

# IANUS PANNONIUS' *DIOMEDIS ET GLAUCI CONGRESSUS* AND ITS LITERARY *NACHLEBEN*

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Already studied in the perspective of his Latin translations from Greek, the Renaissance scholar Ianus Pannonius' translation of the episode from Book VI of the *Iliad*, the *Diomedis et Glauci congressus*, deserves attention as a part of a series of Renaissance translations of Homer. Pannonius' forerunners in translating the *Iliad* were Leonzio Pilato, Leonardo Bruni, Lorenzo Valla; his contemporaries were Niccolo della Valle, Orazio Romano and Carlo Marsuppini. Later translators include Angelo Poliziano, Andrea Divo, Eoban Hess and Rajmund Kunić. The aim of this article is to determine a possible relationship between the translation by Pannonius and other Latin *Iliads* and to point out classical influences other than those already noted by earlier researchers.

**Key words:** Reception of Homer, the *Iliad*, Ianus Pannonius, Latin translations of Homer, Rajmund Kunić, Greek learning in the Renaissance

## 1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to consider the humanist scholar Ianus Pannonius (1434 - 1472) in the context of Renaissance translators of Homer.<sup>1</sup> Latin translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* appeared already in ancient Rome, but are known today only in fragments. Humanist translators saw Homer as a challenge, but he proved unsurmountable for many of them. Hungary-based humanist and bishop of Slavonian origin, Ianus Pannonius (*alias* Ivan

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<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this article Homer will be considered the author of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Other works attributed to Homer will not be discussed here. The abbreviation DGC stands for the Pannonius translation, *Il.* for Homer's *Iliad*. Other *Iliads*, i.e. the Latin translations, discussed in this article, will be marked by the translator's name.

Česmički, 1434-1472) found in his translation of the Diomedes-Glaucus episode an opportunity to show his knowledge of both classical languages and his skill in versification. It has already been discussed by Novaković<sup>2</sup> and Ritoók<sup>3</sup> in their overviews of Pannonius' translations from Greek, but it deserves further analysis regarding the syntax and semantics with special attention to his treatment of typical Homeric elements such as the traditional epithet. Alongside considering possible influences on Pannonius not mentioned by Ritoók, this article aims to put forward some tentative hypotheses on his influence on others.

## 2. Homer

Considered the father of Greek literature by the Greeks, Homer could also be regarded as the grandfather of the Roman literary tradition.<sup>4</sup> The first epic of ancient Rome is the *Odusia*, a translation of the *Odyssey* by a Greek freedman named Livius Andronicus in the 3rd century BC. It was written in the original Italic verse, the Saturnian, but soon after Andronicus' death, due to the growing popularity of all things Greek including Greek metres, a hexameter version was to appear, the so-called *Livius refictus*. By the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, Homer had been translated into Latin by five translators (Andronicus, Ninius Crassus, Attius Labeo, Gnaeus Matius; some fragments by Cicero), abridged (*Ilias Latina*) and reworked into prose (novels written as war diaries: Dictys' *Ephemeris belli Troiani* and Dares' *De excidio Troiae historia*). After antiquity Dictys and Dares were used as a source of »true« material for medieval romances (Benoît de Sainte-Maure: *Roman de Troie*, Guido delle Colonne: *Historia destructionis Troiae*), poems (Joseph of Exeter's *Daretis Iliados libri VI*, Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*) and plays (Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*), with Hector gradually fading into the background to make room for the unfortunate lover Troilus, the story of whose doomed love for Briseida *alias* Criseyde *alias* Cressida became, in order to suit the taste of the Middle Ages, the centerpiece of the Trojan war. New elements in the Trojan saga were also Achilles' love for Polyxena and the treason by Aeneas and Antenor. Virgil (*Aeneis*), Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, *Heroides*), Statius (*Achilleis*) and *Ilias Latina* were also widely read in the Middle Ages and together with the aforementioned novels provided the medieval reader with enough Homeric material. Humanists, on the other hand, were not pleased

<sup>2</sup> Darko Novaković, »Jan Panonije kao prevodilac s grčkoga: filologija u službi politike«, *Latina et Graeca*, Nova serija 5 (2004), 13-27.

<sup>3</sup> Zsigmond Ritoók, »Verse translations from Greek by Ianus Pannonius«, *Acta antiqua Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae*, 20 (1972), 1-2, 235-270.

<sup>4</sup> More on Homer and his influence on later authors in: Casey Duff, »Homer's Post-classical legacy«, *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, Blackwell Publisher, Malden MA, 2005, 397-414.

with paraphrases and reworkings — they were primarily interested in Homer as an epic poet. The key role would be played by Petrarch, *poeta laureatus* whose enthusiasm provided Western readership with the first translation of Homer after more than a thousand years.

### 3. Latin translations of Homer before Pannonius

After obtaining a manuscript of Homer's epics from Nikolaos Sygeros and having unsuccessful Greek lessons, Petrarch found the man who seemed to have what he hoped for: Leonzio Pilato, a native of Calabria, who claimed to be an expert in Greek. Pilato spent two years (1360-1362) at Boccaccio's house working on a prose version of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Petrarch was disappointed with the final result, but had to make do with the text he had. The translation was *ad verbum*, often unidiomatic and infelicitous. Pilato obviously struggled with the meaning of many words and didn't understand tmesis. There was definitely room for improvement. In the next generation of humanists, who were led by another Greek studies enthusiast, Coluccio Salutati, the learned Leonardo Bruni chose three orations from Book IX for an exercise in rhetoric. He omitted the epithets, trying to translate *oratorio more*. Lorenzo Valla translated the first 16 books of the *Iliad* at the request of his patron Alfonso V of Aragón; the translation was completed by his pupil Francesco Griffolini, who then translated the *Odyssey*. The task of making a verse translation was undertaken, reluctantly, by Carlo Marsuppini who translated Book I and Achilles' speech from Book IX. Two well received but only partial verse translations, by Orazio Romano and Niccolò della Valle, appeared at roughly the same time. In 1470 the fifteen year old Angelo Poliziano picked up where Marsuppini left off and had finished Books II-V by 1475.<sup>5</sup>

### 4. The trouble with Homer

Prose translations of Homer were the first ones to appear. The first complete hexameter version of the *Iliad* was the one by Eoban Hess, published in 1540, and the first complete Latin *Odyssey* was composed by Simon Lemm, published in 1549. Both were published in Basel almost 200 years after the first efforts of Pilato. Humanists preferred translating prose to poetry.<sup>6</sup> An accomplished philolo-

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<sup>5</sup> Ida M a ĩ e r, *Ange Politien – la formation d'un poète humaniste*, Librairie Droz, Genève, 1966, 86-88.

<sup>6</sup> R. R. B o l g a r, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1954, 277.

gist and translator like Lorenzo Valla, who was able to produce an adequate Latin Thucydides, did not excel in translating the *Iliad*.<sup>7</sup>

Why was translating Homer more of a challenge than translating Demosthenes, Isocrates, Plutarch or Xenophon? Every translator of the Homeric epics met with three main obstacles:

- Virgil's influence,
- differences between oral and written epic,
- differences between Greek and Latin.

Homer's incompatibility with Virgil was well known. Virgil's heroes were pious above all and didn't get carried away and forget their duties to others (and if they did, they paid for it, like Dido), while Homeric characters, especially gods, were prone to adultery, quarrelling and general debauchery, without suffering any consequences for their actions. There was no Christianity to be found in Homer, no allegorical interpretation could have been offered to make him more appropriate for the humanist audience and therefore he was criticised by Vida in his *De arte poetica* and Scaliger in his *Criticus*.<sup>8</sup> Virgil was the role-model for every humanist epic poet and his style was to be emulated above that of all others. Virgil's use of some typical oral epic elements such as epithets and time-denoting formulas was subtle and well thought-out, while the Homeric abundance of formulaic speech introductions (to cite only one kind of typical Homeric formula) had been ridiculed by the comic poet Cratinus as early as the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>9</sup> Traditional oral techniques were not understood by the humanist poets, or indeed anybody before the Parry-Lord research in early 20<sup>th</sup> century; Plato himself considered them peculiarities of Homeric style that must be tolerated. The traditional epithet, often a compound adjective, was especially challenging. One of the inherent differences between Greek and Latin is their productivity in adjectival compounds,<sup>10</sup> which was restricted in, especially, early Latin. Coining new words using Greek compounds as models was accepted in philosophy, rhetoric and grammar,<sup>11</sup> but it seemed unnatural in everyday speech. Plautus' compounds like *legirupa* were meant to have a comic effect and they show what Latin compounds were not.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Zs. R i t o ó k, o. c., 258.

<sup>8</sup> Robin S o w e r b y, »Early Humanist Failure with Homer I«, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 4 (1997), 1, 37-63, 39.

<sup>9</sup> Marco F a n t u z z i, »'Homeric' Formularity in the Argonautica of Apollonius of Rhodes«, *A Companion to Apollonius Rhodius*, Brill, Leiden, 2001, 171-192.

<sup>10</sup> While Sanskrit and Greek were rich in compounds, Latin was not. Sanskrit grammarians had to devise a classification for compounds; such a need never arose in the Latin tradition.

<sup>11</sup> James C l a c k s o n, Geoffrey H o r r o c k s, *The Blackwell History of the Latin Language*, Blackwell Publishing, Malden MA, 2007, *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Michelle F r u y t, »Constraints and productivity in Latin Nominal Compounding«, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 100 (3), (2002), 259–287.

Pacuvius' compounds *repandirostrus* and *incurvicervicus* met with considerable criticism from Quintilian, the master of rhetoric and elegance for any self-respecting humanist. Therefore, coining new words was not acceptable in poetic language and left the translator with the problem that one word used by the Greek poet sometimes needed a whole sentence in Latin. The requirements of the epic metre made the task of translating Homer even more arduous: all the words had to fit perfectly into the hexameter scheme of long and short syllables.

### 5. *Diomedis et Glauci congressus* in *Iliad* VI

»The book of difficult encounters«<sup>13</sup> is one of the emotionally most disquieting in the *Iliad*. Hector is sent to Troy by his brother, the seer Helenus, to deliver a message to their mother Hecuba. After organizing with her a futile attempt to save Troy, Hector visits his cowardly brother Paris, who has been saved by Aphrodite and transferred to his luxurious bedroom after the unsuccessful duel with Menelaus. Hector scolds him, earning the approval and support of his sister-in-law Helen, and then leaves to look for his wife Andromache and their son. In a reverse of the Paris-Helen scene, Andromache begs her husband not to return to the battle, but they both know he cannot escape from his duties. The fall of Troy and other tragic events are predicted in the course of these stressful conversations. Homer cannot let anything too interesting take place on the battlefield as long as both Achilles and Hector, the greatest warriors, are absent. Alongside some routine killings, the void made by Hector's departure is filled with the encounter of Diomedes and Glaucus (*Iliad* VI 119 – 236), which starts off as a typical duel, but ends up as a friendly conversation. It is an unexpected turn of events since Diomedes has started his *aristeia* (mercilessly slaughtering enemies and even attacking some immortal gods) in Book V and hasn't stopped yet, but Homer uses it to slow the action down and tell a story within a story. The young and unexperienced Glaucus is eager to fight the famous warrior Diomedes, but first he has to introduce himself in an example of »flyting«,<sup>14</sup> insulting and verbally provoking the enemy on the battlefield. Since he has no glorious deeds of his own to boast about, he tells instead the tale of his ancestors, focusing on his legendary grandfather Bellerophon. Visiting the court of king Proetus and his wife Antia, he attracted the queen's attention with his beauty and charm. When she tried to seduce him, he, virtuous as he was, refused, only to have her falsely accuse him of rape. Instead of killing Bellerophon himself, Proetus sent him to Lycia, where the king, Antia's father, gave him difficult tasks like killing the monster Chimaera and fighting the Amazons. When Bellerophon proved himself a hero, he was

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<sup>13</sup> Barbara Graziosi, Johannes Haubold, *Iliad, Book VI*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010, 34.

<sup>14</sup> B. Graziosi, J. Haubold, o. c., 36.

honored by the gods, and also by the king of Lycia. The story is important for an understanding of why Pannonius chose exactly these 118 lines and not any other part of Homer's epic. It can also shed some light on translational choices made by Pannonius.

## 6. Why?

There are several reasons for translating this Homeric episode stated by Pannonius in his covering letter to Galeotto Marzio. The last one has already been discussed by researchers: Homer's leaves simile (*Il.* VI 146-149), used by Pannonius to affront those who think highly of themselves on account of their ancestry. As Novaković<sup>15</sup> and Ritoók<sup>16</sup> suggest, Pannonius would have hardly noticed this if he himself was not a *homo novus* at the Hungarian court. Pannonius also wants to make the Bellerophon myth better known to contemporary audience,<sup>17</sup> together with the Lycurgus myth and the famous exchange of arms between Glaucus and Diomedes. He even quotes two verses from one of his favourite poets, Martial, where Glaucus is cited as an example of human stupidity.<sup>18</sup> Pannonius adds that he wanted to hone his skills as a translator and poet, but the first reason he states is a translation of *Iliad* III-V he had read. The translator's name is omitted intentionally; he simply says *Homerici cuiusquam interpretis aliquot libri; tertius, quartus et quintus*. Pannonius expresses his desire to compete *in eadem palaestra* with this author whose name he doesn't mention.

## 7. When?

The translation can be dated to either 1460 or 1465. Ritoók quotes the opinions of Huszti, who suggests it was written immediately after Pannonius' diplomatic mission to Italy in 1465, and Juhász, who is in favour of 1460 as the year of the translation.<sup>19</sup> Helpful information provided by Pannonius himself and not considered by Ritoók is the anonymous translator mentioned in the letter to Galeotto. Finsler<sup>20</sup> has suggested that the translator could have been Niccolò della

<sup>15</sup> D. Novaković, o. c., 20.

<sup>16</sup> Zs. Ritoók, o. c., 259-260.

<sup>17</sup> It is telling that he has to recount the story of *Iliad* VI for Galeotto.

<sup>18</sup> Tam stupidus numquam nec tu, puto, Glauce, fuisti,  
γάλκεια donanti χούσεα qui dederas. (Mart. 9.94.3-4.)

<sup>19</sup> Zs. Ritoók, o. c., 237.

<sup>20</sup> Georg Finsler, *Homer in der Neuzeit: von Dante bis Goethe*, Teubner Verlag, Leipzig & Berlin, 1912, 29.

Valle, but has not further elaborated that claim. Della Valle translated books III-V, XVIII and XXI-XIV. He died in 1473, only a few months before his *Iliad* was published. Born in 1444, he could have translated the first three books of the *Iliad* by 1465, when Pannonius was on his embassy to Rome, but not the rest since he was only 21 years old at the time and we can suppose that translating eight books of Homer's epic before the age of 21 is too much even for Renaissance boy wonders. If Pannonius read exactly this selection (books III-V), it points to della Valle and nobody else, since no other translator started from Book III and finished at Book V (if we suppose that this is the first part della Valle translated and others followed in later years). Interestingly, Pannonius subtly hints that the translation could have been done better, which is not the general assessment of della Valle's work by his contemporaries.<sup>21</sup>

## 8. How?

### 8.1. Syntax and semantics

Pannonius, considered *Graecorum scriptorum fidissimus interpres* by Juhász,<sup>22</sup> is as faithful as a Latin translator of Homer can be, considering all the problems already discussed in this article. His faithfulness is striking in *Il.6.164*: τεθναίης ὦ Προίτη, ἢ κάκτανε Βελλεροφόντην, is an expression unusual in itself, since the optative in the beginning suggests a conditional clause («may you die, o Proetus, if you don't kill Bellerophon»), but an imperative follows instead. Pannonius renders it with a subjunctive and imperative *Ipsē cadas; Glaucō genitum vel, Proete, necato* (DGC 47), retaining the meaning «may you be dead, o Proetus; or kill Bellerophon». Skilled in finding semantically equal grammatical devices, Pannonius uses a participle to express purpose instead of a final clause: δεῖξαι δ' ἠνώγειν ᾧ πενθερῷ ὄφρ' ἀπόλοιτο – *Callidus has socero peritulum ostendere mandat* (DGC 53).

In the verse 'τίς δὲ σύ ἔσσι φέριστε καταθηγῶν ἀνθρώπων; (*Il. VI.123*), φέριστε is a polite form of address among Homeric heroes,<sup>23</sup> not to be understood literally as a superlative. Pannonius translates it with the intensive expression *quaeso*<sup>24</sup> in *Quisnam tu quaeso mortali e stirpe virorum?* (DGC 5), while Eoban Hess renders it as *O hominum fortissime* (*Il. VI.168*); Lorenzo Valla and Andrea Divo<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Philip F o r d, *De Troie à Ithaque*, Librairie Droz, Genève, 2007, 27-28.

<sup>22</sup> As quoted by D. N o v a k o v i ć, o. c., 15.

<sup>23</sup> B. G r a z i o s i, J. H a u b o l d, o. c., 110.

<sup>24</sup> As defined by Charlton T. L e w i s, *A Latin Dictionary*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996, s. v. quaeso II. γ.

<sup>25</sup> Divo's (1490-1548) prose translation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* was widely read in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century.

as *fortissime mortalium* and *fortissime mortalium hominum* in their respective prose versions. Rendering τεράεσσι (*Il.VI.183*) as *portenta* and not *signa*, Pannonius shows he is aware those were not mere signs, but divine signs, portents.<sup>26</sup> In rendering Κρονίδης Ζεύς (*Il.VI.234*) as *Saturnia proles* (DGC 116) and μητίετα Ζεύς (*Il.VI.198*) *summo Tonanti* (DGC 81) Pannonius does not translate word for word, aiming rather to maintain the elevated epic style. In rendering *ingenti Diomedes voce* (DGC 4) for βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης (*Il. VI.122*) he allows the ambiguity of the ablative: it can be both an *ablativus modi* and *qualitatis*. The latter is closer to the original, but both fit in the context and sound more natural than the *ad verbum* rendering *vocem bonus Diomedes* by Andrea Divo, while for Valla *Tydidēs* was enough in this case. In translating ἐννήμαρ ξείνισσε καὶ ἐννέα βοῦς ἰέρευσεν (*Il.VI.174*) Pannonius fails to retain the number nine (number of transitional periods in Homer)<sup>27</sup> as a whole, but makes up for it with some nice alliteration in *ter trinis totidem mactans armenta diebus* (DGC 57).

Still, Pannonius is sometimes forced to sacrifice an element of the Greek original, and sometimes he adds something of his own to fill the verse. *Belligerum sacro fudit Sarpedona partu* stands for ἡ δ' ἔτεκ' ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα χαλκοκορυστήν, with no mention of the birth being sacred. On the other hand, Homer's »wise Bellerophon thinking pure thoughts«, ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα δαίφρονα Βελλεροφόντην, is condensed to *mens casta*. There are several possible reasons for leaving out an epithet. Perhaps it did not fit into the verse structure and Pannonius wanted his translation to follow closely the original text, e. g. προφρονέως μιν τίεν ἄναξ Λυκίης εὐρείης: *Il. 6.173* is translated *Exhibet huic magnos Lyciae regnator honores* (IP 56), where προφρονέως τίεν is rendered *exhibet magnos honores*, leaving no room for the epithet εὐρείης.

Also, sometimes a Latin equivalent could not be found. While μακάρεσσι θεοῖς is rendered only *Deorum* although the adjective *beatus* is available, the semantics of χρυσήνιος Ἄρτεμις (»Artemis with golden reins«) cannot be expressed in only two Latin words. Interestingly, in this case Pannonius does not choose the obvious Latin equivalent *Diana*, but *Dictynna*, a minor Cretan goddess who was not yet identified with Artemis in Homer. A closer translation is the Homeric Ἄρης ἄτος πολέμοιο, »Ares, unsatiable in war«, rendered as *trux Mavors*. Another possible explanation for some omissions is the fact, often noticed by Homeric scholars, that the epithet at hand does not agree with the story, as is the case with δι' Ἄντεια *Il.VI.169* (*Antia*). Maybe Pannonius, just like the Alexandrian scholar Aristarchus centuries before, felt it was wrong to call an adulteress divine. Another point of dispute for Alexandrian philologists was the syntagm Χίμαιραν ἀμιαμακέτην. The etymology of Chimaera's epithet was not

<sup>26</sup> B. Graziosi, J. Haubold, o. c., 129.

<sup>27</sup> B. Graziosi, J. Haubold, o. c., 127.



clear; the meaning was explained either as »raging« or »invincible«.<sup>28</sup> Pannonius chose the latter: *Indomitam primum jubet expugnare Chimaeram* (DGC 62). It is not unlikely he used a Greek commentary. Hess leaves this epithet out, while Lorenzo Valla renders it as *animal indomabile, inexpugnabile*.

## 8.2. Pannonius and humanist education

Pannonius studied under Guarino Guarini, who, like all humanist teachers, created for his school a curriculum based on classical authors. A pupil of Manuel Chrysoloras, Guarini also taught Greek. He was especially interested in what is today called translation studies and promoted translating from Greek into Latin. He himself translated Homer; unfortunately, the text is lost. Pannonius was an excellent pupil; Guarini's son Battista claimed that Pannonius mastered Greek within a single year.<sup>29</sup> It was in Guarino's school that Pannonius translated his first Greek text. A typical task Guarino gave his pupils was translating Greek epigrams into Latin in order to check both their knowledge of Greek and their ability to compose Latin verse. Writing Latin verse was considered more of a skill than a work of inspiration; the poet had to fit the words, having constantly in mind the quantity of every syllable, into the metrical schemes of Roman poetry. This could be learned only by extensive reading of Roman poets and adopting their practices. Studying the verse-making of authors like Virgil and Ovid was the only way for a humanist to become a good poet; therefore, a significant influence of school authors was expected in the poetical works of every humanist poet.<sup>30</sup> Using expressions and metrical elements from earlier poetic works was not frowned upon in antiquity: Virgil borrowed from Ennius, Silius Italicus from Virgil. *Furtum*, literary theft, was differentiated from *imitatio* by Roman critics; tradition and paying homage to one's predecessors was just as important as innovation.<sup>31</sup> Humanists studied carefully the expressions used by classical authors and were highly conscious of

<sup>28</sup> B. G r a z i o s i, J. H a u b o l d, o. c., 128.

<sup>29</sup> Zs. R i t o ó k, o. c., 236.

<sup>30</sup> »Reproducing the style of ancient authors was the chief aim of teaching written Latin in schools. Exercises consisted in writing prose or poetry which emulated a particular author's manner of expression... Grammar books contained rules for composing in the classical metres, since poetry was regarded as a skill which could be learned – more difficult than, but in essence no different from, other types of literary production. ... poetry was viewed as a practical accomplishment rather than an inspired art.« Kristian J e n s e n, »The humanist reform of Latin and Latin teaching«, *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, 63-81, 74.

<sup>31</sup> »The fundamental role that imitation played in Latin literature is a well established fact of ancient literary history. From the Republic through late antiquity, authors, including poets, historians, and rhetoricians, held it as a vital aspect of composition.« Scott M c G i l l, *Plagiarism in Latin Literature*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012, 19.

their literary origin and context, as proven by Petrarch's letter to Boccaccio in which he finds his clausula »too Virgilian«. <sup>32</sup> Unlike the self-conscious Petrarch, Pannonius didn't hesitate to use a whole verse from Cicero's fragment of the *Iliad*: *Ipse suum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans* (DGC 85, Cic. *carm. frg.* 60, 2). The aforementioned goddess Dictynna appears in the verse-ending *Dictynna sagittis*, borrowed from Tibullus (1.4.25). There is an obvious fondness for Virgil, whose verse-endings and verse-beginnings Pannonius incorporates into his own lines:

Ter trinis totidem mactans armenta diebus (DGC 57)  
 Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus Verg. *Georg.* 2.201  
 Et Venerem certis repetunt armenta diebus; Verg. *Georg.* 2.329

Ac dextras tangunt, et pacis foedera firmant. DGC 115  
 Praeterea, qui dicta ferant et foedera firment Verg. *Aen.* 11.330

Quod si tantus amor stirpem tibi noscere nostram; DGC33  
 Quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est Verg. *Aen.* 6.133

### 9. Pannonius and later Latin *Iliads*

The quality of this translation is unquestionable: the hexameters flow elegantly, the author is well read in the classics and knows his Greek – exactly what one would expect from Guarino's pupil. Obviously, it is a text that deserved to be read and appreciated by other humanists, contemporaries and later scholars alike, but the question is whether we can prove that Pannonius actually influenced any other poet. Modern technology, especially online databases *Poeti d'Italia*, *Musisque Deoque* and the Perseus project make it easy for today's scholars. Checking Pannonius on the *Poeti d'Italia* site reveals some unexpected occurrences. There are three lines in Poliziano's *Iliad* that have some similarity to those from Pannonius.

Example 1:  
 Glaucus at Hippolocho satus, et Tydeius heros, DGC 1  
 Perpulit hunc: nescitque amens tydeius heros, Poliz. *Ilias* V 468

Example 2:  
 Glauciades, patriae nec quenquam ad tecta remisit. DGC 73  
 Viventem Aemoniden thebana in tecta remisit, Poliz. *Ilias* IV 448

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<sup>32</sup> As quoted by Neven J o v a n o v i ć, CM XXIII (2014), 13-53, with a short discussion on *similitudo* and *identitas* in humanist poets.

Example 3:

Belligerum sacro fudit Sarpedona partu DGC 82

Quos mecum partu genitrix pulcherrima fudit, Poliz. *Ilias* III 237

It is worth noting that these elements appear in Poliziano's translation of the *Iliad* and not in his other works. The clausulae in examples 1 and 2 are not attested in antiquity,<sup>33</sup> and example 2 is attested only once in the Renaissance by a later poet, as shown by a search on *Musisque Deoque* and *Poeti d'Italia*. Also the expression *partu fundere* is unattested in Roman poetry and appears only twice elsewhere in Renaissance humanist poetry: in the work of Lorenzo Gambara (Gambara, *navig.* 4.117), who was born after Poliziano had finished his translation of Homer, and Tito Vespasiano Strozzi (Strozzi, *Bors.* 2.376), who was born in 1425 and therefore is another possible source. On the other hand, the expression *fundere partum*, which is metrically just as acceptable here, is well attested. It also to be noted that Poliziano tends to use names in the same metrical positions as Pannonius (*Oeneus, Sarpedona, Saturnius*), but that might be a natural tendency caused by their metrical structure. Although these traces of Pannonius' translation found in Poliziano could lead us to believe that *Diomedis et Glauci congressus* was read in Renaissance Italy (or at least by Poliziano), while the »smoking gun« – in this case a manuscript of Pannonius' translation kept in an Italian, preferably a Florentine, library – is missing, I would refrain from making a conclusion based solely on the examples of two clausulae and one rare expression. If Pannonius wanted to show he was as good a translator as della Valle, he must have wanted to present his own translation to della Valle's audience. He could have easily sent these 119 verses in a letter – he was a correspondent of many influential humanist figures in Italy – and make them known to Italian humanists, but more data on this topic is needed to establish a firm conclusion.

More than 300 years after Pannonius' death, in 1776, the Croatian Jesuit Rajmund Kunić (Raymundus Cunichius, 1719-1794)<sup>34</sup> published his translation of Homer's *Iliad*, which received warm reviews and is considered one of the best Latin versions of Homer.<sup>35</sup> Virgil is known to be the main influence on this work,<sup>36</sup> but in a text 3,000 verses longer than the original *Iliad*, other influences should be

<sup>33</sup> The closest is *tecta remittit* (Iuvenc. *evang.* 4.397).

<sup>34</sup> Kunić was born in Dubrovnik but spent most of his life in Rome teaching Greek and rhetoric. He was a prolific author and translator whose opus consists of more than 3500 epigrams, 46 elegies, 44 poems in hendecasyllables, 13 hexameter poems, 13 epistles, 14 orations and the following translations from Greek to Latin: the *Iliad*, the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 499 epigrams from the *Greek Anthology*, and poems by Mimnermus, Tyrtaeus and Theocritus.

<sup>35</sup> Jozef I J s e w i j n, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies Part I*, Leuven University Press, Leuven, 1990, 94.

<sup>36</sup> Franjo M a i x n e r, »Život i rad Rajmunda Kunića«, *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 96 (1889), 85-153.

discernible, too. The following verses from Book VI of his *Iliad* suggest Pannonius was one of his models for the relevant passage:

Example 1:

Cum prior ingenti Diomedes voce profatur: DGC 4

Cum prior haec forti Diomedes pectore fatur. Kunić 6.142

Example 2:

Quid genus exquiris, sate sanguine Tydeos alti? DGC 28

Quid genus exquiris? mortalibus esse caducum Kunić 6.172

Example 3:

Quod si tantus amor stirpem tibi noscere nostram DGC 33

Sed tibi si cordi tamen est cognoscere nostram, Kunić 6.177

Example 4:

Sisyphus Aeolides, quo Glaucus patre creatur,

At Glauci magnus de semine Bellerophontes DGC 36-37

Sisyphus Aeolides, Glaucus quo traditur esse

Editus, at Glauco clarus dehinc Bellerophontes. Kunić 6.182-183

Example 5:

Iupiter; at duri conjux Antia tyranni, DGC 43

Arsit enim Proeti conjux Antea, pudicum Kunić 6.190

Example 6:

Indomitam primum jubet expugnare Chimaeram DGC 62

Indomitam jussit prosternere morte Chimaeram Kunić 6.216

Example 7:

Quippe legens Lyciae fortissima corpora pubis DGC 71

Cum bello victor, Lyciae fortissima pubis

Corpora delegit, Kunić 6.226-7

Example 8:

Cum qua dimidium regni partitur honorem

Dant simul et Lyciae gentes, quem percolat agrum, DGC 76-77

Dimidium et regni genero concessit honorem.

Cui simul et Lycii partem praedivitis agri Kunić 6.233-4

Example 9:

Sustulit hic mentem Glauco Saturnia proles, DGC 116

Heic Glauco mentem exemit Saturnius, arma Kunić 6.289

The choice of words and their positions in the verse could be a coincidence were it a matter of only one occurrence, but nine instances separated by at least five verses suggest otherwise. Kunić could have easily chosen other words, but he follows Pannonius. Indicative is his reading of the epithet ἀμαιμακέτην, calling Antia only *conjux*, but not divine, and Zeus an offspring of Saturn. Also, Kunić uses the name Dictynna for Artemis twice in Book XX (Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα *Il.* 20.39, 20.71 *horrisonis gaudens Dictynna sagittis* 20.49, *Dictynna, sagittis auratoque arcu gaudens, nemorumque fragore*, 20.88-9). In both instances the clausula by Tibullus is used. Did Kunić appreciate Tibullus that much, or rather the mediator, Pannonius? Extensive research on Kunić still remains to be done in order to answer this question.

Regarding the 300 year gap, one more problem deserves attention: how was it possible for Kunić to read the Pannonius translation? *Diomedis et Glauci congressus* appears in Samuel Teleki's edition of *Iani Pannonii Poemata quae uspiam reperiri potuerunt omnia*, published in Utrecht in 1784, eight years after Kunić published the first edition of his *Iliad*, therefore he must have consulted an earlier edition. Following Enikő Békés' list of editions,<sup>37</sup> a search through online catalogues and digital editions of libraries (National and University Library in Zagreb, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) and Google books shows that by 1776 the *Diomedis et Glauci congressus* had already been printed in 1522, 1553, 1619 and 1754.<sup>38</sup> The 1754 edition of Pannonius' texts is the one directly preceding Teleki's.<sup>39</sup> Kunić could have used a 16th century edition of Pannonius' poems published in Italy

<sup>37</sup> Enikő Békés, *Ianus Pannonius (1434–1472) Selected Bibliography*, available online at <<http://mek.oszk.hu/04700/04779/04779.pdf>>.

<sup>38</sup> The editions are: *Plutarchi Cheronei Philosophi Libellus, quibus modis ab inimicis iuvari possimus Joanne Pannonio Episcopo Quinqueecclesiensi interprete; Eiusdem de Negotiositate Libellus Io. Pan. interprete; Oratio Demosthenis contra Regem Philippum Io. Pan. interprete; Fabula ex Homero de Glauci et Diomedis armorum permutatione, per Io. Panonium latinitate donata* (ed. Wolphardus), Bononiae, Hieronymus de Benedictis, 1522; *Ad Guarinum Veronensem Panegyricus; Eiusdem Elegiarum liber et Epigrammatum Sylvula; Item Lazari Bonamici Carmina nonnulla*. Venetiis, apud Gualterum Scottum, 1553; *Iani Pannonii episcopi Quinqueecclesiensis poemata in Delitiae poetarum Hungaricorum, nunc primum in hac Germania exhibitae a Joh. Philipp. Pareo*, Francoforti, Nicolaus Hoffman, 1619, and *Libri III poematum elegiarum et epigrammatum*, Budae, Typ. Leop. Franc. Landerer, 1754.

<sup>39</sup> Other editions of Pannonius' texts are not available online in their entirety and the titles do not help in concluding whether they contained the DGC or not, so several 16th century editions should be inspected. It could have also been included in *Lusus quidam et epigrammata, nunc primum inventa et excusa*, ed. Johannes Sambucus, Patavii 1559; [Siber, Adam], *Pietas puerilis, ex diversis doctorum monumentis collecta; J. P., Pro pace*, Basileae, Ioannes Oporinus, 1563, 270; [Fabricius, Georgius], *Poetae Germani et exteri...*; J. P., [carmina], Gorlicii, Ambrosius Fritsch, 1573. *Iani Pannonii episcopi Quinque-Eccles[iensis] illius antiquis vatibus comparandi, recentioribus certe antepoenendi, quae uspiam reperiri adhuc potuerunt; omnia. Opera Ioannis Sambuci*, Viennae, Kaspar Stainhofer, 1569.

(or, if we include the editions in the last footnote, Basel or Vienna), the German anthology of Hungarian poets published in 1619 or the 1754 edition of his poems, elegies and epigrams. Whatever the case, Kunić had to put in an extra effort to acquire a copy of a book containing the DGC text: either purchase it from another country, or search through Italian libraries.

## 10. Conclusion

Although the translation under consideration is but a small part in the oeuvre of Ianus Pannonius, it nevertheless deserves appreciation as a Latin rendition of Homer. Pannonius understood the Greek text and dealt with difficulties other translators sometimes preferred to avoid. He showed his knowledge of Greek and Latin and paid tribute to classical role models. We can only guess whether his translation was read in Renaissance Italy and competed with della Valle's, as he intended it to, but we can be certain it was appreciated by Rajmund Kunić in the Italian and Croatian Neoclassicist period.

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*DIOMEDIS ET GLAUCI CONGRESSUS JANA PANONIJA*  
I NJEGOVA KNJIŽEVNA SUDBINA

Panonijev prijevod epizode iz 6. pjevanja pod naslovom *Diomedis et Glauci congressus* već je bio prikazivan u pregledu Panonijevih prijevoda s grčkoga, no svakako zaslužuje pozornost i u kontekstu renesansnih prijevoda Homera koji počinju s Leonziom Pilatom. Panonije izjavljuje da je njegov prijevod motiviran željom za natjecanjem s ranijim prijevodom Homera, čiji bi autor mogao biti Niccolò della Valle. Kao prevodilac Panonije je svjestan nekih posebnosti homerskog dijalekta i posvećuje pozornost detaljima. Vješt je u pronalaženju gramatičkih i semantičkih ekvivalenata. Poput svih prevodilaca koji su se okušali u prevođenju Homera, morao se suočiti sa sljedećim problemima: Vergilijev utjecaj, razlike između usmene i pisane epike te razlike između latinskog i grčkog jezika. Vergilijev utjecaj bio je od presudne važnosti kako za rimsku, tako i za humanističku epiku. U usporedbi s Vergilijem Homer nije bio dovoljno sofisticiran, te su prevodioci morali pomiriti Homera s rimskim pjesnikom. Panonije se istovremeno trudio vjerno prevesti Homera i iskazati poštovanje prema Vergiliju. Kvalitetu njegova prijevoda prepoznao je Rajmund Kunić, koji je elemente Panonijevih stihova uklopio u vlastiti prijevod *Ilijade*.