

Discovering the latent poems of Janus Pannonius

Géza SZENTMÁRTONI SZABÓ

Eötvös Loránd University

ORCID: 0009-0003-3157-4322

Abstract | The first part of the paper discusses a poem written by Janus Pannonius, praising Sicilian king René of Anjou (1409–1480). The 18-year-old poet was commissioned to write *Renatus Panegyricus* about the siege of Naples by the Venetian patrician Jacopo Antonio Marcello in 1452. The piece was written in Ferrara, but it was published only much later, in 1880, when Jenő Ábel found its first part in the Library of the Vatican. Except for József Huszti's excellent essay from 1929, hardly any study focused on the incomplete work. My interest in Janus Pannonius' iconography resulted in finding two illustrations in a Strabon volume (a book translated by Guarino, now housed in Albi), one of which I hypothesized to be a portrait of the poet. My research on its attributions led me to discover the complete text of the panegyric. Léon-Gabriel Pélissier (1863–1912), a positivist historian reviewed the poem in a French periodical in 1898, attributing the work to an unknown artist. In 2009, when reading Pélissier's article, which had been left without comment for 111 years, I recognized Janus as the author, which got me started in chasing down the whole text in Naples. Studying the relevant literature while writing an essay about the panegyric, I noticed a previously unknown 100-line poem that could be attributed to Janus Pannonius. I supported his authorship with detailed arguments, also producing a Hungarian translation and textual edition of the poem, which praises Saint Maurice (the patron of the Order of the Crescent) and René of Anjou (the founder of the Order). With the help of the Klebelsberg scholarship programme, I travelled to Naples during the summer of 2010, where I traced down the person who had copied the nineteenth-century script of the *Renatus panegyricus*. He was Scipione Volpicella (1810–1883), the head of a scientific society that researches the history of the city. His figure led me to Castelnuovo and the library of the Società Napoletana de Storia Patria, where I found the antecedent of the copy kept in the National Library of Naples. Although it is a part of a composite volume that dates back to the middle of the seventeenth century, it may be regarded as a primary source. In the summer of 2014, Gábor Gelléri presented an eighteenth-century auction catalogue, lot 179 of which describes a copy that includes the author's misspelled name and a previously unknown title for his work, "Ianus Pannonicus de expugnata Parthenope."

Keywords | Janus Pannonius, Hungarian humanism, iconography, panegyric

The existence of Janus Pannonius' *Renatus Panegyric* was unknown for centuries, until 1880. In that year, Jenő Ábel (1858–1889) discovered and identified a manuscript in an early sixteenth-century codex of the Vatican Library (Vat. Lat. 2847).¹ Only half of the text (497 lines) survived, without an indication of the author or the title. Ábel referred to this panegyric as *Panegyricus in Renatum*, and it was József Huszti (1887–1954) who looked more closely into the subject in his study *Janus Pannonius and René d'Anjou* in 1929.²

After this discovery, hardly any study focused on Janus Pannonius' work from 1452, due to its incompleteness. It was an unexpected discovery I made that brought about a change, when I discovered the complete text of the panegyric in 2009. As a result of my interest in Janus Pannonius' iconography, I stumbled upon two illustrations in a Strabon volume now held in Albi, which contains a translation of Guarino made for René of Anjou. I thought I saw the poet's face in one of the illustrations, and my research related to this attribution led me to the discovery of the complete text of the panegyric.³

I found the information that put me on the right track with the help of a web browser: a French article published 111 years ago, signed *P*, describes the nineteenth-century manuscript of the panegyric kept in the National Library of Naples (X, B, 63 bound in a colligatum) as the work of an anonymous author.⁴ A recently discovered personal bibliography supports my earlier assumption that the signature *P* originated from the French historian Léon Gabriel Pélassier (1863–1912).⁵ The diligent research of this professor of the University of Montpellier, born a century and a half ago, helped complete the panegyric written by Janus Pannonius.⁶

I located the digital version of the Naples manuscript during the summer of 2009 and prepared a Hungarian translation of the hitherto unknown part of the panegyric by the autumn of that year. I presented this discovery in the lecture *Answering a 111-year-old question – In laudem interretis* at the Institute for Literary Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in September 2009. I published the complete Latin text and its Hungarian translation in my volume of essays *The Peril at Parthenope*,⁷ and the

1 IANI PANNONII, "Panegyricus in Renatum," in *Adalékok a humanismus történetéhez Magyarországon – Analecta ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia* [Additional Remarks to the History of Hungarian Renaissance], ed. Eugen ÁBEL (Budapest: A M. T. Akadémia Könyvkiadó-Hivatala, 1880), 131–144.

2 HUSZTI József, *Janus Pannonius és Anjou René* [Janus Pannonius and René of Anjou] (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1929).

3 SZENTMÁRTONI SZABÓ Géza, "Janus Pannonius vélt ábrázolásai" [The Probable Illustrations of Janus Pannonius], *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 2., 50–52 (2005–2007), 154–168.

4 P., "Un poème inédit sur René d'Anjou", *La Correspondance historique et archéologique*, V, 1898, 172–173.

5 Henri STEIN, "Bibliographie des travaux de Léon-Gabriel Pélassier, doyen de la Faculté des lettres de Montpellier (1863–1912)," *Revue des Bibliothèques, Paris*, 43–44 (1935–1936): 59.

6 E. C. BABUT, "Nécrologie: Léon-Gabriel Pélassier (Marseille, 24 Mars 1863 – Montpellier, 9 Nov. 1912)," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 32 (1912): 511–516.

7 JANUS PANNONIUS, "De laudibus Renati Siciliae regis libri tres (Ferrara, 1452); Renátusnak, Szicília királyának dicséretéről szóló három könyv," in SZENTMÁRTONI SZABÓ Géza, *Parthenope veszedelme*.

story of the discovery was also published in the 2011 proceedings of a French conference that celebrated the 600th anniversary of the birth of René d'Anjou.⁸

In the summer of 2010, I travelled to Naples for research, where I discovered that the precious text had been copied by the local scholar Scipione Volpicella (1810–1883) and kept in a colligatum in the National Library of Naples. I came to this conclusion by comparing Volpicella's three letters to Naples historian Carlo Troya (1784–1858) with the writing found in the copy of the *Renatus Panegyricus*. An obituary in a Naples periodical of local history indicated that Volpicella had been president of the Società di Storia Patria in Naples.⁹ Visiting the library of this local history society in Castelnuovo, I located the mid-seventeenth-century manuscript *De laudibus Renati Siciliae regis libri duo*, an antecedent of Volpicella's nineteenth-century copy in colligatum Ms. XXI. A. 19 with the help of a manuscript catalogue.¹⁰ The work, contrary to what its title suggests, is actually composed of three parts.

In 2012, I also came across the title of a now lost manuscript of *Panegyricus* in a Padua library catalogue printed in 1639.¹¹ The seventeenth-century catalogue of the library of the jurist Marco Mantova Benavides (1489–1582) talks about the manuscript of a poem written in hexameter, i.e. “versu heroico”: *De Laudibus Renati Ierusalem & Siciliae Regis Lib. 2. versu Heroico ad Iacob. Ant. Marcellum Equitem*.¹²

In the summer of 2014, my colleague Gábor Gelléri contacted me with a letter sharing a new discovery from Dublin. While leafing through a colligate in Marsh's Library in Dublin, he came across a 16-page auction catalogue of 277 items, published in 1672 and describing what had remained of the vast manuscript collection of sixteenth-century Parisian book collector Paul Petau (1568–1614). Item 274 of the catalogue reads “Janus Pannonicus de expugnata Parthenope.”¹³ This find is significant because it refers

Újdonságok a Janus Pannonius-filológia köréből [The Peril at Parthenope. Recent Janus Pannonius Philology Discoveries], 33–93 (Budapest: Cédrus Művészeti Alapítvány–Napkút Kiadó, 2010).

- 8 SZENTMÁRTONI SZABÓ Géza, “Du péril de Parthénope: la découverte de la version intégrale du panégyrique de René d'Anjou par Janus Pannonius,” in *René d'Anjou (1409–1480) Pouvoirs et gouvernement*, eds. Jean-Michel MATZ and Noël-Yves TONNERRE, 287–312 (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011).
- 9 Bartolomeo CAPASSO, “Scipione Volpicella – Commemorazione: Letta nell'Assemblea generale della Società Napoletana di Storia patria la sera dei 21 aprile 1883.,” *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane pubblicato a cura della Società di Storia Patria*, 8 (1883): 176–193.
- 10 SZENTMÁRTONI SZABÓ Géza “Jelentése a Klebelsberg Kuno-ösztöndíj keretében Nápolyban, 2010. június 22-től július 22-ig végzett kutatásáról” [Klebelsberg Kuno Scholarship Report, Naples, June 22, 2010 – July 22, 2010], *Lymbus. Magyarisztományi Forrásközlemények*, 2011, 492–494.
- 11 SZENTMÁRTONI SZABÓ Géza, “Janus Pannonius Renatus-panegyricusának egykori padovai kézírata” [The Long-ago Padovan Manuscript of the Renatus Panegyric by Janus Pannonius], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 116, no. 1 (2012): 22–26.
- 12 Iacobi Philippi TOMASINI, *Bibliothecae Patavinae manuscriptae publicae et privatae, quibus diversi scriptores hactenus incogniti recensentur, ac illustrantur*, (Utini: Typis Nicolai Schiratti, 1639), 101–103.
- 13 Catalogue des Manuscrits & Miniatures de feu Monsieur Petau, Conseiller à la Grand' Chambre du Parlement de Paris. (Paris: c.1672.) in-4, 16.; Gábor GELLÉRI, “On the trail of a mysterious Renaissance manuscript,” in Marsh's Library, <http://www.marshlibrary.ie/on-the-trail-of-a-mysterious-renaissance-manuscript/>. Access date: 2023. 08.02.

to a copy that included the author's misspelled name and the original, previously unknown title of the work. Jenő Ábel's attribution was now definitively confirmed, and my Hungarian title, *Parthenope veszedelme* or *The Peril at Parthenope* in English, turned out to be appropriate as well. This volume might have been the one intended for René of Anjou. The same catalogue contains an item that is identical to an illustrated volume on St. Maurice held in the Arsenal in Paris, which also contains a 100-line poem, presumably written by Janus Pannonius. I will return to this identification later.

The following can be summarised about the work now known in its entirety and the circumstances of its creation. Venetian patrician Jacopo Antonio Marcello came to know René of Anjou in 1449. René d'Anjou made Marcello a knight of the Chivalric Order of the Crescent, which he had founded the year before.¹⁴ From that time, Marcello did everything in his power to popularise René, and if the occasion arose, restore him as the King of Naples, since his throne was usurped by Alfonso V of Aragon (1394–1458). Marcello wished to use literature for his political aims as well. Master Guarino called his attention to one of his talented Hungarian students, Janos of Csezmece, who had started to use the penname *Janus Pannonius* by this time.¹⁵

Frederick III (1415–1493) arrived in Italy in January 1452, to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Nicholas V. It was around this time that the 18-year-old Hungarian poet received his first serious commission from Marcello: he had to write a laudation for the future emperor, asking Frederick to do all he could for peace in Italy.¹⁶ Marcello secretly hoped that Frederick as an emperor would reinstall René to the throne, he had lost ten years earlier. This was the reason why Janus received a new commission from the Venetian warlord at the end of 1452, when he was asked to write another panegyric, this time to René of Anjou himself, urging him to launch another campaign for the reconquest of Naples by reminiscing about the events of the war they had lost. The young poet, whose name was already known throughout Italy by then, completed the task.¹⁷ That being said, Marcello's political hopes did not come to fruition, and René said farewell to his renaissance homeland for good. He lived the rest of his life in a mediaeval setting on his vast French estates.

The panegyric begins with two elegiac dedications. In the first one, the poet praises Marcello as his supporter, while René of Anjou is urged to return in the second one. The two dedications are followed by the panegyric, written in hexameters. The poem starts with a description of René's ancestors, family, and relatives, while his personality is elaborated in detail later.

After this, Janus turns to describing historical events from the time of the Hundred Years' War. By the time René was freed from captivity in 1438 and arrived in Naples, which had been held for him by his wife, the Duchess Isabel, the enemy had al-

14 Margaret L. KING, *The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello* (Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 272.

15 HUSZTI József, *Janus Pannonius* (Pécs: A Janus Pannonius Társaság kiadása, 1931), 77–93.

16 *Carmen pro pacanda Italia, ad Imp. Caes. Fridericum III.*

17 Huszti, *Janus Pannonius és Anjou...*

ready captured most of his kingdom. Therefore, René declared war on Alfonso and gave a stirring speech to his troops. The incomplete text of the panegyric published by Jenő Ábel in 1880 breaks off at this point.

The newly discovered part of the poem is about the fight for Naples. René leads his troops in person, on both land and at sea. In chivalric fashion, René challenges his foe, Alfonso, to a duel, but he does not take up the challenge. René is forced back into his castle but tries to break out from the siege. A new siege of Naples begins in the spring of 1442. The poet describes the lands from which the many attackers have arrived in an enumeration of the armies. Famine brings suffering inside the city, and they can only hope for help from Genoa.

At this point, Janus uses a tool from his poetic toolkit: the Fury Alecto visits a Neapolitan man and turns him into a traitor. With his help, Alfonso and his army infiltrate the city through the drainage system. The attackers emerge from below the ground like the one-time Greeks from the Trojan horse. Although René accomplishes individual heroic deeds, he cannot stop the peril at Parthenope. The king sets sail for Pisa, sailing to the Alps via Florence and arriving home at his vast French estates.

It is probably clear even from such a brief review of the content that the newly discovered second part of the panegyric is more eventful than the first. We get to know a new side of Janus Pannonius, who gives a vivid description of the military actions with relish. Previously, he was known as someone who was often ill in military camps and did not really like the army. Only his *Marcellus Panegyricus* focused more on battles.

This poem is unlike other panegyrics by Janus. It is an eventful narrative of events, which also makes intriguing reading, as it is full of gems that show off his mastery of poetry. Janus did all he could in literary terms to praise René of Anjou's moral and military virtues and degrade Alfonso of Aragon, whom he refers to as *The Iberian* throughout. He undertook a difficult task, since he had to write a panegyric not about a glorious victory but about a former king who had lost the city of Naples ten years earlier. For this reason, the panegyrics of Claudianus and Lucanus' *Pharsalia* were the examples the young poet used.¹⁸ The civil war between Pompey and Caesar was a fitting parallel: a defeated soldier fighting for a good cause can vanquish his victor in a moral victory.

The panegyric did not become known to the public at the time it was written, and it stayed hidden for many centuries because René failed to return in the summer of 1453. However, a few years later Janus wrote an epigram that acknowledged the merits of Alfonso, King of Naples, as a great patron of humanists and renaissance art.¹⁹ Janus Pannonius did not live to see that King Matthias married Alfonso's granddaughter, Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508) in 1476.

18 FENICZY György, *Claudius Claudianus és Janus Pannonius panegyricus költészete* [The Panegyrics of Claudius Claudianus and Janus Pannonius] (Budapest: Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem Latin Filológiai Intézete, 1943).

19 IANI PANNONIUS *Opera quae manserunt omnia, volumen I. Epigrammata. Fasciculus 1. Textus*, eds. Iulius MAYER and Ladislaus TÖRÖK (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2006), 216–217. (Nr. 366): Si Iovis ossa iacent Dicitaeo condita busto, / Alfonsi hic regis condita membra iacent. / Iuppiter aethereas sin possidet integer arces, / Integer Alfonsus sidera summa tenet.

A strong friendship grew between Marcello and René through the Chivalric Order of the Crescent, which René of Anjou had founded in Angers on 11 August 1448, and which had Saint Maurice as its patron saint.²⁰ The cult of this saint centred around the Saint Maurice Cathedral of Angers (the centre of the Anjou family). The motto of the Order was worded in Provençal: *Los en Croissant* (in honour of the crescent), and it was inscribed on the crescent that held their coat-of-arms. Jacopo Antonio Marcello was an influential member of the Order and lavished his royal friend by donating extraordinary books for many years. One of these books was a manuscript on Saint Maurice and his fellow martyrs, ordered by Marcello. While researching this beautifully illustrated book, I made another important discovery about Janus Pannonius and René.

The codex had mostly been examined by art historians, who were seeking to find Mantegna and Bellini as its illustrator. One of the pictures depicts Marcello himself in profile. The parchment codex *Passio Mauritii et sotiorum ejus* consists of 42 folios and is kept in the Bibliothèque de L' Arsenal (Ms. 940) in Paris.²¹ It begins with a letter from Marcello dated 1 June 1453, followed by the legend, and a hundred-line laudation in hexameters on Saint Maurice and René.

When the codex was discovered at the beginning of the nineteenth century in a publication on Marcello's iconography, the laudations of Saint Maurice and René were also published.²² At that time, the poem was, without any further consideration, attributed to Jacopo Antonio Marcello.²³ Modern research exploring Marcello did not revise this attribution because it did not pay much attention to the poem.²⁴

In January 2010, I asked myself: who could the Venetian patrician have asked to write such a laudatory poem at the beginning of 1453? The answer was obvious: Janus Pannonius, who had written two poems for Marcello only a few months earlier, at the beginning of 1452 and towards the end of the same year – one about Frederick III, the other about René of Anjou. After this, I managed to locate the text of the poem in two different editions.²⁵ I realised that this panegyric, written with the greatest humanist erudition, must undoubtedly be from Janus Pannonius. I prepared a Hungarian

20 About the Order of the Crescent Moon, its rules and its members between 1458 and 1453 see: Bernard de MONTFAUCON, *Les Monuments de la Monarchie française qui comprennent l'histoire de France*, Tome troisième (Paris: Chez Julien-Michel Gandouin et Pierre-François Giffart, 1731), 255–259.

21 Henry MARTIN, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de L' Arsenal*, Tome deuxième (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et C^{ie}, 1886), 184–185.

22 Henry MARTIN, "Sur un portrait de Jacques-Antoine Marcello sénateur vénitien (1453)," *Mémoires et Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, LIX. année 1898 (1900), 229–267.

23 M. Le COMTE DE QUATREBARBES, *Oeuvres complètes du Roi René*, Tome I. (Angers: Cosnier et Lachèse, 1845), 78; Honoré CHAMPION, "L'ordre du Croissant," in *Revue Nobiliaire Historique et Bibliographique*, Paris, 1866, 509; Albert LECOY DE LA MARCHE, *Le Roi René, sa vie, son administration, ses travaux artistiques et littéraires*, vol 2, (Paris: Firmix-Didot Frères, fils et C^{ie}, 1875), 180.

24 *Splendeur de l'enluminure. Le roi René et les livres*, eds. Gautier MARC-EDOUARD and Avril FRANÇOIS, (Ville d'Angers-Arles: Actes Sud, 2009), 216.

25 Joseph Bernard de MONTMÉLIAN, *Saint Maurice et la légion thébéenne*, vol. 2. (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et C^{ie}, 1888), 350–352.

translation and edition of the poem.²⁶ I presented my findings in the lecture *Identifying a Lost/Possible Janus Pannonius Poem* in April 2010, at the Institute for Literary Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Thus, Marcello involved the young poet, who had been working for him for some time, in creating this beautifully illustrated book: Janus wrote a laudation of the patron saint and René of Anjou, along with the chivalric order. Both the antique parallels and the unique features of the composition indicate Janus' authorship. It is also characteristic of him to avoid the terminology of mediaeval Latin and the Christian Church, seeking equivalents from the antiquity instead.

The poet first addresses the saint, then asks him to fill his muse with strength. The poem then describes the martyrdom of Saint Maurice and his fellows from Thebes during the reign of Maximianus, based on the *Legenda Aurea*.²⁷

In the second part of the poem (according to the golden ratio), the poet asks the patron saint to protect the Order of the Crescent, stating that René has supported the saint's cult the most among all the kings. Finally, the poet asks Saint Maurice to protect René, to bless him and lead him into Paradise when the time comes.

Having discovered Janus' *Renatus Panegyricus* in a Naples manuscript that is not included in Kristeller's *Iter Italicum*, it was no less joy for me that, stepping onto the *Iter Gallicum*, I managed to bring to light this hitherto completely unknown Janus poem from the manuscripts of the Arsenal in Paris, surprising researchers.²⁸ In this laudation of Saint Maurice, the poet elaborates on the merciful side of René's character, something he only touches upon in two lines in the *Renatus Panegyric*.

Overall, it is clear that during his studies in Ferrara, Janus Pannonius maintained even stronger ties to his two powerful patrons than previously thought. The humanists tried to follow the ancient patterns even in the cult of companionship. Janus linked the protagonists of his two great panegyrics together in the epigram *Ad Marcellum*. This poem presents the friendship between Marcello and René through an abundance of antique parallels:

Quod fuit astuto pugnax Aetolus Ulixi,
Quod duro Telamon Amphitryoniadae,
Quod fuit inflexo mitis Patroclus Achilli,
Formoso Nisus quod celer Euryalo,
Quod fuit e Thebis profugo Calydonius exul,
Pirithoo casti quod pater Hippolyti,

26 JANUS PANNONIUS, "Laudatio Sancti Mauritii et sociorum eius (Ferrara, 1453); Szent Móricnak és társainak dicsérete" [The Praise of Saint Maurice and his associates], in SZENTMÁRTONI SZABÓ, *Parthenope veszedelme...* 95–101.

27 Jacobus de VORAGINE, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Th. GRAESSE (Vratislaviae, 1890), Caput CXLI.; Iacopo da VARAZZE, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo MAGGIONI, vol. 2. (Firenze: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galuzzo, 1998), 965–970.

28 Paul Oskar KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Mss of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries, Volume I–II. Italy* (London–Leiden: Brill, 1963–1967).

Quod fuit Emathius domitori Hephaestio rerum,
Trux Epaminondae quod Pelopida suo,
Quod totidem Libyae victoribus unus et alter
Laelius, Augusto quod gener ipse fuit:
Hoc tu magnanimo nunc es, Marcelle, Renato,
Felix, qui regum dignus amore venis.

Like Diomedes the warrior and crafty Ulysses,
Like Telamon and rugged Heracles,
Gentle Patroclus and stubborn Achilles,
Fleet-footed Nisus and handsome Euryalus,
The Calydonian exile and the banished Theban,
Chaste Hippolytus' father and Pirithous,
Macedonian Hephaestion and the conqueror of the world,
Fierce Pelopidas and Epaminondas his friend,
Both Laelii and the conquerors of Africa,
Augustus and Agrippa, his son in law:
Just so are you, Marcello, and noble Renato;
Blessed Marcello, you are worthy of the love of king.²⁹

An encounter between three grand personalities, the French René of Anjou, the Italian Jacopo Antonio Marcello, and the Hungarian Janus Pannonius could happen thanks to the humanistic cult of glory. However, in the case of René and Marcello, it is important to emphasise that it was not only their laudation that described them as outstanding persons, but they were also indeed outstanding in real life.³⁰

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29 IANI PANNONIUS *Opera quae manserunt...*, 114–115. (Nr. 112); JANUS PANNONIUS, *The Epigrams*, ed. and trans. Anthony A. BARRETT (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1985), 157.

30 A previously published version of this paper in Hungarian: SZENTMÁRTONI SZABÓ Géza, “Janus Pannonius lappangó művei nyomában” [Tracing the latent works of Janus Pannonius], in *Interpretációk interpretációja. Tudós bibliothecariusok, tudós elődök* [Interpretation of interpretations. Scholarly librarians, scholarly predecessors], ed. ZSUPÁN Edina, 9–17 (Budapest: Bibliotheca Nationalis Hungariae–Gondolat Kiadó, 2015).



Portrait of Léon Gabriel Pélissier from his 1882 group portrait at the École normale supérieure (Fonds photographique de la Bibliothèque de Lettres et Sciences humaines et sociales de l'École normale supérieure. Cote: PHO D/1/1/33)

I would like to thank Enikő Sepsí for finding the group shot with Pélissier's portrait on her research trip to Paris at my request.

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- 273. Liure de Prières, avec plusieurs miniatures, in douze.
- 274. Ianus Pannonicus de expugnata Parthenope.
- 275. Emblèmes sur le Cerf en vers François, avec Figures, vélin, in seize.
- 276. Liure traitant, à quelle fin les Armes ont esté trouuées & octroyées, in seize.
- 277. Titre original avec le sceau, en faueur de la Maison de Aguirre, avec vne miniature & vignette, fol,

Catalogue des manuscrits & miniatures de feu monsieur Petau, conseiller à la Grand' Chambre du Parlement de Paris, c. 1672, 15, 16.