

# IOANNES DANTISCUS' LATIN LETTERS, 1537: INTRODUCTION

## Dantiscus' activity in 1537

Dantiscus spent the early days of 1537 at the Diet in Cracow. As a representative of the Prussian Council, together with another two of its deputies – Jerzy Konopacki and Johann von Werden – he opposed the demands of the Chełmno region's gentry for the unification of the political systems of Royal Prussia and the Crown. In this, he had the support of Sigismund I<sup>1</sup>. On February 4, when the Diet had already been dissolved, he attended the swearing-in of Sigismund II Augustus. Upon returning to Prussia, in the face of the illness of Warmia Bishop Maurycy Ferber, he took on the organization of the springtime Prussian diet. During this time he also continued his earlier efforts to have Rome approve his election (in December 1536) to the post of Ferber's coadjutor. Ferber died on July 1. On September 20, the Warmia chapter elected Dantiscus to be the new bishop of Warmia. The bishop elect had to organize and take an active part in the autumn Prussian diet. In December Dantiscus moved from Lubawa to Lidzbark Warmiński.

The year 1537 was also significant in terms of Dantiscus' private affairs. The betrothal of his 11-year-old daughter Juana Dantisca to Diego Gracián de Alderete took place in Spain on June 30. This shattered Dantiscus' last hopes for bringing his daughter to Prussia (cf. letter No. 49 footnote 13). His relations with the girl's mother, which had been deteriorating gradually over the previous few years, practically ceased from that moment.

Also in 1537, Dantiscus exercised patronage over the renovation of the college in Chełmno, dealt with court proceedings and issues of church property

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<sup>1</sup> Małtek, 1987, p. 74-75.

that were under the bishop's jurisdiction, and was also the patron of students from Prussia.

## The subject matter of Dantiscus' letters in 1537

The list of themes found in Dantiscus' letters included in the present publication does not cover all the subjects dealt with by this great humanist's correspondence in the period under consideration. The reason is the language limitation assumed in the present work; as mentioned earlier, Dantiscus conducted an equally prolific correspondence in German. Neither does the analysis offered below take into account the content of letters addressed to Dantiscus.

### Main themes

The letters are dominated by Dantiscus' activities as the Chełmno bishop and Warmia coadjutor, and subsequently bishop of Warmia. By virtue of his office, the bishop of Warmia was also the chairman of the Prussian Council, the most important figure of Royal Prussia – a territory being a part of the Kingdom of Poland, but having its separate legal system and its own self-government bodies. The Prussian Council included two Prussian bishops – of Warmia and of Chełmno (Maurycy Ferber and Dantiscus), three voivodes – of Pomerania (Jerzy Konopacki), Chełmno (Jan Luzjański), Malbork (Jerzy Bażyński), three castellans – of Gdańsk (Achatius Cema), Chełmno (Mikołaj Działyński), Elbląg (Ludwik Mortęski), three *podkomorzowie (succamerarii)* – of Chełmno (Michał Żeliszawski), Malbork (Jan Bażyński), Pomerania (Fabian Cema), and representatives of the three great Prussian cities (three each from Gdańsk and Toruń, two from Elbląg; however, each city had just one vote in the Council)<sup>2</sup>.

Since the ill Maurycy Ferber was physically unable to deal with public activities in the last months of his life, in practice Dantiscus chaired the Prussian Council throughout 1537. The Council was responsible for the internal running of Royal Prussia. The chairman of the Prussian Council also chaired the assembly of the estates of Royal Prussia, which gathered twice a year – in the spring on St. Stanislaus' Day and in the autumn on St. Michael's Day. Participants in this assembly were representatives of the clergy, of the gentry, and of what were called the great and small cities. Usually only a delegation representing the Council was sent to the sessions of the Crown Diet. 1537 was an unusual year in this respect

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<sup>2</sup> Małłek, 1976, p. 78-84.

– the Diet held in late 1536 / early 1537 in Cracow was attended by two deputations from Royal Prussia: one of councilors (Ioannes Dantiscus, Jerzy Konopacki, Gdańsk Mayor Johann von Werden and Achatius Cema, who arrived in January), and the other of the Prussian nobility (Chełmno district judge Jerzy Plemięcki and aldermen Fabian Wolski and Maciej Mgowski). This dual deputation was a result of the conflict over the gravamens against the influence of burghers in Prussia, presented by the gentry at the 1536 autumn assembly in Elbląg. The key to this problem was the “principle of indigenoussness”, which gave exclusive rights to hold official posts and dignities in Royal Prussia to its citizens born and resident there. The meaning of the concept of indigenoussness was the subject of a long-term conflict between the Prussian gentry and the Prussian Council representing the interests of great landowners and wealthy burghers. The argument was over the possibility of acquiring citizenship by settling in Prussia. The debate, which was also fueled by the Polish gentry in its efforts to obtain starosties in Royal Prussia, formed the basis of the above-mentioned gravamens, and subsequent accusations against the Prussian Council, presented to the king at the 1536/37 Diet by the Prussian gentry’s deputation<sup>3</sup>.

Thus, Dantiscus’ letters of early 1537 concerned mainly the political events of the Diet in Cracow (December 1536 – February 1537). The main topic involved the above-mentioned demands of the Prussian nobility, which actually aimed for a legal and political unification of Royal Prussia and the Crown, and consequently, for a limitation of the Prussian Council’s prerogatives and elimination of the principle of indigenoussness. In direct talks with the king, Dantiscus vehemently opposed the nobility’s political concepts and scored a limited success in this respect – the gentry’s deputation was reprimanded, while the discussion on indigenoussness was moved to the springtime Prussian assembly, which was to be attended by commissioners specially appointed by the king. Dantiscus sent day-by-day reports on these talks in his letters to the bishop of Warmia, Maurycy Ferber. In his correspondence, he also mentioned that the king had asked him to conduct negotiations with Otto Heinrich, nephew of the then elector of the Rhine Palatinate, Ludwig V Wittelsbach, who came to Cracow at the time of the Diet. Dantiscus was to declare the Polish king’s readiness to mediate in negotiations between the elector’s brother Friedrich (married to the daughter of the former Danish king Christian II) and the Danish king Christian III, concerning the dowry. Dantiscus’ letters from this period also contain critical remarks about the Crown deputies with respect to the Diet’s dissolution on the eve of the swearing-in of

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<sup>3</sup> On the nobility’s gravamens presented to the king at the 1536 Diet in Kraków – cf. letter No. 2 footnote No. 7.

the young king Sigismund II Augustus. Ferber is, further more, informed about problems with obtaining the promised confirmation of the privileges for Royal Prussia from Sigismund II Augustus.

Then the emphasis of the correspondence shifts to local Prussian affairs related to the organization of the springtime diet. Apart from Maurycy Ferber, the letters are addressed to Malbork voivode Jerzy Bażyński, Płock bishop Jan Chojęński as well as the Polish king Sigismund I. They do not bring any reports from the sessions themselves because the gap of more than three months (none of Dantiscus' Latin letters from the time between April 17 and July 30, 1537 have been preserved) also includes the time of the assembly, which began on May 8. The letters preceding the diet, which touched on organizational matters, confirm information known from elsewhere that the planned sessions were to focus mainly on the dispute between the Prussian gentry and the burghers, and were to be held in the presence of royal commissioners specially sent there. The possibility of moving the time of the assembly was considered (and ultimately not realized) as well as a change of location. According to the constitutions granted to Royal Prussia in Gdańsk in 1526, the diet was to be held in Malbork or Grudziądz. In exceptional cases, it was sometimes held in Elbląg, Toruń or Nowe Miasto. This time the king wanted it to gather in Toruń, for the convenience of the commissioners. Dantiscus, however, seriously considered Elbląg as the easiest location for Maurycy Ferber to reach, and he was especially anxious to secure Ferber's presence in view of the conflicts that were difficult to resolve. Despite insistent requests, the ill bishop of Warmia refused to attend and free Dantiscus of the tough task of chairing the sessions. We know from other sources that the assembly in Toruń involved heated discussions on the indigenusness issue, ultimately ending in the formulation of an interpretation that was in agreement with the views of the Prussian Councilors, which was dispatched to the king<sup>4</sup>.

Until Maurycy Ferber's death (July 1, 1537) the letters contained regular references to the problem of the pope approving Dantiscus' appointment to the post of coadjutor of the bishop of Warmia. After several years of soliciting for the position, Dantiscus was elected coadjutor by the Warmia Chapter on December 1, 1536. He was at the Diet in Cracow at the time, and received news of his appointment in a letter. The special status of the Warmia bishopric, whose management was shared between the bishop and the Chapter, which was administrator of a large part of the diocese's assets, formed the background for another topic in the letters – Dantiscus' election capitulations. From the mid-15th century the Warmia Chapter presented these for every bishop elect to sign. The election

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Prusy*, p. 52-65.

capitulations (or *articuli iurati*) obligated the bishop to defend the rights and privileges of the church in Warmia, and to recognize the Chapter's partnership with the bishop in management of the diocese. They also covered more detailed matters of finance and jurisdiction. The details of the capitulations were drawn up individually for each bishop, which made them a subject of Dantiscus' negotiations with the Chapter<sup>5</sup>. The addressees of the letters on issues related to the office of coadjutor included, besides Maurycy Ferber, Warmia canons Tiedemann Giese and Felix Reich, and also Dantiscus' representatives in Rome – Dietrich von Rheden and Tomasz Sobocki.

The topics of the correspondence in the autumn months revolved around Dantiscus' efforts to secure his succession to the Warmia bishopric after the death of Maurycy Ferber and – in accordance with the appropriate agreement – the succession to the Chełmno bishopric, once Dantiscus left it, for Warmia custos Tiedemann Giese, and further – to obtain a provision from the Holy See, and to reduce the fees for confirmation – the so-called annates. The most frequent addressee of these letters is the canon and custos of Warmia, and the subsequent bishop elect of Chełmno, Tiedemann Giese, with whom Dantiscus regularly consulted about his successive moves. Both the organization of the bishop's election and confirmation of the appointment in Rome required regular contacts with the royal court, where Grand Chancellor Jan Chojeński, recently elected bishop of Cracow, became the main advocate of Dantiscus' and Giese's causes. Dantiscus also sent letters on this issue to Vice-Chancellor Paweł Wolski and directly to King Sigismund I. The necessity for urgent communication with the king, who at this time was with his retinue in Ruthenia in connection with the ultimately abandoned retaliatory expedition against Moldavian hospodar Petru Raresh, accounts for occasional information and opinions on that expedition – known as the “hen war”. The cause of obtaining a papal provision for the new bishops was served by letters Dantiscus sent to Rome: to the Cardinal Protector of the Kingdom of Poland, Antonio Pucci, and to the canon of Warmia and prosecutor at the Holy See, Dietrich von Rheden.

At the same time, Dantiscus tried to influence the king's decision concerning the person to succeed him at the Warmia canonry. Dantiscus' candidate was his assistant of old and his successor as diplomat to the imperial court, Fabian Wojanowski, who, like Queen Bona's candidate Rafał Konopacki, was competing against the protégé of Chancellor Chojeński, Stanisław Hozjusz. In his efforts,

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Borawska, 1984, p. 75, 76, 209 (further references available there), and also *Articuli iurati Episcopi Ioannis Dantisci*, (copies of 16th- and 17th-century manuscripts: AAWO, Dok. Kap. A4/36).

Dantiscus tried to take advantage of the influence of royal secretary Samuel Maciejowski, for whose benefit he had, at the king's request, resigned from the post of parish priest in Gołęb and whom he additionally gave the previous year's income of this parish. The issue of Dantiscus' resignation from the canonry is mentioned in letters to Fabian Wojanowski, Stanisław Hozjusz, Chancellor Chojeński, Queen Bona, Dietrich von Rheden, Samuel Maciejowski, and also in correspondence with Tiedemann Giese, from whom Dantiscus requested some friendly advice.

In late September and early October, in connection with the autumn session of the Prussian diet (Grudziądz, September 29), Dantiscus' letters to Giese and Chojeński return to the topic of the assembly sessions and the Prussian Council. Reports from the sessions concern mainly the vote on taxes. Dantiscus expresses his deep satisfaction with the achieved consensus.

Dantiscus' family ties are documented in letters containing mentions on services provided to him by his brother Bernard. From time to time Dantiscus also wrote to his nephew Caspar Hannow, whose studies in Cracow he was financing. In a letter to Giese, he wrote with serious concern about his mother's illness and attempts at securing proper medical care for her. The greatest number of family-related themes are represented by letters on Dantiscus' relations with his daughter Juana and her mother Isabel Delgada, left behind in Spain. In March, yet again, Dantiscus asks Isabel to send Juana to join him in Prussia. He makes no secret of his indignation at the financial demands made by the girl's mother. He also complains about her in a letter to his friend the archbishop of Lund, Johan Weze. In early November he receives news of his daughter's betrothal to a man he knew in the times of his diplomatic activity, Diego Gracián de Alderete. Despite being swamped with correspondence on official matters, he scrupulously responds to numerous letters from his old Spanish acquaintances, who give a warm recommendation to his son-in-law. Politely though coolly, he replies that he has resigned himself to the inevitable. To Gracián himself, he writes frankly about how disappointed he is that Juana's mother refuses to send his daughter to him. As an embittered father, Dantiscus refuses to pay for Juana's dowry, and dismisses Gracián's request that he obtain the post of representative of the Polish king at Charles V's court for him; Dantiscus only offers some enigmatic assurances on financial assistance in the future and promises to send his daughter a memento of himself (cf. letter No. 68 footnote 19). He fulfills the last of these promises, as confirmed by subsequent letters.

In late November and early December, the most important theme of Dantiscus' letters is his move to Lidzbark Warmiński. The group of addressees narrows down to Tiedemann Giese and the Warmia canons, who are involved in the move.

Dantiscus also faces the prospect of personnel decisions he will soon need to make in relation to officials in Warmia.

### Secondary themes

The themes of secondary importance that come up in Dantiscus' letters are at least as interesting as the major topics described above. These additional themes include political events and social and religious changes abroad. These topics come up mainly in letters to addressees at home – Maurycy Ferber, Jan Chojeński, Jan Latalski, Tiedemann Giese, Jerzy Bażyński, Seweryn Boner, as well as Warmia canon Dietrich von Rheden who was in Rome at the time. In this way, Dantiscus passes on the news he receives from his friends in other countries. He also exchanges opinions on foreign events with his friend the archbishop of Lund, Johan Weze, mentioned earlier.

The letters include mentions of such rulers and members of European ruling families as Pope Paul III, the emperor and king of Spain Charles V Habsburg, King of England Henry VIII Tudor and his wife Jane Seymour, king of Denmark Christian III, king of France Francis I, king of Rome (later emperor) Ferdinand Habsburg, Turkish sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, Moldavian hospodar Petru Raresh, Brandenburg elector Joachim II Hohenzollern, ruler of Ducal Prussia (*dux in Prussia*) Albrecht Hohenzollern von Ansbach and his brother Johann Albrecht (who later became the bishop of Halberstadt and archbishop of Magdeburg), the cousins of the Rhine Palatinate elector Ludwig-Friedrich and Otto Heinrich Wittelsbach, count Heinrich von Nassau, and of course king of Poland Sigismund I, his wife Bona Sforza and his son Sigismund II Augustus.

One recurring motif is the sense of danger to Christian Europe posed by the Muslim Ottoman Empire, especially in combination with the deepening crisis of Catholic religion and morality. Dantiscus is critical both of the attitude of the Catholic ruler of France, who signed an opportunistic treaty with the "heathens", and of the steps taken by kings – religious reformers in England and Denmark, steps that were a far cry from Christian gentleness and charity. He is decidedly against breaches of unity in the Church. He calls the lack of unity among Christians the work of Satan. He presents wars based on religion as portending the approaching fulfillment of Biblical prophecies about the end of the world. Writing about the coronation of the king of Denmark, he concentrates on the aspect of royal rule being stripped of its sacral character. Through Chancellor Chojeński, Dantiscus tries to persuade the Polish king to stand up for imprisoned Danish bishops. He also requests financial aid from the Polish Episcopate (letters to Chojeński and Latalski) for Swedish bishops living in exile in Gdańsk. On many

occasions, he describes the sense of terror accompanying the iconoclastic devastation and looting of English churches and monasteries. He is deeply shocked at the transformation of king of England Henry VIII, whom he has met personally, into a tyrant. This monarch's arbitrary decisions on matrimonial matters suggest to Dantiscus a comparison with the Roman emperor Caracalla. Dantiscus' indignation is all the more justified since just a few months earlier, maybe not yet fully aware of the situation in England, he had followed the orders of the Polish court and became engaged in matrimonial plans involving princess Isabel Jagiellon and Henry VIII<sup>6</sup>. Dantiscus sees the only hope for curbing the spread of Lutheranism in the quickest possible organization of a General Council. He awaits it impatiently, but is extremely doubtful as to the efficacy of the pope's activity in this respect.

Marginal themes in the letters include information on changes in state and bishopric offices in the Crown. Legal issues are also mentioned, related to both church and civil jurisdiction. Reports from the Diet and local diets mention the court cases concurrently being resolved. Dantiscus stresses the importance of observing the regulations on appeals to the Polish king. In his concern for the good-neighborly relations between citizens of Royal Prussia and the Crown, he undertakes legal interventions to the king on several occasions, doing his best to prevent the exacerbation of conflicts. On the other hand, he turns down a request to intervene with the royal court on behalf of Mikołaj Russocki, who was accused in the well-known case concerning the murder of Tomasz Lubrański. Not wanting to get personally involved, Dantiscus only passes on Russocki's request to Duke Albrecht.

With respect to economic topics, one finds a detailed instruction given to Tiedemann Giese on gathering excise tax as well as mentions about Gdańsk becoming exempt from it. In connection with Dantiscus' efforts to have Rome approve the appointment of new bishops, he describes the transfer of money via banks. At the time, he was using the services of the Fuggers' bank. He could also count on Anton Fugger if he needed a loan, especially, as he emphasizes, after his election to the wealthy bishopric of Warmia.

When dealing with current affairs, the letters include references to past events, such as the Thirteen-Year War, the war between Poland and the Teutonic Order in 1519–1521, or the pope's war with Florence (1530).

Matters of liturgy and the ministry appear twice in the letters: a letter to Dietrich von Rheden includes a mention on the privilege concerning the Roman canonical hours, and in a letter to Tiedemann Giese, Dantyszek as the suggested though not yet appointed bishop of Warmia calls the Warmia diocese to pray for

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. letter No. 16.



harmony among Christians. From what he writes on this, one can indirectly conclude that such prayers were said in the Chełmno diocese which he headed.

Quite often, when writing to people close to his heart or those he feels obliged to look after, Dantiscus voices his moral views, frequently seeking support for his opinions in the authority of the Bible. He points to the disastrous effects of conflict in the state and society. He emphasizes respect for the law, and when faced with overwhelming cruelty and injustice, he usually refers to Divine justice. To his young friend and successor to his diplomatic functions, Fabian Wojanowski, he sends advice on the benefits of sexual restraint for someone aspiring to official positions within the church. He admonishes his former lover Isabel Delgada for her life of debauchery and also for her greed. He values faithfulness in friendship, claiming that genuine friendship will survive all adversity.

The letters to Giese and Chojeński show Dantiscus' strong attachment and deep feelings of friendship toward Mikołaj Nipszyc. Dantiscus considers it a great privilege and honor that Tiedemann Giese has been accepted as a replacement for the late Jan Zambocki in the triumvirate of friends that had comprised Dantiscus, Zambocki and Nipszyc ever since the times of his studies in Cracow. With his old friends from the times of his diplomatic travels across Europe (e.g. Helius Eobanus Hessus, Cornelis De Schepper, Jan van Campen, Johan Weze), Dantiscus keeps up a regular correspondence, though the exchange of letters is not frequent because of the slowness of the postal service. In these letters Dantiscus writes about friendship and the longing that goes with it. He is always curious about the progress of his friends' careers, and also asks after their common acquaintances. He writes an epitaph for the deceased Alfonso de Valdes, and sends it to be placed on a special plaque on the wall above Valdes's tomb in St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna. Dantiscus also tries to use the contacts he established during his diplomatic service for his present needs – for example, he hopes that the acquaintance struck up with Antonio Pucci, the Cardinal Protector of the Kingdom of Poland, during the imperial coronation in Bologna, will help him obtain a reduction in the fee for the confirmation of his election to the Warmia bishopric, and a similar reduction for the Chełmno bishop elect, Tiedemann Giese, upon his appointment to the Chełmno bishopric.

There is only sporadic news from the areas of literature and visual arts, while we find numerous references to the literary and cultural tradition of antiquity and Christianity. These are described in the chapter on the texts' literary aspect. Current literary events are only mentioned in a letter to Helius Eobanus Hessus, in the fragment on the translation of *The Iliad* he was working on, and there are mentions of Dantiscus' epitaph for the Spanish humanist Alfonso Valdes, men-

tioned earlier. Just once, Dantiscus writes about style, when – in accordance with the Renaissance principle of *imitatio* – he encourages Caspar Hannow studying Latin stylistics to take from others what he is as yet unable to formulate himself.

Visual arts are documented in the letters by information on the paintings commissioned by Queen Bona from a painter working for Dantiscus, and a mention of the intaglio and steel seal with coat-of-arms that Dantiscus ordered in Cracow.

In terms of patronage of the arts and culture in a broad sense, the information is equally meager. There was a painter working at Dantiscus' court, so one can conclude (and this is confirmed by other sources) that he was in Dantiscus' care. It is also known that before moving from Lubawa to Lidzbark Warmiński, Dantiscus had some school affairs to deal with, which probably concerned the college in Chełmno. He was also interested in the curriculum of his nephew Caspar Hannow's studies, and took care to pay the young man's Cracow teachers<sup>7</sup>.

Courtesies – congratulations, good wishes, an exchange of gifts, words of thanks for favors, letters of recommendation, mediation for other people – are in a few cases the only theme of a letter, and in others just a marginal one.

Together with mentions of travels and the sending of post, Dantiscus sporadically writes about the weather, affecting navigation and the condition of roads. A few times, he writes about hiring or buying saddle-horses for his journeys.

## Dantiscus' Latin-language correspondents in 1537

The list of Dantiscus' known correspondents in 1537, to whom Dantiscus wrote in Latin, numbers 79 people. The names of addressees of letters covered by the present publication are marked in bold. The other people appearing on the list are only known to have been senders of letters to Dantiscus, which makes them the possible addressees of letters as yet undiscovered. Next to the names are the years of birth and death as well as a given person's status in 1537.

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<sup>7</sup> More information about Dantiscus' sponsorship of science and art at this time can be found in the letters that he received. From them, we learn among other things that he was involved in the restitution of the college in Chełmno, financed the education of at least several young men, and also showed an interest in new publications.

## The governing elite

### Monarchs

- **Sigismund I** (1467–1548) – king of Poland (1506–1548)
- **Bona Sforza** (1494–1557) – queen of Poland (1518–1557)

### Members of the Prussian Council

- **Jerzy Bażyński** (Georg von Baisen) (1469–1546) – Malbork voivode (1512–1546)
- **Maurycy Ferber** (1471–1537) – bishop of Warmia (1523 to July 1, 1537)
- Jan Luzjański (1470–1551) – from 1514 Chełmno voivode and Radzyń *starosta*

### Other major state officials

- **Seweryn Boner** (1486–1549) – Cracow *żupnik*, Cracow burgrave (1520) and governor (1523–1549), castellan in Oświęcim (1532–1535), Biecz (1535–1547), Sącz (1547–1549)
- **Jan Chojeński** (1486–1538) – Grand Chancellor (February 16, 1537 – 1538), Płock bishop (1535– August 17, 1537), Cracow bishop (August 17, 1537–1538)
- **Iustus** (Iostus, Jost, Jodok) **Ludovicus Decius** (Dietz, Decjusz) (1485–1545) – historian, economist, royal secretary (1520–1524), Cracow councilor (1528), in 1530–1540 Cracow administrator of the mint
- Łukasz Górka (1482–1542) – in 1535–1537 Poznań voivode, later (from 1538) Kujawy bishop
- Stanisław Kostka (1487–1555) – *starosta* of Golub (od 1524), Lipno (from 1530), Tczew (from 1532), treasurer of the Prussian lands (from 1531), later Kościerzyna *starosta* (from 1540), Prussian *starosta* (from 1546), Elbląg castellan (from 1544), Chełmno castellan (from 1545), Pomerania voivode (from 1546), Chełmno voivode (from 1551)
- **Jan Latański** (1463–1540) – Cracow bishop (1536– August 12, 1537), Gniezno archbishop (nominated August 12, ingress September 15, 1537); previously chancellor to Queen Elizabeth (1498–1505), royal secretary (1504–1524), Poznań bishop (1525–1536)
- **Piotr Opaliński** (d. 1551) – in 1535–1551 Gniezno castellan, tutor and marshal of the court of Prince Sigismund Augustus (from 1530); previously royal secretary (from 1528), Łąd castellan (1529–1535)

- **Antonio Pucci** (d. 1544) – from 1532 Cardinal Protector of the Kingdom of Poland
- **Mikołaj Russocki** (ca. 1491–1548) – Biechowo castellan (from 1511), *starosta* of Łęczycza (from 1524) and Rawa (from 1532)
- **Paweł Wolski** (d. 1546) – Gostynin *starosta* (1533–1543), Sochaczew castellan (1532–1537), Vice-Chancellor (from January 3 (?) 1537–1539), Cracow burgrave (1537–1546); later Grand Chancellor (1539–1544), Radom castellan (1542–1544), Poznań bishop (from 1544)

## Clergy

### Chelmino Chapter

- Martin Cema (Czema, Zehmen) (d. ca. 1542) – Chelmino canon in 1516 at the latest, from 1504 Chelmino vicar general and *oficjal*
- **Baltazar of Lublin** (d. after May 20, 1543) – Chelmino canon (from 1535 at the latest), Chelmino *oficjal* 1538, chancellor of the Chelmino bishops – Dantiscus, then Tiedemann Giese

### Warmia Chapter

- **Tiedemann Giese** (1480–1550) – Warmia canon from 1504, Warmia guardian, later bishop of Chelmino (1537–1548) and Warmia (1549–1550)
- Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) – world-famous astronomer, humanist, physician and economist, Warmia canon from 1497
- Leonard Niederhoff (1485–1545) – Warmia canon from 1515, from 1532 dean of the Warmia Chapter
- Paweł Płotowski (1485–1547) – Warmia canon from 1519(?), from 1519 Warmia provost, from 1533 royal secretary
- **Dietrich von Rheden** (d. 1556) – Warmia canon (1532–1551), lawyer, stayed in Rome; later also canon in Mainz and Lubeck
- **Felix Reich** (1475–1539) – Warmia canon from 1526, notary public, in 1518–1538 provost of the Dobre Miasto Chapter; later Warmia *oficjal*
- Alexander Sculteti (d. 1564) – Warmia canon from 1519, doctor of canon law, notary, cartographer and historiographer, in 1530–1539 chancellor of the Warmia Chapter, imprisoned by the Inquisition, he lost the canonry in 1541
- Jan Solfa (Benedyktowicz) (1483–1564) – Warmia canon from 1526, physician, lawyer, poet and historian, court physician of King Sigismund I, from 1547 Warmia provost

- **Achatius Trenck** (Trencka) (d. 1551) – Warmia canon from ca. 1520, administrator of the bishop's castle in Olsztyn (1533–1548), general administrator of the bishopric twice (after the deaths of Dantiscus and Giese)
- **Ioannes Tymmermann** (Zimmermann) (1492–1564) – Warmia canon from 1519, after Maurycy Ferber's death general administrator of the Warmia bishopric, later (1547–1552) Warmia *oficjal*

### Others

- Jan the Provincial of the Carmelite Order
- Hans Brask (1464–1538) – from 1513 bishop of Linköping, from 1527 in exile
- Nicolaus Human (ca. 1480 – after 1540) – dean of the Dobre Miasto Chapter, chancellor of Warmia bishop Maurycy Ferber
- **Stanisław Hozjusz** (Hosius, Hosz) (1504–1579) – lawyer and poet, in 1534–1535 secretary to Piotr Tomicki, 1535–1538 – to Jan Chojeński; later Warmia canon (from 1538), great secretary of the crown chancellery (1543–1549), Chełmno bishop (1549–1551), Warmia bishop (from 1551), cardinal (from 1560), papal legate to the General Council of Trent (1561–1563), great penitentiary (1573)
- **Samuel Maciejowski** (1499–1550) – in 1532–1539 secretary to King Sigismund I, later Vice-Chancellor (1539–1547), Grand Chancellor (1547–1550), bishop of Chełmno (1539–1541), Płock (1541–1545), Cracow (1545–1550)

### Friends and acquaintances from the period of his diplomatic career

- Luis Alobera de Ávila
- **Jan van Campen** (Ioannes Campensis, de Campo) (1491–1538) – Netherlandish classical philologist and Hebraist, in Rome in 1537, at the court of Cardinal Contarini; before that he lectured at the *Collegium Trilingue* of the University in Lovanium; author of a famous paraphrase of Bible psalms from Hebrew into Latin and a Hebrew grammar
- **Claude Liedel Chansonnette** (Cantiuncula) (?) (1488–1549) – lawyer and humanist, a protégé of Erasmus of Rotterdam, from 1532 an imperial official, from 1536 advisor to Roman King Ferdinand, later (from 1540) his chancellor; previously a lecturer of law at the University of Basel

- Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556) – archbishop of Canterbury, close associate of king of England Henry VIII, later advisor to Edward VI; burned at the stake during the brief restoration of Catholicism in England during Mary Tudor's reign
- Godschalk Ericksen (Sassenkerle, Saxocarolus) (d. 1544) – from 1532 in the service of Emperor Charles V, previously secretary to king of Denmark Christian II
- **Guevara** (ca. 1515–ca. 1564) – doctor and senator, father of Diego de Guevara – advisor to Philip II and friend of Ambrosio de Morales<sup>8</sup>
- **Helius Eobanus Hesus** (Koch) (1488–1540) – neo-Latin poet, German humanist and writer, from 1536 history professor at the University of Marburg, previously a lecturer of law at the University of Erfurt
- Petrus Mirabilis de Montereali (Montroy) (?) – previously secretary to Dantiscus, from 1532? in the service of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle (Grand Chancellor of Emperor Charles V)
- **Luis Núñez Cabeza de Vaca** (1465–1550) – from 1536 bishop of Palencia, previously tutor of the young Charles V (1504–1512), his advisor (1515–1522), Canarian bishop (1523–1530), bishop of Salamanca (1530–1536)
- **Gonzalo Pérez** (d. ca. 1567) – secretary to Emperor Charles V and then Philip II, writer, author of a translation of *The Odyssey*, father of the famous Antonio Pérez (1534–1611), secretary to Philip II
- **Alfonso Polo** – theologian, canon in Cuenca, the notary who issued the deed of betrothal for Dantiscus' daughter Juana and Diego Gracián de Alderete
- **Cornelis De Schepper** (Dobbele, Duplicius) (1502/3–1555) – secretary, Vice-Chancellor and advisor to Emperor Charles V
- **Reynaldus Strozzi**
- **Johan Weze** (1490–1548) – from 1522 archbishop of Lund, as secretary to King Christian II banished from Denmark in 1527, from then on in the service of Emperor Charles V, from 1537 bishop of Constance

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<sup>8</sup> Diego Gracián de Alderete wrote about Guevara in his letter to Dantiscus from Valladolid dated May 24, 1538: *Salutat te Gueuara doctor, non theologus, ut reris, sed Magister Supplicum libellorum, atque adeo triumuir, nam et ipse, Couos et Grantuella gubernant nostram rempublicam Hispanam, alii omnes absunt ab hac aula* (orig. autogr.: UUB, H. 154, f. 165-176)

- **Fabian Wojanowski** (Damerau) (d. ca. 1539) – courtier and envoy of King Sigismund I and Queen Bona, from 1538 Warmia canon

### Family

- Juana Dantisca (1527–after 1591) – daughter of Ioannes Dantiscus and Isabel Delgada
- **Isabel Delgada** (d. after June 15, 1546) – Dantiscus' lover during his stay in Spain, mother of his two children
- **Diego Gracián de Alderete** (ca. 1494–1586) – Erasmianist, translator from Greek and Latin into Castilian, *scriba*, secretary and translator to Emperor Charles V, later secretary to king of Spain Philip II, engaged to Dantiscus' daughter Juana on June 30, 1537, married her in 1538
- Johann von Höfen (Ioannes de Curiis Hartowski, Ioannes Varschoviensis) – probably first cousin of Dantiscus, in 1537 studied in Cracow, later (from 1545), upon Dantiscus' recommendation, in the service of Cracow bishop Samuel Maciejowski<sup>9</sup>
- Johann Lehmann (d. 1582?<sup>10</sup>) – Dantiscus' nephew (son of Ursula), Dantiscus financed his studies abroad; later (from 1545) he employed him as his secretary
- **Caspar Hannow** (d. 1571) – Dantiscus' nephew (son of Anna), in 1537 he studied in Cracow – expenses paid by Dantiscus, then also in Rome; later Warmia canon

### Students in Dantiscus' care and their teachers

- Stanisław Aichler (Glandinus) (1520–1585) – lawyer, humanist, poet, he traveled to Italy in 1537 with expenses paid by Dantiscus, earlier he accompanied the young Jan Boner on his journey across Europe; later municipal *scriba*, councilor and *wójt* of Magdeburg law at the Cracow castle; son-in-law of Iustus Ludovicus Decius
- Leipzig, Chapter of the Prince's College (*Praepositus, Senior et reliqui domini Collegiatae Principis collegii*)

<sup>9</sup> Cf. AAWO, D.4, f. 106; AAWO, D.68, f. 254-255; Müller-Blessing, p. 70.

<sup>10</sup> Maybe one and the same with the subsequent Warmia canon Johann Leomann, whose tombstone with the year of death 1582 is housed in Frombork cathedral (cf. Brachvogel, p. 733-770).

- Martin Mhendorn – doctor of theology, dean of the *Collegium Maius* at the University of Leipzig
- Valentinus Nitius – studied in Leipzig, a student of Martin Mhendorn, he applied to the senate of the town of Lubawa for a scholarship
- Iodocus Wilhelmus Resselianus – possibly a lecturer at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder (he writes to Dantiscus with a request for financial assistance for a student from Malbork, Filip Sagenus)

### Other persons

- Hieronymus Aurimontanus (Gürtler von Wildenberg, Cingularius) (1465–1558) – physician, from 1515 municipal physicist in Toruń, rector of the schools in Chełmno (from 1501) and in Złota Góra in Silesia (1504–1513), author of school textbooks, initiator of the restitution of the college in Chełmno
- Iacobus a Barthen
- Jacob Dietrichsdorf
- Anselm Ephorinus (d. 1566) – humanist and physician, teacher of the sons of Cracow patricians (including the Boner and the Decjusz families)
- Mikołaj Grabia (before 1500–1549) – notary, royal courtier, with close ties to the court of Queen Bona, in 1534–1543 Sieradz *podkomorzy*, later Lubomla *starosta* (from 1543), Chełmno castellan (from 1544), Vice-Chancellor (from 1547)
- Iacobus – Gdańsk physician
- Martinus Nipszyc – probably nephew of Mikołaj Nipszyc; stayed in Bologna in 1537; following the example of his uncle and Dantiscus, he planned a diplomatic career<sup>11</sup>
- Vaclav Proček of Četna – from 1518 royal secretary in the service of Sigismund I, previously a courtier of Władysław II Jagiellon and Sigismund I
- Jacob Rese
- Ioannes Dionisius Scheburgk
- **Tomasz Sobocki** (ca.1508–1547) – a courtier of Sigismund I, in Rome from June to September 1537 with a legation of obedience to Pope Paul III; later a king's *cześnik* (1539–1546), Rawa *starosta* (from 1544), Grand Chancellor (from 1545), Cracow burgrave (1545–1546)

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Martinus Nipszyc's letter to Dantiscus, orig. AAWO, D.5, f. 29.



- Jan Sokołowski (of Wrząca) (d. 1546) – from 1519 Grudziądz *starosta*, later Elbląg castellan (1539–1544), Chełmno castellan (1544–1545), voivode of Pomerania (1545–1546)
- Szczęsny (Feliks) Srzeński (d. 1554) – Płock voivode and *starosta*, Malbork *starosta* (from 1535)
- Erazm Szczepanowski
- Tomasz
- Jan Tresler (Dreszler, Triesler) (d. after 1542) – physician maintaining close contacts with Nicolaus Copernicus, Wrocław Collegiate Chapter custos in 1538
- **Mathias Tymmermann** (Zimmermann) – brother of Warmia canon Ioannes Tymmermann, later Warmia canon himself
- Hieronymus Vietor (d. 1546) – Cracow printer (from 1517), previously had a printing house in Vienna
- Laurentius Waxmut – in 1530–1537 in the service of Lodovico Alifio

## The literary aspect of Dantiscus' letters included in the present publication

I think that the letters from just one year offer an insufficient material for any far-reaching generalization as to Dantiscus' literary skills. Neither can letters from just one year answer the question of how the author's skills developed conceptually and in literary terms. It is quite possible, after all, that during the many years of his life Dantiscus modified his manner of writing, especially when successive tendencies appeared in epistolography. During his school years he must have come into contact with medieval patterns. At the Cracow Academy, whose influence radiated to the royal chancellery, the paradigm in this respect changed at least twice in the course of 30 years after Dantiscus had completed his education. The grammar of the Italian humanist Nicolao Perotti (*Grammaticae Institutiones*, first edition Rome 1473), introduced into the basic curriculum of studies in 1517 and recommending that epistolography imitate Cicero, replaced the previously used textbooks of Datus, Niger and Philelphus<sup>12</sup>. From 1530 the letter-writing manual of Erasmus of Rotterdam, *De conscribendis epistolis*, published in 1522, became the basis for teaching epistolography in Cracow. Erasmus,

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Barycz; Winniczuk (manuals used for lectures in epistolography at the Cracow Academy in the years 1493-1537 are listed in Table 1); Jan Ursyn z Krakowa, introduction by Lidia Winniczuk.

who unlike Perotti was not a supporter of an excessively rigorous following of the Ciceronian style in correspondence, recommended the letters of Arpinata as a model, but allowed other stylistic patterns as well. He also recommended, which was innovative, a certain freedom of style, but decidedly adapted to the content of the letter as well as the persons of the addressee and the sender<sup>13</sup>. It would unquestionably be very interesting to study how the generally accepted trends influenced the development of Dantiscus' epistolary style. Below I have undertaken the far easier task of describing the literary aspect of Dantiscus' Latin letters of 1537 only.

In dealing with the references to classical and Christian literature contained in Dantiscus' letters, I faced the question of the specific editions that should be taken into account when comparing the text of the letters with the presumable source of a quote or paraphrase. From the point of view of textual criticism, the answer seems obvious – these should be the sources in use at the time that he wrote a given letter, which means editions from the late 15th / early 16th century, or sometimes earlier manuscripts. This is only seemingly obvious, though. We do not have a canon of texts (in the sense of specific editions) known to Dantiscus, and even the studies of his library that are currently being conducted are not likely to define that canon. The results of these studies will certainly provide valuable guidelines for determining what Dantiscus read, but questions as to the complete picture of his literary culture will remain unanswered. There is no guarantee that an old edition that we can access today (and this access is not always easy) is identical with the one Dantiscus read. Moreover, the text may not necessarily have been known to him from personal reading. This means the impossibility of reconstructing the transformation a text underwent in the humanist's memory, and the analysis of the literary aspect of Dantiscus' letters clearly shows – a fact worth emphasizing – that he often quotes from memory. Neither is there any point in discussing the variants of the text that is being paraphrased – the author of a paraphrase largely has the copyright to it. At the same time, I realize there is a risk that the paraphrase could be closer to a variant of the text that I did not find. However, as long as the purpose of my observations is not to determine the exact editions Dantiscus used, but only to place his texts within the broad area of literary tradition, this risk carries no effects endangering the result. Especially since one can easily imagine a coincidental similarity between the paraphrase and one or another variant of the text. This is why I have decided that, while being careful to make sure whether a given text was available in Dantiscus' time, I refer here to relatively recent, modern critical editions of texts, both classical and post-

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Cytowska, p. 42-76.

classical, and to a modern critical edition of the Vulgate. The exact bibliographical data of the quoted texts are provided in the bibliography of sources. In short, I think that determining the text variants of all the passages that could be a source of a quote or paraphrase in the letters is not of primary importance. In one case, though, when Dantiscus' text suggested the existence of a variant, I reached for a 16th-century edition of Horace. It turned out, however, that the lection of the contemporary edition *valet exsors* (Hor. *Ars* 305) agrees with the 1527 edition<sup>14</sup>, while in relation to the original of Dantiscus' *solet expers* (letter No. 48) one can only conjecture that it is the effect of poor memory, intended transformation, or an unknown tradition.

### The classical tradition

#### Ciceronian motifs

Acting in accordance with the humanist trends in epistolography, Dantiscus clearly refers to the Ciceronian letters in his missives. Comparing the style of his letters with the determinants of two styles of Renaissance epistolography – Ciceronian and Senecian, collected by Barbara Otwinowska, I see an affinity between Dantiscus' letters and the style described as “*oratorical, periodic, full and round, logically consistent, clear, though not simple, with a mainly hypotactic structure, embellished with figures of speech, with a harmonious sound, appropriate mainly for auditory perception, persuasive and emotional*”. To me, they seem very far from being “*curt, fragmented, with a clashing and shaky rhythm, full of nonchalance yet elaborate, expressive, stimulating the mind rather than the will, better suited for reading than auditory reception, more for meditation in solitude than for public oratory, preferring parataxis, often filled with philosophical maxims, witty in the points, figures of thought and verbal antitheses thrown in here and there, but also at times dry, aspiring to maximally sparing use of word and form, abandoning the inter-sentence and even intra-sentence references of a style modeled after Seneca*”<sup>15</sup>. Despite the incompleteness of the material under consideration, one can risk saying that Dantiscus refers to specific texts by Cicero mainly when writing to those readers from whom he expects an animated response, namely in letters to people with whom he feels an intellectual affinity, and whose humanist education will allow them to notice the masterly skill of the letter's author. *Epistulae ad familiares* resound especially strongly in sentences

<sup>14</sup> *Horatius cum quinque commentariis. Quinti Horatii Flacci poemata omnia, Venetiis 18 aprilis 1527 per Guilielmum de Fontaneto Montisserrati, sumptibus Petri de Rauanis Brixiensis.*

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Otwinowska, p. 103-104.

addressed to humanists – the friends of his youth: Cornelis De Schepper, Helius Eobanus Hessus or Johan Weze.

*Quid, si ego aliquando animi causa vos conuenirem? Quicquid tamen eueniat, si te non iis, quibus scribo, animi tamen oculis te mihi praesentem video crebrius, quam tu fortassis opinaris. Itaque tibi de me, mi charissime frater Corneli, persuade, siue te oculis, siue mente videro, eundem me tibi esse, qui fui semper, amicum, neque vlla negocia nacionum, vel principum, vel causae quantumuis arduae passionesue aut affectus eo me sunt perducturi, vt in amicicia tecum a tot annis multa iocundissima consuetudine mutuoque amore firmata vacillare vel velim, vel possim.* (letter No. 12 – to Cornelis De Schepper)

*Salutem. Accepi hic tuas, mi charissime Eobane, vere amicas, veteris tui in me amoris plenas literas – Quod, licet corporibus per satis ampla spacia dissiti sumus, quod te tuamque dulcissimam consuetudinem, qua tocies oblectatus sum plus quam suauiter, in mentem reducere soleo sepius, et non secus atque si praesens esses.* (letter No. 1 – to Helius Eobanus Hessus)

The letters provide two instances where Dantiscus specifically names his references to Cicero. In a letter to Jerzy Bażyński, Dantiscus frets that Maurycy Ferber has misunderstood his complaints, and quotes Cicero in explanation: *durum quidem est tacere (quod Cicero dicit pro Plancio(sic!)) quum doleas* (letter No. 6) (cf. Cic. *Sul.* (30) 31: *difficile est enim tacere, cum doleas*). It is worth noting here that the same motif appears in Dantiscus' poetry (cf. Dant. XXXV 2, 347: *Durum est fervente dolore tacere*). Wondering in a letter to Jan Chojeński where Mikołaj Nipszyc could spend his old age, Dantiscus uses a quote to emphasize how accustomed to court life his friend is: *Atqui, magna, vt Ciceronis vtar verbis, consuetudinis vis* (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* II (17) 40: *consuetudinis magna vis est*, Cic. *Amic.* (XIX) 68: *maxima est enim vis vetustatis et consuetudinis*).

In the next five places, Dantiscus does not mention Cicero as the source of a paraphrase or quote, but the abbreviation *etc.* appears suddenly at the end of the phrase, which could hardly be interpreted in any other way than as a reference to the quoted text.

- *nocere non potuerit etc.* (letter No. 10 – to Johan Weze) (cf. Cic. *S. Rosc.* (20) 57: *anseris sunt qui tantum modo clamant, nocere non possunt*)
- *Quod reliquum est – ego curabo etc.* (letter No. 34 – to Tiedemann Giese) (cf. Cic. *Fam.* XVI 5 2: *cura igitur nihil aliud nisi ut valeas; cetera ego curabo*. Also, Cic. *Fam.* VI 11 2, *Fam.* X 11 1, *Fam.* XIII 28 2, *Fam.* XIII 54 1, *Fam.* XIII 68 1, *Fam.* XIII 72 2, *Fam.* XIV 4 5 and others: *quod reliquum est*)
- *nulla fuit cura etc.* (letter No. 43 – to Seweryn Boner) (cf. Cic. *Off.* II (10) 36-37: *contemnuntur ii – in quibus – nulla cura est.*)
- *hocque sibi de me certo persuadeat etc.* (letter No. 49 – to Dietrich von

Rheden) (cf. e.g. Cic. *Fam.* X 4 3: *Qua re hoc unum tibi persuade*, Cic. *Fam.* XVI 1 2: *Tu autem hoc tibi persuade*)

- *nihil est, quod mihi graciosius facere possit etc.* (letter No. 61 – to Samuel Maciejowski) (cf. Cic. *Fam.* XIII 55 2: *nihil est quod mihi gratius facere possis*)

One also has the strong impression that Dantiscus builds the text of his letters by interspersing it with expressions that appear frequently in the texts of the master of oratory. Below are a few examples:

- *vbinam gentium viuat* (letter No. 47 – to Johan Weze), *vbi gentium agat* (letter No. 69 – to Johan Weze) (cf. Cic. *Catil.* I (4) 9: *ubinam gentium sumus?*)

- *ornamento esse* (letter No. 60 – to Ioannes Tresler) (cf. e.g. Cic. *Fam.* III 10, XI 22, XIII 34, 36, 49, XV 14)

- *cum sic ratio et tempus postulat* (letter No. 81 – to Tiedemann Giese) (cf. e.g. *Rhet.Her.* IV (7) 10: *tempus postulat*; Cic. *Tusc.* II (4) 11, *Rhet.Her.* II (29) 46, *Rhet.Her.* III (24) 40, *Rhet.Her.* IV (1) 1: *ratio postulat*)

- *Et ne battologiis meis, vt soleo, in praesencia sim molestior, finem facio* (letter No. 64 – to Jan Chojeński) (cf. e.g. Cic. *Fam.* V 3 2: *ne vobis multitudine litterarum molestior essem*; Cic. *Att.* X 5 2: *tamen nihil praetermittam. atque utinam tu, sed molestior non ero.* Cic. *Fam.* IV 5 6: *finem faciam scribendi*; Cic. *Att.* X 8 1: *finem inter nos scribendi fieri tempus esse.*)

- *locorum intercapedo, quae tamen animos non disiungit* (letter No. 42 – to Claude Liedel Chansonnette(?)) cf. Cic. *Agr.* II (6) 14 – 15: *Non potestatum dissimilitudo, sed animorum disiunctio dissensionem facit*

- *Solent se offerre multae causae, quibus de oratores hinc inde mitti solent* (letter No. 12 – to Cornelis De Schepper) – a typical classical syntactic structure – *quibus de causis* (*passim* especially in Cicero's texts, but also in those of other classical authors).

#### Other Latin prose writers

Dantiscus' letters also seem to contain references to other Latin prose writers from antiquity, though only in one case is the author mentioned – Aulus Gellius: *verum memini apud Gellium Phaforinum philosophum dicere: “vtere verbis praesentibus, viue moribus antiquis.”* (letter No. 76) (cf. Gel. I 10 1 – 4: *Fauorinus philosophus adulescenti ueterum uerborum cupidissimo et plerasque uoces nimis priscas et ignotas in cotidianis communibusque sermonibus expromenti: “– – Viue ergo moribus praeteritis, loquere uerbis praesentibus”*).

While searching for the sources of sententious-sounding phrases in the texts, I identified a number of more or less direct references, not suggested by Dantiscus directly, to the Latin prose of other ancient authors – Seneca the Younger, Livius,

Suetonius, Gellius, Pomponius Porphyron and Publilius Syrus. These are never direct quotes, but paraphrases, and again it is hard to tell if Dantiscus took them straight from the ancient authors or through other texts. The similarities may also be accidental. Even a rather superficial look through a volume of references to the ancient literary tradition that was popular at the time, *Adagia* by Erasmus of Rotterdam, found three out of the six motifs listed below:

- *praeterita facilius culpari quam emendari soleant* (letter No. 71) (cf. Liv. XXX 30 7 – 8: *sed praeterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi*)
- *Voluntas profecto gratificandi Magnificenciae Vestrae mihi non deest, deest vero facultas, [cuius] defectus merito repraehendi non potest* (letter No. 23), *voluntas adest modo adsit facultas* (letter No. 61) (cf. Sen. Ben. V 23 2: *Quare desperes, antequam temptes? Quare properas et beneficium et amicum perdere? Unde scis, nolim an ignorem, animus an facultas desit mihi?*)
- *Si inter os et offam, quid non iis rebus solet incidere?* (letter No. 47) (cf. Gel. XIII 18 1 – 2: *Quid apud M. Catonem significant uerba haec “inter os atque offam”. Oratio est M. Catonis Censorii de aedilibus uitio creatis. Ex ea oratione uerba haec sunt: “Nunc ita aiunt in segetibus, in herbis bona frumenta esse. Nolite ibi nimiam spem habere. Saepe audiui inter os atque offam multa interuenire posse; uerum uero inter offam atque herbam ibi uero longum interuallum est.”*; also *Adagia*, 1526, No. 402)
- *natura – – quam, licet pilos mutet, tamen numquam solet mutare vulpes* (letter No. 47), *vulpes quod pilos quidem accedente aetate sit mutatura, sarta tecta atque integra manente natura* (letter No. 68) (cf.: Suet. Ves. XVI 3 *Quidam natura cupidissimum tradunt, idque exprobratum ei a sene bubulco, qui negata[m] sibi gratuita[m] libertate[m], quam imperium ademptum suppliciter orabat, proclamauerit, uulpem pilum mutare, non mores*; also *Adagia*, 1526, No. 2219: *Lupus pilam mutat non mentem*)
- *intra pelliculam rediens* (letter No. 68) (cf.: Porph. Com. in Hor. Serm. I 6 22: *“quoniam in propria non pelle quietem”*. *Ex prouerbio sumptum est; eos namque, qui mediocritatis suae obliti maiora se ipsis adpetunt, solemus dicere, non continere se intra pelliculam suam*; also *Adagia*, 1526, No. 592)
- *Verissimum est illud Caracallae “Cui plus licet, quam oportet, plus uult quam licet”* (letter No. 69) (Publil. Syr. in: Gel. XVII 14: *Cui plus licet, quam par est, plus uult, quam licet*; Publil. Syr. in: Macr. II 7 11: *Cui plus licet quam par est, plus uult quam licet*; cf. also SHA Ael. Spart.: *Ant. Car. 10 2: vellem, si liceret – – si libet, licet*)

Dantiscus' statement in a letter to Tiedemann Giese: *cuius stigma omnium columbarum fimus non delebit* (letter No. 28) (cf. Plin. Nat. XXX 4 (10) 30: *stigmata delentur columbino fimo*), its origin most probably being Plinius, seems

interesting for studies on the functioning of literary tradition. One cannot, however, risk assuming that this is a quote from or even a paraphrase of Plinius' *Natural History* – the ancient recipe for eliminating skin lesions with the help of pigeon dung must have long been functioning independently. It is also hard to tell today whether this malicious formulation applied to the outward appearance or the spiritual pettiness of one of Dantiscus' opponents in the Warmia Chapter.

### Latin epic and lyric poetry

Dantiscus' own poetic output leaves no doubt as to his familiarity with classical Latin epic and lyric poetry. That he knows the poems of, first and foremost, Virgil, Horace and Ovid, but also other ancient poets, including Propertius, Martial, Statius or Juvenal, is obvious also from the letters considered here. As mentioned earlier, Dantiscus sometimes uses the same *topoi* and poetical expressions in his letters as he does in his poems. He intersperses the text of his letters with them quite naturally, directly pointing out only twice that he is quoting.

Writing about travels and the hardships and dangers they involve, Dantiscus refers to the ancient descriptions of the travels of Aeneas and Heracles. For example, worried about having not heard from his friend, the diplomat Cornelis De Schepper for a long time, he asks in a letter to Johan Weze if Schepper has died by any chance, using a characteristic expression of Virgil's: *an vescitur aura aetherea?* (letter No. 69) (cf. Verg. A. I, 546-547: *quem si fata uirum seruant, si uescitur aura / aetheria neque adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris*).

The words of a letter to Jan Chojeński refer to Fabian Wojanowski, traveling to Italy and Spain on a diplomatic mission: *per mille discrimina* (letter No. 48) (cf.: Verg. A. I, 204-205: *per uarios casus, per tot discrimina rerum / tendimus in Latium*; Dant. Carm. XXIII, 14: *contra rerum discrimina mille*; Dant. Carm. XXIV, 388: *perpessus discrimina mille viarum*) and also, in the same letter: *post tot aerumnas exanclatosque labores* (cf.: Juv. X, 361 *Herculis aerumnas credat saevosque labores*; Lucil. 30, 1062-1063: *quantas quoque modo aerumnas quantosque labores / exanclaris*; Dant. Carm. XXIII, 128: *tot post aerumnas exanclatosque labores*; Dant. Carm. XXIV, 263-264: *per terras vario discrimine vectus / et post tot casus, aerumnas, mille labores*; Dant. Carm. XLII 2, 839-840: *in quas aerumnas in quae discrimina totus / incideram*). Anticipating the subsequent observations on the influence of ancient Latin comedy on the style and language of Dantiscus' letters, note that the word *aerumna*, usually related in classical Latin to the tasks of Heracles and the travels of Odysseus, often appears in this context in texts by Plautus.

In the same letter to Jan Chojeński, Dantiscus writes how tired another friend of his – Mikołaj Nipszyc – is of his constant activity at court and his numerous legations, using the words *quietem velis et remis quaerere, totoque pectore desiderare*. The expression *velis et remis* – “using sails and oars” is a hackneyed phrase meaning the greatest possible effort, making use of all available resources and possibilities (cf. *Adagia*, 1526, No. 318: *remis velisque*), and that is undoubtedly the meaning of these words in Dantiscus' letter, but it could not escape Dantiscus' poetical sensitivity that sails and oars in many places in *The Aeneid* are metaphorical *pars pro toto* means of traveling. We find the expression *toto pectore* in the sense “with all the spirit”, or “with the whole heart” also in the *Adagia* (*Adagia*, 1526, No. 326), but this is another typical poetic expression that appears many times in the texts of Virgil, Ovid, Statius, Valerius and Lucan, as well as Dantiscus' poems (cf. e.g. *Dant. Carm.* XII 2, 48, XXXV 2, 491, XLII 2, 554).

There is a nearly literal quote from *The Aeneid*, *nb.* one also cited by Erasmus (*Adagia*, 1526, No. 1684), in a letter to Helius Eobanus Hessus, on the spiritual connection between separated friends: *absentem absens auditque videtque* (letter No. 1) (cf. *Verg. A.* IV, 83 *illum absens absentem auditque uidetque*).

With the help of another literal quote from *The Aeneid*, Dantiscus assures Piotr Opaliński that he is ready for service: *subibo humeris nec me labor iste grauabit* (letter No. 17) (cf.: *Verg. A.* II, 708: *ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste grauabit*).

Dantiscus likes to inlay his letters with fragments from poems by Horace and Ovid. At the thought of the possibility of a meeting with Johan Weze, he expresses his joy with the words of the *Ode to Maecenas*: *sublimi feriam vertice sidera* (letter No. 47), just slightly changing the word order (cf: *Hor. Carm.* I 1, 36: *sublimi feriam sidera vertice*).

Writing about Mikołaj Nipszyc's oratorical art and gift of persuasion in a letter to Jan Chojeński, Dantiscus paraphrases a passage from *The Art of Poetry* on the ability to teach a skill one does not have oneself: *functus vice cotis, acutum reddere quae ferrum solet expers ipsa secandi* (letter No. 48) (cf.: *Hor. Ars* 304-305: *fungar vice cotis, acutum / reddere quae ferrum valet exsors ipsa secandi*). If, as there is no reason to doubt, Horace's irony filters into Dantiscus' text here, it would mean that Nipszyc sent to Dantiscus (on behalf of Chojeński) moral exhortations that he did not abide by himself.

Dantiscus mentions the well-known *topos* of the mountain giving birth in a letter to Maurycy Ferber, expressing his fears as to the power of the papal *bullae* sent him by Primate Krzycki and convening a General Council: *Vereor, ne montes parturiant* (letter No. 3) (cf. *Hor. Ars* 139: *parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus*



*mus*, Phaed. IV 23 (24): *Mons parturiens. / Mons parturibat, gemitus inmanesciens, / eratque in terris maxima exspectatio. / at ille murem peperit.*, and also *Adagia*, 1526, No. 814).

Calming down Tiedemann Giese, who reacted very strongly to conflicts with his opponents in the Warmia Chapter, Dantiscus light-heartedly writes, like Ovid, that everything will work out day by day: *Consilium nobis resque locusque dabunt* (letter No. 41) (cf. *Ov. Am.* I 4, 54).

About the disinterested envy of his enemies, conspiring against him at the royal court, Dantiscus uses the words *Sunt, qui ferre nequeant, quod Sol habeat radios* in his letter to Samuel Maciejowski (letter No. 61). These words could be a paraphrase of a fragment from an epigram by Martial (cf. *Mart.* VII 12, 8 *Qui Phoebi radios ferre diemque negat?*). Yet in view of the formal differences, it is difficult to tell whether this is in fact a paraphrase of the ancient poet's text, a quote from the other author, or Dantiscus' own idea.

It was most probably also from Ovid, Propertius and Martial that Dantiscus was familiar with the motif of the poor beggar Iros, appearing in *The Odyssey*, and Croesus who was famous for his wealth. For contrast, Dantiscus – like the above three poets – sets against each other these two characters who were far apart in the ancient tradition. He does so when writing to Maurycy Ferber about the slanderous remarks hurled against him during the Diet in Cracow, that he had been bribed and did not finance his activity from his own funds *Neque me secus atque Irum quempiam existimant ac aestimant, quum in Dei gracia omnia mihi suppetant, et me Croesum esse arbitror* (letter No. 5) (cf. *Ov. Tr.* III 7 (8), 42: *Irus et est subito, qui modo Croesus erat*, *Prop.* III 5, 17: *Lydus Dulichio non distat Croesus ab Iro*, *Mart.* V 39, 8-9: *Croeso divitior licet fuissem, / Iro pauperior forem*, and also *Dant. Carm.* XLII, 218: *Et genus est Parcis Croesus et Irus idem*). The fragment from Ovid quoted above is also cited by Erasmus, where the motif of Croesus' wealth (*Adagia*, 1526, No. 574) comes next to the motif of Iros' poverty (*Adagia*, 1526, No. 576).

In a letter to Diego Gracián de Alderete, commenting on Isabel Delgada's earning a living from prostitution, Dantiscus uses the expression *sine corporis questu, quo abusa est turpiter* (letter No. 68). He previously used a similar phrase, *turpiter utor*, as a poet, calling upon the Gdańsk burghers to improve their morals (cf. *Dant. Carm.* XXXIX, 72: *deliciae, quibus es turpiter usa satis*). One can only wonder if this is a coincidence, or perhaps it is a perverse irony which suggests to Dantiscus in this context the words of a poem from Ovid's cycle *Amores*, about a meeting with a girl that was a failure because of the lover's impotence. (cf. *Ov. Am.* III 7, 45-46: *Credo etiam magnos, quo sum tam turpiter usus, / Muneris oblati paenituisse deos*).

In the same letter to his son-in-law Gracián, and in a letter to Geuvara, when writing about his daughter's recent marriage, of which he did not approve, Dantiscus consoles himself with the poetic expression *sic superis placuit* (letter No. 65) *sic superis visum est* (letter No. 68) (cf.: Ov. *Met.* I, 366: *sic visum superis*; Verg. *A.* III, 1-2: *Postquam res Asiae Priamisque euertere gentem / immeritam uisum superis*; Verg. *A.* II, 659: *si nihil ex tanta superis placet urbe relinqui*). It's worth noting that putting the blame on pagan gods, Dantiscus is not in fact referring to Divine dispensation, but to solutions offered by blind fate.

### Latin comedy

Dantiscus' letters also contain references to ancient Latin comedy. Paraphrasing Plautus, Dantiscus expresses the hope that he will see Cornelis De Schepper sometime: *insperata enim, ut ille ait, saepius, quam quae speramus eueniunt* (letter No. 12) (cf.: Pl. *Mos.* 197: {*Philem.*} *Non spero.*{ *Sc.*} *insperata accidunt magi' saepe quam quae speres.*) Marked with *etc.*, there is another reference in Dantiscus' letter to Tiedemann Giese in which he uses the typically comedic expression *Sat sapienti etc.* (letter No. 31) (cf. e.g. Pl. *Per.* 729, Ter. *Ph.* 541: *Dictum sapienti sat est.*). Similarly in a letter to Samuel Maciejowski: *Rem Dominatio Vestra tenet etc.* (letter No. 37) (cf. e.g. Pl. *Pseudolus*, 651, *Mercator*, 478, *Cistellaria*, 548, *Aulularia*, 782, Ter. *And.*, 349: *rem tenes*). The expression *stabulum bonae confidentiae* (letter No. 52), used by Dantiscus in relation to Jan Chojeński whose support at the royal court he appreciated, may also have originated from a text by Plautus (cf. Pl. *Mos.*, 350: *occidit spes nostra, nusquam stabulum est confidentiae*). Writing to Tiedemann Giese about his certainty as to the situation in the Warmia Chapter prior to the election of a bishop, Dantiscus uses a common phrase, but one derived from a comedy by Terence: *nauigamus Deo gracia in portu* (letter No. 31) (cf. Ter. *And.*, 480: *nunc huius periclo fit, ego in portu navigo*, also *Adagia*, 1526, No. 46). Knowing that the result of the election is in his favor, Dantiscus writes to Giese in the same stylistic convention about Jan Chojeński: *negocia nostra perduxit salua in portum* (letter No. 34).

It is interesting to see the means that Dantiscus uses to express his opinions on Isabel Delgada's lack of reaction to the proposed terms of sending his daughter to him. He writes about this in a letter to Diego Gracián de Alderete: *Ad eas ne iota quidem illa rescribi nobis curauit, neque in praesens -- respondit, non secus atque si numquam recepisset -- quasi vero multam Circeam bibisset mandragoram, atqui longe fuisset illi vtilius commodiusque, si poto elleboro nostris admonicionibus paruisset* (letter No. 68). It's true that the expressions used here were well-rooted in the general consciousness, as proved by their presence in

Erasmus' *Adagia* (cf. *Adagia*, 1526, No. 751: *Bibe elleborum*, No. 3464: *Bibere mandragoram*), but it is worth noting that the characters in Plautus' comedies (cf. e.g. Pl. *Men.*, 913, 950) also recommend hellebore as a remedy that brings people back to their senses and prevents madness.

It is possible that a fragment on Dantiscus' proposed strategy for defeating Moldavia: *nulla vnquam prius occasio et oportunitas fuit commodior, quam praesenti hieme Valachum et invadendi, et de sede penitus deturbandi* (letter No. 84) is an echo of the words of Plautus *deturbabo iam ego illum de pugnaculis* (Pl. *Miles*, 334).

It is interesting to observe how Dantiscus codes mentions of his opponents in the Warmia Chapter with the use of the names of soldiers – fools and conceited men – from comedies by Plautus (*Pyrgopolinices* – a character from the comedy *Miles gloriosus*) and Terence (*Thraso* – a character from the comedy *Eunuch*) (letter No. 28).

\* \* \*

Summarizing, one can say with certainty that Dantiscus readily refers to the literary tradition of Latin antiquity, and sometimes likes to emphasize his erudition by giving the name of the quoted text's author. The quotes are hardly ever exact, though. It is clear from the above-mentioned example of Cicero's oration that he also confuses the works he quotes. This allows one to suppose that he usually quotes from memory, or copies the variants of the modern authors after whom he quotes the texts.

On the other hand, apart from one quote from Euripides, explicitly treated as a proverb, and most probably taken from Erasmus' *Adagia*, I have not found any references to ancient Greek literature (letter No. 44: *quod ex vulgato apud Euripide(n) adagio pedem non mouerit – hoc enim amicicium, quae desisteret, numquam fuisse veram testatur – cf. Adagia*, 1526, No. 1072, index to this mention: *Amicitia, quae desiit, nunquam vera fuit*). This may be related to the negative stereotype of things Greek in Dantiscus' poetic texts. Also absent from the letters considered here is Greek and Latin mythology, unless one counts the well-worn phrase about the sacrifices for the Lindian Heracles (letter No. 30) and references to the *topos* of the Muses and the sources of the Helicon in relation to the poetic, or rather translatorial, output of Eobanus (letter No. 1).

### **The Biblical and Christian tradition**

Besides the literary tradition of Latin antiquity, Dantiscus' writing also embraces the Biblical and Christian tradition. Dantiscus did not have an in-depth

education in theology, he was a layman before being ordained as a bishop. In the letters analyzed here, I have identified just three references to Christian writings, namely to St. Augustine and to Medieval texts on the Antichrist. In one case, I also recognized a quote from a liturgical text. Yet the frequent appearance of the abbreviation *etc.* in the texts, which seemingly was justified only as the end of a phrase, may suggest references to texts that I am as yet unable to identify. This is all the more probable in view of the fact that in a number of other cases this abbreviation stands at the end of a quote or paraphrase of an ancient text. On the other hand, Dantiscus often draws from the Bible, both the Old and New Testament. He is proficient at using quotes and paraphrases, sometimes signaling the quote and sometimes placing it within his own text without indicating the fact.

Thus, seeing the source of the Turkish threat in discord among Christians, in a letter to Chojeński (letter No. 84) Dantiscus uses the words of a hymn from the Catholic Holy Thursday liturgy *Vbi charitas et amor, ibi Deus est.* (cf. e.g. *Missale secundum ritum insignis ecclesiae cathedralis Cracouiensis nouiter emendatum, Anno Domini MDXXXII mense augusti Venetiis impressum per Petrum Liechtenstein,* f. 83v.-84r.: *Ubi charitas et amor, Deus ibi est*). Further on he writes: *Vbi Deus est, ibi adsunt bona omnia*, perhaps as a reference to Augustine's commentary to the Gospel: *Ubi caritas est, quid est quod possit deesse? Ubi caritas non est, quid est quod possit prodesse?* (Aug. in *Ioh. Evang. Tract. LXXXIII*, column 1846).

Calling for prayer for a return to the source of Christianity, in a letter to Maurycy Ferber Dantiscus uses the Biblical *topos* of the sheepfold: *Rogandus est a nobis omnibus Deus Omnipotens, vt tandem Christianismo et Christianis, quo ad caulas vnde digress[i] sunt redire tandem valeant* (letter No. 3) (cf. e.g. *BSV Gn 29 7: nec est tempus ut reducantur ad caulas greges; BSV Mi 2 12: ponam illum quasi gregem in ovili quasi pecus in medio caularum; BSV So 2 6-7: et erit funiculus maris requies pastorum et caulae pecorum et erit funiculus eius qui remanserit de domo Iuda ibi pascentur in domibus Ascalonis ad vesperam requiescent*). The motif of the shepherd and the fold appears many times in the same context in Dantiscus' poetical works (cf. e.g. *Dant. Carm. XXXV 2, 18: Christi – – grex et ovile, Dant. Carm. XLII 2, 555: ad caulas ut oves errantes ducat*).

Dantiscus notices a direct cause-and-effect relation between the conduct of the rulers of England and France, which is an outrage to Christian morality, and the religious persecution and wars in Europe at the time. He realizes that discord among the Christians is augmenting the threat from Turkey. About the king of France, Francis I, Dantiscus writes: *qui longe orbi Christiano grauissima mala excitabit etc.*. The verb *excitabit* used here seems to be a conscious reference to Medieval texts about the Antichrist, as these texts often contained (with small

variants) the sentence *Excitabit persecutionem sub omni coelo super omnes Christianos* (cf. e.g. Rupertus Tuitiensis, col.1067: *Reges et principes primo ad se conuertet ac deinde per illos persecutionem sub omni coelo excitabit super omnes populos Christum confitentes*).

Neither is it accidental that the danger of Europe being conquered by the Turks, described very vividly by Dantiscus a few years before in his poem *De nostrorum temporum calamitatibus silva* (Dant. *Carm.* XXXV), is stressed in his letter to Jan Chojeński by means of the vision of Judgment Day from Matthew: *euangelium hoc Mathei XXIII "Cum videritis abhominacionem desolacionis etc." aptissime huic nostro saeculo conueniat. Orandus est Deus sancte et pie viuendo, ne fugam hanc hieme aut sabato quam minatur, sed suam nobis det in diebus nostris gratiam et pacem, amen.* (letter No. 84) (cf.: *BSV Mt 24 15-20: cum ergo videritis abominationem desolationis – – orate autem ut non fiat fuga vestra hieme vel sabato*). In the view of a Renaissance humanist, the downfall of European culture and civilization is tantamount to the end of the world.

Dantiscus sees salvation for Christian Europe in Divine justice, referring in a letter to Johan Weze to the Book of Psalms: *Deus nimirum iustus futurus est vindex et iudex, moliminaque gregi suo noxia et capita draconum confringet* (letter No. 10) (cf. *BSV Ps iuxta LXX 7 12: Deus iudex iustus et fortis et patiens; BSV Ps iuxta Hebr. 7 12: Deus iudex iustus et fortis comminans tota die; BSV Ps iuxta LXX 73 13-14: contribulasti capita draconum in aquis / tu confregisti capita draconis; BSV Ps iuxta Hebr. 73 13-14: contrivisti capita draconum in aquis / tu confregisti capita Leviathan*). God is presented as the righteous judge in Dantiscus' poems as well (cf. Dant. *Carm.* XLII 2, 845: *iudex es iustus in omnes*).

Disturbed by the lay character of the ceremony of coronation of Christian III, Dantiscus writes to Seweryn Boner and to Dietrich von Rheden: *Daniae rex est coronatus, sine tamen, vt audio, Samuele, nam vnctionis, quae christianis regibus fieri solet, nulla fuit cura* (letter No. 43) and: *non adfuit cornu Samuelis, invnctusque in solium positus est* (letter No. 49). The absence of Samuel (the Biblical prophet Samuel anointed Saul and then David as kings – cf. *BSV I Sm 8 22: dixit autem Dominus ad Samuhel audi vocem eorum et constitue super eos regem etc.*) symbolizes the absence of the church dignitaries imprisoned by Christian, and thus the failure to fulfill the ceremony of anointing a monarch, which consequently deprives the king's power of sacral character.

Dantiscus refers to the Bible also when writing about matters that are a part of his duties as the diocese's spiritual leader. Writing to the Warmia canons about performing his office as bishop of Warmia, he twice paraphrases the parable of the steward: *vt valeamus debitam villicacionis nostrae reddere racionem* (letter No. 36); *vt bonae fidei in reddenda racione pastori conuenit* (letter No. 56) (cf. *BSV*

*Lc 16 2: redde rationem vilicationis tuae*). He cites the parable of the talents when intervening in the case of Chełmno castellan Mikołaj Działyński's appropriation of church revenue: *qui metere solebat vbi non seminauerat* (letter No. 9) (cf. *BSV Mt 25 24: metis ubi non seminasti et congregas ubi non sparsisti*). In the same letter he stresses that he does not wish for a conflict with Działyński, using the words of St. Paul: *Velim iuxta diui Pauli praeceptum quantum in me est, etiam si mihi inferretur iniuria, cum omnibus habere pacem* (cf. *BSV Rm 12 18: cum omnibus hominibus pacem habentes; BSV Hbr 12 14: pacem sequimini cum omnibus et sanctimoniam sine qua nemo videbit Dominum*). Thanking King Sigismund I for appointing him to the office of bishop, he quotes the Book of Proverbs: *Scriptum habemus Prouerbiorum XXI: „Sicut diuisiones aquarum, ita cor regis in manu Domini – quocumque voluerit, inclinabit illud”* (letter No. 39) (cf. *BSV Prv 21 1: sicut diuisiones aquarum ita cor regis in manu Domini quocumque voluerit inclinabit illud*).

Writing to Maurycy Ferber about his fatigue of attending the Diet in Cracow and discouragement following the slander about him, Dantiscus states that he feels best at home. He emphasizes this feeling of safety with a rhetorical expression, probably based on the words of Abraham on Divine providence: *modo domi manere liceret, nihil mihi in gracia Dei deesset, vel deesse posset, Dominus prouidebit etc.* (letter No. 5) (cf. *BSV Gn 22 8: dixit Abraham Deus providebit sibi victimam holocausti*). He used the same rhetoric when writing earlier to Ferber from Cracow about his growing expenses due to the Diet's protraction: *Iam siquidem octingentas marcas nostras absumpsi nesciens adhuc, quo tempore hinc absoluar. Domino Deo me commisi, Ille sua immensa misericordia mihi prouidebit* (letter No. 2).

In a desire to comfort Tiedemann Giese, who was very worried about the difficulties posed by Dantiscus' opponents in the Warmia Chapter after Bishop Ferber's death, Dantiscus writes that he always finds strength in the sentence "*Quid est quod Dei, cui nos commisimus, consilio et voluntati resistit?*" (letter No. 30) (cf. *BSV Rm 9 19: voluntati enim eius quis resistit – the expression voluntati eius quis resistit cited several dozen times in different works by St. Augustine; BSV Est 13 9-11: et non est qui possit tuae resistere voluntati – nec est qui resistat maiestati tuae; Aug. Sol., column 889, l. 14: Deus cui nos commisimus, sine dubitatione fert opem et de his angustiis liberat nos, modo credemus et eum rogemus devotissime*).

Encouraging Fabian Wojanowski to maintain sexual purity, Dantiscus also relies on the teachings of St. Paul: *ne accipiens membra Christi, vt Paulus inquit, ea membra scorti facias, templumque Dei, quod tu es, prophanes* (letter No. 20) (cf. *BSV I Cor 6 15-19: corpora vestra membra Christi sunt tollens ergo membra Christi faciam membra meretricis – membra vestra templum est Spiritus Sancti*).

Naturally the above examples are evidence not so much of Dantiscus' attitude to religion – though reading his *Hymns* one has the impression that he was a deeply religious person, at least in his mature years – as of the presence of Biblical *topoi* in the consciousness of his contemporaries. Dantiscus uses this important and deeply rooted European cultural code with good effect, since it gives a richer color to the dialogue between the sender and addressee of his letters. However, as in the case of the classical tradition, with such fragmented material it is hard to draw any far-reaching conclusions as to the extent of the presence of the Christian tradition in Dantiscus' letters. It is perfectly clear that Dantiscus consistently resorts to religious argumentation when faced with ethical problems, both in relation to general issues, such as war between Christians, and individual ones – in reprimanding others for their conduct or justifying his own. Also important is the functionality of biblical references with respect to issues handled by someone in a high position within the Catholic Church's hierarchy.

## Conclusion

Despite frequent references to ancient authorities, the style of Dantiscus' letters is far from bombastic. The very choice of quotes and references is not without significance; philosophical writings – both pagan and, seemingly, Christian – have been practically ignored. An underlying cause of this could be Dantiscus' extroverted personality – analyzing his biography, we cannot help feeling that he preferred to practice life rather than ponder on it studying the works of philosophers and theologians. Another relevant factor could be the influence of Erasmus of Rotterdam, who on many occasions encouraged his readers, both scholars and laymen, to solve the problems of temporal life with the help of common sense and the Bible, without resorting to the “sophistic gibberish” of Medieval philosophers, as he called it<sup>16</sup>.

It is not my intent to offer conclusions applying to Dantiscus' epistolography as a whole, but it does seem that both the frequent presence, though not domination, of Ciceronian motifs in the letters, and the substantial freedom of style, though with a clear adaptation to the content of a given letter, allow one to say that **the language and style of the letters under consideration here reflects the postulates contained in Erasmus of Rotterdam's *De conscribendis epistolis***. This conclusion comes as no surprise in view of the huge, close to cult-like popularity of Erasmus in the cultural circles of which Dantiscus was a member, and in view of our knowledge of the bonds of friendship between him and Erasmus.

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. Erasmus Roterodamus, 2000, p. 92 and subsequent pages.

## The Latin of Dantiscus' letters

The Latin used by this outstanding humanist in his everyday life deserves a separate analysis. His letters, which were not meant for publication and did not disguise other literary genres in the form of a letter – these letters whose main purpose was to provide day-to-day information and to maintain interpersonal contacts – constitute excellent material for such an analysis.

### How the texts are written

The observations below on how Latin texts were put down by Dantiscus are based chiefly on analyses of the autographs of his letters. I have analysed both Dantiscus' own fair copies and his rough drafts, keeping in mind their different use; the rough drafts have been treated with circumspection, since they were often written in haste and carelessly, and thus do not always reflect their author's rules of text-writing.

#### Rules of orthography practiced by Dantiscus

##### 1) Writing of the phone group *-ti-*

Before vowels, Dantiscus writes the classical *-ti-* as *-ci-*, except *-tio-* when it comes after *c* and *s*, and *-tia-* after *s*. He also seems to keep in mind the etymology of *etiam* (et + iam), as the dominant spelling in the original letters, where he makes an effort to write correctly, is *etiam* (60%), while in the rough drafts the spelling *eciam* dominates (88%).

##### 2) Diphthongs

Dantiscus clearly tends to provide the classically correct spelling of diphthongs – in the original letters *-ae-* is written in accordance with the classical spelling (most often in the graphic form of *e caudatum*) in 81% of cases. There are also a number of examples of hyper-correct spelling (*caetera*, *caeterum*, *claementer*, *sincaere*).

The diphthong *-oe-* (written as *e caudatum*) comes up just twice in the analyzed letters, in the words *foedus* and *foedant*, so it's hard to view as an example a single instance of the spelling of *poenitudo* with *e caudatum* in view of the variance *poenitudo* and *paenitudo*. The monophthong *-e-* comes up in one instance of the spelling *tragedia*.

##### 3) The letters *u* and *v*

In almost 100% of cases (6 exceptions in the fair copies, 28 in the rough drafts, which is a fraction of a percent), Dantiscus writes *v* at the beginning of



a word. In the middle and at the end of a word, it is always *u*, with one exception: *-v-* is written consistently in the middle of a word in compounds with the preposition *in-* (*inviserem, invitabo, invitus, invtilem*). As an exception to this exception, the combination *in-* + *-u-* appears in compounds with the verb *venio* equally consistently.

#### 4) Geminates

There is also a distinct tendency to write geminates according to the classical rules. One important exception is the word *litterae*, usually written as an abbreviation, except for one instance in the original letters (*literulae*) and one in the rough drafts (*literis*); for lack of other evidence, this spelling has to be accepted as binding. Another exception is the consistent disregarding of regressive assimilation in some compounds of verbs and prepositions (*adferet, adfuturum, adnitendum, adnixsus* but: *affectum, affectionis, assequetur, assecutus, asserat*). Words derived from *sollicito* are always written with one *-l-*, words *opportunitas, opportunus* are always written with one *-p-*, *quattuor* – with one *-t-*, the verb *bullio* (which occurs just once) is spelled with one *l*.

#### 5) Other observed regularities

- in the compound verb *expecto* the *-s-* is always left out (*expecto*).
- some words starting with *a* are aspirated – (*habunde, harena*)
- always in the fair copies and in 67% of cases in the rough drafts, the word *benevolentia* is spelled *beniuolencia* (33% of the rough drafts: *beneuolencia*)
  - words of Greek origin which contain the phones  $\phi$ ,  $\theta$  and  $\tau$  in Greek, are spelled with *ph* (*phanaticus, sicophanticque*), *th* (*Theodericus, aetherea, theologiae*) and *t* (*auctenticum, autenticum*), respectively, even if the classical Latin spelling opposes this. The word *prophanos* is spelled hyper-correctly with *ph*.
  - in the words *siincerus* and *ociissime* the spelling *-ii-* occurs sometimes instead of the classical *-i-*.

Dantiscus' use of the majuscule

There is also some limited regularity in Dantiscus' use of capital letters (e.g. *Regnum* – Kingdom, *Respublica* – Republic, *Senatus Regni* – senate of the Kingdom, *Consilium* – Diet, *Consilium* – Prussian Council, *Aula Regia* – royal court, *Aula Caesarea* – imperial court, *Concilium* – [General Church] Council, *Capitulum* – chapter, *Episcopatus* – bishopric, *Magistratus* – municipal board, and others). Majuscules abound rather regularly in the titles of lay and church officials, starting with the emperor and the pope, through kings, princes, bishops, castellans,

to canons and lower-level officials. There are some exceptions, though. At the beginning of a sentence and at the beginning of the names of people and geographical names, capital letters appear at random. Quite often, though one can hardly speak of consistency here, capital letters appear at the beginning of some common words, mainly nouns (including *Exemplum* – a copy of a document, *Copia* – a copy of a document, *Cives* – burghers, *Indigena* – native, *Equus* – horseman, *Equus* – horse, *Sigillum* – seal, *Sacellum* – chapel, *Castrum* – castle, *Nuncius* – messenger, *Querela* – complaint, claim, *Subditus* – subject *etc.*). One characteristic regularity is that the word *DEUS* is written entirely in majuscules, but there are exceptions to this rule, for example the expression *dei gracia* written entirely in minuscule. The name *Christus* always starts with the capital letter, as do the derivative words *Christianus* and *Christianismus*. The adjectives *diuus* in the sense of holy, *diuinus* – divine and *beatus* – saintly, blessed – start with a small letter. All this combines to form quite a specific though not very regularly applied system – capital letters are used in recognition of people, concepts and objects that the author feels a special respect for, and sometimes also to highlight the start of a sentence or thought.

#### Dantiscus' punctuation

Dantiscus' punctuation is the one of rhetorical meaning, which is compatible with the custom of the time. In studying it, I considered all types of contemporary sources, because the analysis of Dantiscus' letter to Giese (letter No. 53), preserved in two forms – the autograph fair copy (original) and an office copy from the same time – shows that office copies follow the fair copy faithfully in terms of punctuation. I did not make separate analyses of punctuation in the rough and fair copies, because statistically punctuation marks occur in them with a similar frequency, accounting for about 1.9 % of all characters in the texts.

In the analyzed texts, Dantiscus uses the following punctuation marks:

- virgule / (3697 times)
- question mark ? (three times)
- parentheses ( ) (eight times)

The virgule is used as a universal punctuation mark. Most often, it fulfills the function of our comma, and about two times less often – of the full stop. Sporadically, it can be ascribed the role of the contemporary dash, colon, semicolon, question mark and exclamation mark. From among these punctuation marks, only the question mark is sometimes written by Dantiscus in a separate form, close to modern usage (*Quis autem adeo stupidus et bardus est, vt id, quod suum est, sciens emat?*; *Quid est quod Dei, cui nos commisimus, consilio et voluntati*

*resistit?*). This doesn't prevent Dantiscus from using the virgule in the role of the question mark as well (e.g.: *Quis tamen huius tragoediae futurus sit exitus?*). He uses parentheses on several occasions, putting parenthetical clauses within them. Below are some examples:

*Quod vero nuncii isti putant mihi magnae esse ignominiae, quia maiestas regia adeo parum mihi dari commisisset (plus tum mihi datum est, erant enim 60 floreni), nihil me mouet*

*quidam de primis regni praelatis mihi bene maxime volens (nomen reticuit, quod tamen certa coniectura Dominacionis Vestrae Reuerendissimae esse deprehendi) cum eo de me rebusque meis plurima contulisset*

*Si masculum pepererit (sic stant pacta matrimonii), vera est coniunx; si feminam, solutum est coniugium: tamquam < tam > diu stupris vti liberum erit, quousque ex aliqua nascatur filius.*

A larger than usual space between words clearly serves as a marker of the place where the end of a paragraph would come today – the next sentence always starts on a new topic. A specific variation of this situation is the abbreviation *etc.* at the end of a phrase. Dantiscus uses this abbreviation over 40 times, at least a dozen cases of this denoting that he is referring the letter's addressee to a text well known to him, quoted or paraphrased by the author. Among the other 30 or so occurrences, there are those that seem to refer to an author I have failed to identify, and those which seem to have no relation to intertextuality understood as using someone else's written text to formulate one's own statement. They could, however, refer to a text that had never been put down, e.g. conversations with the addressee, or to expressions characteristic of persons familiar to the addressee, or they could signal the shortened character of a given statement where additional arguments or examples had been left out. In any case, it is symptomatic that when he uses someone else's text to construct his own, Dantiscus uses the abbreviation *etc.* only in certain specific circumstances – exclusively when he wants to conclude a given topic with a paraphrase, in order to achieve a greater effect. Thus we can assume that this abbreviation fulfills an additional punctuation function.

The significance of studies on the writing in Dantiscus' letters for working on their edition

To summarize, besides modernization of the punctuation and the rules of usage of capital letters, I find it proper – from the point of view of both consistent notation and faithfulness to the source documents – to use the author's reconstructed views on orthography in editing the texts.

I don't think it would be useful for the edition to copy Dantiscus' rules of using majuscule or his punctuation system, especially since with the relatively large margin of inconsistency, it would be difficult to find solutions in doubtful cases. For example, adopting the majority criterion, one would have to write *Hispania*, but *hungaria*, *Ioannes*, but *fabianus*. The introduction of punctuation rules alien to the modern reader and the accumulation of capital letters would be detrimental to the text's legibility.

### Syntax

Dantiscus' syntax has the features of both classical and post-classical Latin. Dantiscus likes to use the classical grammatical structures *ablativus absolutus* (e.g. *Transactis, quae adhuc restant, negociis*), *accusativus cum infinitivo* (e.g. *scripsit se mihi nescio quae debere; se nescio quem principem scribit fuisse*) and *nominativus cum infinitivo* (e.g. *id, quod nostrum esse dicitur*), but in situations where classical Latin requires *A.c.I.*, he also likes to use objective clauses starting with *quod* (e.g. *Existimo, quod iuramentum ecclesiae praestitum in se longe aliud contineat; Aduersarii mei dicunt, quod Gdanensium stipendio conductus adeo splendide Cracouiae conuiuia struxerim et totam profectionem confecerim; Scribit se bene tractari a cardinale Contareno Veneto, et quod multae bonae ei condiciones offerantur; Scribis mihi, charissime Eobane, quod fides tua constabit firmissime in eo, quod pollicitus sis Ratisbonae; polliceor, quod nihil amicitia Magnificenciae Vestrae habeam vel habiturus sum charius vnquam; sperans, quod dominatio eius reuerendissima rationibus meis mota instrumentum retinebit;*)

Very often, the conjunction *quod* is used in place of the classical *ut* (e.g. *curassemque – – quod illi omnia ad victum – – suffecissent necessaria; sic agam, quod et votis Dominacionis Vestrae Reuerendissimae fieri satis possit; sic me geram gratitudine erga Magnificenciam Vestram, quod se beneficam mihi fuisse poenitudine duci non posse[t];*).

As a rule, in accordance with the principles of classical Latin grammar, Dantiscus uses the conditional mood in both the main and subordinate clauses. He shows a predilection for rhetoric, often resorting to anastrophe. The object quite often appears after the predicate. He also likes to put the predicate at the beginning of a sentence, especially when he is starting his narration (e.g. *Accidit itaque hic casus superiore anno; Velim iuxta diui Pauli praeceptum quantum in me est, etiam si mihi inferretur iniuria, cum omnibus habere pacem; Est quoddam sacellum*).

A stylistic feature typical of letters that also appears in Dantiscus' texts is that sentences often start with the words *ceterum*, *igitur* (in the second position in the

sentence) introducing a new theme or only a change in the writer's attitude to the topic, or with a relative pronoun, when a thought from the previous sentence is continued. As in the letters of Cicero, this pronoun is most often *quod*.

There are sporadic cases in the texts of such syntactic irregularities as the use of an intransitive verb in the function of a transitive one (e.g. in letter No. 1 *condiciones* – – *quas illi ex animo faueo*), an unusual regimen of the verb (e.g. in letter No. 68 *plurima nostro nomine salute impartire*), leaving out the essential predicate or unnecessarily repeating a conjunction. In the last two cases, which usually concern texts that have come to us in the form of office copies, one cannot be certain whether these stylistic defects were also present in the letter's fair copy.

### Some remarks on the vocabulary and phraseology

In the lexical aspect of the letters under consideration here, there is no special originality as compared, for example, with the letters of Dantiscus' correspondents. Only in letter No. 20, in the sentence *Mitto et literarum earundem tibi exemplum, quod serenissimae reginali maiestati interpretaberis, cui etiam et de pictulis scripsi* there appears the noun *pictulum* or *pictula* which cannot be found in dictionaries. Most probably – unless this is a faulty stroke of the pen – this is a diminutive of the noun *pictura*. Dantiscus' autographs contain hardly any distorted words (the only example, from a rough draft, is *dispicienciam* instead of *despicienciam*), while several examples are to be found in the office copies (e.g. *battalogia* instead of *battologia*, *anthematis* instead of *exanthematis*). What seems worth noting are the contexts of Dantiscus' usage of some words. What particularly caught my attention was the social, legal and political terminology used by Dantiscus, the cryptonyms he uses as well as commonly used proverbial expressions.

### Dantiscus' social, legal and political terminology

The social, legal and political terminology that Dantiscus uses gives the impression of being well thought-out, and it certainly deserves a separate study based on more extensive material than that covered by the present publication. One prominent example is the term *respublica* – republic, which is consistently used by Dantiscus to mean a political organism together with the laws that govern it. Thus, we have *Respublica Christiana* in the sense of “the community of Christian Europe”, *Respublica Regni* in the sense of the Republic of the Kingdom [of Poland], *Respublica nostra* – in the sense of the Republic of Royal Prussia. The duality of the legal and administrative system of Royal Prussia and the Kingdom of Poland is most visible when a letter concerns both these political

organisms, which in actual fact constituted a single state – in such cases Dantiscus uses the expression *Respublica Regni et nostra*. He consistently calls the inhabitants of Royal Prussia “our people” – *nostrates*, and, in his correspondence with King Sigismund I, he refers to *harum Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae terrarum subditi*, i.e. Your Majesty’s subjects from this land, as opposed to *Regni subditi* – subjects from the Kingdom. Similarly, we have the Prussian councilors – *harum terrarum consilarii*, and the Crown councilors – *consilarii Regni*. The Royal Prussian diet is most often called *conuentus noster*, *hic conuentus*, *comicia nostra*, while the general Diet of the Kingdom is nearly always *conuentus Regni*, *comicia Regni*. Only once does Dantiscus abandon the differentiation between *Respublica Regni* and *Respublica nostra*, writing in general terms to Helius Eobanus Hesus about his participation in the Diet in Cracow in late 1536/early 1537. Here, he uses the expression *In tot hic Reipublicae et meis negociis*. One can only wonder to what degree Prussian affairs, with which he was concerned by virtue of his office at the Diet and which are most likely the common denominator of both these terms, are included in the term *negocia Reipublicae*, and to what degree they are covered by the term *negocia mea*.

The above terminology is always used by Dantiscus with respect to the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Poland. In letters concerning foreign policy and international relations, on the other hand, there is no place for parliamentary topics and the related phraseology – here, the term is the Kingdom of Poland, *Regnum Poloniae*, or just *Regnum*, and there is nothing there to suggest that this term does not cover Prussia. Writing separately about Royal Prussia in a political context, Dantiscus uses the name *Prussia*, or – much more often – *nostra Prussia*.

There is evidence that Dantiscus’ consistency in terms of phraseology is far from schematic in the term he uses in a letter to Johan Weze (letter No. 47) describing ruler of Ducal Prussia Albrecht as “the duke in part of Prussia” – *dux in parte Prussiae*, and not, as usual, *dux in Prussia* (the duke in Prussia), *dux vicinus noster* (the duke, our neighbor) or simply *dux* (duke). Dantiscus used these kinds of verbal subtleties to emphasize or muffle certain aspects of the reality he described.

#### Periphrastic terms for people and playing with cryptonyms

One element from the borderline of phraseology that is worth commenting upon, if only to facilitate reading of the letters, are the periphrastic terms Dantiscus uses to describe the people he mentions in his letters. Usually, he writes their first names or surnames, or applies the generally accepted titles that go with a given person’s political or social function, but there are two categories of people that he does not refer to in the usual way. These are some rulers, and Dantiscus’ personal opponents.

From among the dozen or so monarchs and princes mentioned in the letters, there are three – the Turkish sultan, the Moldavian hospodar and the king of France – about whom Dantiscus always writes very negatively as enemies of the Kingdom of Poland and Christian Europe. He also refuses to acknowledge their royal status, referring to them exclusively by nouns denoting their nationality: *Turca*, *Valachus* and *Gallus*, leaving out the proper titles due to monarchs.

In one letter, Dantiscus may be referring to a lampoon known in his time which links the nationality of the French king to a Latin term for a castrated servant of a pagan goddess, because in classical Latin the common noun *gallus* means a priest of the Phrygian goddess Kybele, and also simply a eunuch. Dantiscus states that king of France Francis I will soon become a priest of Kybele: *Incidimus in haec tempora, quibus nescio si vnquam rebus Christianis fuerint periculosiora, nedum duriora, et haec ab vno homine sic infesta et perturbata redduntur, qui, nisi vere gallus Cybelles fiat, quod breui futurum existimo, longe orbi Christiano grauiora mala excitabit etc.* The broader context of this fragment suggests that this transformation of Francis I into a priest of Kybele would be synonymous with the victory of Emperor Charles V over France. The term *gallus Cybelles* also looks like an allusion to the eunuchs at the court of the Turkish sultan. A similarly coarse word game can be found in Dantiscus' describing Moldavian hospodar Petru Raresh with the word *Valachus* ("Wallachian"), which in the Latin of the time was the same as the common noun for "gelding".

Dantiscus refers to the king of France descriptively on three occasions, with ironic references (also in the context of Francis I's alliances with the sultan, dictated by the current state of affairs) to the title "arch-Christian" (*Christianissimus*) traditionally bestowed upon French monarchs, as exemplified in the expressions: *is, qui se scribit Christianissimus; qui cum suis progenitoribus Christianissimus vocabatur* (letters No. 10, 47, 84).

Similarly the king of England, not always but whenever his actions do not deserve respect in the eyes of the author, is referred to without his name and title, as he who was once called the defender [of the faith] (*qui protector dicebatur*). Known personally to Dantiscus from the times of his diplomatic travels and admired by him at the time, the English monarch had received, as a result of a papal decree in 1521, the title *Defensor fidei* in recognition for writing a work attacking the views of Luther (*Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*). Dantiscus uses this title to contrast it with Henry VIII's subsequent persecution of Catholics. In the letters, the king is also compared to ancient tyrants notorious for having abused their power – Phalaris and Caracalla.

In the chapter on the literary aspect of Dantiscus' letters, I mentioned Dantiscus' use of the names *Pyrgopolinices* and *Thraso*, who were among the negative

characters ridiculed in ancient Latin comedy, as cryptonyms of his personal enemies. In a letter to Tiedemann Giese concerning Dantiscus' election to the Warmia bishopric, these characters symbolize specific opponents in the Warmia chapter – provost Paweł Płotowski and dean Leonard Niederhoff (letter No. 28). Other terms applied to Paweł Płotowski and Leonard Niederhoff: *duo illi nostri Aiaces* (letter No. 31) and *princeps ille phanaticus cum suo Aiace* (letter No. 41) are taken from the story of Ajax, which Dantiscus was familiar with, for instance from the description in book XIII of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Here, Ajax is treated as a symbol of extreme ambitions, ambitions so foolish as to become crazy. Most probably the first association that sprang to mind at the time in connection with the name Ajax was the common expression "Ajax's laughter" (*Aiacis risus*), which meant laughter that betrays stupidity or madness<sup>17</sup>.

It is worth noting that Tiedemann Giese uses a similar code in his own letters. The main purpose of these malicious word games was most probably to protect the letters from being understood by accidental readers. Undoubtedly, though, for Dantiscus and his correspondents they must also have been a kind of emotional vent; they seem to have had a particularly calming effect on the ever-stressed, over-sensitive pessimist Tiedemann Giese.

#### The meanings of the words *tragoedia* and *comoedia*

The metaphorical meanings of the words *tragoedia* and *comoedia* as used in Dantiscus' letters also seem worth discussing in more depth. They appear in the following expressions:

*Quid adhuc ex ista nascetur tragoedia* – –, *in dubio est.* (letter No. 10)

*Quis tamen huius tragoediae futurus sit exitus?* (letter No. 69)

*quo tandem semel istius comoediae finem habere possimus.* (letter No. 64)

Of course they do not refer to the literary genres, but neither do they carry the widely used senses, given first places in dictionary entries, of a single tragic or amusing event. What they do is add a certain theatrical aspect to the described reality. They clearly imply a complicated series of events with an expected unfortunate result in the case of *tragoedia* and a fortunate result in the case of *comoedia*. Though the use of *tragoedia* certainly refers to the expected disaster resulting from the events described in the letter, and the word *comoedia* refers to a series of unamusing events, caused by someone's stupidity or maliciousness, the final scene – the ultimate result of these events described as *tragoedia* or *comoedia*, is still unknown at the moment of writing the letter. Such a usage of these words was

<sup>17</sup> *Adagia*, 1526, No. 646.



not so extraordinary at that time, as it occurs in the writing of Dantiscus' correspondents, too<sup>18</sup>.

### Popular proverbial expressions versus Erasmus' *Adagia*

Writing about current affairs in fine and usually thoughtfully constructed though not very complicated language, Dantiscus makes frequent use of proverbial expressions. I found 81 such expressions in the letters considered here. Beside Latin phrases, there are two instances when Dantiscus quotes a German proverb with which Maurycy Ferber chastised him for complaining. All these expressions are listed in the table below. I realize of course that the list is incomplete and mainly reflects the degree of my suspiciousness toward the text. To determine whether these phrases functioned in the culture of the time, I used a very extensive compendium of proverbs and figures of style – *Adagia* by Erasmus of Rotterdam. During a rather cursory looking through this work I found it to include 68 from among the 81 expressions used by Dantiscus. I also have to admit that in some cases Erasmus' work was helpful in understanding Dantiscus' texts.

#### PROVERBS AND PROVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS IN THE LATIN LETTERS OF DANTISCUS OF 1537

The table below lists fragments of Dantiscus' texts which I have identified, using the terminology from the introduction to *Adagia* by Erasmus of Rotterdam, as proverbs (23 cases, marked with the letter P for *Proverbium*) or proverbial expressions (58 cases, marked with the letter F for *Figura proverbialis*). In the column REFERENCES the reader is referred mainly to particular numbers of *Adagia* together with the main entry<sup>19</sup>. In some cases – when Erasmus' explanation or the quote he gives is closer to Dantiscus' phrase than a given main entry in the *Adagia* – fragments of Erasmus' explanations or the quotes he gives from other authors are provided in parentheses next to the main entry. In the case

<sup>18</sup> Cf. e.g. Petrus Mirabilis de Montereale's letter to Dantiscus: *ego non interfui in istis ceremoniis – sed ii qui interfuerant narrauerunt mihi totam tragoediam* (orig. AAWO, D.68, f. 147, print: *Españoles*, p. 94, No. I.26), and a similar Polish expression in Mikołaj Działyński's letter to Dantiscus: *yaky konyecz ta novela wesmye* (print AT XVI, No. 192, p. 363).

<sup>19</sup> Contrary to page numbering, the numbering of the *adagia* does not change in successive editions. I used the edition *Adagiorum opus D. Erasmi Roterodami per eundem exquisitissima cura recognitum et locupletatum, correctis ubique citationum numeris, ac restitutis indicibus, Basileae apud Ioannem Frobenium, Mense Februario Anno M.D.XXVI*, as the latest, but also the most extensive of the pre-1537 editions available to me. It contains the *adagia* up to number 3535. For the higher numbers, I refer to the 1540 edition, which includes 4151 *adagia* (*Chiliades adagiorum, opus integrum et perfectum D. Erasmi Roterodami, locupletatum et recognitum, quemadmodum in extremis conatibus auctori visum est. Coloniae ex officina Ioannis Gymnici An. M.D.XXXX.*).

of 13 phrases that are proverbial in character and to which I did not find references in *Adagia*, I provide references to Hans Walther's *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi. Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, to ancient literature, or to phrases found in correspondence from Dantiscus' times.

| NO. | LETTER NO. / ADDRESSEE   | DANTISCUS' EXPRESSION   | TYPE | REFERENCES  |
|-----|--------------------------|---|------|---|
| 1.  | 1. Helius Eobanus Hessus | <b>palpones</b>   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 2527: <i>Obtrudere palpum (palpare, palpones)</i>   |
| 2.  | 3. Maurycy Ferber        | <b>non ultra crepidam intendant</b>   | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 516: <i>Ne sutor ultra crepidam</i>   |
| 3.  | 3. as above              | <b>caelum terrae miscere</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 281: <i>Mare coelo miscere (Quid est quod caelo terram, terrae caelum misceant)</i>             |
| 4.  | 3. as above              | Vereor, ne <b>montes parturiant</b>   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 814: <i>Parturiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus</i>  |
| 5.  | 4. Maurycy Ferber        | <b>insalutato</b> – vt aiunt – <b>hospite</b> abeuntes                                    | F    | [no references]   |
| 6.  | 5. Maurycy Ferber        | Neque me secus atque <b>Irum</b> quempiam existimant – et me <b>Croesum</b> esse arbitror | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 574: <i>Croeso, Crasso ditior</i><br><i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 576: <i>Iro, Codro pauperior</i> |
| 7.  | 5. as above              | scribit se non parum <b>perplexam</b>   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 2930: <i>Perplexus</i>  |
| 8.  | 5. as above              | quod – scripsit pro paroemia: <b>“Vas du kanst, dos thu”</b>                              | P    | [Dantiscus quotes a letter, unknown to us, received from Ferber]  |
| 9.  | 6. Jerzy Bażyński        | responsum fuit Germanico adagio: <b>“Was dw kanst, das thw”</b>                           | P    | [Dantiscus quotes a letter, unknown to us, received from Ferber]  |
| 10. | 7. Jerzy Bażyński        | has <b>Laconicas</b> ad Magnificenciam Vestram darem                                      | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1949: <i>Laconismus</i>   |
| 11. | 8. Jan Chojeński         | <b>a siccio pumice aquam postulant</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 375: <i>Aquam e pumice postulas (nihil enim pumice lapide siccus)</i>                           |
| 12. | 8. as above              | valitudinemque <b>adamante</b> firmiorem  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 643: <i>Adamantinus</i>   |
| 13. | 8. as above              | <b>vix pellis carnibus consumptis restat</b>  | F    | Pl. <i>Capt.</i> 135: <i>ossa atque pellis sum</i>  |
| 14. | 10. Johan Weze           | nouercale odium   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1195: <i>Odium nouercale</i>  |

| NO. | LETTER NO. / ADDRESSEE   | DANTISCUS' EXPRESSION  | TYPE | REFERENCES   |
|-----|--------------------------|--|------|--|
| 15. | 10. as above             | fors fortuna pia fiet mater  | F    | Hor. S. II 6 49: <i>fortunae filius</i>  |
| 16. | 12. Cornelis De Schepper | <b>concordiam, quae publicae tranquillitatis mater est</b>                   | P    | [no references]  |
| 17. | 17. Piotr Opaliński      | quo <b>in cardine</b> haereant   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 19: <i>Res est in cardine</i>  |
| 18. | 20. Fabian Wojanowski    | <b>Nihil volenti difficile</b>   | P    | Walther, No. 24 <sup>a</sup> <i>Nil volenti difficile</i>  |
| 19. | 22. Maurycy Ferber       | <b>vt nunc sunt ii homines</b> et tempora                                    | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 2759: <i>Ut nunc sunt homines</i>  |
| 20. | 26. Stanisław Hozjusz    | tuam omni <b>fucō</b> carere in me animi propensionem                        | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 452: <i>Fucum facere</i>   |
| 21. | 28. Tiedemann Giese      | subiit <b>iugum</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 171: <i>Ferre iugum</i>  |
| 22. | 28. as above             | scribendi <b>ansam</b> dedit   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 304: <i>Ansam quaerere</i>   |
| 23. | 28. as above             | <b>perfrictioris</b> esset <b>frontis</b>                                    | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 747: <i>Faciem perfricare, frontis perfrictae</i>  |
| 24. | 28. as above             | <b>intus et in cute</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 889: <i>Intus et in cute</i>   |
| 25. | 28. as above             | <b>sicophantique</b> ingenii mores   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1281: <i>Sycophanta</i>  |
| 26. | 28. as above             | <b>si principis animo non satisfaceret, durius in eo quippiam conciperet</b> | P    | [no references]  |
| 27. | 30. Tiedemann Giese      | <b>ex harena funiculum nectere</b>   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 378: <i>Ex harena funiculum nectis</i>   |
| 28. | 30. as above             | <b>in asino lanam quaerere</b>   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 379: <i>Ab asino lanam (asini lanam quaeris)</i>   |
| 29. | 30. as above             | <b>capite crocodilino sine lingua sed dentibus armato</b>                    | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 979: <i>Caput sine lingua (Aulus Gellius: Noctes Atticae l.3,c.18: Habet et Crocodillus caput sine lingua sed dentibus armatus<sup>20</sup>)</i> |

<sup>20</sup> The quote from Gellius appears in the *Adagia* published in 1540 (op. cit.), the 1526 edition only cites the appropriate place in Gellius; I did not have access to the 1533 edition, which was the last edition in Erasmus' lifetime.

| NO. | LETTER NO. / ADDRESSEE | DANTISCUS' EXPRESSION  | TYPE | REFERENCES   |
|-----|------------------------|--|------|--|
| 30. | 30. as above           | <b>corpus -- sine pectore</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 980:<br><i>Corpus sine pectore</i>   |
| 31. | 30. as above           | <b>Herculi Lyndio sacrificare</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1419:<br><i>Lindii sacrum</i>  |
| 32. | 30. as above           | <b>iaceatque in fermento totum</b>   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1976:<br><i>In fermento iacere</i>   |
| 33. | 30. as above           | Excandescat, vt <b>lucernam etiam possit incendere</b>                     | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1540, No. 3977:<br><i>Lucernam accendere possis</i>  |
| 34. | 30. as above           | <b>vt enim ponuntur incia, sic solent sequi cetera</b>                     | P    | Walther No. 22416a:<br><i>Principii boni finis bonus</i>   |
| 35. | 31. Tiedemann Giese    | <b>nauigamus Deo gracia in portu</b>                                       | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 46: <i>In portu navigare</i>   |
| 36. | 31. as above           | <b>ne iterum hanc moueret Camarinam</b>                                    | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 64:<br><i>Movere Camarinam</i>   |
| 37. | 31. as above           | duo illi nostri <b>Aiaces</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 646:<br><i>Aiacis risus</i>  |
| 38. | 34. Tiedemann Giese    | negocia nostra perduxit salua <b>in portum</b>                             | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 46: <i>In portu navigare</i>   |
| 39. | 34. as above           | <b>longas regibus esse manus</b>   | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 103:<br><i>longas regum manus</i><br>( <i>Ovid.: An nescis longas regibus esse manus?</i> )                        |
| 40. | 34. as above           | vapularet <b>tribus</b> more Hunnorum <b>fustibus</b>                      | F    | Dudithius, p. 319, letter 270, Dudithius à Péter Méliusz: <i>Tribus fustibus, ut more patrio loquar, quam responso ullo alio dignior es.</i> |
| 41. | 35. Tiedemann Giese    | <b>e vestigio</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 3522:<br><i>E vestigio</i>   |
| 42. | 39. King Sigismund I   | <b>Magistratusque virum</b> – vt in Graecorum est adagio – <b>ostendet</b> | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 976:<br><i>Magistratus virum indicat. (Ἀρχὴ τὸν ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν, id est, Imperia demonstrant virum)</i>            |
| 43. | 41. Tiedemann Giese    | princeps ille phanaticus cum suo <b>Aiace</b>                              | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 646:<br><i>Aiacis risus</i>  |
| 44. | 43. Seweryn Boner      | <b>omnia tempus ostendet</b>   | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1317:<br><i>Tempus omnia revelat</i>   |

| NO. | LETTER NO. / ADDRESSEE  | DANTISCUS' EXPRESSION   | TYPE | REFERENCES   |
|-----|-------------------------|---|------|--|
| 45. | 44. addressee unknown   | quod ex vulgato apud Euripiden adagio pedem non mouerit – hoc enim <b>amiciam, quae desisteret, numquam fuisse veram testatur</b> | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1072: <i>Ama tamquam osurus, oderis tamquam amaturus</i> ; (E.Tro. 1051: <i>Οὐδέτις ἐραστής, ὅστις οὐκ ἀεὶ φιλεῖ</i> )<br>Dantiscus is referring to the phrase in the index to <i>Adagia</i> , 1526: <i>Amicitia, quae desiit, nunquam vera fuit</i> ) |
| 46. | 47. Johan Weze          | <b>Si inter os et offam, quid non iis rebus solet incidere?</b>   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 402: <i>Inter os et offam</i>  |
| 47. | 47. as above            | <b>audiat absentem absens videatque</b>   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1684: <i>Praesens abest (contra qui amant, absentes, praesentes sunt veluti de Didone Verg. – – “Absens absentem auditque videtque”)</i>   |
| 48. | 47. as above            | <b>natura – –, quam, licet pilos mutet, tamen numquam solet mutare vulpes</b>   | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 2219: <i>Lupus pilam mutat non mentem</i>  |
| 49. | 48. Jan Chojeński       | <b>velis et remis</b>   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 318: <i>Remis velisque</i>   |
| 50. | 48. as above            | <b>totoque pectore</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 326: <i>Toto pectore</i>   |
| 51. | 48. as above            | longiore <b>battologia</b><br>Dominacionem Vestram<br>Reuerendissimam molestarem  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1092: <i>Battologia, Laconismus</i>  |
| 52. | 48. as above            | in summa <b>colophon</b> fuit   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1245: <i>Colophonem addidit</i>  |
| 53. | 48. as above            | <b>soli lumen addere</b> nolui  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1407: <i>Soli lumen inferre</i><br><i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 658: <i>Lumen soli mutuas</i>   |
| 54. | 48. as above            | magna – – <b>consuetudinis</b> vis et fere <b>altera natura</b>   | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1540, No. 3825: <i>Usus est altera natura</i>  |
| 55. | 48. as above            | <b>utinam vanus sim vates</b>   | F    | Liv. XXI, 10, 10: <i>falsus utinam vates sim</i>   |
| 56. | 49. Dietrich von Rheden | efficiat ea in re <b>voti</b> me <b>computem</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 2755: <i>In voti computem</i>  |
| 57. | 51. Jan Chojeński       | <b>oleum et operam – – non lusisse</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 362: <i>oleum et operam perdidit</i>   |
| 58. | 60. Ioannes Tresler     | <b>sartam tectam</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 3437: <i>sarta tecta</i>   |

| NO. | LETTER NO. / ADDRESSEE        | DANTISCUS' EXPRESSION  | TYPE | REFERENCES  |
|-----|-------------------------------|--|------|---|
| 59. | 61. Samuel Maciejowski        | <b>contra me productae erant machinae</b>  | F    | [no references]   |
| 60. | 64. Jan Chojeński             | ne <b>battologiis</b> meis -- sim molestior  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1092: <i>battologia</i>   |
| 61. | 66. Gonzalo Pérez             | matrimoniumque <b>contractum, quod iam infectum esse nequit</b>  | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1272: <i>Quod factum est, infectum fieri non potest (quod semel est factum, fieri infectum haud queat unquam)</i>                                     |
| 62. | 67. Alfonso Polo              | <b>quae facta sunt</b> rescindere neque -- vellemus, neque -- <b>possemus</b>                                  | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1272: <i>Quod factum est, infectum fieri non potest</i>   |
| 63. | 67. as above                  | <b>neque si possemus -- vellemus, neque si vellemus, possemus</b>  | F    | [no references]   |
| 64. | 68. Diego Gracián de Alderete | <b>intra pelliculam</b> rediens  | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 592: <i>Intra tuam pelliculam te contine</i>  |
| 65. | 68. as above                  | <b>poto elleboro</b>   | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 751: <i>Bibe elleborum</i>  |
| 66. | 68. as above                  | <b>vulpes quod pilos</b> quidem accedente aetate <b>sit mutatura, sarta tecta atque integra manente natura</b> | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 2219: <i>Lupus pilam mutat non mentem</i>   |
| 67. | 68. as above                  | quasi vero multam <b>Circeam bibisset mandragoram</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 3464: <i>Bibere mandragoram (eandem Circeam appellant)</i>  |
| 68. | 68. as above                  | <b>ne iota quidem</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 3385: <i>Ne punctum quidem</i>  |
| 69. | 69. Johan Weze                | crudelissimum omnium tyrannorum <b>Phalariden</b>  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 986: <i>Phalaridis imperium</i>   |
| 70. | 71. Reynaldus Strozzi         | relinquemus <b>quod factum est</b> in suo vigore   | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1272: <i>Quod factum est, infectum fieri non potest</i>   |
| 71. | 72. Antonio Pucci             | <b>necessitas</b> , quae <b>ingens telum</b> est   | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1240: <i>Ingens telum necessitas</i>  |
| 72. | 72. as above                  | <b>necessitas -- cui</b> , vt prouerbiu[m] habet, <b>ne dii quidem resistunt</b>                               | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1241: <i>Adversum necessitatem ne dii quidem resistunt</i>  |
| 73. | 73. Luis Núñez Cabeza de Vaca | matrimonium hoc <b>confectum sit -- iam infectum esse nequeat</b>  | P    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1272: <i>Quod factum est, infectum fieri non potest (Ps. Phocyl. in Erasmus translation: quod semel est factum, fieri infectum haud queat unquam)</i> |

| NO. | LETTER NO. / ADDRESSEE      | DANTISCUS' EXPRESSION                               | TYPE | REFERENCES   |
|-----|-----------------------------|---|------|--|
| 74. | 76. Iustus Ludovicus Decius | <b>amicum in necessitate probari</b>                | P    | Enn. trag. frg. 210 ( <i>Hecuba</i> XIII) in: Cic. <i>Amic.</i> (XVII) 64: <i>Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur</i> ; Sen. <i>Ep.</i> I 9, 9: <i>inde amici fugiunt ubi probantur</i> |
| 75. | 77. Fabian Wojanowski       | <b>nullumque non mouebo lapidem</b>                 | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 330: <i>Omnem movere lapidem</i>   |
| 76. | 79. King Sigismund I        | <b>Nestoris -- prudenciam -- et aetatem</b>         | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 566: <i>Nestorea senecta</i>   |
| 77. | 80. Seweryn Boner           | <b>sartam tectam atque integram</b>                 | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 3437: <i>Sarta tecta (nam sarcire est integrum facere)</i>   |
| 78. | 81. Tiedemann Giese         | neque vllam -- relinquam <b>ansam</b>               | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 304: <i>Ansam quaerere</i>   |
| 79. | 84. Jan Chojeński           | <b>nulla calamitas sola</b>                         | P    | Walther No. 18891a: <i>Nulla calamitas sola</i>  |
| 80. | 86. Tiedemann Giese         | <b>ex musca faciunt elephantum</b>                  | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 869: <i>Elephantum ex musca facis</i>  |
| 81. | 92. Tiedemann Giese         | iis <b>Laconicis</b> Dominacionem Vestram inviserem | F    | <i>Adagia</i> , 1526, No. 1949: <i>Laconismus</i>  |

There remains the issue of whether Dantiscus wrote his letters with *Adagia* or some other collection of proverbs in hand, or whether the resemblances presented above are the effect of the widespread usage enjoyed by these expressions by their very nature. I am absolutely certain that Dantiscus cited most of these proverbial phrases from memory, but the use next to each other of two phrases given in *Adagia* on the same page, and providing a paraphrase of the quote from Gellius that Erasmus cites to explain one of those phrases (letter No. 30), makes one wonder whether the resemblance is only the effect of the similarity between the cultural experience of Dantiscus and Erasmus. Another argument in favor of the supposition that Dantiscus may have used the *Adagia* in constructing the text of his letters is the fact that I have not managed to identify such phrases at all in several dozen letters, while some letters contain an unusually large number of them. It is also very likely that the *Adagia* were Dantiscus' source of the few (I identify just two) Greek quotes, since in writing *quod ex vulgato apud Euripiden adagio pedem non mouerit – hoc enim amicicium, quae desisteret, numquam fuisse veram testatur* he refers to Euripides but quotes the proverb in Latin, with a clear resemblance to the formulation found in the index to the *Adagia*. However,

I do not think that Dantiscus got the references to ancient lyric and epic poetry, discussed in the chapter on the classical tradition reflected in his mode of writing, through the mediation of works like the *Adagia*, although I did find the same quotes in the *Adagia* on several occasions (e.g. the motif of the wealthy Croesus and the poor Iros). The material I have at my disposal does not allow for any conclusions in this respect in relation to Latin comedy or the texts of prose writers. Undoubtedly answers to these questions will be easier to find after the planned publication of the study on Dantiscus' library<sup>21</sup>.

## The basis of the present edition

The present edition contains 93 letters. They are documented in 102 16th-century manuscripts: 45 copies from Dantiscus' office, 43 rough drafts – Dantiscus' autographs, and 14 original letters (including 13 handwritten by himself and 1 by a secretary). Thus, in seven cases one letter is documented by two records: in two cases by the original and the rough draft, in three cases – by the original and the office copy, and in two cases – by the rough drafts and the office copy. In one case, we know the letter from its rough draft and the postscript from the office copy. In addition, among Dantiscus' correspondence there are three rough drafts that were handwritten by him but are not his letters, which serve here as a source for the attached appendix containing a letter from the Prussian Council to King Sigismund I, a letter from the Prussian Council to Grand Chancellor Jan Chojeński, and the document of Dantiscus' waiver of the annual income of the Gołab parish in favor of Samuel Maciejowski.

Among these 93 letters, 26 are documented not only by 16th-century manuscripts, but also by 18th-century handwritten copies.

Among the 93 letters published here, 58 are also recorded in the legacy of Antoni Marian Kurpiel – known as the Kurpiel Files – in which 12 letters are in the form of excerpts, 29 in the form of regests, and 17 in the form of both excerpts and regests.

**As the basis for the edition, I have taken 16th-century manuscripts** – the original, rough and office copies of letters. The existing 18th-century copies constitute derivative material in relation to known 16th-century documents. This is proved, for example, by defects in the texts of the copies, appearing on many

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<sup>21</sup> Borawska, 2001; Mejer.



occasions in the copies in exactly the places that are hard to decipher in the corresponding 16th-century manuscript. However, even the 18th-century copies have a significant value for the editor because (if treated with proper circumspection) they are helpful to some degree in reading damaged and illegible places in the 16th-century source material. In particular, the margins of the letters, moldering, tatty or deeply set into the spines of codices bound in the 19th century, were more accessible to copyists two centuries ago.

The material collected in the Kurpiel Files is also derivative in relation to known earlier materials. Separate parts of the files include excerpts from selected letters (for 1537 this is file No. 5), and registers (for 1537 – file No. 10); it is to be noted that the excerpts include some nearly complete copies of letters. The registers, on the other hand, are often in a form close to an excerpt. Kurpiel treated the text of the excerpted letters as the basis for notes for a monograph on Dantiscus, which was probably meant to be interspersed with quotes from the letters. These are definitely not records made for the purpose of editing the texts themselves. Usually, they are in the form of fragments of Latin text followed by a hasty translation into Polish; these are typical excerpts, where many fragments are abridged or omitted. This material offers no new possibilities for reading the texts. However, the unquestionable value of this source lies in the underlinings and notes that Kurpiel added to both the excerpts and registers, and in his choice of materials for registering and excerpting. This is why, though the Kurpiel Files are not used as a source for the present edition, I provide the appropriate pressmarks next to the sources for the individual letters, for use in future historical studies. (Cf. also Plates 7, 17)

### Description of the 16th-century sources

The 16th-century manuscripts forming the basis of the present edition are kept at the Czartoryski Library in Cracow (pressmark 244, 1596), the Warmia Archdiocese Archives in Olsztyn (pressmark D.7, D.67) and at Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin (pressmark HBA C1a K.497). Considered as supplementary material, the 18th-century copies are to be found in several copybooks linked to one another, kept in the manuscript collection of the Kórnik Library (pressmark 232, subsequently referred to as the Kórnik copybook), of the Ossolineum (pressmark 151, subsequently referred to as the Ossolineum copybook), and of the Czartoryski Library in Cracow (known as the Naruszewicz Files – pressmark 54, 55).

The codex **BCz, 244 (Czartoryski Library, pressmark 244)** contains 12 fair copies, 42 rough drafts and 40 office copies of letters included in the present

edition, and 3 rough drafts of documents included here in the form of an appendix. This is a paper codex, half-bound, measuring 34cm×21cm. The documents it contains were initially stored in the archives of the Warmia bishops. Today this codex is kept in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow. The codex has 326 pages. It is paginated. It contains rough drafts and secretary's copies of letters as well as – sporadically – other documents in Latin and German, and a few original letters in Latin<sup>22</sup>. The letters and documents are from the years 1530–1537. The title leaf reads: *Listy Dantiska od 1530 do końca 1537 Roku (Letters of Dantiscus from 1530 to the end of 1537)*. The unnumbered pages at the beginning of the codex contain a list of selected letters together with their registers, compiled in Polish by Łukasz Gołębiowski, and the provenance note *Rękopism Biblioteki JW. Tadeusza Czackiego (Manuscript from the Library of Tadeusz Czacki)*. The leaves in the codex are of different sizes, some damaged in varying degrees by humidity and pests. The original letters carry traces of folding and seals. Some of the leaves have watermarks. The leaves are sewn in deeply, which makes the right-hand margins of the *verso* pages illegible. This margin is often damaged, and the page glued into the codex on a strip of tissue-paper. The documents are arranged chronologically, with some exceptions, especially within particular months. Despite the late date of binding, they carry traces of being arranged at the time of their writing. Individual months and years are frequently separated by additional leaves with appropriate annotations in Dantiscus' hand. Below is a list of annotations made by archivists, found on pages 185-326 (this part of the codex contains letters of 1537):

| PAGE NO. IN THE CODEX | ANNOTATION               | REMARKS   |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|---|
| 190                   | <i>Januarii MDXXXVII</i> | at the centre of the page, in Dantiscus' (?) hand, sewn in upside down; the rest of the page is blank |
| 191                   | ?                        | in the upper left-hand corner, in pencil, three illegible letters                                     |
| 210                   | <i>Aprilis MDXXXVII</i>  | at the centre of the page, in Dantiscus' (?) hand, the rest of the page is blank                      |

<sup>22</sup> These are letters from Dantiscus to Tiedemann Giese. They most probably found their way to the Warmia bishop's archives together with the documents of Giese – Dantiscus' successor in Warmia, just like Dantiscus' letters from the time of his diplomatic service and his administration of the Chełmno diocese. Unfortunately there is no such analogy in the case of Dantiscus' letters to Stanisław Hozjusz.

| PAGE NO. IN THE CODEX | ANNOTATION  | REMARKS  |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| 215                   | [4]ta<br>[de] chartis oblongis  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 218                   | 4ta <sup>o</sup>  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 218                   | <i>Ep(iscopi) Varmien(sis) 1537 et 1538</i>   | on the top margin  |
| 221                   | 5ta<br>[de] chartis oblongis  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 224                   | 5ta   | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 225                   | 6ta   | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 226                   | 6ta <sup>~</sup>  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 227                   | 7ma   | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 230                   | 7ma <sup>o</sup>  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 231                   | 8va   | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 234                   | 8va <sup>o</sup>  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 235                   | 9na   | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 238                   | 9na <sup>o</sup>  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 239                   | 10ma  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 242                   | 10ma <sup>~</sup>   | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 243                   | 11ma  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 246                   | 11ma <sup>~</sup>   | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 259                   | <i>Do Hozyusza (To Hozjusz)</i>   | in pencil on the left margin, next to the letter, in the lower part of the page  |
| 263                   | 12ma  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 264                   | 12ma  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 272                   | <i>October MDXXXVII</i>   | at the centre of the page, in Dantiscus' (?) hand, the rest of the page is blank |
| 274                   | <i>Copiae</i>   | at the centre of the page, in Dantiscus' (?) hand, the rest of the page is blank |
| 294                   | <i>Do Gratiana Alderetus<br/>Początek na str. 309<br/>(To Gratian Alderetus. Beginning on p. 309)</i> | in pencil, in the upper left-hand corner   |
| 319                   | 13tia   | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 322                   | ~13tia  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 323                   | 14ta  | in the upper left-hand corner  |
| 326                   | 14ta <sup>~</sup>   | in the upper left-hand corner  |

The codex **BCz, 1596 (Czartoryski Library, pressmark 1596)** contains 1 original letter included in the present edition. This is a paper codex, half-bound, measuring 36cm×25cm×7cm. It has 626 pages, the first 30 of them blank, probably intended for a table of contents. The codex is paginated, moreover each document is numbered. The codex is the result of binding 174 letters and documents, most of them original. The title on the spine is *Listy Ori(ginalne) od 1521 do 1540 (Ori(ginal) Letters from 1521 to 1540)*. There is no table of contents. The leaves are of different sizes, some of them folded as they are larger than the volume's binding. The documents are arranged chronologically.

The codex **AAWO, D. 7 (Warmia Archdiocese Archives in Olsztyn, pressmark D. 7)** contains 1 office copy and 3 rough drafts of letters included in the present edition. This is a paper codex, bound in thick cardboard and cloth, measuring 35cm×23cm×2,5cm. It contains 109 leaves of different sizes. All of them are numbered, many are damaged. The leaves in the codex are of different sizes because the codex is the result of binding a collection of rough drafts and secretary's copies of letters as well as – sporadically – Ioannes Dantiscus' documents in German and Latin. The title leaf reads: *Bischofliches Archiv zu Frauenburg. Joannis Dantisci Episcopi Varmiensis Germanica 109 fol.*. There is no table of contents. A typewritten annotation reads: *1542 35×22 cm, Uszkodzone karty 90-109 (pleśń) (1542 35×22 cm, pages 90-109 damaged (mold))*. The documents in the codex are not arranged chronologically – though some attempts at bringing some order to them are visible – they are grouped more or less by year. Like in the codex *BCz, 244*, individual months and years are sometimes separated by leaves with annotations by Dantiscus, but the years are not arranged in the correct order; sometimes single leaves appear that are dated with a different year than those which precede or follow them.

The codex **AAWO, D. 67** contains 4 office copies of letters included in the present edition. This is a paper codex, bound in thick cardboard and cloth, measuring 35cm×23cm×8cm. It contains over 341 leaves. (The last one has the number 341, but the numbering is inconsistent – often it is the letters and not the leaves which are numbered.) The leaves are of different sizes, as the codex is the result of binding a collection of letters, most of them originals. There is also a small number of rough drafts and office copies. The title is *Bischofliches Archiv zu Frauenburg. Acta et Epistolae 1530-1535(!)*. The documents are from the years 1530 – 1545. They are arranged chronologically, with some exceptions to this rule. The attached loose leaves contain two tables of contents in German, the typewritten annotation *fol.341, 35×22* and a list of damaged leaves. The letters of Dantiscus included in the present edition are erroneously listed in the contents as letters to Dantiscus from persons unknown.

The collection marked as **GStAPK, HBA C1a, K. 497** contains 1 original letter included in the present edition. The collection includes original letters from Ioannes Dantiscus to the Warmia Chapter, and a few other paper documents related to the Chapter. They are kept in a box made of thick cardboard, each document separately wrapped in paper. Some of the documents are numbered. They are arranged chronologically.

### Watermarks

There are watermarks on 29 leaves of the above-mentioned sources. These are the watermarks of several different paper mills: a watermark in the form of the *Gdańsk embleme* (11 leaves) means the paper came from the paper mills of Gdańsk, *Odrowąz* (9 leaves) – most probably from paper mills located in Małopolska, on the lands of the starosties of the Szydłowiecki family<sup>23</sup>, *Bonarowa* (1 leaf) – from the Boners' paper mill in Balice near Cracow, *Crown* (5 leaves) – from Lithuanian paper mills. Paper with a watermark in the form of a *coat-of-arms with monogram(?)* (1 leaf), according to Briquet, is found in Germany and Austria. One cannot rely on Briquet's album when analyzing the origin of paper, as this work only lists the places of dating of documents written on the paper in question, while no location is given of the paper mill where the paper was made. I was unable to match two of the watermarks to any of the images in the albums available to me. One of them – the outline of a human figure – is so blurred that it is not even certain that it is a watermark; the other one – a cross in a circle on a rod with three rosettes and a crown – shares certain features with the Lithuania *Crown*, but the differences are too great to allow me to include it within this type. The types of watermark and their location in the 16th-century sources are presented in the table below:

| <b>Watermark</b>     | <b>Type and dating*</b>                | <b>Location of the source document</b><br>(the letter's number in the present edition is provided in parentheses) |
|----------------------|--|---|
| <b>Bonarowa</b>      | S.C. 21 (1536) or<br>S.C. 24 (1540)    | <b>AAWO D. 7, f. 25</b> (21)  |
| <b>Gdańsk emblem</b> | S.C. 167 (1538) lub<br>S.C. 171 (1546) | <b>BCz 244, p. 261-262</b> (35, 36)   |
|                      |  | <b>BCz 244, p. 249-250</b> (38, 39)   |
|                      |  | <b>BCz 244, p. 257-258</b> (42, 43, 44)   |
|                      |  | <b>BCz 244, p. 265-266</b> (48)   |
|                      |  | <b>BCz 244, p. 289-290</b> (63)   |
|                      |  | <b>BCz 244, p. 317-318</b> (86)   |

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Siniarska-Czaplicka, p. 15.

| <b>Watermark</b>  | <b>Type and dating*</b>   | <b>Location of the source document</b><br>(the letter's number in the present edition is provided in parentheses) |
|---|---------------------------|---|
| <b>Gdańsk emblem</b>  | S.C. 168 (1538)           | <b>BCz 244, p. 225-226</b> (29 )  |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 244, p. 255-256</b> (33)   |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 244, p. 247-248</b> (34)   |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 244, p. 301-302</b> (appendix III)   |
|   |                           | <b>GStAPK, HBA C1a, K. 497, f. 23</b> (82)  |
| <b>Crown</b>  | L. 1584 (1537)            | <b>BCz 244, p. 199-200</b> (12, 13, 14)   |
|   | L. 1557 (1536)            | <b>AAWO D. 7, f. 26</b> (27)  |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 244, p. 269-270</b> (51, 53, 54)   |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 244, p. 295-296</b> (69, 70, 71)   |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 244, p. 303-304</b> (74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79)   |
| <b>Odrowąż</b>  | S.C. 736 (1537)           | <b>BCz 244, p. 187-188</b> (1)  |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 244, p. 185-186</b> (2)  |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 244, p. 193-194</b> (5)  |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 244, p. 207-208</b> (24)   |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 244, p. 233-234</b> (32)   |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 1596, p. 461-462</b> (77)  |
|   | S.C. 737 (1537, 1538)     | <b>AAWO D. 67, f. 52</b> (4 )   |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 244, p. 209-210</b> (23)   |
|   |                           | <b>BCz 244, p. 243-244</b> (41)   |
|   |                           |   |
| <b>Coat-of-arms with monogram</b>   | B. 9897-9898 (1512-41)    | <b>BCz 244, p. 285-286</b> (88)   |
| ? – maybe the outline of a human figure – very blurred                        | [not found in any albums] | <b>BCz 244, p. 201-202</b> (15, 16)   |
| ? – a cross in a circle on a rod with three rosettes and a crown(?) – blurred | [not found in any albums] | <b>BCz 244, p. 203-204</b> (17, 18, 19)   |

\* Type – the number of the watermark in one of the published albums which the watermark in the analyzed document resembles the most closely. In parentheses is the date assigned to that watermark in the album. The albums are marked as follows:

**S.C.** – J. Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Filigrany papierni położonych na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej od początku XVI do połowy XVIII wieku*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1969.

**L.** – E. Laucevicius, *Papierius Lietuvoje XV-XVIII*, Vilna, 1967, vol. I-II.

**B.** – M.C. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*, New York, 1977, vol. I-IV.

It is to be noted that the watermark types given in the table are not identical, but only very similar to those in the sources. Yet the general assumption is that successive paper-molds are modeled after previous ones, so changes in the watermark image occur smoothly. Thus, I could assume that the watermarks confirm the authenticity of the sources used in the present edition, because a comparison with the albums helps to determine the time of the paper's production as being more or less the same as the dating of the letters. In addition, I would like to point out that the drawings of watermarks in the album of Siniarska-Czaplicka are slightly inexact – these are certainly not precise tracings. As I did with the other documents on which this edition is based, I compared the document marked as BCz 1596, p. 459-462, which is the source for letter No. 77 in the present edition, with Siniarska-Czaplicka's album. It turned out that Siniarska-Czaplicka cites exactly the same document as the source for illustration 736., but a comparison revealed visible differences. Moreover, the place from which the letter was posted – Lubawa – was read by Siniarska-Czaplicka as Lubraniec.

Material from just one year seems too small to allow for any general conclusions as to the origin of the paper used by Dantiscus in the episcopal office. What does emerge is that during his stay in Cracow Dantiscus stocked up on paper from the paper mills of Małopolska, and then – upon returning to Prussia – used this paper nearly exclusively throughout the spring, and later for several more months interchangeably with paper from Gdańsk and Lithuanian paper mills, as presented in the table below.

| <b>Letter No. in this edition</b> | <b>Location of the source document</b> | <b>Date of posting (all in 1537)</b> | <b>Place of posting</b>  | <b>Probable location of paper mill</b> |
|-----------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| 1                                 | BCz 244, p. 187-188                    | <b>January 20</b>                    | <b>Cracow</b>            | <b>Małopolska</b>                      |
| 2                                 | BCz 244, p. 185-186                    | <b>January 22</b>                    | <b>Cracow</b>            | <b>Małopolska</b>                      |
| 4                                 | AAWO D. 67, f. 52                      | <b>February 11</b>                   | <b>Cracow</b>            | <b>Małopolska</b>                      |
| 5                                 | BCz 244, p. 193-194                    | <b>March 10</b>                      | <b>Lubawa</b>            | <b>Małopolska</b>                      |
| 12, 13, 14                        | BCz 244, p. 199-200                    | <b>March 16</b>                      | <b>Wąbrzeźno, Lubawa</b> | <b>Vilnius</b>                         |
| 15, 16                            | BCz 244, p. 201-202                    | <b>March 16</b>                      | <b>Lubawa</b>            | <i>[unidentified watermark]</i>        |
| 17, 18, 19                        | BCz 244, p. 203-204                    | <b>March 16</b>                      | <b>Lubawa</b>            | <i>[unidentified watermark]</i>        |
| 21                                | AAWO D. 7, f. 25                       | <b>March 16</b>                      | <i>no location</i>       | <b>Balice (Małopolska)</b>             |
| 23                                | BCz 244, p. 209-210                    | <b>April 7</b>                       | <b>Lubawa</b>            | <b>Małopolska</b>                      |

| <b>Letter No. in this edition</b> | <b>Location of the source document</b> | <b>Date of posting (all in 1537)</b> | <b>Place of posting</b> | <b>Probable location of paper mill</b> |
|-----------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| 24                                | BCz 244, p. 207-208                    | <b>April 14</b>                      | Lubawa                  | Małopolska                             |
| 27                                | AAWO D. 7, f. 26                       | <b>April 17</b>                      | Lubawa                  | Wilki on the Niemen                    |
| 29                                | BCz 244, p. 225-226                    | <b>September 5</b>                   | Lubawa                  | Gdańsk                                 |
| 32                                | BCz 244, p. 233-234                    | <b>September 15</b>                  | Lubawa                  | Małopolska                             |
| 33                                | BCz 244, p. 255-256                    | <b>September 22</b>                  | Lubawa                  | Gdańsk                                 |
| 34                                | BCz 244, p. 247-248                    | <b>September 23</b>                  | Lubawa                  | Gdańsk                                 |
| 35, 36                            | BCz 244, p. 261-262                    | <b>September 24</b>                  | Lubawa                  | Gdańsk                                 |
| 38, 39                            | BCz 244, p. 249-250                    | <b>September 25</b>                  | Lubawa                  | Gdańsk                                 |
| 41                                | BCz 244, p. 243-244                    | <b>September 28</b>                  | Lubawa                  | Małopolska                             |
| 42, 43, 44                        | BCz 244, p. 257-258                    | <b>September 28</b>                  | Lubawa                  | Gdańsk                                 |
| 48                                | BCz 244, p. 265-266                    | <b>October 1</b>                     | Grudziądz               | Gdańsk                                 |
| 51, 53, 54                        | BCz 244, p. 269-270                    | <b>October 4, 13</b>                 | Grudziądz,<br>Lubawa    | Wilki on the Niemen                    |
| 63                                | BCz 244, p. 289-290                    | <b>November 16</b>                   | Lubawa                  | Gdańsk                                 |
| Appendix III                      | BCz 244, p. 301-302                    | <b>November 16</b>                   | Lubawa                  | Gdańsk                                 |
| 69, 70, 71                        | BCz 244, p. 295-296                    | <b>November 16</b>                   | Lubawa                  | Wilki on the Niemen                    |
| 74, 75, 76,<br>77, 78, 79         | BCz 244, p. 303-304                    | <b>November 16</b>                   | Lubawa                  | Wilki on the Niemen                    |
| 77                                | BCz 1596, p. 461-462                   | <b>November 16</b>                   | Lubawa                  | Małopolska                             |
| 82                                | GStAPK, HBA C1a<br>K. 497, f. 23       | <b>November 17</b>                   | Lubawa                  | Gdańsk                                 |
| 86                                | BCz 244, p. 317-318                    | <b>November 24,<br/>December 1</b>   | Lubawa                  | Gdańsk                                 |
| 88                                | BCz 244, p. 285-286                    | <b>[December] 1</b>                  | Lubawa                  | <i>[unidentified watermark]</i>        |

### **18th-century copybooks as a supplement to the 16th-century source material**

Above was a detailed description of the 16th-century source material. As mentioned earlier, these materials (Dantiscus' fair copies, rough drafts and office copies preserved at the Czartoryski Library and the Warmia Archdiocese Archives in Olsztyn) were the basis for three 18th-century copybooks. These are:

- 1) A manuscript codex kept at the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Kórnik, pressmark 232, subsequently referred to as the Kórnik copybook (=BK)



- 2) A manuscript codex kept at the Ossoliński Library in Wrocław, pressmark 151, subsequently referred to as the Ossolineum copybook (=BO)
- 3) Manuscript codices kept at the Czartoryski Library in Cracow, pressmarks 54, 55, constituting a part of the “Naruszewicz Files”, subsequently referred to as the Naruszewicz Files (=TN)<sup>24</sup>

These copybooks differ in their contents – besides the letters contained in the present edition, they include other texts as well. However, all three copybooks include the same letters by Dantiscus of 1537. Moreover, these letters appear in the same order in all three copybooks. This allows one to believe that the copybooks in question are linked. To leave no doubts as to this, I found it necessary to study the relations between them in detail.

The **Kórnik copybook** contains nothing but Dantiscus' correspondence – 90 letters<sup>25</sup>. It consists of two parts, each carrying a separate title. The first part (p. 1-120), compiled in 1779, contains Dantiscus' letters to Sigismund I and Bona. The second part (p. 123-242), compiled in 1778, contains Dantiscus' letters to various people. In accordance with the record on the codex's title pages (separate for each part), the manuscript catalogue of the Kórnik Library states that the copybook was prepared at the request of Bishop Ignacy Krasicki and based on originals kept at the Warmia Bishops' Archives. However, the first part of the copybook is most certainly a copy made from the copy currently found at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, pressmark Lat. 11095. That copy was most probably based on the 16th-century manuscripts from Frombork (currently at the Czartoryski Library), as the copyist left empty spaces wherever he had doubts as to how to read the text. The Kórnik copyist, on the other hand, while reproducing the gaps and errors from the Paris copy, did not signal where such gaps or doubts occurred. Here is an example:

**BCz, 242, p. 73, l. 12 from the top: *Interp(re)tat(i)o(ne)m 5 ar(ticu)li Matrimonii***

BNF, Lat. 11095, p. 19, l. 2 from the top: *Interp(re)ta(tio)nem ..... Matrimonii*

BK, 232, p. 27, l. 13 from the bottom: *Interpretationem Matrimonii*

In the part where it is a copy of a copy, the Kórnik copybook follows its predecessor in a rather poor quality – there are numerous omissions of words that were hardly legible in the rough drafts, mistakes revealing an insufficient command of Latin, and skipping of some passages, suggesting haste.

<sup>24</sup> About the Naruszewicz Files: Grzybowski (cf. reviews, e.g. Michalski).

<sup>25</sup> The BK manuscript catalogue records 89 letters, taking a fragment of a separate letter for a postscript (letter No. 2) (*KatBK*, p. 153).

From the point of view of codicology, the **Ossolineum copybook** is a very interesting case of combining copies from a number of earlier copybooks. It also contains only Dantiscus' correspondence – 163 letters. Its title page assures the reader that the material came from the original documents, but its contents are the same as those found in two other copybooks – the already mentioned Kórnik copybook (BK, 232), and another 18th-century manuscript codex from the Czartoryski Library, pressmark 1366. This last copybook contains copies of selected rough drafts of the letters of Dantiscus from the manuscript codex BCz, 242, as well as copies of selected original letters to Dantiscus from the manuscript codices H.154, H.155 from the University Library in Uppsala<sup>26</sup>.

A more thorough comparison of these materials suggests that the Ossolineum copybook was compiled from the Kórnik copybook and BCz, 1366. This is confirmed by a detailed analysis of the text variants of the Kórnik copybook, the Ossolineum copybook and the Naruszewicz Files, which will be presented further on.

The **Naruszewicz Files** are a copybook completely different in character from the two described above – this is a work comparable to the greatest modern-day editorial projects. Dantiscus' correspondence constitutes but a fraction of the whole. The copies are also of a far better quality than the Ossolineum copybook, which – while reproducing the Kórnik copybook – adds numerous new mistakes. The copyists employed by Naruszewicz to make fair copies of the letters of Dantiscus included in the present edition, were evidently very accurate and had an excellent knowledge of Latin. Though they did not avoid making new mistakes, these happened quite seldom. Occasionally, where the text was corrupted or seemed so, they introduced emendations that were logically correct, but not always compatible with the 16th-century documents.

Below is a statistical analysis of the text variants of the 16th-century sources and the 18th-century copybooks<sup>27</sup>:

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<sup>26</sup> The selection of Uppsala letters is most probably a copy from the copybook compiled by Eric Benzelius in 1717, and known as *Illustrium virorum ad Ioannem Dantiscum Epistolae historicae selectae*. Benzelius' copybook is kept at Linköpings Stadsbibliotek under pressmark BR 19 (formerly 55). Besides the BCz, 1366 copy there are also other copies of it. They are kept at the Staatsbibliothek in Hamburg (Sup. ep., 4041), at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden (C 110, No. 123), and at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (StBBPK, ms. lat. 101). The relations between them are not considered here.

<sup>27</sup> These calculations are based on the critical apparatus developed as part of my PhD dissertation *Listy łacińskie Jana Dantyszka z roku 1537. Edycja krytyczna, problemy metodologiczne*, Warszawa 2000, available at the Faculty of Polish Studies of Warsaw University.

**BK** – 287 variants different from the 16th-century sources, including:

- 247 shared with BO and TN
- 32 shared with BO, where the TN lection of the same place is identical with the 16th-century source
- 5 shared with BO, where TN has a different variant in the same place
- 3 shared with TN, where BO has a different variant in the same place

**BO** – 336 variants different from the 16th-century sources, including:

- 247 shared with BK and TN
- 32 shared with BK, where the TN lection of the same place is identical with the 16th-century source
- 5 shared with BK, where TN has a different variant in the same place
- 1 shared with TN, where the BK lection of the same place is identical with the 16th-century source
- 3, where BK and TN have a different variant in the same place
- 81, where the BK and TN lection of the same place is identical with the 16th-century source

**TN** – 312 variants different from the 16th-century sources, including:

- 247 shared with BK and BO
- 3 shared with BK, where BO has a different variant in the same place
- 1 shared with BO, where the BK lection of the same place is identical with the 16th-century source
- 5, where BK and BO have a different variant in the same place
- 56, where the BK and BO lection of the same place is identical with the 16th-century source

Because all the variants appearing in the BK copybook (except three, where BO gives yet another variant) are found in the BO copybook, and BO adds new variants, there can be no doubt that the **BO copybook relies on the BK copybook**. It is to be stressed that the Ossolineum copybook, with its numerous new mistakes and omissions, is the source of the poorest quality among the copybooks described here. Below are a few examples of how the text is corrupted in this copybook:

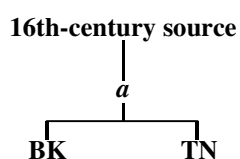
**letter 12:** *offerunt se tractandae concordiae, matrimonia et id genus non pauca, interdum et grauiora, immo et leuiora. Quid, si ego* **BO:** *offerunt se tractandae concordiae, matrimonia et id genus. Quid, si ego*

**letter 69:** *magni momenti* **BO:** *magni mementi*

**letter 80:** *sartam tectam* **BO:** *sartam tutam*

**letter 84:** *in quo princeps mundi huius imperiose suos exercet* **BO:** *in quo princeps munditicius imperiose suos exercet*

The TN copybook has a huge number – 248 – of variants shared with BK as well as 5 places where it introduces a different variant than BK, but in 32 places provides the lection of the 16th-century source where BK introduces a variant. Moreover, TN adds 56 new variants as well. The obvious conclusion seems to be that BK and TN had a common ancestor – mediator – let us call it *a* – that came between them and the 16th-century source:



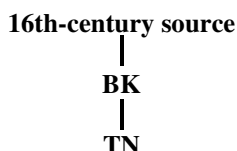
However, a philological analysis of the 32 variants in BK suggests rather that the TN copyist, if he was a smart person who knew Latin quite well, in each of these 32 cases could have suspected a corruption of the text and made apt emendations. Below are a few examples:

- (letter 5)** 16th-century source, TN: *quod vitae reliquum est mihi transigere liceret*; BK, BO: *quod uti reliquum est mihi transigere liceret*
- (letter 17)** 16th-century source, TN: *subibo humeris nec me labor iste grauabit*; BK, BO: *subito humeris nec me labor iste grauabit*
- (letter 64)** 16th-century source, TN: *concilii Constanciensis*; BK, BO: *consilii Constanciensis*
- (letter 80)** 16th-century source, TN: *Noui item et prodigiosi priusque numquam auditi pacti*; BK, BO: *Niui item et prodigiosi priusque unquam auditi pacti*

If one were to accept the hypothesis that the copyist made proper emendations, the Naruszewicz Files could be a copy of the Kórnik copybook. The reverse could not be true, on the other hand, because even without the chronological argument<sup>28</sup>, the TN copybook variants (numbering 61) often represent a completely different type of text corruption, so their intuitive correction by the copyist of BK 232 would have been impossible. One example is the omission exclusively in the TN copybook of the words *quod iterum atque iterum facio, quae tum se offerebant scripsi* in letter 48, not to mention the variants in writing the date, an

<sup>28</sup> As regards dating of the copybooks – see the scheme of probable relations between the manuscripts, p. 99.

element not covered by the statistics above<sup>29</sup> (in TN all the numerals are written out in words, contrary to the 16th-century source and the other copybooks which copy the 16th-century source very faithfully in this respect). Therefore, the theory that TN relies on BK is at least as likely as the theory of a common ancestor:



What makes this hypothesis even more probable is that when analyzing the 61 original variants of TN, one notices a certain inclination on the part of the copyist to correct the text. Below is just one of many similar corrections made by Naruszewicz's copyists (letter 64):

**16th-century office copy:** *remittoque easdem duplicatas cum hoc fratre meo Georgio Hegel, ut ille eas certus de auro, quod dominus electus et ego Thoroniae deposuimus, vna cum cambii literis Romam mittat*

**BK and BO:** *remittoque easdem duplicatas cum hoc fratre meo Georgio Hegel, et ille eas certus de auro, quod dominus electus et ego Thoroniae deposuimus, vna cum cambii literis Romam mittat*

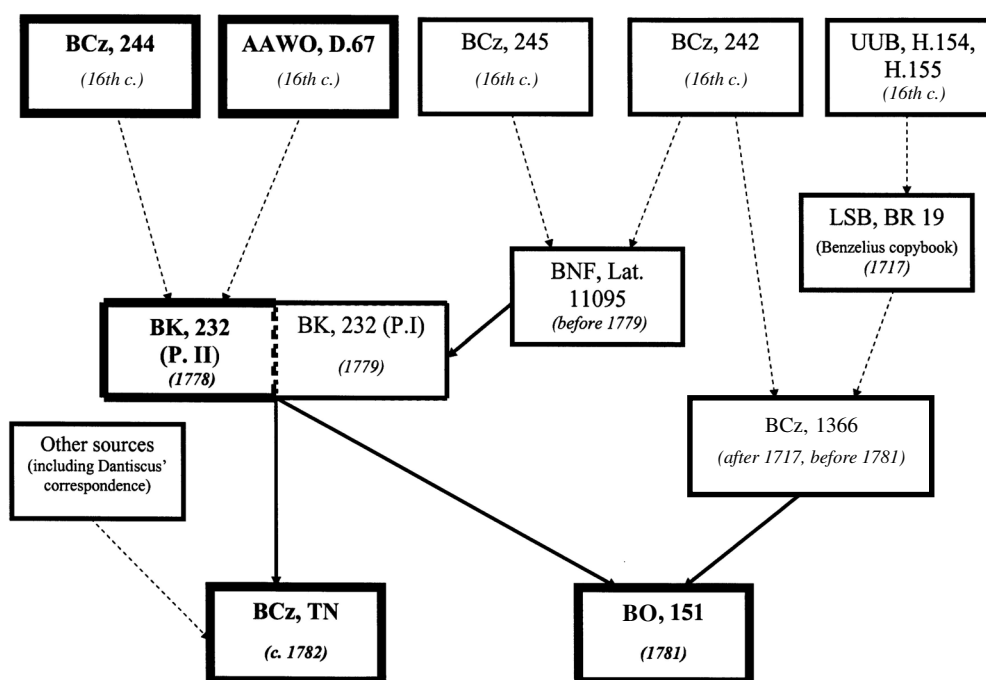
**TN:** *remittoque easdem duplicatas cum hoc fratre meo Georgio Hegel, et ille eas certus de auro, quod dominus electus et ego Thoroniae deposuimus, vna cum cambii literis Romam mittet*

The copyist of the Kórník manuscript erroneously read the *ut* introducing the adverbial clause as *et*. Consequently, the predicate in conditional mood *mittat* that would classically follow *ut finale* was no longer justified in this sentence. Then, the copyist of the Naruszewicz Files, whose source was the Kórník manuscript, noticed the mistake and changed the predicate's conditional mood to what he considered more justified in the sentence – the future tense indicative mood *mittet*. Another interesting example, this time of a stylistic correction, is the introduction of *ac* in place of *et* in the text *expediet et oporteat* (letter No. 5), most probably to avoid the accumulation of the consonant *t*, which grated on the ear and was difficult to pronounce.

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<sup>29</sup> I treat the dating record not as a text variant, but as a graphic difference, which does not preclude considering the continuity of the text's record as an argument in determining the order in which the copybooks were made.

Therefore I believe – with some reservations – that one can assume that **BK** constituted the source for **TN**. Most certainly, though, **any relations between TN and BO have to be ruled out** in view of the nearly complete divergence (with one exception) of the new (not shared with BK) variants present in these two copybooks. To summarize the above analyses, the scheme below shows the probable relations between the manuscripts:



The stemma does not include the three collections of documents that form the basis of the present edition: **AAWO, D.7**, **BCz, 1596** and **GStA PK, HBA, C1a K.497**, since they do not constitute the source for copybooks. The collections of documents containing letters presented in the edition are in bold type. Continuous arrows mean that all letters from the given source were copied, dashed arrows – that only selected ones were copied.

### The different types of source material

The manuscripts of Dantiscus' letters that have come down to our time can be divided into four groups: original letters preserved in the legacies of the ad-

dressees; rough drafts (initially written by Dantiscus, and near the end of his life also by secretaries); office copies ordered by Dantiscus and kept by him; copies – the ones we know were made in the 16th century (these are especially the manuscript *Acta Tomciana*) and the 18th century.

In the course of the work in which I am involved within the program of registering and publishing Dantiscus' correspondence, I have made the following observations on the different types of sources of Dantiscus' Latin letters:

#### Personally handwritten fair copies (autographs)

The great majority of documents from the first group, i.e. Dantiscus' original letters, are autographs. Only about 1.5% of the total number of letters from this group known to us today were written by a secretary, even though Dantiscus as an envoy would prepare very detailed reports – some of his letters to Sigismund I run over 40 pages of manuscript.

In his letter to Piotr Tomicki of August 4, 1534 (this is one of the few letters written by a scribe), Dantiscus apologizes for not writing himself, but he has the addressee's convenience in mind; he explains that he can no longer read his own handwriting<sup>30</sup>. He hastens to add assurances about the unchanging respect he has for the addressee. The next letter, dated just a day later (as well as other, earlier and subsequent letters to Tomicki) is, of course, an autograph.

One can conclude that Dantiscus considered writing personally by hand to be something that is due to the addressee as an expression of veneration and respect. He may also have been led by the habit of a diplomat, doing his best to keep confidential information secret. At the same time – there are frequent complaints about excessive expenditure in his correspondence – he was saving on scribes' wages.

Formally Dantiscus' personally handwritten original letters are no different from a typical 16th-century letter. They are penned with care, have hardly any corrections, are always dated, signed and addressed (for better legibility, the address is often written in the secretary's hand). Neither do they pose any serious paleographic difficulties, though Dantiscus' script – the characteristic sloping post-Gothic *currenta*, full of ligatures but consistent in terms of letter shapes and

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<sup>30</sup> BNW, BOZ 2053/18, No. 2075 (print AT, XVI/2, p. 38-42): *Instituera manu mea Dominationi Vestrae Reuerendissimae scribere, quum vidissem me non satis bene pingere, ne lituris meis Dominationi Vestrae Reuerendissimae in lectione essem molestior, praescripsi amanuensi, qui legibilis quam ego, cum mea, quae scribo, interdum legere nequeam, scribit. Det quaeso igitur Dominatio Vestra Reuerendissima veniam nihilque ob id ex veteri et debita mea erga Dominationem Vestram Reuerendissimam obseruancia decessisse arbitretur.*

spelling – may at first sight seem hard to read. An analysis of the typical letter shapes of post-Gothic cursive and italic – the two kinds of cursive handwriting used in correspondence in the Kingdom of Poland in the first half of the 16th century – shows that italic had no influence at all on Dantiscus' post-Gothic cursive<sup>31</sup> (Cf. Plates 1, 2, 5, 6).

#### Secretary's original (fair copy)

Letters from Dantiscus the bishop to the Chełmno and Warmia Chapters he headed are an exception to the above-described custom of writing his own letters. Here, all the preserved originals are written in a secretary's hand. In most cases they are not even signed personally by the sender. One can presume that in this way the bishop stresses the official subordination of his addressees. One such document (letter No. 82) is included in the present edition.

Dantiscus probably refrained from writing letters himself in other cases as well, as suggested by his sporadic handwritten annotations under rough drafts, specifying how a letter should be copied or signed. Among 43 rough drafts handwritten by Dantiscus in 1537, two contain such annotations: *ipse subscribam* (letter No. 72), and *ipse subscribam, scribatur diligenter* (letter No. 47).

Dantiscus certainly resorted to secretaries in the last years of his life, and especially when he was ill, but very few fair copies from this period have come down to us. It is hard to offer any general conclusions, because from the years 1540–1548, besides 35 originals to the Warmia Chapter, we know just 5 original letters that are Dantiscus' autographs and 2 that are not autographs – one of them has an annotation in his hand and the other is dated two weeks before the sender's death.

Dantiscus' original letters written in a secretary's hand, like his own autographs, are formally no different from the typical 16th-century letter. The secretaries' handwriting has the features of post-Gothic cursive or italic – ducts used in the offices of the time. It is clear-cut, consistent and legible. (Cf. Plates 8, 9)

#### Rough drafts – autographs

In the case of rough drafts, Dantiscus' handwriting is careless and much less consistent in spelling than the script of the original letters. The use of abbreviations is much more frequent than in the fair copies. There is interesting comparative material in letters that have come down to us as both original fair copies and

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<sup>40</sup> Słowiński, p. 55-56, 94-95.



rough drafts. There is one such case in the present edition – letter No. 53. To document the difference between the writing in the rough draft and the fair copy, below is a transliteration of the beginning of these two documents. The fair copy is in bold, slashes reproduce the punctuation in the manuscript; the lay-out of the manuscript is preserved. (Cf. also Plates 4, 5)

***R(euerendissi)me / D(omi)ne frater et a(m)ice char(issi)me ac honoran(dissime) /***

*R(euerendissi)me / etc.*

***Salutem fraterniq(ue) amoris co(m)me(n)dac(i)o(ne)m***

***Redii tandem huc heri Deo gr(aci)a / ex co(n)uentus n(ost)ri ergastulo totus***  
*Redii huc heri tande(m) / Deo gr(aci)a / ex co(n)uentus n(ost)ri ergastulo tot(us)*  
***corpore et a(n)i(m)o fessus et confectus / o(mn)i(u)m q(ue) rerum pertaesus /***  
*corp(or)e et a(n)i(m)o fessus et co(n)fectus / om(n)i(um)q(ue) reru(m) pertesus /*  
***accedit et ad molestiaru(m) cumulu(m) q(uod) matre(m) mea(m) qua(m) amo***  
*accedit et ad molestiaru(m) cumulum q(uod) m(at)rem mea(m) qua(m) amo*  
***tenerri(m)e in Castro antiquo reliqui aegra(m) / profecta siquide(m) erat ad***  
*tenerri(m)e in Castro antiq(u)o reliqui egram / profecta siq(ui)d(em) erat ad*  
***visenda(m) Neptem puellula(m) quae apud S(an)ctimoniales Culmen(ses) agit /***  
*vise(n)da(m) Nepte(m) puellula(m) quae ap(u)d S(an)ctimo(n)iales Culme(n)ses agit /*  
***haec ei(us) egritudo me angit plurim(um) / Et nisi negocia n(ost)ra deposcere(n)t et***  
*haec ei(us) egritudo me angit plurim(um) / Et nisi negocia n(ost)ra deposcere(n)t et*  
***cogere(n)t ut hic cu(m) D(ominacio)ne v(estra) R(euerendissi)ma de rebus n(ost)ris***  
*cogere(n)t ut hic cu(m) D(ominacio)ne v(estra) R(euerendissi)ma de reb(us) n(ost)ris*  
***confera(mus) easq(ue) absolua(mus) / r(e)cta ad Matre(m) diuertisse(m) / hac***  
*confera(mus) easq(ue) absolua(mus) / r(e)cta ad M(at)rem diuertisse(m) / hac*  
***ig(itu)r pressus solitudi(n)e / et no(n)dum / laboribus fatigatus / viribus***  
*igitur pressus solitudi(n)e / et no(n)dum / ex laboribus fatigat(us) / virib(us)*  
***restitutus m(u)lta quae scribenda esse(n)t co(n)fera(m) in compendiu(m) /.....***  
*restitut(us) m(u)lta q(uae) scribe(n)da esse(n)t co(n)fera(m) i(n) co(m)pe(n)diu(m) /.....*

It is to be noted that the rough draft quoted above is not typical – it is unusually carefully written and practically free of alterations. Most of the rough drafts contain the author's numerous corrections, crossed-out passages and notes in the margins and between the lines. They make reading the text difficult on more than one occasion.

Rough drafts usually do not include direct information on the sender or the addressee, sometimes even on the date and place of posting. The polite allocution formula is often omitted in them, or given in an abbreviated form. (Cf. Plates 4, 10, 11, 13, 15)

In exchange, so to speak, for the problems they cause, the rough drafts give a much better idea than any other material of the process of composing a text. For example, in letter No. 80, most probably to avoid the jarring sound of the group of words *precor profectum*, Dantiscus changes the word order from *continuum Magnificenciae Vestrae precor profectum* to *continuum precor Magnificenciae Vestrae profectum*. There are many more similar examples, which have been indicated in the notes to the individual letters. Letter No. 57 is an interesting case, as we have not only Dantiscus' autograph rough draft and the office copy of this letter, but also the first rough draft, struck out by Dantiscus.

#### Contemporary office copies

It could be supposed that the copies prepared in the episcopal office were also a kind of rough draft, dictated by the author or written by a secretary on the basis of the sender's oral instructions, or concept. However, there are cases of a letter preserved in two forms: Dantiscus' handwritten original and the office copy. We have three such letters of 1537 (Nos. 34, 35, 77). A detailed comparative analysis leads to the conclusion that the original was written first. With the exception of the frequent omission of addresses, of some of the forms contained in the *salutatio*, and sometimes also of the date and place of posting, the copy is absolutely identical with the original, right up to graphic forms – larger spaces between sentences, fulfilling the role of today's paragraphs, appear in exactly the same places in the text. Words written in majuscule in the original are reproduced in majuscule. There are practically no corrections on the copy – something that seems unlikely if the letter were dictated. The hypothesis that a secretary composed the letters for Dantiscus to copy personally should also be rejected. If this had been the case, Dantiscus would have certainly made corrections and marked them on the copies, just like he did when preparing his own rough drafts. The fair copy of the above-mentioned letter No. 77 includes a marginal note that is not present on the office copy, but this could mean that the copyist was careless or that Dantiscus added it to the letter after the copy had already been made. This last hypothesis is made even more probable by the fact that the note concerns Dantiscus' family affairs, which he may not have wanted a copyist to know about (Cf. Plates 1, 3). In a few cases among the 46 office copies constituting sources for the present edition, there appear corrections in Dantiscus' hand, but these are corrections typical of a copy – an omitted word is added, or an erroneous reading is corrected. Thus, in the letter to Jan Chojeński dated March 16, in the sentence *me solitae beniuolenciae et fauori dominacionis vestrae Reuerendissimae quantum*

*possum accuracius commendo* the word *possum* was added in Dantiscus' hand; in the letters of March 16 to Johan Weze and Cornelis De Schepper, Dantiscus added the place and date *Ex Fridk XVI Marcii 1537*; in the letter of March 16 to Queen Bona the exact date *XVI* was added in a free space left in the copy. These corrections are not proof that the originals were derivative, but that the office copies and originals were contemporaneous. A mistake that could only be made in copying, but certainly not in dictating, is the writing of Cicero's oration *Pro Plancio* in the office copy of letter No. 6 as *Pro Plomcio*. The final argument can be found in a comparison of the meticulous and accurate office copies with the minutes of Dantiscus' letters from the last years of his life – written by secretaries and filled with the sender's handwritten alterations<sup>32</sup>.

Of course it is probable that rough drafts of those copied letters also existed. Considering the form of existing rough drafts, which are, as I have already mentioned, written in a careless hand and contain numerous alterations, crossed-out passages and notes above the text and in the margins, it is possible that one of the reasons why copies were made was the illegibility of the rough drafts. In two cases in 1537 we have both the rough draft and the office copy of a letter. One of them (letter No. 57) seems to confirm the above hypothesis, and the other (letter No. 72) is an exceptional case – this is a letter to the Cardinal Protector. The copy looks like one that was prepared as an original for posting but was kept back for some reason<sup>33</sup>.

Letters preserved in the form of office copies pose no problems of legibility, except a few where the text is damaged (most often on the margins, which are sometimes in a state of decay or illegible because the leaf has been sewn deep into the codex spine). Office copies are written very carefully, with practically no corrections. Most of the copies from 1537 were handwritten by Dantiscus' chancellor, Chełmno canon Baltazar of Lublin (Cf. Plate 3), one letter – in a hand specified by me as M2 (Cf. Plate 8), and the rest – in a hand that I do not identify and call M1 (Cf. Plate 18). The copies written in the hand of M1 appear at a time when Baltazar of Lublin was ill and getting treatment in Gdańsk<sup>34</sup>. The M2's script seems very similar to that of Baltazar of Lublin. However, this handwriting has larger letters, with fewer cursive features and is more documental. Abbrevia-

<sup>32</sup> Cf. e.g. AAWO, D.70, passim.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. the letter of October 13 to Tiedemann Giese, in which Dantiscus writes that he lacks a notary whose hand would be recognized in Rome (letter No. 53).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the correspondence between Dantiscus, Baltazar of Lublin and Ioannes Tresler (letters No. 59, 60).

tions are marked with a dash and not an arc as Baltazar of Lublin usually marked them. There are no other visible differences. The M2 hand also addressed Dantiscus' original letters to Tiedemann Giese. Interestingly, Baltazar of Lublin's original handwritten letters to Dantiscus are also addressed by the M2 hand<sup>35</sup>. Perhaps, then, the M2 hand is actually that of Baltazar of Lublin. However, it is hard to tell if and to what degree a scribe could change his script depending on the purpose of the work. Karol Górski thinks it is possible, and writes in his book on Gothic neography: "Such things are known in 15th-century offices, where one can see in a single copy of a document how the scribe went from legible bastarda to careless and illegible cursive."<sup>36</sup>

### 18th-century copies

The writing in the 18th-century copies is not any different from the typical patterns of the time. The Kórník and Ossolineum copybooks reproduce the graphic features of the 16th-century manuscripts quite faithfully, including the majuscule or the writing of numerals (especially dates). Mistakes and omissions were described earlier, when determining the relations between the copybooks, likewise the emendations that the copyists of the Naruszewicz Files had an inclination for. The Kórník and Ossolineum copybooks do not identify the addressees of Dantiscus' letters, nor do they include precise tables of contents. The manuscript of the Naruszewicz Files is very different in this respect – it shows signs of a unified, almost editorial concept of presenting the text. Abbreviations for nasal consonants and pronouns, sometimes to be found in the Kórník and Ossolineum copybooks, do not appear in the Naruszewicz Files. The use of capital letters practically does not differ from the modern usage. The text is divided into paragraphs. The system of dating is made uniform. All numerals are written out in words. The Naruszewicz Files also have tables of contents, and the letters are provided with headings specifying the name of the sender and the addressee, though even here not much effort was put into identifying the addressees – from among 16 letters copied from original sources that did not directly provide this information, the addressee is identified in just 6 cases. (Cf. Plates 12, 14, 16)

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<sup>35</sup> Autographs of letters from Baltazar of Lublin to Dantiscus, including: BCz, 1597, p. 67-68, 189-190, 243-244, 351-354; AAWO, D.5, f.55, 136, 139, 140, 152.

<sup>36</sup> Górski, *Neografia*, 1978, p. 22; see also Górski, 1936, fig. 4.

## Principles of the edition

### Problems resulting from the character of the sources:

The greatest methodological problems encountered in the editing resulted from the specific character of the letters as the text to be edited and the kind of sources available. These problems concern chiefly texts that have come down to us in rough drafts and office copies, and arise on two planes – graphic and informational.

Given that the office copies were derivatives of existing or presumed originals, problems with the graphic appearance of the texts arise mainly with the rough drafts, while both these kinds of source material sometimes lack some of the information that a letter usually carries. There are problems with identifying addressees, proper dating and with the accuracy of the content.

Rough drafts of correspondence, especially when these are autographs of the sender, constitute very interesting though difficult material for an editor. A rough draft requires a more reserved interpretation than other source materials. One cannot be sure, after all – unless other sources for the same text are available – that the rough draft text ever turned into an original, that the letter was ever posted, and if other sources confirm this, that the fair copy did not include changes, either in the form or in the content. In the only letter of 1537 that has been preserved in the form of an original and a rough draft, where both forms are Dantiscus' autographs, apart from the omission of the address and polite forms in the rough draft as mentioned above, there is also a change in the word order. A fragment from this letter was quoted earlier, in the part discussing the kinds of sources on which the present edition is based.

### Problems with the text's graphic aspect

Problems appearing when the rough draft of a text is the basis for an edition require that the methodological discussions which have accompanied editing work since the 19th century<sup>37</sup> be placed on the proper plane. The first task has to be the determination of the relation of the rough draft as a source to the text being prepared for publication.

As Konrad Górski rightly notes, following the example of D.S. Lichačev in his reflections on textual problems, *one should – – consider in detail which*

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<sup>37</sup> Cf. e.g. Zakrzewski; Kürbis; Friedberg; *List*.

*characteristics can be a reflection of linguistic phenomena, and which are the result of only individual features of the manuscript's graphics and further on: Besides – very often the record written by the author himself turns out to contain errors, and then we are forced to reproduce the work's linguistic shape in accordance with the author's creative intent, going against what he himself wrote.*<sup>38</sup>, because *A text is a work expressed through language. This means that anything that does not concern the form of the language, but is related to the form of the graphics, being either the effect of accidental mistakes, accidental omissions by a copyist, or accidental repetitions of the text, accidental inclusions in it – does not have a bearing on the text. These are the specific characteristics not of the text, but of the written record, the manuscript.*<sup>39</sup>

Górski's reflections concern strictly literary texts, but they seem extremely pertinent to the autograph rough draft, and also the office copy, of a letter.

The earlier analysis of rough drafts and originals written in Dantiscus' hand proves that the rough drafts create false premises as to the author's views on rules of orthography.

In this situation, in the present edition I have decided to disregard the already traditional problem of whether the text of the source to be published should be changed so as to conform to the spelling of classical Latin, or left in the form in which it appears in the manuscript, without any changes (as the so-called "diplomatic edition"). Neither of these proposals seems convincing with respect to the manuscript sources I have at my disposal. The main asset of "classicizing" a text is that it brings a sense of order to the edition<sup>40</sup>, but undoubtedly the published material is then deprived of a certain truth, it loses its character of testimony to linguistic culture. Leaving the form, or rather lack of form, represented by the rough drafts, however, would certainly be inconsistent with the intention of the letters' author as to their written record. At this point it is worth-emphasizing again that one needs to differentiate between the author's intention as to the written record from his intention as to the text itself. The author's intentions as to the text are usually considered in situations when a damaged text is being reconstructed, and not when the reconstruction concerns the written record, but with scholarly editions the problem of text reconstruction resolves itself through commentary and appropriately used parentheses signaling all the discrepancies between the printed edition and the source material for the text<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> Górski, *Tekstologia*, 1978, p. 15, 19.

<sup>39</sup> Lichačev, p. 115.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. e.g. Domański, p. 27-28.

<sup>41</sup> With regard to the intentions of a text's author, cf. Górski, 1958, p. 289-304; Budzyk, p. 36-40.

As for the orthographic record of the text, the best approach to the source material at my disposal seemed to be, as already mentioned in the summary of that part of the introduction which concerns the way in which Dantiscus recorded Latin text, to reconstruct the conception that the author of the letters had about the graphic system of Latin. I analyzed all of Dantiscus' autographs included in this edition, but focused mainly on the autographs of fair copies – “original letters” – as the spelling in them is much more consistent than that in the rough drafts. The conclusions are presented above in the chapter on the language of the letters and have been adopted as governing principle in all the letters published here. A similar approach was used a few years ago by Brita Larsson when editing the correspondence of Ioannes Magnus – *nb.* one of Dantiscus' correspondents<sup>42</sup>.

As already mentioned in the summary of the chapter on the written record itself, I do not think it useful for the purpose of this edition to reproduce the rhetorical system of punctuation used by Dantiscus or the way he uses majuscule. Having a relatively large margin of inconsistency, these principles are too divergent from modern rules not to significantly worsen the text's legibility. A description of the graphical inconsistencies of Dantiscus in the rough drafts, and also – though to a lesser degree – of secretaries in the office copies, is given as part of the analysis of the different types of source material. Taking into account textual studies' interest in the birth of a text, I have also undertaken the task of reconstructing the process of the author's composition of the text: in the commentary, I consider the crossed-out passages and analyze the order in which corrections were made. One particularly interesting case is the letter to Maurycy Ferber's testamentary executors after his death, mentioned earlier, for which there is a rough draft and an office copy, but also an unfinished and crossed-out first version of the rough draft. This version differs too much from the final form of the letter to include it in the notes accompanying the letters, so I have decided to present it as an appendix next to the text of the letter. (Cf. letter No. 57)

#### Problems with the text's informational aspect

Problems with identifying the addressee arose with 54 out of the 93 letters edited here. In the remaining 39 cases, the name of the addressee was suggested in one way or another in the 16th-century source, either in the address – in the case of the dozen or so original letters – or in an annotation made by Dantiscus or his secretary, or in the letter – when the recipient is addressed by name. Of course there is less information in the expression *Charissime Nepos*, or *Mi Charissime Fabiane*, than in a full address, but even this is a valuable indication for the editor,

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<sup>42</sup> Magnus, p. 49.

narrowing down a list of 350 names to just several. The list of possible addressees can also be narrowed down to some extent by looking at the titles that Dantiscus uses consistently in accordance with the custom of his times. Thus, for example, *Serenissimus* is a title for a royal, *Reuerendissimus* – a bishop or prelate, *Magnificus* – a high-ranking lay official, *Venerabilis* – a canon etc. Circumspection is needed when approaching the annotations of archivists or other later clues, because these are not always trustworthy. For example, the printed catalogue of manuscripts at the Kórnik Library<sup>43</sup> is mistaken five times when it comes to determining the addressees of 26 letters of 1537 contained in an 18th-century copybook (BK manuscript No. 232), and in one case does not determine the addressee at all. Subtracting from those 26 letters the 6 that are identified wrongly or not at all, and another 8 for which hints as to the addressees are given by manuscript sources, it turns out that the catalogue helps identify the addressees of 12 letters. The suggestion for one of the letters is given in an archivist's note on the rough draft, for another – in the Naruszewicz Files (unknown to the authors of the Kórnik Library manuscript catalogue). Since there were no other clues in the case of the other 41 letters, there remained nothing for me to do but to analyze their content thoroughly. There often appears a mention of the letter to which the current letter is responding. Sometimes this is even exact information as to the date and place of the posting or receipt of that letter. Participation in the Warsaw University project involving a computerized inventory of Dantiscus' correspondence made my task that much easier. Thanks to this inventory, I had relatively easy access to all of Dantiscus' letters known today from around the year 1537. Analyzing this correspondence, I managed to identify the addressees of a further 33 letters with sometimes greater, sometimes lesser certainty. For the remaining 9 letters, the lack of information makes the identification impossible.

In identifying the addressees, I intentionally did not use the Kurpiel Files, leaving them as a subsequent element of verification of the analysis. To my satisfaction, the identifications I made agreed 100 percent with the suggestions as to the addressees that were given – though not in every single case and often with a question mark – by Kurpiel in his extracts and registers.

Another problem posed by both rough drafts and office copies is the dating of the letters, or rather lack thereof. Often instead of a date there is the annotation *vt supra*, and unfortunately this does not always mean that it is sufficient to read the date under the letter written from the top of a given page, as frequently there is no date there – it can appear several pages and several letters before. In such cases an analysis of the text confirmed that the documents in the codex are

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<sup>43</sup> KatBK, p. 155-159.



arranged chronologically. Things are worse when there is no annotation, as the documents are not always arranged strictly chronologically. Then, I assumed as an approximation that the letter came from the period between the dated letters that came before and after it in the codex, and sought confirmation in the text itself and in the addressee's letters to Dantiscus. A special case here are brief, undated letters written across the page in a free margin, which only allows one to determine the date of the posting of the letter written on the page itself as the *terminus post quem*. Unfortunately, in such cases I have not always succeeded in determining the date.

What is worth noting when discussing the dating of the letters is a regularity that is not always related to the type of source material, but one that is clearly visible in the rough drafts and office copies. In many cases the date or its fragment, and sometimes the place of posting as well, was added in the recognizable hand of Dantiscus or his secretary in a space specially set aside, probably when the documents were being arranged in order. This happens especially if a larger number of letters were posted on the same day, for example 12 letters dated March 16, or 20 dated November 16. The obvious conclusion is that the letters were prepared in advance, but dated on the day of posting. This is additionally confirmed by the fact that two March 16 letters were dated in Wąbrzeźno, while the other 12 – in Lubawa. It should be kept in mind when the letters become the basis for determining the course of events described with the help of relative temporal categories (e.g. today, tomorrow, two days ago). *Ex post* dating makes for mistakes in the dating: in one case (letter No. 88) the fact that the date was added later erroneously moves the letter back one month, which becomes clear from mentions in other correspondence on related topics.

Unquestionably one of the more troublesome features of a rough draft as a source material is the lack of certainty as to whether it had a continuation in a fair copy of the letter, whether it wasn't reformulated, or was ever posted at all. Dantiscus' correspondence seems well-ordered in this respect, there are written replies to most of the letters, but even with such scant material as five original letters that we can compare with their rough drafts or office copies, there occur differences between the sources. In the case of one rough draft (letter No. 70), I am sure that there was a fair copy, but it never reached the addressee. There is no other way of dealing with these doubts than to treat information stemming from the rough drafts with due circumspection.

### **The editor's attitude towards existing editorial instructions**

There are two Polish editorial instructions applying to Latin manuscripts from the first half of the 16th century. The first is the 19th-century instruction of Wincenty Zakrzewski "Jak należałoby wydawać zbiory listów i akt historycznych

z wieku XVI i późniejszych” (“How collections of letters and historical documents from the 16th century and later should be published”)<sup>44</sup>. The other, worked out several dozen years later and today already nearly 50 years old, is the “Projekt instrukcji wydawniczej dla pisanych źródeł historycznych do połowy XVI w.” (“Draft editorial instruction for written historical sources up to the mid-16th century”) by Adam Wolff<sup>45</sup>. The fact that documents from the first half of the 16th century are taken into consideration in instructions concerning both Medieval and modern documents shows that their classification is controversial, because of the fluidity of characteristics of source materials from the borderline of two eras.

Both instructions are very detailed. Their very titles show that both of them consider sources chiefly from a historian’s point of view. Preparing the present edition, I followed neither of them exactly. This does not mean that I make light of them. However, I do think that the purpose of an editorial instruction should be to provide a framework for the edition, and to point out the problems of which the editor should be aware. The attention to detail in the existing instructions and their focus on specific academic fields and not the general needs of the humanities has resulted in a situation where editors while largely following the instruction frequently add that they are diverging from the rules specified there<sup>46</sup>.

Differences of opinion in discussions on the method of editing historical sources often result from different purposes of given editions. Non-academic editions aside, there are two main goals for an editor: the presentation and criticism of the source’s content, and the presentation and criticism of its form. Editions addressed to historians naturally seek the importance of a source in its content. For a linguist, the object of studies is lexis, syntax and also the form in which the text is recorded. Those two spheres of interest are of equal significance for historians of culture and literature, especially those dealing with the dissemination and reception of texts, in the consciousness of the recipients as well as in the more material dimension of a written document<sup>47</sup>. Questions concerning the choice of the method of editing a text for publication may soon no longer be of such great importance. Given the increasingly frequent use of computer technology in everyday practice, it is easy to imagine that the use of electronic carriers of information will allow a text to be presented with the help of several different methods simultaneously without any major increase in the publication costs. This is a very comfortable situation indeed, as previously publishers could rarely

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<sup>44</sup> Cf. Zakrzewski.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Wolff.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. e.g. *AT* vol. XIV, introduction, p. XVI.

<sup>47</sup> Schoeck, p. 11-12, 16 ff.; Axer, 1992, p. 15, 17-19.

afford to publish diplomatic transcripts, versions with unified spelling, and readable photographs of the source material all at once.

Thus, existing editorial instructions, being one-sided and also too detailed and therefore over-rigorous, are not compatible with the interests of modern scholarly studies in terms of availability and legibility of the different informational layers in a manuscript source, and especially in one that is a Latin Renaissance letter. The direct effect of the extensive and diverse needs of recipients can be seen in the great number of methodological discussions, which shows that the work of an editor of historical sources is not merely reproduction, it is not a set of technical tasks, as some academics would have it<sup>48</sup>, but – to quote Konrad Górski again – it is the art of editing.

The same conclusion follows from the opinion of Juliusz Domański, who pointed out during one of the many discussions on editing that “*a text is always something extremely contingent, – – discretionary, almost unpredictable – – something – – essentially unique, therefore editorial work cannot be reduced to precise and infallible universal rules – except a few – general ones – –, but even these cannot be applied mechanically and without exception – –. The most important thing is what we determine immanently, so to speak, from inside the text. – – Therefore – – I have no fundamental reservations towards his [Bentley's – A.S.] famous formula 'Mihi ratio plus valet quam centum codices'. And this 'ratio' will differ from – – intuition in its commonly accepted sense in that, among other things, it will be based on a study of the text that first is immanent, individual, and only then will reach for universal rules.*”<sup>49</sup>

Consequently, treating their work as creative, we should leave the editors some freedom of decision. Editorial instructions, on the other hand, should be limited to enumerating the aspects of a text that are worth investigating and to a schematic outline of the possible ways of presenting the text because, to some extent, every manuscript source brings its own editorial rules.

### Detailed rules of the edition

Dantiscus' letters have been arranged in chronological order and provided with consecutive numbers. Letters with the same date have been put in the order in which their 16th-century sources are arranged in a given archival unit. As mentioned earlier, one can assume that they were arranged at least roughly in the order in which they were written (cf. p. 86-87 – description of the codex BCz, 244).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. e.g. Goliński, p. 53.

<sup>49</sup> Domański, p. 25-27.

The text of each letter together with the address (if it exists in the source material) is given *in extenso*, in the language of the original. The address, if it is present in the source material, is provided before the text – the order in which it would be read by the addressee.

The text is preceded by an extensive register in English, information on where the existing source is kept, and a formal description of the 16th-century documents on which this edition is based. This description also includes annotations from the letter's addressee, if there are any. The register includes: the first name, surname and social status of the addressee, the place and date of posting of the letter, a relatively detailed description of the letter's content, information available to the editor on the place and date of posting, on the availability of the letter to which a given letter constitutes the reply, and on replies to that letter, and sometimes also additional notes on the method of identifying the addressee.

The spelling in the texts has been unified in accordance with the reconstruction of the views on orthography of the letters' author as outlined in the introduction. (Cf. p. 69-73).

Any evident *lapsus calami* has been corrected, and the alteration has been indicated in the note to a given text.

Modern punctuation has been introduced, but in such a way as to prevent conflict with the punctuation of 16th-century source materials. The parentheses and question marks introduced by the letters' author have been preserved.

The text has been divided into paragraphs compatible with the graphic indications observed in the 16th-century sources, as discussed in the chapter on the record of the text (cf. p. 72). In the source text every fifth verse is numbered.

Modern usage of capital letters has been introduced. The abundant titles in the texts of the letters start with minuscule, except places where Dantiscus addresses his correspondents in the third person.

The source text is printed in Roman type, and the commentary in italics.

All abbreviations have been written out without marking this fact, unless an abbreviation was ambiguous or doubtful.

The following special symbols are used:

- Round brackets ( ) – parentheses put by the letters' author, doubts concerning an abbreviation
- Square brackets [ ] – gaps in the text resulting from damage to the source – with dots inside, or the publisher's conjecture
- Angle brackets < > – additions from the editor that are not the result of physical defects in the source, but are necessary for understanding the text
- Braces { } – fragments of the text considered unnecessary by the editor (e.g. an accidentally repeated word)

- Vertical line | – to mark the end of the line in the source where necessary in the critical apparatus
- Two vertical lines || – to mark the end of the page in the source No 1

The text comes with two types of footnotes in English:

1) Textual footnotes, referred to the verse number, mark and describe the following:

- Deletions, corrections and margin notes in the 16th-century source
- Possible variant readings of the text
- *Lapsus calami* corrected in the text

2) Factual footnotes marked with Arabic numerals, fulfill the following functions:

- Explaining the historical context
- Referring the reader to the documents mentioned in the text
- Explaining the dates (apart from the date of the letter's posting and receipt)
- Signaling references to literary and cultural tradition
- Wherever possible, identifying the persons mentioned in the text, especially those who are described in an ambiguous way or may be unfamiliar to the reader. The footnote gives the name under which a given person can be found in the index, basic biographical information and sometimes information explaining the context of his or her being mentioned in the letter. Footnotes concerning one person do not appear more than once for a given letter, unless this is necessary for understanding the text. Footnotes about the same person in subsequent letters refer the reader back to the footnote to the letter in which that person appeared for the first time. Because of the great frequency of mentions in the text and easy identification, the footnotes do not include king of Poland Sigismund I and queen of Poland Bona Sforza
  - Identifying geographical names occurring in the text. Because they are widely known and easy to identify, the names of two cities are not explained in the footnotes: Cracow (*Cracouia*) and Rome (*Roma* or *vrbs*) as well as the following countries: Austria, Poland (*Polonia*), Pomerania, Prussia and Spain (*Hispania*, *Hyspania*)

The edition is provided with an index listing the names of people and geographical names as well as the names of administrative bodies appearing in the text.

The index covers all the forms of a surname and first name as well as other terms denoting a given person in the source text. The entries are in alphabetical order, with cross-references to the base form of the name. The base form is the

form of the name used in academic tradition. The index does not include Ioannes Dantiscus. It also lists, in the alphabetical order, all forms of geographical names appearing in the source texts, with cross-references to the base form, which in this case is the name used today in the country where a given place is located except Cracow, Rome, Vistula and Warsaw which are given in English. Names of countries are given in English only.

The edition is preceded by a list of all the letters, with the addressee, the date and the place of posting. There is also a list of the letters' addressees that refers the reader to the letter numbers.

The introduction's chapter on the language of the letters discusses the literary references identified during work on the edition, and lists the proverbs and proverbial expressions appearing in the letters.

## List of Dantiscus' Latin correspondence of 1537

The 93 Dantiscus' Latin letters of 1537 known to us and documented by sources are addressed to 42 identified and 6 unidentified recipients. We know a great many more letters addressed in the same period to Dantiscus by senders to whom he usually wrote in Latin – there are 254 such letters, from 74 senders. In addition, the Latin correspondence mentions at least 53 letters not known to the editor. These include 34 letters from Dantiscus to 25 correspondents, and at least 19 letters to Dantiscus from 11 correspondents. Such proportions in the number of preserved Latin letters are mainly the result of the fact that Dantiscus was in the habit of collecting his correspondence – he kept the letters he received. As for the letters he sent, we know these mainly from the rough drafts and Dantiscus' copies. It is possible, therefore, that he wrote or dictated some of the letters directly as a fair copy, and not always thought proper or had the time to make copies. There are chronological gaps in the preserved rough drafts and copies “from Dantiscus' archive” – for example, in 1537 we know of just one Latin letter of Dantiscus from the time between April 17 and September 5. Mentions in the correspondence show, however, that Dantiscus sent at least 21 letters in Latin during this period.

It seems that Dantiscus' high status in the political and ecclesiastical elites meant that his letters seldom went unanswered, but on the other hand, given his great burden of official duties, it justified the fact that part of the correspondence he received did not get a reply. One case in point is his correspondence with his nephew, Caspar Hannow. Hannow regularly sends his uncle and sponsor reports on the progress of his studies in Cracow, but when he receives a letter from

Dantiscus, he jumps for joy and cries: *has expectabam, has affectabam, has flagitabam mirifice et quampridem mihi adferri appetebam. Accepi, inquam, accepi, non quod pueri in faba se reperisse clamitant*<sup>50</sup>, *sed meras voluptates, sed meras laetitias*<sup>51</sup>. He is so joyful only partly because receiving a letter is so unusual, the main reason being the news of Dantiscus' promotion to the Warmia bishopric, and yet Hannow thanks his uncle for a letter received from him in just two out of the seven letters he wrote to his uncle in 1537.

The table below lists Ioannes Dantiscus' preserved correspondence with the people he wrote to in Latin in 1537. The column *Correspondents* contains the first names and surnames, or other names, of his correspondents, in alphabetical order. The columns *Dantiscus' letters* and *Letters to Dantiscus* list the dates of the letters and, in parentheses, the dates of receipt. The year is only listed when a letter of 1536 was answered by Dantiscus in 1537, or a letter of 1538 or 1539 was a reply to a letter from Dantiscus sent in 1537. The square brackets contain data not present in the source material which have been reconstructed from information available to me. Italics are used for letters not directly documented by sources, which I know about only thanks to information contained in Dantiscus' correspondence. Next to the date of a letter included in the present edition is the number assigned here to that letter. Some of the letters to Dantiscus included in the table were written in Spanish, Czech, German or Polish. This information is given next to the letter's date.

The source data concerning both the manuscripts and printed materials documenting the letters included in this edition, as well as letters to Dantiscus that are replies to the published letters or result in a reply, are provided in the description of the sources for individual letters. Data on the other letters are available from the inventory of Dantiscus' correspondence currently being compiled at the Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, Warsaw University<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup> *non quod pueri in faba se reperisse clamitant* – literally: *not what the boys cry they have found among the grain*, here: something very great indeed (cf. Adagia, 1526, No. 1886).

<sup>51</sup> C. Hannow to Dantiscus: Cracow, October 23, 1537 (orig. AAWO, D.6, f. 22-23).

<sup>52</sup> This inventory will be published as part four of the series *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci*.

**DANTISCUS' LATIN CORRESPONDENCE IN 1537**

| CORRESPONDENTS   | DANTISCUS' LETTERS   | LETTERS TO DANTISCUS  |
|--|--|---|
| Stanisław <b>Aichler</b>   |  | April 10 (July 16)<br>December 1 (December 20)  |
| Luis <b>Alobera de Avila</b>   |  | October 2   |
| Hieronymus <b>Aurimontanus</b><br>(Gürtler von Wildenberg,<br>Cingularius) |  | April 10 (April 14)<br>July 12 (July 15)<br>September 9 (September 16)<br>December 20 (January 7, 1538)   |
| <b>Baltazar</b> of Lublin  | <i>before October 27</i><br>November 3 (letter No. 59)   | October 17 (October 21)<br>October 27 (November 1)  |
| Iacobus <b>a Barthen</b>   |  | May 27<br>May 30<br>December 6 (December 10)  |
| Jerzy <b>Bażyński</b> (Georg<br>von Baysen)                                | March 12 (letter No. 6)<br>March 15 (letter No. 7)<br><br><i>before August 7</i><br><br>December 1 (letter No. 89)   | January 2 (January 21)<br>February 7 (February 14)<br>March 6 ( <i>before March 12</i> )<br>March 8 (March 15)<br><br>April 29 (May 1)<br><br>September 10 (September 12)<br>September 19 (September 21)<br>October 25 (October 28)<br>November 20 (November 30) (German)<br>December 11 (German) <sup>53</sup> |
| <b>Bona Sforza d'Aragona</b>   | March 16 (letter No. 16)<br><br><i>before August 7</i><br><i>before August 27</i><br><br><i>between September 20 and<br/>October 13</i><br><br>November 16 (letter No. 78) | March 27 (April 7)<br>April 26 (May 7)<br>June 14 (June 21)<br>July 11 (July 19)<br><br>August 7 (August 14)<br><br>August 27 (September 4)<br><br>October 13 (October 20)<br>October 28<br><br>December 3 (December 20)  |

<sup>53</sup> Addressee uncertain.



| CORRESPONDENTS                                    | DANTISCUS' LETTERS  | LETTERS TO DANTISCUS   |
|---|---|--|
| Seweryn <b>Boner</b>                              | <i>August 12</i><br>September 28 (letter No. 43)<br>November 16 (letter No. 80)   | August 6 (September 1)<br>August 22 (September 4)<br>December 6 (December 20)  |
| Hans <b>Brask</b>                                 |   | July 22  |
| Jan van <b>Campen</b><br>(Campensis)              | <i>December 24, 1536</i><br>November 16 (letter No. 62)   | April 6 (July 16)<br>June 12 (August 14)   |
| Martin <b>Cema</b> (von Zehmen)                   |   | <i>a few letters before May 17</i><br>May 17   |
| Claude Liedel <b>Chansonette</b><br>(Cantiuncula) | September 28 (letter No. 42) <sup>54</sup>  | July 10 (July 16)  |
| <b>Chelmno</b> Chapter                            |   | August 9 (August 12)<br>December 18 (January 2, 1538)  |
| Jan <b>Chojeński</b>                              | March 16 (letter No. 8)<br><i>before May 4</i><br><i>before May 22 (maybe identical with the previous one)</i><br><i>between July 1 and 12</i><br>September 25 (letter No. 38)<br>October 1 (letter No. 48)<br>[October 4] (letter No. 51)<br>October 5 (letter No. 52)<br>November 16 (letter No. 64)<br>November 21 (letter No. 84) | March 29 (April 7)<br>May 4 (May 7)<br>May 22 (May 25)<br>June 14 (June 21)<br>July 12 (July 20)<br>August 1 (August 7)<br>August 6 (August [...])<br>August 20 (September 4)<br>September 3 (September 14)<br>September 16 (September 23)<br>October 11 (October 20)<br>October 23 (October 30)<br>November 4 (November 20)<br>December 4 (December 20) |
| Nicolaus <b>Copernicus</b><br>(Kopernik)          |   | August 9 (August 11)   |
| Thomas <b>Cranmer</b>                             | October 15, 1536  | <i>before April 26</i>   |

<sup>54</sup> Addressee uncertain.

| CORRESPONDENTS                             | DANTISCUS' LETTERS  | LETTERS TO DANTISCUS  |
|--|---|---|
| Juana <b>Dantisca</b>                      |   | July 7 ([October 7]) (Spanish)<br>March 15, 1538 (January 9, 1539)<br>(Spanish)   |
| Iustus Ludovicus <b>Decius</b><br>(Dietz)  | November 16 (November 30)<br>(letter No. 76)  | August 7 (August 14)<br>August 22 (September 4)<br>September 4 (September 14)<br>December 5 (December 22)   |
| Isabel <b>Delgada</b>                      | March 16 (letter No. 21)  | March 15 (October 7)<br>May 22 (October 7)<br><i>before November 9</i><br>November 15 (May 19, 1538)<br>(Spanish)   |
| Jacob <b>Dietrichsdorf</b>                 |   | letter without the day in the date  |
| Helius <b>Eobanus</b> Hessus<br>(Koch)     | January 20 (letter No. 1)   | November 15, 1536 (December 27,<br>1536)  |
| Anselm <b>Ephorinus</b>                    |   | April 1 (July 16)   |
| Godschalk <b>Ericksen</b><br>(Sassenkerle) |   | December 19 (February 22, 1538)   |
| Maurycy <b>Ferber</b>                      | January 22 (letter No. 2)<br>February 2 (letter No. 3)<br>February 11 (letter No. 4)<br><br><i>before March 6</i><br><br>March 10 (letter No. 5)<br>March 16 (letter No. 11)<br>April 4 (letter No. 22)<br><br>April 15 (letter No. 25)<br><br><i>between April 26 and May 1</i><br><br><i>before June 26</i> | <i>December 7, 1536</i><br><i>December 31, 1536</i><br>January 3 (January 11)<br><br>February 19 (February 28)<br>February 23 (February 28)<br><br>March 6 (March 7)<br><i>between March 6 and 10</i><br><br>March 12 (March 13)<br><br>April 2<br><br>April 5<br>April 13<br><br>April 26 (April 28)<br><br>May 1 (May 3)<br><br>June 26 (June 29) |
| [Piotr <b>Gamrat</b> ]                     |   | [September 16, 1537] <sup>55</sup>  |

<sup>55</sup> This is a postscript to a letter unknown to the editor.

| CORRESPONDENTS  | DANTISCUS' LETTERS   | LETTERS TO DANTISCUS  |
|-----------------|--|---|
| Tiedemann Giese | <p>March 16 (letter No. 13)<sup>56</sup><br/><i>before June 25 (June 24)</i></p> <p><i>before July 20 (July 19)</i></p> <p>July 30 (letter No. 28)</p> <p>September 5 (letter No. 29)<br/>September 5 (letter No. 30)</p> <p>September 1[3] (letter No. 31)<br/>September 15 (letter No. 32)</p> <p>September 22 (September 23)<br/>(letter No. 33)<br/>September 23 (letter No. 34)<br/>September 24 (September 25)<br/>(letter No. 35)</p> <p>September 28 (September 30)<br/>(letter No. 41)</p> <p>October 13 (letter No. 53)<br/>October 27 (letter No. 57)<sup>57</sup><br/>November 3 (letter No. 58)</p> <p>November 17 (letter No. 81)<br/>November 24 (letter No. 86)</p> <p>December 16 (letter No. 92)<br/>December 22 (letter No. 93)</p> | <p>February 25 (March 15)</p> <p>June 25 (June 29)<br/>July 1 (July 4)<br/>July 8 (July 10)<br/>July 10 (July 15)<br/>July 17 (July 19)</p> <p>July 20 (July 21)<br/>July 26 (July 28)</p> <p>August 2 (August 4)<br/>August 9 (August 10)<br/>August 13 (August 14)<br/>August 21 (August 24)<br/>August 22 (August 24)<br/>August 24 (August 25)<br/>[August]</p> <p>September 9 (September 11)</p> <p>September 15 (September 16)<br/>September 20 (September 21)<br/>September 20 (September 22)<br/>September 21 (September 22)</p> <p>September 25 (September 27)<br/>September 26 (September 27)</p> <p>October 1 (October 3)</p> <p>November 7 (November 9)<br/>November 21 (November 23)<br/>November 28 (November 30)<br/>December 2 (December 18)<br/>December 10 (December 18)</p> <p>December 22 (December 25)<br/>December 25 (December 27)<br/>December 26 (December 27)</p> |

<sup>56</sup> Letter addressed to Warmia canons Tiedemann Giese and Felix Reich.

<sup>57</sup> Letter addressed to Jacob Rese and Mathias Tymmermann – testamentary executors for Maurycy Ferber, and to Warmia canons Tiedemann Giese, Felix Reich and Ioannes Tymmermann.

| CORRESPONDENTS                             | DANTISCUS' LETTERS  | LETTERS TO DANTISCUS  |
|--|---|---|
| <b>Łukasz Górka</b>                        | <i>before May 16</i><br><i>before July 1 (July 1)</i>   | March 2 (March 11)<br>May 16 (June 10)<br>July 1 (July 7)<br>July 1 (July 7)<br>October 2 (November 15)   |
| <b>Mikołaj Grabia</b>                      |   | March 29 (April 7)<br>April 26  |
| <b>Diego Gracián de Alderete</b>           | November 16 (letter No. 68)   | September 13, 1536 (July 16)<br>March 15 (October 7)<br>July 6 (October 7)<br>July 6 (October 7)<br>July 6 (November 15)<br><i>before November 9</i><br>May 24, 1538 (date unknown)<br>May 24, 1538 (September 15, 1538)<br>May 25, 1538 (January 19, 1539) |
| <b>Guevara</b>                             | November 16 (letter No. 65)   | July 12 (October 7)   |
| <b>Caspar Hannow</b>                       | <i>before October 14</i><br>November 16 (letter No. 75)   | March 30 (April 7)<br>April 26 (May 7)<br>August 7 (August 14)<br>August 22 (September 4)<br>October 14 (October 20)<br>October 23 (October 30)<br>December 6 (December 20)   |
| <b>Johann von Höfen</b><br>(Flachsbinder)  |   | March 30 (April 7)  |
| <b>Stanisław Hozjusz</b><br>(Hosius, Hosz) | April 17 (letter No. 26)<br><i>between July 11 and August 7</i><br>September 28 (letter No. 46) | March 7 (March 24)<br>May 8 (9 May)<br>June 14 (June 21)<br>July 7 (July 16)<br>July 11 (July 20)<br>August 7 (August 14)<br>August 21 (September 4)<br>September 4 (September 14)<br>September 16 (September 23)   |
| <b>Nicolaus Human</b>                      |   | July 22 (July 28)   |
| <b>Iacobus</b> , Gdańsk physician          | <i>between October 1 and 16</i>   |   |

| CORRESPONDENTS                                    | DANTISCUS' LETTERS  | LETTERS TO DANTISCUS  |
|---|---|---|
| <b>Jan</b> the Provincial of the Carmelite Order  |   | May 13  |
| Stanisław <b>Kostka</b>                           |   | July 14 (July 18)<br>September 19 (September 21)<br>(German)  |
| Jan <b>Latałski</b>                               | March 16 (letter No. 19)<br><br><i>before August 27</i>     | March 28<br>April 25 (May 7)<br><br>August 27 (September 4)   |
| Chapter of the Prince's College in <b>Leipzig</b> | <i>before April 28</i>                                      | April 28 (May 9)  |
| Jan <b>Luzjański</b>                              |   | March 18 (March 19)<br>April 7 (April 9)<br>May 11 (May 11) (German)<br>June 4 (June 5) (German)<br>June 12 (German)<br>June 19 (June 18!) (German)<br>June 19 (June 20) (German)<br>September 25 (October 2)<br>(German) |
| Samuel <b>Maciejowski</b>                         | September 25 (letter No. 37)<br>November 16 (letter No. 61) | <i>before September 19 ([September 19])</i>   |
| Martin <b>Mhendorn</b>                            |   | January 3 (February 28)   |
| Petrus <b>de Monteregali</b>                      |   | September 12 (February 22, 1538)  |
| Leonard <b>Niederhoff</b>                         | <i>before September 14</i><br><br><i>before October 9</i>   | August 7 (August 9)<br>September 9 (September 11)<br><br>September 14 (September 16)<br>September 20<br><br>October 9 (October 18)  |
| Martinus <b>Nipszyc</b>                           | <i>before March 5</i>                                       | January 21 (February 10)<br><br>March 5 (April 11)<br>July 23 (September 20)<br>August 19   |
| Valentinus <b>Nitius</b>                          |   | January 8 (February 28)   |
| Luis <b>Núñez Cabeza de Vaca</b>                  | November 16 (letter No. 73)                                 | July 22 (November 11)   |
| Piotr <b>Opaliński</b>                            | March 16 (letter No. 17)<br><br><i>before October 15</i>    | March 28 (April 7) (Polish)<br><br>October 15 (October 20)  |

| CORRESPONDENTS                       | DANTISCUS' LETTERS   | LETTERS TO DANTISCUS  |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| Gonzalo <b>Pérez</b>                 | November 16 (letter No. 66)  | July 10 (October 7)<br>November 23, 1538 (March 21, 1539)   |
| Paweł <b>Plotowski</b>               | <i>before August 2</i>   | June 25 (July 28!)<br>July 1 (July 3)<br>July 8 (July 10)<br>August 2 (August 4)<br>December 27 (December 27) |
| Alfonso <b>Polo</b>                  | November 16 (letter No. 67)  | July 12 (October 7)   |
| Vaclav <b>Proček</b> of Četna        |  | August 26 (September 4) (Czech)   |
| Antonio <b>Pucci</b>                 | November 16 (letter No. 72)  |   |
| Felix <b>Reich</b>                   | March 16 (letter No. 13) <sup>58</sup><br><br>October 27 (letter No. 57) <sup>59</sup> | July 10 (July 15)<br>August 20 (August 23)<br>September 25 (September 27)                                     |
| Iodocus Wilhelmus <b>Resselianus</b> |  | letter without the day in the date (August 16)  |
| Jacob <b>Rese</b>                    | October 27 (letter No. 57) <sup>60</sup>   |   |
| Dietrich <b>von Rheden</b>           | October 1 (letter No. 49)<br>November 16 (letter No. 63)                               | August 25 (September 23)<br>August 25 (September 23)<br>January 28, 1538 (March 24, 1538)                     |
| Mikołaj <b>Russocki</b>              | November 28 (letter No. 87)  | November 19 (November 27)   |
| Ioannes Dionisius <b>Scheburgk</b>   |  | November 25 (November 30)   |
| Cornelis <b>De Schepper</b>          | March 16 (letter No. 12)<br>April 14 (letter No. 24)                                   | September 13, 1536 (October 16, 1536)<br><br>December 21 (February 22, 1538)                                  |
| Alexander <b>Sculteti</b>            | <i>before September 8</i>  | July 11<br>August 23 (August 25)<br><br>September 8 (September 8)<br>September 25 (September 27)              |

<sup>58</sup> Letter addressed to Warmia canons Tiedemann Giese and Felix Reich.

<sup>59</sup> Letter addressed to Jacob Rese and Mathias Tymmermann - testamentary executors for Maurycy Ferber, and to Warmia canons Tiedemann Giese, Felix Reich and Ioannes Tymmermann.

<sup>60</sup> Letter addressed to Jacob Rese and Mathias Tymmermann - testamentary executors for Maurycy Ferber, and to Warmia canons Tiedemann Giese, Felix Reich and Ioannes Tymmermann.

| CORRESPONDENTS                                   | DANTISCUS' LETTERS   | LETTERS TO DANTISCUS   |
|--|--|--|
| <b>Sigismund I Jagiellon</b>                     | March 16 (letter No. 15)<br><br><i>before April 24 ([April 24])</i><br><br>September 25 (letter No. 39)<br>October 1 (letter No. 50)<br>November 16 (letter No. 79)<br>November 24 (letter No. 85)<br>[December] 1 (letter No. 88) | February [...] (March 26)<br>February 14 (March 26)<br><br>March 27 (April 14)<br>March 28 (April 7)<br><br>April 24 (May 7)<br>May 2<br>July 10 (July 20)<br>July 10 (July 20)<br>August 11 (August 20)<br>September 6 (September 12) |
| Tomasz <b>Sobocki</b>                            | November 16 (letter No. 74)  |  |
| Jan <b>Sokołowski</b> of Wrząca                  | <i>before August 27 (August 26)</i>  | September 3 (September 10)   |
| Jan Benedyktowicz <b>Solfa</b>                   |  | February 25 (March 19)<br>April [...] (May 12)<br>October 10 (October 20)  |
| Szczęsny (Felix)<br><b>Srzeński</b> (Sokołowski) |  | July 30 (July 31)<br>September 28 (September 30)<br>(Polish)   |
| Reynaldus <b>Strozzi</b>                         | November 16 (letter No. 71)  | July 5 (October 7) (Spanish)<br>July 5 (October 7) (Spanish)   |
| Erazm <b>Szczepanowski</b>                       |  | April 27 (May 7)   |
| <b>Tomasz</b>                                    |  | July 8 (July 11)<br>November 1<br>December 14  |
| Achatius <b>Trenck</b>                           | March 16 (letter No. 14)<br><br>November 17 (letter No. 83)  | March 14, 1537 (March 15)<br><br>June 15 (June 19)<br>August 5 (August 6)<br>September 7 (September 8)<br>November 16 (November 17)<br><br>December 5  |
| Ioannes <b>Tresler</b>                           | <i>before November 3</i><br><br>November 15 (letter No. 60)  | November 3 (November 6)  |

| CORRESPONDENTS                            | DANTISCUS' LETTERS  | LETTERS TO DANTISCUS  |
|---|---|---|
| Ioannes <b>Tymmermann</b><br>(Zimmermann) | October 19 (letter No. 54)<br><br>October 25 (letter No. 55)<br>October 27 (letter No. 57) <sup>61</sup><br><br>December 12 (letter No. 91) <sup>62</sup> | April 6 (April 7)<br>July 11 (July 15)<br>August 13 (August 16)<br>October 11 (October 18)<br><br>October 23 (October 23)<br><br>November 21 (November 23)<br><br>December 23                                       |
| Mathias <b>Tymmermann</b>                 | October 27 (letter No. 57) <sup>63</sup>  |   |
| Hieronimus <b>Vietor</b>                  |   | March 30 (April 7)  |
| <b>Warmia</b> Chapter                     | October 25 (letter No. 56)<br><br>November 17 (letter No. 82)   | November 6 (November 9)   |
| Laurentius <b>Waxmut</b>                  |   | August 7 (August 14)  |
| Johan <b>Weze</b>                         | March 16 (letter No. 10)<br><br>September 28 (letter No. 47)<br>November 16 (letter No. 69)   | August 2, 1536 (September 12, 1536)<br><br><i>May 2</i><br>September 2 (October 7)<br><br>March 22, 1538 (April 14, 1538)   |
| Fabian <b>Wojanowski</b><br>(von Damerau) | March 16 ([March 25]) (letter No. 20)<br><i>before March 24 ([March 24])</i><br><br>November 16 (letter No. 77)   | February 18 (March 11)<br><i>February 23</i><br>March 21 (March 30)<br><br>March 27 (April 7)<br>April 7 (April 19)<br>April 26 (May 7)<br>July 28 (September 23)<br>September 11 (February 22, 1538)<br>November 9 |

<sup>61</sup> Letter addressed to Jacob Rese and Mathias Tymmermann – testamentary executors for Maurycy Ferber, and to Warmia canons Tiedemann Giese, Felix Reich and Ioannes Tymmermann.

<sup>62</sup> Addressee uncertain.

<sup>63</sup> Letter addressed to Jacob Rese and Mathias Tymmermann – testamentary executors for Maurycy Ferber, and to Warmia canons Tiedemann Giese, Felix Reich and Ioannes Tymmermann.



| CORRESPONDENTS | DANTISCUS' LETTERS   | LETTERS TO DANTISCUS   |
|----------------|--|--|
| Paweł Wolski   | March 16 (letter No. 18)<br>April 17 (letter No. 27)<br><br><i>August 12</i><br><i>before September 4</i><br>September 25 (letter No. 25)<br>November 16 (letter No. 70) | March 28 (April 7)<br><br>April 24 (May 7)<br>April 28<br><br>August 30 (September 14)<br>September 4 (September 12) |
| Unknown        | letter with no day in the date,<br>after March 15 (letter No. 9)   |  |
| Unknown        | April 7 (letter No. 23)  |  |
| Unknown        | September 24 (letter No. 36)   |  |
| Unknown        | September 28 (letter No. 44)   |  |
| Unknown        | September 28 (letter No. 45)   |  |
| Unknown        | December 2 (letter No. 90)   |  |

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*Anna Skolimowska*