel’ or to folktale is a matter of scholarly debate, while the co-existence in the text of pagan and Christian literature has been taken as an indication of the corrupt state of the text, and of its transformation from a pagan into a Christian (or Christianized) tale. The evidence for the argumentation summarised here can be found in detail in excellent studies on the *Hist. Apoll.* written by editors of the text (e.g. Schmeling 1996; Kortekaas 1998; 2004: 1–102) and by other specialists in the field (e.g. Mazza 1985; Archibald 1991; Garbugino 2004). The reader is also well served by recent (methodologically different) editions of the earliest recensions (see Bibliography §2.; Puche López 1999a; Hunt 1994) and is greatly helped by two commentaries, one on rec. A (Konstan and Roberts 1985) and the other on both rec. A and rec. B (Kortekaas 2007).

The present commentary contains frequent references to earlier scholarship, as well as new evidence and a fresh examination of the material. Its purpose is to offer a comprehensive account of the different traditions that are active in the *Hist. Apoll.* by means of a detailed discussion of the language and the literary texture of the earliest Latin version, rec. A, which, in the words of a recent editor of the text, is ‘the longer, more verbose, almost poetic version’ (Kortekaas 2004: 3). References to rec. B will be few and selective; rec. B is contemporary with rec. A, and probably depends partly on it (Kortekaas 1984: 61–7; for other views see Merkelbach 1995b and Garbugino 2008 = 2010: 69–85). The decision to limit myself to the analysis of rec. A was dictated by practical reasons at the beginning of the project; for a comparative evaluation of rec. A and rec. B the reader should turn to Janka 1997a and Kortekaas 2007. But, while I am aware that the (still unresolved) issue of the origins of the text may account for both content and style in rec. A, my choice to focus on the earliest version of the *Hist. Apoll.* squares with my view of it as a late Latin literary composition that deserves analysis on its own right.

To be precise, I discuss the Latin text as a narrative with its own rhetoric, according to which traditionally different categories, such as Latin and Greek, pagan and Christian, sophisticated and naïve, are not mutually exclusive; on the contrary, as I attempt to demonstrate in this volume, they may co-exist and support each other. Our understanding of the Latin *Hist. Apoll.* as more than the shadow of an original, or as a corrupt or idiosyncratic text, greatly depends (I believe) on our appreciation of late antique culture and art; this connection has yet to be explored.

The preparation of the Commentary was announced in *Gnomon* 70, 1998, 286, and in *PSN* 28, 1998, 6. The post-doctoral research was subsidized by the Foundation for Literary Studies, Musicology and Drama Research (LMT) of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), while ‘Het huis met de dertien tempels’ in Groningen has been a most hospitable working environment. But the journey into the lion’s den took me much longer than I had originally expected, and the long delay in the publication of the final product of the project was due only partly to my academic wanderings and the workings of malevolent Fortune; both the task of editing the volume and the reconsideration of the material in the light of important new publications contributed to the slow progress of the work.

On the other hand, there has been much improvement on the content and style of the book from the valuable comments I received from many colleagues on various occasions during these years, especially at the Universities of Groningen, Ghent, and Crete; I would like to thank in particular G.A.A. Kortekaas (Groningen), G. Schmeling (Florida), C. Puche López (Alicante), A. Stramaglia (Bari), and P. Liviabella-Furiani (Perugia) for kindly providing me with publications, and J.N. Bremmer (Groningen), D. Praet (Ghent), and M. Paschalis (Crete) for helpful suggestions. The work on the commentary also greatly profited from a visit to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* in Munich, and from the kind assistance of the staff of the Groningen University Library. The editors of the TuK series have been very helpful with their feedback on an earlier draft of the book, and Andreas Brandmair has been an acute and encouraging copy-editor throughout the production of the volume.

I am particularly grateful to all members of the research group *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius*, especially Maaïke Zimmerman (Groningen), Danielle van Mal-Maeder (Lausanne), and Wytse Keulen (Rostock), and to Adrie van der Laan (Rotterdam), for the enjoyable and inspiring discussions we had during the time we shared the ‘Apuleiuskamer’ and beyond. Maaïke Zimmerman, who was also the supervisor of this project, has given me her unfailing support, guidance, and friendship during the last 20 years; I owe a great deal to her both as a scholar and as a person. My twin brother, Costas, discussed with me drafts of my work and was keen to see the completion of the project. I dedicate the volume to him.

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Introduction

1. Authorship and Date
2. Structure and Content
3. Space and Time
4. The Narrative Situation
5. Genre and Literary Texture
6. Religion
7. Language and Style
8. Transmission of the Text and *Sigla*

In view of the recent publications on the *Hist. Apoll.* mentioned in the Preface to this volume, the brief introduction that follows is meant to be an overview of the most important issues I was confronted with while studying rec. A, and of the ways in which I addressed these issues in the commentary.

1. Authorship and Date

The *Hist. Apoll.* was known as a narrative of uncertain authorship already by the early Medieval times, when we have the earliest references to the title of the text (Riese 1871; below n. on Title). Scholars agree that the *Hist. Apoll.* is based on a (now lost) original, and have attempted to ascertain the identity of the author of that text, or at least his profession: *he* may have been a teacher of rhetoric (Rossbach 1893: 1235; Svoboda 1962: 221) or a physician (Bugiel 1924: 371), while Riese, who edited the text twice and believed in the Greek origins of the Latin narrative, stated that he would not be surprised if it was discovered that the original was written by Xenophon of Ephesus himself (for a convincing refutation of this view see Scarcella 1977: 80 n.3 = 1993: 200 n.3). Kortekaas describes rec. A ‘as the work of a Christian from the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century’ (1984: 106; 237 n.584), and locates its place of origin somewhere in Italy, probably Rome (*ibid.* 114–15). The proposed date is confirmed by the evidence presented in this commentary: the Latinity of the text, the strong influence which Biblical Latin exerted on it, and the impressive familiarity of the anonymous author with the Vulgate strongly argue for a late date of composition. However, Kortekaas’ argument includes ‘a certain measure of stylistic relationship’ (*ibid.* 105) between rec. A and the Italian (Roman) hagiography of the fifth/sixth cent.,

which in my view is an overestimated interpretation of the evidence. As for the identification of the author as ‘a Christian’ see below, §6. Religion.

Anonymous authorship is an important feature of texts that are characterised by fluidity of narrative structure in the manuscript tradition; as I demonstrate in the commentary, close examination of the readings provided by the manuscripts in rec. A indicates that copyists, instead of more or less faithfully reproducing the text, intentionally alter the phraseology and sometimes even expand or shorten the content (cf. Kortekaas 1984: 68). The freedom of the copyist has been compared with the autonomy and individuality that is commonly associated with an author, while the original text is said to function as a basis for further retellings (Thomas 1998: 280–1, 289 and 2003: 72–86; Sanz Morales 2006). Viewed against this background, the *Hist. Apoll.*, like the *Alexander Romance*, may be described as an ‘open’ text, that is, ‘a particular kind of artistic entity, distinct from the works that typically constitute the modern literary canon; open texts admit a degree of variation or indeterminacy that is incompatible with single authorial control’ (Konstan 1998b: 23). Nevertheless, our text is a modest example of the type: the inessential parts of the story and the wording may vary, but the essential components are fixed (Antiochus rapes his daughter, Apollonius loses his wife and daughter, and is reunited with them) (Panayotakis 2007: 299–302). Moreover, throughout the version under analysis, there is (I believe) evidence for stylistic homogeneity and for careful (authorial/editorial) work performed, in all likelihood, by a single hand. For these reasons I refer in the commentary to ‘the author of rec. A’, whose style and literary technique I hope to demonstrate.

2. Structure and Content

The *Hist. Apoll.* relates the fascinating adventures of Apollonius, an upper class person, who (in the course of the story) creates a family (wife and daughter), loses it, and is reunited with it, while he also renounces his princely status and recovers it. Various suggestions have been made regarding the division of the rich narrative material and the episodic structure of the story. A selective presentation follows.

Garin 1914: 200 identifies four sections, namely chs. 1–7 Antiochus’ story, 8–28 first adventures of Apollonius, 29–36 Tarsia’s story, and 37–51 final adventures of Apollonius and conclusion. Ruiz-Montero 1983–84: 317–19 detects two main narrative parts which are separated by the vital information about the death of the incestuous Antiochus (ch. 24), while Mazza 1985: 604–8 proposes four ‘movimenti’ which are focussed on Apollonius (chs. 1–6, 6–28, 37–47, 48–51), and are interrupted by an ‘intermezzo’ containing Tarsia’s adventures (chs. 29–36). Schmeling (1996a: 517–25) divides the narrative into three sections of uneven length, during which Apollonius solves

riddles and becomes, first, a suitor of king Antiochus' only daughter (chs. 1–10), then a suitor of king Archistrates' only daughter (chs. 11–26), and finally almost a suitor of his own daughter, whose hand he eventually gives in marriage to an acceptable suitor (chs. 27–51). At the end of the first and of the second sections there is an account of a storm which (re)directs the hero's travels at sea, while there are also subsections such as a Prelude for Antiochus' incest (1–3) or Tarsia's story (27–36). Finally, Fernández Savater 1994b: 131–6 divides the story into thematically oriented narrative blocks, including chs. 1–2 (Antiochus' incest), 3–6 (the riddle test), 6–24 (Apollonius' escape), 25–8 (Apollonius' separation from his wife and his daughter), 29–36 (Tarsia's story), 37–8 (Apollonius' return), 39–49 (the family reunion), and 50–1 ('Happy End').

While such divisions are helpful for the understanding of the arrangement of the narrative material and contribute to its analysis under different perspectives, they are also artificial, because (as Fernández Savater herself demonstrates) the episodes to which they correspond are not always self-contained and successive units, but are often open-ended, describing parallel actions and connecting with each other; for example, the so-called Tarsia's story (chs. 29–36) runs parallel to the episode of Apollonius' return to Tarsus (chs. 37–38) and continues with the recognition between father and daughter (chs. 39–49); even the famous Prelude at Antioch (chs. 1–3) has its conclusion as late as ch. 24, which (as has been justly recognized by Ruiz-Montero) is the main intersection in the story: it both contains the crucial news about Antiochus' death and announces the pregnancy of Apollonius' wife. On the other hand, we should also bear in mind that the division of the text of the *Hist. Apoll.* into 51 chapters originates with Riese 1871 and does not always take into account turning points in the story. For example, Apollonius' return to Tyre and his immediate flight is described in the middle of ch. 6; nonetheless, both Mazza and Fernández Savater regard this point as the beginning of a new narrative section. Furthermore, the inner consistency of the narrative, as I demonstrate in the commentary, is enhanced by a structural design that is firmly based on the principles of thematic repetition (with variation), parallelism, and antithesis, while the themes that permeate the narrative, discussed by e.g. Archibald 1991: 15–26, include incest, kingship, riddles, learning, and (as I argue) reciprocity.

In addition to Apollonius' wife and daughter, a large number of other characters, of varied significance, play their parts in Apollonius' story. It is worth mentioning that this long list, recorded by Lana 1975a: 51–7, includes both mortals and divine characters; the former group is represented by members of various ages and social classes – contrary to general opinion, the *Hist. Apoll.* is not a tale of kings, although it is a tale about royal status – ranging from kings and princes to fishermen, pimps, and slaves. The divine sphere is

represented by the angel who appears in Apollonius' dream as a speaking individual, and whose instructions are reported by the narrator in direct speech (ch. 48). Some of the secondary characters are assigned a proper name that is significant (e.g. the stewards Thaliarchus and Theophilus), but anonymity in rec. A is not considered inappropriate (even) for a main character (compare, in rec. A., the example of king Archistrates' daughter who becomes Apollonius' wife).

There are several passages in the text which, according to some scholars, contain narrative inconsistencies and contradictions that undermine the coherence of the plot and, it has been argued, reveal it as a Christian epitome of a longer pagan original; a comprehensive and augmented list of such passages has conveniently been compiled by Kortekaas 1984: 106–7 and 2004: 43–51, who subscribes to the above theory and locates the place and the date of composition of the epitome in Asia Minor at a late date. The epitome theory is directly related to the assumption that the lost (Greek) original, if there was one, ought to be fuller in detail and stylistically more refined than the two extant Latin versions (but cf. Hägg 1994: 48, 'the lost Greek original of the Latin *HA* would also rank among the 'non-sophistic' novels, of the less accomplished, Xenophon of Ephesus type, though its exact nature can of course only be divined'). Essential characteristics for the definition of a work as epitome include (according to Opelt in *RAC* 5, 944) brevity and emphasis on content rather than style, neither of which Opelt identifies in the *Hist. Apoll.* (see her review of Kortekaas 1984 in *MLatJb* 21, 1986, 319). On the other hand, *breuitas* can be a stylistic choice and/or a characteristic of a narrative mode; Callu 1990: 92 associates it with pagan literary production reacting against Christian prolixity and views the *Hist. Apoll.* as a transitional text 'du roman au conte.' In the commentary I discuss both the passages that have been seen to indicate epitomisation and other passages that are presented as 'problems in the plot' (Archibald 1991: 63–71), and for many of them I suggest possible alternative explanations (see, for example, the discussion on Apollonius' flight from Tyre in ch. 6, or on his statue and his *asylia* in ch. 29; for another example with a longer discussion see Panayotakis 2006). It would also be instructive to take into account the method adopted, and the results achieved, by the ancient epitomator in the case of the *Clementine Recognitions*, a fictional narrative that thematically resembles our text and survives both in complete and in epitome form (cf. Risch 2003).

3. Space and Time

The action in the *Hist. Apoll.* is both linear and parallel (Fernández-Savater 1994: 122–7), and its chronotope is not circular: it opens *in ciuitate Antiochia* and ends (probably) in Pentapolis in Cyrenaica. According to Konstan's defi-

inition of a ‘continuous action space’ in the ancient novels, that is, following the movement of the main characters and establishing spatial (dis)continuity (Konstan 2002: 2), the story of Apollonius is a narrative in which ‘action space’ is ‘discontinuous’, and contains ‘action spaces’ that overlap temporally. For the latter feature we may point to the use of phrases such as *cum haec aguntur* (e.g. ch. 37); they function as both temporal markers and connective links, switching between different locations. The notion of ‘discontinuity’ is related to temporal intervals and to the interruption of action, ‘even if the scene remains constant’ (Konstan *ibid.*; cf. ch. 24), while a discontinuity becomes radical when the action continues in another location (cf. chs. 28 and 29). In most cases the reader keeps the main characters in view, even if they are not in sight (for their ‘implicit trail’ see e.g. chs. 27 and 48), but there are also exceptions to the rule (see chs. 28 and 37, Apollonius’ stay in Egypt).

The topography of the story combines limited, closed spaces (e.g. the princesses’ bedrooms at chs. 1 and 19; Apollonius’ refuge into the hold of the ship) with wide, open ones, which include several locations along the sea-shore, as well as in the open sea. The action is divided between land and sea, but the marine element is strongly felt throughout the story (cf. the detail of the festivities in honour of the sea-god Neptune in ch. 39), and is underlined by the fact that the hero and/or other characters always travel by sea. The course of their travels is conveniently sketched on a map of the Eastern Mediterranean in Archibald 1991 (frontispiece and back cover pages); Alvares 1996: 809 Map G; and Kortekaas 2004: 2. Intriguing, in terms of interpretation, is the choice of famous cities that feature in the plot: Antioch, Tyre, Tarsus, Mytilene, Ephesus, and Egypt. Surely, the cities listed earlier constitute significant places in the author’s literary topography and play an important role in the authorial plan for the hero’s characterisation (cf. Pioletti 2000; Chiarini 2005). The choice of Tarsus is of particular interest, because both Bremmer (1998: 169–70) and Kortekaas (2004: 83–91; for his former preference for Syria see 1984: 130) argue that Tarsus was the place of origin of the (Greek) original on which the *Hist. Apoll.* was based; however, the fact that the form of the young heroine’s name is (erroneously) connected with the Cilician Tarsus suggests caution (see ch. 28). While Garin 1914: 209 n.2 has pointed out that these places commonly feature in the plots of the Greek romances, it is equally important to note that the majority of these locations are also related to the life and deeds of both the philosopher Apollonius of Tyana (cf. Dzielska 1996: 51–84) and Paul the Apostle.

Narrated time may be measured only with reference to literary convention: the hero Apollonius first appears at a marriageable age (ch. 4) and at the very end of the story dies at the age of a Biblical patriarch (ch. 51). Throughout the story there are many references to time (in terms of hours, days and nights, months and years, but also the celebration of a religious festival in ch.

39), which provide it with a strong realistic effect. Nevertheless, time markers or time indications can also be vague and/or have a narratological significance rather than a realistic one; cf. the incongruous time markers in the episode at sea (ch. 25), the time limits of thirty days (chs. 5, 40), and the time indication for Apollonius' stay in Tarsus (ch. 51). For a discussion of the chronotope in the *Hist. Apoll.* see Fernández Savater 1994.

The period of time covered in the story of Apollonius by far exceeds the average life-period of humans (see ch. 51), and is narrated in no more than 35 (densely printed) pages of Teubner text (Schmeling 1988). Approximately the half of the story – as transmitted in rec. A – consists of reported direct speech (narrative time = narrated time), while there is hardly any use of descriptive accounts, which may constitute narrative pause (for possible explanations about their absence see Wolff 2005).

4. The narrative situation

The account of Apollonius' adventures is given by an 'external (to the novel), third-person, omniscient, unpersonalized narrator' (Schmeling 1996a: 545), whose presence may at times be felt by means of conventional phrases such as *quid multa?* or *quid plura?*, and *ut supra diximus*; the former express narrative haste, the latter authorial predilection for repetition. Moreover, narratorial asides and comments, including the striking aside on the 'death' of Apollonius' wife (ch. 24), and the comment on the haughtiness of powerful men (ch. 8), indicate the involvement of the narrator, and a non-detached way of storytelling, which suggests that the narrator is interested more in the progress of the story than in the reader's suspense. The setting switches easily from land to sea (and vice-versa), and the narrator has access to all the thoughts and the motivations of all the characters, which he does not always share with the reader cf. the striking attitude of Antiochus in ch. 5). On the other hand, it is also possible to find a few instances of 'embedded' focalisation, in which the narrator adopts the limited perspective of a character (for example see ch. 26).

5. Genre and Literary Texture

It is difficult to assign a single generic label to a text that not only draws from various literary sources, including epic, drama, the novel, rhetorical exercises and technical treatises, riddles, historical sources, and hagiography (Archibald 1991: 27–44; Kuhlmann 2002), but also apparently accommodates stylistic features that underline its oral-formulaic character (Ruiz-Montero 1983–84: 324–7; Puche López 1997: 38–45; Fernández-Savater 1997: 52–3) and, more importantly, survives in versions of diverse content and style. The individual character of each version can be assessed not only by means of a thorough

comparison between different versions, but also through the reception of one and the same version by different readers, ancient and modern alike (see, for example, Janka 1997a and Kortekaas 1998). The lack of an original could in itself be important for the generic identity of this 'open' text, while its generic indeterminacy may well have contributed to its enormous popularity (Thomas 1998: 280; Archibald 1991: 106). 'Anonymous authorship, textual fluidity, and continued popularity over a long period are typical of the *folkbook*' (Hansen 1998: xxii). It is also instructive to consider the significance of the key-word of the title (*Historia*), which may be understood as an attempt at generic definition, however broad and diverse the term *historia* might have been in antiquity and in the Middle Ages (see Archibald 1991: 84–7; and below n. on Title).

The *Hist. Apoll.* should best be read as an inclusive rather than as an exclusive text. The remarkable variety of various genres of Latin literature present in the text, interacting with each other and contributing to the plot of the narrative and to the characterisation of the cast, has already been mentioned. In the commentary there is special reference to the strong influence of (Greek and Latin) epic, love elegy, declamation, comedy, and mime. Latin prose authors whose work is echoed in the text include Cicero, Vitruvius, and Seneca, and perhaps Apuleius, while a host of literary echoes from Biblical stories (including Tamar, Joseph and his brothers, Potiphar's wife, Samson's riddle, Tobit, Job, and the parables of the Good Samaritan, and of the merchant and the pearl) is impossible to miss from the beginning to the very end of this version of the story.

But a balanced appreciation of the dense literary texture of the narrative can only be achieved if we read it also against the background of Greek language (evident in frequent translingual puns) and literature, especially of Homeric epic and the ancient novel; our author is undoubtedly familiar with the conventions of the latter (Fernández-Savater 2005), which, however, he subverts more often than he follows (Schmeling 1996a: 540–4; for the relationship of asymmetry see also Konstan 1994: 100–13; for a different opinion see Kortekaas 2004: 40–1 and 2007 *passim*, where passages from Greek novels are taken as evidence for the Greek origins of the Latin narrative). Szepessy 1985–88 proposes to classify a few texts from late antiquity (including our own) under the label of 'the family novel', separation and reunion of family members being a favourite literary theme already in classical antiquity. He also argues that the focus on family has facilitated the adaptation of the story from pagan into Christian (1995: 148).

6. Religion

The relationship between the earliest versions of the *Hist. Apoll.*, rec. A and rec. B, may be described, according to Kortekaas, in terms of 'a biography

according to the norms of hagiography or of history' (1998: 191). Kortekaas also believes that rec. A is the work of a Christian (see above, §1.), and Hexter shares this opinion when he describes the *Hist. Apoll.* as 'profoundly, albeit never explicitly, Christian' (1988: 188). The setting of the story is of course Hellenistic and pagan, and there are references to Neptune (ch. 12) and his festival, the Neptunalia (ch. 39), and to the great Diana of Ephesus, who arranges through an angel the reunion of the separated family (ch. 48). Furthermore, characters pray to or address a single (unspecified) god (chs. 31–32). An unspecified divinity is also held responsible for the instant death by thunderbolt of Antiochus and his daughter (ch. 24). The lack of any explicit reference to Christian material makes Schmeling wonder 'what would make it and its author Christian' (1996a: 533); he accordingly considers linguistic evidence, such as Biblical phrases, as interpolations that can be removed without damaging the substance of the text.

The notions of 'Christianisation' and 'Christian identity' are very complex and difficult to explain, let alone to apply to a literary text which (I believe) is certainly not intended to be a means of religious propaganda. Still, the change from paganism to Christianity cannot be seen in terms of an one-way and straightforward process (see e.g. Brown 1995), and in this commentary I attempt to interpret the pagan, Jewish, and Christian elements with special reference to the literary tradition and the rhetoric of the late Roman empire. While I subscribe to the view that Biblical and Christian Latin are in abundance in the *Hist. Apoll.* and have a significant function in it, I do not agree with the argument that our text has been modelled on hagiography (which in itself is a complex notion: van Uytanghe 1993); as I argue elsewhere (Panayotakis 2002; 2003; 2011), rec. A may share rhetorical features and narrative motifs with hagiography, but the way in which hagiography and rec. A view the same material is strikingly different. If our author borrows from the Bible, he does not convey a message of faith; rather it is learning and wit and a care-free use of the sacred text in the service of earthly values that characterise the use of Biblical and Christian Latin in the *Hist. Apoll.*

In a thought-provoking study William Robins (2000) has argued that the pagan *Hist. Apoll.* may have existed as a known literary landmark in the late antique literary production, which Christian writers (including Jerome) amply imitated. I would like to suggest that both Christian and pagan literary traditions have contributed to the composition of rec. A, and that their co-existence in the text is not a sign of corruption and degeneration (as is argued by Klebs 1899); rather, it may be linked, on the one hand, to the lack of a clear-cut division between the Christian and the pagan in the era of the text's production, and, on the other, to the 'continuing vitality of a living work' (Hansen 1998: xxii).

7. Language and Style.

The *Hist. Apoll.*, often recommended as beginner's Latin (cf. Niemann 1991), is 'deceptively simple' (Schmeling 1996a: 528). The language, as transmitted in version A, is pitched at different stylistic levels, and it includes instances of colloquial and vulgar Latin, poetic and elevated register, and rhetorical and technical vocabulary. Parataxis is by far the preferred means of telling the story, and the use of simple style is most notable in passages in which direct speech is involved. In discussing the style and language of rec. A, my aim was to point out to the reader the continuity and change of the Latin literary tradition, the late Latin or 'vulgar' elements, as well as the syntactical and lexical innovations or rarities. The prose in this version is characterised by verbosity, sound-play and word-play, and rhythmical effects; the latter have been discussed by Puche López 2004 and argue against the theory of the extant text as a literal translation from the Greek. The literary analysis of the text, chapter by chapter, section by section, has so far shown a continuous presence of Christian Latin, but pagan texts with persisting popularity in late antiquity are also conspicuous. These layers behind the extant versions of the *Hist. Apoll.* should not be considered mutually exclusive; they certainly reveal not only a degree of sophistication and a high level of literary education on the part of the author, but also his literary ambitions and his aspirations.

With relation to the issue of whether or not the *Hist. Apoll.* was based on another text written in Greek, my research shows that the linguistic evidence which has so far been adduced in favour of a Greek original (e.g. rare and/or odd expressions, Grecisms, alleged errors of translation; see Kortekaas 1984: 107–12 and 2004: 31–40) is by no means firm or conclusive. Unique expressions may show a remarkable degree of originality rather than the lack of it (cf. Panayotakis 2000). As far as the interpretation of Grecisms in the *Hist. Apoll.* is concerned, I decided, on methodological grounds, to distinguish between such forms on a lexical level and on a syntactical level, and to investigate their presence also elsewhere in Latin literature and in Biblical texts or in other works which clearly are translations from Greek; my conclusion is that neither the analysis on a lexical level nor the discussion in issues of syntax can be convincingly employed to prove the existence of a Greek model. 'Grecisms do not necessarily allow us to posit a Greek original; rather they bespeak the degree to which Greek, and the extensive literature of translation from Greek, had become part of the language' (Hexter 1988: 189). For these reasons I believe that rarities of language and oddities of expression are *per se* of limited value. Nevertheless, textual criticism can be valuable in approaching the issue at hand (cf. Mussies 1974), for there are several cases of transmitted textual errors which have been accounted for in an unsatisfactory way.

Some of them may well point to the existence of a Greek sub-text for the Latin text, as I argue at several points in the commentary (see chs. 13 and 47).

8. Transmission of the Text and *Sigla*

We may argue that a new era for textual studies on the *Hist. Apoll.* began in the latter half of the twentieth century. This reappraisal is indicated by the publication (for the first time in the twentieth century) of three critical editions of its earliest versions, Tsitsikli (1981), Kortekaas (1984), and Schmeling (1988), and of a commentary by Konstan and Roberts (1985). Each of these editions follows a different path of interpretation and constitution of the text. The textual analysis of the *Hist. Apoll.* has been enriched even further by a number of studies on textual criticism by J. Hunt (e.g. 1996). While I was preparing my own commentary, I saw the publication of another edition of the *Hist. Apoll.* by Kortekaas and also a commentary on it by him (2004 and 2007), and to all of them has now been added yet another edition by Garbugino (2010). I have also been informed that a second Teubner edition by Schmeling is forthcoming. For the reading text that is printed before the commentary see below (Note to the Text).

The manuscripts of rec. A to which reference is made in my commentary include Laurentianus plut. LXVI 40 (*siglum* A), dated to the late ninth cent., surviving incomplete, and Parisinus 4955 (*siglum* P), dated to the late fourteenth century. There are also c. 200 interlinear emendations in a MS (Va) from a later version (rec. C), *siglum* Va^c; these emendations derive from a MS of rec. A, which Kortekaas places between the Laurentianus and the Parisinus. They are evaluated in this order: first A, and second Va^c and P. The derived version rec. α, divided into two groups, preserves a longer version (= φF), and a shorter version (= L, G, Atr) of the text. For the detailed description of the manuscripts in rec. A, and for the account of the interrelationships between them see Kortekaas 1984: 24–37 and 67–80, respectively.

The abbreviations of the title of the text (*Hist. Apoll.*) and of its versions (rec. A and rec. B) used throughout the commentary instead of those proposed by Klebs 1899 (RA, RB), are from the Index to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Lipsiae, 1990²).

HISTORIA APOLLONII REGIS TYRI

REC. A

TEXT

Note to the Text

The text of the *Hist. Apoll.* rec. A printed here mainly follows the edition by Kortekaas (2004). The numeration within each chapter given in superscript numbers is, with minor alterations, that by Konstan and Roberts (1985). I consulted the editions of the *Hist. Apoll.* by Riese (1871, 1893²), Ring (1887), Waiblinger (1978), Tsitsikli (1981), Kortekaas (1984), Konstan and Roberts (1985), Schmeling (1988), and Archibald (1991); and the commentaries by Konstan and Roberts (1985), and Kortekaas (2007). Yet I could not take into account the recent edition with translation of the *Hist. Apoll.* by Garbugino (2010). The reading text contains no critical apparatus. Still, all important issues of textual criticism are discussed in the commentary. In the following places I have adopted or proposed a different reading than the one found in the text by Kortekaas (indicated by chapter and line number).

This text		Kortekaas' text	
1.2	mortale< <i>m</i> > Riese	1,4	mortale <i>AVd</i>
1.3	formositas <i>VdP</i>	1,5	formonsitas <i>A</i>
1.4	potissimum <i>P</i>	1,7	potentissimo <i>A</i>
1.7	scelesti <i>P</i>	1,16	scelestis <i>A</i>
2.2	perfusa< <i>m</i> > Riese	2,2	perfusa <i>AP</i>
2.6	Horreo Riese	2,11	Horret Kortekaas
4.2	et < <i>ait</i> > Riese	4,4	et <i>AP</i>
4.2	gener <i>A</i>	4,5	[gener] Riese
6.3	ascendens petiit patriam <i>P</i> < <i>innocentis</i> > Tsitsikli	6,8	inuctus est <i>A</i>
7.1	tremor ingens <i>A</i>	7,2	tremor <i>P</i>
7.1	planctus rec. <i>a</i>	7,2	planctus ingens <i>AP</i>
7.5	in luctu Riese	7,10	in luctum <i>AP</i>
7.9	Apollonius <i>P</i>	7,21	Apollonium <i>A</i>
8.5	decoratam <i>P</i>	8,9	decorata <i>A</i>
8.13	amicitia <i>P</i>	8,26	amicitiam <i>A</i>
9.5	salutis <i>P</i>	9,11	salutem <i>A</i>
9.7	et dicens <i>A</i>	9,16	dicens <i>P</i>
10.3	in patria mea Riese	10,8	in patriam meam <i>A</i>

10.6	optant <et> Riese	10,14	optant <i>A</i>
10.6	in foro, in biga Riese	10,15	in biga, in foro <i>A</i>
10.7	THARSIA scripsi	10,17	TARSIA <i>AP</i>
11.3	arua <i>P</i>	11,10	arma <i>AVd</i>
11.3	†clipeo† Kortekaas ¹	11,10	clipe<um> Kortekaas ²
11.3	omne Riese	11,11	Omnis <i>A</i>
11.3	Boreas Ring	11,13	Borreas <i>P</i>
11.3	inuoluit harena <i>VdP</i>	11,14	inuolu<un>t harena<s> <i>F</i>
11.4	Boreas Ring	11,20	Borreas <i>P</i>
11.4	terribili Riese	11,22	terribilis <i>Vd P</i>
12.3	sago rec. a (<i>LG</i>)	12,9	sacco <i>P</i>
12.4	genito Riese	12,12	cognito <i>P</i>
13.7	[uel pueris] deleui	13,18	uel pueris <i>P</i>
13.8	ciuibus <i>P</i>	13,19	c<uncti>s <i>Vd rec. a</i>
13.8	lenitate Riese	13,21	leuitate <i>P</i>
14.8	<Omnibus autem> epulantibus rec. a	14,17	Epulantibus <i>P</i>
15.5	Apollonius; et accedens Ring	15,11	Apollonius et accedens <i>P</i>
16.2	dum uis <i>F</i> ... agnoscere Riese	16,3-4	dum [eius] Kortekaas ... agnosceres <i>P</i>
16.7	accepit rec. a (<i>LGAttr</i>)	16,12	accedens <i>P</i> <ac>cepit rec. a
16.8	non <pot>est dulcius Tsitsikeli	16,14	non [est] dulcius Ring
16.10	quod Ring	16,18	quid <i>P</i>
16.12	steñt rec. a (<i>F</i>)	16,22	fecit <i>P</i>
16.14	testa<re>ntur Riese	16,31	testantur <i>P</i>
17.1	in amorem infinitum <i>P</i>	17,2	in amorem [infinitum] Riese
20.8	naufragum Hunt	20,16	naufragio <i>P</i>
21.1	perlecto[s] codicillo[s] scripsi	21,1	perlectos codicillos <i>P</i>
21.6	Nihil ... potest <i>P</i>	21,16	[Nihil ... potest] Klebs
23.5	<et> lyris Hunt	23,13	lyris <i>P</i>
24.1	[eius] uentriculum deformatum [est] Riese	24,2	eius uentriculum deformatum est <i>P</i>
24.2	<Qui> cum Hamblenne	24,3	Cum <i>P</i>
24.10	l<i>benti rec. a (<i>F</i>)	24,27	lu<g>enti Ring
25.5	aduersis scripsi	25,9	Austri Riese
25.5	<im>pie scripsi	25,9	impio rec. a
25.7	<ut> uidit Hunt	25,13	uidit <i>P</i>
25.7	<et> unguibus [et] scripsi	25,14	unguibus et <i>P</i>
25.7	qui <i>P</i>	25,18	quae Kortekaas
26.2	leniter rec. a	26,5	libenter <i>P</i>
26.3	[et] ait Ring	26,9	et ait <i>P</i>
26.7	et <i>P</i>	26,20	<s>e<d> Riese

26.12	<faces inssit> lentas lentæque suppositas retrahere [manus] <i>Renehan, Hunt</i>	26,32-3	lentas le<c>toque suppositas <puella coepit> retrahere manus <i>Kortekaas</i>
26.12	per unctionem <i>scripsi</i>	26,33	[per unctionem] <i>Ring</i>
27.4	leui <i>P</i>	27,9	leni <i>rec. a (F)</i>
27.10	fulciuit <i>P</i>	27,22	<in>fulciuit <i>Kortekaas</i>
28.3	<facere> opera mercatus <i>Hunt</i>	28,8	opera mercat<ur>us <i>Kortekaas</i>
29.6	<Post>quam [dum] <i>Hunt</i>	29,14	[Quam] Dum <i>Riese</i>
30.3	et [ad] studia liberalia. <Et reuersa de schola> <i>rec. a (F)</i>	30,6-7	et ad studia liberalia reuersa <i>P</i>
30.3	intraret [et] <i>Hunt</i>	30,7	intraret et <i>P</i>
30.3	<i>uini et rec. a (F)</i>	30,8	inue<he>ret <i>Ring</i>
31.4	recipiendam <i>rec. a</i>	31,9	recipiendum <i>P</i>
31.5	fieri <hoc, quod excogitauit> <i>Tsitsikli</i>	31,11	fieri <i>P</i>
31.5	ueneno! Tollam <i>Ring</i>	31,12	ueneno tollam <i>P</i>
31.10	adueneris <i>P</i>	31,23	<re>ueneris <i>Kortekaas</i>
31.13	iactauit <i>P</i>	31,29	<eam> iactauit <i>Ring</i>
31.16	<Si iam nulla est> uitae <i>Hunt</i>	31,35	Vitae <i>P</i>
32.8	saluta<to>rias <i>Tsitsikli</i>	32,20	salutarias <i>P</i>
32.13	fidem <nostram> <i>rec. a</i>	32,37	fidem <i>P</i>
33.10	patebit <i>rec. a (FG)</i>	33,27	patefit <i>P</i>
34.7	amplius <i>Vd</i>	34,12	plus <i>P</i>
34.11	Solito <more> <i>Ring</i>	34,19	solit<o> <i>Kortekaas</i>
35.3	<intro>ibant <i>rec. a (LGAtr)</i>	35,5	<in>ibant <i>Ring</i>
36.2	scamna <i>P</i>	36,3	scamnia <i>A</i>
37.2	filiam suam <i>P</i>	37,5	filiam <i>A</i>
37.8	oppalluit <i>rec. a</i>	37,19	<ex>palluit <i>Riese</i>
39.5	contigit <i>rec. a</i>	39,11	contingit <i>P</i>
39.8	unanimis <i>rec. a</i>	39,18	u<ni>animes <i>Kortekaas</i>
39.9	hbenter Rossbach	39,22	li<c>enter <i>rec. a (F)</i>
39.9	praeuideret <i>P</i>	39,23	pr<o>uideret <i>Kortekaas</i>
39.12	Et <ait>: 'tam <i>scripsi</i>	39,30	Et: 'tam <i>P</i>
39.12	nullum, ere, <i>scripsi</i>	39,30	<tali> muner<i non> <i>Kortekaas</i>
40.13	uolens <i>P</i>	40,27	[uolens] <i>Kortekaas</i>
41.2	ferientis <i>rec. a</i>	41,4	ferientes <i>P</i>
41.6	uicem <i>rec. a (pF)</i>	41,17	uocem <i>P</i>
41.6	<me>mor tui <sim> <i>rec. a (pF)</i>	41,17	m<e>r<ito> tuo <i>Heraeus</i>
41.6	uiribus <i>Riese</i>	41,18	uires <i>P</i>
41.7	et si<c> <i>Ring</i>	41,18	[et] sic <i>Kortekaas</i>

42.2	<i>tua Riese</i>	42,5	<i>mea P</i>
42.2	<i>rege Ring</i>	42,5	<i>regi P</i>
42.4	<i>dei rec. a (F)</i>	42,11	<i>ripae VdP</i>
42.6	<i>formosae rec. a (F)</i>	42,18	<i>formosa P</i>
42.9	<i>formosae Riese</i>	42,24	<i>formosa P</i>
42.10	<i>aedes rec. a (F)</i>	42,28	<i>sedes VdP</i>
42.10	<i>circumdat[a] Riese</i>	42,29	<i>circumdata VdP</i>
42.15	<i>lympphae Ring</i>	42,43	<i>lymppha VdP</i>
43.1	<i>cincta ... compta scripsi (cf. rec. B)</i>	43,2	<i>compta ... compta AVdP</i>
43.1	<i>Meque manus rec. a</i>	43,4	<i>Meque manibus AP</i>
43.5	<i>cum prope sint Riese</i>	43,17	<i>et prope cum sint AVdP</i>
43.7	<i>scandimus Riese</i>	43,21	<i>scandit AP</i>
44.2	<i>– tantae (...) nefarium est – Schmelting</i>	44,3	<i>– nefarium est – Kortekaas</i>
44.5	<i>sestertiis P</i>	44,13	<i>sestertios A</i>
45.1	<i>amplexus P</i>	45,1	<i>amplexu A</i>
45.1	<i>annos P</i>	45,4	<i>annis A</i>
45.1	<i>matrem tuam P</i>	45,4	<i><cum matre> tua Riese</i>
46.2	<i>et [ecce] classes nauium; <et ecce> properat Renehan</i>	46,4-5	<i>et ecce classes nauium properant A</i>
46.5	<i>luctuoso Riese</i>	46,11	<i>luctus P</i>
46.7	<i>referat P</i>	46,19	<i>referam A</i>
46.11	<i>seruitutem coni. Riese</i>	46,27	<i>uerumtamen P</i>
47.1	<i>se ergo rec. a (φ)</i>	47,1	<i>ergo se rec. a (L)</i>
47.1	<i><...> salutem Riese</i>	47,3	<i><educauit> salutem coni. Riese</i>
47.5	<i>moenium nostrorum Riese</i>	47,12	<i>aedium in foro Klebs</i>
48.9	<i>alia P</i>	48,17	<i><haec> et <t>alia rec. a</i>
48.12	<i>regis scripsi</i>	48,25	<i>rex P</i>
48.13	<i>sorte rec. a</i>	48,28	<i>sorde P</i>
49.2	<i>ecce, est P</i>	49,7	<i>ecce, <haec> est Riese</i>
49.6	<i>relinqueret Ring</i>	49,13	<i>relinquerent P</i>
49.6	<i>ualedicens rec. a</i>	49,14	<i>uale dicentes P</i>
50.7	<i>ex hoc P</i>	50,17	<i>[ex hoc] Ring</i>
50.9	<i><Scelesta> mulier [mala] ... [scelesta Dionysia] Hunt</i>	50,19	<i>Mulier mala ... scelesta Dionysia P</i>
50.9	<i><toto an>imo, corpore scripsi</i>	50,19	<i>imo corpore P</i>
51.11	<i>procedente rec. a</i>	51,26	<i>procedenti P</i>
51.13	<i>regem Ring</i>	51,29	<i>rex P</i>
51.15	<i>quot Riese</i>	51,33	<i>quod VdP</i>

Incipit Historia Apollonii regis Tyriae

1 ¹ In ciuitate Antiochia rex fuit quidam nomine Antiochus, a quo ipsa ciuitas nomen accepit Antiochia. ² Is habuit unam filiam, uirginem speciosissimam, in qua nihil rerum natura exerrauerat, nisi quod mortale<m> statuerat. ³ Quae dum ad nubilem peruenisset aetatem et species et formositas cresceret, multi eam in matrimonium petebant et cum magna dotis pollicitatione currebant. ⁴ Et cum pater deliberaret, cui potissimum filiam suam in matrimonium daret, cogente iniqua cupiditate flamma concupiscentiae incidit in amorem filiae suae et coepit eam aliter diligere, quam patrem oportebat. ⁵ Qui cum luctatur cum furore, pugna</> cum dolore, uincitur amore; excidit illi pietas, oblitus est se esse patrem et induit coniugem. ⁶ Sed cum sui pectoris uulnus ferre non posset, quadam die prima luce uigilans inrumpit cubiculum filiae suae. Famulos longe excedere iussit, quasi cum filia secretum conloquium habiturus, et stimulante furore libidinis diu repugnanti filiae suae nodum uirginitatis eripuit. Perfectoque scelere euasit cubiculum. ⁷ Puella uero stans dum miratur scelesti patris impietatem, fluentem sanguinem coepit celare; sed guttae sanguinis in pauimento ceciderunt.

2 ¹ Subito nutrix eius introiuit cubiculum. ² Vt uidit puellam flebili uultu, asperso pauimento sanguine, roseo rubore perfusa<m>, ait: 'Quid sibi uult iste turbatus animus?' Puella ait: 'Cara nutrix, modo hoc in cubiculo duo nobilia perierunt nomina.' ³ Nutrix ignorans ait: 'Domina, quare hoc dicis?' Puella ait: 'Ante legitimam mearum nuptiarum diem saeue scelere uiolatam uides.' ⁴ Nutrix ut haec audiuit atque uidisset, exhorruit atque ait: 'Quis tanta fretus audacia uirginis reginae maculauit torum?' Puella ait: 'Impietas fecit scelus.' ⁵ Nutrix ait: 'Cur ergo non indicas patri?' Puella ait: 'Et ubi est pater?' Et ait: 'Cara nutrix, si intellegis, quod factum est: periit in me nomen patris.' ⁶ Itaque ne hoc scelus genitoris mei patefaciam, mortis remedium mihi placet. Horreo, <ne> haec macula gentibus innotescat.' ⁷ Nutrix ut uidit puellam mortis remedium quaerere, uix eam blando sermonis conloquio reuocat, ut a propositae mortis immanitate excedere</>, et inuita<m> patris sui uoluntati satisfacere cohortatur.

3 ¹ Qui cum simulata mente ostendebat se ciuibus suis pium genitorem, intra domesticos uero parietes maritum se filiae gloriabatur. ² Et ut semper impio toro fle]rueretur, ad expellendos nuptiarum petitores quaestiones proponebat dicens: ³ 'Quicumque uestrum quaestionis meae propositae solutionem inuenerit, accipiet filiam meam in matrimonium; qui autem non inuenerit, decollabitur.' ⁴ Et si quis forte prudentia litterarum quaestioni<s>

solutionem inuenisset, quasi nihil dixisset, decollabatur et caput eius super portae fastigium suspendebatur. ⁵ Atqui plurimi undique reges, undique patriae principes propter incredibilem puellae speciem contempta morte properabant.

4 ¹ Et cum has crudelitates rex Antiochus exerceret, quidam adulescens locuples ualde, genere Tyrius, nomine Apollonius, nauigans attingit Antiochiam. ² Ingressusque ad regem ita eum salutauit: ‘Aue, domine rex Antioche’ et <ait> ‘quod pater pius es, ad uota tua festinus ueni; gener regio genere ortus peto filiam tuam in matrimonium.’ ³ Rex ut audiuit, quod audire nolebat, irato uultu respiciens iuuenem sic ait ad eum: ‘Iuuenis, nosti nuptiarum condicionem?’ At ille ait: ‘Noui et ad portae fastigium uidi.’ ⁴ <Rex ait>: ‘Audi ergo quaestionem: Scelere uehor, maternam carnem uescor, quaero fratrem meum, meae matris uirum, uxoris meae filium: non inuenio.’ ⁵ Iuuenis accepta quaestione paululum discessit a rege; quam cum sapienter scrutaretur, fauente deo inuenit quaestionis solutionem. ⁶ Ingressusque ad regem sic ait: ‘Domine rex, proposuisti mihi quaestionem; audi ergo solutionem. Quod dixisti: scelere uehor, non es mentitus: te respice. Et quod dixisti: maternam carnem uescor, nec et hoc mentitus es: filiam tuam intuere.’

5 ¹ Rex ut uidit iuuenem quaestionis solutionem inuenisse, sic ait ad eum: ‘Erras, iuuenis, nihil uerum dicis. Decollari quidem mereberis, sed habes triginta dierum spatium: recogita tecum.’ ² Et dum reuersus fueris et quaestionis meae propositae solutionem inuenieris, accipies filiam meam in matrimonium.’ ³ Iuuenis conturbatum habebat animum. Paratamque habens nauem ascendit ad patriam suam Tyrum.

6 ¹ Et post discessum adulescentis uocat ad se Antiochus rex dispensatorem suum fidelissimum nomine Thaliarchum, et dicit ei: ‘Thaliarche, secretorum meorum fidelissime minister, scias, quia Tyrius Apollonius inuenit quaestionis meae solutionem.’ ² Ascende ergo nauem confestim ad persequendum iuuenem, et dum ueneris Tyrum, in patriam eius, inquires inimicum eius, qui eum aut ferro aut ueneno interimat. Postquam reuersus fueris, libertatem accipies.’ ³ Thaliarchus uero hoc audito adsumens pecuniam simulque uenenum nauem ascendens petiit patriam <innocentis>. ⁴ Peruenit innocens tandem Apollonius prior ad patriam suam et introiuit domum. Et aperto scrinio codicum suorum inquit omnes quaestiones auctorum omniumque paene philosophorum disputationes omniumque etiam Chaldaeorum. ⁵ Et dum aliud non inuenisset, nisi quod cogitauerat, ad semetipsum locutus est dicens: ‘Quid agis, Apolloni? Quaestionem regis soluisti. Filiam eius non accepisti. Ideo dilatus es, ut neceris.’ ⁶ Atque ita onerari praecepit naues frumento. Ipse quoque Apollonius cum paucis comitantibus fidelissimis seruis nauem occulte ascendit, deferens secum multum pondus auri atque argenti, sed et uestem copiosissimam. Et hora noctis silentissima tertia tradidit se alto pelago.

7 ¹ Alia uero die in ciuitate sua quaeritur a ciuibus suis ad salutandum et non inuentus est. Fit tremor ingens, sonat planctus [ingens] per totam ciuitatem. ² Tantus namque amor ciuium suorum erga eum erat, ut per multa tempora tonsores priuarentur a publico, spectacula tollerentur, balneae clauderentur. ³ Et ut cum haec Tyro aguntur, superuenit ille Thaliarchus, qui a rege Antiocho fuerat missus ad necandum iuuenem. ⁴ Qui ut uidit omnia clausa, ait cuidam puero: 'Indica mihi, si ualeas, quae est haec causa, quod ciuitas ista in luctu moratur?' ⁵ Cui puer ait: 'O hominem inprobum! Scit et interrogat! Quis est enim, qui nesciat ideo hanc ciuitatem in luctu esse, quia princeps huius patriae, nomine Apollonius, reuersus ab Antiochia subito nusquam conparuit.' ⁶ Tunc Thaliarchus dispensator regis hoc audito gaudio plenus rediit ad nauem. Et certa nauigationis die attingit Antiochiam. Ingressusque ad regem ait: 'Domine rex, laetare et gaude, quia iuuenis ille Tyrius Apollonius timens regni tui uires subito nusquam conparuit.' ⁷ Rex ait: 'Fugire quidem potest, sed effugire non potest.' Continuo huiusmodi edictum proposuit: 'Quicumque mihi Tyrium Apollonium, contemptorem regni mei, uiuum exhibuerit, accipiet auri talenta centum; qui uero caput eius attulerit, accipiet ducenta.' ⁸ Hoc edicto proposito non tantum eius inimici, sed etiam et amici cupiditate ducebantur et ad indagandum properabant. ⁹ Quaeritur Apollonius per terras, per montes, per siluas, per uniuersas indagines, et non inueniebatur.

8 ¹ Tunc iussit rex classes nauium praeparari ad persequendum iuuenem. ² Sed moras facientibus his, qui classes nauium praeparabant, deuenit Apollonius ciuitatem Tharsiam. ³ Et deambulans iuxta litus uisus est a quodam Hellenico, ciue suo, qui superuenerat ipsa hora. ⁴ Et accedens ad eum Hellenicus ait: 'Aue, rex Apolloni!' At ille salutatus fecit, quod potentes facere consuerunt: spreuit hominem plebeium. ⁵ Tunc senex indignatus iterato salutauit eum [Hellenicus] et ait: 'Aue, inquam, Apolloni, resaluta et noli despicere paupertatem nostram, honestis moribus decoratam.' ⁶ Si enim scis, cauendum tibi est; si autem nescis, admonendus es. Audi, forsitan quod nescis, quia proscriptus es.' ⁷ Cui Apollonius ait: 'Et *quis* patriae meae principem potuit proscribere?' Hellenicus ait: 'Rex Antiochus.' ⁸ Ait Apollonius: 'Qua ex causa?' Hellenicus ait: 'Quia filiam eius in matrimonium petisti.' ⁹ Apollonius ait: 'Et quantum me proscrispsit?' Hellenicus respondit: 'Vt, quicumque te uiuum exhibuerit, centum auri talenta accipiat; qui uero caput tuum absciderit, accipiet ducenta.' ¹⁰ Ideoque moneo te: fugae praesidium manda.' Haec cum dixisset Hellenicus, discessit. ¹¹ Tunc iussit Apollonius reuocari ad se senem et ait ad eum: 'Rem fecisti optimam, ut me instrueres. Pro qua re reputa te mihi caput a ceruicibus amputasse et gaudium regi pertulisse.' ¹² Et iussit ei proferri centum talenta auri et ait: 'Accipe, exempli pauperrime, quia mereris. Et puta te, sicut paulo ante dixi, caput a ceruicibus amputasse et gaudium regi pertulisse. Et ecce, habes centum talenta auri et puras manus a sanguine innocentis.' ¹³

Cui Hellenicus ait: 'Absit, domine, ut huius rei causa praemium accipiam. Apud bonos enim homines amicitia praemio non comparatur.' Et ualedicens discessit.

9 ¹ Post haec Apollonius dum deambulare in eodem loco supra litore, occurrit ei alius homo, nomine Stranguillio. ² Cui ait Apollonius: 'Aue, mi carissime Stranguillio.' Et ille dixit: 'Aue, domine Apolloni. Quid itaque in his locis turbata mente uersaris?' ³ Apollonius ait: 'Proscriptum uides.' Stranguillius ait: 'Et quis te proscripsit?' Apollonius ait: 'Rex Antiochus.' Stranguillius ait: 'Quae est causa?' ⁴ Apollonius ait: 'Quia filiam eius in matrimonium petiui. Sed, si fieri potest, in ciuitate uestra uolo latere.' ⁵ Stranguillius ait: 'Domine Apolloni, ciuitas nostra paupera est et nobilitatem tuam ferre non potest. Praeterea duram famem saeuamque sterilitatem patimur annonae, nec est ulla spes salutis ciuibus nostris, sed crudelissima mors potius ante oculos nostros uersatur.' ⁶ Apollonius autem ad Stranguillionem ait: 'Age ergo deo gratias, quod me profugum finibus uestris applicuit. Dabo itaque ciuitati uestrae centum milia frumenti modiorum, si fugam meam celaueritis.' ⁷ Stranguillio ut audiuit, prostrauit se pedibus Apollonii dicens: 'Domine rex Apolloni, si ciuitati esurienti subueneris, non solum fugam tuam celabunt, sed etiam, si necesse fuerit, pro salute tua dimicabunt.'

10 ¹ Cumque haec dixisset, perrexerunt in ciuitatem. Et ascendens Apollonius tribunal in foro cunctis ciuibus et maioribus eiusdem ciuitatis dixit: 'Ciues Tharsis, quos annonae penuria turbat et opprimit, ego Tyrius Apollonius releuabo. ² Credo enim uos huius beneficii memores fugam meam celaturos. Scitote enim me legibus Antiochi regis esse fugatum; sed uestra felicitate faciente hucusque ad uos sum delatus. ³ Dabo itaque uobis centum milia frumenti modiorum eo pretio, quo sum in patria mea eo<s> mercatus, id est octo aereis singulos modios.' ⁴ Ciues uero Tharsis, qui singulos modios singulos aureos mercabantur, exhilarati facti adclamationibus gratias agebant, certatim accipientes frumentum. ⁵ Apollonius autem, ne deposita regia dignitate mercatoris uideretur adsumere nomen magis quam donatoris, pretium, quod acceperat, utilitati eiusdem ciuitatis redonauit. ⁶ Ciues uero his tantis beneficiis cumulati optant <ei> statuam statuere ex aere. Et eam conlocauerunt in foro, in biga stantem, in dextra manu fruges tenentem, sinistro pede modium calcantem, et in base haec scripserunt:

⁷ THARSIA CIVITAS APOLLONIO TYR<I>O

DONVM DEDIT EO QVOD

STERILITATEM SVAM ET FAMEM SED<A>VERIT.

11 ¹ Interpositis mensibus siue diebus paucis hortante Stranguillione et Dionysiade, coniuge eius, et premente fortuna ad Pentapolitanas Cyrenaeorum terras adfirmabatur nauigare, ut ibi latere posset. ² Deducitur itaque Apollonius cum ingenti honore ad nauem et ualedicens hominibus

ascendit ratem. Qui dum nauigaret, intra duas horas diei mutata est pelagi fides.

³ Certa ... non certis cecidere
 Concita[tur] tempestas rutilans inluminat orbem.
 Aeolus *im*brifero <flatu> turbata procellis
 corripit arua. Notus †clipeo† caligine ratis
 scindit, omne latus pelagi reuolumine murmurat. 5
 Auster ...
 Voluitur hinc Boreas nec iam mare sufficit Euro,
 et freta disturbata sibi inuoluit harena
 ... et *totum* reuocant a cardine pontum.
 Omnia miscentur. Pulsat mare sidera, caelum. 10
⁴ In sese glomera[n]tur hiems pariterque mora<n>tur
 nubila, grando, niues, Zephyri, freta, fulgida, nimbi.
 Flamma uolat uento, mugit mare conturbat<um>.
 Hinc Notus, hinc Boreas, hinc *Africus* horridus instat.
 Ipse tridente[s] suo Neptunus spargit harenas. 15
 Tri/on terribili[s] cornu cantabat in undis.

12 ¹ Tunc unusquisque sibi rapuit tabulas, morsque nuntiatur. In illa uero caligine tempestatis omnes perierunt. Apollonius uero unius tabulae beneficio in Pentapolitarum est litore pulsus. ² Iterum stans Apollonius in litore nudus, intuens tranquillum mare ait: 'O Neptune, rector pelagi, hominum deceptor innocentium, propter hoc me reserasti egenum et pauperem, quod facilius rex crudelissimus Antiochus persequeretur? Quo itaque ibo? Quam partem petam? Vel quis ignoto uitae dabit auxilium?' ³ Et cum sibimet ipsi increparet, subito anima<d>uertens uidit quendam grandaeuum, sago sordido circumdatum. ⁴ Et prosternens se illius ad pedes effusis lacrimis ait: 'Miserere mei, quicumque es, succurre naufrago et egeno, non humilibus natalibus genito.' ⁵ Et ut scias, cui miserearis: ego sum Tyrius Apollonius, patriae meae princeps. ⁶ Audi nunc tragoediam calamitatis meae, qui modo genibus tuis prouolutus <deprecor> uitae auxilium. Praesta mihi, ut uiuam.' ⁷ Itaque piscator, ut uidit primam speciem iuuenis, misericordia motus erigit eum et tenens manum eius duxit eum intra tecta parietum domus suae et posuit epulas, quas potuit. ⁸ Et ut plenius misericordiae suae satisfaceret, exuens se tribunarium suum scindit eum in duas partes aequaliter et dedit unam iuueni dicens: 'Tolle hoc, quod habeo, et uade in ciuitatem: forsitan inuenies, qui tibi misereatur.' ⁹ Et si non inuenieris, huc reuertere et mecum laborabis et piscabis: paupertas, quaecumque es</>, sufficiet nobis. ¹⁰ Illud tamen admoneo te, ut, si quando deo adueniente redditus fueris natalibus tuis, et tu respicias tribulationem paupertatis meae.' ¹¹ Cui Apollonius ait: 'Nisi meminero tui, iterum naufragium patiar nec tui similem inueniam!'

13 ¹ Et haec dicens per demo<n>stratam sibi uiam iter carpens ingreditur portam ciuitatis. ² Et dum secum cogitaret, unde auxilium uitae peteret, uidit puerum per plateam currentem oleo capite unctum, sabano praecinctum, ferentem iuuenilem lusum ad gymnasium pertinentem, maxima uoce clamantem et dicentem: ‘Audite <ciues, audite> peregrini, ingenui et serui: gymnasium patet!’ ³ Hoc audito Apollonius exuens se tribunarium ingreditur lauacrum, utitur liquore *Palladio*. Et dum singulos exercentes uidere</>, quaerit sibi parem nec inuenit. ⁴ Tunc rex Archi<s>trates eiusdem ciuitatis subito cum magna turba famulorum ingressus est gymnasium. ⁵ Qui dum <cum> suis ad ludum luderet, deo fauente approximauit se Apollonius in regis turba et ludente rege sustulit pilam et subtili uelocitate remisit remissamque rursum <uelocius remisit> nec cadere passus est. ⁶ Tunc rex Archistrates cum sibi notasset iuuenis uelocitatem et, quis esset, nesciret et ad pilae lusum nullum habere</> parem, intuens famulos suos ait: ‘Recedite, famuli: hic enim iuuenis, ut suspicor, mihi comparandus est.’ ⁷ Et cum recessissent famuli, Apollonius subtili uelocitate manu docta remisit pilam, ut et regi et omnibus [uel pueris], qui aderant, miraculum magnum uideretur. ⁸ Videns autem <se> Apollonius a ciuibus laudari, constanter adpropinquauit ad regem. Deinde docta manu *ceromate* fricauit regem tanta lenitate, ut de sene iuuenem redderet. ⁹ Iterato in solio gratissime f<o>uit, exeunti officiose manum dedit. Post haec discessit.

14 ¹ Rex autem, ut uidit iuuenem discessisse, conuersus ad amicos suos ait: ‘Turo uobis, amici, per [communem] salutem meam, me melius nunquam lauasse nisi hodie, beneficio unius adulescentis, quem nescio.’ ² Et intuens unum de famulis suis ait: ‘Iuuenis ille, qui mihi seruitium gratissime fecit, uide, quis sit.’ ³ Famulus uero secutus est iuuenem et, ut uidit eum sordido tribunario coopertum, reuersus ad regem ait: ‘Bone rex optime, iuuenis naufragus est.’ ⁴ Rex ait: ‘Et tu unde scis?’ Famulus respondit: ‘Quia illo tacente habitus indicat.’ Rex ait: ‘Vade celerius et dic illi: rogat te rex, ut ad cenam uenias.’ ⁵ Et cum dixisset ei, acquieuit Apollonius et eum ad domum regis secutus est. Famulus prior ingressus dicit regi: ‘Adest naufragus, sed abiecto habitu introire confunditur.’ ⁶ Statim rex iussit eum dignis uestibus indui et ad cenam ingredi. Et ingressus Apollonius triclinium ait ad eum rex: ‘Discumbe, iuuenis, et epulare. Dabit enim tibi dominus, per quod damna naufragii obliuiscaris.’ ⁷ Statimque assignato illi loco Apollonius contra regem discubuit. Adfertur gustatio, deinde cena regalis. ⁸ <Omnibus autem> epulantibus ipse solus non epulabatur, sed respiciens aurum, argentum, mensam et ministeria, flens cum dolore omnia intuetur. ⁹ Sed quidam de senioribus iuxta regem discumbens, ut uidit iuuenem singula quaeque curiose conspiceret, respexit ad regem et ait: ‘Bone rex, uides: ecce, cui tu benignitatem animi tui ostendis, bonis tuis inuidet et fortunae.’ ¹⁰ Cui ait rex: ‘Amice, suspicaris male, nam iuuenis iste non bonis meis aut fortunae meae inuidet, sed, ut arbitror, plura

se perdidisse testatur.’¹¹ Et hilari uultu respiciens iuuenem ait: ‘Iuuenis, epulare nobiscum. Laetare et gaude et meliora de deo spera!’

15 ¹ Et dum hortaretur iuuenem, subito introiuit filia regis, speciosa atque auro fulgens, iam adulta uirgo. Dedit osculum patri, post haec discumbentibus omnibus amicis. ² Quae dum oscularetur, peruenit ad naufragum. Retrorsum rediit ad patrem et ait: ‘Bone rex et pater optime, quis est [nescio] hic iuuenis, qui contra te in honorato loco discumbit et nescio quid flebili uultu dolet?’ ³ Cui rex ait: ‘Hic iuuenis naufragus est et in gymnasio mihi seruitium gratissime fecit; propter quod ad cenam illum inuitaui. ⁴ Quis autem sit aut unde, nescio. Sed si uis, interroga illum; decet enim te, filia sapientissima, omnia nosse. Et forsitan, dum cognoueris, misereberis illi.’ ⁵ Hortante igitur patre uerecundissimo sermone interrogatur a puella Apollonius; et accedens ad eum ait: ‘Licet taciturnitas tua sit tristior, generositas autem tuam nobilitatem ostendit. Sed, si tibi molestum non est, indica mihi *nomen* <e> casus tuos.’ ⁶ Apollonius ait: ‘Si nomen quaeris, Apollonius sum uocatus; si de thesauro quaeris, in mare perdidit.’ Puella ait: ‘Apertius indica mihi, ut intelligam.’

16 ¹ Apollonius uero uniuersos casus suos exposuit et finito sermone lacrimas effundere coepit. ² Quem ut uidit rex flentem, respiciens filiam suam ait: ‘Nata dulcis, peccasti, quae, dum *uis* nomen et casus adolescentis agnoscere[s], ueteres ei renouasti dolores. ³ Ergo, dulcis et sapiens filia, ex quo agnouisti ueritatem, iustum est, ut ei liberalitatem tuam quasi regina ostendas.’ ⁴ Puella uero respiciens Apollonium ait: ‘Iam noster es, iuuenis, depone maerorem; et quia permittit indulgentia patris mei, locupletabo te.’ Apollonius uero cum gemitu egit gratias. ⁵ Rex uero uidens tantam bonitatem filiae suae ualde gaudens est et ait ad eam: ⁶ ‘Nata dulcis, me saluum habeas, iube tibi afferre lyram et aufer iuueni lacrimas et exhilara ad conuiuium.’ Puella uero iussit sibi afferri lyram. ⁷ At ubi *accepit*, cum nimia dulcedine uocis chordarum sonos, melos cum uoce miscebat. ⁸ Omnes conuiuiae coeperunt mirari dicentes: ‘Non potest esse melius, non <pot>est dulcius plus isto, quod audiuius!’ Inter quos solus tacebat Apollonius. ⁹ Ad quem rex ait: ‘Apolloni, foedam rem facis. Omnes filiam meam in arte musica laudant. Quare tu solus tacendo uituperas?’ ¹⁰ Apollonius ait: ‘Domine rex, si permittis, dicam, quod sentio: filia enim tua in arte musica incidit, <sed non *didicit*>. Denique iube mihi dari lyram et statim scias, quod ante nesciebas.’ ¹¹ Rex *Archistrates* dixit: ‘Apolloni, ut intelligo, in omnibus es locuples.’ Et *induit statum* et corona [eum] *caput* coronauit, et accipiens lyram introiuit triclinium. ¹² Et ita *stetit*, ut discumbentes non Apollonium, sed Apollinem existimarent. Atque ita facto silentio “arripuit plectrum *animumque accomodat arti*”. Miscetur uox cantu modulata chordis. ¹³ Discumbentes una cum rege in laude clamare coeperunt et dicere: ‘Non potest melius, non potest dulcius!’ ¹⁴ Post haec deponens lyram ingreditur in comico habitu et mirabili manu et saltu inauditas actiones

expressit. Post haec induit tragicum et nihilominus admirabiliter complacuit ita ut omnes amici regis et hoc se numquam audisse testa^{<re>}ntur nec uidisse.

17 ¹ Inter haec filia regis, ut uidit iuuenem omnium artium studiorumque esse cumulatum, uulneris saeue capitur igne[m]. Incidit in amorem infinitum. ² Et finito conuiuio sic ait puella ad patrem suum: 'Permiseras mihi paulo ante, ut si quid uoluisssem, de tuo tamen, Apollonio darem, rex et pater optime.' Cui dixit: 'Et permisi et permitto et opto.' ³ Permisso sibi a patre, quod ipsa ultro praestare uolebat, intuens Apollonium ait: 'Apolloni magister, accipe indulgentia patris mei ducenta talenta auri, argenti pondera XL, seruos XX et uestem copiosissimam.' ⁴ Et intuens famulos, quos donauerat, dixit: 'Afferte quaeque promisi, et praesentibus omnibus exponit^{<e>} in triclinio.' Laudant omnes liberalitatem puellae. ⁵ Peractoque conuiuio leuauerunt se uniuersi; ualedicentes regi et reginae discesserunt. Ipse quoque Apollonius ait: 'Bone rex, miserorum misericors, et tu, regina, amatrix studiorum, ualete.' ⁶ Et haec dicens respiciens famulos, quos illi puella donauerat, ait: 'Tollite, famuli, haec, quae mihi regina donauit: aurum, argentum et uestem: et eamus hospitalia quaerentes.' ⁷ Puella uero timens, ne amatum non uidens torqueretur, respexit patrem suum et ait: 'Bone rex, pater optime, placet tibi, ut hodie Apollonius a nobis locupletatus abscedat, et quod illi dedisti, a malis hominibus ei rapiatur?' ⁸ Cui rex ait: 'Bene dicis, domina; iube ergo ei dari unam zetam, ubi digne quiescat.' ⁹ Accepta igitur mansione Apollonius bene acceptus requieuit, agens deo gratias, qui ei non denegauit regem consolationem.

18 ¹ Sed "regina" sui "iamdudum saucia cura" Apollonii "figit in pectore uulnus, uerba" cantusque memor "credit genus esse deorum", nec somnum oculis nec "membris dat ^{<e>}ura quietem". ² Vigilans primo mane irumpit cubiculum patris. Pater uidens filiam ait: 'Filia dulcis, quid est, quod tam mane praeter consuetudinem uigilasti?' ³ Puella ait: 'Hesterna studia me ex[er]citauerunt. Peto itaque, pater, ut me tradas hospiti nostro Apollonio studiorum percipiendorum gratia.' ⁴ Rex uero gaudio plenus iussit ad se iuuenem uocari. Cui sic ait: 'Apolloni, studiorum tuorum felicitatem filia mea a te discere concupiuit.' ⁵ Peto itaque et iuro tibi per regni mei uires, ut, ^{<si>} desiderio natae meae par[er]ueris, quicquid tibi iratum abstulit mare, ego in terris restituam.' Apollonius hoc audito docet puellam, sicuti et ipse d[ic]iderat. ⁶ Interposito breui temporis spatio, cum non posset puella ulla ratione uulnus amoris tolerare, in multa infirmitate membra prostrauit fluxa, et coepit iacere imbecillis in toro. ⁷ Rex ut uidit filiam suam subitanam uoletudinem incurrisse, sollicitus adhibet medicos. Qui uenientes medici temptant uenas, tangunt singulas corporis partes, nec omnino inueniunt aegritudinis causas.

19 ¹ Rex autem post paucos dies tenens Apollonium manu forum petit et cum eo deambulauit. ² Iuuenes scholastici III nobilissimi, qui per longum tempus filiam eius petebant in matrimonium, pariter omnes una uoce salutauerunt eum. ³ Quos uidens rex subridens ait illis: 'Quid est hoc, quod

una uoce me pariter salutastis?’ Vnus ex ipsis ait: ‘Petentibus nobis filiam uestram in matrimonium tu saepius nos differendo fatigas: propter quod hodie una simul uenimus. Elige ex nobis, quem uis habere generum.’⁴ Rex ait: ‘Non apto tempore me interpellastis; filia enim mea studiis uacat et prae amore studiorum imbecillis iacet.’⁵ Sed ne uidear uos diutius differre, scribite in codicillos nomina uestra et dotis quantitatem, et dirigo ipsos codicillos filiae meae, et illa sibi eligat, quem uoluerit habere maritum.’⁶ Illi tres itaque iuuenes scripserunt nomina sua et dotis quantitatem. Rex accepit codicillos anuloque suo signauit datque Apollonio dicens: ‘Tolle, magister, praeter tui contumeliam hos codicillos et *perfer* discipulae tuae: hic enim locus te desiderat!’

20 ¹ Apollonius acceptis codicillis pergit domum regiam et introiuit cubiculum tradiditque codicillos. Puella patris agnouit signaculum.² Quae *<ad a>* mores suos sic ait: ‘Quid est, magister, quod sic singularis cubiculum introisti?’³ Cui Apollonius respondit: ‘Domina, es nondum mulier et male habes! Sed potius accipe codicillos patris tui et lege trium nomina petitorum.’⁴ Puella uero reserato codicillo legit, perlectoque nomen ibidem non legit, quem uolebat et amabat.⁵ Et respiciens Apollonium ait: ‘Magister Apolloni, ita tibi non dolet, quod ego nubam?’ Apollonius dixit: ‘Immo gratulor, quod habundantia horum studiorum docta et a me patefacta, deo uolente et cui animus tuus desiderat, nubas.’⁶ Cui puella ait: ‘Magister, si amares, utique doleres tuam doctrinam.’ Et scripsit codicillos et signato<s> sui anulo iuueni tradidit.⁷ Pertulit Apollonius in forum tradiditque regi. Accepto codicillo rex resignauit et aperuit illum.⁸ In quibus rescripserat filia sua: ‘Bone rex et pater optime, quoniam clementiae tuae indulgentia permittis mihi, dicam: illum uolo coniugem, naufragum, patrimonio deceptum.’⁹ Et si miraris, pater, quod tam pudica uirgo tam imp[r]udenter scripserim: per cer[t]am [litteram] mandauit, quae pudorem non habet.’

21 ¹ Et perlecto[s] codicillo[s] rex ignorans, quem naufragum di[s]ceret, respiciens illos tres iuuenes, qui nomina sua scripserant uel qui dotem in illos codicillos designauerant, ait illis: ‘Quis uestrum naufragium fecit?’² Vnus uero ex i[s] [S]Ardalio[n] nomine dixit: ‘Ego.’ Alius ait: ‘Tace, morbus te consumit nec saluus es, cum s[o]cio te coetaneum meum et mecum litteris eruditum et portam ciuitatis numquam existi: ubi ergo naufragium fecisti?’³ Et cum rex non inueniret, quis eorum naufragium *fecisset*, respiciens Apollonium ait: ‘Tolle, magister Apolloni, hos codicillos et lege. Potest enim fieri, *ut* quod ego non inueni, tu intelligas, quia praesens fuisti.’⁴ Apollonius accepto codicillo legit et ut sensit se a regina amari, erubuit.⁵ Et rex tenens ei manum paululum secessit ab eis iuuenibus et ait: ‘Quid est, magister Apolloni, inuenisti naufrag[i]um?’ Apollonius ait: ‘Bone rex, si permittis, inueni.’⁶ Et his dictis uidens rex faciem eius roseo colore perfusam, intellexit dictum et ait gaudens: ‘Quod filia mea cupit, hoc est et meum uotum. Nihil enim in huiusmodi negotio sine deo agi potest.’⁷ Et respiciens illos tres iuuenes ait: ‘Certe

dixi uobis, quia non apto tempore interpellastis. Ite, et dum tempus fuerit, mittam ad uos.² Et dimisit eos a se.

22 ¹ Et tenens manum iam genero, non hospiti, ingreditur domum regiam. ² Ipso autem Apollonio relicto rex solus intrat ad filiam suam dicens: 'Dulcis nata, quem tibi elegisti coniugem?' ³ Puella uero prostrauit se ad pedes patris sui et ait: 'Pater carissime, quia cupis audire natae tuae desiderium: illum uolo coniugem et amo: patrimonio deceptum et naufragum, magistrum meum Apollonium; cui si non me tradideris, a praesenti perdes filiam!' ⁴ Et cum rex filiae non posset ferre lacrimas, erexit eam et alloquitur dicens: 'Nata dulcis, noli de aliqua re cogitare, quia talem concupisti, [ad] quem ego, ex quo eum uidi, tibi coniungere adoptaui. Sed ego tibi uere consentio, quia et ego amando factus sum pater!' ⁵ Et exiens foris respiciens Apollonium ait: 'Magister Apolloni, quia scrutaui filiam meam, quid ei in animo resideret nuptiarum causa[m], lacrimis fuis multa inter alia mihi narrauit dicens et adiurans me ait: "Iuraueras magistro meo Apollonio ut, si desideris meis *in* doctrinis paruisset, dares illi quicquid iratum abstulit mare. ⁶ Modo uero, quia paruit *<et>* tuis praeceptis *<in>* obsequiis ab ipso tibi factis et meae uoluntati in doctrinis: aurum, argentum, uestes, mancipia aut possessiones non quaerit, nisi solum regnum, quod putauerat perdidisse: tuo sacramento per meam *iunctionem hoc* ei tradas!" ⁷ Vnde, magister Apolloni, peto, ne nuptias filiae meae fastidio habeas!' Apollonius ait: 'Quod a deo est, sit, et si tua est uoluntas, impleatur!' Rex ait: 'Diem nuptiarum sine mora statuam!'

23 ¹ Postera uero die uocantur amici, inuocantur uicinarum urbium potestates, uiri magni atque nobiles. Quibus conuocatis in unum pariter rex ait: 'Amici, scitis, quare uos in unum congregauerim?' Qui respondentes dixerunt: 'Nescimus.' ² Rex ait: 'Scitote filiam meam uelle nubere Tyrio Apollonio. Peto, ut omnibus sit laetitia, quia filia mea sapientissima sociatur uiro prudentissimo.' ³ Inter haec diem nuptiarum sine mora indicit et quando in unum se coniungerent, praecepit. ⁴ Quid multa? Dies superuenit nuptiarum, omnes laeti atque alacres in unum conueniunt. Gaudet rex cum filia, gaudet et Tyrius Apollonius, qui talem meruit habere coniugem. ⁵ Celebrantur nuptiae regio more, decora dignitate. Gaudet uniuersa ciuitas, exultant ciues, peregrini et hospites. Fit magnum gaudium in citharis *<et>* lyris et canticis et organis modulatis cum uocibus. ⁶ Peracta laetitia ingens amor fit inter coniuges, mirus affectus, incomparabilis dilectio, inaudita laetitia, quae perpetua caritate complectitur.

24 ¹ Interpositis autem diebus atque mensibus, cum haberet puella mense iam sexto [eius] uentriculum deformatum [est], aduenit eius sponsus, rex Apollonius. ² *<Qui>* cum spatiatur in litore iuncta sibi puellula, uidit nauem speciosissimam, et dum utrique eam laudarent pariter, recognouit eam Apollonius de sua esse patria. ³ Conuersus ait ad gubernatorem: 'Dic mihi, si ualeas, unde uenisti?' Gubernator ait: 'De Tyr[i]o.' Apollonius ait: 'Pa-

triam meam nominasti.’ Ad quem gubernator ait: ‘Ergo tu Tyr<i>us es?’ Apollonius ait: ‘Vt dicis; sic sum.’⁴ Gubernator ait: ‘Vere mihi dignare dicere: noueras aliquem patriae illius principem, Apollonium nomine?’ Apollonius ait: ‘Vt me ipsum, sic illum noui.’⁵ Gubernator non intellexit dictum et ait: ‘Sic ego rogo, ut, ubicumque eum uideris, dic illi: “Laetare et gaude[re], quia rex saeuissimus Antiochus cum filia sua concumbens, dei fulmine percussus est. Opes autem et regnum eius seruantur regi Apollonio.”’⁶ Apollonius autem ut audiuit, gaudio <plenus> conuersus dixit ad coniugem: ‘Domina, quod aliquando mihi naufrago credideras, modo comprobasti. <Peto itaque>, coniunx carissima, ut me permittas proficere ad regnum deuotum percipere.’⁷ Coniunx uero eius ut audiuit eum uelle proficere, <profusus> lacrimis ait: ‘Care coniunx, si alicubi in longinquo esses itinere constitutus, certe ad partum meum festinare debueras. Nunc uero, cum sis praesens, disponis me derelinquere?’⁸ Pariter nauigemus: ubicumque fueris, seu in terris seu in mari, uita uel mors ambos nos capiat!’⁹ Et haec dicens puella uenit ad patrem suum, cui sic ait: ‘Care genitor, laetare et gaude, quia saeuissimus rex Antiochus cum filia sua concumbens a deo percussus est. Opes autem eius cum diademate coniugi meo seruatae sunt.’¹⁰ Propter quod rogo te satis animo l<i>benti permittas mihi nauigare cum uiro meo. Et ut libentius mihi permittas: unam remittis, en duas recipies!’

25¹ Rex uero, ut audiuit omnia, gaudens atque exhilaratus est. Et continuo iubet naues adduci in litore et omnibus bonis impleri.² Praeterea nutricem eius, nomine Lycoridem, et obstetricem peritissimam propter partum eius simul nauigare iussit.³ Et data <profectoria> deduxit eos ad litus, osculatur filiam et generum et uentum eis optat prosperum. Reuersus est rex ad palatium.⁴ Apollonius uero ascendit nauem cum multa familia multoque apparatu atque copia, et flante uento certum iter nauigant.⁵ Qui dum per aliquantos dies totidemque noctes <aduersis> uentorum flatibus <im>pie pelago detinerentur, nono mense cogente <Lucina enixa> <est> puella <puellam>.⁶ Sed secundis rursum redeuntibus coagulato sanguine conclusoque spiritu subito defuncta est. Non fuit mortua, sed quasi mortua.⁷ Quod cum uiderent familia <cum> clamore et ululatu magno, cucurrit Apollonius et, <ut> uidit coniugem suam iacentem exanimem, scidit a pectore uestes <et> unguibus [et] primas suae adulescentiae discerpit barbulas et lacrimis <profusus> iactauit se super corpusculum et coepit amarissime flere atque dicere: ‘Cara coniunx, cara et unica regis filia, quid fuit de te? Quid respondebo pro te patri tuo aut quid de te proloquar, qui me naufragum suscepit pauperem et egenum?’⁸ Et cum haec et his similia defleret atque ploraret fortiter, introiuit gubernius, qui sic ait: ‘Domine, tu quidem pie facis, sed nauis mortuum sufferre non potest. Iube ergo corpus in pelagus mitti, ut possimus undarum fluctus euadere.’⁹ Apollonius uero dictum aegre ferens ait ad eum: ‘Quid narras, pessime hominum? Placet tibi ut eius corpus in pelagus mittam, quae me naufragum suscepit et

egenum?’¹⁰ Erant ex seruis eius fabri, quibus conuocatis secari et conpaginari tabulas, rānas et foramina pi[s]cari praecepit et facere loculum amplissimum. Et charta plumbea obturari iubet *eum* inter iuncturas tabularum.¹¹ Quo perfecto loculo regalibus ornamentis ornat puellam, in loculo composuit et XX sestertia auri ad caput eius posuit.¹² Dedit postremo osculum funeri, effudit super eam lacrimas et iussit infantem tolli et diligenter nutriri, ut haberet in malis aliquod solacium et pro filia sua neptem regi ostenderet. Et iussit loculum mitti in mare cum amarissimo fletu.

26 ¹ Tertia die eiciunt undae loculum: uenit ad litus Ephesium, non longe a praedio cuiusdam medici. Qui in illa die cum discipulis suis deambulans iuxta litus uidit loculum effusis fluctibus iacentem et ait famulis suis: ‘Tollite hunc loculum cum omni diligentia et ad uillam afferte.’² Quod cum fecisse< n> t famuli, medicus *leuiter* aperuit et uidit puellam regalibus ornamentis ornatam, speciosam ualde et in falsa morte iacentem, et ait: ‘Quantas putamus lacrimas hanc puellam suis parentibus reliquisse!’³ Et uidens subito ad caput eius pecuniam positam et subtus codicillos scriptos [et] ait: ‘Perquiramus, quid desiderat aut mandat dolor.’⁴ Qui cum resignasset, inuenit sic scriptum: ‘Quicumque hunc loculum inuenerit habentem in eo XX sestertia auri, peto ut X sestertia habeat, X uero funeri impendat. Hoc enim corpus multas dereliquit lacrimas et dolores amarissimos.’⁵ Quodsi aliud fecerit, quam dolor exposcit, ultimus suorum decidat, nec sit, qui corpus suum sepulturae commendet.’⁶ Perlectis codicillis ad famulos ait: ‘Praestetur corpori, quod impe[t]rat dolor. Iuraui itaque per spem uitae meae in hoc funere amplius me erogaturum, quam dolor exposcit.’ Et haec dicens iubet continuo instrui rogam.⁷ Sed dum sollicitae atque studiose rogi aedificatur atque componitur, superuenit discipulus medici, aspectu adulescens, et, quantum ingenio, senex.⁸ Hic cum uidisset speciosum corpus super rogam uelle poni, intuens magistrum ait: ‘Vnde hoc nouum nescio quod funus?’⁹ Magister ait: ‘Bene uenisti: haec enim hora te expectat. Tolle ampullam unguenti et quod est supremum, defunctae corpori puellae superfunde.’¹⁰ At uero adulescens tulit ampullam unguenti et ad lectum deuenit puellae et detraxit a pectore uestes, unguentum fudit et per omnes artus suspiciosa manu retractat, sentitque a praecordiis pectoris torporis quietem.¹¹ Obstupuit iuuenis, quia cognouit puellam in falsa morte iacere. Palpat uenarum indicia, rimatur auras narium, labia labiis probat: sentit gracile spirantis uitam prope luctare cum morte adultera, et ait: ‘Supponite faculas per IIII partes.’¹² Quod cum fecisse< n> t, <faces insiit> lentas lenteque suppositas retrahere [manus], et sanguis ille, qui per unctionem coagulatus fuerat, liquefactus est.

27 ¹ Quod ut uidit iuuenis, ad magistrum suum cucurrit et ait: ‘Magister, puella, quam credis esse defunctam, uiuit! Et ut facilius mihi credas, spiritum praeclusum patefaciam!’² Adhibitis secum uiribus tulit puellam in cubiculo suo et posuit super lectulum, uelum diuisit, calefecit oleum, made-

fecit lanam et effudit super pectus puellae. ³ Sanguis uero ille, qui intus a perfrictione coagulatus fuerat, accepto te[m]pore liquefactus est coepitque spiritus praeclusus per medullas descendere. ⁴ Venis itaque patefactis aperuit puella oculos et recipiens spiritum, quem iam perdiderat, leui et balbutienti sermone ait: 'Deprecor itaque, medice, ne[c] me contingas aliter, quam oportet contingere: uxor enim regis sum et regis filia.' ⁵ Iuuenis ut uidit, quod in arte uiderat, quod magistro fallebat, gaudio plenus uadit ad magistrum suum et ait: 'Veni, magister, en discipuli tui apodixin!' ⁶ Magister introiuit cubiculum et ut uidit puellam iam uiuam, quam mortuam putabat, ait discipulo suo: 'Probo artem, peritiam laudo, miror diligentiam. ⁷ Sed audi, discipule, nolo <te> artis beneficium perdidisse: accipe mercedem. Haec enim puella secum attulit pecuniam.' ⁸ Et dedit ei decem sestertia auri et iussit puellam salubribus cibis et fomentis recreari. ⁹ Post paucos dies, ut cognouit eam regio genere esse ortam, adhibitis amicis in filiam suam sibi adoptauit. ¹⁰ Et rogauit cum lacrimis, ne ab aliquo contingeretur. Exaudiuit eam et inter sacerdotes Dianae feminas [se] fulciuit et collocauit, ubi omnes uirgines inuiolabiliter seruabant castitatem.

28 ¹ Inter haec Apollonius cum nauigat ingenti luctu, gubernante deo applicuit Tharsos, descendit ratem et petiuit domum Stranguillionis et Dionysiae. ² Qui[d] cum eos salutauisset, omnes casus suos eis dolenter exposuit et ait: 'Quantum in amissam coniugem flebam, tantum in seruata mihi filiam consolabor. ³ Itaque, sanctissimi hospites, quoniam ex amissa coniuge regnum, quod mihi seruabatur, nolo accipere, sed neque reuerti ad socerum, cuius in mari perdiidi filiam, sed potius <facere> opera mercatus, commendo uobis filiam meam: ⁴ cum filia uestra nutriatur et eam cum bono et simplici animo suscipiatis atque patriae nomine eam cognominetis Tharsiam. Praeterea et nutricem uxoris meae, nomine Lycoridem, uobis commendo pariter et uolo, ut filiam meam nutriat atque custodiat.' ⁵ His dictis tradidit infantem, dedit aurum, argentum et pecunias nec non et uestes pretiosissimas, et iurauit fortiter nec barbam nec capillos nec unguis dempturum, nisi prius filiam suam nuptui traderet. ⁶ At illi stupentes, quod tam grauiter iurasset, cum magna fide se puellam educaturos promittunt. ⁷ Apollonius uero commendata filia nauem ascendit altumque pelagus petens ignotas et longinquas Aegypti regiones deuenit.

29 ¹ Itaque puella Tharsia facta quinquennis traditur studiis artium liberalibus et filia eorum cum ea docebatur: et <in> ingenio et in auditu et in sermone et in morum honestate docentur. ² Cumque Tharsia ad XIII annorum aetatem uenisset, reuersa de auditorio inuenit nutricem suam subitanam uoletudinem incurrisse, et sedens iuxta eam casus infirmitatis eius explorat. ³ Nutrix uero eius eleuans se dixit ei: 'Audi [et] amicae morientis uerba suprema, domina Tharsia; audi et pectori tuo manda. ⁴ Interrogo namque te, quem tibi patrem aut matrem aut patriam esse aestimas?' Puella ait: 'Patriam

Tharsos, patrem Stranguillionem, matrem Dionysiam.’⁵ Nutrix uero eius ingemuit et ait: ‘Audi, domina mea Tharsia, *stemma* originis tuorum natalium, ut scias, quid post mortem meam facere debeas.’⁶ E<st> tibi pater nomine Apollonius, mater uero [Lucina] Archistratis regis filia, patria Tyros. <Post>quam [dum] mater tua <te> enixa <est>, statim redeuntibus secundis praeclusoque spiritu ultimum fati signauit diem.⁷ Quam pater tuus facto loculo cum ornamentis regalibus et XX sestertiis auri in mare permisit, ut, ubi fuisset delata, ipsa testis sibi esset.⁸ Naues quoque luctantibus uentis cum patre tuo lugente et te in cunabulis posita peruenerunt ad hanc ciuitatem.⁹ His ergo suis *hospitibus*, Stranguillioni et Dionysiae, te commendauit pariter cum uestimentis regalibus et sic uotum faciens neque capillos dempturum neque ungulas, donec te nuptui traderet.¹⁰ Nunc ergo post mortem meam, si quando tibi hospites tui, quos tu parentes appellas, forte aliquam iniuriam fecerint, ascende in forum et inuenies statuam patris tui Apollonii: apprehende[ns] statuam et proclama[ns]: ‘Ipsius sum filia, cuius est haec statua!’¹¹ Cuius uero memores beneficiorum patris tui Apollonii liberabunt te, necesse est!’

30 ¹ Cui Tharsia ait: ‘Cara nutrix, testor deum, quod si fortasse aliqui casus mihi euenissent, antequam haec mihi referres, penitus ego nescissem stirpem natiuitatis meae!’² Et cum haec ad inuicem confabularentur, nutrix in gremio puellae emisit spiritum. Puella uero corpus nutricis suae sepulturae mandauit, lugens eam anno.³ Et deposito luctu induit priorem dignitatem et petiit scholam suam et [ad] studia liberalia. <Et reuersa de schola> non prius sumebat cibum, nisi primo monumentum intraret [et] ferens ampullam *uini* et coronas. Et ibi manes parentum suorum inuocabat.

31 ¹ Et dum haec aguntur, quodam die feriato Dionysia cum filia sua, nomine Philomusia, et Tharsia puella transiebat per publicum.² Videntes omnes ciues speciem Tharsiae ornatam, omnibus ciuibus et honoratis miraculum apparebat atque omnes dicebant: ‘Felix pater, cuius filia est Tharsia; illa uero, quae adheret lateri eius, multum turpis est atque dedecus.’³ Dionysia uero, ut audiuit laudare Tharsiam et suam uituperare filiam, <in> insaniae furem conuersa est.⁴ Et sedens sola coepit cogitare taliter: ‘Pater eius Apollonius, ex quo *hinc* profectus est, habet annos XIII et nunquam uenit ad suam recipiendam filiam nec nobis misit litteras. Puto, quia mortuus est aut in pelago periit.’⁵ Nutrix uero eius decessit. Neminem habeo aemulum. Non potest fieri <hoc, quod excogitau>, nisi ferro aut ueneno! Tollam illam de medio [de hoc quod excogitau] et ornamentis eius filiam meam ornabo.’⁶ Et dum haec secum cogitat, nuntiatur ei uillicum uenisse, nomine Theophilum.⁷ Quem ad se conuocans ait: ‘Si cupis habere libertatem cum praemio, tolle Tharsiam de medio.’ Villicus ait: ‘Quid enim peccauit uirgo innocens?’⁸ Scelesta mulier ait: ‘Tam mihi non pares? Tantum fac, quod iubeo. Sin alias, *sentias* esse contra te iratos dominum et domina<m>.’⁹ Villicus ait: ‘Et qualiter hoc potest fieri?’ Scelesta mulier ait: ‘Consuetudo sibi est, ut mox cum de schola

uenerit, non prius cibum sumat, antequam monumentum suae nutricis intrauerit. ¹⁰ Oportet te ibi cum pugione abscondere, et eam ue<n>ientem interfice et proice corpus eius in mare. Et cum adueneris et de hoc facto nuntiaueris, cum praemio libertatem accipies.’ ¹¹ Villicus tulit pugionem et lateri suo celat et intuens caelum ait: ‘Deus, ego non merui libertatem accipere nisi per effusionem sanguinis uirginis innocentis.’ ¹² Et haec dicens, suspirans et flens ibat ad monumentum nutricis Tharsiae et ibi latuit. ¹³ Puella autem rediens de schola solito more fudit ampullam uini et ingressa monumentum posuit coronas supra; et dum inuocat manes parentum suorum, uillicus impetum fecit et auersae puellae capillos apprehendit et iactauit in terram. ¹⁴ Et cum eam uellet percutere, ait ad eum puella: ‘Theophile, quid peccaui, ut manu tua innocens uirgo moriar?’ ¹⁵ Cui uillicus ait: ‘Tu nihil peccasti, sed pater tuus peccauit Apollonius, qui te cum magna pecunia et uestimentis regalibus reliquit Stranguillioni et Dionysiae.’ ¹⁶ Quod puella audiens cum cum lacrimis deprecata est: ‘<Si iam nulla est> uitae meae spes aut solacium, permitte me testari dominum.’ ¹⁷ Cui uillicus ait: ‘Testare. Et deus ipse scit uoluntate <me> mea hoc scelus non facere.’

32 ¹ Itaque puella cum dominum deprecatur, subito aduenerunt piratae et uidentes hominem armata manu uelle percutere, exclamauerunt dicentes: ‘Parce, barbare, parce et noli occidere! Haec enim nostra praeda est et non tua uictima!’ ² Sed ut audiuit uillicus uocem, eam dimittit et fugit et coepit latere post monumentum [uillicus]. ³ Piratae applicantes ad litus tulerunt uirginem et collantes altum petierunt pelagus. ⁴ Villicus post moram rediit, et, ut uidit puellam raptam a morte, deo gratias egit, quod non fecit scelus. Et reuersus ad dominam suam ait: ‘Quod praecepisti, factum est: comple, quod mihi promiseras.’ ⁵ Scelestas mulier ait: ‘Homicidium fecisti, insuper et libertatem petis? Reuertere ad uillam et [insuper] opus tuum facito, ne iratos dominum et dominam sentias!’ ⁶ Villicus itaque, ut audiuit, eleuans ad caelum oculos dixit: ‘Tu scis, deus, quod non feci scelus. Esto iudex inter nos.’ Et ad uillam suam abiit. ⁷ Tunc Dionysia apud semet ipsam consiliata pro scelere quod excogitauerat, quomodo posset facinus illud celare, ingressa ad maritum suum Stranguillionem sic ait: ‘Care coniunx, salua coniugem, salua filiam nostram.’ ⁸ Vituperia in grandem me furiam concitauerunt et insaniam. Subitoque apud me excogitauit dicens: ‘Ecce, iam sunt anni plus XIII, ex quo nobis suus pater commendauit Tharsiam, et numquam saluta<to>rias nobis misit litteras: forsitan aut afflictione luctus est mortuus aut certe inter fluctus maris et procella<s> periit.’ ⁹ Nutrix uero eius defuncta est. Nullum habeo aemulum. Tollam Tharsiam de medio et eius ornamentis nostram ornabo filiam.’ Quod et factum esse scias! ¹⁰ Nunc uero propter ciuium curiositatem ad praesens indue uestes lugubres, sicut ego facio, et falsis lacrimis dicamus eam subito dolore stomachi fuisse defunctam. Hic prope in suburbio faciamus rogu<m> maximum, ubi dicamus eam esse positam.’ ¹¹ Stranguillio ut audiuit, tremor et stu-

por in eum irruit et ita respondit: 'Equidem da mihi uestes lugubres, ut lugeam me, qui talem sum sortitus sceleratam coniugem. ¹² Heu mihi! Pro dolor!', inquit, 'Quid faciam? Quid agam de patre eius, quem primo cum suscepissem, cum ciuitatem istam a morte et periculo famis liberauit, meo suasu egressus est ciuitatem; ¹³ propter hanc ciuitatem naufragium incidit, mortem uidit, sua perdidit, exitum penuriae perpessus est: a deo uero in melius restitutus est. Malum pro bono, quasi pius, non excogitans neque ante oculos illud habuit, sed omnia obliuioni ducens, insuper adhuc memor nostri in bono, fidem <nostram> eligens, remunerans nos et pios aestimans, filiam suam nutriendam tradidit, tantam simplicitatem et amorem circa nos gerens, ut ciuitatis nostrae filiae suae nomen imponeret. ¹⁴ Heu mihi, caecatus sum! Lugeam me et innocentem uirginem, qui iunctus sum ad pessimam uenenosamque serpentem et iniquam coniugem!' ¹⁵ Et in caelum leuans oculos ait: 'Deus, tu scis, quia purus sum a sanguine Tharsiae, et requiras et uindices illam in Dionysia.' ¹⁶ Et intuens uxorem suam ait: 'Quomodo, inimica dei, celare poteris hoc nefandum facinus?' ¹⁷ Dionysia uero induit se et filiam suam uestes lugubres falsasque infundit lacrimas et ciues ad se conuocans, quibus ait: 'Carissimi ciues, ideo uos clamauimus, quia spem luminum et labores et exitus annorum nostrorum perdidimus: id est, Tharsia, quam bene nostis, nobis cruciatus et fletus reliquit amarissimos; quam digne sepelire fecimus.' ¹⁸ Tunc pergunt ciues, ubi figuratum fuerat sepulchrum a Dionysia, et pro meritis ac beneficiis Apollonii, patris Tharsiae, fabricantes rogum ex aere collato et scripserunt taliter:

¹⁹ DII MANES

CIVES THARSI THARSIAE VIRGINI

BENEFICIIS TYRII APOLLONII

<EX AERE COLLATO FECERVNT>.

33 ¹ Igitur qui Tharsiam rapuerunt, aduenerunt in ciuitatem Mytilenem. Deponiturque inter cetera mancipia et uenalis <in> foro proponitur. ² Audiens autem hoc leno, uir infaustissimus, nec uirum nec mulierem uoluit emere nisi Tharsiam puellam, et coepit contendere, ut eam emeret. ³ Sed Athenagora nomine, princeps eiusdem ciuitatis, intelligens nobilem et sapientem et pulcherrimam uirginem ad uenalia positam, obtulit decem sester tia auri. ⁴ Sed leno XX dare uoluit. Athenagora obtulit XXX, leno XL, Athenagora L, leno LX, Athenagora LXX, leno LXXX, Athenagora LXXXX, leno in praesenti dat C sestertia auri et dicit: 'Si quis amplius dederit, X dabo supra.' ⁵ Athenagora ait: 'Ego si cum hoc lenone contendere uoluero, ut unam emam, plurium uenditor sum. Sed permittam eum emere, et cum ille eam in prostibulo posuerit, intrabo prior ad eam et eripiam nodum uirginitatis eius uili pretio, et erit mihi ac si eam emerim.' ⁶ Quid plura? Addicitur uirgo lenoni, a quo introducitur in saluta<to>rio, ubi habebat Pr<i>apum [in salutario] aureum, gemmis et auro reconditum. Et ait ad eam: 'Adora nomen praesentis-

simum meum.’⁷ Puella ait: ‘Numquid Lam<p>sa<ce>nus es?’ Leno ait: ‘Ignoras, misera, quia in domum auari lenonis incurristi?’⁸ Puella uero, ut haec audiuit, toto corpore contremuit et prosternens se pedibus eius dixit: ‘Miserere mei, domine, succurre uirginitati meae! Et rogo te, ne uelis hoc corpusculum [tu] sub tam turpi titulo prostituere.’⁹ Cui leno ait: ‘Alleua te, misera: tu autem nescis, quia apud lenonem et tortorem nec preces nec lacrimae ualent.’¹⁰ Et uocauit ad se uillicum puellarum et ait ad eum: ‘Cella ornetur diligenter, in qua scribatur titulus: ‘Qui Tharsiam uirginem uiolare uoluerit, dimidiam auri [partem uel] libram dabit; postea uero singulos aureos populo patebit.’ [Postea uero] Fecit uillicus, quod iusserat ei dominus suus leno.

34 ¹ Tertia die antecedente turba cum symphoniacis ducitur ad lupanar. ² Sed Athenagora princeps affuit prior et uelato capite ingreditur ad lupanar. ³ Sed dum fuisset ingressus, sedit; et aduenit Tharsia et procidit ad pedes eius et ait: ‘Miserere mei! Per iuuentutem tuam te deprecor, ne uelis me uiolare sub tam turpi titulo. ⁴ Contine impudicam libidinem et audi casus infirmitatis meae uel origine<m> stemmatum considera.’ ⁵ Cui cum uniuersos casus suos exposuisset, princeps confusus est et pietate ductus uehementer obstipuit et ait ad eam: ‘Erige te. ⁶ Scimus fortunae casus: homines sumus. Habeo et ego filiam uirginem, ex qua similem possum casum metuere.’ ⁷ Haec dicens protulit XL aureos et dedit in manu uirginis et dicit ei: ‘Domina Tharsia, ecce habes amplius, quam uirginitas tua expostulat. Aduenientibus age similiter, quousque liberaberis.’ ⁸ Puella uero profusis lacrimis ait: ‘Ago pietati tuae maximas gratias.’ ⁹ Quo exeunte collega suus affuit et ait: ‘Athenagora, quomodo tecum nouitia?’ Athenagora ait: ‘Non potest melius; usque ad lacrimas!’ ¹⁰ Et haec dicens eum subsecutus est. Quo introeunte insidiabatur, exitus rerum uidere. Ingresso itaque illo Athenagora foris stabat. ¹¹ Solito <more> puella claudit ostium. Cui iuuenis ait: ‘Si salua sis, indica mihi, quantum dedit ad te iuuenis, qui ad te modo introiuit?’ Puella ait: ‘Quater denos mihi aureos dedit.’ ¹² Iuuenis ait: ‘Malum illi sit! Quid magnum illi fuisset, homini tam diuiti, si libram tibi daret integram? Vt ergo scias me esse meliorem, tolle libram auri integram.’ ¹³ Athenagora uero de foris stans dicebat: ‘Quantum plus dabis, plus plorabis!’ ¹⁴ Puella autem prostrauit se ad eius pedes [et ait] et similiter casus suos exposuit: confudit hominem et auertit a libidine. ¹⁵ Et ait iuuenis ad eam: ‘Alleua te, domina! Et nos homines sumus, casibus subiacentes.’ Puella ait: ‘Ago pietati tuae maximas gratias.’

35 ¹ Et exiens foris inuenit Athenagoram ridentem et ait: ‘Magnus homo es! Non habuisti, cui lacrimas tuas propinares!’ ² Et adiurantes se inuicem, ne alicui proderent, aliorum coeperunt expectare exitum. ³ Quid plura? Illis expectantibus per occultum aspectum omnes, quicumque <intro>ibant, dantes singulos aureos plorantes abscedebant. ⁴ Facta autem huius rei fine obtulit puella pecuniam lenoni dicens: ‘Ecce pretium uirginitatis meae.’ ⁵ Et ait ad eam leno: ‘Quantum melius est hilarem te esse et non

lugentem! Sic ergo age, ut cotidie mihi latiores pecunias adferas.’⁶ Item ait ad eum puella altera die: ‘Ecce pretium uirginitatis meae, quod similiter precibus et lacrimis collegi, et custodio uirginitatem meam.’⁷ Hoc audito iratus est leno eo, quod uirginitatem suam seruaret, et uocat ad se uillicum puellarum et ait ad eum: ‘Sic te tam neglegentem esse uideo, ut nescias Tharsiam uirginem esse?’⁸ Si enim uirgo tantum adfert, quantum mulier? Duc eam ad te et tu eripe nodum uirginitatis eius.’⁹ Statim eam uillicus duxit in suum cubiculum et ait ad eam: ‘Verum mihi dic, Tharsia, adhuc uirgo es?’ Tharsia puella ait: ‘Quamdiu uult deus, uirgo sum.’¹⁰ Villicus ait: ‘Vnde ergo his duobus diebus tantam pecuniam obtulisti?’¹¹ Puella dixit: ‘Lacrimis meis, exponens ad omnes uniuersos casus meos; et illi dolentes miserentur uirginitati meae.’¹² Et prostrauit se ad pedes eius et ait: ‘Miserere mei, domine, subueni captiuae regis filiae!’¹³ Cumque ei uniuersos casus suos exposuisset, motus misericordia ait ad eam: ‘Nimis auarus est iste leno. Nescio, si tu possis uirgo permanere.’

36 ¹ Puella respondit: ‘Habeo auxilium studiorum liberalium, perfecte erudita sum; similiter et <h>rae pulsu[m] modulariter inlido.’² Iube crastina in frequenti loco poni scamna, et facundia sermonis mei spectaculum praebeo; deinde plectro modulabor et hac arte ampliabo pecunia<s> cotidie’.³ Quod cum fecisset uillicus, tanta populi adclamatio tantusque amor ciuitatis circa eam excrebuit, ut et uiri et feminae cotidie ei multa conferrent.⁴ Athenagora autem princeps memoratam Tharsiam integrae uirginitatis et generositatis ita eam custodiebat, ac si unicum suam filiam, ita ut uillico multa donaret et commendaret eam.

37 ¹ Et cum haec Mytilena aguntur, uenit Apollonius post quatuordecim annos ad ciuitatem Tharsiam ad domum Stranguillionis et Dionysiae.² Quem uidens Stranguillio de longe, perrexit cursu rapidissimo ad uxorem suam dicens ei: ‘Certe dixeras Apollonium perisse naufragio; et ecce, uenit ad repetendam filiam suam. Quid dicturi sumus patri de filia, cuius nos fuimus parentes?’³ [in] Scelera<ta> mulier hoc audito toto corpore contremuit et ait: ‘Miserere! Vt dixi, coniunx, tibi confiteor: dum nostram diligo, alienam perdidici filiam.’⁴ Nunc ergo ad praesens indue uestes lugubres et fictas fundamus lacrimas et dicamus eam subito dolore stomachi interisse. Qui cum nos tali habitu uiderit, credit.’⁵ Et dum haec aguntur, intrat Apollonius domum Stranguillionis, a fronte comam aperit, hispidam ab ore remouet barbam.⁶ Vt uidit eos in lugubri ueste, ait: ‘Hospites fidelissimi – si tamen in uobis hoc nomen permanet – ut quid in aduentu meo largas effunditis lacrimas? Ne forte istae lacrimae non sint uestrae, sed meae propriae?’⁷ Scelerata mulier ait cum lacrimis: ‘utinam quidem istud nuntium alius ad aures uestras referret, et non ego aut coniunx meus. Nam scito Tharsiam filiam tuam a nobis subitaneo dolore stomachi fuisse defunctam.’⁸ Apollonius ut audiuit, tremebundus toto corpore oppalluit diuque maestus constitit.⁹ Sed postquam recepit spiri-

tum, intuens mulierem sic ait: 'Tharsia, filia mea, ante paucos dies discessit. Numquid pecunia aut ornamenta aut uestes perierunt?'

38 ¹ Scelestā mulier haec eo dicente secundum pactum ferens atque reddens omnia sic ait: 'Crede nobis, quia si genesis permisisset, sicut haec omnia damus, ita et filiam tibi reddidissemus.' ² Et ut scias nos non mentiri: habemus huius rei testimonium ciuium, qui memores beneficiorum tuorum ex aere collato filiae tuae monumentum fecerunt, quod potest tua pietas uidere.' ³ Apollonius uero credens eam uere esse defunctam ait ad famulos suos: 'Tollite haec omnia et ferte ad nauem; ego enim uado ad filiae meae monumentum.' ⁴ At ubi peruenit, titulum legit:

DII MANES

CIVES THARSI THARSIAE VIRGINI

APOLLONII REGIS FILIAE

OB BENEFICIVM *EIVS* PIETATIS CAUSA

EX AERE COLLATO FECERVNT.

⁵ Perlecto titulo stupenti mente constitit. Et dum miratur se lacrimas non posse fundere, maledixit oculos suos dicens: 'O crudeles oculi, titulum natae meae cernitis, et lacrimas fundere non potestis! O me miserum! Puto, filia mea uiuit.' ⁶ Et haec dicens rediit ad nauem atque ita suos allocutus est dicens: 'Proicite me in subsannio naui; cupio enim in undis efflare spiritum, quem in terris non licuit lumen uidere.' ⁷ Proiciens se in subsannio naui sublatis ancoris altum pelagus petiit, iam ad Tyrum reuersurus.

39 ¹ Qui dum prosperis uentis nauigat, subito mutata est pelagi fides. Per diuersa discrimina maris iactantur: omnibus dominum rogantibus ad Mytilenam ciuitatem aduenerunt. ² Ibique Neptunalia festa celebrabantur. Quod cum cognouisset Apollonius, ingemuit et ait: 'Ergo omnes diem festum celebrant praeter me! Sed ne lugens et auarus uidear! Sufficit enim seruis meis poena, quod me tam infelicem sortiti sunt dominum.' ³ Et uocans dispensatorem suum ait ad eum: 'Dona X aureos pueris, et eant et emant quod uolunt, et celebrent diem.' ⁴ Me autem ueto a quoquam uestrum appellari; quod si aliquis uestrum fecerit, crura ei frangi iubeo.' ⁵ Cum igitur omnes *nautae* Apollonii ~~conuiuium~~ melius ceteris nauibus celebrarent, conti[n]git, <ut> Athenagora, princeps ciuitatis, qui Tharsiam filiam eius diligebat, deambulans in litore consideraret celebritatem nauium. ⁶ Quique dum singulas notat naues, uidit hanc nauem e ceteris nauibus meliorem et ornatiorem esse. Accedens ad nauem Apollonii coepit stare et mirari. ⁷ Nautae uero et serui Apollonii salutauerunt eum dicentes: 'Inuitamus te, si dignaris, o princeps magnifice.' At ille petitus cum V seruis suis nauem ascendit. ⁸ Et cum uideret eos *u*manimes discumbere, accubuit inter epulantes et donauit eis X aureos et ponens eos supra mensam dixit: 'Ecce, ne me gratis inuitaueritis.' Cui omnes dixerunt: 'Agimus nobilitati tuae maximas gratias.' ⁹ Athenagora autem cum uidisset omnes tam *ab*enter discumbere nec inter eos maiorem esse <qui> praeuideret, ait ad eos: 'Quod

omnes libenter discumbitis, naus huius dominus quis est?’¹⁰ Gubernator dixit: ‘Naus huius dominus in luctu moratur et iacet intus in subsannio naus in tenebris: flet uxorem et filiam.’¹¹ Quo audito dolens Athenagora dixit ad gubernum: ‘Dabo tibi duos aureos; et descende ad eum et dic illi: “Rogat te Athenagora, princeps huius ciuitatis, ut procedas ad eum de tenebris et ad lucem ex eas.”’¹² Iuuenis ait: ‘Si possum de duobus aureis IIII habere crural’. Et <ait>: ‘tam utilem inter nos *nullum*, ere, elegisti, nisi me? Quaere alium, qui eat, quia iussit, quod, quicumque eum appellauerit, crura ei frangantur!’¹³ Athenagora ait: ‘Hanc legem uobis statuit, nam non mihi, quem ignorat. Ego autem ad eum descendo. Dicite mihi, quis uocatur?’ Famuli dixerunt: ‘Apollonius.’

40

¹ Athenagora uero ait intra se audito nomine: ‘Et Tharsia Apollonium <nomina> patrem.’ Et demonstrantibus pueris peruenit ad eum.² Quem cum uidisset squalida barba, capite horrido et sordido in tenebris iacentem, submissa uoce salutauit eum: ‘Aue, Apolloni.’³ Apollonius uero putabat se a quoquam de suis contemptum esse; turbido uultu respiciens, ut uidit ignotum sibi hominem honestum et decoratum, texit furore <m> silentio.⁴ Cui Athenagoras, princeps ciuitatis, ait: ‘Scio enim te mirari, sic quod nomine <te> salutauerim: disce, quod princeps huius ciuitatis sum.’⁵ Et cum Athenagora nullum ab eo audisset sermonem, item ait ad eum: ‘Descendi de uia in litore ad nauiculas contuendas et inter omnes naues uidi nauem tuam decenter ornatam, amabili aspectu eius.’⁶ Et dum incedo, inuitatus sum ab amicis et nautis tuis. Adscendi et libenti animo discubui. Inquisiui dominum naus. Qui dixerunt te in luctu esse graui; quod et uideo.⁷ Sed pro desiderio, quo ueni ad te, procede de tenebris ad lucem et epulare nobiscum paulisper.⁸ Spero autem de deo, quia dabit tibi post hunc tam ingentem luctum ampliorem laetitiam.’⁹ Apollonius autem luctu fatigatus leuauit caput suum et sic ait: ‘Quicumque es, domine, uade, discumbe et epulare cum <m>eis ac si cum tuis.’¹⁰ Ego uero ualde afflictus sum meis calamitatibus, ut non solum epulari, sed nec uiuere desiderarem.’¹¹ Confusus Athenagora subiit de subsannio naus rursus ad nauem et discumbens ait: ‘Non potui domino uestro persuadere, ut ad lucem uenire procederet.’¹² Quid faciam, ut eum a proposito mortis reuocem? Itaque bene mihi uenit in mente <m>: perge, puer, ad lenonem illum et dic ei, ut mittat ad me Tharsiam.’¹³ Cumque per <r>exisset puer ad lenonem, *haec* leno audiens non potuit eum contemnere: licet autem contra uoluntatem, uolens misit illam.¹⁴ Veniens autem Tharsia ad nauem, uidens eam Athenagora ait ad eam: ‘Veni huc ad me, Tharsia domina; hic <est> enim ars studiorum tuorum necessaria, ut consoleris dominum naus huius et horum omnium, sedentem in tenebris horteris consolationem recipere, et eum prouoces ad lumen exire, lugentem coniugem et filiam.’¹⁵ Haec est pietatis causa, per quam dominus omnibus fit propitius. Accede ergo ad eum et suade exire ad lucem; forsitan per nos deus uult eum uiuere.¹⁶ Si enim hoc potueris facere, XXX dies a

lenone te redimam, ut deuotae uirginitati tuae uacare possis; et dabo tibi insuper decem sestertia auri.’¹⁷ Audiens haec puella constanter descendit in subsannio naui ad Apollonium et submissa uoce salutauit eum dicens: ‘Salue, quicumque es, laetare: ¹⁸ non enim aliqua ad te consolandum uenit [im]polluta, sed innocens uirgo, quae uirginitatem meam inter naufragium castitatis inuolabiliter seruo.’

41 ¹ His carminibus coepit modulata uoce canere:

² ‘Per sordes gradior, sed sordis conscia non sum,
sicut rosa in spinis nescit compungi mucrone.

Piratae me rapuerunt gladio ferientis iniquo.

Lenoni nunc uendita numquam uiolaui pudore<m>.

³ Ni fletus et lucti et lacrimae de amissis inessent, 5
nulla me melior, pater si nosset ubi essem.

Regio sum genere et stirpe propagata p<r>iorum,
sed contemptum habeo et iubeor adeoque laetari!

⁴ Fige modum lacrimis, curas resolu dolorum,
redde caelo oculos et animum ad sidera tolle! 10

Aderit ille deus creator omnium, auctor:

qui non sinit hos fletus casso dolore reli<n>qui!’

⁵ Ad haec uerba leuauit caput Apollonius et uidit puellam, et ingemuit et ait: ‘O me miserum! Quamdiu contra pietatem luctor?’ ⁶ Erigens se ergo adsedit et ait ad eam: ‘Ago prudentiae et nobilitati tuae maximas gratias; consolationi tuae hanc uicem rependo, ut <me>mor tui <sim>, quandoque si laetari mihi licuerit, et regni mei uiribus releuem; ⁷ et si<c> forsitan, ut dicis te regis natalibus orta<m>, tuis te parentibus repraesento. ⁸ Nunc ergo accipe aureos ducentos et ac si in lucem produxeris me, gaude. ⁹ Vade; et rogo, ulterius non me appelles: recentem enim mihi renouasti dolorem.’ Et acceptis ducentis aureis abscessit de illo loco. ¹⁰ Et ait ad eam Athenagora: ‘Quo uadis, Tharsia? Sine effectum laborasti? Num potuimus facere misericordiam et subuenire homini interficienti se?’ ¹¹ Et ait ad eum Tharsia: ‘Omnia, quaecumque potui, feci, sed datis mihi CC aureis rogauit, <ut abscederem>, asserens renouato luctu dolore cruciari.’ ¹² Et ait ad eam Athenagora: ‘Ego tibi modo CCCC aureos dabo, tantum descende ad eum: refunde ei hos CC, quos tibi dedit; prouoca eum ad lumen exire, dicens ei: ‘Ego non pecuniam, salutem tuam quaero.’’ ¹³ Et descendens Tharsia ad eum ait: ‘Iam si <in hoc> squalore permanere diffinisti, pro eo quod pecunia ingenti me honorasti, permitte me tecum in his tenebris miscere sermonem. ¹⁴ Si enim parabolarum mearum nodos absolueris, uadam; sin aliter, refundam tibi pecuniam, quam mihi dedisti, et abscedam.’’ ¹⁵ At ille, ne uideretur pecuniam recipere, simul et cupiens a prudenti puella audire sermonem, ait: ‘Licet in malis meis nulla mihi cura suppetit nisi flendi et lugendi, tamen, ut hortamento laetitiae caream, dic quod int<er>rogatura es, et abscede. Deprecor, ut fletibus meis spatium tribuas.’

42 ¹ Et ait ad eum Tharsia:

‘Est domus in terris clara quae uoce resultat.

Ipsa domus resonat, tacitus sed non sonat hospes.

Ambo tamen currunt, <*hospes simul*> et domus una.

² Si ergo, ut adseris, rex es in *tua* patria – nihil *enim* rege prudentius esse conuenit –, solue mihi quaestionem et uadam.’ ³ Et agitans caput Apollonius ait: ‘Vt scias me non esse mentitum: domus, quae in terris resonat, unda est; hospes huius domus tacitus piscis est, qui simul cum domo currit.’ ⁴ Admirat<*ur*> puella hinc in explanatione magna uere regem esse et acrioribus eum quaestionibus [eum] pulsat et ait:

‘Dulcis amica *dei*, semper uicina profundis,

suaue canens Musis, nigro perfusa colore,

nuntia sum linguae, digitis signata magistri.’

⁵ Et ait ad eam Apollonius: ‘Dulcis amica dei, quae *cantus* suos mittit ad caelum, canna est, ripae semper uicina, quia iuxta aquas sedes collocatas habet. Haec nigro perfusa colore, nuntia *est* linguae.’ ⁶ Item ait ad eum puella:

‘Longa feror uelox, formosae filia siluae,

innumera pariter comitum stipata caterua.

Curro uias multas, uestigia nulla relinquo.’

⁷ Item agitans caput Apollonius ait ad eam: ‘O, si liceret mihi longum depocere luctum, ostenderem tibi, quae ignoras.’ ⁸ Tamen respondeo quaestionibus tuis; miror enim te *in* tam tenera aetate talem prudentiam habere. ⁹ Nam longa, quae fertur, arbor est nauis, formosae filia siluae; fertur uelox uento repellente, stipata cateruis; currit uias multas, sed uestigia nulla relinquit.’ ¹⁰ Item puella inflammata prudentia quaestionum ait ad eum:

‘Per totas aedes innoxius *introit* ignis:

circumdat[a] flammis hinc inde uallata, <*nec uror*>;

nuda domus est et nudus ibi conuenit hospes.’

¹¹ Ait ad eam Apollonius: ‘Ego si istum luctum possem deponere, innocens intrarem per istum ignem.’ ¹² Intrarem enim balneum, ubi hinc inde flammae per tu[r]bulos surgunt; ubi *nuda* domus est, quia nihil intus habet praeter sedilia; ubi nudus sine uestibus ingreditur hospes.’ ¹³ Item ait ad eum puella:

‘Mucro mihi geminus ferro coniungitur uno.

Cum uento lucto<*r*>, cum gurgite pugno profundo.

Scrutor aquas medias, imas quoque mordeo terras.’

¹⁴ Respondit ei Apollonius: ‘Quae te sedentem in hac naue continet, ancora est, quae mucrone gemino ferro *coniungitur* uno; quae cum uento luctatur et cum gurgite profundo; quae aquas medias scrutatur, imas quoque morsu tenens terras.’ ¹⁵ Item ait ad eum puella:

‘Ipsa grauis non sum, sed *lymphae* mihi pondus inhaeret.

Viscera tota tument, patulis diffusa cauernis.

Intus lympa latet, sed non se sponte profundit.’

¹⁶ Respondit ei Apollonius: 'Spongia, cum sit levis, aqua grauata tumet patulis diffusa cauernis, quae se non sponte profundit.'

43

¹ Item ait ad eum puella:

'Non sum *cincta* comis et non sum compta capillis:
intus enim mihi crines sunt, quas non uidit ullus.

Meque man[ib]us mittunt manibusque remittor in auras.'

² Apollonius ait: 'Hanc ego Pentapoli naufragus habui ducem, ut regi amicus efficerer. Nam sphaera est, quae non est uincta comis et non est nudata capillis, quia intus plena est; haec manibus missa manibusque remittitur.' ³ Item ait ad eum puella:

'Nulla mihi certa est, nulla est peregrina figura.

Fulgor inest intus radianti luce coruscus,

qui nihil ostendit, nisi <si> quid uiderit ante.'

⁴ Respondens Apollonius ait: 'Nulla certa <figura> est speculo, quia mutatur aspectu; nulla peregrina figura, quia hoc ostendit, quod contra se habet.' ⁵ Item ait puella ad eum:

'Quattuor aequales currunt ex arte sorores

sic quasi certantes, cum sit labor omnibus unus,

cum *prope* sint pariter, non se pertingere possunt.'

⁶ Et ait ad eam Apollonius: 'Quattuor similes sorores forma et habitu rotae sunt, quae ex arte currunt quasi certantes; et, cum sint sibi prope, nulla nullam potest contingere.' ⁷ Item ait ad eum puella:

'Nos sumus ad caelum, quae scandimus, alta petentes,

concordi fabrica, quas unus conserit ordo.

Quicumque alta petunt, per nos comitantur ad auras.'

⁸ Et ait ad eam: 'Per deum te *obtestor*, ne ulterius me ad laetandum prouoces, ne uidear insultare mortuis meis. ⁹ Nam gradus scalae alta petentes, aequales mansione manentes, uno ordine conseruntur; et alta quicumque petunt, per eos comitantur ad auras.'

44

¹ Et his dictis ait: 'Ecce habes alios centum aureos, et recede

a me, ut memoriam mortuorum meorum defleam.' ² At uero puella dolens – tantae prudentiae uirum mori uelle nefarium est – refundit aureos in sinum et adprehendens lugubrem uestem eius [et] ad lucem conabatur trahere. ³ At ille impellens eam conuere fecit. Quae cum cecidisset, de naribus eius sanguis coepit egredi, et sedens puella coepit flere et cum magno maerore dicere: 'O ardua potestas caelorum, quae me pateris innocentem tantis calamitatibus ab ipsis [me] cunabulis fatigari! ⁴ Nam statim ut nata sum in mari inter fluctus et procellas, parturiens me mater mea secundis ad stomachum redeuntibus coagulato sanguine mortua est et sepultura ei terrae denegata est. ⁵ Quae tamen ornata a patre meo regalibus ornamentis et deposita in loculum cum uiginti sestertiis auri Neptuno est tradita. ⁶ Me namque in cunabulis posita, Stranguilioni impio et Dionysiadi eius coniugi a patre meo sum tradita cum orna-

mentis et uestibus regalibus, pro quibus usque ad necis ueni perfidiam et iussa sum puniri a seruo uno infamiae, nomine Theophilo. ⁷ At ille dum uoluisset me occidere, eum deprecata sum, ut permetteret me testari dominum. ⁸ Quem cum deprecor, piratae superueniunt, qui me ui auferunt et ad istam deferunt prouinciam. Atque lenoni impio sum uendita.'

45 ¹ Cumque haec et his similia puella flens diceret, in amplexus illius ruens Apollonius coepit flere prae gaudio et dicere: 'Tu es filia mea Tharsia, tu es spes mea unica, tu es lumen oculorum meorum † conscius quem † flens per quattuordecim annos matrem tuam lugeo. Iam laetus moriar, quia rediuiua spes mihi est reddita.' ² Et dixit Apollonius: 'Pereat haec ciuitas.' ³ At ubi auditum est ab Athenagora principe, in publico, in foro, in curia clamare coepit et dicere: 'Currite, ciues et nobiles, ne pereat ista ciuitas.'

46 ¹ Concursus magnus et ingens factus est, et tanta commotio fuit populi, ut nullus omnino domi remaneret, neque uir neque femina. ² Omnibus autem conuenientibus dixit Athenagora: 'Ciues Mytilenae ciuitatis, sciatis Tyrium Apollonium huc uenisse et [ecce] classes nauium; <et ecce> properat cum multis armatis euersurus istam prouinciam causa lenonis infaustissimi, qui Tharsiam ipsius emit filiam et in prostibulo posuit. ³ Vt ergo saluetur ista ciuitas, mittatur, et uindicta se de uno infamiae, ut non omnes periclitemur.' ⁴ His auditis populi ab auriculis eum comprehenderunt. Ducitur leno ad forum uinctis a tergo manibus. ⁵ Fit tribunal ingens in foro, et induentes Apollonium regalem uestem deposito omni squalore luctuoso, quod habuit, atque detonso capite diadema inponunt ei, et cum filia sua Tharsia tribunal ascendit. ⁶ Et tenens eam in amplexu coram omni populo <lacrimis impediabatur loqui. Athenagora autem> uix manu impetrat a plebe, ut taceant. ⁷ Quibus silentibus ait Athenagora: 'Ciues Mytilenae, quos repentina pietas in unum congregauit: uidete Tharsiam a patre suo esse cognitam, quam leno cupidissimus ad nos expoliandos usque in hodiernum diem depressit; quae uestra pietate uirgo permansit. Vt ergo plenius uestrae felicitati gratias referat, eius procurate uindictam.' ⁸ At uero omnes una uoce clamauerunt dicentes: 'Leno uiuus ardeat et bona omnia eius puellae addicantur!' Atque his dictis leno igni est traditus. ⁹ Villicus uero eius cum uniuersis puellis et facultatibus Tharsiae uirgini traditur. ¹⁰ Cui ait Tharsia: 'Redonauit tibi uitam, quia beneficio <tu uirgo permansi.' Cui donauit pro hoc beneficio> ducenta talenta auri et libertatem. ¹¹ Deinde cunctis puellis coram se praesentatis dixit: 'Quicquid de corpore uestro illi infausto contulistis, ut habeatis uobis, illud redonauit, et quia mecum seruitutem seruistis, ex hoc iam mecum liberae estote.'

47 ¹ Erigens se ergo Tyrius Apollonius his dictis populo alloquitur: 'Gratias pietati uestrae refero, uenerandi et piissimi ciues, quorum longa fides pietatem praebuit et quietem tribuit et <...> salutem et exhibuit gloriam. ² Vestrum est, quod fraudulenta mors <cum> suo luctu detecta est; uestrum est, quod uirginitas nulla bella sustinuit; uestrum est, quod paternis

amplexibus unica restituta est filia. ³ Pro hoc tanto munere condono huic ciuitati uestrae ad restauranda omnia moenia auri talenta C.' Et haec dicens eis in praesenti dari iussit. ⁴ At uero ciues accipientes aurum fuderunt ei statuam <ingentem, in prora nauis> stantem et calcantem <caput lenonis>, filiam suam in dextro brachio tenentem, et in ea scripserunt:

⁵ TYRIO APOLLONIO
RESTITVTORI MOENVM NOSTRORVM
ET THARSIAE PVDI<CI>SSIME VIRGINITATEM SERVANTI
ET CASVM VILISSIMVM INCVRRENTI
VNIVERSVS POPVLVS
OB NIMIVM AMOREM
AETERNVM DECVS MEMORIAE DEDIT.

⁶ Quid multa? Inter paucos dies tradidit filiam suam Athenagorae principi cum ingenti honore ac ciuitatis laetitia.

48 ¹ Et exinde cum suis omnibus et cum genero atque filia nauigauit, uolens, per Tharsum proficiscens, redire ad patriam suam. ² Vidit in somnis quendam angelico habitu sibi dicentem: 'Apolloni, dic gubernatori tuo, ad Ephesum iter dirigat; ³ ubi dum ueneris, ingredere templum Dianae cum filia et genero, et omnes casus tuos, quos a iuuenili aetate es passus, expone per ordinem. Post haec ueniens Tharsos uindica innocentem filiam tuam.' ⁴ Expergefactus Apollonius excitat filiam et generum et indicat somnium. At illi dixerunt: 'Fac, domine, quod iubet.' ⁵ Ille uero iubet gubernatorem suum Ephesum petere. Perueniunt felici cursu. ⁶ Descendens Apollonius cum suis templum Dianae petit, in quo templo coniunx eius inter sacerdotes principatum tenebat. ⁷ Erat enim effigie[s] [eius] satis decora et omni[um] castitatis amore assueta, *ut* nulla tam grata esset Dianae, nisi ipsa. ⁸ Interueniens Apollonius in templum Dianae cum suis, rogat sibi aperiri sacrarium, ut in conspectu Dianae omnes casus suos exponeret. ⁹ Nuntiatur hoc illi maiori omnium sacerdotum, uenisse nescio quem regem cum genero et filia cum magnis donis et alia uolentem in conspectu Dianae recitare. ¹⁰ At illa audiens regem aduenisse induit se regium habitum, ornavit caput gemmis et in ueste purpurea uenit, stipata cateruis famu~~l~~arum. Templum ingreditur. ¹¹ Quam uidens Apollonius cum filia sua et genero corruerunt ante pedes eius. Tantus enim splendor pulchritu<di>ni<s> eius emanabat, ut ipsam esse putarent deam Dianam. ¹² Interea aperto sacrario oblatisque muneribus coepit in conspectu Dianae haec effari atque cum fletu magno dicere: 'Ego cum ab adulescentia mea regis nomine appellarer et ad omnem scientiam peruenissem, quae a nobilibus et regibus exerce[re]tur, regis iniqui Antiochi quaestionem exsolui, ut filiam eius in matrimonio acciperem. ¹³ Sed ille, foedissima sorte sociatus ei, cuius pater a natura fuerat constitutus, per impietatem coniunx effectus est atque me machinabatur occidere. ¹⁴ Quem dum fugio, naufragus factus sum et eo usque a Cyrenensi rege Archistrate susceptus sum, ut filiam suam meruis-

sem accipere. ¹⁵ Quae mecum ad regnum percipiendum uenire desiderans, hanc filiam paruulam – quam coram te, magna Diana, praesentari in somnis angelo admonente iussisti –, postquam in naui eam peperit, emisit spiritum. ¹⁶ Indui eam honestum, regium dignumque habitum sepulturae *et* *<in>* loculum deposui cum XX sestertiis auri, ut, ubi inuenta fuisset, ipsa sibi testis esset, ut digne sepeliretur. ¹⁷ Hanc uero meam filiam commendaui iniquissimis homini~~<bus>~~ *St*>ranguillioni et Dionysiae, et duxi me in Aegypto, per annos XIII uxorem flens fortiter, et postea uenio, ut filiam meam reciperem. ¹⁸ Dixerunt mihi, quod esset mortua. Iterum cum rediuiuo inuoluerer luctu, post matris atque filiae mortem *capi*enti exitum uitam mihi red~~<di>~~ disti.’

49 ¹ Cumque haec et his similia Apollonius narrans diceret, mittit uocem magnam clamans uxor eius dicens: ‘Ego sum coniunx tua, Archistratis regis filia!’, et mittens se in amplexus eius coepit dicere: ‘Tu es Tyrius Apollonius meus; tu es magister, qui docta[m] manu[m] me[am] docuisti; tu es, qui *<me>* a patre meo Archistrate accepisti; tu es, quem adamaui non libidinis causa, sed sapientiae ducem!’ ² Vbi est filia mea?’ Et ostendit ei Tharsiam et dixit ei: ‘Ecce, est!’ ³ Sonat in tota Epheso Tyrium Apollonium recognouisse suam coniugem, quam ipsi sacerdotem habebant. ⁴ Et facta est laetitia omni ciuitati maxima, coronantur plateae, organa disponuntur, fit a ciuibus conuiuium, laetantur omnes pariter. ⁵ Et constituit loco suo ipsa sacerdotem, quae ei secunda erat et cara. ⁶ Et cum omni~~<um>~~ Ephesiorum gaudio et lacrimis, cum planctu amarissimo eo, quod eos relinquere*t*, ualedicens cum marito et filia et genero nauem ascendit.

50 ¹ *<...>* Et constituit in loco suo regem Athenagoram generum suum, et cum eodem et filia et cum exercitu nauigans Tharsum ciuitatem uenit. ² Apollonius statim iubet comprehendere Stra~~<n>~~guillionem et Dionysiam, et sedens pro tribunali in foro adduci sibi illos p~~<rae>~~cepit. ³ Quibus adductis coram omnibus Apollonius ait: ‘Ciues beatissimi Tharsi, *numquid* Tyrius Apollonius alicui uestrum in aliqua re ingratus extitit?’ ⁴ At illi una uoce clamauerunt dicentes: ‘Te regem, te patrem patriae et diximus et in perpetuum dicimus; *<pro>* te mori optauimus et optamus, cuius ope famis periculum uel mortem transcendimus. Hoc e[st] statua tua a nobis posita *in biga* testatur.’ ⁵ Apollonius ait ad eos: ‘Commendaui filiam meam Stranguillioni et Dionysiae suae coniugi; hanc mihi reddere nolunt.’ Stranguillio ait: ‘Per regni tui clementiam, quia fati munus impleuit.’ ⁶ Apollonius ait: ‘Videte, ciues Tharsi, non sufficit, quantum ad suam malig~~<ni>~~tatem, [et] *<quod>* homicidium [quod] perpetratum fecerunt: insuper et per regni mei uires putauerunt periurandum.’ ⁷ Ecce, ostendam uobis ex hoc, quod uisuri estis, et testimoniis uobis ex hoc adprobabo.’ ⁸ Et proferens *<filiam>* Apollonius coram omnibus populis ait: ‘Ecce, adest filia mea Tharsia!’ ⁹ *<Scelesta>* mulier [mala], ut uidit eam, *< toto an>*imo, corpore contremuit. Mirantur ciues. ¹⁰ Tharsia iubet in conspectu suo adduci Theophilum uillicum. ¹¹ Quique cum adductus fuisset,

ait ad eum Tharsia: 'Theophile, si debitis tormentis et sanguini tuo cupis esse consultum et a me mereri indulgentiam, clara uoce dicito, quis tibi allocutus est, ut me interficeres?' Theophilus ait: 'Domina mea Dionysia.' ¹² Tunc omnes ciues, sub testificatione confessione facta et addita uera ratione, confusi rapientes Stranguillionem et Dionysiam tulerunt extra ciuitatem et lapidibus eos occiderunt et ad bestias terrae et uolucres caeli in campo iactauerunt, ut etiam corpora eorum terrae sepulturae negarentur. ¹³ Volentes autem Theophilum occidere, interuentu Tharsiae non tangitur. Ait enim Tharsia: 'Ciues piissimi, nisi ad testandum dominum horarum mihi spatia tribuisset, modo me uestra felicitas non defendisset.' ¹⁴ Tum a praesenti Theophilo libertatem cum praemio donauit.

51 ¹ Itaque Apollonius pro hac re laetitia[m] populo addens, munera restituens, restaurat uniuersas thermas, moenia publica, murorum turres. Restituens mora[n]tur ibi cum suis omnibus diebus XV. ² Postea uero ualedicens ciuib[us] nauigat ad Pentapolim Cyrenaeam; peruenit feliciter. ³ Ingreditur ad regem Archistratem, socerum suum. Et uidit filiam cum marito et Tharsiam neptem suam cum marito; regis filios ueneraba[n]tur et osculo suscipit Apollonium et filiam suam, cum quibus iugiter integro uno anno laetatus est perdurans. ⁴ Post haec perfecta aetate moritur in eorum manibus, dimittens medietatem regni sui Apollonio et medietatem filiae suae. ⁵ In illo tempore peractis omnibus iuxta mare deambulat Apollonius. ⁶ Vidit piscatorem illum, a quo naufragus susceptus fuerat, qui ei medium suum dedit tribunarium, et iubet famulis suis, ut eum comprehenderent et ad suum ducerent palatium. ⁷ Tunc, ut uidit se piscator trahi ad palatium, se putauit ad occidendum praeberi. ⁸ Sed ubi ingressus est palatium, Tyrius Apollonius sedens cum sua coniuge eum ad se praecepit adduci, et ait ad coniugem: 'Domina regina et coniunx pudica, hic est paranymp[hus] meus, qui mihi opem tribuit et, ut ad <te> uenirem, iter ostendit.' ⁹ Et intuens eum Apollonius ait: 'O benignissime uetule, ego sum Tyrius Apollonius, cui tu dedisti dimidium tuum tribunarium.' ¹⁰ Et donauit ei ducenta sestertia auri, seruos et ancillas, uestes et argentum secundum cor suum, et fecit eum comitem, usque dum uiueret. ¹¹ Hellenicus autem qui, quando persequabatur eum rex Antiochus, indicauerat ei omnia et nihil ab eo recipere uoluit, secutus est eum et procedente Apollonio obtulit se ei et dixit: 'Domine rex, memor esto Hellenici serui tui.' ¹² At ille apprehendens manum eius erexit eum et suscepit osculo; et fecit eum comitem et donauit illi multas diuitias. ¹³ His rebus expletis genuit de coniuge sua filium, quem regem in loco aui sui Archistratis constituit. ¹⁴ Ipse autem cum sua coniuge uixit annis LXXIII. Regnauit et tenuit regnum Antiochiae et Tyri[i] et Cyrenensium; et quietam atque felicem uitam uixit cum co[n]iuge sua. ¹⁵ Peractis annis, quot superius diximus, in pace atque senectute bona defuncti sunt.

Explicit liber Apollonii.

HISTORIA APOLLONII REGIS TYRI

REC. A

COMMENTARY

Title

The MSS in rec. A give different forms of the title of the text; a longer form is found in A: *Incipit Historia Apollonii regis Tyriae* (sc. *civitatis*; see below). A shorter form, comprising the hero's name, is found in P, both at the beginning (*Apollonius*) and at the end (*Explicit liber Apollonii*). The exact title used by all modern editors of the text (since Riese¹) occurs in the earliest MS of rec. B, Vossianus lat. F 113 (b), dated to the ninth cent., *Incipit Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*. Both the longer and the shorter forms of the title can be confirmed by external evidence on the circulation of the text in the early Middle Ages. The anonymous grammatical treatise *De dubiis nominibus*, composed in late sixth or mid-seventh cent., refers to our text by means of the shorter title (*in Apollonio: 'Gymnasium patet'*; cf. n. on 13.1), while the *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium*, composed shortly before 840, records the longer form (13.2 *Historiam Apollonii regis Tiri, codicem unum*) in a list of books given by the abbot Wando to the library of the monastery of St. Wandrille in Normandy in the mid-eighth cent. (Riese¹ praef. VII; Archibald 1991: 218–19; Wood 1994: 250). For the longer title see below; the shorter form *Apollonius* recalls a type of title that is attested for the Greek novels and is dated probably to the Byzantine period; it consists of the name of the (female) protagonist (Λευκίππη, Χαρίκλεια), and seems to derive from an original longer form, τὰ περὶ or τὰ κατὰ + name(s) of protagonist(s) (Whitmarsh 2005: 596; for the debate about the title of Chariton's novel, known as *Callirhoe*, see Tilg 2010: 214–15). For the various descriptions of the *Hist. Apoll.* (e.g. *gesta, uita, narratio uitae*) in the light of MSS evidence and early printed editions of the text see Archibald 1991: 92–6.

Historia Apollonii: 'history' in ancient rhetorical theory about literary narrative suggests a true story rather than a fictitious narrative (e.g. Cic. *inv.* 1.19.27; Quint. *inst.* 2.4.2); nevertheless, the n. *historia* is used in the general sense of 'a story, narrative' (OLD s.v. 4) as early as Plautus (e.g. *Bacch.* 158), and often specifically refers to myth or describes a legend (Cameron 2004: 93). In Apuleius both *historia* and *fabula* may designate 'fictional narrative' (Scobie 1969: 13; but see Van-Mal Maeder on Apul. *met.* 2.12.5; Hijmans et al. on 6.29.3), and after Apuleius' time the labels ἱστορικός and ἱστορία have been used with reference to writers of love-stories and to the content of their work (Ruiz-Montero 1996: 34). When *historia* is about a person (whose name is expressed either in the genitive case or by means of *de* + abl. or *super* + abl.), it usually suggests an account of a particular episode from this person's

life; this may apply both to historical narratives and to myths; see, respectively, Gell. 12.4.1 *descriptum ... est a Quinto Ennio in annali septimo ... sub historia Gemini Seruili*; Porph. 4.12.7 *nota historia est Procnēs*; and Keuck 1934: 24–6; Press 1982: 64–6. Similar terminology introducing historical ‘anecdotes’ or entertaining stories features in the titles to chapters in Gellius, e.g. 1.8 *Historia ... super Laide meretrice et Demosthene rhetore*; 6.5 *Historia de Polo bistrione memoratu digna*; 10.18 *Historia de Artemisia*. The transition from *historia* as ‘Einzel-erzählung’ to *historia* as ‘Leben’, according to Keuck 68, occurs already in late Latin (Priscill. p.100,19–22). The n. *historia* occurs only in the title of our text, never within the text itself; as such it implies factuality and underlines the ‘historical’ profile of the fictional narrative about an important political leader (cf. Schmeling 1996a: 543; nn. on 1.1; 51.15); at the same time the term advertises the biographical aspects of the story, and its legendary status.

regis Tyriae: sc. *civitatis*; for the formulation see n. on 8.2 *civitatem Tharsiam*. Klebs (1899: 197 n.5; 222–3; 340) objects to the authenticity of the n. *regis*, because Apollonius is referred to as *princeps*, not *rex*, of his land (7.5). However, the hero *is* of royal origin (see n. on 4.2 *regio genere ortus*), and the title of the text looks ahead at the conclusion of the story (51.14 *Regnavit et tenuit regnum Antiochiae et Tyri et Cyrenensium*). Kortekaas (2004: 49–50) argues that, while the notion of *rex* is only superficially integrated into the story, it was probably introduced, in imitation of the Old Testament (βασιλεὺς Τύρου, Hiram’s title), at an earlier stage in the genesis of the text. However, for the use of the term *rex*, referring to Apollonius, in a variety of meanings see nn. on 8.4; 9.7; 24.5; 38.4; 42.2.

Chapter 1

Antiochus, the king of Antioch, falls in love with his daughter and, unable to control his desire, rapes her.

The *Hist. Apoll.* begins without a preface or another authorial device that would inform the reader about the identities of the author and/or the narrator, and the content of the work (compare other beginnings in ancient prose fiction, e.g. Chariton or Apuleius, on which see Dowden 1982: 425–9; García Gual 2001: 11–13). The perspective is that of an omniscient narrator and the opening phrase may have the force of a generic marker (Schmelting 2006: 655–6). The first chapter functions as an ‘informal prologue’ (cf. Morgan 2001: 152), since it is here that the author introduces the fundamental themes along which the narrative develops, namely relationships between fathers and daughters, kingship and incest (Archibald 1991: 15; Schmelting 1998: 3275–9). Failing to appreciate the organic connection of the initial episode in Antioch with the rest of the narrative, Rohde 1914: 445 and Perry 1967: 300–2 explain this and the following chapters as additions to an original story.

1 In ciuitate Antiochia rex fuit quidam nomine Antiochus: the use of phrases which introduce a character by name and/or title, and provide information about the location in which the beginning of a story is set, is widely attested in Greek and Roman literature; examples from prose fiction include Xen. Ephes. 1.1.1 ἦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα ἐκεῖ δυναμένων, Λυκομήδης ὄνομα (beginning of the main story, as here); Petron. 111.1 *matrona quaedam Ephesi ... erat*; Apul. *met.* 4.28.1 *erant in quadam ciuitate rex et regina* (beginnings of inserted narratives); cf. Jos. & Asen. 1.4–5 ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ, σατράπης τοῦ Φαραώ, ... καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Πεντεφρῆς. These formulae are often considered generic markers which introduce fairy-tales, fables, literary anecdotes or ‘popular’ stories (Pecere 1975: 42; Mazza 1985: 598; Ruiz-Montero 1994b: 1097), but their origins lie in epic and historiography; see *Il.* 6.152 f.; Herod. 1.96; and Fehling 1977: 79–88; Kortekaas 1984: 241 n.604; Zimmerman et al. on Apul. *met.* 4.28.1. According to Lightfoot 1999: 269 n.181, there is an historiographical effect when characters’ names and place-names are mentioned in the formula, whereas the notion of ‘Märchen’ is underlined when the characters are anonymous or the place-names fantastic. The formulae reinforce the act of storytelling; cf. Ter. *Andr.* 220–4 et

fingunt quandam ... fallaciam / ...: 'fuit olim quidam senex / mercator; navim is fregit apud Andrum insulam; / is obiit mortem.' ... / fabulae!; Cic. Verr. I 27 Quid? hoc planius egissem, si ita narrassem? 'Dio quidam fuit Halaesinus, qui ... nihil habuit tum neque negoti neque controuersiae. Verres ... Dionem euocat...'

The fact that the narrative begins unusually with a phrase which specifies the location in which the story is set, suggests that Antioch is a significant place in the ensuing events (incest and rape). The perfect tense *fuit* points to the temporal distance between the narrator and the events he recounts (García Gual 2001: 13–14); in introductory sentences, *fuit*, unlike the imperfect *erat*, provides more than mere background information; see Pinkster 1983: 306; Traina 1977: 17; Zimmerman on Apul. *met.* 10.19.2 *fuit in illo conuenticulo matrona quaedam*.

Antiochia ... Antiochus ... Antiochia: the repetition puts emphasis on the realistic character of the narrative and on its Oriental setting. The name of the king stands prominently in the middle of the first sentence, while the name of his city, which stems from the same root, frames the sentence. Scholars agree that both names point to the Hellenistic dynasty of the Seleucids, and that the city in question would be Antioch on the river Orontes, the capital of the Roman province of Syria, and one of the most important cities of the eastern Roman empire; for a concise history of this city in Hellenistic and Roman times see Grainger 1997: 683–5; extensive treatment in Downey 1961; Liebeschuetz 1972. Antioch, together with six other famous cities or regions, including Tyre, Tarsus, Cyrene, Egypt, Lesbos, and Ephesus, constitute the 'geography' of the story, and stand for major districts of the Eastern Mediterranean, respectively, Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Libya, Egypt, Mysia, and Lydia (Chiarini 2003: 90–1). In this tale Antioch is ruled by an incestuous king, whose misdeeds turn the city into a place of atrocities; historically, the Syrian Antioch was a precarious location for Roman emperors, as it was often the seat of usurpers in the East (Millar 1977: 48).

rex ... quidam nomine Antiochus: for the emphatic *quidam* in phrases that introduce a character by name cf. 4.1 *quidam adulescens ... nomine Apollonius*, and Van Mal-Maeder 1994: 223. The historical royal name Antiochus is used frequently in the Seleucid dynasty (Grainger 1997: 9–37 lists 19 kings and members of royal family under this name). The fictional Antiochus will commit incest with his daughter, execute her suitors, plot murder, and persecute the hero Apollonius. Historical figures who have been suggested as models for this character include Antiochus I Soter (c. 324–261 BC), on account of his notorious passion for his stepmother Stratonice (Perry 1967: 301; Mastrocinque 1983: 18–20; Roques 1998: 506, 509 n.98; Kuhlmann 2002: 118), and Antiochus IV Epiphanes (c. 215–164 BC), owing to his eccentric character and his fierce persecutions of the Jews (Pickford 1975: 601; Archibald 1991: 38–41). Antiochus III 'the Great' (c. 242–187 BC) is another can-

didate (Haight 1945: 157). This royal name was borne by historical figures who were presented as enemies of Rome or of Jewish/Christian people: Hor. *carm.* 3.6.35–6 *Pyrrhumque et ingentem ... / Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum*, Aug. *serm.* 300.6 (*Antiochia*) *regis ipsius persecutoris (Antiochi IV) nomine uocatur*, Julian. *Misop.* 347A–348B (of Antiochus' feelings for Stratonice). Orth 1997 offers a concise account of the ambivalent attitude of the early Roman emperors towards the Hellenistic kings and the Seleucids in particular.

The technique of introducing historical figures in fictional narratives is a distinctive feature in the early, 'pre-Sophistic', period of the tradition (e.g. the 'Ninos' romance, Chariton), and in Jewish novellas of the Hellenistic period; see Ruiz-Montero 1994a: 1025 and 1994b: 1093 n.31; Dostálová 1996: 182–3; C.M. Thomas 2003: 8–10, 87–9. But while a historical identification of the fictional Antiochus is impossible or even unnecessary to establish (cf. below n. on *a quo ... ciuitas nomen accepit*; and Kortekaas 2004: 55), the name Antiochus adds to the fictional king's portrait as a tyrant; on this topic see Svoboda 1962: 214; Lana 1975a: 57–8; Chiarini 1983: 274, and nn. on 1.4 *incidit in amorem filiae suae*; 2.3 *saeno scelere uiolatam*; 3.4 *caput ... suspendebatur*; 4.4 *maternam carnem uescor*. Moreover, bilingual word-play may be intended with the significant name Antiochus (Grk. Ἀντίοχος), which in Greek bears the meaning of 'an opponent'; cf. Hesych. *ἀντιοχεῖ· ἐναντιοῦται (a similar suggestion is made by Ruiz-Montero 1983–84: 330); cf. n. on 12.2 *Antiochus persequatur*. For the possibility of a sexual pun with the name of the king see n. on 4.4 *scelere uehor*.

a quo ipsa ciuitas nomen accepit: Rohde 1914: 449 n.1 criticises our author for historical inaccuracy: Antioch in Syria was founded by Seleucus I (300 BC), who named it after his deceased father or his young son (the controversy is present already in ancient sources: Downey 1961: 581; Klebs 1899: 12 n.1). Here, however, the Latin need not mean that the city's current ruler is the one who actually (founded and) named the city; compare Serv. *eccl.* 6.72 *Eurypylus ... duas urbes condidit, unam Pergamum de nomine Pergami, alteram Grynium. (...) quae ciuitas nomen accepit a Gryno, Eurypyli filio* (other examples of *a quo* 'after whom' are listed by Graverini in CR 58.2, 2008, 500). The statement is rather intended to create an effect of historical verisimilitude; compare Schol. Hor. *carm.* 3.6.34 (of Antiochus III) *cum ipso Antiocho, rege Syriae, a quo et ciuitas nomen accepit Antiochia*; Aug. *serm.* 300.6 (*Antiochia*) *regis ipsius persecutoris (Antiochi IV) nomine uocatur*.

ciuitas: as often elsewhere in rec. A, = *urbs* (but cf. n. on 9.7 and Isid. *orig.* 15.2.1 *nam urbs ipsa moenia sunt, ciuitas autem non saxa, sed habitatores uocantur*). This use of *ciuitas* is well attested from an early period and survives into Romance languages; *TbLL* III 1232.75 f.; Hiltbrunner IV 66; Thielmann 1881: 31–2; Klebs 1899: 250. Terms used to denote a city in rec. A include *ciuitas* (41 times), *patria* (see nn. on 3.5 *patriae principes*; 5.2 *ad patriam suam*

Tyrum) and possibly *provincia* (see nn. on 10.3, 44.6). The noun *oppidum* is not used, and *urbs* occurs only once, as part of the title *urbium potestates* (23.1).

2 *Is habuit unam filiam, uirginem speciosissimam*: information about remarkably beautiful offspring is provided at the very beginning of Greek and Latin love stories: Charit. 1.1.1 Ἑρμοκράτης ... εἶχε θυγατέρα ... θαυμαστόν τι χρῆμα παρθένου; Xen. Ephes. 1.1.1 τῷ Λυκομήδει ... γίνεται παῖς Ἀβροκόμης, μέγα τι χρῆμα κάλλους; Apul. *met.* 4.28.1 *hi* (sc. *rex et regina*) *tres numero filias forma conspicuas habuere*; Plut. *mor.* 771E κόρη τις ... κάλλει διαπρέπουσα ... θυγάτηρ ... Θεοφάνους (see Giangrande ad loc.); cf. *Jos. & Asen.* 1.6 καὶ ἦν θυγάτηρ τῷ Πεντεφρῇ ... παρθένος μεγάλη καὶ ὠραία. For similar passages outside fiction cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 539–40 *fuit olim ... senex; ei filiae / duae erant* (Petersmann ad loc.: ‘typischer Anfang einer Fabelrede’); Hyg. *fab.* 185.1 *Schoeneus Atalantam filiam uirginem formosissimam ... habuisse*.

Garin 1914: 201 and other scholars take this passage as evidence for the existence of a Greek original of the *Hist. Apoll.* But, unlike the Greek novels cited above, in our story the father plays a primary role, while his daughter remains a subsidiary character, and she is not the heroine (see also below n. on *uirginem speciosissimam*). Rather, the author now announces a pivotal theme in the story, namely the relationship between a father, who is also a prominent political figure, and his only daughter (cf. the characters of Archistrates, Stranguillio, Athenagora, and Apollonius himself); on this topic see Archibald 1989; Scheidegger 1989; Berneder 2006; for the ‘filiafocality’ as a distinctive feature in elite Roman family see Hallett 1984: 62–149.

Significantly, there is no mention of a queen, wife to Antiochus and/or mother of the princess (cf. rec. B *ex amissa coniuge*). On the whole, the figure of the natural mother is strikingly absent in the story, and is substituted by that of a *nutrix* or a (wicked) foster-mother; see Panayotakis 2002: 99–102; Haynes 2003: 116, 123.

Is: the sole instance in rec. A of the nomin. form of this demonstrative pronoun (with aspiration in A: *his*; see Sommer 1914: 417); *id* occurs twice, but as part of the expression *id est* (10.3; 32.14). The infrequency of monosyllabic forms of *is* in later Latin may be due to phonetic reasons (cf. Callebat 1968: 265; Adams 1976: 72; Väänänen 1987: 49; H–Sz 186). There is no reason to emend *is* to *hic* (against Thielmann 1881: 27–8); *is* as a subject pronoun here has a typical ‘Topic continuing function’ (Pinkster 1987b: 376) and is appropriate with storytelling (see Barbsy on Ter. *Eun.* 137).

unam filiam: here, as elsewhere, *unam* possibly functions as an indefinite pronoun (Thielmann 1881: 29–30; Bonnet 1890: 259; Klebs 1899: 261). This use of *unus*, attested from early Latin (H–Sz 193, modified by Pinkster 1988: 112–15), is frequent in rec. A (Kortekaas 1984: 64, 2004: 18, lists the relevant instances and observes that the corresponding passages in rec. B omit the pronoun; for example, rec. B 1 has *hic habuit ... filiam*). However,

unam may here mean ‘one and only’ (OLD s.v. 7), given the importance of the information provided at this point of the story; cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 23 *huic filia una est*; Rud. 106 *filiolam ego unam habui*. The notion ‘one and only’ is phrased by means of *unicus* in 36.4 *unicam suam filiam*; for the variation cf. Sen. *Tro.* 462 *spes una Phrygibus, unica afflictæ domus*, with A.J. Keulen ad loc.

uirginem speciosissimam: cf. 3.4 *incredibilem puellæ speciem*, with n. The excessive beauty of a noble girl is commonplace in ancient fiction (Charit. 1.1–2; Apul. *met.* 4.28.2; cf. Petron. 101.5), but, unlike here, it is related to the heroine, whose chastity is lost only to her husband (Perry 1967: 300–1; Schmeling 1999: 141). Antiochus’ daughter is, in retrospect, a secondary character and a victim of rape committed by her father. This passage may echo the Biblical story of princess Tamar, who, being equally *speciosissima*, is raped by her brother Amnon (Vulg. *II reg.* 13.1–14).

Virgo, like the Grk. παρθένος, is mainly a social, not a biological term, and it denotes a female who has reached the age of puberty and remains a member of her father’s household; on this meaning, attested already from Plautus and Terence, see Watson 1983: 120–3, 125–33; on its Grk. counterpart see Chadwick 1996: 226–9. The physical aspect of the term, which occurs first in Ovid, may be at play too; see n. on 1.6 *nodum uirginitatis*.

nihil ... natura exerrauerat: *exerrare* = *errorem facere, falli* (cf. rec. B *nihil ... errauerat*), an unparalleled meaning (ThLL V.2 1400.61). Elsewhere *exerrare* in figurative use is found exclusively in Biblical Latin and in Christian authors, meaning ‘animo auerti, peccare’ (Thielmann 1881: 13; Klebs 1899: 273 n.1). Konstan and Roberts consider *exerrare* as emphatic, but the prefix *ex-* has very often no semantic force in rec. A (see n. on 35.2 *expectantibus*). For the acc. *nihil* with *errare* cf. Cic. *fam.* 3.7.5 *nihil errabis, si paulo diligentius ... attenderis*; Aug. *c. acad.* 3.16.35 *cum omnes se nihil errasse dicant*. According to Kortekaas 1984: 108, *exerrare* in this context may render the Greek (ἐξ)αμαρτάνειν. However, late Latin evidence supports the Latinity of *natura errat* (see next n.).

In late antique and early Medieval literary sources physical beauty and other attributes denoting excellency of rulers or prominent persons are often represented as gifts of Nature; see Curtius 1953: 180–2. But the presentation of (female) beauty as a masterpiece of Nature is found already in e.g. Sen. *contr. exc.* 2.7 *formosa est (mulier): hoc natura peccauit*; Curt. 6.5.29 *quos (sc. homines) eximia specie donare natura dignata est*; in the Greek novel: Char. 4.7.5 (of Callirhoe) τὸ περιβόητον ὄνομα, τὸ μέγα τῆς φύσεως κατόρθωμα. Our author moderates the praise, reminding the reader of the mortality of the young princess (*nisi quod mortalem statuerat*), who therefore is a mixture of perfection and imperfection (contrast Char. 1.1.2 ἦν γὰρ τὸ κάλλος οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ θεῖον; Heliod. 10.9.4 κάλλος οὕτως ὑπεράνθρωπον). Remarkably, *natura* is invoked in our text only twice, here and in 48.8 *ille foedissima sorte sociatus ei, cuius pater a natura fuerat constitutus*, when someone/thing is presented as imperfect or un-

natural. For this idea cf. Nep. *Alc.* 1.1 *in hoc* (sc. *Alcibiade*) *quid natura efficere possit uidetur experta*.

rerum natura exerrauerat: the expression *natura errat* (see above n. on *exerrauerat*) is employed of monstrous births and prodigies in Liv. 31.12.8 *foeda omnia et deformia errantisque in alienos fetus naturae uisa*; cf. Manil. 2.709 *saepe in peius deerrat natura* (ThLL IX,1 163,52 f.). In late Latin cf. Lux. *anth.* 373 R (368 ShB) 8–9 *non iam mirabar sumtis te, Daedale, pinnis / isse per aethrios natura errante meatus* (see Happ ad loc.); Cassiod. *var.* 3.12.1 *facilius est quippe, si dicere fas est, errare naturam quam dissimilem sui princeps possit formare rem publicam*. With specific reference to the flawless nature of God or divine beings, the phrase also occurs in Augustine (e.g. *serm.* 182.4 *errauerat ergo natura Dei?*), and in Ambrose (*in psalm.* 118 *serm.* 8.29.1). Kortekaas 1984: 108 adduces Greek phrases, which resemble the Latin *natura errat*: e.g. Philostr. *epist.* 36.1 ὅπου ... γάρ τι ἡμαρτήθη τῇ φύσει; see also Aelian. *nat. anim.* 16.33 ἡ φύσις ὡς ἐξήμαρτε τὸ πρῶτον ἢ ὠλιγόρησεν. However, his claim for Greek influence over the Latin phrasing is overstated in view of the Latin parallels.

Rerum natura (instead of *natura*) may indicate elevated style, Lucretian imitation, or emphasis (see Pellicer 1966: 232 with examples). The present context also supports the idea of a personified *rerum natura*. Riese¹ *Praef.* p. X includes our passage in his list of ‘Veterum deorum religionumque commemoratio’, and comments ‘*rerum naturam* [...] pro deo’.

nisi quod mortalem statuerat: the phrase is missing in P; for its function in the story see n. on *nihil ... exerrauerat*. For *rerum natura* as creative and destructive power see Lucr. 1.56–7 *unde omnis natura creet res auctet alatque, / quoue eadem rursus natura perempta resoluat*; Cic. *Phil.* 4.13 *mortem ... natura omnibus proposuit*; Pellicer 1966: 271–84; and previous n.

mortalem: = *hominem*; this use of the term in the singular occurs in historians (Sallust) and in high poetry (Enn. *scaen.* 5; Lebek 1970: 255–6, 315); for examples in the plural see Ogilvie on Liv. 1.9.8 *multi mortales*. *Mortalem* is Riese’s emendation (in Riese¹), adopted by Ring, Tsitsikli, and Schmeling. AVa^c have *mortale*, retained only by Kortekaas, who argues that *mortale* may be intended to cover the general notion of ‘mortality’ (1984: 26).

3 Quae dum ... peruenisset et species ... cresceret: a less harsh change of subject occurs at 15.4 *interrogatur a puella Apollonius; et accedens ad eum ait* (sc. *puella*). *Dum* ‘when’ with the subjunct. is also found at e.g. 6.5 *dum ... non inuenisset*, 9.1 *dum deambulare*, 11.2, 13.2, and may be explained by the interchange of *cum* and *dum* in late Latin, for which see n. on 1.5 *cum luctatur*. The combination of the pluperf. and the imperf. subjunct. in a *dum*-clause is paralleled in late Latin: CE 2107B 4–6 *iunenis dum degeret annos / atque ... ingressus ... fuisset, / infelix ... decessit*; Anon. Vales. 10.46 *dum humillimum tectum ... suo uertice contingeret, et inclinasset, ... cognouit* (ThLL V.1 2230.24 f.; Bonnet 1890: 685 n.3; Salonijs 1920: 316–18); for the same pair of tenses in a *cum*-clause see

48.12 *cum ... appellarer et ... peruenissem*. It is sometimes the case that in rec. A the pluperf. subjunct. stands for the imperf. subjunct. (see 34.3 *dum fuisset ingressus*; 44.7 *dum uoluisset me occidere*; Adams 1976: 67–8). Here, however, the variation of tenses is meaningful: the princess has already reached the age of marriage, but her beauty was still growing.

ad nubilem peruenisset aetatem: by Roman standards, the age of the princess may have been as low as twelve; for the age of Roman girls at marriage (mainly those of upper class) see Gardner 1986: 38; Treggiari 1991: 39–43; Saller 1994: 25; Evans Grubbs 1995: 141. For the expression *ad aetatem* (*ad annos*) *peruenire* cf. Iust. 3.2.6 *cum ad aetatem adultam peruenisset* (with Yardley 2003: 127, 215), and for *nubilis aetas* see Stat. *Ach.* 1.356–7 *dum nubilis aetas / soluendusque pudor*; Vlp. *dig.* 35.1.10 pr. *nondum nubilis aetatis in domum mariti deducta* (other instances in Krause 1994: 23 n.59). An apt parallel from the Greek novel is Heliod. 2.29.3 ἦλθε καὶ εἰς ὥραν γάμου (τὸ θυγάτριον), as Kortekaas 1984: 110 points out.

species et formositas cresceret: for the verb in the singular taking two subjects cf. 11.1 *hortante Stranguillione et Dionysiade*, and K–St 1.44. For terms denoting physical beauty as the subject of *crescere* see Aug. *in epist. Ioh.* 9.9 *quantum in te crescit amor tantum crescit pulchritudo*. Rec. B has a different construction: *quae (puella) dum ... specie pulchritudinis cresceret*, for which see Ps. Thom. *euang.* 15.4 *Iesus ... crescebat in statura et sapientiae bono*; Mutian. *Chrysost. hom.* 28 p. 417/8 *ut uera pulchritudine ... crescat*; Xen. *Ephes.* 1.1.2 ὁ Ἀβροκόμης αἰεὶ μὲν καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν εἰς κάλλος ἤϋετο.

species et formositas: an unparalleled combination; cf. Liv. 1.9.12 *unam* (sc. *uirginem*) *longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem*. Apuleius is the first author to use *formo(n)itas* with respect to the physical beauty of women or goddesses (Zimmerman on *met.* 10.31.1); elsewhere this use is attested only in Christian authors (*TbLL* VI.1 1110.40 f.). Reuter 1981: 85 n.1 argues that Apuleius has directly influenced the author of rec. A, since there is no mention of *formositas* in rec. B (*specie pulchritudinis*; for this cf. Cic. *orat.* 9). Both *species* and *formositas* denote good looks (cf. 3.5 *incredibilem puellae speciem*), and *formositas* is more than a synonym of *pulchritudo*, because it suggests a sexually attractive woman: Agroec. *gramm.* VII 118.28 *pulchritudo formae ... in feminis ... honestas dicitur ... formositas uero in luxuriosis*; Eustath. *Bas. hex.* 3.8 p.899^B *quantum ... recte uiuentium mulierum pulchritudo meretriciae formositati* (τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ κάλλους) *praeponitur*; Monteil 1964: 48–52; Reuter *ibid.* 87. The author seems to hint at the events soon to be reported.

I adopt the spelling *formositas*, found in Va^c and P (cf. 42.6 and 9 *formosae filia siluae*). Kortekaas prints *formonsitas* (A); the spelling with *-ns-*, condemned by ancient grammarians, is found in inscriptions and may have been favourite with Apuleius (Sommer 247; Callebat 1968: 383 n.33; Reuter 1981: 17–21).

multi in matrimonium petebant: the beautiful and noble girl unsurprisingly attracts many suitors in love stories; cf. Ov. *met.* 9.9–10 (*Deianira pulcherrima uirgo / multorum ... fuit spes inuidiosa procorum*; *ibid.* 11.301–2 *Chione, quae dotatissima forma mille procos habuit, bis septem nubilis annis* (see Bömer ad loc.); Apul. *met.* 8.2.1 *hic (Thrasyllus) cum primum Charite nubendo maturuisset, inter praecipuos procos summo studio petitionis eius munus obierat*; Charit. 1.1.2 (of Callirhoe) *μνηστήρες κατέρρεον ἐς Συρακούσας*; Long. 3.25 (of Chloe) *οἱ μὲν τι δῶρον ἔφερον, οἱ δὲ ἐπηγγέλλοντο μεγάλα*; Parthen. *erot.* 6.2 (of Pallene) *φοιτᾶν τε μνηστήρας οὐ μόνον ἀπ’ αὐτῆς Θράκης ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι πρόσωθ’ ἐν τινας*; Anton. Liber. 30.3 (of Byblis) *ταύτης ἐγένοντο πλείστοι μνηστήρες ἐπιχώριοι καὶ κατὰ κλέος ἐκ τῶν περὶ πόλεων*; 34.1 (of Smyrna) *ταύτην διὰ κάλλος πλείστοι καὶ ἐκ πόλεων πλείστων ἐμνήστευον* (Calderini 1959: 31; Pecere 1975: 45–6; Ruiz-Montero 1983–84: 295). For the reverse situation, which, nevertheless, involves a beautiful princess, see Apul. *met.* 4.32.1 (of Psyche) *non rex non regius nec de plebe saltem cupiens eius nuptiarum petitor accedit*.

(*Filiam*) *in matrimonium petere* (also at 4.2, 8.4, 9.2, 19.1, 19.2), *accipere* (3.3; 5.2; 48.8) and *dare* (1.4) are post-Augustan expressions in marriage-seeking situations (Treggiari 1991: 126–7; Yardley 2003: 146). *In matrimonio postulare* (rec. B 1) is a rare expression, first attested in Lact. *mort. pers.* 39.3 (*Maximinus legatis praemissis in matrimonio postulabat (Valeriam)*; see ThLL X.2 260.39 f.

petebant ... currebant: homoeoteleuton and hysteron proteron (if we take *currere* with the meaning ‘to hasten’ or ‘to travel by sea’; see n. below).

cum magna dotis pollicitatione: marriage customs in the *Hist. Apoll.* include the offer of a *dos*, which, however, contrary to Roman custom, is promised and offered by the suitor to the girl’s family; see also 19.3 *scribite ... nomina uestra et dotis quantitatem ... et illa sibi eligat, quem uoluisset habere maritum*; 21.1 *dotem ... designauerant*. This sense of *dos* is unusual, but not unknown, in Latin, though it remains outside Roman culture: Tac. *Germ.* 18 *dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert* (on this see Treggiari 1991: 365; Saller 1994: 211; Reynolds 1994: 81).

The specific use of *dos* gave rise to intense scholarly debate. Teuffel 1872: 104 interprets *dos* as bride price and considers this passage as clear evidence of the Germanic background against which—he assumes—the Latin versions of the *Hist. Apoll.* originate (on Germanic marriage see Hughes 1978: 266–76; Reynolds 1994: 74–99). On the other hand, Meyer 1872: 27, followed by e.g. Garin 1914: 201 and Kortekaas 1984: 109, refers to Long. 1.19 (ὁ Δόρκων) *εἰ λαμβάνοι (τὴν Χλόην) γυναῖκα, δῶρα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ... ἐπηγγέλλετο* (also, *ibid.* 3.25, cited in n. *multi in matrimonium petebant*), and argues for influence from a Greek original. However, the same situation is described in Latin texts too, e.g. Apul. *met.* 8.2.1 *quamquam ceteris omnibus id genus uiris antistaret eximisque muneribus parentum inuitaret iudicium (Thrasyllus)*. According to Anné 1941: 241–2 n.7, the situation in our text refers to gifts offered to the fiancée. Klebs 1899:

214 believes that *dos* is confusingly used in the sense of *donatio ante nuptias* (the same view is held in *TbLL* V.1 2043.20; see below for the legal term), but does not exclude possible influence from Greek texts (e.g. Achill. Tat. 8.18; Anton. Liber. 39.2 ὑπέσχετο (ὁ Ἀρκεοφῶν) πλεῖστα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους μνηστῆρας ἀποίσειν ἔδνα). Schmeling *Praef.* XXI claims that *dos* is indeed used with the meaning ‘donum aut pretium e marito pro nupta’ but sees no Late Latin background to this phrase, and points to Manil. 5.616 (*puellam*) *nupturam dote mariti* (cf. Housman ad loc.: ‘Andromeda dotata ... vita ac salute, quae magna dos erat ... et contra atque apud Romanos fiebat non ab uxore marito sed a marito uxori oblata’).

For a better appreciation of this complex issue we need, I think, to take into account the following evidence: 1. Classical Latin idiom knows of *dos* ‘marital gifts,’ but always in a metaphorical context (McKeown on Ov. *am.* 1.10.60 *dos mea*). Christian authors retain this figurative sense, especially when *dos* is mentioned in relation to the bridal union of the personified Church to Christ; thus e.g. Rufin. *Orig. in cant.* 1 p. 90,7 *ecclesia ... dicat: ... repleta sum muneribus, quae sponsaliorum uel dotis titulo ante nuptias sumpsi* (see M. Harl 1974: 243–9; Anné 1941: 240, 261). 2. In legal and literary sources from the sixth century (e.g. *Cod. Iust.* 5.3.20.2 [a. 531–33]; Serm. Migne suppl. 3.561; Caes. Arel. *serm.* 87.3), and in legal formulas of the Merovingian and Carolingian periods (e.g. Formul. Andecav. 1.34), *dos* is used in the sense of *donatio mariti ante nuptias*. The latter term refers to the prenuptial gift which was given by the prospective groom as counterpart to the bride’s dowry – an institution that developed during the fifth and sixth centuries. The Greek technical term ἔδνα, which refers to gifts to be given by the suitor to the family of his future bride, is interesting because it offers an analogy with the notion of *donatio ante nuptias*. This term and its cognates are used in early epic: *Od.* 16.390–2 ἐκ μεγάροιο ἕκαστος | μνάσθω ἔέδνοισιν διζήμενος· ἡ δὲ κ’ ἔπειτα | γήμαιθ’ ὅς κε πλεῖστα πόροι καὶ μόρσιμος ἔλθοι; Hesiod. fr. 43a 21 ὑπέσ[χετ]ο μυρία ἔδνα (Sisyphus on behalf of his son Glaucus); see Schmidt in *LfgE* II 396 f. s.v. ἔδνα 1; Perysinakis 1991, and found again in late antiquity (e.g. Heliod. 4.15.2 ἔδνα παρὰ τοῦ νυμφίου; Greg. Nyss. *vit. Macrin.* 4; Nonn. 34.200, and in papyri of the fourth cent. AD: M. Harl 1974: 255–7). On betrothal and prenuptial gifts in late antiquity see Anné 1941: 235–68; Hughes 1978: 262–6; G. Clark 1993: 16; Evans Grubbs 1995: 140–83; Arjava 1996: 52–62.

The details provided about the substance and use of *dos* in our text allow for no certain conclusions from a legal perspective. We are probably dealing with yet another novelistic element (‘promises of gifts’), which is, nevertheless, phrased in such a way as to evoke legal terminology (see n. on *dotis pollicitatione*). Likewise, in Greek novels (see above) there are exotic descriptions of similar customs, which give the narrative an archaic flavour without providing evidence for contemporary life and usage (Scarcella 1993: 372; cf. Egger 1994:

270). However, the absence of any reference to the girl's dowry or any counter-gifts, and the essential role of the suitors' *dos* in the arrangement of the regal marriage, underline both the importance of the *dos* for the betrothal (this element would point to Germanic law: Reynolds 1994: 76), and the interest of Antiochus in financial matters.

cum magna dotis pollicitatione: thus A. MS P has a plain ablative of accompaniment qualified by an adjective (without the preposition *cum*), as one might expect in Classical Latin (Petersmann 1977: 94–5); however, see 28.6 *cum magna fide*; 44.3 *cum magno maerore*. *Magna dotis pollicitatione* probably = *magnae dotis pollicitatione* (enallagē); cf. Nep. *Eum.* 2.4 *multis magnisque pollicitationibus* (*TbLL* VIII 142.22 f.). Alternatively, *magna* (*pollicitatio*) = *magniloqua*, as in Verg. *Aen.* 11.380–1 *sed non replenda est curia uerbis, / quae tuto tibi magna uolant*. Konstan and Roberts ad loc.: ‘with lavish promises of bride price.’

dotis pollicitatione: this combination and the related *dotem polliceri* are rare in extant Latin and may elsewhere be found in legal texts of a late date: Cod. Iust. 4.29.25 pr. [a. 531] *si quis ... dotem uel pollicitus sit uel spononderit pro qualibet muliere*; ibid. 5.11 rubr. *dotis ... nuda pollicitatione*; cf. Cod. Theod. 3.13.4 [a. 428] *dictio uel stipulatio in pollicitatione rerum dotialium*. Earlier instances are Vlp. *dig.* 37.7.1.8 *ut ex pollicitatione dotis ... fratrem suum liberet (filia)*; Vlp. *dig.* 23.4.11 *cum pater dotem pollicitus fuerit*; there, however, *polliceri* and *pollicitatio* are considered interpolations in place of *dici* and *dictio*, respectively (*TbLL* V 1 2050.69 f., 2052.44 f.; Heumann–Seckel s.v. *polliceri*, *pollicitatio* 3). Generally, *pollicitatio* and *polliceri* are not ordinary terms for the notion of promise-giving in legal context. Specifically for promises of *dos* cf. Vlp. *reg.* 6.1 *dos aut datur aut dicitur aut promittitur*, with Gardner 1986: 99. Moreover, in the legal texts mentioned above the phrase *dotis pollicitatio* (unlike its use in our passage) refers to the promises of dowry made to the prospective groom by the bride's father or another individual who acts on her behalf; for the different use of *dos* in the *Hist. Apoll.* see above n. on *cum magna dotis pollicitatione*. For the legal terminology see also n. on 19.3 *dotis quantitatem*.

currebant: the verb suggests both haste (Konstan and Roberts ad loc.: ‘hastened, i.e. to seek her in marriage’; cf. n. on 3.5 *properabant*) and rivalry between the suitors; cf. Vet. Lat. *I Cor.* 9.24 (Ps. Cypr. *laud. mart.* 28) *nescitis quoniam qui in agone currunt multi certantur* (v.l. *certant*, *currunt*; Grk. τρέχουσιν; Vulg. *currunt*) *et unus accipit palmam?* For competing suitors in ancient fiction cf. Charit. 1.2.3 ὁ δὲ (Χαιρέας) ... βασιλέων ἀγωνισαμένων ... ἀκονιτὶ τὸν στέφανον ἤρατο; Apul. *met.* 8.2.1 (cited in n. on *multi ... petebant*); cf. Ov. *met.* 10.316–17 *totoque Oriente iuuentus / ad thalami certamen adest*. It is also possible to interpret *currere* as ‘to travel by sea’ (*TbLL* IV 1515.25 f.); this would then be the first of the many sea-voyages mentioned in the story. Other, less probable interpretations of *currere* include ‘accurrere’ (*TbLL* IV 1508.76 f.; Thielmann 1881: 49, with Biblical parallels; but this hardly fits the context, because *accur-*

rere mainly suggests speeding in order to help someone; as at 45.2); or, as a technical term for wooing, ‘φοιτᾶν’ (Kortekaas 1984: 109; 2004: 38, citing e.g. Long. 3.25 πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἐφοίτων; however, this notion is already expressed by means of the previous *in matrimonium petebant*). For the use of *curre* in rec. A see also 25.5 *cucurrit Apollonius et uidit*; 45.2 *currere, ciues et nobiles*.

4 *cum pater deliberaret, cui ... daret*: marriages in ancient fiction are usually arranged by the father or both parents of the girl; cf. Apul. *met.* 8.2.1 (*Thrasyllus*) *eximiis ... muneribus parentum inuitaret iudicium*; Heliod. 2.29.3 ἐξεδόμην (τὴν θυγατέρα) ... τῷ παρ’ ἐμοὶ κριθέντι καλλίστῳ; Scarcella 1993: 359; Egger 1994: 268; Giangrande on Plut. *mor.* 772A ἀπορῶν ... τῷ πράγματι ὁ Θεοφάνης. Here the princess seems to have no say in the arrangement of her marriage. The situation may also reflect Roman social practice, which, however, should not be taken as standard; see Gardner 1986: 41; Treggiari 1991: 83. The detail is intended to characterise Antiochus as a negative example of a *paterfamilias*, who controls his daughter’s fate with an eye to his own interests. The arrangement of a royal marriage, in which, by contrast, the father allows his daughter to choose her own husband, is described in 19.3 *illa sibi eligat, quem uoluerit habere maritum*. See also, in the tale of Myrrha, Ov. *met.* 10.356–8 *dixerat, at Cinyras, quem copia digna procorum / quid faciat dubitare facit, scitatur ab ipsa, / nominibus dictis, cuius uelit esse mariti*.

potissimum: thus P (and rec. B); A has *potentissimo* (also found in a later MS of rec. C). Thielmann 1881: 53–4 argues that *potentissimo* = *potentissimum* (often confused with *potissimum*). The reading in P gives both good sense and good Latin; for its position in indirect questions after *deliberare* cf. Cic. *inv.* 2.174 *ut ... utri potissimum consulendum sit, deliberetur*; Curt. 5.5.9 *Graeci excesserant uallo deliberaturi quid potissimum a rege peterent*; ThLL X.2 354.82 f. The alternative reading, *potentissimo*, favoured only by Kortekaas, would introduce into the text the king’s motivation for his choice.

cogente iniqua cupiditate flamma concupiscentiae: this elaborate phrase is retained by all editors except Schmeling, who deletes *flamma concupiscentiae* as a Christian interpolation (for the same reasons Klebs 1899: 272 suggests to delete *concupiscentiae*, since the word is missing in rec. B *cogente iniquae cupidinis flamma*); however, *iniqua cupiditas* may also relate to Christian Latin, while the notions of *concupiscentia* and *cupiditas* are not identical (see nn. below and Hiltbrunner IV 217). Kortekaas takes *flamma concupiscentiae* as an apposition to *iniqua cupiditate*, but it seems preferable to construct the participle *cogente* with two subjects in asyndeton (‘impelido por un perverso deseo y el ardor de su concupiscentia’ Puche López; cf. 11.1 *hortante Stranguillione et Dionysiade*), or to take *cogente ... cupiditate* as an abl. absol. construction, and *flamma concupiscentiae* as an ablative of cause with the following *incidit in amorem* (Konstan and Roberts). Another interpretation is advanced by Waiblinger, who takes *cogente* with *flamma concupiscentiae* (hyperbaton; ‘bezwang ihn das

Feuer der Begehrlichkeit mit unerlaubter Lust'). Similar problems of interpretation are found at 41.6 *renonato luctu dolore cruciari* (see n. ad loc.).

cogente ... *flamma concupiscentiae*: in ancient myth and literature incest is often a form of punishment inflicted upon mortals by offended gods (cf. the story of Myrrha in Hyg. *fab.* 58; Bömer on Ov. *met.* 10.524), or is connected to political designs (cf. the story of Thyestes); see Archibald 2001: 57, 60, 65. The agent motivating incest in Antiochus' case is his own desire. For *cogente* with abl. denoting amorous passion cf. Ambr. *epist.* 7.36.20 (of Joseph and Potiphar's wife) *itaque percita atque animi furens interpellat iuuenem et cogente libidine uicta passionum stimulis crimen fatetur*. Thielmann 1881: 49 compares our passage with Dares 27 (*Achilleus*) *cogente amore Phrygio seruo fidelissimo mandata dat ferenda ad Hecubam et ab ea sibi uxorem Polyxenam poscit*.

iniqua cupiditate: Antiochus is called *rex iniquus* at 48.12. *Iniquus* with reference to affairs of adultery and incest is elsewhere found only in Christian Latin, e.g. Vulg. *sap.* 3.16 *filiū ... adulterorum inconsummati erunt et ab iniquo toro* (ἐκ παρὰ νόμου κοίτης) *semen exterminabitur* (ThLL VII 1644,43 f.).

flamma concupiscentiae: *concupiscentia* is first attested in Tertullian, and is particularly favoured by Augustine; its sense is not exclusively negative and generally renders the Greek ἐπιθυμία (Bonner in *AL* I 1114–15; Hiltbrunner IV 215–18). The combination with *flamma* also occurs in e.g. Aug. *virg.* 34.34; Bachiar. *repar. laps.* 18. For the imagery of fire Thielmann 1881: 11 points to Vulg. *eccl.* 9.9 *propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt: et ex hoc concupiscentia quasi ignis exardescit*.

incidit in amorem filiae suae: the incestuous passion of a father for his daughter is a popular theme in Greek and Roman myth and literature, and it is regarded as a barbarian custom (Eur. *Andr.* 173–6; Brown on Konon *dieg.* 9.6–9); cf. the accounts regarding the Egyptian Mycerinus and his daughter (Herod. 2.131), the Assyrian king Cinyras and Myrrha (Ov. *met.* 10.298–502), the Persian Artaxerxes and Atossa (Plut. *Artax.* 23), the Greeks Oenomaus and Hippodamia (Ps. Lucian. *Charid.* 19), and Clymenus and Harpalyce (Parthen. *erot.* 13; Hyg. *fab.* 206); cf. Hyg. *fab.* 253 *Quae contra fas concubuerunt*. This theme is found among topics for rhetorical exercise (Quint. *inst.* 9.2.70) and in the repertory of both folktales and folksong (Thompson T 411; Brewster 1972: 11–12, 25). There is no mention of daughters in *Leniticus* 18.6–18 and 20.10–21, which list the relatives with whom sexual relations are forbidden (Archibald 2001: 21–2; Berquist 1998: 101). Relevant discussions include Rohde ³1914: 448 n.1; Klebs 1899: 299; Rank ²1926: 337–86 (= 1992: 300–37); Goepf 1938: 154; Trenkner 1958: 58 n.1; Svoboda 1962: 213; Rudhardt 1982: 739–48; Talos in *EM* VII 233; Lightfoot 1999: 242–4; Mignogna in Stramaglia ed. 2000: 327; Archibald 2001: 56; Thraede in *RAC* Suppl. II 59–60. For the 'incestuous father' figure in medieval literature see Roussel 1984; Rizzo Nervo 1998; Archibald 1997 and 2001: 145–91.

Stories of consummated incest are absent in the extant novels, although attempted incest, mainly between stepmother and stepson, does occur (Apul. *met.* 10.2–12; see Zimmerman 2000: 417–32). According to Suda s.v. Ξενοφῶν 51, a Xenophon of Cyprus wrote *Cypriaca*, a love story about Myrrha, her father and her son (ἔρωτικῶν ὑποθέσεων ἱστορία, περί τε Κινύραν καὶ Μύρραν καὶ Ἄδωνιν). Owing to the lack of further textual evidence any conclusions regarding the author and the content of his work are purely speculative (see Beschorner et al. in Stramaglia ed. 2000: 68), but the incest theme may well have played a significant part in the plot, which need not have a tragic ending (Anderson 2007: 22). In our story, as mainly in earlier accounts of father-daughter incest tales, it is the father (not the daughter) who has incestuous feelings; the author also has in mind the Ovidian story of Myrrha (Kuhlmann 2002: 117–18; nn. on 2.3 *saeno scelere uiolatam*; 2.5 *mortis remedium ... placet*).

The incestuous passion of Antiochus for his daughter is significantly depicted against an Oriental setting, which, particularly in the ancient novel, is ideally suited to erotic intrigues (Romm 2008: 112–14 discusses Chariton, Heliodorus and fragmentary works; cf. also the desire of the Assyrian queen Semiramis for her son in Konon *dieg.* 9; of the Persian king Artaxerxes for his daughter in Plut. *Artax.* 23; of the Phoenician princess Smyrna for her father Theias in Anton. Liber. 34). In the minds of the Greeks and the Romans, Syrian people were often associated with luxury and debauchery, whilst their neighbours, the Persians, were synonymous with incestuous affairs (Chadwick in *RAC* X 1044; E. Hall 1989: 189–90; Chauvot 1994: 286; Corcoran 2000b: 10; Archibald 2001: 17; Ph. Moreau 2002: 87–105; Isaac 2004: 335–50). Yet incestuous passion is also commonplace in literary portrayals of ill-reputed emperors or unpopular figures (Antiochus is soon to prove himself a tyrant): cf. the allegations of incest between Nero and his mother Agrippina (Tac. *ann.* 14.2; Suet. *Nero* 28), Domitian and his niece Julia (Juv. 2.29–33; Plin. *epist.* 4.11.6), Caracalla and his Syrian mother (or, according to some sources, step-mother) Julia Domna (Herodian. 4.9.2–3; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 21.7; Hist. Aug. *Sev.* 21.7); and Penella 1980; Vinson 1989; Marasko 1996; Archibald 2001: 18, 60.

incidit in amorem: cf. 17.1 *incidit in amorem infinitum*. This phrase is documented well in ancient sources (*pace* Klebs 1899: 290), and first occurs in *Rhet. Her.* 2.20.33 (= Cic. *inv.* 1.80) *nemo potest uno aspectu ... in amorem incidere* (see *TbLL* VII 898.30 f.; Zimmerman on Apul. *met.* 10.19.3 [*matrona*] *in ... mei cupidinem incidit*). There is no reason to assume (with Kortekaas 1984: 109) Greek influence here (ἔρωτι ἐμπεσεῖν).

coepit ... diligere: *coepi* with the *infin.* occurs more than 20 times in our text, but only in four passages (including this one) *coepi* has auxiliary function and the construction is an equivalent of the perfect tense (definitions for this function of *coepi* + *infin.* are found in H–Sz 319; Viljamaa 1978; Sandoz 1987: 87–8); *incidit in amorem et coepit ... diligere* is almost a tautology. See also

18.4 *coepit iacere imbecillis in toro*; 32.2 *coepit latere post monumentum*; 39.6 *coepit stare et mirari*; otherwise, *coepi* retains its meaning and the construction indicates the beginning of an action in the past; see n. on 1.7 *coepit celare*.

Diligere usually refers to respectful love of a non-physical quality (e.g. Catull. 2.73–4 *dilexi tum te non tantum ut uolgens amicam, sed pater ut gnatos diligit et generos*), but it can also be used in an erotic context: Hyg. *astr.* 2.8 *Iuppiter, cum amore inductus Nemesin diligere coepisset*; Iust. 11.10.2 (*Alexander*) *Barsinen captivam diligere propter formae pulchritudinem coepit*; further, Fischer 1973: 40; Zimmerman on Apul. *met.* 10.21.3 *amo ... cupio ... te solum diligo*.

aliter ... quam ... oportebat: cf. the similarly implicit phrasing in stories of incest: Ov. *epist.* 1.285 *Myrrha patrem, sed non qua filia debet, amavit*; *met.* 9.546 (of Byblis) *non soror ut frater, nec qua debebat, amavit*; Ps. Lucian. *Charid.* 19 (of Hippodamia and Oenomaus) τοσοῦτον γὰρ αὐτῇ περιῆν (ἡ ὥρα), ὥστε καὶ τὸν γεγεννηκόθ' ὑπηγάγετο παρὰ φύσιν. The suggestive phrase *aliter quam oportere* reappears, again with an erotic undertone, at 27.3 *deprecor ... medice, ne me contingas aliter, quam oportet contingere*. It is first attested in rhetoric (Quint. *inst.* 8.3.58 *cacozelon ... dicitur aliter quam se natura habet et quam oportet et quam sat est*; *decl.* 350.4 *ut aliter quam oportuerit agere dicatur*), and in Late Latin it often occurs in Aug., e.g. *epist.* 258.2; in *psalm.* 130.14 *si quid forte aliter sapitis quam oportet sapere*; and in Fulg. *Rusp.*, e.g. *epist.* 15.20.

5 *cum* *luctatur cum furore*, *pugnat cum dolore*, *uincitur amore*: the structure of the sentence in MS A is simple, but conveys a strong dramatic effect: the two *cum*-clauses have synonymous verbs governing *cum* + abl., and express Antiochus' struggle against *furor* and *dolor*. The main clause with the passive verb and the abl. of cause or agent depicts the outcome of the struggle and the defeat of the king by neither *furor* nor *dolor*, but *amor*. The asyndeton contributes to the effect. Personification of *furor*, *dolor*, and *amor* (traditional forces) is strongly suggested and combined with homoeoteleuton. The reading in P: *conluctatur* aims at an asyndetic tricolon.

The situation described in our passage bears no resemblance to the 'conflict of emotions', a common theme in the Greek novel (see Fusillo 1999). On the other hand, both the struggle experienced against incestuous feelings and the overcoming of inhibitions are commonplaces in incest tales: see Ov. *met.* 9.523–7; 10.369–76; Lightfoot on Parthen. 5.2 εἰς ἔρωτα ἀφικόμενος ... ἀποσφάξειν αὐτὸν ἠπειλεῖ; 16.1 ὑπ' αἰδοῦς κατέχεσθαι ... ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. The passage also contributes to the characterisation of the Syrian king, because such resistance is usually associated with women in literary accounts (cf. the Ovidian passages mentioned above), rather than men (Archibald 2001: 64). The Persian king Artaxerxes experiences a similar struggle against his desire for his daughter (Plut. *Artax.* 23.3), until finally, following the advice of his mother, he marries his own daughter.

cum luctatur: here *cum* = *dum* 'while'; cf. 7.3 *cum haec ... aguntur*. For the interchange of these conjunctions in rec. A and generally in late Latin see e.g. 1.3 *dum ... peruenisset et ... cresceret*; H–Sz 613–14, 620; Petersmann 1977: 279; Bonnet 1890: 319.

luctatur cum furore: *luctari*, used figuratively of humans struggling against abstracts, features also in 41.2 (Apollonius:) *quamdiu contra pietatem luctor?*; of abstracts or other objects in struggle, 26.9 *uitam ... luctare cum morte*; 42.5 (*anchora*) *cum uento luctatur*. *Furor* = *cupiditas*, *libido* is prominent in poetry (see *TbLL* VI.1 1631.74 f.; Zimmerman on *Apul. met.* 10.3.1 *impatientia furoris altius agitata*, sc. *nouerca*), and the phraseology employed in our passage strongly recalls Ovidian passages of lovers' inner turmoil: *epist.* 16.237–8 *qua licet et possum, luctor celare furorem, / sed tamen apparet dissimulatus amor*; *met.* 7.10–12 *et luctata diu, postquam ratione furorem / uincere non poterat, 'frustra, Medea, repugnas' / ... ait*; *ibid.* 14.700–2 *uiderat* (sc. *Iphis Anaxareten*) *et totis perceperat ossibus aestum / luctatusque diu, postquam ratione furorem / uincere non potuit, supplex ad limina uenit*.

pugnat cum dolore: for the metaphorical use of *pugnare* in amatory context cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.38 *placito ... pugnabis amori*. The expression *cum dolore pugnare* is elsewhere used of a mother at the moment of separation from her children: Hier. *epist.* 108.6 *torquebantur uiscera et, quasi a suis membris distraheretur, cum dolore pugnabat* (*Paula*).

dolore: = non-physical pain caused by erotic desire; this is a poetic, elegiac use: Prop. 1.10.13 *uestros didici reticere dolores*; Ov. *ars* 1.736 *curaque et, in magno qui fit amore, dolor* (*TbLL* V.1 1842.40 f.; Murgatroyd on *Tib.* 1.2.1–2; cf. above n. on *furore*). Instances of this use of *dolor* in prose are rare and late: *TbLL* mentions only our passage and *Vitae patr.* 6.3.11 *ubi iam consuetudo facta est ac fiducia maior, postremo etiam tactus manuum et risus ... ad ultimum concepimus dolorem, et peperimus iniquitatem*; however, see, for a possible example in *Apul.*, Zimmerman on *Apul. met.* 10.3.6 *origo praesentis doloris*. Thielmann 1881: 49 points to *Vulg. Dan.* 13.10 *erant ergo ambo uulnerati amore eius, nec indicauerunt sibi uicissim dolorem suum* (Grk. τὴν ὀδύνην ἑαυτῶν). Salonijs 1920: 378 and Löfstedt 1936: 114 discuss *dolor* 'Leidenschaft' in later Latin, and argue that the term renders the Grk. πάθος, ὀδύνη.

uincitur amore: the traditional notion of Victorious Love (cf. Verg. *ecl.* 10.69 *omnia uincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori*) is held responsible for Antiochus finally succumbing to his incestuous desire. In Ovid's tale of Myrrha, by contrast, Love has nothing to do with Myrrha's incestuous passion; cf. Ov. *met.* 10.311–12 *ipse negat nocuisse tibi sua tela Cupido, / Myrrha*; see also above on *co-gente iniqua cupiditate*. Although Antiochus is initially portrayed as the victim of overwhelming desire, he soon develops into an undoubtedly unsympathetic character, responsible for cruel actions, deceitful behaviour, and murder.

excidit illi pietas: note the word-play (*pater*) *incidit in amorem ... excidit illi pietas*. The fundamentally Roman notion of *pietas* 'dutiful respect, care' (re-