

## The Channel Between Janus Pannonius and the Antiquity.\* (Transmitting Media for the Panegyric Written to René of Anjou)

As the large argument of the conference is the book as medium and an object of efforts of printers, publishers, booksellers and interest of book collectors, I would like to introduce my researches on Janus Pannonius (1434-1472) and the transmitting channels (media) of the antiquity. My principal aim is to present how it had been possible to resurrect the Antiquity and the Renaissance in his eulogy composed to René of Anjou in 1451, before the invention of printing, since our poet had been forced to use the manuscript tradition and his excellent memory. Then I would like to enlighten the reception and the printed afterlife of his work through the centuries until our modern age.

In the conference a year ago here in Martin, I have just mentioned in my lecture<sup>1</sup> the new critical text of Janus Pannonius that will be published soon. The situation hasn't been changed a lot, the first two volumes have been edited recently<sup>2</sup>, and the third volume is still a project of the ELTE research group in which I am a participant. This edition – essentially - consists of the primary text, namely the *opera omnia* of Janus – then in the footnotes there can be seen the variants of the different surviving texts, both in manuscripts and printed versions, followed by the *similia apparatus* – that is all the citations, similar passages, reminiscences or references of the classical and contemporary literature. It is not my intention to talk about the textual tradition of the author, because it had been fully treated by the Hungarian researcher Csaba Csapodi<sup>3</sup> and the publishers of the recent critical volume.

The importance of this short preface is that I would like to enlighten the typical characteristic features of the humanist poetry: the „imitatio” (imitation) and the „aemulatio” (emulation)<sup>4</sup>, inasmuch as Janus, just like all of the humanist authors, in the course of the literary creation had used this method, and more: they had just made an attempt to resuscitate all the antique world, in between competing also not only with the contemporary fellows, but particularly with the great predecessors.

We should ask, what was the spiritual and material root of this great amount of knowledge and what can be considered as a transmitting channel for Janus? Could it be characterized as a spirit of age of the Renaissance - as in the 15th century a humanist scientist and author had possessed such a deep knowledge of the antiquity as it was hardly possible in the Middle Ages. The late editors of Janus didn't pay attention to examine these bases of the process of creation, as long as the Utrecht edition (1784)<sup>5</sup>, of his works came into light, and which can be regarded as a critical edition with commentary, as I have just marked it in my lecture last

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<sup>1</sup> DALLOUL, Zaynab. *Interpretation of Janus Pannonius' Eranemos in light of the cultural heritage and library of count Sámuel Teleki and Alexander Kovásznai*

<sup>2</sup> MAYER, Gyula–TÖRÖK, László. *Iani Pannonii Opera quae manserunt omnia Volumen I. Epigrammata., Volumen II. Elegiae., Fasciculus 1. Seriem redigunt Stephanus Borzsák et Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay. Textus Edidit, praefatus est et apparatu critico instruxit Iulius Mayer. Similia addidit Ladislaus Török.* Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2006, 2014. ISBN 963-506-676-7; ISBN 978-963-506-929-3

<sup>3</sup> CSAPODI, Csaba. *A Janus Pannonius szöveghagyomány (The textual tradition of Janus Pannonius).* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981. ISBN 963 052611 5

<sup>4</sup> HORVÁTH, János. *Janus Pannonius műfajai és mintái. (The genres and the Models of Janus Pannonius)* In: *Janus Pannonius: Tanulmányok. (Janus Pannonius. Studies)* ed., KARDOS, Tibor - V. KOVÁCS, Sándor. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975 (*Memoria Saeculorum Hungariae*, 2) p. 337-389. ISBN 963 05 0639 4

<sup>5</sup> IANI PANNONII. *Poemata quae uspiam reperiri potuerunt omnia, Traiecti ad Rhenum: apud Barthol. Wild, M.DCC.LXXXIV.* (1784).

year. In this edition the book as a literary vehicle, as a transmitting channel played a significant role. The editor Sámuel Teleki (1739 - 1822) and the philologist Sándor Kovásznai (1730 - 1792) collected all the surviving manuscripts, printed editions and even more, they accumulated all the works of the ancient authors who had had an effect on Janus's poems to be able to control the references and allusions made by Janus, and to be able to interpret his life, works, knowledge, and spirit. This was the edition that established the modern critical philology in which the book as a transmitting tool became substantial.

But returning to my object, how can we imagine that process of literary creation followed by Janus in practice? Thanks to the great contemporary author, Battista Guarino<sup>6</sup> (1435-1503) and to the philologist Remigio Sabbadini<sup>7</sup> (1850-1934) we have a deep knowledge of Guarino Veronese's (1374-1460) teaching method, whose school had been frequented by our poet from 1447 to 1454, and where he had got a high-toned education in every respect of that era. But this time we are interested only in the fact that Janus had been considered as an infant prodigy, as he had first of all a wonderful and incredible memory, and for the second time, because in a year from his arrival to Guarino's school, he had been able to translate from greek to latin. Soon after, his fame spreaded all over in northern Italy, and he became a prominent person not only among the pupils of Guarino but among the Italian humanist poets as well.

Guarino's school had a very important role considering the fact that Janus became a very famous poet in his young ages. All the methods of Guarino's teaching, the lessons of translations, the rhetoric practice and the exercises of stylistics led to help Janus to find his own way and his individual poetic voice. It had been a very particular principle in the school, that all the pupils had to know widely the classical latin and greek authors – studying them in a special, determined order – and they had to study entire works by heart. The reason why of this method was not only the lack of the printing – but of course it was more difficult without the printed editions – but Guarino had a strong intention to train his pupils as hard as possible to be the best in all Italy. It's rather interesting to know that so many famous humanist emerged from the institute of Guarino, among others Galeotto Marzio (1427 – 1497), Tito Vespasiano Strozza (1424 – 1505), Basinio da Parma (1425 - 1457), Leonello d'Este (1407 - 1450) etc...

The aforementioned lack of printing helped the pupils to be able to memorize naturally complete oeuvres of the ancient authors, but the texts were so numerous, detailed and various that they needed some simple tools to help learning. Accordingly - as we know from Battista Guarino – Janus prepared for himself some tools: he made a collection of historical events and mitological stories, and created some resumes and extractions of the ancient literature. But all these methods and supports couldn't had been enough without his excellent memory and sensible talent. We don't have any surviving compilation of Janus (not even his autograph), but we know the fact of the preparation method, since Battista Guarino mentioned the necessity of preparing extractions of the classical works in his *De ordine docendi ac studendi*. Even Guarino himself liked writing epitomes and as a principal method of his teaching, he urged his students as well to act in the same way<sup>8</sup>.

We have to ask ourselves: can we talk about the relevance of the book as media in the case of Janus? Knowing these just mentioned literary references, we can draw the conclusion that -

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<sup>6</sup> GUARINI, Battista. *De ordine docendi et studendi (About the Order of Teaching and Studying)*, testo critico, trad. e note di Luigi PIACENTE. Bari, 1975.

<sup>7</sup> SABBADINI, Remigio. *La scuola e gli studi Guarino Guarini Veronese, (The school and the Studies of Guarino Guarini Veronese)*, Catania: Galati, 1896.

<sup>8</sup> HUSZTI, József. *Janus Pannonius*. Pécs: Janus Pannonius Társaság, 1931. p. 26.

obviously - the surviving manuscripts and the compilations made by himself were the most important transmitting channels between him (and of course between all the humanists of the Quattrocento) and the antiquity. But we should draw a particular attention of his singular memory which helped him to integrate the ancient literature, mentality and ideology to his own poetry, so we can say, that the transmitting channels were important only as long as he could internalize all the knowledge emerged from the surviving papers available.

Now let's see in few words, who were the most significant models of the ancient and contemporary writers<sup>9</sup> to Janus to be able to evaluate his complete oeuvre. As I have just noted, a typical humanist poem – just as the lyrics of Janus – is full of references to the antiquity, he used numerous allusions, not only regarding to the argument, but even to the words, expressions, and sometimes full verses too.

Let's begin with a self-definition: Janus called himself „Simia Martialis”, namely the Monkey of Martial, referring to the fact, that when he created his satyric epigrams, the main model he imitated, was Martial<sup>10</sup> (38/41-104). Later the scholars discovered other poetic predecessors in his epigrams: like Catullus (84 BC – 54 BC), the Priapeia-collection from the classical period of the Latin poetry, and the contemporary poet Beccadelli (1394-1471), author of the scandalous work titled *Hermaphroditus* (1425).

Tibullus (55 BC – 19 BC), Propertius (50/45 BC – 16/15 BC) and Statius (45 - 96) had a great effect on his monumental epigrams and elegies, while Claudian (370 - 404) was the most significant author who influenced his panegyrics. In general, we should enumerate Vergil (70 BC – 19 BC), Ovid<sup>11</sup> (43 BC – 17 AD), Horace (65 BC – 8 BC), Lucanus (39 - 65), Seneca (4 BC – 65 AD) and Cicero (106 BC – 43 BC) among his idols<sup>12</sup> who inspired all of his poems.

Now I would like to examine the panegyric written to René of Anjou (1409 – 1480) in order to receive an exact answer to the question, how could we imagine the process of creation of our poet in the eulogy addressed to the king of Naples.

For the first time I would like to lay down the fact, that to understand and interpret the following text, I had a great amount of printed editions of the works of Janus Pannonius. Furthermore, all the critical editions of the ancient and contemporary authors<sup>13</sup> in question were at my disposal. In addition, my task had been supported by the authentic homepages and internet sites containing complete texts of Latin works<sup>14</sup>. Therefore we can establish that all the possible transmitting media was at my service.

For the second time, it's essential to enlighten the historical background of the poem, namely the ambition of René to win back the throne of Naples<sup>15</sup>. Since Alfonso of Aragon (the V<sup>th</sup>)

<sup>9</sup> HUSZTI, József. *Janus Pannonius*. Pécs: Janus Pannonius Társaság, 1931. p. 47.

<sup>10</sup> BAKOS, József. *Martialis a magyar irodalomban. (Martialis in the Hungarian Literature)*. Debrecen, 1935

<sup>11</sup> KARDOS, Tibor. *Toni ed echi Ovidiani nella poesia di Giano Pannonio (Ovidian Tones and Echos in the Poetry of Janus Pannonius)*. In: *Classical influences on European Culture AD: 500-1500. Proceedings of an International Conference held at King's College, Cambridge, April 1969*. Ed. R.R. BOLGAR. Cambridge: University Press, 1971, p. 183-194. ISBN-13: 9780521078429

<sup>12</sup> SZENTMÁRTONI SZABÓ, Géza. *Parthenope veszedelme: Újdonságok a Janus Pannonius-filológia köréből. (The Bane of Parthenope. Newness from the Janus Pannonius-philology)*, Budapest: Napkút, 2010 (Értekezők – etüdök, 2) p. 5-31. ISBN 978 963 263 133 2

<sup>13</sup> see the series (among others): *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* and *The Loeb Classical Library* etc...

<sup>14</sup> <http://latin.packhum.org/>

<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/>

<http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/claudian/home.html>

<http://www.poetitalia.it/public/>

etc...

<sup>15</sup> HUSZTI, József. *Janus Pannonius*. Pécs: Janus Pannonius Társaság, 1931. p. 77-93.

(1396 – 1458) had been first adopted and then disinherited by Johanna of Aragon (the II<sup>nd</sup>) (1373 - 1435), queen of Naples, after her death in 1435, René of Anjou became the heir apparent to the throne. However Alfonso – being already the king of Sicily – didn't wish to renounce the throne of Naples, therefore decided to lay siege to the city. This is considered as the starting point of the long and exhaustive battle of the two candidate successors, that ended by the victory of Alfonso, especially as René of Anjou at the beginning of the their struggle, was captive of Philippe de Bourgogne (1396 – 1467) and sent his wife Isabella, the Duchess of Lorraine (1400 – 1453) to bear up against the misfortune. Later the battle was continued by René himself, but at the end, in 1442 he had to abandon the city, and to retreat to Provence, while Alfonso triumphated in Naples.

However the pure fact of René's defeat, he never gave up to be able to return and recapture his legal heritage, hence he always had a considerably good relationship with the prominent personalities of Italy. Nevertheless for example the city of Venice was traditionally the supporter of Alfonso, this political orientation couldn't made great effects to the personal rapports of the inhabitants, so René could have had a good fellowship with numerous Italian humanists as well as Jacopo Antonio Marcello (1399 - 1465), an outstanding patrician of Venice, also patron of Janus Pannonius. Marcello – as private person – unreservedly came out for René of Anjou, as far as he made a literary propaganda for him, and for that very reason called upon Janus to support René writing a grandiose laudatory poem that had been finished in 1452.

The history of the texts is as much interesting as the historical background of the poem. The eulogy consists of three parts – each of them has more than 300 hexameters – and for a long time we had only one and a half books survived. The second half of the poem was lost, until the year of 2009, when a Hungarian professor of literary history,<sup>16</sup> Szentmártoni Szabó Géza has found the lacking part with the help of the internet, in a 19<sup>th</sup> century manuscript of the National Library of Naples.

Let's see on closer examination, how the ancient and the contemporary authors influenced this panegyric. First I have to talk about the subject-matter of the poem. As a laudatory work, the text is unfolding the origin, life and glorious deeds of René. Janus begins with the geneological tree of the Anjous and reviews also the line of the family of his wife, Isabella, highlighting the honourable virtues of both royal families and confirming the statements with historical examples. Then dwells disproportionately long upon the the childhood of René, and after all arrives to the principal subject: the battle with Alfonso for the throne of Naples. We have to mention that writing an eulogy of a losing successor was a really difficult object, but Janus, invoking the ancient latin authors, succeeded in fulfilling this task consigned to him by Marcello.

In order to analyse this poem, by way of introduction, we should return to the previous statements about the ancient models of Janus. The first base was, that Martial influenced him writing the epigrams, while the great epic poets as Vergil, Ovid, Statius and Lucanus made an effect on his longer verses. In the case of the panegyric to René, the style is given: we should expect, that the poem will lack the scoffing tone of the classical satyric epigrams, but will abound in the heroic and majestic ornamentations that are the particularity of the epic poems, while takes the style and the turns of a typical humansit complimentary panegyric.

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<sup>16</sup> SZENTMÁRTONI SZABÓ, Géza. *Janus Pannonius lappangó művei nyomában. (In the Wake of the Latent Poems of Janus Pannonius)* In: *Interpretációk interpretációja: Tudós bibliothecariusok, tudós előadók. (Interpretation of interpretations. (Erudite Librarians, Erudite Lecturers)* ed. ZSUPÁN Edina, BOKA László, Budapest: OSZK-Gondolat, 2015 (*Bibliotheca scintiae et artis*) p. 9-17.

In opposite to our expectations, I have to premise that Janus will widely surprise us. Unfortunately, in the narrow frames of my study I do not have the possibility to examine the whole poem in details, so I decided to chose only the second chapter to represent how the allusions and the reminiscences of the classical and neolatin authors had been used, played with and variated by Janus. In the following table you can see the statistic specification of the cited authors by our poet, appearing in the second book.

<b>Epic poets</b>	
Vergil	54
Lucanus	28
Stattius	38
Ovid	71
Silius Italicus	44
Homerus Latinus	15
Valerius Flaccus	36
Claudian	7
Appendix Vergiliana - Culex	2
Appendix Vergiliana - Ciris	2
Appendix Vergiliana - Aetna	3
Nemesianus	1
<b>Natural history</b>	
Lucretius	6
Manilius	5
Pliny	6
Avienus	1
Hyginus	1
Vitruvius	2
<b>Lyra</b>	
Martial	9
Tibullus	5
Propertius	3
Horace	7
Iuvenal	3
Florus	1
Calpurnius	2
Nero	1
Persius	2
Catullus	2
<b>Christian Poetry</b>	
Sedulius	1
Prudentius	4
<b>Drama</b>	
Plautus	4
Seneca	11

<b>Philosophy, Ancient novel</b>	
Apuleius	3
Petronius	3
<b>History, rhetorics</b>	
Sallust	1
Curtius Rufus	4
Caesar	2
Quintilianus	3
Cicero	13
Livy	20
Tacitus	6
Valerius Maximus	4
Scriptores historiae Augustae	1
Ennius	1
Suetonius	2
<b>Neolatin</b>	
Ferreto	2
Maffeo Vegio	6
Naldo Naldi	10
Enea Silvio Piccolomini	4
Tito Vespasiano Strozza	21
Basinio da Parma	12
Ugolino Verino	13
Landino	6
Iacopo da Piacenza	1
Boccaccio	2
Petrarca	2
Marrasio	2
<b>Medieval poetry</b>	
Petrus de Ebulo	2
Paulinus Nolanus	6
<b>Medieval epics, heroic poems</b>	
Waltharius	2
Guilelmus Apuliensis	2
<b>Commentary</b>	
Servius	14
Porphyrio	2

As we can see it clearly, the most cited author is Ovid and not Vergil as we expected. The obvious reason can be the similarity of the chosen genres. Ovid of course has written epic poems, but not as monumental and heroic works as Vergil with his Aeneid. Janus tries to mix the characteristic features of the two great authors: the argument can be regarded epic – for example as the Aeneid of Vergil - with a bit of exaggeration - but the genre (eulogy) needs

smaller dimensions, like the epic poems of Ovid, for example the *Heroides* or the *Metamorphoses*.

As the specialities of the epic genre require, Janus imitates also the other classical Latin authors like Lucanus, Statius, Silius Italicus, the Homerus Latinus and Valerius Flaccus. In opposite to the traditional conception about the role of Claudian, the poems of Janus – we can see that this author of panegyrics and shorter poems of the 4th century – is less cited than we expected. Despite the genre of the eulogy we can find vigorous philosophical thoughts – imitating Cicero and Apuleius surprisingly often. The presence of the citations of the historical writers<sup>17</sup> – considering the chosen argument is rather evident. He liked to cite also scientist poets as Pliny and Lucretius: this is an important fact, because the literary tradition hasn't had yet any information about that Janus could have meet the *De rerum natura* of Lucretius at that young age in the school of Guarino.

An other substantial observation is how abundantly were imitated the contemporary author's works – prevalently the heroic and the elegiac poems of Tito Vespasiano Strozza (1424 - ca. 1505) - a friend of Janus with whom he has kept going on a poetic correspondence, - Basinio da Parma (1425 – 1457), - who was frequently made mock of by Janus in his epigrams, but were as often cited in his panegyrics, than Naldo Naldi (1439 – 1513) with his *carmina*, and heroic poems of Ugolino Verino (1438 - 1516).

And always contrary to the traditional concept of analysing Janus's oeuvre, he cited even some christian authors like Prudentius (348 – 413), and he knew about some medieval heroic poems just as the *Waltharius* from the 10<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> century with a lot of Hungarian references, or the work of Guilelmus Apuliensis (11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> century), the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* (1090) about the history of the kingdom of Naples.

Now let's see some exact texts of the citations, allusions and reminiscences in the following table.

<b>Allusions, citations, reminiscences</b>	
<b>Model author</b>	<b>Janus Pannonius ad Renatum / Liber II.</b>
<b>Vergilius, Aeneis 9,438-439</b> at Nisus ruit in medios solumque per omnis	<b>Ad. Ren. 108-108</b> Irruit in medios qua confertissima pubes
Moreover Nisus rushed into the enemy	Rushed into the enemy where it was the most consistent
<b>Ovidius Metamorphoses 5,46</b> Bellica Pallas adest et protegit aegide fratrem	<b>Ad Ren. 90</b> Hunc fera terribile tutabitur aegide Pallas
The warelike Pallas comes and protects her brother with her shield	Pallas protects him with her terrific shield
<b>Lucanus, Pharsalia 3,316</b> Aut si terrigenae temptarent astra Gigantes	<b>Ad Ren. 291</b> Aut ut terrigenas foeta de matre Gigantes / prosiluisse
As the Giants born from the Earth would reach for the stars	As the Giants born from the Earth would come out
<b>Lucretius 4,453</b> Denique sum suavi devinxit membra sopore	<b>Ad Ren. 260</b> Sic membra sopore gravata
At the end his members were won through by the soft dream	The members became heavy by the dream

<sup>17</sup> BIRNBAUM, Marianna D. *Janus Pannonius történelemszemlélete*(Janus Pannonius' approach toHistory. In: *Janus Pannonius és a humanista irodalmi hagyomány* (Janus Pannonius and the Humanst Literary Tradition). ed. JANKOVITS László, KECSKEMÉTI Gábor. Pécs: Janus Pannonius Tudományegyetem, 1998, p. 37-41.

<b>Livius, 38,24,2,2</b> facinus memorabile Glorious deed	<b>Ad Ren, 19</b> O facinus toto passim memorabile mundo O glorious deed in the whole world
<b>Cicero pro Murena 22,12</b> rei militaris virtus praestat ceteris omnibus The military virtue is on the top of the others	<b>Ad. Ren. 94</b> virtus praestat in armis The virtue is in the military fight
<b>Tito Vespasiano Strozza, Borsias 3,188</b> Frenati alipedes hinnitibus aera rumpunt The whinnying of the fast horses broke the air	<b>Ad Ren. 66</b> Stridebant solis tenues hinnitibus aerae The soft air was broken by the whinnying of the fast horses
<b>Basinio da Parma carmina varia 18,32</b> Hoc Mars armipotens, illos cogeat Enyo This was forced by Mars, the other by Enyo	<b>Ad Ren. 89</b> Scilicet huic Mavors, huic ipsa favebit Enyo As this man was favoured by Mars, the other by Enyo
<b>Prudentius, Hymni, 11,115</b> per silvas per saxa ruunt They run through the forrests and cliffs	<b>Ad Ren. 227</b> Per silvas, per saxa ruit He run through the forrests and cliffs
<b>Waltharius 2,704</b> me transverberet hasta I am transfixed by the lance	<b>Ad Ren. 132</b> Diem transverberet hasta The day (the sun) is transfixed by the lance
<b>Guilelmus Apuliensis, Gesta Roberti Wiscardi 5,60</b> sua dant ibi membra sopori Give their members to the dream (sleep)	<b>Ad Ren. 260</b> Sic membra sopore gravata The members became heavy by the dream

And now, at the end let me transmit some thoughts about Janus's method: all the ancient, christian, medieval and contemporary sources used by him cannot be discovered completely, we should concentrate our forces on the main lines of bearing. Examining the hexameters line by line we find word-for-word, topical, metaphorical and metrical accordances, but even longer thoughts of allusions, mitological, historical or scientific citations, integrated to his panegyric adressed to René of Anjou, depending on that the poetical background requires. To summerize the topic of this lecture, I would like to draw attention to the unbelievably diversified knowledge of Janus regarding to the classical literature. The knowledge is just one simple thing. To integrate it in his own poetry in between resuscitating the ancient world is more than an admirable poetic process.

And to top it all – we are aware of the fact that the printing has not been invented yet – all the tools that should have made the creation process easier of a humanist poet, Janus hadn't been in possession of – namely all tools that are at our disposal in the moden age: texts, critical editions and commentary works, and last but not least, the internet.



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**RESUME**

Title of the paper:

**The Channel Between Janus Pannonius and the Antiquity. (Transmitting media for the panegyric written for René of Anjou)**

Abstract :

**As the large argument of the conference is the book as medium and an object of efforts of printers, publishers, booksellers and interest of book collectors, I would like to introduce my researches on Janus Pannonius and the transmitting channels (media) of the antiquity. My principal aim is to present how it had been possible to resurrect the Antiquity and the Renaissance in his eulogy composed for René of Anjou in 1451, before the invention of printing, since our poet was forced to use the manuscript tradition and his excellent memory. Then I would like to enlighten the reception and the printed afterlife of his work through the centuries until our modern age.**

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