MEDIOEVO ROMANZO

RIVISTA QUADRIMESTRALE

FOLENA, FRANCESCO SABATINI, CESARE SEGRE, ALBERTO VARVARO
DIRETTA DA D'ARCO S. AVALLE, FRANCESCO BRANCIFORTI, GIANFRANCO

VOLUME VII · 1980

NAPOLI GAETANO MACCHIAROLI EDITORE

THE SPANISH « LIBRO DE APOLONIO » AND MEDIEVAL HAGIOGRAPHY

Studies of the sources and analogues of the story of Apollonius of Tyre have emphasized its debt to classical literature (the *Odyssey* and the Greek romances) and to folkloristic tradition[1]. In this paper I concentrate on a relatively unexplored connection, namely, the relationship between the specific case of the thirteenth-century Spanish *Libro de Apolonio* and medieval hagiography. Scholars have pointed out that the process of Christianization already apparent in the Latin version of the tale is merely intensified in the *Libro de Apolonio*[2]. I would maintain that the Christianization in the Spanish reworking of the story is above all a process of casting the life of the hero in the mould of hagiography, in which the clerkly poet relates the lay status of his hero to the audience for which he writes and associates the intellectual nature of his protagonist with his own *clerecía*.

To be sure, the story itself as it unfolds in the Latin version has little direct connection with Christianity[3], but it is evident

[1] See Philip H. Goepp, *The Narrative Material of* Apollonius of Tyre, « English Literary History », 5, 1938, 150-172; Alan Deyermond, *Motivos folklóricos y técnica estructural en el* Libro de Apolonio, « Filología », 13, 1968-1969, 121-149; and *Libro de Apolonio*, ed. Manuel Alvar, I. *Estudios* (Madrid: Castalia, 1976), 48-62.

[2] Alvar observes: « El proceso cristianizador estaba en el propio original y el texto español no ha hecho sino caminar por una vereda ya trillada » (*Libro de Apolonio*, I, p. 146). Religious aspects of the Spanish text are discussed in Joaquín Artiles, *El « Libro de Apolonio », poema español del siglo XIII* (Madrid: Gredos, 1976), 131-138. For a discussion of hagiographic motifs in other Spanish romances, see John K. Walsh, *The Chivalric Dragon: Hagiographic Parallels in Early Spanish Romances*, « Bulletin of Hispanic Studies », 54, 1977, 189-198.

[3] The Latin *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* is characterized by a mixture of pagan and Christian elements. In one of its episodes an angel appears to Apollonius and tells him to go to Ephesus (where he is reunited with his wife) before returning home. The frankly hagiographic motif of the celestial apparition is naturally taken over by the Spanish poet. Similarly, the Spanish version preserves

that the Spanish poet has taken care to establish just such a connection. Specifically, the anonymous Spanish author seeks to place the life of the hero under the protection of divine Providence, a fact which he is equally careful to underline for his readers or listeners. In both the Latin[4] and the Spanish versions[5], for example, Theophilus, a hired killer, is about to murder the defenseless Tharsia, when she asks to be allowed to say a short prayer to her Creator. Theophilus agrees, and in the interval, a band of pirates arrives, the would-be murderer flees, and Tharsia is saved (for the moment). But what interests us here is that it is only in the Spanish version that the coming of the pirates (a common motif in the Greek romances) is seen as the intervention of divine Providence in answer to Tarsiana's prayer:

> Seyendo Tarsiana en esta oraçion,
> Rencurando su cuyta e su tribulaçion,
> Ouo Dios de la huerfana duelo e conpasion,
> Enuiol su acorro e oyo su petiçion.
> Ia pensaua Teofilo del gladio aguisar,
> Asomaron ladrones que andauan por la mar:
> Vieron que el malo enemiga queria far,
> Dieron le todos bozes, fizieron le dubdar.
> (384-385)

Another passage that distinguishes the two versions is the episode in which the irate Antiochus seeks to bring about the death of Apollonius, and learning of his flight, sends a fleet of ships in search of the hapless youth. In the Latin version the fleet is delayed, and Apollonius reaches Tharsus safely:

the episode in which a kind fisherman divides his cloak into two parts and gives one of them to the shipwrecked Apollonius. While a medieval audience would have immediately recognized the parallel to the life of Saint Martin of Tours, it is interesting to note that a similar episode occurs in Apuleius' *Golden Ass* (I,7). Here, Aristomenes gives one of his two garments to the unfortunate Socrates.

[4] Alexander Riese, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893), pp. 61-62. Quotations from Riese will be indicated by the page number in parentheses.

[5] *Libro de Apolonio*, ed. C. Carroll Marden, I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, and Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1917), p. 45. Quotations from the Marden edition will be indicated by the quatrain number in parentheses.

Tunc iussit rex classes nauium praeparari ad persequendum iuuenem. Sed moras facientibus his, qui classes nauium praeparabant, deuenit Apollonius ciuitatem Tharsiam (p. 12).

In the Spanish poem, however, it is the hand of God that prevents the ships from finding Apolonio:

Mando labrar Antioco naues de fuerte madera,
Por buscar a Apolonio, toller lo de carrera,
Bastir las de poderes, de armas e de çiuera;
Mas aguiso Dios la cosa en otra manera.
Dios, que nunqua quiso la sob[e]ruia sofrir,
Destorbo esta cosa, non se pudo conplir.
Nol pudieron fallar nil pudieron nozir.
Deuiemos a tal senyor laudar e bendiz[i]r.
(60-61)

A final example[6] is the episode in which Apollonius saves the starving Tharsians by selling them his wheat at a reasonable price. What was simply an incidental element of the plot in the Latin text is given a Christian interpretation in the Spanish version. Apolonio becomes the instrument of the Lord by which He remedies the need of the Tharsians:

Cumplio les Apolonio lo que les dicho auia,
Guaresçie hun gran pueblo que de fambre muria;
Valie por la villa mas que nunca valia.
Non era fi de nemiga qui tal cosa façia.
El Rey de los çiellos es de grant prouençia,
Siempre con los cuytados ha su atenençia,
En valer les a las cuytas es tota su femençia;
Deuemos seyer todos firmes en su creençia.
(92-93)

The *Libro de Apolonio* can also be read as a kind of Christian apology[7] because of the exemplary lives its protagonists lead. Well

[6] Other examples of the role of divine Providence and of resignation to the will of God can be found in quatrains 132, 296, 314, 327, 433, 456, 493, 547, 626 and 639.

[7] It is interesting to note that while the Greek romances appear to be mere entertainment, most were also written as apologies for a given cult. Thus, Longus writes his *Daphnis and Chloe* « as an offering to Eros, the Nymphs, and Pan »

educated (31), an accomplished musician (185-191)[8], a skillful athlete (145), generous toward those in need (86), Apolonio is a model prince. In spite of the many misfortunes that befall him, he never despairs, and even at the supposed death of his beloved wife he reveals an attitude of resignation to the will of God:

> Recudiol Apolonyo lo que podrie estar:
> « Huespet, desque a Dios non podemos reptar.
> Lo que el a puesto todo deue pasar;
> Lo que el dar quisiere todo es de durar ».
> (345)

Indeed, the author of the *Libro* might have said of him what he said of Antinágora:

> Si cristiano fuesse e sopiesse bien creyer,
> deuiemos por su alma todos clamor tener.
> (551)[9]

Luciana takes pity on Apolonio, desires him as a music teacher and falls in love with him with a love that no misfortune can alter. Although with child, she willingly accompanies her husband on a long journey. Awakened from her false death, her first words are: « ¿ Do esta Apolonyo? que yo por ell cato » (314) and then, con-

(*Three Greek Romances*, ed. Moses Hadas [1953; rpt. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964], p. 3). And indeed, those three divine wills preside over the critical moments of the plot. Similarly, Xenophon's *Ephesian Tale* is propaganda for the cult of Isis (*Ibid.*, pp. 76 and 125). No such apologetic tendency is made explicit in the Latin *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, whose partial state of Christianization is revealed by the characters' appeals to *deus/dominus* (pp. 85 and 87) alongside references to Neptune, Apollo and Priapus (pp. 21, 31, and 67). It would seem, however, that the Spanish translator, intuiting the suitability of the Greek romance pattern for religious apology, consciously reworked the Latin text in an effort to demonstrate the role of divine Providence in human affairs.

[8] Daniel Devoto comments upon Apolonio as king and musician in his *Dos notas sobre el* Libro de Apolonio, « Bulletin Hispanique », 74, 1972, 291-330.

[9] Even the author of the *Libro de Alexandre*, whose hero is a pagan and sinned from pride, says of his protagonist: « si non fuese pagano de vida tan seglar / deuielo yr el mundo todo a adorar ». See *El libro de Alexandre*, ed. Raymond S. Willis, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, and Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1934), p. 458.

cerned for her honor, she takes refuge in a convent (the temple of Diana at Ephesus in the *Historia*) until she can be reunited with her beloved spouse.

Believing her parents dead, the pious Tarsiana prays daily at their graves, and when the wicked Teófilo tries to murder her there, she immediately asks for a respite to say her prayers. Placed in a brothel, she manages to preserve her chastity through her piteous appeals to prospective clients. Later, although sent by Antinágora, she takes a personal interest in comforting Apolonio.

As Wilfredo Casanova has shown, the clerkly author of the Spanish poem carefully juxtaposes the idealized royal figure of Apolonio himself to the evil king Antíoco. Similarly, secondary characters are depicted as morally good or evil, a procedure absent from the Latin *Historia*[10]. The Spanish poet thus views his characters from a Christian perspective in which virtue and vice, good and evil, oppose one another. The good king Apolonio is rewarded for his virtue. The evil Antíoco, the incarnation of the devil (« Bien sse que tanto fue ell enemigo en el rey encarnado » [13]), is struck down by « hun rayo del diablo » (248). Such a polarization of characters in which divine justice causes good to triumph over evil is, of course, common in hagiographic narratives.

Thus, the protagonists of the *Libro de Apolonio* can be said to live lives of Christian virtue without being Christians. Their patience and long-suffering are both tested and remedied by divine Providence within an imposed Christian frame of reference. The exemplary value of the tale is underlined by the Spanish poet in a series of moral digressions, absent from the Latin source, that constitute an important element of the further Christianization of the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*. King Antíoco's sin and his efforts to conceal it furnish a pretext for a digression on sin in general and how one fault can easily lead to another. The poet interpolates the anecdote of the monk whose drinking leads him to commit adultery and then murder (51-55). The fisherman who meets the shipwrecked Apolonio on the seashore launches a long tirade on the mutability of earthly things:

[10] See his unpublished doctoral dissertation: El Libro de Apolonio: *cristianización de un tema clásico*, Yale University, 1970, pp. 19-70, 158-190.

El estado deste mundo siempre asi andido,
Cada dia sse camia, nunca quedo estido;
En toller e en dar es todo su sentido,
Vestir al despoiado e despoiar al vestido.
Los que las auenturas quisieron ensayar,
A la vezes perder, a las vezes ganar,
Por muchas de maneras ouieron de pasar.
Que quier que les abenga an lo de endurar.
Nunqua sabrien los omnes que eran auenturas
Si no perdiessen perdidas ho muchas majaduras.
Quando an passado por muelles e por duras,
Despues sse tornan maestros e cren las escripturas.
El que poder ouo de pobre te tornar
Puede te si quisiere de pobreza sacar.
Non te querrian las fadas, rey, desmanparar;
Puedes en poca dora todo tu bien cobrar.
(134-137)

The implicit invitation to focus upon the eternal life is made explicit in the penultimate quatrains of the poem:

Muerto es Apolonyo, nos a morir auemos;
Por quanto nos amamos la fin non oluidemos.
Qual aqui fizieremos alla tal reçibremos;
Alla hiremos todos, nunqua aqua saldremos.
Lo que aqui dexamos otrie lo lograra;
Lo que nos escusaremos por nos non lo dara;
Lo que por nos fizieremos esso nos huuiara,
Qua lo que fara otro tarde nos prestara.
(651-652)

Destaiemos palabra, razon non allongemos,
Pocos seran los dias que aqui moraremos,
Quando daqui saldremos ¿que vestido leuaremos
Si non el conuiuio de Dios de aquell en que creyemos?
(655)

The latter quotation is particularly significant, for it is much more than a moral tag tacked on to a traditional story. Rather, the Spanish author as reader of both the Latin version and his own reworking of the story turns to his audience and interprets the tale within the framework of faith. The virtues Apolonio exhibits are

essentially courtly and chivalric [11]. Further, he is pious, but not a saint. And yet, by juxtaposing Apolonio's death after his attaining the height of worldly honors to considerations on the mortality of all men, the Spanish poet suggests that the earthly rewards the quasi-saint Apolonio receives for his patient resignation to God's will are analogous to the heavenly reward the poem's readers and listeners can expect for leading lives of similar virtue and piety.

It is probable that if the *Apolonio* poet had been asked what other stories his poem most resembled, he would have referred not to the Greek romances themselves, which were essentially unknown until the Renaissance, but to those narratives known to the Latin and vernacular Middle Ages which preserved most clearly the Greek romance pattern. I am speaking, of course, of the lives of such saints as Eustace and Clement [12], which deal with the typically « Byzantine » motifs of shipwrecks, separated and eventually reunited families, kidnappings, etc. It is equally important to stress here that, as might be expected, such hagiographic narratives by their very nature subordinate the multiple peripeties which characterize the Byzantine romance pattern to the watchful eye of divine Providence. Indeed, one of the central episodes in the legend of St. Clement deals specifically with the problem of Fortune vs. Providence. The reunion of Clement's father with his family is explicitly interpreted as the victory of Providence over the destiny prescribed by the stars [13]. It is precisely for this reason that somewhat after the redaction of the *Libro de Apolonio* the story of St. Clement is used by St. Pedro Pascual († 1300) in his *Tratado del libre albedrío contra los fatalistas mahometanos* as proof that Free Will can overcome the influence of the stars [14].

[11] María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *La idea de la fama en la edad media castellana* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952), p. 159.

[12] The Apollonius material shares with such « Christian » romances the fact that the protagonists constitute a family, while the Greek romances by Chariton, Heliodorus, and Achilles Tatius deal with the adventures of a pair of lovers, who are not married until the end of the tale.

[13] *Recognitions of Clement*, trans. Rev. Thomas Smith, D.D., in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1867), pp. 420-421.

[14] *Obras de San Pedro Pascual*, ed. Pedro Armengol Valenzuela, III (Roma: Tipografia della Pace di F. Cuggiani e Imprenta Salustiana, 1907), pp. 55-56. The

To be sure, despite the implicit canonization of the protagonist, the *Libro de Apolonio* is not a saint's life as such. And yet, particularly in the case of narrative patterns based on Greek romance there was a close coexistence and symbiosis of sacred and profane elements. Thus, the life of St. Eustace appears both in hagiographic versions and in such secularized versions as the story of William of England (with two medieval Spanish translations) and the first part of *El Caballero Cifar* (*ca.* 1300)[15].

The affinity between the various genres is indicated by the very manuscripts in which they are found. Escorial MS h-I-13 contains Spanish translations of the Eustace story in both its hagio-

legend of St. Clement was evidently well-known in medieval Spain. The text was included in the collection of hagiographic materials that Bernardo de Brihuega made for Alfonso X. See Rodolfo Beer, *Los cinco libros que compiló Bernardo de Brihuega por orden del rey Don Alfonso el Sabio*, « BRAH », 11, 1887, p. 367, n. 1. We know from an inventory of 1331 that the nuns at the convent of San Clemente in Toledo owned « cinco quadernos de Sant Climent uno de su vida è otro de sus sermones è de la Estoria ». See Ramón F. Pousa, *Catálogo de una biblioteca española del año 1331: el monasterio de San Clemente, de Toledo*, « Revista de Bibliografía Nacional », 1, 1940, p. 50.

[15] For a study of the origins and versions of the Eustace legend, see A. H. Krappe, *La leggenda di S. Eustachio*, « Nuovi Studi Medievali », 3, 1926-1927, 223-258. The medieval Castilian version of the life of St. Eustace from Escorial MS h-I-13 was edited by Hermann Knust in *Dos obras didácticas y dos leyendas*, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 17 (Madrid, 1878), pp. 123-157. For the filiation of the medieval French and Spanish versions of the William of England story, see Howard S. Robertson, *Four Romance Versions of the William of England Legend*, « Romance Notes », 3, 1962-1963, 75-80. The Spanish texts were edited by Knust, *Dos obras*, pp. 171-247, 302-403. For the relationship between the Eustace legend and *El caballero Cifar*, see Charles Philip Wagner, *The Sources of* El Cavallero Cifar, « Revue Hispanique », 10, 1903, 13-29. More recent scholarship has questioned that relationship. Roger M. Walker, among others, postulates an Arabic source for the *Cifar*. See his *Tradition and Technique in « El libro del cavallero Zifar »* (London: Tamesis, 1974), pp. 56-70. The similarities between the stories of Cifar and Eustace would thus be explained by their derivation from a common oriental source. It does seem significant, however, that whatever the ultimate source of the Cifar story may have been, its author perceived very clearly the parallel between his tale and the life of St. Eustace. Thus, as he prays Cifar calls upon the Lord to aid him « asy commo ayudeste los tus sieruos bien auenturados Eustachio e Teospita su muger ». See *El libro del Cauallero Zifar*, ed. Charles Philip Wagner (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1929), pp. 90-91.

graphic and its romance versions as well as Castilian versions of similar tales of rewarded patience: *Otas de Roma*, the *Fermoso cuento de una sancta emperatriz*, and the *Cuento del emperador Carlos Maynes*[16]. Significantly, the same manuscript also contains the lives of saints Mary Magdalene, Martha, Mary of Egypt, and Catherine. The *Libro de Apolonio* itself is preserved in a single manuscript (Escorial K-III-4), which also contains the life of St. Mary of Egypt and a religious poem based on apocryphal material concerning the life of Christ[17]. It is thus evident that the compiler or copyist of the manuscript[18] perceived the religious implications of the Castilian version of the Apollonius story and placed it in the company of other pious narratives.

The process of Christianization and medievalization the tale of Apollonius undergoes in the hands of the Spanish poet is not at all unexpected. The Alexander material underwent a similar transformation[19]. But why did the Spanish poet subject his Latin source specifically to a process of « hagiographization »? The answer to that question is, I believe, related to the poet's conception of his own position as an artist and to the social and religious world of his audience.

Any exploration of the literary milieu of thirteenth and fourteenth century Spain must at least consider the possible influence of the reforming spirit of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215)[20]. In his opening address to the Council, Pope Innocent III spoke of the need for a general reform, so that « Templum Domini, quod est ecclesia, restauretur, & celebretur phase, sive pascha, videlicet hoc solenne concilium, per quod fiat transitus de vitiis ad virtu-

[16] For a description of the manuscript and its contents, see Julián Zarco Cuevas, *Catálogo de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, 1 (Madrid: Imprenta Helénica, 1924), pp. 187-189.

[17] *Ibid.*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Imprenta Helénica, 1926), pp. 173-175.

[18] The same hand wrote out all three of the works. See *Libro de la infancia y muerte de Jesús (Libre dels tres reys d'orient)*, ed. Manuel Alvar, Clásicos Hispánicos (Madrid: CSIC, 1965), p. 121.

[19] See Ian Michael, *The Treatment of Classical Material in the « Libro de Alexandre »* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), pp. 88-142.

[20] For an overview of the question in relation to medieval Spanish literature, see Derek W. Lomax, *The Lateran Reforms and Spanish Literature*, « Iberoromania », I, 1969, 299-313.

tes... »[21]. The pope's desires were reflected in the decrees of the council regarding, among other matters, the instruction of the laity through preaching (canon 10), the need to remedy the ignorance of the clergy (canon 27), monastic reform (canon 12), and the moral conduct of both the clergy (canons 14-18) and the laity (canons 22, 51, and 67). The attention conceded to the reform of the laity was reflected in the literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries through sermons, catechisms, saints' lives, etc. It is into this context that one might also place the clerkly authors of thirteenth-century *cuaderna vía* poems, who sought through the exemplary nature of their narratives to provide for the moral instruction of their audience.

The *Apolonio* poet in particular seems to communicate to his public an ideal of peculiarly lay piety. Despite the quasi-canonization of the protagonist, Apollonius is not a saint. His piety is but one aspect of what is otherwise a very secular life, and accordingly, the testing of his virtue and his patience in time of tribulation are rewarded in this world with earthly honors. Thus, near the end of the poem Apolonio is reunited with his family and regains his kingdom. But just as sanctity is not a monopoly of the saint, so the *Apolonio* poet takes care to juxtapose the earthly reward his protagonist has earned to the heavenly reward his readers and listeners can expect if they lead similarly virtuous lives. Far from condemning the value of human existence, the poet seeks to emphasize for his audience the notion that salvation is attainable even by those who choose not to renounce the *siglo*[22].

The poet's implicit insistence on the value of earthly endeavors is equally important for its relation to his conception of himself as an artist. Even if he has chosen to conceal his name, it is evident that his very choice of a hero reveals his pride in his own profession. Apolonio is in a sense the literary double of the author, for the salvation of the protagonist is also the justification of the poet. If a life lived rightly in the *siglo* is pleasing in the eyes

[21] Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio*, vol. 22 (1778; rpt. Paris-Leipzig: H. Welter, 1903), col. 969.

[22] This idea will be developed at length by Don Juan Manuel. See Ian MacPherson, *'Dios y el mundo': the Didacticism of* El conde Lucanor, « Romance Philology », 24, 1970-1971, 26-38.

of the Lord, then Apolonio's love of learning is not vanity and the author's exercise of his own knowledge is meaningful.

Such a vision of the work is supported by what might be called the self-consciousness of the *mester de clerecía*[23]. Berceo incorporates autobiographical elements and references to the process of writing into the very fabric of his poems and significantly relates both concerns to his salvation and to the salvation of his audience[24]. The Alexander poet begins with what has been interpreted as a manifesto of the clerkly craft, namely, the vaunting of the poet's pride in his erudition and elegant style[25]. The clerkly author who writes in the *cuaderna vía* is therefore conscious of the peculiarity of his own literary endeavors vis-à-vis the prevailing popular genre of narrative up to his time, the epic. The *mester de clerecía* is not anti-epic *per se*, for the Apolonio poet is sympathetic toward the art of the popular minstrel, as is evident in his treatment of Tarsiana as *juglaresa*[26]. But surely the distance between the epic tradition and the clerkly authors of the thirteenth century who gave expression to their sense of intellectual and artistic superiority in the elegant *cuaderna vía* was all the more obvious to an audience that was still in many ways a frontier society of warriors, much more propitious for the exercise of arms than for the flowering of letters.

Alexander was in a sense a very convenient hero, for he combined in a single individual prowess in arms and excellence in letters. Apollonius, however, was a more revolutionary protagonist, for he is essentially an intellectual hero, who reacts more than he acts. He is most definitely not an epic hero, and significantly, bellicose behavior in the tale is restricted to the antagonist, Antiochus.

[23] For a recent study of the use and misuse of the term, see Francisco López Estrada, *Mester de clerecía: las palabras y el concepto*, « Journal of Hispanic Philology », 2, 1977-1978, 165-174.

[24] See, for example, T. Anthony Perry, *Art and Meaning in Berceo's « Vida de Santa Oria »* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 173-192.

[25] See Raymond S. Willis, *'Mester de clerecía'. A Definition of the* Libro de Alexandre, « Romance Philology », 10, 1956-1957, pp. 216-219.

[26] See Alan Deyermond, « *Mester es sen peccado* », « Romanische Forschungen », 77, 1965, 111-116. For J. C. Musgrave, the poet's attitude towards *juglaría* is more ambiguous. See his *Tarsiana and* Juglaría *in the* Libro de Apolonio, in *Medieval Hispanic Studies Presented to Rita Hamilton*, ed. A. D. Deyermond (London: Tamesis, 1976), pp. 129-138.

Even if Apolonio possesses the courtly and chivalric virtues traditionally ascribed to the knight errant, they are not exercized in the context of martial action. Apolonio is the intellectual hero of a world in which the power of knowledge is appreciated as in few other works. The daughter of king Antíoco is won not by a contest of arms but by the correct solution of a riddle, and it is the keen intellect of the Tyrian king that enables him to solve the enigma:

> Como era Apolonio de letras profundado,
> Por soluer argumentos era bien dotrinado;
> Entendio la fallença e el suçio pecado
> Como si lo ouiese por su ojo prouado.
> (22)

Erudition also colors the poem's treatment of music. Although a critic has praised the work as a « poema de exaltación musical »[27], it must be remembered that in the Tharsian episode the audience is moved more by the technique of the player than by any mysterious power hidden in the music as such (190). Similarly, in the episode of the arrival of Luciana's lifeless body at Ephesus, the author emphasizes the medical skill of the intern and adds many erudite details (306-312) concerning the cure itself:

> Luego al terçer dia, el sol escalentado,
> Fue al puerto de Efeso el cuerpo arribado;
> Fue de buen maestro de fisica trobado,
> Ca hauie hun diçipulo sauio e bien letrado.
> (284)
>
> Entro el buen diçiplo de grant entendimiento,
> (294)
>
> Aguisa bien el cuerpo, ca eres sabidor;
> (297)
>
> El escolar fue bueno, hun maestro valie,
> (298)

[27] *Libro de Apolonio*, versión de Pablo Cabañas (Madrid: Castalia, 1955), p. 14.

De quantos metges oy biuen tu eres el mejor.
(304)

Apolonio's daughter is no less devoted to intellectual pursuits:

Criaron a gran viçio los amos la moçuela.
Quando fue de siete anyos dieron la al escuela;
Apriso bien gramatiga e bien tocar viu[e]lla,
Aguzo bien como fierro que aguzan a la muela.
(350)

Quando a XII anyos fue la duenya venida
Sabia todas las artes, era maestra complida;
(352)

Non querye nengun dia su estudio perder,
Ca auye uoluntat de algo aprender.
(353)

and in the recognition scene she challenges her father's skill in a series of riddles. The king succeeds in resolving all ten enigmas, and so great is his knowledge that Tarsiana exclaims: « paresçe bien que eres clerigo entendido » (510). While the use of the term « clérigo » is an obvious example of the medievalization of the Apollonius story, it is also an indirect compliment to the clerkly author of the Spanish version, who thus identifies his own erudition with that of his protagonist.

Once again the task of the Spanish poet consists of emphasizing and developing a tendency already present in his Latin source. If in the Latin *Historia* the Tyrian king is already a kind of intellectual hero, in the Spanish poem both the characters within the work and the audience for which it is intended are made more conscious of the value of erudition. Thus, while in both texts the Tyrian king solves Antiochus' riddle, only in the Spanish version is the feat explicitly related to his intellectual powers. While the Latin *Historia* does include the details of Luciana's cure, concerning the intern's skill it turns laconically to the *puer senex* topos: « discipulus medici, aspectu adulescens, set, quantum ingenio, senex » (p. 50), as compared to the several references already quoted from the *Apolonio*. Similarly, Tarsiana's aptitude for learning is mentioned in only a single sentence in the *Historia*:

Itaque puella Tharsia facta quinquennis traditur studiis artium liberalibus, et filia eorum cum ea docebatur; et ingenio et in auditu et in sermone et in morum honestate docentur (p. 55).

while the Spanish poet amplifies the motif as quoted above.

The hero as *sabio* thus offered a thirteenth-century Spanish audience an exemplary model that was neither the warrior hero of the epic nor the saintly hero of Berceo's poems. The aristocratic Apolonio is a passive protagonist compared to the epic hero, but he nevertheless possesses a comparable set of chivalric and courtly values worthy of imitation. His story follows a pattern in many ways reminiscent of a saint's life, and yet the end result is a model of secular piety. The author's final vision of a virtuous and pious intellectual whose knowledge has been used wisely and whose patience in the face of adversity has been rewarded by the Lord is both a kind of canonization of his protagonist and the expression of his own pride in his clerkly craft and of his own expectation of an analogous heavenly reward.

RONALD E. SURTZ
Princeton University