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Anna Maria Babbi

Università degli Studi di Verona

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redazione@medioevi.it

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The Creation of *Alexanderlied*  
and the Authors' Use of Sources.  
The Apollonius Sequence

Adele Cipolla  
Università di Verona

ABSTRACT: *This paper aims at scrutinising the ties between the twelfth-century German poems on Alexander the Great and contemporary chronicles from the Levant by Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre. The key is the Apollonius allusion at the end of the Tyre episode in Lambrecht's Alexanderlied, which opens a window on the manifold literary models involved in the creation of the Early Middle High German text. In the Tyre sequence, Alexanderlied diverges from the Pseudo-Callisthenes and Julius Valerius tradition and, according to its Old French relatives (namely, the different versions of the Roman d'Alexandre), follows Curtius. Curtius's text represents the skeleton of its compilative achievement, which merges biblical and romance narrative themes and is characteristic of the contemporary preoccupation with overseas incidents. Alexanderlied, independent from its Old French relatives, encapsulates in the frame borrowed from Curtius the multi-authored Jewish-Christian legend of King Solomon, Sheba and King Hiram of Tyre (from the Book of Kings, Josephus and William Archbishop of Tyre), which puts the German poet on the trail of Apollonius.*

KEYWORDS: *Lambrecht's Alexanderlied – Historia Apollonii regis Tyri – Crusade Writing – Fulcher of Chartres – William of Tyre – Source Contamination*

### 1. Introduction

This paper deals with a reference to the literary character of Apollonius of Tyre, at a crucial point in *Alexanderlied*. After Tyre falls, rather than continuing immediately to the subsequent episodes of the Persian campaign,

in all three witnesses (the Vorau, Strasbourg and Basel manuscripts),<sup>1</sup> the poet adds an aside, in which a recollection of Apollonius's story is matched with scriptural allusion (from the tale of Jesus exorcising the daughter of the pious *Cananea*: Mt 15, 21-22). Clarifying the city's future destiny for the audience, its resurrection is mentioned in two striking and unforgettable accounts set in post-Alexandrian Tyre:

Al zestoret was tuo Tyrus:  
 die stifte siht [= *sît/sint*] ter chunich Apollonius,  
 den Antioch uber mere jagete,  
 wande er imme sagete  
 daz retsce an einem brieve,  
 daz er mit siner thotter sliefe.  
 Tyre is noch diu selbe stat,  
 da daz heden wib unseren heren paht,  
 daz er ir tohter erlostete  
 von dem ubelen geiste, der sie note.<sup>2</sup>  
 (V 996-1005)

Although scholars consider the *Alexanderlied* manuscripts to be autonomous versions of the poem (*Fassungen* quite dissimilar in scope and style), they nevertheless share a common narrative core, usually deemed a relic of the lost original (traditionally posited *ca* 1150). Within the titular hero's career, the poem's *Gemeintext* embraces the *enfances* and the very first part of the *gestes*, up until the Persian war. All three manuscripts recount similar episodes from the taming of Bucephalus to the gathering of Darius's troops on the meadows of Mesopotamia, for the final battle with the Persian king. The common text of *Alexanderlied* does not comprise the travels in India. These are narrated in the continuations that stem

<sup>1</sup> Vorau, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, Cod. 276, ff. 109ra-115va 9 (= V), *ca* 1185-1202; Straßburg, Stadtbibliothek, C.V. 16.6 4°, ff. 13va-29ra (= S), after 1187, lost; Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. E VI 26, ff. 22vb-67va (= B), *ca* 1420-1430.

<sup>2</sup> «Now Tyrus totally was destroyed. | But later it was rebuilt by King Apollonius, | whom Antioch had been hunting over the seas, | because, within a letter, | he answered the riddle, | that Antioch had been sleeping with his daughter. | Tyrus is the same town, | where the heathen woman pleaded with our Lord, | that he redeemed her daughter | from the evil spirit by which she was subdued»: all transcriptions from the Vorau codex and translations are my own. In the transcriptions, the characters which are not on our keyboards have been transliterated, superscripts and abbreviations expanded; punctuation marks have been added and uppercase initials have been used for proper names.



from at least two hyparchetypes conjectured as intermediary stages behind the S and B versions, both significantly longer than that of V.<sup>3</sup>

The prologue and initial chapters that open the parallel text of V and S (in which Alexander's bastard descent is rejected) are replaced in B by the tale of Nectanebus, according to the tradition of the *Historia de preliis*. Shared by the older Vorau and Strasbourg versions only, Lambrecht's prologue adduces as a model an Old French *liet* by a certain Alberich. Scholars believe that, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the opening stanzas of this lost poetic source were recorded by later users on ff. 115va-116r of the Florentine codex of Curtius (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. LXIV, cod. 35, ninth century), to fill one of the gaps in the tradition of the historian's work (which stems from a defective Caroline archetype). In all surviving manuscripts of Curtius, in fact, the first book and the opening incidents in the Macedonian's life, along with other ensuing sections of the work, are lost.<sup>4</sup> The fragmentary French poem recovered in the Florentine manuscript was recast many times in the course of the twelfth century, changing metrical form and extent: the whole of this prolonged and multi-authored literary undertaking is known as the Old French *Roman d'Alexandre*.<sup>5</sup>

Though supposedly following the purported Old French informant, the hero's adventures in *Alexanderlied* merge the fictional and historical branches of the medieval Alexander tradition.<sup>6</sup> The couplets draw on a mixture of sources. They mainly employ the biographies by Julius Valerius (for the *enfances*)<sup>7</sup> and Curtius (for the siege of Tyrus and, according to Curtius's interpolated text, for the battle at Granicus, renamed Euphrates),<sup>8</sup> but also contain connecting passages credited to the vernacular poet, where his own taste is most explicit. What emerges is a clerically trained mind voyaging on geographically and thematically inconsistent

<sup>3</sup> For an up-to-date overview of the interpretations of the single versions, see Grubmüller 2016. S comes to about 7,000 lines, B about 4,700, in contrast to about 1,500 lines in the V version. The line numeration diverges in different editions: I follow here that of Lienert (Pfafe Lambrecht, *Alexanderroman*, ed. Lienert), which differs from the nineteenth-century standard edition (Lamprecht, *Alexander*, ed. Kinzel). On previous editions and secondary literature see also Cipolla 2013, pp. 311-342.

<sup>4</sup> On the Florentine fragment, Lafont 2002, Mölk - Holtus (ed.) 1999, Zufferey 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Gosman 1996 and 1997.

<sup>6</sup> Gaullier-Bougassas 2011, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Iulius Valerius, *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* (ed. Rosellini).

<sup>8</sup> Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Geschichte Alexander des Grossen* (ed. Müller - Schönfeld); Smits 1987; see also Atkinson 1980.

scriptural routes, through locations of the Bible. At that time, biblical knowledge had been renewed via recollections of the Crusades, that had spread through histories and chronicles of the Levant. While personages of disparate provenance (epic figures from either the still pre-literate German *Heldensage*, late post-homeric matter or biblical repertory of both Jewish and Christian descent) are variously scattered throughout the single episodes of the German poem in the form of *exempla* that emphasise or understate Alexander's prominence, in the case of the reference to Apollonius this is not true.

The Arsenal and Venice manuscripts of *Roman d'Alexandre*, which encapsulate the *décasyllabique* torso (the earliest blossom of the fragmentary French model) within the larger poem rewritten in alexandrine verse by Alexandre de Paris,<sup>9</sup> and the older two of *Alexanderlied*, all mention an *Auberin/Alberich* and a *Lambert/Lambrecht*. The individual versions, however, alternatively affirm or deny the authoritativeness of those shared poet names.<sup>10</sup> The models of *Alexanderlied* are manifold and the common text was engendered by a compilative method. Under the impact of Crusade writing, the earliest Latin offspring of Pseudo-Callisthenes (Julius Valerius and his *Epitome*)<sup>11</sup> was merged with Alexander's depictions in Roman historiography (Curtius, Justin, Josephus and Orosius) and with biblical speculations (inspired by *Maccabees*, *Daniel*, *Books of Kings* and *Chronicles*). In so doing the vernacular poet reveals a similar attitude to those who, in the same decades, prompted the creation and manuscript circulation of the multi-branched 'interpolated' Latin *Historia de preliis*. It seems impossible to trace any consequent and stable line of derivation through the *stemma* of sources, or to mark a neat divide between Middle Latin, Old French and Middle High German Alexander traditions, inasmuch as the poems in both the Francophone and Germanophone areas unexpectedly diverge or converge in isolated features, at the same time unpredictably varying their adherence to interchangeable Latin models (which were in part coeval to the vernacular texts).

<sup>9</sup> *Le roman d'Alexandre. Riproduzione del ms. Venezia, Biblioteca Museo Correr, Correr 1493* (ed. Benedetti); *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre. I. Text of the Arsenal and Venice Versions* (ed. La Du).

<sup>10</sup> Borriero 2011, pp. 72-210.

<sup>11</sup> Julius Valerius, *Epitome* (ed. Zacher). For both Alberich and Lambrecht might be suggested a direct access to Julius Valerius's text (transmitted by only seven manuscripts), instead of the more popular and widespread *Epitome*: Mackert 1999, pp. 53-54 and 56 fn. 51.

## 2. *The birth of Lambrecht's Alexander*

The account of Alexander's supernatural descent from the Egyptian god Ammon through the sorcery of Nectanebus is a constitutive element of the literary character spreading from the Greek prototype of Pseudo-Callisthenes. The French and German renditions of the twelfth century, however, represent Alexander's conception in different ways and merge suggestions of disparate provenance complying with their individual purposes. In conformity to the Old French Florentine fragment and its derivatives, in *Alexanderlied* the account of the hero's birth (while discarding the story of how Nectanebus/Ammon enticed Queen Olimpias in the shape of a dragon and of Alexander's divine bastardy) recasts the plot through a blend of different historical motifs (from both Justin and Alexander's baleful portrait in Orosius, in addition to Julius Valerius and to the so-called *Orosius-Rezension* of *Historia de preliis*, I<sup>2</sup>).<sup>12</sup> In order to reestablish Alexander's legitimacy (V 76: «er was rehter cheiserslahte») against the paternity of the Egyptian sorcerer, as told in texts deriving from Pseudo-Callisthenes, the truth of this latter version is challenged and its witnesses derogatorily called *lugenare*, 'liars'. In the German text, three stanzas (V 71-114; S 83-138) are devoted to Philip's and Olimpias's lineages and to the account of the weird and wonderful childbirth respectively, enlarging the Old French fragmentary model and reorganising its parts.

The German author, however, was aware of the *thaumata* (sudden darkness, thunderstorms and earthquakes) accompanying Olimpias's delivery according to the rejected romance tradition (an echo of which, nevertheless, resounds in Orosius also).<sup>13</sup> In V (103-114) and S (125-138) the account of the childbirth is peculiarly addressed to the character of the Queen Mother (who is instead not even mentioned in Alberich's verse). Unlike its French model and parallel texts, in describing the hero's odd physiognomical traits, the *Alexanderlied* hints at the extraordinary incidents occurring with *frow* Olimpias's conception (that Pseudo-Callisthenes and its Latin and vernacular rewritings connect to the Queen's seduction through Nectanebus's witchcraft and to Alexander's illegitimacy):

<sup>12</sup> *Historia Alexandri Magni (Historia de preliis), Rezension J<sup>2</sup> (Orosius-Rezension)* (ed. Hilka - Bergmeister - Grossmann).

<sup>13</sup> Orosius III, 7, 4-5: «Tunc etiam nox usque ad plurimam diei partem tendi uisa est et saxea de nubibus grandio descendens ueris terram lapidibus uerberauit. Quibus diebus etiam Alexander Magnus, uere ille gurgis miseriarum atque atrocissimus turbo totius orientis, est natus».

ein ouge, daz was weithin,  
 getan nach eineme drachen.  
 Daz chom von den sachen:  
 do in sin muoter bestunt zetrage,  
 do chomen ir freslich pilide zegegene,  
 daz <was> ein vil michel wunder». <sup>14</sup>  
 (V 132-138, cp. S 158-163)

Within the same description of the hero's physical appearance, both the V and S versions of *Alexanderlied* liken Alexander's black eye to that of a griffin («Swarz was ime daz ander, | nach eineme grifen getan: | alsus sagent, die in ie gesahen»: V 139-40),<sup>15</sup> instead of the *falcon* of the Florentine fragment (IX, 63). In doing so, V and S elliptically envisage Alexander's celestial journey by means of a chariot raised up by two flying griffins (*Historia de preliis*'s II, 40: «fecit venire grifas et cum catenis ferreis fecit ligari eas ad ipsum currum»), one of the last and most renowned exploits in the hero's career, which neither of them recount. This adventure had first appeared in Greek witnesses of the recension *lambda* of Pseudo-Callisthenes (from the eighth century) and entered the Latin-speaking western world thanks to *Historia de preliis*.<sup>16</sup> In Germany it had been touched on in the *Annolied* (XIV, 212-13: «Mit zuein grîfen | Vuor her in liuften»)<sup>17</sup> and it would appear again in the B version of *Alexanderlied* («er hies stigen zû ein nest, | da lagen jung griffen in | die wurden gezogen | bys sie mochten fliegen. | Er hies ein sessel zwisent die griffen | binden und zwo stangen. | zwie as man an die stangen band. | er sass uff ein morgen frw̄, | die stangen er gen himel ragt, | er fûr gen des himels tron»: B 4284-4293).<sup>18</sup>

In medieval iconography, the celestial journey was one of the most frequently represented among Alexander's exploits.<sup>19</sup> Beyond the most renowned instances, like the relief of St Mark's in Venice (a Byzantine art-

<sup>14</sup> «One of his eyes was blue, | alike that of a dragon. | It depended on this: | when his mother got pregnant, | horrific images appeared to her. | It was a powerful wonder!». In V line 138 is defective: the lacuna has been improved within hooks.

<sup>15</sup> «Black was his second eye, | alike that of a gryphon. | So told any people who met him».

<sup>16</sup> Stoneman 2011, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup> «With two griffins, | he made a journey in the air».

<sup>18</sup> «He ordered to climb to a nest, | there some young griffins lay. | The griffins were fed until they can fly. | He ordered to fasten a seat and two shafts between the griffins. | Two pieces of meat were fastened to the shafts. | Early one morning he got abroad. | He steered the shafts towards the sky, | heading towards the heavenly throne».

<sup>19</sup> Noll 2016; Centanni 2016.

work pillaged by the Venetians in Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204) and Otranto's floor mosaic (twelfth century, Greek craftsmen under Norman patronage), I would mention here some further examples, from the German-speaking areas involved with the origins and manuscript circulation of *Alexanderlied*.

Historical and literary reasons have been provided to ascertain the poem's birthplace(s), conjecturally placed in Trier or Cologne. The proemial lines of *Tobias*, an early poem on a religious subject from the homonymous biblical book, call its author Lambrecht, who is held as the same individual mentioned in *Alexanderlied*'s prologue. Due to an allusion to Trier in *Tobias*, the town was traditionally acknowledged in scholarship as possible birthplace to both *Alexanderlied* and its poet. In contrast, the connection of the poem to Cologne has been inferred from a reference to St Pantaleon of Nicomedia in the Vorau version (594-595). There, in a passage lost in both S and B, the saint's martyrdom is commemorated. This could be a clue to a connection with Cologne, since its St Pantaleon's church is the earliest to be named after the saint in the West, and its Benedictine monastery (dating back to the tenth century) was a renowned centre of historical writing.

The association with Cologne was claimed by scholars who reputed the S version to be the closest to the original. The Strasbourg *Alexanderlied* ends with a German adaptation of *Iter ad paradisum*, a Latin text of Talmudic descent, a manuscript branch of which stemmed from Cologne.<sup>20</sup> A visual contemporary document to Alexander's celestial journey is the Romanesque gate (*Pfarrhoftor*) of St Peter and Paul Cathedral in Remagen. This Rhineland town was endowed in 1164 with the relics of St Apollinaris by Reinhold von Dassel Archbishop of Cologne (a historical figure who has also been suggested as the possible commissioner of *Alexanderlied*). The Remagen relief, where Alexander's flight with the griffins is matched with the portraits of other monstrous creatures (interpreted as symbols of the deadly sins), displays antiquated stylistic features resembling those of the Comacini from Lombard Italy (seventh-ninth centuries). A further visual instance geographically relevant to our discourse is a coeval Romanesque capital in the ambulatory of Basel Cathedral. All this points towards the German poet enjoying free access to several narrative traditions branching from Pseudo-Callisthenes, along with other fashionable stories related to the Levant (like Solomon's legend and the *Histo-*

<sup>20</sup> Schulz-Grobert 2000.

*ria Apollonii regis Tyri*), independent from the French model already mentioned. It is not possible to conclude here whether the above named allusions to motifs ultimately spreading from Pseudo-Callisthenes simply confirm Alexander's renown in oral and visual memory, or might hint at actual textual borrowings and contamination.

### 3. *The Siege of Tyre*

In Alexandre de Paris (the most complete version of the Old French romance) and *Alexanderlied* as well, the Tyre episode derives most prominently from Curtius's account. The older and shorter Vorau version of *Alexanderlied* is centered on the siege and annihilation of the Phoenician stronghold (V 694-1005). Alexander's triumph over the inhabitants of Tyre represents the turning point in the plot and introduces his final victory. Darius's inescapable defeat is subsequently displayed through a scornful epistolary exchange with the Macedonian king (V 1018-1145) and a series of single combats engaging Alexander and his companions against Mennes (that is Memnon of Rhodes, according to the account of Granicus in the interpolated Curtius) and other prominent Persian champions (V 1182-1367).<sup>21</sup> The Vorauer text abruptly ends on Alexander's sword beheading Darius (V 1480-1515), an astonishing but not completely unprecedented conclusion. This apparently odd invention of the Vorau compiler, in fact, epitomises an old scholarly attitude in the exegesis of *Maccabees* (1 Mac 1, 1) and the *Book of Daniel* (8, 7) and is well-suited to the historical scope of the Vorau poetic miscellany.<sup>22</sup>

In the earlier Latin translations of Pseudo-Callisthenes (which are the main sources of previous episodes of *Alexanderlied* up until Alexander's expedition against the Holy Lands: V 586-693), the story of how the Phoenician city fell is focused on Alexander's cunning and speech proficiency rather than on his military skill and the concise account from the Greek romance (I, 35) concentrates on a prophetic dream and on a pun referring to Tyre's name (which will later pique William's curiosity also: 13, 1).<sup>23</sup> The shift from the fictional to the historical model suits the epic

<sup>21</sup> Foulet 1934 (which, despite the title «La bataille du Granique chez Alberic», refers to the *Alexanderlied*'s account, which the scholar identified with its purported lost French source).

<sup>22</sup> Pfister 1958; Mölk 2000, pp. 25-27; Cipolla 2013, pp. 49-50.

<sup>23</sup> The Greek toponym (*Tyros*) was linked to the noun *tyros* «cheese»: before the destruction of the stronghold, Alexander dreams that a satyr (Greek *satyros*) offers him a cheese and that he treads on and crushes, foreshadowing Tyre's destiny.

purpose of both Old French and Middle High German vernacular poems. Alexandre de Paris employs a complementary source to the Tyre sequence (that is P<sup>3</sup>, the youngest version of the *Historia de preliis*), from which the expedition to the Val of Josafat, the so-called *Fuerre de Gadres*, is derived.<sup>24</sup> The *Alexanderlied* does not include the *Fuerre* episode (whose skeleton corresponds to the expedition to the Mont Lebanon in Curtius IV, 2 18 and V 779-94) and its major sections, like the siege of Tyre, do not reveal similarly remarkable loans from the *Historia de preliis* (which are concentrated instead in transitional passages). Nevertheless, the German author is not totally immune from them, since the introduction of the anonymous Duke of Tyre (as in Alexandre de Paris) shows acquaintance with P<sup>3</sup>:

Alexander autem prosilivit in turrim, ubi stabat Balaam [= the elsewhere nameless Duke of Tyre] et, facto impetu super illum occidit, faciens ipsum cadere in profundum.

(*Historia de preliis* P<sup>3</sup>, 27b)

In both the Old French and Middle High German poems, the duke is pierced by Alexander's spear flying from the highest belfrie, and plunges down onto the walls (with many other bloodthirsty details included in Alexandre de Paris):<sup>25</sup>

Alexander steich uf daz obrist gewer  
 unt gebot den sturm uber al daz here  
 [...]  
 Alexanders schilt was helfenbein,  
 bezzer wart nie nechein;  
 sin helm was also guot,  
 so der ni nechein swert durch gewuoht.  
 In der hende truch er einen ger  
 von golde gedrajet vil her.  
 Tuo sach er stan

<sup>24</sup> *Die Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni. Synoptische Edition der Rezensionen des Leo Archipresbyters und der interpolierten Fassungen J<sup>1</sup>, J<sup>2</sup>, J<sup>3</sup> (Buch I und II)* (ed. Bergmeister); *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre. IV. Le Roman du Fuerre de Gadres* (ed. Armstrong - Foulet).

<sup>25</sup> II, 84, 1945-1958: «Lors li lance Alixandres un dart qu'il tint molu, | Que la targe a percie et son hauberc rompu | Et tres par mi le pis son acier enbatu; | Les deus jambes a fraites et peçoïé le bu | Et la teste fendue, le cervel expandu».

den herzogen, dem al Tyre was undertan,  
 kegen ime uf der mure.  
 Er lie sich es nieuht ferturen,  
 er scoz in mit tem gere durch  
 unde falt in tot in die burch.<sup>26</sup>  
 (V 875-876 and 881-891)

The vernacular poems have their remote source of inspiration in a parallel passage by Curtius himself (IV, 4, 10-11: italics are mine):

*ipse in altissimam turrem ascendit ingenti animo, periculo maiore; quippe regio insigni et armis fulgentibus conspicuus, unus precipue telis petebatur; et digna prorsus spectaculo edidit: multos e muris propugnantes hasta transfixit, quosdam etiam comminus gladio clipeoque impulsos praecipitavit.*

Alexander's proud ascent on the highest engine, his splendid and invincible weapons and his slaughtering of Tyrian watchmen by spearing them so that they plummet onto the city ramparts are derived from Curtius. In medieval texts (*Historia de Preliis* P, *Alexanderlied*, *Alexandre de Paris*), however, Alexander's exploits culminate in a face-off with a single prominent adversary, the duke. Though employing a shared corpus of historical and pseudo-historical sources, it seems that the more recent versions P<sup>2</sup> and P<sup>3</sup> of *Historia de preliis*, and the approximately contemporary vernacular Old French and Early Middle High German poems, arrange themes and motifs from the literary tradition on Alexander differently.

The twelfth-century poems do not conform to Curtius's history other than for the bare narrative frame. The *realia* (the Macedonian siege engines and weapons and the Persian stronghold's *descriptio*) are updated in compliance with technical innovations from the Levant: belfries, Greek fire and mangonels are visible across the walls of ancient Tyre, as in Crusade chronicles (compare, for example, V 963 and William of Tyre 3, 5). However, while *Alexandre de Paris* (I, 137, 2861-2866) remains much more faithful to details of the Latin model,<sup>27</sup> the German text displays re-

<sup>26</sup> «Alexander climbed on the highest tower | and ordered all his army to attack. | [...] | The shield of Alexander was ivory, | a better shield never existed. | His helmet was also good, | no sword could pierce it. | In his hand he held a spear | splendidly inlaid with gold. | Suddenly he caught sight of the man | who ruled over all Tyre : | the duke was standing on the walls, facing Alexander. | Alexander felt he could not delay: | he shot him with his spear | and let him plummet dead into the castle».

<sup>27</sup> I 133, 2754-2765, 134, 2766-2797. As within the corresponding passage by Curtius, in the



markable peculiarities (unlike the French *roman* and other sequences of the *Alexanderlied* itself), with fatal consequences for text-based inference.

The most peculiar feature of the Tyre episode in *Alexanderlied* is the frequent allusion to a biblical sub-text, the deciphering of which enables some obscure details to be understood. Scriptural references are a way of accustoming the unfamiliar European audience with an exotic but sacred space. The *interpretatio Christiana* of strange contemporary Levant place-names with their authorised biblical counterparts was then a long-established device (reviving a scholarly topography of the Middle-East dating back to Eusebius of Caesarea's *Onomasticon*, in the third century). *Alexanderlied* shares this feature with certain Crusade chronicles (above all, those by Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre). In the German text, however, it exceeds this function, representing a structural element of the twelfth-century poem (as witnessed by the older Vorau and Strasbourg manuscripts). The scriptural contribution is apparent in V and S mainly through a genuine rereading of the Solomon legend.<sup>28</sup> This latter is almost totally lost in the youngest Basel version (hyparchetype from the thirteenth century, manuscript from the fifteenth), which normally avoids allusions to the Bible, though not in the case of the *Cananea's* daughter from Matthew. What I would like to stress here is how scriptural matter, read with a glance to Crusade chroniclers, permeates the primary models (in our case, that of Curtius).

From its first appearance in the *Alexanderlied* prologue (which follows and enlarges on the exordial utterance of the Florentine fragment: *Dit Salomon al premier pas*), Solomon evolves into a kind of avatar of Alexander within the German texts, peaking in an episode included in the account of Tyre (in the earlier V and S codices only). There the Macedonian expedition to Lebanon (to purvey wood for the siege engines)<sup>29</sup> unexpectedly conveys the memories of the career of the King of Israel:

Diz ist Libanus, der in Arabien stet,  
da der Jordan uz get.  
Diz ist noch der selbe walt,

French text, timber is required to fill earthworks (while in *Alexanderlied* it is used to construct belfries), and a miracle recounted by the source (Curtius IV, 4, 3-5) is repeated by Alexandre de Paris, even quoting pagan deities (I 132, 2783: «Nepturnus»).

<sup>28</sup> Solomon will reappear, later in the plot, within the S version, as courtly testing-ground for the Alexander's and Roxane's lavish wedding banquet (S 4021-4057).

<sup>29</sup> V 779-784; S 1091-1096; B 1078-1083 is strongly reduced, while Solomon and Hiram are missing.

den der chunich Salemon galt  
 wider einen chunich, der hiez Hiram.  
 Er gab ime halb Galileaam,  
 wande im die poume wol gevielen,  
 ze zimber unt ze chielen.<sup>30</sup>  
 (V 785-792 = S 1097-1108, *om.* B)

In the French *dodécasyllabique* version of Alexandre de Paris, the *Fuerre de Gadres* has been inserted at the same place.<sup>31</sup> There, the more complex plot unveils links with both the *Chanson de Jérusalem* and *Historia de preliis* P. The incident, in both *roman* and *liet* traditions, originates from a clause by Curtius («materies ex Libano monte ratibus et turribus faciendis aduehebatur»: IV, 2, 18). While in the French poem, it follows the long fictional episode of the *Fuerre* (emulating certain legendary adventures of Godfrey of Bouillon in the *val de Josaphat* during the siege of Jerusalem in 1099), in *Alexanderlied* the less expanded *amplificatio* finds a parallel to Alexander in the matter concerning Solomon. Even if in an elliptical style, the Macedonian expedition is equated with the story of how, through an exchange of riddles, the wise Jewish king had forced Hiram, king of Tyre, to supply him and his Temple with cedar timber and other treasures (I Kings, 9, 11 and 7, 13-14).

Josephus recounted the same story of the *Book of Kings* with a striking and suggestive addition (*Antiquitates Judaicae*, VIII, ii, 6-9; *Contra Apionem*, I, 17).<sup>32</sup> Quoting the evidence of earlier, lost predecessors and even Phoenician archive documents, the Jewish-Roman historian repeatedly describes the exchange between the two kings as an epistolary one. In so doing, Josephus contaminates a Judaeo-Hellenistic narrative plot with the literary custom of inserting spurious letters into historical accounts. The story originates ultimately from a *haggadah* on the Queen of Sheba visiting Solomon's court to test his renowned wisdom, the very episode that had inspired the first appearance of Solomon in Lambrecht's prologue. There Sheba is renamed *Regina Austri* (echoing Mt, 12, 42) and the recollection of the biblical incident downgrades Alexander's prominence from a

<sup>30</sup> «This Lebanon lies in Arabia, | the Jordan River flows from it. | It is the same forest | with which King Solomon rewarded | another king, named Hiram. | Solomon gave him half Galilee, | inasmuch he valued Hiram's trees | to make buildings and boats».

<sup>31</sup> *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre*. IV. *Le Roman du Fueerre de Gadres* (ed. Armstrong - Foulet).

<sup>32</sup> *The Latin Josephus* (ed. Blatt); Lipski 2010, pp. 251-272.

Christian perspective, linking him to the King of Jerusalem, his unattainable typological twin (V 47-70, S 65-82):

Der von Crhichen was geborn  
 unde wart da ze einem kunige irchron  
 unde was der aller erste man,  
 den i Crhhlant ze chuneger gewan.  
 Iz waren ouh chuneger creftic,  
 uber manec dit gewaltic,  
 vil michel was ir salicheit,  
 ir list unde ir kundecheit,  
 ir scaz, der was vil groz:  
 der ne wart ni nehenier sin genoz,  
 der mit listen oder mit mahten  
 sinen willen i so volbrahte,  
 so der selbe man,  
 umbe den ich is began.  
 Diser rede wil ich mich irvaren.  
 Salemon, der was uz getan,  
 der sich uz allen kunegen nam.  
 Do diu frowe Regina Austri zu im kom  
 unde si sinen hof gesach,  
 mit rehter warheit si sprah,  
 daz von mannes geburte  
 ni so frumer kunic wurte:  
 man muste in wol uz sceiden,  
 wande Alexander was ein heiden.<sup>33</sup>

In Josephus's recasting, the story of Solomon and Hiram is affected by the practice of entering fictive epistles into narrative plots, a rhetorical device largely employed in the *inventio* of the multi-lingual ancient and medieval *Alexander Romance*. *Alexanderlied* omits any explicit allusion to

<sup>33</sup> «He was born in Greece, | and was chosen as a king there. | And was the most prominent man | that Greece ever had as a king. | Despite all powerful kings, | who ruled over many different peoples, | despite their blessing, | their wisdom and cleverness, | their huge treasures, | none of them could match him, | who, with his craft or violence, | was able to realise all his own wishes, | as the man whose story I am telling. | Now I must explain my discourse better. | Salomon should be kept out, | who was more prominent than any other king. | When the lady *Regina Austri* visited him | and saw his court, | trustworthy she proclaimed, | that from the origins of humankind, | there never existed a more valiant king. | We must keep him apart, however, | since Alexander was heathen».

the wisdom race or mutual letters in the interaction between Hiram and Solomon. However, the memory of these influenced the twelfth-century German poem later, as the sequence which mentions Apollonius shows.

In *Alexanderlied* the Apollonius passage closes the Tyre episode (V 996-1005 = S 1402-1421, B 1266-1275) and, like the expedition to *Libanus/val de Josaphat*, has a remote source in Curtius's text itself. There, the stronghold is vanquished through *machinae* (Curtius, IV, 2), which, though holding the same narrative function, differ from the siege engines that the German poet will attribute to his hero's invention and *list* (the 'cleverness' of the German Alexander). Then, to conclude the chapter on the siege, Curtius recalls the mythical origins of the Phoenician city and predicts its future destiny in Roman times (according to his personal perspective):

Condita ab Agenore, diu mare non vicinum modo, sed, quidcumque classes eius adierunt, dicionis suae fecit; et, si famae libet credere, haec gens litteras prima aut docuit, aut didicit. Coloniae certe eius paene orbe toto diffusae sunt: Carthago in Africa, in Boeotia Thebae, Gades ad Oceanum. Credo libero commeantes mari saepiusque adeundo ceteris incognitas terras elegisse sedes iuventuti, qua tunc abundabant, seu quia crebris motibus terrae, nam hoc quoque traditur, cultores eius fatigati nova et externa domicilia armis sibimet quaerere cogebantur. Multis ergo casibus defuncta, et post excidium renata, nunc tandem longa pace cuncta refovente sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit.

(IV 4, 19-21)

#### 4. *Alexander, Apollonius, Jesus*

The up-to-date pieces of information from the lives of Apollonius and Jesus, which in each of the *Alexanderlied* manuscripts replace Curtius's statements above, might originate in a series of bookish references that Crusade chroniclers included in their reports of contemporary undertakings involving Tyre. A certain *Apollonius*, in fact, makes his appearance cursorily in more than one Crusade text but, apart from in Lambrecht's *Alexanderlied*, his fictional identity is never clearly confirmed. While reporting the Crusaders' itinerary toward Jerusalem in May 1099, Fulcher of Chartres writes:<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Fulcherius Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (ed. Hagenmeyer).

dehinc invenerunt Tyrum civitatem peroptimam, unde fuit Apollonius de quo legimus. de his duabus urbibus Euangelista sonat: *in partes Tyri et Sidonis*.  
(I, xxv, 10)

Here, though the prosopography of the literary character of Apollonius (*de quo legimus*) remains vague (the personage has, in fact, been identified differently),<sup>35</sup> the biblical reference (*in partes Tyri et Sidonis*) is unequivocally to the same anecdote in Matthew from which *Alexanderlied* derives its clause on the *heden wib* (V 1003):

Et egressus inde Iesus, secessit in partes Tyri et Sidonis. Et ecce mulier Chananaea a finibus illis egressa clamavit dicens: «Miserere mei, Domine, fili David! Filia mea male a daemonio vexatur».  
(Mt 15, 21-22)

Fulcher, in his first-hand account, connects Tyre with incidents from the presumably well-known stories of a certain Apollonius and of Jesus, to aid the understanding by his audience. The chief and earliest manuscript of Fulcher (Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, MS 14378, a miscellany of Crusade chronicles, written down between 1136 and 1146) was offered to King Louis VII of France and is related to the parisian Abbey of St Victor (in the period of the Second Crusade). Emulating Fulcher some decades later in his *Journey in the Holy Land* (1211-1212, contemporary to the Fifth Crusade), the Saxon pilgrim bishop Wilbrand of Oldenburg also underscores the relation between the town and Apollonius, hinting at the hero as a building renovator (a characteristic hallmark of the urban provenance of the Apollonius's matter): «haec est illa Tyrus de qua Apollonium de Tyro appellamus, in qua etiam hodie eius palatium monstratur».<sup>36</sup>

Apollonius of Tyre was present in the western scholarly erudition from the Merovingian age, when Venantius Fortunatus epitomises his own uncomfortable travels along the coasts of the Low Countries recalling Apol-

<sup>35</sup> The Apollonius mentioned by Fulcher has also been identified either with the stoic author of the *Vita Zenonis* or with a certain man of Samaria in Josephus (*Antiquitates Iudaicae*, XII, vii, 1). Hagenmeyer, however, subscribes to his identity with the protagonist of the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*: Fulcherius Carnotensis, *us Historia Hierosolymitana* (ed. Hagenmeyer), pp. 272-273.

<sup>36</sup> Classen 2009, p. 41; Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (ed. Hagenmeyer), p. 273, apparatus.

lonius's exile over sea (*Carmina*, VI, viii, 6).<sup>37</sup> In the twelfth century (from which more than twenty copies of the *Historia Apollonii* have survived),<sup>38</sup> the wandering hero entered the encyclopedic literature, in the *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of St Omer (about 1120) and in Godfrey's of Viterbo *Pantheon* (1187-1190). In this latter oeuvre, Apollonius's life is explicitly linked to the reign of the historical King Antiochus Epiphanes: «Chronica de Apollonii regis Tyri et Sidonis et de eius infortunis atque fortunis tempore Seleuci Antiochi» (xviii, 15-22), while the C and D manuscripts of Godfrey's work hint at both Apollonius escaping from Antiochus overseas and his shipwrecks: «De eodem Apollonio fugiente a facie Antiochi. Item de eodem Apollonio naufragium passo»,<sup>39</sup> echoing *Alexanderlied's* line: «[...] den Antioch uber mere jagete» (V 998).<sup>40</sup> Also even if in an elliptical way, Godfrey's résumé shows a scriptural influence from the above quoted place in Matthew (perhaps through Fulcher) and assigns to Apollonius the domain on «Tyrus et Sidon» (see above Mt 15, 21), transferring to the fictional character the evangelical places of Jesus's life.

The same two figures of Apollonius and Jesus emerge from the bookish memories that William of Tyre includes in his mythic-historical *excursus* on the city (13, 1), which, while reworking and massively enlarging on Curtius's statements above, introduces the reader to the account of the town's siege and capitulation in 1124:

Ex hac urbe, [...] Agenor rex fuit, et filii ejus, Europa, Cadmus et Phoenix, a quorum altero tota regio, ut Phoenicis diceretur, nomen accepit. Alter vero Thebanae conditor urbis, et Graecarum inventor litterarum, celebrem posteris de se reliquit memoriam. Tertia vero ejusdem regis filia, orbis terrarum parti tertiae nomen dedit, ut Europa diceretur. Hujus quoque civis excellenti mentis acumine et ingenii vivacitate praeclari [...] mortalium primi scribendi prudentiam et mentis interpretem sermonem, characteribus designandi formam posteris tradiderunt [...] Haec et triti conchylii, et pretiosi muricis, egregio purpuram colore prima insignivit [...]. Ex hac etiam Sychaeus, et uxor ejus Elisa Dido fuisse leguntur, qui in Africana dioecesi, civitatem illam admirabilem et Romani aemulam imperii, Carthaginem videlicet, condiderunt [...] Fuit autem ab initio binomia; nam et Sor Hebraice dicitur, quod nomen tenet usitatus et Tyrus [...]. Certum est enim juxta veterum traditiones, quod Tyras septimus filiorum Japhet, filii Noe, hanc urbem condiderit [...]. Quanta hujus

<sup>37</sup> Venantius Fortunatus (ed. Leo), p. 148.

<sup>38</sup> The twelfth-century manuscripts comply with several different versions of the beloved and widespread romance of Apollonius (Archibald 1991, p. 47).

<sup>39</sup> Gotifredus Viterbiensis (ed. Waitz), p. 120 and apparatus.

<sup>40</sup> «[...] whom Antioch had been hunting over the seas».

civitatis priscis temporibus gloria fuerit, ex verbis Ezechielis prophetae manifeste est colligere [...] Et Isaias [...]. Ex hac etiam et Hiram, Salomonis cooperador ad aedificium templi Domini, rex fuit; et Apollonius, gesta cuius celebrem et late vulgatam habent historiam. Ex hac nihilominus urbe fuit Abdimus adolescens, [...] qui Salomonis omnia sophismata et verba parabolarum aenigmatica, quae Hiram regi Tyriorum solvenda mittebat, mira solvebat subtilitate; de quo ita legitur in Josepho Antiquitatum libro octavo: [...] *regem Hierosolymorum Salomonem misisse ad Hiram Tyri regem figuras quasdam, et petiisse ab ea solutionem, ita ut si non posset discernere, solventi pecunias daret; cumque fateretur Hiram, se non posse illas solvere, multaque foret pecuniarum detrimenta passurus, per Abdimum quendam Tyrium, quae proposita fuerant, sunt absoluta; et alia ab eo proposita, quae si Salomon non solveret regi Hiram, multas pecunias daret.* Et hic fortasse est quem fabulose popularium narrationes Marcolfum vocant, de quo dicitur quod Salomonis solvebat aenigmata, et ei respondebat, aequipollenter iterum solvenda proponens. Haec eadem et Origenis corpus occultat [...] Sed, etsi ad evangelicam recurramus historiam, haec eadem nihilominus et illam admirabilem genuit Chananaeam, cuius pro filia, quae male a daemonio vexabatur, supplicantis magnitudinem fidei commendat Salvator dicens: *Mulier, magna est fides tua (Matth. xv, 28).*<sup>41</sup>

A profusion of literary figures appears here from a wide-ranging scholarly repertory: *Europa*, *Cadmo* and *Phoenix*, the invention of the alphabet, the invention of purple, *Dido* and Carthage, the etymology of the name *Tyrus* (according to St Jerome), Ezekiel's and Isaiah's curses upon the city, and then Solomon, Hiram («Salomonis cooperador ad aedificium templi Domini»: 13, 1, 59) and Apollonius («gesta cuius celebrem habent et late vulgatam historiam»: 13, 1, 61). After this list of Tyrian celebrities, William's *excursus* culminates in a long account devoted to the story of the riddle race between Hiram and Solomon. This account closely follows the version of Josephus, who William quotes as an authority and a source of the passage, while stressing its affinity with popular anecdotes concerning Solomo and Marculf. After mentioning Origenes's burial, William's *excursus*, like the corresponding passage in *Alexanderlied*, finishes with the evangelical episode of Jesus meeting the *Cananea* and freeing her daughter from the Devil.

The relationships between the matters of Alexander and Apollonius are well-established through relevant manuscripts that pair them together (like the oldest codices of Curtius's *Supplement*, both presumably from twelfth-century France, which match the 'interpolated' Curtius and the

<sup>41</sup> Willelmus Tyrensis, *Chronicon* (ed. Huygens - Mayer - Rösch), pp. 584-87 and apparatus.

*Historia Apollonii* with Josephus's *Antiquitates* also).<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the very inception of the French-German Alexander complex of the twelfth century is affected by the impact of the Crusaders' subjugation of Tyre in 1124. In the Tyre episode (which in *Alexanderlied* begins with the *descriptio urbis* and culminates in the passage we are interested in), the predominance of scriptural and Crusade inspiration is apparent: in the sequences of Solomon-Hiram and Apollonius-Jesus, it interweaves the texture derived from Curtius.

The chronology remains inconsistent, however. The work of William of Tyre (Chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem from 1174, and Archbishop of Tyre from 1175), which covered the period from 1096 to 1184, was left incomplete because of the author's excommunication (during the 1180s) and death (in 1186). Soon thereafter, in 1187, the Crusade state would suffer military disaster from Saladin (the first Ayyubid Sultan of Egypt and Syria) at the Battle of Hattin, an incident which was commemorated in a marginal manuscript annotation working as a colophon to the lost Strasbourg *Alexanderlied* (f. 29r).<sup>43</sup>

. captiuante saladino irohtanos  
annos millenos centenos ottogenos  
septenosq; reuolu<sup>s</sup>at incarnatio uerbi .

William's *Historia* (in twenty-three books) began to circulate in provisional and incomplete form from 1182.<sup>44</sup> Its contemporary sections (which represent a chief source to the understanding of the events of those years in the Crusade kingdoms) were composed later, just before the author's death. The work's earliest manuscript tradition, though showing traces of lost intermediary codices which were presumably still copied in the Levant,<sup>45</sup> is almost exclusively of French and English provenance. The majority of its witnesses did not contain headings. The later current title of *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* first appears in two

<sup>42</sup> Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 82; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Latinus 1689; Smits 1987, pp. 96, 102-103; Munk Olsen 1982, p. 295; Tomasek 1997; see also Babbi 2002.

<sup>43</sup> The notice was recorded on the lower margin of folio 29r of the lost Strasbourg manuscript, where *Alexanderlied* ended (Mackert 2001, p. 156).

<sup>44</sup> Krey 1941, p. 155; see also Huygens 1984.

<sup>45</sup> Huygens 1964, pp. 322-323 e 335; Willelmus Tyrensis, *Chronicon* (ed. Huygens - Mayer - Rösch), pp. 3, 14-19.



thirteenth-century manuscripts from the Burgundian Pontigny Abbey, but was never attested in English manuscripts. In the clause *in partibus transmarinis*, the adjective *transmarinus* referred to the Holy Land (like its Middle High German counterpart *ubermer* in *Alexanderlied*) reveals the Burgundian and imperial perspective, when William's oeuvre was transmitted from the Levant to the Northern Mediterranean shores.<sup>46</sup> From the beginning of the thirteenth century there is evidence that the text started being circulated in Europe by Crusade veterans. The medieval inventory of the Rochester library attests to its presence in Britain as early as 1202.<sup>47</sup> Even admitting that our vernacular poets might have made acquaintance with William's history through its incomplete version (which could not be posited earlier than the last two decades of the twelfth century, however), this contact seems to have happened too late to make William's work the source of *Alexanderlied* (normally dated soon after 1150), unless one identifies the date of the German poem with that of the older codices of Vornau and Strasbourg, both copied around 1200. Similar considerations concern a possible relationship to the oeuvre of the imperial *notarius* Godfrey of Viterbus, since this influential scholarly work (which would be well-suited to the German author's clerical education) is also too late to agree with *Alexanderlied's* accepted chronology.

Beyond the awkward derivation from William of Tyre, certain striking features of the Apollonius sequence in *Alexanderlied* call for further explanation. Apollonius's story, as abridged in the German lines, diverges from the acknowledged plot with unusual details, like the hero rebuilding the town of Tyre and the exchange of letters with Antioch. The former seems to be an authorial aetiology to explain Tyre's post-Alexandrian resurgence at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and Maccabees. The passage, nevertheless, might hint at direct access to the *Historia Apollonii* by the German *pfaffe* or its immediate model, since the idea that Apollonius rebuilt Tyre (as in the later witness by Wilbrand of Oldenburg) could only grow out of misremembering the *Historia Apollonii* itself. There, Apollonius bestows a sum on the city of Tarsus to restore «*Thermas publicas, moenia, murorum turres*» (*Historia Apollonii*, chap. 51).

With regard to the second unusual detail of the Apollonius quotation in *Alexanderlied*, the idea of an epistolary race between Apollonius and Antioch might be understood as an echo of the competition between

<sup>46</sup> Huygens 1966; Willelmus Tyrensis, *Chronicon* (ed. Huygens - Mayer - Rösch), p. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Huygens 1964, pp. 287-288; Edbury - Rowe 1988, pp. 2-4.

Solomo and Hiram (as told in Josephus and William of Tyre) and of the letters sent in other sections of Apollonius's *Historia* as well (e.g. that of Archistrates to his daughter: chaps 19-21), which were well-suited to the epistolary attitude of both Darius and Alexander within the whole ancient and medieval narrative tradition on the Macedonian hero.

The Tyre episode in *Alexanderlied*, according to the corresponding section in Curtius, is marked by the scarcity of individual characters playing specific narrative roles and worthy of a proper name. In addition to Alexander and to the mass of anonymous soldiers and of Tyre's inhabitants, only the Macedonian generals Gracto and Perdix (from Curtius IV, 3, 1: «operi Perdiccan Crateronque praefecit») are desultorily introduced in the episode of the expedition to Mont Lebanon (V 803-809):

Ein herzoge hiez sich Gracto | unde ein ander, der was Perdix genant: | den bevalch  
 erz gesez in die hant | unde fuor <...> | bewarte sine holden, | die da zimberin solten, |  
 biz iz alliz gereite wart.<sup>48</sup>

##### 5. Conclusions: Proper Names and the Poem's Design

The presence of different sets of personal names within the different sections of *Alexanderlied* might be a profitable clue to their different provenance, given that, generally speaking, the German poet is much more reluctant to introduce new characters than his French counterparts (who improved the repertory of the names of the Alexander matter through several novelties of heterogeneous inspiration, also inventing significant new personages, as Sanson of Tyre in *Romand d'Alexandre*).<sup>49</sup> To the traditional historical list of Alexander's relatives, companions and enemies, strongly characterised groups of names are added in *Alexanderlied*. They are limited, however, to single parts of the poem. The *enfances*, deriving mainly from the *Epitome* and Julius Valerius, gather from their source only the two most representative among Alexander's beloved companions and a handful of people of the Macedonian court. In the episode of the Taming of *Buzival* (V 235-293, S 270-377, B 535-649), Tolomaeus and

<sup>48</sup> «A duke was called Gracto, | and another, who was named Perdix. | He entrusted the siege to their hands | and left <...> | He protected his retainers | who should gather the trees, | until everything was ready».

<sup>49</sup> Cipolla 2013 pp. 79-80.

Hephaestion accompany the young hero, while, from the turmoils following Philip's second wedding up until the king's assassination (V 374-551, S 446 ss., B 690-877), only the main characters (Philip, Olimpias, Nycolaus, Cleopatras, Lysias and Pausanias) play a specific role and are called by name (and all derive from the Julius Valerius/*Epitome* tradition).<sup>50</sup>

The 'compilative' attitude of the German poet will emerge, instead, in the rewriting of the Granicus episode. Working mainly on the interpolated Curtius and further historical sources, the author creates the characters of Marios, Tybotes, Daclym, Pincun, Jobas and Mennes, all bearing hybrid names, pointing to the different Latin and Old French traditions the German poet was influenced by. Daclym and Pincun coincide to characters of *Roman d'Alexandre*. Pincun (a name probably invented by the twelfth-century poets)<sup>51</sup> is the equivalent to the *conte Pinçons* in the Old French text.<sup>52</sup> Daclym corresponds to Clitus, a historical companion and general of Alexander mentioned by Curtius, among others classical historians. The name form betrays a French intermediary (from *Dans Clins*, that is 'Sir Clitus'). A similar path could be designed for the name of *Mennes* (that is *Memnon*), which shows the characteristic Old French nominative ending in lieu of the Greek-Latin one (despite that the personage does not appear in *Roman d'Alexandre*). Jobal, in the same battle of Granicus/Euphrates, is an unprecedented name, though his beheading (which anticipates that of Darius) echoes an anecdote by Curtius (IV, 9, 25). Finally, the satraps Marios and Tybotes correspond to characters from Julius Valerius and the *Historia de preliis*, though their names seem to come back again from Curtius (IV, 9, 7: *Mazaesus*; III 3, 1: *Thimodes*).<sup>53</sup> In addition to all this people fighting on the battlefield, the Euphrates/Granicus episode displays some personages more, on the level of a *comparatio* emphasising Alexander's proudness: they are champions of God (as Sanson: *Judges* XV, 5), *Helden* of the pre-literate German poetry (Hagene, Wate, Herewich, Wolfwin), homeric heroes (Achilles, Hector, Paris Nestor).<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> In V the name of Hephaestion (read as *Vestian*, in S 326, 334, 388) is erroneously patched as *geste* (Cipolla 2013, p. 179).

<sup>51</sup> There, pp. 265-266.

<sup>52</sup> *Roman d'Alexandre* II, 101, 2312; 105; 106, 2369-2370, 107, 2382.

<sup>53</sup> Cipolla 2013, pp. 265-266.

<sup>54</sup> S 1843-1844, where, in lieu of Paris, Aiax is mentioned.

The majority of the characters mentioned by name within the Tyre episode does not belong to the narrative main thread. Solomon, Hiram, Apollonius, Antioch, Jesus and the Cananaea did not act with Alexander on the same historical stage. They instead mirror Alexander's behaviour offstage, on the level of typological *comparatio*, inspired by the author's scholarly knowledges and exegetical praxis, which provides him with convenient duplicates or opposites to the literary character of Alexander.

The protagonist of the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, despite his fictional status, is instead chosen by the author of *Alexanderlied* as a clue to world history. It was not an unusual way to acknowledge the clever Apollonius, at that time, since the confusion between the villain Antiochus of the Apollonius's romance (who «cogente iniqua cupiditate flamma concupiscentiae incidit in amorem filiae suae et coepit eam aliter diligere quam patrem oportebat»: *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, I) with the fierce Seleucid Antiochus IV Epifanes, according to the Maccabee legend («Et exiit ex eis radix peccatrix, Antiochus Epifanes filius Antiochi regis»: I Mc, 1, 10). This was a consequence of the encyclopedic mind widespread in contemporary scholarship and of its inclusive methods. Nevertheless, in the specific case of *Alexanderlied*, the author's decision to pair Apollonius with Jesus might be a relevant textual clue, able to shed new light on the poem's sources. The short passage indicates at the same time an interference from the eyewitness chronicle of Fulcher, paralleled in the *Historia de rebus transmarinis* by William of Tyre, and the author's firsthand familiarity with the Apollonius matter, reinterpreted within the historiographic frame. More textual threads intertwine: the relation between Antiochus and Apollonius mirrors the epistolary attitude of Darius and Alexander and of Hiram and Solomon. Lastly, the couplet *brieve : sliefe* (V 1000-1001) matches the idea of the letter exchange with the incest committed by the villainous character (which is the notorious theme of the *Historia Apollonii*), and the often censored obscenity of Apollonius's story is represented for the purpose of rhyme.

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