

# IOANNES DANTISCUS' CORRESPONDENCE WITH ALFONSO DE VALDÉS: INTRODUCTION

## 1. Opening remarks

Alfonso de Valdés, described by Erasmus of Rotterdam as “the most faithful of friends” (*amicorum fidissimus*),<sup>1</sup> was a great Spanish humanist, secretary to Emperor Charles V and the right hand of Grand Chancellor Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara. Valdés formed a warm friendship with Ioannes Dantiscus, also an Erasmianist, a Neo-Latin poet and long-term ambassador of the Kingdom of Poland to the imperial court. This unusually intensive and deep relationship is documented by their correspondence, presented in this volume. Among the 650 correspondents of the Polish humanist known to us, it would be hard to find anyone dearer to Dantiscus than Valdés. According to the Papal Nuncio and learned Greek scholar from Italy, Vincenzo Pimpinello, there was no one at the imperial court who loved and respected Dantiscus more, or who knew him better, than Valdés.<sup>2</sup> German scholar and poet Helius Eobanus Hessus stated emphatically that “Dantiscus can get anything from Valdés.”<sup>3</sup>

The collection of 6,144 letters that make up Dantiscus' preserved correspondence contains no other record of everyday contacts, similar to the 72 letters published here. These letters not only testify to a friendship based on similar ways of thinking and shared intellectual interests, but also show that through his influence

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<sup>1</sup> ALLEN 9, No. 1469, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Vincenzo Pimpinello to Ioannes Dantiscus, Regensburg, 1532-08-31, CIDTC, IDL 822: *Taceo Valdesium, a quo si amaris sique observaris et tamquam pater coleris, qui te melius sciat, habemus neminem.*

<sup>3</sup> Helius Eobanus Hessus to Ioannes Dantiscus, Nuremberg, 1532-06-24, CIDTC, IDL 803: *Potes vero tu apud Alphonsum Valdesium omnia.*

on major propaganda prints that left the chancellery of Charles V, the Polish envoy took advantage of an unprecedented opportunity to promote his worldview among wide groups of public opinion. This would not have been possible if it were not for the absolute trust that imperial secretary Alfonso de Valdés and his principal, Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara, placed in Dantiscus.

Two iconographic portrayals of Alfonso de Valdés have survived. In a portrait probably painted by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen in 1532, Alfonso is holding a medal portraying his mentor – Mercurino Gattinara.<sup>4</sup> This portrait, is part of the collection of the National Gallery in London (see illustration after title page). The other portrayal is a medal made (like the medal of Gattinara and three medals of Ioannes Dantiscus) by Christoph Weiditz, a painter, medalist, woodcut artist and goldsmith who stayed with the imperial court in 1529-1531.<sup>5</sup>



a. recto



b. verso

**III. No. 2: Christoph Weiditz, medal representing Alfonso de Valdés (1531)**, preserved at the Münzkabinett (Numismatic Cabinet) of the Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum in Hannover, Inv. No. 04:077:012, reproduced after: Georg Habich, *Die Deutschen Schatzmünzen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, München, 1929-1934, vol. 2/1, Taf. LII, 2.

The reverse of this medal carries the image of an altar emerging from the sea, supported by four columns; there is a fire burning on the altar. At the sides, in the clouds, the heads of the four wind gods are visible. The word FIDES is inscribed

<sup>4</sup> Three originals of this medal are recorded by Georg Habich (HABICH, description of the medal: vol. 1/1, p. 64, No. 395, image of the medal: vol. 2/1, Taf. LII, 2). One original is stored in Basel (HMB, inv. No. 1905.759), see illustration No. 3. About Weiditz cf. HABICH, vol. 2/2, p. C-CVII; GROTEMEYER.

<sup>5</sup> HABICH, description of the medal: vol. 1/1, p. 64, No. 397, image of the medal: vol. 2/1, Taf. LII, 4 (see illustration No. 2); the only preserved original of this rare medal is stored in the NSLM, Hannover (Inv. Nr. 04:077:012). It originates from the royal collections of the Prince Ernst August, Duke of Cumberland and it is the same copy which was reproduced by Habich. Unfortunately, the corrosion has deteriorated its state since the publication of the medal.

on the altar, and the motto *ILLA IMMOTA MANET* can be seen on the sash beneath it (see illustration No. 2b).

One could say that the reverse of the medal of Valdés is a variation on the theme from the reverse of the medal of Gattinara. That medal carries a similarly shaped altar, also with the word *FIDES*, and there is a phoenix in flames on the altar – a symbol of resurrection (see illustration No. 3b). This similarity offers yet more proof of the close relations between the imperial secretary and the Grand Chancellor.



a. recto



b. verso

**Ill. No. 3: Christoph Weiditz, medal representing Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara (1529-1531)**, preserved at the Münzkabinett (Numismatic Cabinet) of the Historisches Museum Basel, HMB Inv. 1905.759, rights to photograph: HMB, Alwin Seiler.

*Fides* – fidelity to God, loyalty toward the ruler, is a notion that was one of the dominant features of the literary and journalistic output of Alfonso de Valdés. Dantiscus, too, attached great importance to it.<sup>6</sup> In this context, researchers studying the life and work of both Valdés and Dantiscus face the question to what degree a humanist can be involved in relationships with those in power; and to what degree this – after all, voluntary – association allowed intellectuals, as both of them were, to be at peace with their conscience and sense of human dignity.

<sup>6</sup> cf. AXER; Dantiscus' epigrams *Pro Caesare et Gallo* (CIDTC, IDP 97-101); SKOLIMOWSKA 2012 Dantiscus, p. 203.

## 2. The life of Alfonso de Valdés – facts, sources, discussions<sup>7</sup>

### 2.1. State of research

The man who discovered Alfonso de Valdés for contemporary Spanish historiography was the 19th-century academic, politician, journalist and literary historian from the Cuenca region, Professor **Fermín Caballero** (1800-1876). He was educated in philosophy, theology, law and geography, belonged to four Spanish Royal Academies and many other learned societies, was a mayor of Madrid, a member of Parliament representing Cuenca, a member of the Spanish government and a senator. Among other things, Fermín Caballero was an author of a four-volume work called *Conquenses ilustres (Famous Residents of Cuenca)*, the last volume of which was devoted to Juan and Alfonso de Valdés.<sup>8</sup> To the monograph, which was almost 300 pages long, Caballero added a 200-page appendix of sources that contained, together with other documents, primarily Alfonso's correspondence surviving at the library of the Real Academia de la Historia (sewn file Ms 9/6117). This volume became the starting point of many subsequent studies on the life and literary output of the Valdés brothers. Besides Fermín Caballero, other early biographers of Alfonso de Valdés worth mentioning include Caballero's student **Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo**<sup>9</sup> as well as **Benjamin Wiffen** and his collaborator **Eduard Boehmer**, who was the first to publish the correspondence between the Valdés brothers and Dantiscus (where the work of Wiffen, conducted independently of Caballero's research, focused on the person and oeuvre of Juan).<sup>10</sup> It is impossible to mention here all numerous contri-

<sup>7</sup> The biographical entry for Ioannes Dantiscus together with a complete bibliography can be found on the website of the *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*, under the tab *About Ioannes Dantiscus* ([dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl](http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl), accessed February 5, 2013).

<sup>8</sup> Fermín CABALLERO, *Alonso y Juan de Valdés*, series: *Conquenses Ilustres*, vol. 4, Madrid, 1875, reprinted: Cuenca, 1995. About Fermín Caballero see "Introducción" to the reprint by Miguel JIMÉNEZ MONTERERÍN (hereafter cited as JIMÉNEZ MONTERERÍN), p. LXIV-LXVII.

<sup>9</sup> Marcelino MENENDEZ PELAYO, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, vol. 2, Madrid, 1880, chapter II, p. 96-128: "Los erasmistas españoles – Alfonso de Valdés".

<sup>10</sup> Eduard BOEHMER, *Spanish reformers of two centuries from 1520. Their lives and writings, according to the late Benjamin B. Wiffen's plan and with the use of his materials*, chapter: „Juan and Alfonso de Valdés”, vol. 1, p. 63-130, Strassburg-London, 1874; „Alfonsi Valdesii litteras XL ineditas” in: *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo: Estudios de erudición Española*, ed. by Eduard BOEHMER, vol. 1, Madrid, 1899, p. 385-412; Eduard BOEHMER, „Lives of the twin brothers Juan and Alfonso de Valdés extracted from the Bibliotheca Wiffeniana with the Author's Additions on Recent Discoveries of Valdés' Works”, in: *Juan de Valdés' Commentary upon the Gospel of St. Matthew: now for the first time translated from the Spanish and never before published in English*, London, 1882, Appendix.

butions to Alfonso's biography. For that reason only the most important ones are presented below and the readers will find further references in them.

Extensive biographical introductions can be found in a 1920s edition of the Valdés brothers' dialogues by **José F. Montesinos**.<sup>11</sup> Also worth mentioning are the chapters on Valdés in the fundamental work about the Spanish Erasmianists, i.e. *Erasme et l'Espagne* by **Marcel Bataillon**, a French historian of the Renaissance.<sup>12</sup> An important contribution to Alfonso's biography is also provided by **Giuseppe Bagnatori**'s publication of his letters from the Imperial Diet in Augsburg (1530) written to Cardinal of Ravenna Benedetto Accolti.<sup>13</sup> Valdés' involvement in imperial politics was analyzed thoroughly by **Sosio Pezzella**.<sup>14</sup> The subject was then taken up by the biographer of Mercurino Gattinara, **John M. Headley**,<sup>15</sup> and recently also by **Erika Rummel**<sup>16</sup> and **Xavier Tubau**.<sup>17</sup> In the 1970s a contribution to the history of the Valdés family of Cuenca was made by **Miguel Martínez Millán** when he published the results of his preliminary source research at local archives.<sup>18</sup> However, his edition was unfavorably reviewed as chaotic, incomplete and careless. At roughly the same time, a thorough preliminary archival research at the archives of Cuenca and Simancas was carried out by **Dorothy Donald** and **Elena Lázaro** – the authors of a monograph on Alfonso de Valdés, well documented in terms of sources but superficial in its interpretations

<sup>11</sup> José F. MONTESINOS, „Introducción” in: Juan de VALDÉS, *Dialogo de la lengua*, ed. by José F. MONTESINOS, series: Clasicos castellanos [86], Madrid, 1928, p. IX-LXXV; *idem*, „Introducción” in: Alfonso de VALDÉS, *Dialogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma*, ed. by José F. MONTESINOS, series: Clasicos castellanos [89], Madrid, 1928, p. 9-67, ; *idem*, „Introducción” in: Alfonso de VALDÉS, *Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron*, ed. by José F. MONTESINOS, series: Clasicos castellanos [96], Madrid, 1929, p. VII-XXV.

<sup>12</sup> Marcel BATAILLON, *Érasme et l'Espagne. Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVI-e siècle*, Geneve, 1991 (2) (first edition 1937); in a Spanish translation: *Erasmus y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*, Mexico D.F., 2007 (3).

<sup>13</sup> Giuseppe BAGNATORI, „Cartas inéditas de Alfonso de Valdés sobre la Dieta de Augsburgo”, in: *Bulletin Hispanique* 57/4 (1955), p. 353-374.

<sup>14</sup> Sosio PEZZELLA, “Alfonso de Valdés e la politica religiosa di Carlo V”, in: *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, 36 (1965), p. 211-268.

<sup>15</sup> John M. HEADLEY, *The emperor and his chancellor. A study of the imperial chancellery under Gattinara*, Cambridge, 1983 (cf. also HEADLEY 1980, HEADLEY 1986, HEADLEY 1992, HEADLEY 2001).

<sup>16</sup> Erika RUMMEL, „Political and Religious Propaganda at the Court of Charles V: a Newly-Identify Tract by Alfonso de Valdés”, in: *Historical Research* 70 (1997), 1, p. 23-31.

<sup>17</sup> Xavier TUBAU, „Alfonso de Valdés y la política imperial del canceller Gattinara” in: *Literatura, sociedad y política en el Siglo de Oro*, ed. by Eugenia FOSALBA VELA, Carlos VAILLO, Bellaterra, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions, 2010, p. 17-43.

<sup>18</sup> Miguel MARTÍNEZ MÍLLAN, *Los hermanos conquenses Alfonso y Juan de Valdés*, Imprenta de Falange, Cuenca, 1976.

and abounding in factual and editorial errors, published in 1983.<sup>19</sup> The lexicon *Contemporaries of Erasmus* includes a biographical entry about Alfonso written by a biographer of Juan de Valdés, **José C. Nieto**.<sup>20</sup>

The superbly edited, factually accurate and detailed introduction to a reprint (1995) of Fermín Caballero's aforementioned *Alonso y Juan de Valdés*,<sup>21</sup> written by **Miguel Jiménez Monteserín** could be considered as an extensive equivalent of the biographical entry on Alfonso de Valdés that did not exist in *Diccionario Biográfico Español* (published successively since 2009) when I was in Madrid in 2012.<sup>22</sup> This author presents the profiles of the Valdés brothers together with their family background, making use of the latest source research. **Ángel Alcalá Galve's** introduction to the complete works of Alfonso de Valdés published in 1996<sup>23</sup>, which contains an extensive purely biographical section is also worth noting. The historical commentary contained therein, however, is not missing some minor factual errors that seem to be the result of some carelessness of the editor, who sometimes confuses people and gives them wrong names (e.g. Louis of Flanders, Lord of Praet is mistaken for Antoine Du Prat, while Esteban Gabriel Merino is given the name Marliano). The editor also places too much trust in earlier editions, reprinting their texts without collating them with the originals, copying erroneous interpretations and building his line of argumentation on them. The latest contribution to the biographies of Alfonso and Juan de Valdés is provided by the archival discoveries of the Cuencan journalist and writer, enthusiast of his native history, **Manuel Amores Torrijos**.<sup>24</sup>

Due to the shortage of sources, the above-mentioned studies contain all kinds of speculations regarding such basic facts from Alfonso de Valdés's biography as the date of his birth, his education, and his being the twin brother of Juan or not.

<sup>19</sup> Dorothy DONALD, Elena LÁZARO, *Alfonso de Valdés y su época*, Cuenca, 1983.

<sup>20</sup> José C. NIETO, "Alfonso de VALDÉS", in: Peter G. BIETENHOLZ, Thomas Brian DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A biographical register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, Toronto, 2003 (1st edition 1985), vol. 3, p. 366-368.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. footnote No. 8.

<sup>22</sup> The volume XLVIII of *Diccionario Biográfico Español* which contains the biographical entry of Alfonso de Valdés elaborated by Rosa NAVARRO DURÁN was published in 2013 when this volume was in print.

<sup>23</sup> Ángel ALCALÁ GALVE, „Introducción”, in: Alfonso de VALDÉS, *Obra completa*, ed. by Ángel ALCALÁ GALVE, Biblioteca Castro, Madrid, 1996 (hereafter cited as VALDÉS 1996).

<sup>24</sup> Manuel AMORES TORRIJOS, *Ecos callados de Cuenca (hallazgos históricos)*, p. 125-132, chapter XII: „Los hermanos Valdés eran gemelos”, Cuenca, 2004; *idem*, „Testamento de Don Hernando De Valdés, padre de Alfonso y Juan De Valdés”, in: website *Cuenca - Información de tu ciudad*, <http://cuenca.portaldetuciudad.com> (accessed February 5, 2013), under the tab „Apuntes Históricos de la ciudad de Cuenca”.

In the next chapter the author discusses these debatable issues and offers her own proposals to resolve them.

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## 2.2. Background, family

Alfonso de Valdés was born in Cuenca, between 1500 and 1504<sup>25</sup>, probably as the sixth son among 13 children of the *regidor* of Cuenca Hernando de Valdés (ca. 1454-1530) and María de la Barrera (before 1465-1532).

The ancestors of both of Alfonso's parents in the third generation included Jewish converts to Christianity. It is worth remembering that one consequence of conversion as a widespread practice in Castile in the late 14th century, forced by persecution (1391), was the opening up of new paths of social advancement for Jews, especially the wealthier and more enterprising among them. (Statutes of *limpieza de sangre* were only starting to appear.)<sup>26</sup> After conversion they gained the opportunity to apply for positions unavailable to non-Christians, both lay and ecclesiastical, and took full advantage of this. This was also the case of the Valdés family, who already belonged to the local political elite in Cuenca at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. However, the name Valdés appears in sources related to the family starting with the generation of Alfonso's father, Hernando. His ancestors, who are mentioned in local Cuencan sources from the year 1412, were called Gómez de Villanueva. The reason for the change of name is unknown.

As a young nobleman, Alfonso's father, Hernando de Valdés, entered the service of Andrés de Cabrera (1430-1511), the first Marquis de Moya, majordomo of Queen Isabella the Catholic. No detailed circumstances of this service are known, we can only guess from the sophisticated style of the language of Hernando that his patron entrusted him with some kind of secretarial and administrative duties. Like the Valdés family, Cabrera came from a family of converts whose importance increased after they took Isabella the Catholic's side in the civil war of 1475.

Thanks to the support of Cabrera, in 1482 Hernando was appointed *regidor del Ayuntamiento* of Cuenca. He filled this position for 32 years, after which he passed the office on to his eldest son, Andrés de Valdés, in 1520.

<sup>25</sup> On the date of birth of Alfonso de Valdés see p. 21-23.

<sup>26</sup> In this context that is worth mentioning that identified with high probability as the brother of María de la Barrera, Hernando de la Barrera (1459-1491), parish priest in Villar del Saz de don Guillén and then priest in the parish of San Salvador in Cuenca, was burned at the stake after being tried for crypto-Judaism, cf. VALDÉS 1996, p. X.

Hitherto the dates of birth of Alfonso and his siblings have been based on extremely scant sources and are placed between 1482 and 1510, chiefly because of an a priori assumption that their mother was approximately 18-20 years old when she got married. The order of births is based on the document *Ejecutoria de Hidalguia* (1540) by Andrés de Valdés, which lists the male children (Andrés, Diego, Gregorio, Cristobal, Francisco, Alfonso, Juan) followed by the female progeny (Teresa Gómez, María Gómez, Catalina, Margarita, Isabel).<sup>27</sup> The recently discovered will of Hernando de Valdés, drawn up on April 12, 1530, shortly before his death, does not mention the monk Cristobál nor – among the daughters – Teresa and Catalina who were already deceased; it does mention Ana and Margarita who was not Hernando's daughter but a granddaughter, child of María de Valdés, raised in his household. Because of the ambiguity of the testament's expressions and the lack of another sources it is still not clear enough, if a granddaughter Margarita is identical with a daughter of this name, or there were two Margaritas in Hernando's nearest family.<sup>28</sup> Notabene, Alfonso's will (1532-10-05) mentioned only his siblings Andrés, Diego, María, Juan and Margarita, which suggests that his other brothers and sisters had died by then.<sup>29</sup>

From among Alfonso's siblings, three died in their childhood (Catalina) or youth (Gregorio, Teresa). As many as six brothers and three sisters lived to a mature age:

- Andrés – in 1520-1543 *regidor del Ayuntamiento* of Cuenca, d. 1548?
- Diego – clergyman, Archdeacon in Villena and Canon in Cartagena, d. 1533
- Cristobál – Franciscan monk, he left the order after a time, d. after 1537
- Francisco – Court Carver (*maestresala*) of Juan Fernandez de Cabrera y de Bovadilla, the second Marquis de Moya, d. 1523

<sup>27</sup> JIMÉNEZ MONTESERÍN, p. XXIII, XXVIII.

<sup>28</sup> Testament of Hernando de Valdés, ms AHN, Frías, C.1581, D.15., ed. Manuel AMORES TORRIJOS, [http://cuenca.portaldetuciudad.com/es-es/informacion/testamento-de-don-hernando-de-valdes-014\\_107\\_2\\_302.html](http://cuenca.portaldetuciudad.com/es-es/informacion/testamento-de-don-hernando-de-valdes-014_107_2_302.html) (accessed February 5, 2013): *Testamento de Fernando de Valdés, vecino de la ciudad de Cuenca, firmado por su hijo Juan de Valdés en virtud de su poder. 10 de agosto de 1530 – Y en declaro por herederos universales del dicho señor Hernando de Valdés, cumplida su ánima según se contiene en el dicho memorial de su mano, a Andrés de Valdés, y a Diego de Valdés, y a Alonso de Valdés, a mí el dicho Juan de Valdés, y a Margarita de Valdés, a Ana de Valdés, que en el dicho memorial dice que se la dejó encomendada mi señora mi madre et su mujer, que está en gloria; et a María de Valdés y a Isabel de Valdés, sus hijos. Y a Margarita, que nació en casa y la tenía como a hija propia por ser hija de María de Valdés, las cuales mandó que partan por iguales partes lo que hallaren.*

<sup>29</sup> VALDÉS 1996, p. 273-276.

- Juan – twin brother of Alfonso, humanist, theologian and mystic, teacher and spiritual counselor of the Neapolitan elite (including Pietro Martire Vermiglio and Giulia Gonzaga), d. 1541
- Maria Gómez – married to Luis de Salazar
- Margarita – a nun of the Conceptionist order, she received dispensation from enclosure for health reasons and permission to inherit from her brothers Alfonso and Juan
- Isabel – married to Luis de Orduña, d. 1544
- Ana – details unknown, d. after 1530

Alfonso and Juan's biographers devoted quite a lot of place to the debate as to whether the brothers were twins. Resolving the twins issue could seem rather marginal compared to finding the answers to many other questions arising from the two brothers' biographies, but it is essential to take a position on the matter, not only since in the light of existing sources it is impossible to agree with the opinions presented in the latest studies, which deny the twinship of Alfonso and Juan. Above all, though, proving that the brothers were twins significantly changes what we know about Alfonso's date of birth, which has previously been placed between 1490 and 1500. In reality, he was born between 1500 and 1504.

In the existing literature of the subject, the twins concept is supported by researchers such as Wiffen, Boehmer as well as Donald and Lazaro, on the basis of the source evidence embedded in the correspondence of the Valdés brothers with Erasmus of Rotterdam, Sepúlveda, Maximilian Transsilvanus and Danticus. The twinship idea is refuted by Caballero, Nieto, Jiménez Monteserín and Alcalá Galve, who believe that Alfonso was at least a few years older than Juan. Their main argument is that in 1525 (in the Inquisition's files of the case against Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz) Juan is described as a *mochacho* (boy, young man). Such a description enabled him to be excluded from testifying at the trial.

This would mean – in the view of opponents of the twins idea (Nieto, Alcalá Galve), whose presumptions are based on the law regulations determining the age of competence in the case of boys as 15 years – that in 1525 Juan was at the most 14. Other researchers, Jiménez Monteserín for example, undoubtedly realizing that having Juan involved in the trial not only could have worked against the defendant but could also have caused charges against the would-be witness, believe that the term *mochacho* was used inaccurately and therefore consider it a legal trick. Jiménez Monteserín rightly argues that Juan could not have been born later than 1504. This argumentation is based on existing documents related to inheritance law, dated in the autumn 1529, in which Juan is mentioned as a per-

son with full rights of inheritance, this means that he was at least 25. At the same time, though, Jiménez Monteserín rules out the possibility that Juan could have been described as a *mochacho* if he had been older than 20-21 years.

However, one should also consider, that preventing Juan from testifying was to the advantage of both the accused and the would-be witness. Once got entangled in the inquisitorial process, Juan could easily turn into being accused himself, therefore the argument of his minority might be just a lawful trick.

Nevertheless Nieto and then Alcalá Galve are right, that if Juan were less than 15 years old in 1525, Alfonso as his twin should have been not more than 10 years old in 1521. Seeing that he undoubtedly could not stay with the imperial court in Germany and write letters to Peter Martyr d'Anghiera recounting the events of Charles V's coronation in Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) and Luther's interrogation during the Imperial Diet in Worms. Such letters have been preserved in the *Opus Epistolarum Petri Martyris*.<sup>30</sup>

It is surprising that the argumentation defining *mochacho* as someone aged no more than 20 fails to consider the fact that the notion of the age of competence was applied primarily to the possibility of marriage. In 16th-century Spain, like Ancient Rome, young men did not attain complete majority (*aetas maiorennis*), and thus full rights and obligations related to the judiciary, not only regarding inheritance, until they turned 25.

It should be emphasized, that the sixteenth-century terminology concerning age may not correspond with the contemporary one. The term *iuvenis* (young man) is often used in sources from the period even to denote people who are over 30, depending on the person's social status as well as the age difference between the person described and the person making a description. For example, in Ioannes Dantiscus' correspondence, the word *iuvenis* is used when referring to: 26-year-old Philip Melanchthon<sup>31</sup>, 26- and 27-year-old Emperor Charles V<sup>32</sup>, 27-year-old Marcin Kromer<sup>33</sup>, 28-year-old Cornelis De Schepper<sup>34</sup>, 28-year-old Prince of Orange Philibert de Chalon<sup>35</sup>, at least 30-year-old Wolfgang Prantner<sup>36</sup>, 31-year-old Andrzej Czarnkowski<sup>37</sup>. Notabene, in the epitaph Dantiscus wrote for Alfonso de Valdés, the deceased was described as someone who was young at

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<sup>30</sup> ANGHIERA 1530, Letters No. DCLXXXIX, DCXCIX, DCCXXIII.

<sup>31</sup> CIDTC, IDL 186.

<sup>32</sup> CIDTC, IDL 281, IDL 338.

<sup>33</sup> CIDTC, IDL 2048.

<sup>34</sup> CIDTC, IDL 395.

<sup>35</sup> CIDTC, IDL 526.

<sup>36</sup> CIDTC, IDL 232.

<sup>37</sup> CIDTC, IDL 3618.

his time of death (1532): *At pestis iuvenem rapuit cum caesar ab ista / In turpem Turcas compulit urbe fugam.*<sup>38</sup>

If, then, the term *mochacho* used in the court files meant a minor under the age of 25, Juan must have been born not after 1511, as Nieto and Alcalá Galve supposed, but between 1500 and 1504. This argument invalidates the crowning argument of those who reject the twin idea – the conclusion that when he wrote his extensive Latin reports to Peter Martyr from Aix-la-Chapelle and Worms in 1521, Alfonso would have had to be under 10 years old if he was the same age as Juan.

Leaving aside the issue of the authenticity and timeframe of Alfonso's writing these letters to Martyr for now,<sup>39</sup> it is also worth noting that in a letter to Dantiscus (letter No. 36), Alfonso himself referred to the content of those letters (which we know exclusively from the printed version of 1530) as being compiled by himself from bits and pieces he had written as a boy: *Ego – – quas hic vides epistolas ex nugis meis, quas puer scripseram, decerpsi.* The Latin word *puer* used here has exactly the same meaning as the Spanish *mochacho*. This does not mean that Alfonso had described the events in Aix-la-Chapelle and Worms from the position of a child who had yet to achieve the age of competence, but of a person yet inexperienced. On the other hand, it could certainly have been a talented *minorennis* aged between 17 and 21.

Ignoring the court records referring to Juan, supporters of the idea that the brothers were twins base their reasoning, as mentioned earlier, on sources that mention Alfonso and Juan as twins. Alcalá Galve tries to invalidate their arguments; having accepted as certain the above-discussed erroneous assumption that there was a big age difference between Juan and Alfonso, he considers these mentions to be a rhetorical figure. Alcalá Galve also argues that the term *frater gemellus* (twin brother) means the same in Latin as *frater germanus*, or “whole brother,” and not necessarily a twin. However, this argument runs contrary to the dictionary meaning of the word *gemellus*, a diminutive of *geminus* (double), and etymologically has nothing in common with *germanus* (having the same father and mother), which comes from *germen* (germ, seed, shoot, sprout, and from there also: kin, descendant). Though the adjective *gemellus* is sometimes used figuratively to mean *very similar*, this meaning only appears when it is used in the plural and the metaphorical character is usually additionally indicated in the text. Insofar as we can say that the following by Erasmus was a rhetorical figure based on the Valdés brothers' extraordinary resemblance:

<sup>38</sup> Cf. p. 67-69.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. p. 39-41, 51-52.

*Let it be agreed between us that every time I write to your brother, it will be written also to you, and each time he replies, it will be your reply also, because I consider you, so alike, to be one person and not two.*<sup>40</sup>

and the same applies to this fragment from Sepúlveda:

*You ask, therefore, that I receive your brother, if he comes to me, no differently than I would yourself. But how could I receive him differently if, whenever I see him, be it standing, walking, saying nothing or speaking, doing anything at all, and – which causes no lesser amazement – not only in appearance but also in terms of learning, character, manners, the same inclinations, he is so very like you that he seems to be not your brother but you yourself.*<sup>41</sup>

statements by the Valdés brothers are absolutely unequivocal because the word *gemellus* is always given in the singular. In a letter to Maximilian Transsilvanus, Alfonso uses the expression *ego gemellus cum sim* (since I myself am a twin)<sup>42</sup>, while Juan writes of himself and his brother in a letter to Dantiscus *me veluti illius fratrem ac gemellum* (to me, as his brother and twin)<sup>43</sup>. In this last case the expression *frater ac gemellus* cannot mean “whole brother” as Alcalá Galve wanted, because the addition of *ac gemellus, cui natura eadem faciei lineamenta, eundemque vocis sonitum est elargita* (and even twin, whom nature has endowed with the same facial features and an identical tone of voice) clearly serves as an argument emphasizing the closeness of the brothers’ relationship.

That the six sons of Hernando de Valdés included at least one pair of twins was recently proved by Amores Torrijos, who in the files of the Inquisition of the

<sup>40</sup> Erasmus of Rotterdam to Juan de Valdés, March 21, 1529, ALLEN 8, No. 2127, p. 96: *Illud inter nos pactum esto, quotiescumque scripsero fratri tuo, tibi quoque scriptum esse; dein, quoties ille mihi responderit, a te quoque responsum esse, quandoquidem ego vos tam gemellos pro unico habeo, non pro duobus.*

<sup>41</sup> Juan Gines de Sepúlveda to Alfonso de Valdés, 1531(?), CABALLERO 1875, No. 71, p. 449-450: *Rogas porro, ut ipsum fratrem tuum, si ad me venerit, non secus ac te ipsum recipiam. An ego possum aliter eum recipere, quem cum video, sive stet, sive incedat, sive taceat, sive loquatur, quidquid denique agat vel non agat, te ipsum videre et, quod est non minore admiratione dignum, non solum facie, sed etiam doctrina, ingenio, moribus, studiis ipsis te usque adeo refert, ut tu ipse, non frater tuus esse etiam atque etiam videatur.*

<sup>42</sup> Alfonso de Valdés to Maximilian Transsilvanus, Valladolid, March 12, 1527, VALDÉS 1996, No. 20, p. 72: *Si enim scripseris hoc te invenisse, quo illorum gemellorum virtutum ego gemellus cum sim assequi deberem, summopere certe placuisset, eo quia te tradito hoc nomine uti decrevi.*

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Juan de Valdés to Ioannes Dantiscus, Bologna, January 12, 1533, Supplement, letter No. 73, p. 297, l. 15-17: *me veluti illius fratrem ac gemellum, cui natura eadem faciei lineamenta, eundemque vocis sonitum est elargita.*

year 1511 found a report from a conversation between Sancho Muñoz, an interrogated witness, and Hernando de Valdés in which the latter stated that he had kept the fetal membranes of his two sons who had been born twins.<sup>44</sup> Of course, in theory it is possible that those twins were not Alfonso and Juan, but a different pair of sons of Hernando de Valdés, but Juan's testimony from his letter to Dantiscus, written at a time of great grief over Alfonso's death, is too unambiguous to be treated as a stylistic device. Another psychological argument is provided by Alfonso's will, in which he made Juan his main heir even though at least four other siblings of his were alive at the time.<sup>45</sup>

Finally, as a complete side note, to gain even more accurate knowledge about Juan de Valdés and his relationship with Alfonso, it is worth looking at the fragment of letter No. 31 that some researchers consider to mention Juan's illness. In this letter Alfonso excuses his inability to send Dantiscus some copies of his dialogues with the lack of a scribe to write them. Of the two scribes at his disposal, one, referred to as *meus Ioannes*, is seriously ill, while the other has been overburdened with work by Chancellor Gattinara. There is nothing to prove that the ill *Ioannes* is Juan de Valdés. In those days the pronouns *meus* or *tuus* were widely used by masters referring to their servants (without searching too far, e.g. in letter No. 24 Valdés writes of Dantiscus' servant as *tuus Guido*) and absolutely cannot be viewed as indicators of kinship. Due to a shortage of source information about Juan de Valdés, despite the lack of any proof, many researchers have assumed that it was him being referred to in this particular case.<sup>46</sup> An incorrect Spanish translation of this letter was even published, where the words "The serious illness of my *Ioannes*" (*Gravissimus mei Ioannis morbus*) were rendered as "The serious illness of my brother(!) Juan" (*La gravísima enfermedad de mi hermano(!) Juan*).<sup>47</sup> Consequently, such events as Juan's stay at the court in Toledo in February 1529 (the basis for surmising that he collaborated with the imperial chancellery) and his having been seriously ill at a relatively young age, are recognized as facts even though they are just speculations, built on weak premises.

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<sup>44</sup> ADC, sección Inquisición, legajo 780, expediente 2.180, f. 11: *Cuenca, 16 de junio de 1513. Sancho Muñoz, vecino de Cuenca, testigo jurado, dijo que puede hacer cuatro meses que hablando don Fernando de Valdés que tenía guardadas las camisas en que habían salido envueltos sus dos hijos del vientre de su madre, de los que nacieron de una ventregada*. As cited in: AMORES TORRIJOS, 2004, p. 131.

<sup>45</sup> VALDÉS 1996, No. 107, p. 275: *ynstituyo y hago my heredero universal al dicho Joan de Valdés mi hermano*.

<sup>46</sup> MONTESINOS 1928 Juan, p. XVI; LONGHURST, p. 39; DONALD, p. 44; JIMÉNEZ MONTESERÍN, p. LVI.

<sup>47</sup> *Españoles*, part II, No. 50, p. 217.

Meanwhile, in his will drawn up in Vienna on October 5, 1532, just one day before his death, Alfonso de Valdés listed two scribes (*my escribano*) among his heirs: Gonzalo Pérez and Juan Saganta, who later became the secretary of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle and his son Antoine. Saganta worked for over 60 years in the chancellery of Charles V and then Philip II.<sup>48</sup> Alfonso on his deathbed made a bequest to Saganta in his will, but also gave him the responsible task of taking any movables to his main heir – his brother Juan – in Italy. It is most probably with Saganta, and not Juan de Valdés, that we should identify the ailing scribe *Ioannes* mentioned in letter No. 31.

### 2.3. Education of Alfonso de Valdés

Among all the siblings, Alfonso and Juan achieved the greatest importance. Juan is considered to be the greatest author writing in Spanish before Cervantes. His theological and philosophical works (including *Alfabeto Christiano*, *Ciento i Diez Consideraciones*, commentaries to the gospels and the epistles of St. Paul, a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Psalter), infused with mysticism and striving for deep spiritual transformation, have been overshadowed by *Dialogo de la lengua* – a brilliant Spanish language textbook written for the author’s Italian friends and pupils. The probable reason why Juan emigrated to Italy, where he spent the final and most creative decade of his life, was fear of the Inquisition after the publication in print of *Dialogo de Doctrina Christiana* (1529). This first known work by Juan, which was actually published without the author’s name, was largely a compilation of excerpts of Martin Luther’s early writings translated into Spanish.<sup>49</sup> Though he was perceived as a guiding spirit of the Reformation, Juan de Valdés – like Erasmus of Rotterdam, whom he admired – did not strive for a rift in the Church but for internal reform through the individual conversion of the faithful.

Alfonso de Valdés was also a man of the pen and a great admirer and close friend (though, it seems, only through correspondence) of Erasmus. Thanks to his political career at the court of King of Spain and Emperor Charles V Habsburg,

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<sup>48</sup> The author of a Spanish record-writing textbook, *Primera y segunda parte del estilo y metodo de escriuir cartas* (Madrid 1599), Juan Vicente Peliger, mentions him as his mentor: *Aprendi esta pretensión con el Abad Juan Saganta, persona de tan celebre y aprobado talento, como en España ha habido, en discurso de más de sesenta años, ocupado en este ministerio de Secretario, que por su gran virtud, lealtad, fidelidad y entereza, fue muy estimado del Rey Don Felipe Segundo que santa gloria haya, y aun del invictissimo y esclarecido Cesar Carlos Quinto su padre* (PELIGER, “Prologo”).

<sup>49</sup> VALDÉS, 1997, p. XXXIV-XXXVI.

Alfonso was undoubtedly more famous in his lifetime than his brother who was a better writer. Alfonso was the secretary for Latin texts at the imperial chancellery. He was also the author and editor of texts that popularized, explained and justified Charles V's political moves. His most famous works are *Lactancio* or *Dialogo de las cosas acaecidas en Roma* (1527), on the imperial troops' sack of Rome and imprisonment of Pope Clement VII, and *Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron* (1529) presenting the imperial viewpoint regarding Spanish-French and Spanish-English relations.

Alfonso de Valdés' education is a mystery still unsolved today. Since no record of him can be found in any of the university registers, he is supposed by a number of scholars to have been self-educated. The relatively high social standing of the Valdés family allows us to suppose that Alfonso and his siblings had home preceptors and then the boys, like many other young members of the gentry, either went for some "refinement" into the service of an official at the royal court, or traveled for learning and attended university lectures as unenrolled students. It is worth remembering that very few representatives of the gentry were entered in university registers in order to formalize their education, whereas it was a widespread practice of young gentlemen to listen to lectures without working for academic degrees.<sup>50</sup> Three existing letters from Alfonso to Peter Martyr D'Anghiera (d. 1526) have led to the hypothesis that the learned Italian was a mentor to the young nobleman from Cuenca, but no proof of this has been found<sup>51</sup>.

#### **2.4. Alfonso de Valdés in the imperial chancellery – his contacts with the humanists and his propagandistic writings**

The earliest information about Alfonso confirmed by sources is his presence at the court during the coronation of Charles V as king of the Romans in Aix-la-Chapelle<sup>52</sup> (October 1520) and during the Imperial Diet in Worms<sup>53</sup> (first half of 1521). It is highly likely that he was in the service of Grand Chancellor Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara at this time. Some of Alfonso's biographers think he may have entered into the circle of Gattinara soon after the latter's arrival in Spain

<sup>50</sup> Cf. e.g. WYCZAŃSKI, p. 36-39.

<sup>51</sup> See p. 22, footnote 30. For more about the authenticity of Valdés' letter to Martyr, see pages 39-41, 51-52.

<sup>52</sup> ANGHIERA 1530, letter No. DCXCIX.

<sup>53</sup> ANGHIERA 1530, letter No. DCCXXIII; letter from Alfonso de Valdés to Benedetto Accolti, Augsburg, 1530-09-24, BAGNATORI, No. VII, p. 373: *Yo, Señor Reverendísimo, ha muchos años que practico con alemanes y he mucho alcançado de sus complexiones. Estas cosas de Luthe-ro tégolas desde que estábamos en Wormes muy platicadas.*

upon being appointed chancellor in 1518.<sup>54</sup> In the document constituting Charles V's imperial chancellery, dated January 1, 1522, Gattinara lists Alfonso as a scribe (*scriba ordinarius*)<sup>55</sup>. We also know that in 1523, during the cortes in Valladolid, Alfonso ran some errands concerning matters of trade for the then regidor of Cuenca, his brother Andres.<sup>56</sup>

In another record concerned with the chancellery's organization, dated August 26, 1524, Alfonso is mentioned as a registrar (*registrator cancellariae*), whose duties included entering all the documents leaving the chancellery in the books of registers, and a comptroller (*contrarrelator*) – who helped the *taxator* set fees for any documents issued (the *taxator* at this time was Balthasar Merklin von Waldkirch). Since Valdés did not know German, the registration of documents in that language was entrusted to someone else – Ioannes Fabri von Obernburg.<sup>57</sup>

In a letter from Maximilian Transsilvanus to Alfonso de Valdés dated December 15, 1525, the addressee is described as secretary to Mercurino Gattinara.<sup>58</sup> Undoubtedly Valdés had been the chancellor's personal secretary for some time. The chancellor must have been satisfied with his services, because when the position of secretary of the imperial chancellery became open in early 1526, the appointment (dated February 8, 1526 in Toledo) went to Valdés. His new duties included responsibility for Latin texts.<sup>59</sup> Valdés' countersignature is found on many letters and official records dispatched from the imperial chancellery.<sup>60</sup> He filled this position until his untimely death in 1532.

<sup>54</sup> JIMÉNEZ MONTESERÍN, p. XLII.

<sup>55</sup> *Status et Ordinationes Cancellariae Imperialis, 1. Ianuarii 1522*, published in: WALTHER, p. 387-392.

<sup>56</sup> VALDÉS 1996, No. 5, p. 24.

<sup>57</sup> *Articuli ordinationum Cancellariae Caesareae et Catholicae maiestatis Domini nostri Clementissimi cum Officialium ac personarum aliarumque rerum specificatione et declaratione facti per Ill(ustrem) et Excellentem Dominum Dominum Mercurinum Arboriensem Gattinaraie Valentiae et Sartyranae Comitem, etc. eiusdem Caesareae Maiestatis Supremum Cancellarium*, Valladolid, 1524-08-26, VALDÉS 1996, No. 6, p. 25.

<sup>58</sup> CABALLERO 1875, Apéndice, No. 6, p. 316-319.

<sup>59</sup> VALDÉS 1996, Apéndice, No. I, p. 535-536: *Real cedula otorgando a Valdés la correspondencia latina*, Toledo, 1526-02-08.

<sup>60</sup> A list and detailed description is given by Caballero (CABALLERO 1875, p. 141-157); a slightly different compilation was published recently in the complete works of Valdés, in the chapter *Cartas y documentos* (VALDÉS 1996, p. 11-276). The both lists can be supplemented with the following texts:

1. The list of interrogation questions for Jean Lalemand, written in the hand of Alfonso de Valdés (*Las preguntas que se han de hazer a mastre Juan Aleman*), s.d. [probably 1528-12 / 1529-01] (ms orig. OS HNSA, PA Belgien 21 Konvolut 4, Untersuchungsakten Lalemand 1528-1531, f. 109 – 111).

Alfonso de Valdés was an avid supporter of the ideas of Erasmus of Rotterdam. If he had not read Erasmus earlier, he certainly did so after he joined the imperial chancellery. His predecessor in the job of imperial secretary was Philip Nicola, who corresponded with Erasmus. Valdés' close friends and correspondents included another Erasmianist, Maximilianus Transsilvanus, secretary to Emperor Maximilian I, Charles V and then (from 1523) successive regents of the Netherlands – Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary. We do not know whether Valdés ever met Erasmus, but their correspondence from 1527-1532 survived and confirms their friendly relations. Valdés played an active role in securing a salary for Erasmus at the imperial court. He remained in close relations with other Spanish Erasmianists, including Juan de Vergara (secretary to Archbishop of Toledo Alfonso de Fonseca, and before that secretary to Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros and chaplain of Charles V), Luis Nuñez Coronel (secretary to the grand inquisitor, Archbishop Alfonso Manrique de Lara), Alonso Ruiz de Virués (Benedictine preacher) and Juan Maldonado. Valdés carefully followed, and then recounted to Erasmus, the progress of the conference in Valladolid (1527-06-27 – 1527-08-13) at which 28 Spanish theologians debated the orthodoxy of the Dutch humanist's writings. All of the texts Valdés wrote are perceptibly marked by the thinking of Erasmus.

Together with the Grand Chancellor Gattinara, Valdés was the main author of information and propaganda literature created in support of the politics of Charles V.

The bibliographic information presented below lists the issues of the political texts that Valdés wrote or edited, in chronological order. The issue of Valdés' involvement in editing items 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11 is discussed below (p. 34-42). In the case of items 6 and 7 his authorship is only hypothetical.

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2. Four instructions of the emperor Charles V for Cornelis De Schepper as an envoy to the King of Poland Sigismund I, to the Duke of Braunschweig Heinrich II, to the Hanseatic cities (*ad Civitates Vandalicas*), and to the King of Scotland James V, issued in Burgos, 1528-02-07 (ms orig. OS HHSA, *Polen, fasc. 1, a. 1527-1528*, f. 21-30).
  3. Letter of the Emperor Charles V von Habsburg to the Queen Bona Sforza, Madrid, 1528-10-02, countersigned by Alfonso de Valdés (ms copy, BK, 1845, f. 10r (b.p.); CIDTC, IDT 361).
  4. Document of the Emperor Charles V von Habsburg for Nicolas de Lambertis, Brussels 1531-10-17, countersigned by Alfonso de Valdés (ms copy, AGAD, *Varia oddziału I, No. 2*, p. 159v; CIDTC, IDT 447).
  5. Letter of Alfonso de Valdés to the King Sigismund I Jagiellon, Regensburg, 1532-03-17, (AT 14, No. 141, p. 222-224; CIDTC, IDT 91).
  6. Letter of the Emperor Charles V to the King Sigismund I Jagiellon, Regensburg, 1532-03-17, (AT 14 No. 140, p. 219-222), enclosed to the aforementioned letter of Valdés to Sigismund I, of the same date (This letter is only known from a copy, but we can guess that since Valdés was asked to dispatch it to the Polish King, he was the one who edited it).

Data about a printed publication only list first editions, with the exception of item 6 (*Pro divo Carolo*), a collective reprint of items 3, 4 and 5 that is the most well-known in the literature of the subject.

1. Alfonso de Valdés, *Relación de las nuevas de Italia sacadas de las cartas que los capitanes y comisario del Emperador y Rey nuestro señor han escrito a su Magestad, assi de la victoria contra el rey de Francia como de otras cosas alla acaecidas, vista y corregida por el señor gran Chanciller et consejo de su magestad*, s.l., 1525<sup>61</sup>
2. *Pro invictissimo caesare Carolo augusto Hispaniarum Rege Catholico Epistolae Franci Regis ad Principes Imperii transmissae, ac Apologiae Madritiae conventionis dissuasoriae refutatio*. Alcalá de Henares, Miguel de Eguia, 1527-01-06<sup>62</sup>  
the print contains the following texts:
  - 2.1. Table of contents
  - 2.2. *Epistola Caroli Caesaris ad Principes Germaniae* (1526-11-29)
  - 2.3. *Apologia Madritiae conventionis inter Carolum Imperatorem, et Regem Gallum, dissuasoria*
  - 2.4. The poem *Tetrastichon ad Lectorem*
  - 2.5. The preface *Lectori S(alutem)*
  - 2.6. *Apologiae Madritiae conventionis dissuasoriae pro Francisco Francorum Rege emissae refutatio*
  - 2.7. The poem *In apologiam Gallicam*
  - 2.8. The poem *In foederis ruptorem*
  - 2.9. The preface *Pio Lectori*
  - 2.10. *Capitula foederis, quod sanctissimum vocant, inter Romanum Pontificem Clementem septimum, Regem Gallum, Venetos, ducem Franciscum Sfortiam, ac Florentinos, adversus Caesarem percussi* (1526-05-22)
  - 2.11. *Epistola Francisci Regis Gallorum ad electores ceterosque Romani Imperii status apud Spiram congregatos* (1526-10-06)
3. *Invictissimi Romanorum Imperatoris Caroli huius nominis quinti, ac Hispaniarum Regis Catholici ad duo Clementis Septimi Pontificis Romani brevia responsio, in qua ab ipso pontifice appellat petitque generalis Christianorum*

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<sup>61</sup> WILKINSON, p. 612, No. 15691.

<sup>62</sup> WILKINSON, p. 101, No. 2659.

*omnium concilii congregationem cum nonnullis aliis litteris atque actis publicis*, Alcalá de Henares, Miguel de Eguia, 1527-04-10<sup>63</sup>

the print contains the following texts:

- 3.1. Table of contents
  - 3.2. The preface *Pio Lectori*
  - 3.3. *Clementis VII litterae, seu (ut ipsi vocant) Breve, in quo omnes etiam falsissimas, quas potuit criminationes adversus Carolum Caesarem huius nominis quintum congressit* (1526-06-23)
  - 3.4. Notary's introduction – an account of how Mercurino Gattinara presented the Emperor's reply to the above *breve* to Nuncio Castiglione
  - 3.5. *Epistola Caroli Caesaris, in qua huiusmodi falsis criminationibus diffuse respondet, a Pontifice Romano appellat, generaleque Concilium Christianorum congregari petit* (1526-09-17), described in the table of contents as *Instrumentum praesentationis Responsionis Caroli Caesaris ad eiusmodi criminationes cum appellatione et generalis concilii indictionis postulatione*
  - 3.6. An account of Alfonso de Valdés' reading of the above letter in the Nuncio's presence, its presentation to the Nuncio and further actions, and the notarial confirmation of Alexander von Schweiß
  - 3.7. *Secundae Pontificis litterae, quas poenitentia ductus quod false Caesarem accusasset, ad eum misit prohibuitque, ne priores emitterentur* (1526-06-25)
  - 3.8. *Responsio Caroli Caesaris ad secundam Pontificis epistolam* (1526-09-18), countersigned by Alfonso de Valdés
  - 3.9. *Epistola Caroli Caesaris ad Senatum, sive Collegium Cardinalium, in qua petit, ut negante seu diferente Pontifice, generalis Concilii indictionem, ipsi indicant* (1526-10-06), countersigned by Alfonso de Valdés
  - 3.10. *Instrumentum publicum de his quae Romae acta sunt, dum Pontifici et Collegio Cardinalium Caesaris litterae exhibitae fuerunt* (1526-12-12), with the notarial confirmation of Alfonso de Cuevas, described in the table of contents as *Instrumentum praesentationis litterarum Caesaris ad Pontificem et Cardinalium Collegium ipsis in Urbe factae*
4. *Pro inuictissimo Romanorum Imperatore Carolo huius nominis Quinto, Hispaniarum Rege Catholico, ad ea, quae per Oratores Romani Pontificis Clementis*

<sup>63</sup> WILKINSON, p. 101, No. 2658.

*Septimi, ac Francisci Regis Francorum & Venetorum ad Generalem pacem componendam nuper proposita fuerunt responsio, per actum publicum promulgata in Oppido Vallisoletano, die XII. Februarii Anno Domini M.D.XXVII, Alcalá de Henares, Miguel de Eguia, 1527-04-10*<sup>64</sup>

the print contains the following texts:

- 4.1. Preface – a letter to the reader, no heading
  - 4.2. The letter proper, no heading, with notarial confirmation by Jean Lalemand
5. *Pro divo Carolo, eius nominis quinto Romanorum Imperatore invictissimo, pio, felice, semper Augusto, Patrepatriae, in satisfactionem quidem sine tatione eorum quae in illum scripta ac pleraque etiam in vulgum aedita fuere, Apologetici libri duo nuper ex Hispaniis allati cum aliis nonnullis, quorum catalogos ante cuiusque exordium reperies*, Mayence, Ioannes Schoeffer, 1527-09-05; **this is a collective reprint of items 2, 3, 4**, practically unchanged, as reserved in the printing privilege: *...Ioanni Schoeffer chalcographo Moguntino demandavimus ac per praesentes demandamus, ita ut ea solum quae in his nostris Hispaniarum Regnis excusa, in duos libellos redacta sunt – – citra ullam additionem excudere et in publicum dare possit et valeat absque ullo impedimento...* The privilege was issued by Emperor Charles V in Valladolid, March 2, 1527, and countersigned by Alfonso de Valdés and Balthasar Merklin von Waldkirch.<sup>65</sup>
6. *El desafío de los Reyes de Francia et Inglaterra al emperador y Rey n(uest)ro señor con sus respuestas*, Burgos, 1528-02-14<sup>66</sup>

the print contains the following texts:

- 6.1. Introduction of the translator
- 6.2. Report on the audience given by the Emperor to the heralds of the Kings of France and England in Burgos, 1528-01-22
  - 6.2.1. The speech of Guyenne King of Arms, herald of the King of France
  - 6.2.2. The Emperor's oral reply

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<sup>64</sup> WILKINSON, p. 101, No. 2660.

<sup>65</sup> Copy e.g. in: BSB, pressmark 999/4Hist.pol.1039.

<sup>66</sup> Copies in: BNE, pressmarks R/8662 and R/12804(1).

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- 6.2.3. *Cartel del rey de la Francia*, 1527-11-11, read by master Guyenne (contains a renunciation of the Madrid treaty and a declaration of war)
  - 6.2.4. The Emperor's oral reply, announcing a more detailed written reply
  - 6.2.5. *Cartel del rey de Inglaterra*, 1527-11-11, enounced from memory by Clarenceux King of Arms [Thomas Benolt], herald of the King of England (contains claims of liberating the Pope and the sons of the French King Francis I, and of paying off the debts, and a declaration of war)
  - 6.2.6. The Emperor's oral reply, announcing a more detailed written reply
  - 6.2.7. Relation of the talk which the Emperor had aside with the herald of the King of France
  - 6.3. Report on the reading and delivery of the imperial answer by the imperial secretary Jean Lalemand to the heralds in presence of many courtiers on 1528-01-27
    - 6.3.1. The text of the answer of the Emperor delivered to the French herald
    - 6.3.2. The text of the answer of the Emperor delivered to the English herald
  - 7. *Exhibita quaedam per Eduardum Leum, Oratorem Anglicum in consilio Caesareo ante belli indictionem. Responsio cordatissima nomine Caesareae Maiestatis ad eadem*, [Antwerp], Io(annes) Gr(apeus), 1528<sup>67</sup>

the print contains the following texts:

    - 7.1. *Exhibita quaedam, per Eduardum Leum, Oratorem anglicum in consilio caesareo ante indictionem belli*
    - 7.2. *Eduardi Lei oratoris Anglici considerationes, ob quas causas cavere debet Sacra Maiestas, ne det causam bello*
    - 7.3. *Ad ea, quae per ornatissimum virum dominum Eduardum Leum serenissimi Angliae regis consiliarium eleemosynarium et oratorem in supremo senatu caesareo tum verbo, tum scripto proposita exhibitaque sunt, responsio*
  - 8. *Dialogo, en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaecidas en Roma, el año de M.D.XXVII. A gloria de Dios y bien universal de la Republica Christiana,*

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<sup>67</sup> Copy e.g. in: UBG, pressmarks BIB.HIST.006628 and G. 6998<sup>2</sup>.

there exist several 16th-century editions s.a., s.l., which most of the researchers date at the 1540s (see p. 37-38, 52-55).<sup>68</sup>

9. *Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron: en que allende de muchas cosas graciosas y de buena doctrina se cuenta lo que ha acaescido en la guerra desdel año de mill y quinientos y veynte y uno hasta los desafios delos Reyes de Francia et ynglaterra hechos al Emperador en el año de M.D.XXVIII*, there exist several 16th-century editions s.a., s.l., which most of the researchers date at the 1540s (see p. 37-38, 52-55)<sup>69</sup>
10. *Opus epistolarum Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis, protonotarii apostolici atque a consiliis rerum Indicarum, nunc primum et natum et mediocri cura excusum, quod quidem praeter stili venustatem nostrorum quoque temporum historiae loco esse poterit. Compluti, anno Domini M.D. XXX, cum privilegio caesareo*<sup>70</sup>
11. *Pro religione Christiana res gestae in comitiis Augustae Vindelicorum habitis. Anno Domini M.D. XXX.*, the editors know of two editions: 1) Leuven, Bartholomeus de Grave, [1530]<sup>71</sup>, 2) s.l., [1530]<sup>72</sup>

Even before he was promoted to secretary of the chancellery, Valdés was tasked with editing a report (see p. 30, item No. 1) on the imperial troops' victory over King of France Francis I at Pavia (1525-02-25) on the basis of the accounts of people taking part in the battle. The text, written in Spanish, was published after being read and corrected by the Chancellor and the imperial council.

At the turn of 1526/1527 Valdés took part in a propaganda campaign defending Charles V's policy toward the Holy See and France. The campaign consisted in disseminating – by publication in print – texts attacking the Emperor together with extensive replies edited on the Emperor's behalf by his chancellery.

At the turn of the summer and autumn of 1526 originated the Emperor's reply (see p. 31, item No. 3.5), several dozen pages long and issued on October 17, 1526 in Granada, to the papal brief of June 23, 1526 accusing the Emperor of hos-

<sup>68</sup> Copies e.g. in: BSB, pressmark: 4. Ital. 154, Res/Eur. 224 (adligat); UBR, pressmark Rb-4095.2; cf. also WILKINSON, p. 735, No. 18845, 18847.

<sup>69</sup> Copy e.g. in: BSB, pressmark: 4 Eur. 76 m, Res/Eur. 224 (adligat); UBR, pressmark Rb-4095.1; cf. also WILKINSON, p. 735, No. 18844, 18846.

<sup>70</sup> Reprinted in Graz, 1966.

<sup>71</sup> Copy in: UBG, pressmark BIB.G.007450.

<sup>72</sup> Copies in: BSB, pressmark: 4 Helv. 453 (adl), UBG, pressmark BIB.G.007451.

tility toward the Holy See. The real author of the initial version of the Emperor's reply, referred to in brief as the *Apology*, was Mercurino Gattinara. However, the Chancellor entrusted the final editing of the text to Valdés, allowing him to make any changes as long as he preserved the meaning (*dummodo maneat substantia prout est*). Valdés invited Ioannes Dantiscus to work with him on the edition, and also a young humanist from the Netherlands who was affiliated with the imperial chancellery, Cornelis De Schepper. There is no evidence in sources for this, but we can assume they did not reject this request.<sup>73</sup> It was in fact Alfonso de Valdés who, on October 17, 1526, gave a public reading of the *Apology* in the presence of the Emperor, Nuncio Baldassare Castiglione and witnesses, after which the Chancellor officially presented it to the Nuncio. Apart from the reply to the Pope's accusations, the *Apology* also contained the main motif of the imperial political thought – the demand for a general council to be held. Researchers believe that *Apologia* was first published back in Granada, near the end of 1526,<sup>74</sup> but no copy of this print is known.<sup>75</sup> Next, at Archduke Ferdinand's command, it was also published – together with the papal brief to which it replied – in Cologne in March 1527, under the title *Epistolae duae, altera Clementis VII papae ad Karolum V imperatorem augustum etc. altera Karoli V imperatoris augusti etc. Clementi respondentis*.

The call for a council was also a topic of the Emperor's letter (see p. 31, item No. 3.9) of October 6, 1526 to the College of Cardinals, countersigned by Alfonso and on that basis, most likely correctly, considered to have been written by him.<sup>76</sup> This letter, presented to the cardinals in Rome in December of that year, was subsequently published together with the *Apology* at the printing house of Miguel de Eguia, in Alcalá de Henares, in April 1527.

Also in autumn 1526, Gattinara put together another propaganda publication, namely a reply (see p. 30, item No. 2.6) to an attack that King of France Francis I directed against the Emperor's policy and contained in the text *Dissuasive defense regarding the treaty concluded in Madrid between Emperor Charles and the King of France* (see p. 30, item No. 2.3). These two texts were also printed by Miguel de Eguia, in Alcalá de Henares, in January 1527. Valdés' correspondence

<sup>73</sup> Cf. letter No. 1 and Introduction, p. 51.

<sup>74</sup> This is the conclusion that Boehmer draws, probably correctly, from the printing privilege for *Pro Divo Carolo*, cf. BOEHMER 1874, p. 84-85, see also the next footnote.

<sup>75</sup> The alleged copy housed in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Austrian National Library), which Wilkinson records as *Epistola responsoria ad Clementem VII papam dd. Granatae die 17 Septembris 1526*, Granada, s.n., 1526 (WILKINSON, p. 101, No. 2657; ONB, pressmark 38.Y.19), in reality is an inaccurately catalogued part(!) of a print from Basel from 1528.

<sup>76</sup> VALDÉS 1996, No. 16, p. 61-66.

with Transsilvanus indicates that the author of the Emperor's reply, entitled *Apologiae Madritiae conventionis dissuasoriae pro Francisco Francorum Rege emissae refutatio*, was Chancellor Gattinara, while the Emperor's letter to the Electors of the Empire (see p. 30, item No. 2.2), placed at the beginning of the publication as a kind of introduction, dated at 1526-11-29, was written by Valdés.<sup>77</sup> (Notabene, this letter was left out by the publishers of the complete works of Alfonso de Valdés). The other texts published with these ones were the proposed terms of a peace treaty presented to the Emperor by the Holy League on May 22, 1526 (see p. 30, item No. 2.10) and a letter from the King of France on the same matter, addressed on October 6 of the same year to the Imperial Electors and States gathered in Speyer (see p. 30, item No. 2.11). The Emperor's reply (see p. 31-32, item No. 4) to these proposals were published in a separate print in April 1527, also published at Miguel de Eguia's printing house. The above-cited letter from Valdés to Transsilvanus allows us to surmise that Valdés handled the publication of both April prints in Alcalá<sup>78</sup>, undoubtedly on behalf of Gattinara, whose name was on the bill for the printing job.<sup>79</sup> All the texts were published together in a booklet entitled *Pro Divo Carolo apologetici libri duo* in September 1527 in Mayence (Mainz), at the printing house of Ioannes Schoeffer (see p. 32, item No. 5). Next to the Emperor's signature, the printing privilege issued on March 2, 1527 in Valladolid carries the countersignature of Valdés. Despite exclusive printing rights within the empire having been reserved for Schoeffer for five years, in the very same year the printing house of Martin Kaiser released an exact (minus the printing privilege, of course) reprint of *Pro divo Carolo*, listing Cologne as the place of printing in some copies, and Basel in Switzerland in others. The text of *Epistolae duae* was then reprinted multiple times in Latin, in 1529 in Dresden the translation into German was published, and then – the translation into Spanish within the famous *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V* of Prudencio de Sandoval (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1604).<sup>80</sup> Sending the brochures published in Alcalá to Transsilvanus in the Netherlands, Valdés encouraged his friend to disseminate them there as well by having them printed.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Alfonso de Valdés to Maximilian Transsilvanus, Valladolid, 1527-03-12: *Ceterum habes, quod in Gallos excusum voluit caesar: prima epistola mea est, responsio Apologiae – cancellarii*. (CABALLERO 1875, *Apéndice*, No. 10, p. 324).

<sup>78</sup> Alfonso de Valdés to Maximilian Transsilvanus, Valladolid, 1527-03-12: *Quid foederatorum nomine caesari propositum sit, quidve maiestatis suae nomine per actum publicum responsum, per primum cursorem mittam, nam typographo excudendum dedi. — Si libuerit, poteris etiam tu istinc typographo imprimendum dare*. (CABALLERO 1875, *Apéndice*, No. 10, p. 324).

<sup>79</sup> HEADLEY 1983, p. 106.

<sup>80</sup> BOEHMER 1874, p. 84-92.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. footnote No. 78.

A detailed account of this propaganda campaign organized by Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara has been presented by his biographer, John M. Headley. He also conducted an in-depth analysis of the texts contained in *Pro divo Carolo* based on surviving accounts, both printed and manuscript.<sup>82</sup> Based on careful reading of the diplomatic reports of Nuncio Baldassare Castiglione, Polish Ambassador Ioannes Dantiscus and Venetian Ambassador Andrea Navagero as well as the actual texts of the Emperor's reply published in *Pro divo Carolo*, Headley determined that they were co-authored by Gattinara and Valdés, where the Chancellor was responsible for the content and his secretary took care of the form.<sup>83</sup> Headley highlighted the major role that the secretary responsible for Latin texts played in this campaign, also drawing attention to the personal relationship between Valdés and the Chancellor as a mentor he believed to have been no less important for Alfonso's intellectual formation than Erasmus of Rotterdam.<sup>84</sup>

Alfonso de Valdés committed in a different way to justifying and defending Charles V's policy after the *sacco di Roma*. Valdés presented the imperial troops' sack of Rome and imprisonment of Pope Clement VII in May 1527 in literary form in *Dialogo de las cosas acaecidas en Roma*, also known as *Lactancio* (see p. 33-34, item No. 8). This dialogue, in Spanish, was written between June and October 1527 and was circulated around Spain in numerous manuscript copies. The author, undoubtedly in line with the defense adopted by the Emperor and his advisors, described the dramatic events of the *sacco di Roma* as a just divine punishment for the misdeeds of Rome's residents, first and foremost the officials of the papal curia and the popes themselves.

Both the topic itself and the fact that Valdés based his argumentation on the Erasmian ideal of a Christian gave Papal Nuncio Baldassare Castiglione cause to attack the author from a position of defending the Roman Catholic Church against heresy. In April the Nuncio sent his servant Gabriel to Valdés to reprimand him in connection with gossip circulating about the dissident dialogue. During his stay at the court in Madrid in August 1528 or slightly later, Valdés learned that Castiglione had accused him before the Emperor of ungodliness, lack of respect and slandering the Pope. To defend himself, Valdés wrote a letter to the Nuncio quoting the authority of the Emperor's counselors and the theologians from the university in Alcalá, who had found no errors in his dialogue.<sup>85</sup> The Nuncio's re-

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<sup>82</sup> HEADLEY 1983, chapter "The imperial propaganda campaign of 1526-1527", p. 86-113.

<sup>83</sup> HEADLEY 1983, p. 92 "while the hand was that of Valdés, the voice was clearly that of his master".

<sup>84</sup> HEADLEY 1983, p. 92. „He [Valdés] would prove in more than one instance more Gattinarian than Gattinara".

<sup>85</sup> VALDÉS 1996, No. 39, p. 108-110.

ply was a lengthy missive containing a number of harsh accusations and ending with the threat that he would pass the matter on to the Spanish Inquisition. This threat was accompanied by the suggestion that Valdés' errors were the result of his Jewish origin.<sup>86</sup> With Chancellor Gattinara's help, Valdés managed to clear himself before the Emperor, while the matter of sending the case to the church courts died with the death of the Nuncio (in early February 1529). As a result of the papal diplomat's accusations, however, the planned publication of *Lactancio* became dubious, just like that of *Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron*, a piece written in 1528-1529 (see p. 34, item No. 9). The oldest editions of these two dialogues, without information about the author and the date and place of publication, most probably weren't published in the author's lifetime. Many researchers think this did not happen until the 1540s.<sup>87</sup>

The above-mentioned dialogue between Mercury and Charon was a much more mature piece than *Lactancio*. The writer continues to defend the Emperor's policies (this time with regard to relations with France and England), but lends his text a much more sophisticated literary form and the more universal character of an ethical treatise in the Erasmian spirit.

The matter of the conflict with France that Alfonso de Valdés outlines in the dialogue *Mercurio y Carón* was also the subject of publications of a strictly propagandist nature whose intent clearly suggests they came from the Emperor's closest circle. They were published without the author's name, but printed under a privilege issued by Charles V, and their title pages carried the double-headed Habsburg eagle. Erika Rummel's hypothesis that Alfonso de Valdés was an author of one of them, namely the response (see p. 33, item No. 7.3) on behalf of Charles V to statements made by Edward Lee, English Ambassador to the imperial court, seems highly likely.<sup>88</sup> The statements were proclaimed in Burgos on January 1, 1528.

Three weeks later on January 22, the Emperor granted an audience to the heralds of the monarchs of France and England, who declared war on him. A description of this event, the texts of the heralds' speeches and an account of how imperial secretary Jean Lalemand handed them the Emperor's reply a few days later, on January 27, were published immediately at the printing house of Juan de Junta in Burgos, on February 14, 1528, under the title *El desafio de los Reys de Francia et Inglaterra al emperador y Rey nuestro señor con sus respuestas*. These texts, originally in French, were translated into Spanish for this publica-

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<sup>86</sup> VALDÉS 1996, Apéndice, No. III, p. 540-574.

<sup>87</sup> There exist several undated 16th-century editions with the titles as quoted on p. 33-34, items No. 8, 9; cf. MONTESINOS Alfonso 1928, p. 64-65; MONTESINOS 1929, p. VIII-IX.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. RUMMEL.

tion, as we learn from the introduction (see p. 32, item No. 6.1) by an anonymous translator. It seems more than likely that this translator could have been Alfonso de Valdés.

As a secretary of the Emperor's chancellery, Valdés practically never left the court of Charles V. When Chancellor Gattinara spent over six months in Italy in 1527, he took Cornelis De Schepper, who was less familiar with the imperial court, with him as his personal secretary, leaving Valdés behind with – as Valdés himself testifies – the plainly defined mission of watching over developments and taking care of the Chancellor's affairs.<sup>89</sup>

The Emperor, and his secretary with him, stayed in Spain until July 27, 1529 when the court left for Italy. It must have been before this journey that Valdés took part in editing *Opus epistolarum Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis* (see p. 34, item No. 10). This work was based on a collection of rough drafts or copies of actual letters from Martyr's correspondence, kept by him with the idea of using them to present events of recent history. Despite some inaccuracy in the dating of the letters and the chronology of the events they describe (explained with the lack of dates on the rough drafts and the necessity to reconstruct them), *Opus epistolarum* is a very valuable and extensive source documenting not only political history but also, or maybe first and foremost, everyday life, culture and customs in Spain in the early 16th century.

Martyr died in 1526 before he could publish the work. It was not issued until four years later, in Alcalá de Henares, by the printing house of Miguel de Eguia. *Opus epistolarum* contains three letters from Valdés to Martyr presented as part of Martyr's letters to his pupils – the margraves de Velez. As mentioned earlier, they are quoted in full as the accounts of an eye-witness to important events in Germany – the beginnings of Martin Luther's activity,<sup>90</sup> Charles V's coronation as king of the Romans in Aix-la-Chapelle<sup>91</sup> (October 1520) and Luther's interrogation at the Imperial Diet in Worms<sup>92</sup> (April 1521). There is an obvious chronological discrepancy in the first letter: Valdés' letter is dated September 1, 1520 in Brussels, a fact additionally confirmed by the letter of Martyr in which it is quoted (September 18, 1520), whereas the events it describes include Luther's public burning of the books of canon law in Wittenberg, which took place in December of that year. Many

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<sup>89</sup> Cf. Alfonso de Valdés to Maximilian Transsilvanus, Valladolid, 1527-03-12: *Cancellarius discessum parat, idque bona cum venia caesaris ad kal(endas) Aprilis se facturum asseverat. Quo consilio id faciat, haud chartis committendum censeo. Manebo apud caesarem, ut tum meis, tum cancellarii rebus provideam.* (CABALLERO 1875, *Apéndice*, No. 10, p. 324).

<sup>90</sup> ANGHIERA 1530, letter No. DCLXXXIX.

<sup>91</sup> ANGHIERA 1530, letter No. DCXCIX.

<sup>92</sup> ANGHIERA 1530, letter No. DCCXXIII.

scholars were also amazed by the decidedly negative view the young Erasmianist took of the German reformer's activity at such an early stage of the Reformation, and by the lack of any change in this assessment compared to what is known about Valdés from the time of the Imperial Diet in Augsburg (1530).<sup>93</sup> Discussing the problem of who prepared *Opus epistolarum* for publication, Jakob Bernays pointed out that Valdés' letters to Martyr are edited in such a way as to preclude their having been written in this form before the conflict between Charles V and the Pope escalated in 1524. Because the letters present a specific, pro-Spanish and pro-imperial perspective, and comparisons of their style with other texts by Valdés give no reason to doubt that he was the author, Bernays offered the hypothesis that Alfonso de Valdés had taken part in editing *Opus epistolarum*.<sup>94</sup>

This hypothesis finds confirmation in letter No. 36 of the present edition, from which we also learn that the entirety of editing work was supervised by someone whom Valdés describes as *oeconomus noster* and *amicus*, but whose identity remains unknown. It could have been Chancellor Gattinara, for example – probably Martyr's only close friend still alive at the time and someone strongly interested in the publication of a work that supported the policy of Charles V. Since someone had to oversee the printing process in Alcalá de Henares, it seems probable that it was someone associated with the local university, Complutense. It is possible that Alfonso's brother Juan, who studied there in 1526-1531, was involved in the work.

At this point it is worth taking a closer look at the letter No. 36, in which Valdés asks Dantiscus to help him with editing his letters, the ones we know from their publication in *Opus epistolarum*. He writes that while preparing the edition, looking back on the matter years later, he noticed that Martyr's opinions on Lutheran matters and the Emperor's coronation [in Aix-la-Chapelle] deviated from the truth. He first intended to withdraw them from publication, but (at the request of the person coordinating the work on the volume) he wrote them anew based on his own old texts (*quas hic vides epistolas ex nugis meis, quas puer scripseram, decerpsi*). Valdés' letter to Dantiscus in no way suggests that the original versions of Martyr's letters, those deviating from the truth, had contained the above-cited letters from Valdés to Martyr. Rather, Valdés writes as if Martyr himself had been the author of the original text: *Petri Martyris epistolas — — in quibus rem Lutheranam atque caesaris coronationem narrabat*. It is not impossible, therefore, that Valdés' letters were incorporated into Martyr's letters in the form of extensive quotations only when the volume was being edited for printing after Martyr's death. Such quoting

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<sup>93</sup> HEIDENHEIMER, p. 201-203; BERNAYS, p. 137; cf. also SCHUMACHER, p. 14-16; GERIGK, p. 70-71.

<sup>94</sup> BERNAYS, p. 136-140.

of fictitious letters from Valdés in Martyr's letters would have served as an editing trick enabling Valdés as the editor to interfere substantially with the original text while keeping a relatively clear conscience. It was all the easier for him to do given the fact that he had been with the court in Germany in 1520-1521, which gave a semblance of probability to the existence of his letters to Martyr from this time.<sup>95</sup> Notabene, such a trick would also discreetly place information about Alfonso de Valdés and his father, regidor in Cuenca, in a publication (meant for a wide audience) presenting the history of Spain. Was this devised as a means of self-promotion for Valdés, then? Is it a clever trick that Dantiscus advised his friend to employ? We do not know, but a justified suspicion that Valdés' letters contained in *Opus epistolarum* are not authentic means we have to be more cautious than ever about treating them as the basis for drawing conclusions about the relations between Valdés and Martyr.

One thing is certain: Neither Alfonso nor Mercurino Gattinara could have personally overseen the final preparations for the printing of *Opus epistolarum* because they were in Italy as of mid-1529. From there, after the signing of a peace treaty with the Italian states (1529-12-23) and the coronation ceremony in Bologna (1530-02-24), Charles V went to Augsburg for the Imperial Diet. On the way to Augsburg, Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara died on June 5, 1530 in Innsbruck. Alfonso watched over his dying master, later handling the inventorying of his belongings and executing his will.

During the Imperial Diet in Augsburg the Emperor entrusted Valdés with conducting the negotiations with Martin Luther's representatives, led by Philip Melancthon, on reforms in the Roman Church within the Holy Roman Empire. Valdés was also tasked with translating the Protestants' proposals from the Latin for the Emperor's convenience.<sup>96</sup> As we all know, no agreement was reached, which was absolutely not Valdés and Melancthon's fault, as their contemporaries considered both to be men of good will and inclined to a compromise. People often quote Ioannes Dantiscus' opinion that if there had been more people like Valdés on the Catholic side, the chances for an agreement would have been much greater.<sup>97</sup>

From this time comes the Latin print *Pro religione Christiana res gestae in comitiis Augustae Vindelicorum habitis. Anno Domini M.D. XXX.* (see p. 34,

<sup>95</sup> BAGNATORI, No. VII, p. 373 (cf. footnote No. 53).

<sup>96</sup> BAGNATORI, No. I, p. 363.

<sup>97</sup> Ioannes Dantiscus to King of Poland Sigismund I, Augsburg, 1530-07-30, CIDTC, IDL 518: *Tractatur etiam hic continue negotium fidei et adhuc nihil est conclusum, neque a caesare responsum. Sunt, qui bene sperare iubent, quod ego tamen, quousque finem rei videro, facere non possum, aliquid tamen mihi spei est, quod dominus Valdesius et Philippus Melancthon simul plerumque conveniunt. Si Valdesio similes ex parte caesaris aliquot viri eruditi et pii negotium hoc tractarent, posset aliquid fieri, sed una hirundo non facit ver.*

item No. 11), published twice most likely still in 1530, without listing the author, in Leuven and another unknown location (perhaps already Augsburg?). The booklet describes the religious negotiations held at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530. Some researchers erroneously ascribe it to a young humanist Liévin Algoet<sup>98</sup>, the addressee of the printing privilege issued by Charles V. The privilege, dated November 6, 1530 in Augsburg, was countersigned by Alfonso de Valdés. It is definitely a propaganda print published under the auspices of the Emperor and presenting his point of view. In connection with Valdés' above-described role in the negotiations outlined in *Pro religione Christiana*, some scholars, especially Spanish researchers, consider its author to be Valdés.<sup>99</sup> This view finds confirmation in Valdés' letter to Dantiscus in which he again turns for help with the final editing, to the addressee and to Cornelis De Schepper (letter No. 42). It is very likely that Algoet, who was in Cornelis De Schepper's service at the time, was also involved in the editing work, if only as a scribe recording the text's final version, which would have later predestined him for overseeing its publication.

Once the Diet in Augsburg was over, the Emperor and his court traveled north, to Cologne where the Emperor's brother Ferdinand was elected king of the Romans (1531-01-05), and then to Aix-la-Chapelle for Ferdinand's coronation (1531-01-11), and to the Netherlands which required a new regency to be established after the death of Charles V's aunt, Margaret (d. 1530-11-30). It is at the time that Alfonso was in Italy, Germany and the Netherlands in 1530-1532 that Rosa Navarro Durán, a researcher of Spanish Renaissance literature, dates the work *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades* – the prototypical Spanish picaresque novel. Navarro Durán ascribes the authorship of *Lazarillo* to Alfonso de Valdés, basing her argumentation on an in-depth historical and linguistic analysis of the novel. However, Navarro Durán's interesting arguments are not – in the view of the present volume's editors – sufficient to safely prove that Valdés was the author.<sup>100</sup>

The Emperor left the Netherlands in January 1532 and made his way to Regensburg for the Imperial Diet. There, in April, he received news of the Turkish army's march toward Hungary, Austria and Bohemia. The concentration of troops at Vienna was agreed during the Diet, and Charles V joined them there on September 23. The Turks withdrew from Vienna at the news that the imperial troops were approaching. On October 4 the Emperor hastily left the city, where the plague had broken out. Valdés did not accompany the court as it made its way back to Italy because he had contracted the plague. He died on October 6,

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<sup>98</sup> BIERLAIRE Lieven.

<sup>99</sup> VALDÉS 1996, No. 88, p. 229-240.

<sup>100</sup> NAVARRO 2002; NAVARRO 2003 Alfonso; NAVARRO 2003 Lazarillo.

1532.<sup>101</sup> He was buried in one of the chapels of St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna.<sup>102</sup> The small limestone gravestone from Kehlheim, preserved to this day, carries the following inscription:

ALFONSO VALDESIO HISPANO EX  
 GENEROSA VALDESIIORUM FAMILIA  
 VIRO DOCTRINA MORIBUS  
 ORNATISSIMO AD RESQ(UE)  
 GERENDAS APTISSIMO  
 CAROLI CAESARIS V  
 SECRETARIO FATORUM  
 INVIDIA SUBLATO MON-  
 IMENTUM TEMPORARIUM  
 ALUMNI MAXIMO CUM LUC-  
 TU POSUERE VI OCTOBRIS  
 M D XXXII.<sup>103</sup>

### 3. Major dates in Alfonso de Valdés' biography<sup>104</sup>

**between 1500 and 1504** – Alfonso de Valdés is born in Cuenca

**1520-1522** – he stays with the imperial court in Germany and the Netherlands (perhaps already in the service of Grand Chancellor Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara); he witnesses the coronation of Charles V as king of the Romans in Aix-la-Chapelle (1520-10-23) and the interrogation of Martin Luther at the Imperial Diet in Worms (1521-04)

**1522-01-01 – 1524-08-26** – scribe (*scriba ordinarius*) of the imperial chancellery

**1524-08-26 – 1526-02-08** – registrar (*registrator cancellariae*) and comptroller (*contrarrelator*) of the imperial chancellery

**before 1525-12-15** (maybe even as of 1518) – personal secretary of Grand Chancellor Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara

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<sup>101</sup> The exact date of Alfonso's death is based on the document of *Ejecutoria de Hidalguia* (1540) of Andrés de Valdés: *El qual murió en la dicha çibdad de Viena a seys días de octubre del dicho año. Y quedó sepultado en la Yglesia Cathedral de la dicha çibdad de Viena.*, cf. footnote No. 27.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. p. 67-69.

<sup>103</sup> KOHN, p. 253, illustration No. 3; DI WR 9/1, in preparation to be published; PERGER, p. 71, 117; cf. KIESLINGER, p. 292; see also Ill. No. 15 after p. 128.

<sup>104</sup> Major dates in Ioannes Dantiscus' biography can be found in volume 1/1 of the series *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci*, p. 18-20 and on the website of the *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*, under the tab *About Ioannes Dantiscus* ([dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl](http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl), accessed February 5, 2013).

- 1525** – based on the reports of participants, he edits and publishes an account of the imperial troops' victory over King of France Francis I at Pavia (*Relación de las nuevas de Italia sacadas de las cartas que los capitanes y comisario del Emperador y Rey nuestro señor han escripto a su Magestad, assi de la victoria contra el rey de Francia como de otras cosas alla acaecidas, vista y corregida por el señor gran Chanciller et consejo de su magestad*)
- 1526-02-08** – he is appointed secretary of the imperial chancellery responsible for Latin texts; from this time until his death he is always with the imperial court
- between 1526-10 and 1529-07** – he takes part in editing *Opus epistolarum Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis*
- 1527-01-06** – publication, in Alcalá de Henares, at the printing house of Miguel de Eguía, of the print *Pro invictissimo caesare Carolo augusto Hispaniarum Rege Catholico Epistolae Franci Regis ad Principes Imperii transmissae, ac Apologiae Madritiae conventionis dissuasoriae refutatio*
- 1527-04-10** – publication, in Alcalá de Henares, at the printing house of Miguel de Eguía, of the prints: 1) *Invictissimi Romanorum Imperatoris Caroli huius nominis quinti, ac Hispaniarum Regis Catholici ad duo Clementis Septimi Pontificis Romani brevia responsio, in qua ab ipso pontifice appellat petitque generalis Christianorum omnium concilii congregationem cum nonnullis aliis litteris atque actis publicis*; 2) *Pro inuictissimo Romanorum Imperatore Carolo huius nominis Quinto, Hispaniarum Rege Catholico, ad ea, quae per Oratores Romani Pontificis Clementis Septimi, ac Francisci Regis Francorum & Venetorum ad Generalem pacem componendam nuper proposita fuerunt responsio, per actum publicum promulgata in Oppido Vallisoletano, die XII. Februarii Anno Domini M.D.XXVII*
- 1527-06 – 1527-10** – he writes *Dialogo de las cosas acaecidas en Roma* (also known as *Lactancio*)
- 1528 – 1529** – he writes *Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron*
- 1530-06-05** – death of Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara
- 1530-06-20 – 1530-11-19** – Imperial Diet in Augsburg; Valdés holds negotiations on the Emperor's behalf with the Protestant representative, Philip Melancthon
- after 1530-11-06** – publication of the anonymous print *Pro religione Christiana res gestae in comitiis Augustae Vindelicorum habitis. Anno Domini M.D. XXX*, ascribed to Valdés
- 1532-10-06** – he dies of the plague in Vienna

## 4. The friendship of Ioannes Dantiscus and Alfonso de Valdés and the subject matter of their correspondence

### 4.1. Sources

The sources of the information about the relations between Valdés and Dantiscus primarily include their correspondence, presented in this volume, remarks made in their correspondence with other people, and a small number of other records. We find Valdés mentioned in a few dozen letters from Dantiscus' correspondence.<sup>105</sup> First and foremost, the Polish envoy mentions his friend in letters sent to the Polish court, addressed to King Sigismund I and Queen Bona Sforza, Vice-Chancellor Piotr Tomicki, Grand Crown Hetman Jan Amor Tarnowski as well as his fellow envoy Jan Lewicki and to Archbishop of Constance Johan Weze, a diplomat in the service of Charles V Habsburg. Most of these letters testify to the help Dantiscus received from Valdés in fulfilling his diplomatic mission, and to hopes for the imperial secretary's further activity for the benefit of the Polish *raison d'état* after the mission was over. Valdés is mentioned in letters to Dantiscus received from many correspondents. They are mainly common friends and acquaintances from court circles (Cornelis De Schepper, Mercurino Gattinara, Balthasar Merklin von Waldkirch, Mariangelo Accursio, Juan de Comalonga, Diego Gracián de Alderete, Gonzalo Pérez, Camillo Ghilino), humanists (Jan van Campen, Caspar Ursinus Velius, Helius Eobanus Hessus, Conradus Goclenius) as well as Poland's Queen Bona, Vice-Chancellor Jan Chojeński and people with different connections to the matter of her Italian legacy (Lodovico Alifio, Vincenzo Pimpinello, Emanuel Ganducius, Fabian Damerau-Wojanowski). After Alfonso's death his twin brother Juan tried to start an exchange of letters with Dantiscus. The matter of the wooden plate with Dantiscus' epitaph to Valdés being placed above the latter's burial-place in Vienna is recounted to Dantiscus by his nephew, Kaspar Hannau and by Fuggers' agent in Cracow, Georg Hegel. Dantiscus is mentioned just once in Valdés' correspondence with Erasmus of Rotterdam.<sup>106</sup> Apart from this, surviving records include two memoranda written by Dantiscus together with the Emperor's replies written in Valdés' hand<sup>107</sup>, a few

<sup>105</sup> Cf. website of *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*, under the tab *Ioannes Dantiscus' Correspondence* ([dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl](http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl), accessed February 5, 2013).

<sup>106</sup> Alfonso de Valdés to Erasmus of Rotterdam, Barcelona, 1529-05-15, ALLEN 8, No. 2163, p. 173-174: *Salutavi amicos, Cancellarium videlicet, Ioannem Dantiscum oratorem Polonum, et alios quos hic tui percupidos inveni.*

<sup>107</sup> See Appendices, No. 11, 12.

other documents Valdés issued Dantiscus as the secretary of Charles V, and the poetic epitaph Dantiscus wrote in memory of his deceased friend.

#### 4.2. The beginnings of the relationship – through Chancellor Gattinara?

It is not known exactly when Dantiscus met Alfonso de Valdés. According to Alfonso's brother Juan, this occurred before Valdés was employed at the imperial chancellery,<sup>108</sup> so we can assume that it was definitely before his appointment to the post of imperial secretary on February 8, 1526, and it could have been much earlier. In theory, their first meeting could have taken place as far back as Dantiscus' first independent diplomatic mission, in 1519. Being officially employed as a scribe at the imperial chancellery since 1522, Valdés must have seen Dantiscus during the latter's second stay at the court of Charles V in 1522-1523, and especially during the third stay – of more than six and a half years – that commenced in October 1524. However, there are no known sources (apart from the aforementioned letter of Juan de Valdés) confirming that Dantiscus and Alfonso knew each other before 1526. The date of the letter considered to be the first in their mutual correspondence has been reconstructed as late August or early September 1526.<sup>109</sup> The letter contains Valdés' request for help with editing the *Apology* (i.e. the Emperor's famous reply to the papal brief of June 23, 1526).<sup>110</sup> In it, Valdés informs Dantiscus that he has obtained the chancellor's permission to make editing changes but does not want to do this without the help of Dantiscus and Cornelis [De Schepper]. In the light of this letter and Dantiscus' earlier friendship with Gattinara, it seems justified to infer that the Grand Chancellor personally played a role in establishing closer relations between the Polish Ambassador and Alfonso. It is highly probable that it was he who advised his subordinate to consult with Dantiscus, a man famous far and wide for his excellent knowledge of Latin, on the style of important texts leaving the imperial chancellery.

The Polish diplomat made Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara's acquaintance in Barcelona in early 1519, the first time he arrived at the Charles I (as a king of Spain), the later Emperor Charles V Spanish court. The aim of his mission at that time was to negotiate the problem of Queen Bona's heritage in the Kingdom of Naples, a Spanish dominion, after the death of Duchess Joanna of Aragon (an aunt of the mother of the Queen Bona, Isabella of Aragon). Dantiscus carried with him let-

<sup>108</sup> Letter of Juan de Valdés to Ioannes Dantiscus, Bologna, 1533-01-12 (No. 73 in this edition): *cum meminerim te cum fratre meo Alfonso Valdesio, qui in foelicissimo quodam fato nobis ereptus est, priusquam illum apud caesarem locum nactus esset, amicitiam iniisse.*

<sup>109</sup> Cf. p. 80-81.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. p. 34-35 and 51.

ters of recommendation to King of Spain Charles I, who would be chosen Roman emperor six months later, and to a courtier and childhood friend of Charles', Johann von Brandenburg. The envoy noticed immediately that the man with the greatest influence over the King was Guillaume de Croÿ, Lord of Chièvres, and established contact with him at once. He wrote of the man's kindness in a letter to King Sigismund I dated March 12, 1519, asking for a letter of recommendation addressed to Chièvres.<sup>111</sup> Four and a half months later, the Polish envoy was no longer so hopeful about Seigneur de Chièvres' assistance. He pinned all his hopes on the Netherlander's opponent, Grand Chancellor Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara, even though he must have known that at that time the Chancellor's influence on the later Emperor Charles V was incomparable with the influence of the young ruler's closest advisers such as Adriaan Flooriszoon Boeyens of Utrecht (Charles von Habsburg's tutor, later Pope Adrian VI, d. 1523), Charles de Lannoy (Viceroy of Naples as of 1522, d. 1527), Henry III of Nassau-Breda (d. 1538) and particularly the aforementioned Chièvres (d. 1521). They were focused mainly on Charles' Burgundian legacy and represented a different political orientation than Piedmont lawyer Gattinara, a strong opponent of French domination in Italy who unfolded visions of a universal monarchy to the young ruler.

Dantiscus, too, was interested in legal issues, as can be deduced e.g. from his handwritten remarks and underlining in a copy of the *Sachsenspiegel* containing his bookplates<sup>112</sup>. The sources say nothing about Dantiscus studying law. Howe-

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<sup>111</sup> CIDTC, IDL 133: *Ivit ista hora venatum maiestas sua, comitatus est eam illustris dominus Ioannes marchio Brandenburgensis, cui pridie litteras Sacrae Maiestatis Vestrae cum verbis res agendas spectantibus obtuli; praeseferebat bonum vultum et fuit gratissimus de Maiestatis Vestrae, ut mihi tunc videbatur; litteris, pollicitus est omnem operam; nollem tamen illam, quam in Brabantia impendebat. Fertur pro certo, quod ducturus est in uxorem reginam relictam viduam serenissimi regis Ferdinandi nuper defuncti. Habet magnam apud serenissimum regem catholicum auctoritatem; sunt tamen plures, qui maiorem, presertim illustris dominus Guliernus de Croy, dux Sorae, regni Neapolitani admiratus, quem maiestas caesarea in celebratione velleris aurei in marchionem creavit, titulus nunc mihi non occurrit, et est iste, quem dicunt de Szeveres, qui apud regem in manibus habet omnia. Maluisssem ad illum Maiestatis Vestrae habuisse litteras. Nihilominus ego imprimis, antequam primam haberem audientiam, eum nomine Sacrae Maiestatis Vestrae salutavi et quod notus esset fama ingenti Maiestati Vestrae per oratorem, qui a Maiestate Vestra superioribus annis fuit in Brabantia apud caesarem, persuasique ei, magnam habere Sacrae Maiestati Vestrae gratiam etc. Iste rebus nostris non nocuit, immo promovit plurimum. Accepit ab illustrissima domina duce Mediolani corruptiones facturisque est omnia, si adhuc litterae Maiestatis Vestrae ad eum darentur; in omnem eventum, nam suspicor; mihi adhuc esse in negotiis istis immorandum, quae tam subito confici non possunt, quia omnia desuper iura conquiruntur.*

<sup>112</sup> [Eike von REPKOW, *Sachsenspiegel* =] *Remissorium mit sambt dem Weichpilde und Lehnrecht*, Hans Otmar, Augsburg, 1508, copy of BNW, pressmark XVI.F.2339; about Dantiscus' juridical interests, see also BORAWSKA 2001, p. 69, BORAWSKA 2002, p. 60.

ver, his legal proficiency was already appreciated by Emperor Maximilian, who rewarded him for his services in the negotiations with Venice in 1516 with a poet's laurel wreath, a coat of arms and the title of knight of Jerusalem, but also the title of doctor *utriusque iuris*.<sup>113</sup> The different kinds of activity Dantiscus was involved in as an envoy and later as a bishop and chairman of the Prussian Council, were always carried out with respect for the law of the time.<sup>114</sup>

Therefore the reason why the Polish envoy addressed his diplomatic activity to the Grand Chancellor may have been their ease of communication, a shared way of thinking and feeling that developed into friendship, as confirmed by the warmhearted tone of the letters they later exchanged.<sup>115</sup> From Dantiscus himself we learn that when in Barcelona in 1519, he often accompanied the Chancellor at his midday meal, during which they conversed.<sup>116</sup>

Eleven years later, in June 1530, when Dantiscus was traveling on horseback along the Adige from Mantua to the Imperial Diet in Augsburg, in Trento he met the Grand Chancellor's funeral procession on its way from Innsbruck to Piedmont. An eyewitness, Dantiscus' secretary Hilarius Bertholf, writes<sup>117</sup> that the Polish diplomat could not stop his tears at the news of Gattinara's death and sadly recalled how he had been unable to be on the same boat in which his friend had traveled to Mantua shortly before. Dantiscus saw the Chancellor as large as life in his mind's eyes. Neither could the envoy reconcile himself to the fact that illness had kept him in Mantua when the court had set off for Augsburg, because he very much would have wanted to be with the deceased during his final moments. Having taken part in the exequies in Trento, Dantiscus invited the deceased man's family who were in the procession to his quarters for supper. Bertholf emphasizes that his employer overcame his sadness and did his best to receive his guests as

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<sup>113</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 6247, IDL 119, IDL 121, IDL 123, IDL 120, IDL 4904, IDL 4907; see also letter of Emperor Maximilian to Sigismund I (ms copy, BCz, 240, p. 178 (b.p.), CIDTC, IDT 375); cf. also CEID 2/1, p. 21, footnote 29.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. SKOLIMOWSKA 2012 Dantiscus, p. 185-189.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Supplement, letters No. 74-81, p. 299-316.

<sup>116</sup> Dantiscus to the King Sigismund I, 1519-07-30, CIDTC, IDL 142: *In hac audientia fuerunt rex, dominus de Szeveris et magnus cancellarius et nemo alius, isti tres desuper satis diu et rex ipse longo sermone commentabantur et deinde, revocato me, responderunt super quolibet articulo, ut in carta inclusa videbitur. Disputavi etiam postea seorsum cum magno cancellario de his omnibus et quantum potui in rebus tam ducis Moscoviae quam etiam magistri generalis eum instruxi. Est vir bonus et inter omnes alios hic mihi videtur esse melior et plurimum rebus Maiestatis Vestrae afficitur. — — — Inde magnus cancellarius me vocavit ad prandium (solet me saepius vocare) et haec mihi, quae pro novis habentur, dixit.*

<sup>117</sup> See Appendices, No. 13.

lavishly and warmly as possible. Next day, continuing on his way to Augsburg, as he rode he allegedly composed epitaphs for the chancellor.

Bertholf's account, included in the introduction to a collection of mourning poems devoted to Gattinara which he published,<sup>118</sup> shows better than other sources that Dantiscus' relationship with the Grand Chancellor went far beyond the official relations of an ambassador with the Emperor's right-hand man. If that were not the case, could we imagine a representative of what was, after all, a foreign country being asked for advice during the process of producing state documents of the highest importance and propaganda texts?

Thus, the young Alfonso must have seen the Polish envoy at the Chancellor's either in 1519 – if he was in the chancellor's service at the time – or in 1522 at the latest, when Dantiscus came to Charles V's court on his second mission. However, as mentioned earlier, no sources concerning their contacts before 1526 have survived. Therefore, if not earlier then certainly when they were editing the *Apology* together, their acquaintance moved beyond the framework of the admiration that a modest associate of the Chancellor might have felt for his employer's Polish friend. This was a friend valued in court circles for many years as a great orator and a poet who had received his poet's laurel wreath already from Emperor Maximilian.

### 4.3. The nature of the relationship

As mentioned before, the most information about the friends' mutual contacts is found in their correspondence, published in the present volume. The nature of these letters, which in their greater part record a dialogue between two men staying not far from each other, enables us to determine that the correspondents were on very friendly and confidential terms.<sup>119</sup> The friends met frequently in both official and social situations, and when unable to meet they would send each other brief, undated messages with information about current events and gossip, inviting each other to meals and social gatherings, sending each other gifts and texts to read. Dantiscus also enclosed recently written poems that always aroused Valdés' enthusiasm and admiration. The currently lost *Pasquillus*, mentioned a few times in the letters, was probably a satirical poem or an epigram cycle written by Dantiscus. Valdés gave the Polish envoy advice and assistance in his contacts

<sup>118</sup> *Epitaphia, Epigrammata et Elegiae aliquot illustrium virorum in funere Mercurini Cardinalis marchionis Gattinariae caesaris Caroli Quinti Augusti supremi cancellarii*, Ioannes Graepheus, Antwerp, 1531.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. the Introduction's chapter "Determination of the proper sequence of the letters"/ "Reasons for the missing dates", p. 79.

with Charles V's higher officials, sometimes even mediating in contacts with the Emperor. On more than one occasion, he had to calm the diplomat's impatience at a prolonged wait for decisions. He informed him of the Emperor's health and also the health of Chancellor Gattinara which got worse with every year. He also helped Dantiscus obtain documents he needed from the imperial chancellery. Although to a certain extent this assistance was part of Valdés' duties as imperial secretary, Dantiscus unquestionably had many opportunities to appreciate that the Emperor's closest circle included someone as friendly as Alfonso de Valdés and his superior, Gattinara. Dantiscus reciprocated with consultations related to editing Latin texts. Valdés also treated him as a confidant when he had problems, e.g. in his conflict with Jean Lalemand and the related accusation that Nuncio Castiglione hurled against Valdés.<sup>120</sup> The Polish envoy lent him his support and wrote successive, increasingly biting epigrams about Lalemand, even going so far as to write a false epitaph and epicedium in which he foretold the subject's death on the gallows. When the imperial court was moving from place to place, Valdés evidently tried his best to make sure as often as possible that Dantiscus' route intersected with his own, the latter most often being defined by the route of Chancellor Gattinara. He also helped his friend organize living quarters. He sometimes lent him money for his day-to-day spending, as Dantiscus was constantly suffering the lack of ready money waiting to receive overdue pay. Valdés' letters are ripe with humor. We can only guess that Dantiscus' replies, most of them lost to us, were maintained in a similar ironic and jocular tone. The whole gives the impression of a conversation between very close friends. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the two correspondents used their own familiar system of nicknames and allusive expressions (e.g. *Scipio noster*, *Cato*, *prandium Camilinum* or *res Canonitildum*). They undoubtedly shared literary interests, taste and skills. A significant role in this spiritual affinity was played by their shared fascination with the thought and output of Erasmus of Rotterdam. Therefore it is worth taking a closer look at the aspects of their friendship connected with the written word – the writing and reception of different texts.

#### **4.4. Dantiscus' contribution to the editing of texts leaving the imperial chancellery**

Valdés' involvement in the propaganda campaigns supporting Charles V's policies has been described in greater detail in the chapter "Alfonso de Valdés in the imperial chancellery – his contacts with the humanists and his propagandis-

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<sup>120</sup> Cf. p. 37-38; see also ALLEN 8, No. 2163, p. 172.

tic writings.<sup>121</sup> Here, we only present information on the role Valdés envisaged for the Polish envoy. There are no available sources to confirm Dantiscus' actual work on editing the texts listed below, but the very fact that Valdés regularly turned to him with this kind of request seems to suggest that such requests were not turned down.

#### 4.4.1. *Pro divo Carolo*<sup>122</sup>

The *Apology* mentioned earlier was not the only text Valdés was counting on Dantiscus to edit. Unfortunately we do not know if he asked his friend to look at the other texts that formed the propaganda publication *Pro divo Carolo*. In one of the undated letters, he asks him to return one of them – *refutatio Gallicae defensionis*<sup>123</sup>, but we do not know if he gave the text to Dantiscus to read, copy or perhaps edit. Going further in hypothesizing about Dantiscus' share in the propaganda campaign that Gattinara organized in defense of Charles V's policies at the turn of 1526 and 1527, it is worth considering who wrote the poems that surround the aforementioned *refutatio* in this publication. They are: a quatrain to the reader (*Tetrastichon ad Lectorem*) placed between *Apologia Madritiae conventionis inter Carolum Imperatorem, et Regem Gallum, dissuasoria* and the Emperor's reply to this text, i.e. *refutatio Gallicae defensionis*, and two longer epigrams entitled *In apologiam Gallicam* and *In foederis ruptorem*, placed directly after *refutatio*. Neither Valdés nor Gattinara wrote poems, so our suspicions as to the author first turn to the two friends Valdés asked to help with the editing of the *Apology*, which was being written at this time: Ioannes Dantiscus and Cornelis De Schepper, both of whom were valued by their contemporaries as outstanding writers of occasional epigrams.<sup>124</sup>

#### 4.4.2. *Opus epistolarum Petri Martyris*<sup>125</sup>

Valdés' three letters contained within *Opus epistolarum Petri Martyris* constituted a different kind of publication that Valdés asked Dantiscus to help edit, though one also produced with a propaganda effect in mind. Initially Valdés intended to give up preparing the planned edition of Martyr's letters discussing Lutheran matters and the Emperor's coronation because he thought they departed from the truth. The person coordinating the work, whom Valdés does not mention

<sup>121</sup> Cf. p. 27-43.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. p. 29-37.

<sup>123</sup> Letter No. 5.

<sup>124</sup> Letter No. 1; cf. also Appendices, No. 13, p. 370-371, l. 3-18.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. p. 34, 39-41.

by name, insisted that Valdés correct the letters or write them anew. This is why, based on some old texts of his, he wrote a new version of the letters and sent them to Dantiscus, asking that “you, if you love me, read them, reread them, correct them and do something to make them Latin instead of barbarian. Without your judgment, under no circumstances will they be published.”<sup>126</sup>

#### 4.4.3. *Pro religione Christiana*<sup>127</sup>

The next text Valdés asked Dantiscus to look through before printing was “a description of the events that occurred in this town in connection with the Lutherans,” most likely the brochure *Pro religione Christiana res gestae in Comitibus Augustae Vindellicorum habitis anno Domini 1530* published in late 1530. This is what Valdés writes to his friend: “I ask that you and master Cornelis, if he is present, read this [i.e. the description of the events that occurred in this town in connection with the Lutherans] and remove, change or add whatever you deem necessary. You know how low I value my own and how highly your judgment, and not without cause”<sup>128</sup>.

#### 4.5. Valdés’ dialogues<sup>129</sup>

On June 15, 1527, the day that news reached Valladolid of the *Sacco di Roma*, Alfonso de Valdés was having supper with friends. Unfortunately we do not know if his dining companions that day included Ioannes Dantiscus, but it seems quite likely they did. While everyone was commenting on the shocking news, Valdés announced that the matter was too complicated to judge in the heat of the moment and said he would do it in writing. His friends forced him to vow he would do it. These were the beginnings of the dialogue *Lactancio* defending the Emperor’s policy toward the Holy See. Valdés insisted that at first he did not plan to disseminate the dialogue. He gave it only to his friends to read and they enthusiastically copied it over and over so that it became famous all over Spain, and they encouraged the author to publish it in print. He, however, stuck to his decision. Despite this, the text got Valdés into trouble. As he recounted to Erasmus later, another secretary of the imperial chancellery, Jean Lalemand, had taken a dislike

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<sup>126</sup> Letter No. 36: *Tu, si me amas, eas lege, relege, corrige atque e barbaris Latinas facito. Absque tuo calculo minime prodituras.*

<sup>127</sup> Cf. p. 34, 41-42.

<sup>128</sup> Letter No. 42: *mitto rationem rerum in hac urbe gestarum cum Lutheranis, quam precor, ut una cum domino Cornelio, si adfuerit, legas et quicquid delendum, immutandum addendumve iudicabis, deleas, immutes et addas. Scis, quam parum meo, et quam multum tuo iudicio tribuam, neque immerito.*

<sup>129</sup> Cf. p. 33-34, 37-38.

to him and, based on the content of the dialogue, accused him of heresy and Lutheranism before Nuncio Baldassare Castiglione.<sup>130</sup> The famous exchange of letters on the matter between Valdés and the Nuncio took place in August 1528.<sup>131</sup> This is when the first mention of *Lactancio* in Valdés' correspondence with Dantiscus should be dated; this is when Alfonso writes that he wants to see Dantiscus to tell him about the papists' attack on his Roman dialogue.<sup>132</sup> As a close friend of Valdés', Dantiscus must have been familiar with the dialogue before that, and actually such a laconic piece of information would otherwise have been incomprehensible to him.

His correspondence with Dantiscus shows that Valdés ultimately came round to the idea of publishing his dialogues (*Lactancio* and then *Mercurio y Caron* two years later) in print. Perhaps he thought that since he had managed to clear himself of the charge of heresy in the Emperor's eyes, he also stood a chance of getting printing permission from the Grand Inquisitor (after all, at this time the Grand Inquisitor was Alfonso Manrique, an ardent Erasmianist). Such permission, attached to the printed work, would silence any potential future accusers.

A regular exchange of letters between the friends concerning a text that can, with high probability, be identified with the dialogue *Mercurio y Caron*, took place in early 1529, when the court was in Toledo whereas Dantiscus was bidding his lover Isabel Delgada and his children Juana and Juan farewell in Valladolid, awaiting documents enabling him to return home. On January 16, 1529 Valdés informs Dantiscus that "what I have written myself [about the Frenchmen]" (most likely a reference to the dialogue *Mercurio y Caron*) is not quite ready, and besides, at the Emperor's command he gave him the text for review, but the ruler has not yet expressed an opinion. Valdés is not putting on any pressure because he is afraid of triggering an atmosphere of hatred again. He expresses the hope, however, that he will send Dantiscus the text before the diplomat leaves for his country.<sup>133</sup>

Replying to this letter two weeks later, Dantiscus insists that he get the dialogue and expresses his surprise as to why the Emperor would read it, especially since he would need a translator to do so. He also informs Valdés of the rumors

<sup>130</sup> Cf. ALLEN 8, No. 2163, p. 171-173.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. p. 37-38, footnotes 85, 86.

<sup>132</sup> Letter No. 18: *Si per otium liceret, venirem ad te, habeo enim papistarum tragoediam in meum dialogum Romanensem, sed non licet.*

<sup>133</sup> Letter No. 28 (1529-01-16): *Quod de Gallis excussum est, en tibi mitto. Quod vero ego scripsi, neque excussum neque typographo adhuc commissum est, voluit enim caesar rem videre neque adhuc, quid sibi decretum sit, aperuit. Ego autem sileo, nihil hinc praeter invidiam venaturus. Meus dialogus dormit neque in lucem prodire audet, neque supremam illi manum imposui. Habebis eum fortassis, antequam discedas.*

circulating in Valladolid that the dialogue was written by the admiral of Castile (Fadrique Enríquez de Velasco). This information enables us to conclude that Valdés' new dialogue was the subject of a wide discussion even before the author finished working on it. Dantiscus also asks him to be sure to send him his Latin text about the duel [to which the Emperor was challenging the King of France]. Perhaps he was referring to a Latin version of *Mercurio y Caron*, but such a text is not known to us today.<sup>134</sup>

In his reply dated February 14, 1529 Valdés regrets that just now, for lack of a scribe, he does not have a copy of the dialogues *Lactancio* (*dialogus de capta urbe*) and – probably – *Mercurio y Caron* (described as *ratio singularis certaminis*) that he can send Dantiscus. At the same time, he says that the prospect of publishing the dialogues has become a distant one, and expresses the hope that Dantiscus will manage to look through them after returning to the imperial court.<sup>135</sup> (The Polish Ambassador rejoined the court in late April 1529 because, after the decision was made that the Emperor would travel to Italy, he was called to attend Charles V's coronation ceremony.) We can guess that putting off the publication of the dialogues (Notabene, Valdés clearly mentions both dialogues in the context of printing) was linked to the improved relations between the Emperor and the Pope on the eve of the peace treaty of Barcelona (1529-06-10) and Charles V's planned journey to Italy. Having the dialogues published at this time would have meant inflaming the situation, undermining the current direction of the Emperor's policy.

It is evident from this letter that Valdés did not hesitate to ask his friend for an opinion about his Spanish texts, and that he wanted to have that opinion before he published the dialogues. This time, most likely, it was not style that was up for consultation but the substance and possibly the arrangement of the content.

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<sup>134</sup> Letter No. 29 (1529-02-02): *Dialogum tuum mihi velim mitti. Hic rumor est almirantum, ut vocant, eius esse auctorem. Illa etiam, quae Latine de hoc certamine seu monomachia iam paene oblitterata conscripsisti, ob veritatem historiae et actum illum ultimum cum fetiali caesaris in Gallia habitum mihi da cumprimis. Non possum satis mirari, cur typis non excudantur; cum vernacula vestra adeo omnia ad longum sunt expressa, neque scio, cur caesar haec videre debeat aut possit, nisi vestro Osmensi interprete, scilicet hoc superis labor est.*

<sup>135</sup> Letter No. 31: *Gravissimus mei Ioannis morbus effecit, ut neque dialogum de capta urbe neque rationem singularis certaminis ad te mittere possim, nam alium amanuensem suis duellis occupavit cancellarius. Dolet me, quod tuum iudicium ea in re habere nequeo, sed nihil fortassis horum exhibet, quousque iterum venias ad nos. Vides, quam aequissimus fuerit Optimus Deus, mei dialogi vindex, qui Lalemantum in carcerem trusit et nuntium pontificis repentina morte rapuit, ut ne rebus quidem suis disponere quiverit. Haec sunt Dei iudicia, sic solent poenas dare, qui peccantes in Spiritum Sanctum contradicunt veritati.*

Dantiscus did ultimately receive a copy of *Lactancio*, but we do not know when this happened, nor if it was a manuscript copy or a printed version (if such a version existed at the time<sup>136</sup>). The booklet he received had an elegant binding, which gave Valdés the opportunity, in the letter accompanying the package, to compare the form with the content and to rhetorically belittle the value of the text, which he describes, quoting Horace, as “a ridiculous mouse.” The letter testifies to the sophistication and degree of perversity in Valdés’ thinking; while belittling the text, he compares the gilded binding to Silenus – usually a symbol of valuable content in a mean cover.<sup>137</sup>

## 4.6. Dantiscus’ texts

### 4.6.1. Epigrams and other poems

In six of the 66 surviving letters, Valdés thanked Dantiscus for the poem he had sent. These were most often epigrams. He valued them like the most magnificent gifts (*magnifica munera*) and each time tried to use different words to express his delight and gratitude. Unfortunately all of the poems have been lost, except one whose copy survives in the case files of Jean Lalemand.<sup>138</sup> It was a fictitious epicedium and epitaph for Lalemand, Valdés’ adversary, attached to letter No. 29 (of 1529-02-01).<sup>139</sup> At least two more epigrams, both lost, were related to his person. Valdés asked Dantiscus to write one of them after his enemy was arrested, on December 14 or 15, 1528 (letter No. 24). This is most likely the epigram for which he thanks his friend in letter No. 28, at the same time suggesting he might write the aforementioned epitaph. A few months later, Lalemand returns as a topic (Notabene: his trial, which ended in his acquittal on the most serious charges, dragged on for another two years<sup>140</sup>) in another witty epigram in which Dantiscus transforms Valdés into the man he hates (*vix (ita me Deus amet) a risu temperare potui, ubi vidi me ex Valdesio Lalemantum effectum*, letter No. 35).

<sup>136</sup> Cf. p. 38.

<sup>137</sup> Letter No. 34 (ca. 1529-04-20): *Memor te mihi praecepisse, ut Lactantium meum de capta ac direpta Roma castigatum ad te mitterem meque facturum recepisse, ut fidem meam absolvam, libellum ad te mitto. Agnosces vere hypocritam, exterius enim non nisi deaurata omnia inspicias, ut magnum aliquid tibi pollicearis, quod si Silenum excusseris, nascetur ridiculus mus. Tu tamen, qui mea omnia amico animo et legis et accipis, audaciam meam boni consules.*

<sup>138</sup> OS HHSA, pressmark LA Belgian, PA 21-4.

<sup>139</sup> The text of the poem is found on p. 203-205.

<sup>140</sup> ESCUDERO, vol. III, Apéndice IV, No. 84, p. 787-791, “Sentencia del proceso seguido contra el secretario de estado Juan Aleman”, dated 1527-01-27.

The piece “On Our Cato” (*de Catone nostro*), about imperial counselor Louis of Flanders, Lord of Praet who went by this nickname among the friends, was written a little earlier, probably in the second half of 1528. Valdés’ reaction to this apparently malicious little poem is found in letter No. 26.

Shortly after leaving the court in Toledo (1528-12-17) for Valladolid, Dantiscus sent Valdés a letter in which he apologized to his friend who had felt offended at his leaving without saying goodbye. In his reply (letter No. 27, 1528-12-25) Valdés said he let himself be mollified only because an epigram had come with the letter. Unfortunately the content of this piece, like the poems mentioned in letters No. 3 and 25, is not known. One of them, mentioned in letter No. 3 which has been dated at the turn of September and October 1526, is not an epigram but a hymn. Compared to other poems Valdés received from Dantiscus, it is also special in the measures taken to conceal that it was the work of Dantiscus. Valdés declares he will burn the manuscript after copying it himself first. Perhaps the reason for this caution was that the poem’s content in some way put the writer in danger from the Inquisition or someone influential at the court. On the other hand, would Valdés have made his own handwritten copy that could put him in a compromising position? The letter’s probable date suggests another hypothesis: the poem may have been written for the propaganda campaign that Gattinara and Valdés were preparing, its finale being the publication of *Pro divo Carolo*.<sup>141</sup> Dantiscus would certainly have been in huge trouble if the Polish court had heard that he, an envoy of the Kingdom of Poland, had been involved in writing strongly anti-papal and anti-French propaganda texts as to which even the Emperor himself, in an attempt to ease the tension, pretended before Nuncio Castiglione that he had been coerced into publishing them by his advisors.<sup>142</sup> If this poem had indeed been commissioned by the imperial chancellery – something we have no way of proving – it was not used in the publication, because none of the three poems in *Pro divo Carolo* can be described as a hymn.

A third hypothesis emerges. The hymn Valdés liked so much, which gave him a little relaxation and entertainment in the midst of his labors, could in reality have been not a serious hymn of praise but a parody, perhaps an excerpt from a work of whose form we know very little but which is mentioned many times in the two friends’ correspondence: the mysterious *Pasquillus*.

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<sup>141</sup> Cf. p. 30, items No. 2.4, 2.7, 2.8; cf. p. 32, item No. 5.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. HEADLEY 1983, p. 88.

#### 4.6.2. *Pasquillus*

*Pasquillus* is the Latin name of the Italian *il Pasquino* – a Hellenic statue from the 3rd century B.C. This very weatherworn statue stands in Rome to this day in a square of the same name, not far from the Piazza Navona. From the early 16th century, people have placed anonymous satirical poems on its socle, later also pieces of prose, but always containing malicious and even derisive criticism. The criticism most often concerned the injustice and abuse committed by those governing the Eternal City, i.e. the popes, cardinals and other curia officials, and after the fall of the Papal State (1870) – also lay authorities. The name *Pasquino* gave rise to the term “pasquil” (lampoon) for the literary genre. At first these pieces were hung on the statue’s base just once a year, on St. Mark’s day. They were usually copied immediately and spread quite far and wide, and from 1509 regularly released in print in successive volumes entitled *Carmina ad Pasquillum* — — *posita* ..., *Carmina apposita Pasquino* ..., or similarly.<sup>143</sup>

The *Pasquillus* mentioned in Valdés’ correspondence with Dantiscus is unquestionably a text written by Dantiscus. We can deduce this from Valdés’ letter in which he demands that Dantiscus send him *Pasquillus* and other texts of his (*Exspecto avidissime a te Pasquillum et alia, quae scribis*, letter No. 28). We also know that on the matter of *Pasquillus*, Valdés felt an obligation to remain discreet. When he made a copy for himself, he promised Dantiscus he would do it in such a way as not to harm Dantiscus’ honor or his own (*ea lege describam, ut nec mihi nec tibi noceat, sum enim eius animi, ut non minus mihi cara sit tua, quam mea existimatio*, letter No. 68). Thus, it was a text that could have ruined the reputation of both its author and its owner. Two stories we know of that Dantiscus planned to recount in *Pasquillus* as he was waiting idly in Valladolid for his travel letters, concerned the immoral conduct of clergymen. One was the story of a pregnant hermaphrodite monk, who was also rumored to be the canon of the cathedral chapter in Seville, and the other concerned the love affair between the Emperor’s confessor, former general of the Dominican Order and Bishop of Osma, later cardinal and grand inquisitor, García de Loaysa y Mendoza, and a certain Maria de la Torre. The woman, who lived close to the Dominican monastery, had the reputation of a saint but after her death it was found that she had had two sons with Loaysa.<sup>144</sup>

Dantiscus’ *Pasquillus* seems to have been a text he regularly expanded – maybe a poem, a dialogue, or a collection of epigrams and/or tales composed of

<sup>143</sup> Cf. DICKINSON, chapter: „Pasquino and Pasquinades”, p. 155-164 and bibliography p. 230-231 where printed Pasquinades from the years 1509-1553 are listed.

<sup>144</sup> See letter No. 29.

a variety of juicy stories. This kind of literature was quite popular at the time, to mention the poems of later Polish Primate, Andrzej Krzycki, or the works of the famous Pietro Aretino whose biting irony was feared by popes, kings and princes, and who turned this fear into a way of living in luxury by accepting big sums for not writing his lampoons.<sup>145</sup> Dantiscus even seems to have planned to publish his *Pasquillus* in print. In any case, replying to Valdés' aforementioned request, he writes that "now that he has to leave Spain, Valdés will receive *Pasquillus* and other [texts], of which there are a great many," adding that "they are not yet ready for printing".<sup>146</sup> It appears that the collection was circulated earlier in numerous handwritten copies, and that Valdés contributed actively to disseminating it. For example, Valdés received a request for "some Pasquino pieces" (*algunas obras de Pasquino*) as a cure for wintertime boredom from the imperial counselor Bishop of Jaén Esteban Gabriel Merino.<sup>147</sup>

In letter No. 4 Valdés complains jokingly to Dantiscus that because of his *Pasquillus*, he is getting flooded with letters, as if he had *Pasquillus* at his own place. He sends Dantiscus a letter about *Pasquillus* that he received from Álvaro Gómez de Ciudad Real and demands that Dantiscus reply on his behalf. If he does not, he threatens to send him all the letters he is receiving on the matter. Unfortunately we do not know what Álvaro Gómez's letter was about. From Valdés' joking tone we can only surmise that it was amusing and of some interest to Dantiscus, but on the other hand – a little awkward to reply to.

*Pasquillus* was probably a booklet or notebook in which Dantiscus jotted down successive stories which he then sent to Valdés to read and copy. That it was a single collection and not a new piece each time, called *Pasquillus* in the sense of a "derisive epigram," as Alfonso's biographers Donald and Lazaro believe,<sup>148</sup> is proved by various passages in letters from Dantiscus' friends; e.g. in letter No. 5 Valdés asks that "*Pasquillus* return to him if it has served its purpose with Dantiscus" (*Si Pasquillus apud te officio functus est, fac, ad nos redeat*). The purpose must have been to add a new story to the text.

<sup>145</sup> KRZYCKI 1888; WOJTOWICZ; LARIVAILLE, chapter: „Il primo soggiorno Romano e la scoperta di Pasquino”, p. 39-78, 390-401.

<sup>146</sup> Letter No. 29: *Pasquillum et alia, cum Hispania mihi relinquenda est, accipies, sunt enim adhuc in massa, nondum satis includere experta.*,

<sup>147</sup> Esteban Gabriel Merino to Alfonso de Valdés, Jaén, 1527-11-25, cf. CABALLERO 1875, Appendix, No. 23, p. 350.

<sup>148</sup> DONALD 1983, p. 168.

### 4.6.3. Account of the Battle of Obertyn (1531-08-22)

On August 22, 1531 at the village of Obertyn, Great Crown Hetman Jan Amor Tarnowski leading the Polish army of just under 6,000 men assisted by 12 cannon completely crushed the several times greater Wallachian (scil. Moldovan) troops numbering 17,000 horsemen and 50 cannon under the command of Wallachian Hopsodar Petru Raresh. The Battle of Obertyn ended the conflict with Moldova over Pokutia, a historical region in the valley of the River Prut (today in Ukraine), with Poland emerging as the victor.<sup>149</sup> Dantiscus presented an account of the battle, based on a few reports received from Poland, in a seven-page occasional print called *Victoria Serenissimi Poloniae Regis contra Vayeuodam Muldauiae Turcae tributarium et subditum 22 Augusti parta 1531*, published in Leuven on October 21, 1531.<sup>150</sup> Within a few weeks, translations into Netherlandic<sup>151</sup> and French<sup>152</sup> were published as well.

In a letter dated September 24, 1531 from Antwerp dedicating the Latin print of *Victoria* to Charles V's counselor, the bishop of Spanish Jaén, Esteban Gabriel Merino, Dantiscus mentions a luncheon organized shortly before by Alfonso de Valdés. During this social gathering (apart from Dantiscus, Merino and their host, it was also attended by the imperial counselor and secretary Francisco de los Cobos and the young archdeacon of Toledo, Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla), Merino apparently questioned Dantiscus about the details of the recent Polish victory and asked for a written account enabling him to disseminate the news of such a great victory in Spain and other countries far from Poland, and to use it as a good example spurring the other Christian rulers on to fight against the pagans (*contra religionis nostrae hostes*).

In *Victoria Serenissimi Poloniae Regis* Dantiscus passed over the fact that the territory of Moldova was inhabited by Orthodox believers. Neither did he mention that the Polish military operations had been conducted after diplomatic arrangements had been made with Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. The agre-

<sup>149</sup> Cf. SPIERALSKI.

<sup>150</sup> Description of the battle was published in CIDTC, IDT 418, dedicatory letter to Esteban Gabriel Merino – in CIDTC, IDL 55.

<sup>151</sup> *Die wonderlicke ende triumphelicke victorie vanden alder doorluchtichsten coninc van Polen tegen grave Hans Weida van Muldauien*. Antwerp, Heyndrick Peetersen van Middelburch, 1531

<sup>152</sup> *La grand victoire du tresillustre Roy de Poloine contre Vayevode duc de Muldavia tributaire et subiect au grand Turc faicte le XXII iour d aoust lan mil cinq cens trete et ung translatee de latin en francois*, Paris, 1531-11-14; *La très grande et triumpante victoire du très excellent roy de Poloingne encontre le conte Hans Weyda subgeet et tributaire du grand Turq, faicte le vingt et deuxime iour d'Augst lan de nostre Seigneur mil cinq cens XXXI. Transletée de latin en franchois ainsi q'elle a esté escripte p. lettres à la court de Limpma à Bruceles et p. icelle court approbée et confirmée*, Antwerp, Henric Pieterssen, 1531-11-25.

ement was that the Polish army fighting for Pokutia would not cross the Moldovan border. On the other hand, he did not hesitate to use Moldova's (forced) feudal allegiance to Turkey to present this undoubtedly great Polish military success as an element of the Christian world's struggle against the pagans. This was visible in the work's title (in which the hospodar is prominently described as *Turcae tributarius et subditus*) as well as the aforementioned dedicatory letter; the faithlessness of Hospodar Raresh was emphasized many times in the text itself.

We need to realize that the publication of *Victoria* was a form of continuation of the diplomatic propaganda campaign that Dantiscus undertook during the imperial court's stay in Bologna (1529/1530), defending King Sigismund I's neutral policy toward the sultan. At the time, the Polish King was accused of being too conciliatory because, being bound by a truce, he did not send reinforcements to Vienna under Turkish siege (1529-09). The tool in the Polish envoy's campaign was the writing and publication in print of the occasional poem *De nostrorum temporum calamitatibus silva*.<sup>153</sup> Dantiscus sent the Bologna first edition of the poem, which was addressed to the Emperor and the Pope, to many leading figures,<sup>154</sup> and the poem was widely disseminated thanks to reprints published in that very same year 1530 in Cologne, Antwerp and Cracow.

The news of the victorious Battle of Obertyn reached the imperial court before the aforementioned social gathering at Valdés'. In letter No. 54 Alfonso, in a half-joking tone – a frequent occurrence for him – reproaches Dantiscus that he learned of such a splendid victory not from him, but from a third party. Congratulating his friend, he also asks God to allow the Poles and their King (whose wisdom and devotion to the Christian faith he emphasizes using the adjectives *sanctissimus* and *prudenterissimus*) to triumph over other enemies of Christianity as well (*Deumque precor, ut qui vobis de Valachis, idem de ceteris Christiani nominis hostibus sub sanctissimo et prudenterissimo rege triumphare concedat*). Perhaps it was these words from Valdés, equally to the curiosity of the Bishop of Jaén, that inspired Dantiscus the diplomat to publish *Victoria Serenissimi Poloniae Regis* and to lend a local war over a borderland the aura of a victorious crusade.

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<sup>153</sup> *Ioannis Dantisci Oratoris Serenissimi Regis, et Reginae Poloniae etc. Ad Clementem VII Pontificem Maximum et Carolum V Imperatorem Augustum De nostrorum temporum calamitatibus Sylva Bononiae aedita IX Decembris MDXXIX*, Bologna, 1530-01.

<sup>154</sup> See Dantiscus' letters to the King Sigismund I (cf. CIDTC, IDL 441), to Piotr Tomicki (cf. CIDTC, IDL 461, IDL 462), to Giovanni Giacomo Affatati (CIDTC, IDL 463), to Jan Lewicki (CIDTC, IDL 464) and letters to Dantiscus by Michał Sander (CIDTC, IDL 469), by Jerzy Myszkowski (CIDTC, IDL 473), by Lodovico Spinola (CIDTC, IDL 545), by Wenceslaus Bayer (CIDTC, IDL 619), and by Cornelis De Scheppper (CIDTC, IDL 492). The last one referred Erasmus of Rotterdam's opinion about the poem by Dantiscus: *Ex Erasmo suscepi litteras [not preserved – AS] per Levinum meum. Is se tibi plurimum commendat legitque Sylvam tuam pietatemque tuam laudat.*

#### 4.7. Texts by other authors

Books are a topic that appears many times in the friends' correspondence. Dantiscus was an enthusiastic bibliophile.<sup>155</sup> In different periods of his life he used several different bookplates and super-bookplates, which were imprinted on his books' covers.<sup>156</sup> Once he returned from his diplomatic travels and settled as a bishop in Royal Prussia, he planned to leave a memento in the form of a well stocked library.<sup>157</sup> He worked on this project systematically, buying new volumes and getting them bound. A large part of this collection ended up in the Jesuit College that Stanislaus Hosius later founded in Braunsberg (Braniewo).<sup>158</sup>

Alfonso de Valdés must have known very well of his friend's passion. We do not have much information about his own book collection, but there is no question that, despite his great workload at the imperial chancellery, he enjoyed reading. In letter No. 28 he mentions a history of Emperor Alexander Severus that he has read recently. In it he found the character of Turinus<sup>159</sup> who, being a traitor, reminded him of Jean Lalemand who had recently been arrested and accused of treason. He immediately reached for the history of Heliogabalus to look at the analogous example of Zoticus,<sup>160</sup> and also refers to *Adagia* in which (under the joint title *Fumos vendere*) Erasmus described both traitors.<sup>161</sup> We can surmise that like Dantiscus, who often made use of *Adagia* in his correspondence,<sup>162</sup> Valdés, too, had this invaluable guide to the ancient *loci communes* always on hand.

The friends borrowed books from each other and exchanged book gifts. Valdés was extremely pleased to receive the Psalter translated into Latin by the extremely talented Hebrew scholar from Leuven's *Colegium Trilinguae*, Jan van Campen.<sup>163</sup> Lorenzo Campeggio, Cardinal Protector of the German states and Papal Nuncio, and Jean Carondelet, a member of the Netherlands council of state

<sup>155</sup> BORAWSKA 2001; BORAWSKA 2002; MEJOR 1999; MEJOR 2001; SKOLIMOWSKA 2010.

<sup>156</sup> KIESZKOWSKI 1920; SIPAYŁŁO 1988, p. 44, tabl. 6; CHWALEWIK, p. 23-25; NOWAK; GOŁĄB, il. 3, 4; cf. also CEDI 2/1, p. 21, footnote 29.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Dantiscus to Cornelis De Schepper, Löbau (Lubawa), 1536-02-24, CIDTC, IDL 1421: *Contendo hic bibliothecam quandam post me suo tempore relinquere.*

<sup>158</sup> TRYPUĆKO.

<sup>159</sup> SHA, "Aelii Lampridii Alexander Severus", 35-36.

<sup>160</sup> SHA, "Aelii Lampridii Antoninus Heliogabalus", 10.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. *Adagia*, No. 241: *Fumos vendere*.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. SKOLIMOWSKA 2004; CEID 1/1, p. 78-85.

<sup>163</sup> *Psalmorum omnium iuxta Hebraicam veritatem paraphrastica interpretatio autore Ioanne Campensi, publico, cum nasceretur et absloveretur, Lovanii Hebraicarum literarum professore. R(everendissimo) D(omino) Ioanni Dantisco Episcopo Culmensi etc. dedicata*, Nuremberg, Ioannes Petreius, 1532-05-03; idem, Cracow, Florianus Ungler, 1532-11-18.

and Bishop of Palermo, both refused to support Campen's publication due to the scheming of Frans Titelmans who was hostile toward him. As a student of Leuven theologian Jacobus Latomus, a vehement opponent of Erasmus and his philological methods of working on biblical texts, Titelmans interpreted the Psalter in the spirit of medieval moral theology. Dantiscus, who had taken Campen under his wings, turned to the Nuncio on his behalf, requesting a printing privilege for the work, but received the reply that there were enough commentaries to the psalms already. Amazed at this argument, he asked the Nuncio to interpret a few passages from the Psalter. After being unable to do so, the Nuncio unwillingly agreed to the printing of 500 copies on the additional condition that a fee would be paid for the privilege. The Polish envoy thought this was ridiculous and himself organized and financed the printing of many thousand copies in Nuremberg, and also in Cracow a few months later.<sup>164</sup> Campen's paraphrase of the Psalter as well as his other biblical translations (Ecclesiastes, the Epistles of St. Paul the Apostle) were very highly valued by his contemporaries and were printed on many more occasions. No wonder that Valdés, who was nearby and certainly must have encouraged the Psalter's publication, said when he finally received his freshly printed copy that Dantiscus had sent him "the thing most precious to him of all things" (*misisti ad me rem omnium mihi gratissimam*).

As an unusual novelty item, Valdés sent Dantiscus a gift of a "booklet of prayers or hymns that are supposed to protect the Moors in battle" (*precaiones carminave, quibus Mauri sese in proelio tutos fore existimant*) together with the attached golden plaque (perhaps some kind of talisman) with an embossed Arabic inscription (letter No. 67). It is doubtful that this was a printed booklet, it was more likely a bound manuscript since it contained Muslim prayers and apotropaic incantations.

Together with the letter No. 61, Valdés is sending back the historical piece after having read it, describing it – enigmatically, unfortunately – as "your historical informer" (*historicus tuus Sycophanta*), and asks for a return of some book by Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. Alfonso plans to send this book to Erasmus. If the reconstruction of the dating of letter No. 61 at April 1532 is accurate,<sup>165</sup> this might have been *Antapologia pro Alberto Pio Comite Carpiensi in Erasmum Rotterdamum*, freshly published almost simultaneously in Rome (1532-03) and Paris (1532-03-22). Erasmus' letter to Sepúlveda of August 16, 1532<sup>166</sup> indicates that Erasmus had the Paris edition of *Antapologia* before the author sent him the

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Jakob Jespersen to Erasmus, November 19, 1531, ALLEN 9, No. 2570, p. 385-386; Letters of Campensis to Dantiscus, [1531-07], CIDTC, IDL 663, 1531-08-19, CIDTC, IDL 672, 1531-08-27, CIDTC, IDL 675.

<sup>165</sup> See p. 265 (the concepts of other researchers regarding identification of this piece are also included).

<sup>166</sup> ALLEN 10, No. 2701, p. 83.

Rome edition enclosed with the letter of April 1, 1532.<sup>167</sup> He may actually have received it from Valdés. No such doubts appear when identifying the “impudent little Franciscan book” (*impudens libellus Franciscanus*) that was also to be sent to the Dutch humanist. Valdés asked Dantiscus to give him a copy, because he did not have one on hand at the time and Erasmus’ messenger was about to depart, in letter No. 18. The book in question must have been *Apologia vitae monasticae diluens nugae Erasmi* by Franciscan friar Luis de Carvajal (Salamanca, 1528). Erasmus confirmed its receipt in his letter to Valdés dated March 21, 1529.<sup>168</sup>

We do not know if the *epistolae Erasmi* that Valdés sent Dantiscus with letter No. 58 were originals or manuscript copies of Erasmus’ letters, or even one of the many printed versions. Valdés used here the ambiguous verb *remitto*, which could mean “I send” or “I send back”). In this last case, Valdés would be returning a book borrowed from his friend. However, because besides Erasmus’ letters he also enclosed some of his own letters and some of the archdeacon’s (probably Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla), encouraging Dantiscus to read them, maybe he was simply sending his friend, “for his information,” his own and Mendoza’s correspondence with Erasmus of Rotterdam.

Analyzing the correspondence between Valdés and Dantiscus, we always have to remember that direct contacts dominated in their friendship. The letters only record splinters of reality on whose basis we can only guess at the big picture of their shared reading and literary interests.

#### 4.8. Valdés’ unexpected death. The epitaph

When Dantiscus was leaving Regensburg in July 1532 to finally settle down in the Kulm bishopric he had been granted two years before, he absolutely did not expect to be mourning his friend’s death a few months later. He left him in good health and with prospects for further intensive contacts. Alfonso de Valdés was extremely well informed about Queen Bona’s Italian legacy, therefore the Polish court was counting on the future usefulness of the “secretary for Latin letters” whose support had previously been mentioned many times in Dantiscus’ diplomatic reports.

The sad news reached Dantiscus’ bishop’s court in Löbau on November 15, 1532. Crown Vice-Chancellor Jan Chojeński reported that Valdés had died of the plague and was buried in Vienna. At the same time, he hoped the deceased man’s position would go to Cornelis [De Schepper]<sup>169</sup>. Dantiscus had already been

<sup>167</sup> ALLEN 10, No. 2637, p. 3-5.

<sup>168</sup> ALLEN 8, No. 2126, p. 90.

<sup>169</sup> Jan Chojeński to Ioannes Dantiscus, Cracow, 1532-11-08, received Löbau, 1532-11-15, CIDTC, IDL 3547: *Valdesius peste absumptus est et Viennae sepultus. Spero, quod noster Cornelius succedet illi.*

informed earlier of his friend's illness, but in his letter to the Queen dated November 13 he still guaranteed that if only Valdés got well, he would certainly do everything in his power to further her cause.<sup>170</sup> In her letter of October 23, 1532 the Queen had told Dantiscus about Valdés' serious condition and the doctors' poor prognosis.<sup>171</sup> By this time the "secretary for Latin letters" had been dead for over a fortnight. Bona's information came from Fabian Damerau-Wojanowski, a young Prussian nobleman, Dantiscus' former associate and then his successor in the post of ambassador to the court of Charles V. Wojanowski had left Vienna for Cracow when Valdés was still battling against the disease. In a letter dated October 25 (most likely dispatched by the same post as the Queen's letter of two days before), he informed the Bishop of Kulm that when he was leaving, Valdés had started getting delirious and his inguinal bubo had not swollen up but had been absorbed into the body. Thus, the prognosis was very poor indeed.<sup>172</sup>

Soon, messages with the sad news began coming in from friends and acquaintances. Most probably the first person to write to Dantiscus, on the day of the funeral, was Juan de Comalonga.<sup>173</sup> He was a colleague of Valdés' from the imperial chancellery – the secretary for Catalanian matters. On October 5, the day before Valdés died, he wrote down Valdés' last will and testament as a witness and also a notary public. The dying man also made him one of the four executors of his will.<sup>174</sup> Two weeks later, the Italian humanist and tutor of the young Hohenzollerns, Mariangelo Accursio, lamented in a letter to Dantiscus written in Augsburg

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<sup>170</sup> Ioannes Dantiscus to Bona Sforza, Löbau, 1532-11-13, CIDTC, IDL 853: *Magno fuit rebus Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae impedimento aegritudo domini Valdesii, qui utinam vivat et convaleat, non futurus est a votis Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae, quantum in illius facultate fuerit, alienus et, ut spero, non fallar.*

<sup>171</sup> Bona Sforza to Ioannes Dantiscus, Cracow, 1532-10-23, received Löbau, CIDTC, IDL 844, 1532-11-02: *Valdesius gravi aegritudine correptus est adeo, ut medici dubitarent de salute eius, quem sic languentem Fabianus reliquit; nescimus, quid hactenus agatur cum illo.*

<sup>172</sup> Fabian Damerau-Wojanowski to Ioannes Dantiscus, Cracow, 1532-10-25, CIDTC, IDL 845: *Non memini, si tunc dominus Valdesius coeperat male habere, sed cum illinc abirem, reliqui eum quodammodo in desperatis, uti saepius ex illius servis intellexi. Dicebant enim eum incepisse delirare et hoc non parum timoris seu potius desperationis nobis incussit, quod ulcus pestilentialis in inguine non exiit, sed rediit in corpus. Deo Optimo Maximo eum commisi nec adhuc scio, quomodo habeat, ordinavi enim Viennae, ut mihi scribatur de exitu casus ipsius.*

<sup>173</sup> Comalonga's letter (CIDTC, IDL 6636) has not survived, but it is mentioned in his subsequent letter to Dantiscus dispatched from Toledo, 1534-04-02, CIDTC, IDL 1140: *Doleo vehementer, Reverendissime Domine, quod litterae meae, quas ex Vienna, dum eam calamitosam, seu verius nos calamitosi, egredere-mur, ad Dominationem Tuam scripsi non absque maximo animi mei dolore, qui eo mane Valdesium nostrum, amicorum optimum, humi iacentem relinqueram, ad te alatae non fuerint.*

<sup>174</sup> VALDÉS 1996, No. 107, p. 273-276.

that the cause of Valdés' death – the plague – had prevented him from visiting the ill man and then taking part in the funeral, bidding the deceased farewell with a kiss and even engraving his name on the tombstone.<sup>175</sup>

Cornelis De Schepper, on the other hand, had not hesitated to visit the ill Valdés and probably took part in the funeral as well, because when Charles V left Vienna a day before his secretary's death, he ordered De Schepper to stay behind and take care of provisions for the troops stationed there. Cornelis mentioned this to Dantiscus in his letter of November 30, 1532. He also informed him that the Emperor had not appointed him to the deceased man's position but, claiming he no longer needed a special secretary for Latin letters, he entrusted the Neapolitan affairs to a protégé of Francisco de los Cobos, Idiaquez. Disappointed, De Schepper did not conceal his contempt for Idiaquez's meager skills and poor education (*neque litteras neque natate versatus*).<sup>176</sup> In his next letter, dated January 13, 1533, he mentioned the deceased Valdés' chests that had been sent to Italy with the imperial court, whereas he had stayed behind in Innsbruck upon the Emperor's command, which meant his hands were tied as far as furthering Queen Bona's cause was concerned.<sup>177</sup> He sent the same news to the Queen, as we learn from her letter to Dantiscus dated December 26, 1532.<sup>178</sup> Both the Polish Queen and Dantiscus were disappointed that

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<sup>175</sup> Mariangelo Accursio to Ioannes Dantiscus, Augsburg, 1532-10-20, CIDTC, IDL 842: *Neque tanti (ut opinor) fuerat Pannonia et quicquid vel tueri tandem vel parari bello potuisset, ut Valdesium amitteremus. Vixit enim tuus ille meusque Valdesius et quod est lachrymabilius, cum lue interiret, videre laborantem affari consolari non licuit. Tum atqui nec funus sequi, nec iacenti dare oscula, nec corpus condere, nec signare saxum nomine locus fuit. Vides denique, quod parum fortunatum praedicabam, non annum esse tantum, sed aetatem.*

<sup>176</sup> Cornelis De Schepper & Nikolaus Nibschitz to Ioannes Dantiscus, Innsbruck, 1532-11-30, CIDTC, IDL 859: *Interim decessit ad caelos noster Valdesius a me visitatus in media peste. — Interim egi apud caesarem [... et]si videretur maiestati ipsius dignus Cornelius, qui succederet in locum secretarii Latini pro Valdesio, permissa interim cura Neapolitanarum rerum cuidam Dia-cques homini, qui neque litteras neque natate versatus, vero est apud Cobos fuitque apud eum loco praefecti domus ipsius. Respondit se non velle amplius habere secretarium Latinum. Ita tuus ille Cornelius destitutus est opinione et credulitate, missus vero per postas et tempore malo, sed cui iam assuevit, sine spe et successu; Cornelis De Schepper to Ioannes Dantiscus, Vienna, 1533-03-18, CIDTC, IDL 916: *Curia nostra est ut prius. Locum Valdesii habet Hispanus quidam famulus domini commendatoris Cobos, qui neque litteras neque natate.**

<sup>177</sup> Cornelis De Schepper to Ioannes Dantiscus, Innsbruck, 1533-01-15, CIDTC, IDL 882: *Propter obitum autem Valdesii nostri, quod scrinia ipsius cum fortunis caesaris adverso Danubio a Vienna missa sunt Patavium, deinde contra Oeni fluctus Oenipontem et sic in Italiam, quodque peste bonus ille vir diem clausit, ut molles sunt nostrae manus quodque denique nulla Mantuae quies fuit, sed Bononiam est properandum, nihildum factum est.*

<sup>178</sup> Bona Sforza do Ioannes Dantiscus, Cracow, 1532-12-26, CIDTC, IDL 869: *Mors magnifici Alphonsi Valdesii et nobis quidem molesta est, sed cum rerum humanarum is exitus sit, aequiore animo ferre necesse est. Scribit nobis magnificus Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus ex Oeniponte in*

matters had taken such a turn.<sup>179</sup> We learn of Dantiscus' first reaction to the somber news from his letter to Bona of December 3, 1532.<sup>180</sup>

Nothing can describe how greatly sad the death of the magnificent master Valdés has made me, both due to the closest spiritual union between us and because in his person I had left a good and faithful servant of Your Royal Majesty at the imperial court. Such is the way of every corporeal being.

I had already prepared some long letters to him and to other people at the court, and wanted to send them via my own messenger, but shocked at my friend's death I have abandoned the letters and halted the messenger until Your Royal Majesty instructs me, in the face of this change caused by death, what and to whom she wishes me to write.

After losing this friend, though I still have quite a few other friends there, my heart has left that court completely.

*Quanto maerore me affecerit mors magnifici domini Valdesii, cum ob eam animorum arctissimam inter nos coniunctionem, tum etiam, quod illum bonum et fidelem servitorem rerum Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae in aula caesaris reliqueram, scribi a me nequit. Haec est via carnis omnibus.*

*Confeceram iam longas ad illum et ad alios apud caesarem litteras voluique illas per proprium mittere nuntium, sed morte amici consternatus et litteras proieci et nuntium non misi, quousque Serenissima Maiestas Vestra me edoceat, cum ista per mortem facta est mutatio, quid et quibus per me vult scribi.*

*Eo amico amisso, licet alios adhuc non paucos ibi habeam, animus meus ab illa curia decedit.*

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*vigilia divi Andreae scrinia Valdesii nec dum perlata esse Mantuam, ubi tum caesar fuit, sicque negotiorum nostrorum, quae per Fabianum scripseramus, nihil hactenus agi coeptum esse et vix credimus aliud futurum. Nam fortunam nostram illic satis iam expertae sumus. — In locum Valdesii nemo est successurus, nam penes Cobos et illius familiarem domesticum nomine Draquos(!) tota est summa rerum Neapolitanarum, quae expedientur lingua Hispanica et caesar decrevit amplius non habere secretarium Latinum. Sic tota vis rerum gerendarum apud Hispanos erit et nos desiderabamus, ut Cornelius noster in locum Valdesii successisset.*

<sup>179</sup> Ioannes Dantiscus to Bona Sforza, Löbau, 1533-02-22, CIDTC, IDL 898: *Accepi superiori die Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae gratiae in me plenas litteras, quibus mihi post mortem Valdesii mei statum caesareae maiestatis curiae descripsit. Accidit hoc, quod rebar futurum, dominum commendatorem maiorem Covos officia regni Neapolitani ad se recepturum, ipse etiam marchionem de Villafranca fecit viceregem. Non frustra igitur consului, quod Serenissima Maiestas Vestra, modis quibus posset, amicitiam illius ambiret, cum caesar nihil ei non tribuat et credat. De domino Cornelio metuebam id, quod evenit, nullum scilicet officium post Valdesium illi successurum et hoc propter dominum Covos, qui suis Hispanis plus aequè affectus est, affectus etiam non male tum, cum apud illos agerem, rebus Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae, quibus ut omnia felicissime evenirent, summopere desidero.*

<sup>180</sup> Ioannes Dantiscus to Bona Sforza, Löbau, 1532-12-03, CIDTC, IDL 861.

Dantiscus honored his friend's memory by writing a two-part epitaph. Then he asked that it be painted on the wooden plaque<sup>181</sup> and placed over the tomb in one of the chapels of St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna.<sup>182</sup> We can surmise that true to the practice of composing pictorial epitaphs, the inscription was accompanied by a portrayal of the deceased in a position of devotion, e.g. adoring the crucified Christ or the Holy Virgin Mary Enthroned. This is the text of the epitaph:

*Valdesius iacet hic Alphonsus nobile sidus  
Hispanum a patria tam regione procul.  
Carolus huic<sup>183</sup> quintus caesar credebat in aula  
Consilii arcanas resque schedasque sui.  
Carior huic quamvis esset tamen aequi et honesti  
Officiiue fuit tempus ad omne memor.  
Artibus ornatusque bonis Virtutis ad arcem  
Iam prope non segni coeperat ire gradu.  
At pestis iuvenem rapuit cum caesar ab ista  
In turpem Turcas compulit urbe fugam.  
Seriuss ignavos quam claris usibus aptos  
Nullius expensa mors ratione vocat.*

*Ad Valdesium*

*Hoc tibi Dantiscus praesul Culmensis ab oris  
Prutenis<sup>184</sup> misit pignus amicitiae  
Manibus hicque tuis requiem sine fine precatur  
Ex vero tibi quo iunctus amore fuit  
Ille ut in Hesperiiis tecum succrevit utrisque  
Sic et inextinctus post tua fata manet.*

<sup>181</sup> Georg Hegel to Ioannes Dantiscus, Cracow, 1536-08-13, CIDTC, IDL 4299: *Item was aber das ander belangt Alphonsi Valdesii, das hab ich empfangen vnd dieweyl es rein geschriben ist vnd zu gericht, hab ich hie ain tischler ain reyne tafel machen laussen mit hibschen leysten vnd capital, auch laus ich das selb gefesz mit hibschen farben anstreychen, dan mich bericht her Carel, das der selb Alphonsus zu Wien ligt in sant Steffans kirchen in ainer hipschen capellen. Dohin will ich es auch vorordnen, das mit fleys angemacht werdnn.*

<sup>182</sup> The text of the epitaph survives in a book of copies that is part of the Starhemberg family archive in Linz: OOLA, family-archive Starhemberg, ms.131, fol. 154v. Cf. also: SKOLIMOWSKA 2006.

<sup>183</sup> *huic*] ms copy (see footnote 182) erroneously: *hunc*

<sup>184</sup> *ab oris / Prutenis* or perhaps *de Curiis / Prutenus*] ms copy (see footnote 182): *ab Coris / Prutenus*; the lection of the copy seems wrong. The photocopy of the manuscript available to the author does not include the page margin that has been sewn deep into the spine, which is where this fragment is found, so this reading is based exclusively on the reading of the editors of *Die Inschriften der Dom- und Metropolitankirche St. Stephan in Wien* (DI WR 9/1).

The first part of the poem records Valdés' Spanish origins, his noble birth and his professional status – the Emperor's secretary and trusted advisor. His virtues are highlighted: honesty and righteousness in fulfilling his duties regardless of the ruler's steadily growing favor, his excellent education and his persistent striving for the "peak of Virtue" (*Virtutis ad arcem*). Next, the cause of his death is mentioned – the plague – and the circumstances surrounding it, the Emperor defeating the Turks appearing in the background; the deceased man's young age is also emphasized. Concluding the first part of the epigram, the author notes that death, with no thought for reason, is less hasty about taking away evil men than those who are virtuous.

The poem's second part is more personal and serves as a subscription of the donor of the plaque on which the whole piece was painted. Here, Dantiscus addresses the deceased directly. He assures him he is praying for his soul, but places the final and strongest emphasis on his love for his friend, which will always remain in his heart. At the same time, he provides the facts about himself, his office as the bishop of Kulm, his residence in Prussia, and locates the beginning of his friendship with Valdés in Spain.

We do not know when this pledge of a friend's love (*pignus amoris*) – as the author describes it – was actually written. The matter of having it placed in the Viennese cathedral does not appear in Dantiscus' correspondence until four years after Valdés' death.<sup>185</sup> In a letter dated March 16, 1537 Dantiscus, freshly appointed bishop of Ermland, asks Johan Weze, who remained in the service of Charles V, to check if the epitaph has been put in place.<sup>186</sup> It seems that Weze, who had also been friends with Valdés, did not get the opportunity to fulfill this request. Dantiscus repeated it six months later, at the same time complaining about the new custom of charging high fees for "decorating churches with commemorative plaques."<sup>187</sup> Later the same was requested of Dantiscus' nephew, Kaspar Hannau. In May 1539, he stopped in Vienna on his way to Rome and sent his uncle a report from which we also learn the details of the Imperial Secretary's burial:<sup>188</sup>

<sup>185</sup> See footnote No. 181.

<sup>186</sup> Ioannes Dantiscus to Johan Weze, Löbau, 1537-03-16, CIDTC, IDL 1601: *Miseram carissimo olim communi amico nostro Alphonso Valdesio epitaphium supra eius sepulcrum Viennam, quod si est appensum seu affixum nec ne, ut mihi significet, rogo.*

<sup>187</sup> Ioannes Dantiscus to Johan Weze, Löbau, 1537-09-28, CIDTC, IDL 1729: *Velim et Valdesii epitaphium esse appensum, quandoquidem pro loco in ecclesia dati sunt ecclesiae praefectis (inauditum prius et detestandum) quinque vel septem, si recte memini, floreni Renenses. Si tantum accipitur ab iis, qui ornant, quid ab iis, qui cadaveribus foedant ecclesiam? Recens, inquam, et novum est prodigiosum, quod et tabellae parietes decorantes sine pretio non admittantur.*

<sup>188</sup> Kaspar Hannau to Ioannes Dantiscus, Vienna, 1539-05-27, CIDTC, IDL 2156.

... as for Valdés' epitaph, I saw it already hanging in one of the chapels (as they call them) in St. Stephen's Church. From the Fuggers' factor I learned not without amazement that its hanging cost 4 florins and 23 cents. And the truth is, after all, that it was hung without any special effort, and not even with the help of any particularly elegant or valuable nails. — — As I also heard from certain people, Valdés' body in some kind of box or sarcophagus was initially hanged [on the wall] in the same chapel, but it was improperly set up and they forgot to tar [the wood]. That is why, when the priests smelled the heavy and unbearable stench it gave off, I do not know with whose permission, but it was buried under the floor in the same chapel. That is all about the epitaph.

*... de Valdesii epitaphio, quod iam ipse affixum in quadam (ut vocant) capella, in divi Stephani aede hic vidi. Pro quo, ut appenderetur 4 florenos et 23 grossos dissolutos esse non sine admiratione hic a dominorum Fuggarorum factore accepti. Nam profecto sine magno negotio et clavis non usque adeo politis aut pretiosis affixum est. — — Fuit autem, ut ex nonnullis audivi, ipsum Valdesii corpus in eadem capella suspensum in scrinio vel urna, sed male conditum et pice oblitum. Quare cum gravem quendam et intolerabilem foetorem reddere sacerdotes senserint, nescio cuius consensu soli postea conditum est in eodem aediculo. Atque hoc de epitaphio.*

## 5. Source materials relating to the correspondence between Ioannes Dantiscus and Alfonso de Valdés (16th-20th centuries)

### 5.1. Preserved letters

This edition presents 72 known letters from the correspondence between Alfonso de Valdés and Ioannes Dantiscus, of which 66 were written by Valdés and just 6 by Dantiscus. This is not a complete collection. Various remarks in the surviving correspondence indicate there were at least 12 as yet unknown letters by Dantiscus and at least 1 by Valdés.

The supplement to the volume (p. 296-316) presents the only known letter of Juan de Valdés to Dantiscus and the entire preserved correspondence between Dantiscus and Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara: 7 letters from Gattinara and 1 letter from Dantiscus.

In addition, appendices to the present volume contain: those Dantiscus' memoranda and speeches addressed to the Emperor, to which replies added by Mercurino Gattinara or Alfonso de Valdés are known, together with these replies, the introduction to an edition of epitaphs for Mercurino Gattinara (Antwerp, 1531)

written by Dantiscus' secretary, Hilarius Bertholf and a comparison of the itineraries of Dantiscus and Charles V for the years 1524-1532.

The Table No. 1 (see p. 100-107) lists all the correspondence between Alfonso de Valdés and Ioannes Dantiscus (reconstructions of lost letters are included) in its hypothetical chronological sequence.<sup>189</sup>

## 5.2. The sources for the edition

### 5.2.1. Originals – fair copies

The originals – fair copies are available for just 9 of the 72 letters published here.

The originals, i.e. fair copies, of 7 letters by Valdés (5 autographs and 2 letters written in secretary's hand) can be found in the following libraries:

- **Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej** (Ermland Archdiocesan Archives) in Olsztyn [=AAWO], pressmark **AB, D. 3** (letter No. 16)
- **Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek** (Uppsala University Library), Carolina Rediviva [=UUB], pressmark **H. 154** (letters No. 49, 70, 71, 72)
- **Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich** (the Princes Czartoryski Library) in Cracow [=BCz], pressmark **1596** (letters No. 60, 64)

The originals, i.e. autograph fair copies, of 2 letters by Dantiscus can be found in the following libraries:

- **Real Academia de la Historia, Biblioteca** (Royal Academy of History, Library) in Madrid [=RAH], pressmark **Ms 9/6117** (letter No. 29)
- **Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich** (the Princes Czartoryski Library) in Cracow [=BCz], pressmark **1596** (letter No. 63)

The fair copies of 51 letters by Valdés (letters No. 1, 3, 4, 6-12, 14, 15, 17-26, 30, 31, 33-35, 37, 39-43, 45-48, 51, 53-59, 61, 62, 66-69) and 4 letters by Dantiscus (letters No. 44, 50, 52, 65) are known to have been preserved in the **currently lost sewn file D.130, at the Bishopric Archives (AB)** in Frombork (Frauenburg). These archives now belong to the Ermland Archdiocesan Archives (AAWO) in Olsztyn. We know the contents of AB sewn file D.130 through indirect records: 18th-century handwritten copies (letters No. 1, 3, 4, 6-12, 14, 15, 17-23, 25, 26, 30, 31, 33-35, 37, 39-43, 45-48, 51, 53-59, 61, 66-69 a total of 49 letters), a 19th-century edition of Valdés' letters edited by Eduard Boehmer (let-

<sup>189</sup> Cf. the chapter "Determination of the proper sequence of the letters", p. 79-96.

ters No. 1, 3, 4, 6-12, 17, 18, 20, 22-26, 30, 31, 33-35, 37, 42, 43, 48, 55, 61, 62, 67-69, a total of 33 letters) and excerpts that Henry De Vocht copied out from the whole sewn file in July 1932.

According to the custom of the time, before being dispatched letters were folded and then addressed and sealed. All the surviving fair copies show traces of folding, and most of them also have traces of sealing. Brief undated letters that the friends exchanged while at the imperial court were also sealed. The imprint of the seal has been preserved in good condition on just two letters from Valdés (No. 71, 72, two types of seal, see plates No. 8, 9) and one letter from Dantiscus (No. 63, see plate No. 6).<sup>190</sup> The lost originals were also sealed, as noted in Boehmer's edition. Detailed data on the seals and information about watermarks on the fair copies are provided in the description of the sources for each letter.

### 5.2.2. 16th-century copies and excerpts

A copy of an extensive fragment of letter No. 70 has been preserved at the **Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz** (Secret State Archives Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation) [=GStA PK], pressmark **XX. HA Hist. StA Königsberg, HBA, H, K. 760**. This excerpt, containing *novitates* from the Imperial Diet in Regensburg (1532), was most likely enclosed in an unknown letter of Dantiscus to Duke Albrecht of Prussia, together with an excerpt from Cornelis De Schepper's letter.<sup>191</sup>

A contemporary copy of Dantiscus' epigram "Ad Lalemantum" (CIDTC, IDP 161) is kept at the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Austrian State Archives, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv) [=OS HHSA] among the case files of Jean Lalemant, pressmark **LA Belgien, PA 21-4**. It is published for the first time in this volume (not counting the CIDTC online publication) together with the letter No. 29 in which it was enclosed.

### 5.2.3. 18th- and 19th-century copies

Valdés' letters to Dantiscus were the object of interest for the copyists preparing the "Teki Naruszewicza" (Naruszewicz Files) – a collection of over 200 volumes containing copies of sources for the history of Poland. This collection was put together in the second half of the 18th century as part of extensive historical studies commissioned by the King of Poland Stanisław August. A team of researchers led by Adam Naruszewicz, author of the first scholarly monograph

<sup>190</sup> No systematic study on Dantiscus' seals and heraldic charges has been produced as yet.

<sup>191</sup> CIDTC, IDL 4853.

of Polish history entitled *Historia narodu polskiego (History of the Polish Nation)*, conducted research at Polish and European archives and libraries in order to find records and letters, which were then copied on site. These working copies were later cleanly recopied and included in the Naruszewicz Files. The material in these files is arranged chronologically. In most of the texts in the files, the location of the original source is noted in the upper right-hand corner of the first page of the transcript.

Among the drafts that served as source for the Naruszewicz Files there was a sewn file marked **222**, preserved at the **Biblioteka Kórnicka Polskiej Akademii Nauk** (Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences) [=BK]. Gathering No. VII of this sewn file, compiled ca. 1779, contains a selection from Dantiscus' correspondence copied from the originals kept at the Ermland Bishopric Archives in Frombork (today part of AAWO).<sup>192</sup> On pages 184-206 of this gathering we find copies of 58 letters from Valdés to Dantiscus (letters No. 1-23, 25-28, 30-43, 45-48, 51, 53-59, 61, 66-69). The originals of 49 of them were in the lost sewn file AAWO, AB, D.130. The original of one letter (No. 16) survives in the sewn file AAWO, AB, D.3. We know the other 8 letters (No. 2, 5, 13, 27, 28, 32, 36, 38) solely from the book of copies BK 222 (and the Naruszewicz Files copies based on it). The text of Valdés' letters in the book of copies BK 222 is partly damaged due to the sheets being sewn deep into the file's spine. The copyist's skills were rather poor. He made quite a few mistakes during copying, making the text incomprehensible in places. In some places, the copyist left out words that were hard to decipher.

The sewn file BK 222 also includes an unnumbered sheet sewn in after page 183 and two unnumbered sheets sewn in after page 185, on which we find 19th-century copies of 8 letters that are found on pages 184-186 of the very same book of copies (letters No. 16, 25, 41, 46, 48, 54, 57, 67). The identical sequence of the letters and the lack of any significant textual variations indicate that the 19th-century copies are derived from the 18th-century ones found next to them in the book of copies.

Copies of 59 letters from Valdés to Dantiscus are found in the "**Teki Naruszewicza**" (Naruszewicz Files) [=TN] as part of the manuscript collection of the **Princes Czartoryski Library** in Cracow, in four volumes marked as **40** (letters No. 1-23, 25, 26, 33-43, 45-48, 51, 53-59, 61, 66-69), **42** (letter No. 27), **43** (letters No. 28, 30-32), **55** (letter No. 70). In general, these volumes contain source texts dated as follows: TN 40 – 1527, TN 42 – 1528, TN 43 – 1529 and TN 55 – 1537.

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<sup>192</sup> Ryszard MARCINIAK, Michał MUSZYŃSKI, Jacek WIESIOŁOWSKI, *Katalog rękopisów staropolskich Biblioteki Kórnickiej XVI-XVIII w.*, Wrocław, 1985, series: Katalog rękopisów staropolskich Biblioteki Kórnickiej 2, p. 100.

However, file No. 40 also includes some for the most part undated letters from Valdés to Dantiscus, found on pages 973-1001, the majority of them under a common heading figuring on page 973: *Litterae Valdesii Caroli V Imperatoris Hispaniaeque regis Secretarii, ad Ioannem Dantiscum Sigismundi I regis Poloniae in Hispania oratorem*, with a note regarding the dating, 1527 – 28 – 29, in the upper margin. Each of the letters on pages 995-1001 has a separate heading but, again, there are no dates<sup>193</sup>. TN 42 and TN 43 contain letters from Valdés to Dantiscus dated 1528 and 1529, while a letter dated 1532 is included in TN 55 by mistake.

Files No. 40, 42 and 43 contain copies of the same letters of Valdés as the book of copies BK 222. An analysis of the textual variations shows that the BK 222 copy was the basis for the Naruszewicz Files copyists.<sup>194</sup> This is also confirmed by the fact that the sequence of the texts in BK 222 and TN is identical; we established that by comparing the pages and realizing that they were mistakenly switched in the book of copies BK 222. As a result of this switch the letter No. 36 starts at the bottom of page 191 and continues on page 200, while letter No. 68 starts at the bottom of page 199 and continues on page 184. The Naruszewicz Files propose some sensible corrections to the text found in BK 222. Wherever we can compare these corrections with Boehmer's edition, which was based on a different (lost) source, they are often identical with Boehmer's lections or at least go in the same direction. Moreover, the text of the Naruszewicz Files is undamaged, while the text of the book of copies from Kórnik, as mentioned earlier, is damaged in places, mainly due to pages being sewn too deep into the spine of the file. One can guess that the book of copies BK 222 was bound after the letters in it had been copied to the Naruszewicz Files, especially since the text fragments that are damaged in BK 222 due to the pages being sawn in deeply into the spine are identical in the Naruszewicz Files and in the unrelated – because based on lost fair copies – edition of Boehmer. That is why the Naruszewicz Files, even though they are derivative compared to BK 222, are treated as primary sources like copies of BK 222. Their textual variations are provided in the critical apparatus.

Meanwhile, Naruszewicz File No. 55 includes the letter No. 70, the fair copy of which, kept at the University Library in Uppsala, was copied by the library's director, the famous Swedish theologian, historian and archivist Eric Benzelius (1675-1743), into a book of copies of Dantiscus' correspondence that is currently preserved at the **Linköpings Stadsbibliotek** (Linköping City Library) [=LSB], pressmark **BR 19**, No. 12.

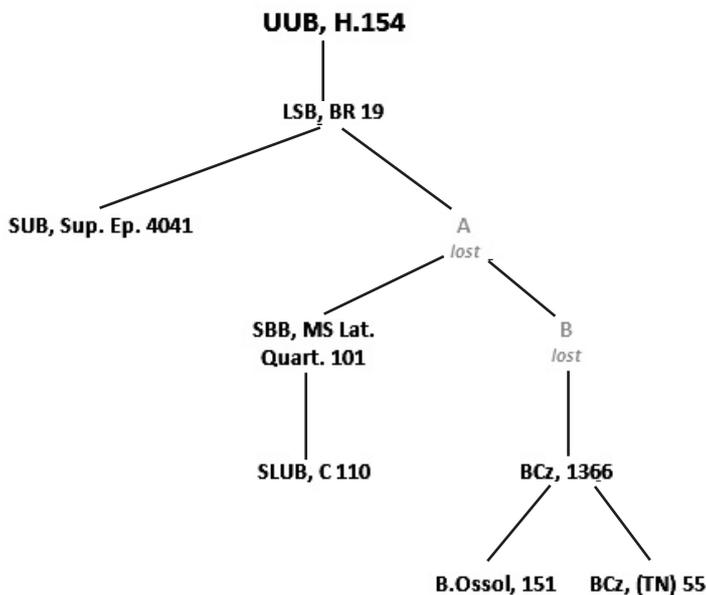
<sup>193</sup> For more about the dating of these letters, see the chapter "Determination of the proper sequence of the letters," p. 79-96.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. CEID 1/1, p. 99.

Benzelius' book of copies was used as the basis for numerous further copies. That is why copies of the letter No. 70 are also found at the following libraries:

- **Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich** (Ossolinski National Institute, Library) in Wrocław [=B. Ossol.], pressmark **151**, f. 7v - 8v
- **Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich** [=BCz], pressmark **1366**, p. 72- 76
- **Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz** (Berlin City Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage) [=SBB], pressmark **MS Lat. Quart. 101**, No. 6, f. 15v-18r
- **Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden** (Saxon Land Library – State and University Library Dresden) [=SLUB], pressmark **C 110**, f. 20r-23v
- **Staats- und Universitäts Bibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky** (State and University Library Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky) [=SUB], pressmark **Sup. Ep. 4041**, No. 7, f. 5r- 6r

All the textual variations in the 18th-century copies of letter No. 70 are listed in the critical apparatus in order to document what text was available to the historians of the time. An analysis of the textual variations of the letter No. 70 leads to a tentative determination of the relations between the books of copies. These relations are shown in the graph below:



III. No. 4. Stemma of the manuscript tradition of the letter No. 70.

The history of these books of copies will be discussed in detail in the introduction to part three of the series, in which letters from the Uppsala sewn files will be published (UUB, pressmark H 154, H.155).<sup>195</sup>

#### 5.2.4. 20th-century excerpts and registers

As mentioned in the chapter discussing the fair copies, the Belgian historian of the Northern Renaissance, Henry De Vocht, copied excerpts from the lost sewn file AAWO, AB, D.130. De Vocht's original notebooks containing the materials from his archival research into Dantiscus' correspondence, conducted in Poland and in Uppsala, are kept at the **Centrale Bibliotheek Katholieke Universiteit Leuven** (K.U.Leuven University Library) [=CBKUL].<sup>196</sup> De Vocht recorded that during his lengthy stay in Frombork in summer 1930, he was unable to work on the sewn file AB, D.130 because it had been lent to someone, that is why he returned to Frombork on July 6-8, 1932.<sup>197</sup> The Belgian scholar wrote down the pressmark "D No. 130, the folio" and the sewn file's title: "Alphonsi et Ioannis Valdesii Epistolae ad Dantiscum." He wrote that it comprised "small brief letters, no address except mentioned size f." He drew up registers and in some cases also copied excerpts from the letters, writing them in his notebook (CBKUL, pressmark **R.III, 31**) under numbers 302.1 - 302.51. Some of these numbers (302.1, 302.2, 302.7, 302.21, 302.36) refer to more than one letter. These notes cover 51 letters from Alfonso de Valdés and 4 letters from Dantiscus as well as Juan de Valdés' letter to Dantiscus (included in the supplement to the present volume), and 2 other records written by Alfonso de Valdés.<sup>198</sup>

**In the case of 4 letters from Dantiscus to Valdés (letters No. 44, 50, 52, 65) Henry De Vocht's registers are the only remaining source available to the editors.**

The correspondence between Valdés and Dantiscus was also excerpted and registered by the Polish historian and archivist Antoni Marian Kurpiel. Early in the 20th century, he worked on a project commissioned by the Polish Academy

<sup>195</sup> Cf. p. ... !!!.

<sup>196</sup> CBKUL, R.III, 30-33.

<sup>197</sup> CBKUL, R.III, 31, note on the notebook's title page: *June July 1930. 1932 I visited again the invaluable store-room on returning from Tartu, and staying at Frauenburg on July 6, 7 and 8. I worked especially on Thursday 7 July 1932. I examined especially the codex D.130 ... 302.1-51, which was lent out on my previous visit.*

<sup>198</sup> CBKUL, R.III, 31, No. 302.49: *Letter of Charles V to the Pope for D(antiscus), 7 July 1530 written by V(aldes): with a recommendation in Spanish by V(aldes) – copy made out by V(aldes) for D(antiscus);* CBKUL, R.III, 31, no. 302. No. 50: *Recommendation for I(oannes) D(antiscus) for the Monte Serico affair in Spanish by V(aldes), Augustae, 31 Oct. 1530.*

of Arts and Sciences with the objective to register the entire correspondence and produce an exhaustive monograph on Dantiscus. Kurpiel's research was interrupted by his untimely death (1917). His legacy – 13 „Teki Kurpiela” (Kurpiel Files) [=TK] – is housed at the **Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk** (Scientific Library of PAU & PAN) in Cracow [=B.PAU-PAN], pressmark 8239-8251. The Kurpiel Files can be divided into four parts:

File No. 1 contains a rough draft of the first part of the monograph on Dantiscus, files No. 2-6 contain copies and extensive excerpts from correspondence, files No. 7-12 contain registers of correspondence with brief excerpts, and file No. 13 contains some disorderly notes. The two parts with the material from sources are arranged strictly chronologically. All the material taken from sources is identified accordingly.

In the case of Dantiscus' correspondence with Valdés, **all the registers and excerpts found in the Kurpiel Files have been taken from extant sources or publications** (BCz, ms 40 (Naruszewicz Files); AAWO, ms AB, D.3; UUB, ms H. 154; Böhmer; AT, vol. 10, 11), **which is why** – from the editors' viewpoint – **their value lies solely in documenting the development of research on this correspondence.**

Kurpiel recorded the existence of 55 letters from Valdés to Dantiscus:

- B. PAU-PAN, pressmark **8241** (TK 3) – letters No. 5, 28, 31
- B. PAU-PAN, pressmark **8245** (TK 7) – letters No. 3, 6-12, 18, 20
- B. PAU-PAN, pressmark **8246** (TK 8) – letters No. 4, 17, 23-27, 30, 32-35, 37, 41-43, 46, 48, 49, 54, 55, 61, 67, 68
- B. PAU-PAN, pressmark **8247** (TK 9) – letters No. 16, 62, 69
- B. PAU-PAN, pressmark **8250** (TK 12) – letters No. 2, 13, 16, 19, 36, 38-40, 45, 47, 51, 56-58, 66

and 1 letter from Dantiscus to Valdés:

- B. PAU-PAN **8246** (TK 8) – letter No. 29

### 5.2.5. List of all the sources for the edition

Table No. 2 (see p. 108-111) lists all the sources for the individual letters in the present edition, also including Boehmer's edition (cf. p. 78). Primary sources are given in bold type.

## 6. Previous publications

### 6.1. Printed publications

The correspondence between Alfonso de Valdés and Ioannes Dantiscus as a source for the history of the Renaissance has been an object of interest for Spanish, German, Polish and Dutch scholars. Selected letters were included in the following publications and studies:

- **Fermin CABALLERO**, *Conquenses ilustres, vol. IV: Alonso y Juan de Valdés*, Madrid, 1875 [=CABALLERO 1875]
- "**Alfonsi Valdesii litteras XL ineditas**" in: *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo: Estudios de erudición Española.*, ed. by **Eduard BOEHMER**, vol. 1, Madrid, 1899, p. 385-412 [=BOEHMER 1899]
- *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 10, ed. by **Zygmunt CELICHOWSKI**, Kórnik, 1899 [=AT 10]
- *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 11, ed. by **Zygmunt CELICHOWSKI**, Kórnik, 1901 [=AT 11]
- *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 14, ed. by **Władysław POCIECHA**, Poznań, 1952 [=AT 14]
- **Henry DE VOCHT**, *John Dantiscus and his Netherlandish friends as revealed by their correspondence 1522-1546 published from the original documents*, Louvain, 1961 [=DE VOCHT 1961]
- **Jerzy STARNAWSKI**, „Dantiscana”, in: *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 136 (1977) 2, Olsztyn, 1977, p. 177-196 [=STARNAWSKI]
- *Españoles y Polacos en la Corte de Carlos V. Cartas del embajador Juan Dantisco*, ed. by **Antonio FONTÁN**, **Jerzy AXER**, **Isabel VELÁZQUEZ**, **Jerzy MAŃKOWSKI**, Madrid, 1994 [=Españoles]
- **Alfonso de VALDÉS**, *Obra completa*, ed. by **Ángel ALCALÁ GALVE**, Biblioteca Castro, Madrid, 1996 [=VALDÉS 1996]

The Table No. 3 (see p. 111) indicates how many letters from the present edition were included in these earlier publications and under which numbers they figure in the present edition.

## 6.2. The 19th-century publication as a primary source for the edition

The edition prepared in the late 19th century by German historian Eduard Boehmer is of special importance to an editor of the correspondence between Dantiscus and Valdés. As mentioned earlier, in the case of 33 of the 36 letters from Valdés to Dantiscus that he published, Boehmer based his edition on the copies Prof. Otto Waltz gave him based on the fair copies that had been kept in the lost sewn file AAWO, AB, D.130.<sup>199</sup> Through an analysis of the texts of these letters, it has been determined that **Prof. Waltz's copies were more faithful copies of the original fair copies than the existing 18th-century copies** (BK 222, BCz 40, BCz 42, BCz 43), **which is why the text gives the lection of the printed publication while the variations from the 18th-century copies are shown in the footnotes to the critical apparatus.** This is why Boehmer's edition has been included in the table No. 2 listing the sources for the published texts on an equal footing with manuscript sources.<sup>200</sup>

## 6.3. Online publication

All the letters published in the present volume are included *in extenso* in the online publication *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence* <http://dantiscus.ibi.uw.edu.pl>, edited by Anna Skolimowska (director of the project) and Magdalena Turska in association with Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, first published on the web 2010-07-01 [=CIDTC].

The publication is being prepared as part of the same research program, *Registration and Publication of the Correspondence of Ioannes Dantiscus (1485-1548)* launched in 1989 at the University of Warsaw, of which the present edition is also a part.

## 6.4. List of earlier published editions of the individual letters

Some publication do not give the entire text, limiting themselves to fragments, registers or even just references, which is why Table No. 4 (see p. 112-114) provides data on that aspect of the publication of each letter.

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<sup>199</sup> Cf. p. 70-71, 75.

<sup>200</sup> Cf. p. 108-111.

## 7. Determination of the proper sequence of the letters

We have source records of the date and place of dispatch for just 20 of the 72 letters (they are letters No. 7-12, 16, 17, 27-33, 37, 49, 70-72), but in six cases (No. 9, 11, 12, 16, 33, 37) the record does not give the year of dispatch and in one case (No. 16) – the place of dispatch. The other 52 letters have no record of a date. The editors have tried to reconstruct the missing dates based on the content of the correspondence, but in many cases it was only possible to determine a wider or narrower range of possible dates.

### 7.1. Reasons for the missing dates

It needs noting that the problems with dating are only marginally connected with the lack of surviving original fair copies of the letters.<sup>201</sup> The main reason why information about dates is lacking is the nature of the contacts between Valdés and Dantiscus. These were often brief notes reminiscent of an ongoing conversation. It was conducted in writing even though the correspondents were staying – it would seem – in the same place, i.e. the imperial court. In practice, however, Dantiscus as an ambassador had his quarters at some distance, sometimes even reaching 20-30 km, from the lodgings of Alfonso de Valdés who, being an imperial secretary, had to be as close as possible to the Emperor. Thus, the friends' everyday contacts required written messages to be passed between them by messengers. The form of this kind of letter is markedly different from that of letters dispatched over greater distances. As mentioned before, they carry no date or place of dispatch. The polite opening words typical of correspondence are reduced to a minimum, while the substance is limited to current affairs; often this is just a single topic. As mentioned earlier, the three originals of this type of letter that survive at the Princes Czartoryski Library (ms 1596) in good condition (No. 60, 63, 64) are not dated, while Henry De Vocht, who usually carefully recorded dating information, failed to record the dates of most of the fair copies contained in the now lost sewn file AAWO, AB, D.130.<sup>202</sup>

The court was constantly on the move, which was a complicated logistical operation requiring transport and accommodation to be arranged for hundreds of people. The time and route of Dantiscus' travels did not always correspond to the itinerary of Charles V and the Grand Chancellor, the result being prolonged breaks in his direct contacts with Valdés who never left the Emperor's closest circle. At such times, the letters are dated (e.g. letters No. 7-12, 16, 17, 49).

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<sup>201</sup> Cf. p. 70-71, 75.

<sup>202</sup> CBKUL, pressmark R.III, 31, No. 302.1 - 302.51.

## 7.2. Earlier reconstructions of dispatch dates

It is only to a limited extent, and with great caution, that the editor has tried to determine the dates with the help of reconstructions performed by previous scholars publishing the letters (Boehmer, Alcalá Galve, De Vocht) or only excerpting or registering them (Kurpiel, De Vocht). Unfortunately, there are significant discrepancies between their findings. Such discrepancies can even be found between the dates Henry De Vocht proposes in his publication and the chronological listings of Valdés' letters in his handwritten notes. Also, sometimes the dating in the printed version seems less plausible than the dating in the manuscript. All previous proposed dating is given under the justification of the dating of each letter.

The dating from all the publications and registers is presented in Table No. 5 (see p. 115-121).

A comparison of our findings with the sequence of the texts in preserved sources shows that the letters in the lost collection of fair copies and in the 18th-century books of copies were arranged in completely random order. This is shown in Table No. 6 (see p. 122-123) which also presents the order of the letters in earlier publications (all of them chronological in principle). The sequence of the letters in the lost sewn file AAWO, AB, D.130 is based on Henry De Vocht's registers, CBKUL, R.III, 31, 302.

## 7.3. The evolution of ways of addressing the addressee as a dating criterion

All the previous editions of Valdés' letters assume that the preserved correspondence between Valdés and Dantiscus comes from the years 1526-1532. Insofar as the end date is unquestionable – the last letter of which we know was written less than a month before Valdés' death – determining the start of the correspondence as 1526 is only an approximation. Letter No. 1 of the present edition is in fact dated at late August/early September 1526. It is the same letter that the first publisher of Valdés' letters, Eduard Boehmer, places at the start of his collection with the date 1526, before October 12. There are grounds for surmising that Dantiscus and Valdés met as early as 1524 (maybe even in 1519),<sup>203</sup> but our decision has been not to move the possible dating of the short letters, whose dates cannot be determined with certainty, to any earlier than autumn 1526. The criterion in this case is the way the recipient is addressed in these letters. Undoubtedly it was already Eduard Boehmer who noticed that in letter No. 1 (which he, too, placed at the start of his edition), Valdés uses exclusively official titles toward Dantiscus

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<sup>203</sup> Cf. p. 46-49.

and addresses him in the third person (*Magnifice Domine Orator, Dominatio Vestra*), whereas in subsequent letters the friends usually leave out the titles and, true to the custom of humanists, address each other with the familiar informal “you” (Latin *tu*) and begin the letters with the salutation *Salutem Plurimam* or just *Salutem*. A similar situation as that of letter No. 1 occurs in the case of letter No. 2, not published by Boehmer. It needs noting, however, that some elements of official addressing appear together with the humanist *tu*, e.g. *Dominatio Vestra* in letters No. 6 ([1527-08-31 — 1527-09-08]) and No. 40 ([shortly after 1530-07-03 ?]). On the other hand, dated letter No. 9 (1527-09-24) begins with the rather official form *Vir Clarissime*. This inconsistency in addressing the recipient was most likely a reflection of the writer’s current mood rather than the degree of friendship, which is why in such cases it has not been treated as a dating criterion.

## 7.4. The letter content as a basis for dating

### 7.4.1. The imperial court’s itinerary compared to Dantiscus’ itinerary

Since Valdés’ duties did not allow him to leave the Emperor’s closest circle, the reconstruction of the dating of the letters first of all required determining, as accurately as possible, the times when Dantiscus was at the court of Charles V and when he stayed away. In view of the fact that Dantiscus’ complete itinerary has not been drawn up as yet, this process was based mainly on the dates and places of dispatch and receipt of Dantiscus’ correspondence registered in the on-line publication *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*.<sup>204</sup> Dantiscus’ reports from his travels, which he included in the letters sent to the royal court (primarily to Sigismund I, Bona Sforza and Piotr Tomicki) were also analyzed. This has not produced a complete itinerary but only a time frame for Dantiscus’ stops, mainly in places where he stayed longer and received correspondence. These data have been juxtaposed with the itinerary of Charles V, drawn up in great detail in the early 20th century by Spanish historian Manuel de Foronda y Aguilera.<sup>205</sup> The itineraries of Charles V and Dantiscus are provided in Appendices, No. 14 on p. 375-395.

The following has been ascertained:

During his third mission, Dantiscus arrived in Spain during the second half of September 1524. First he stayed in Cabeson de Pisuerga, and then, from September 25 – in Valladolid. In the meantime the Emperor spent almost the whole

<sup>204</sup> CIDTC.

<sup>205</sup> Manuel de FORONDA y AGUILERA, *Estancias y viajes del emperador Carlos V, desde el día de su nacimiento hasta el de su muerte*, Madrid 1914.

October nearby in Tordesillas, where Dantiscus appeared for a short audience on October 11. On November 22 the Emperor arrived in Madrid. Dantiscus came to Madrid three days later and stayed there with the court for the next four and a half months. On April 5, 1525 the Emperor left Madrid and went to the Sanctuary of Our Lady in Guadalupe, from where he turned back to proceed to Toledo. Dantiscus was still in Madrid on April 9 and we do not know if he followed the court to Guadalupe or took a different route to Toledo, where the Emperor arrived on April 27 and stayed on, with short breaks, for nine and a half months, among other things taking part in the cortes of Castile (starting on June 1).

As regards Dantiscus, we know he arrived in Toledo before May 4 and left after February 24, 1526. He certainly did not accompany the Emperor on his trip to Segovia (August 28 – September 18, 1525). Before the end of that year, the Emperor left Toledo four more times for a few days – he went to Aranjuez three times and once to Talavera de la Reina. Dantiscus certainly did not accompany the ruler on the two first trips (October 14-17 and November 6-8); as for the next two (December 20-23 and January 15-17), we can assume the same, but no source data exist to support this.

Charles V left Toledo on February 12, 1526 and went to Seville, arriving there on March 10, to marry Isabel of Portugal the next day. Dantiscus, who was still in Toledo on February 24, arrived in Seville on March 19. Perhaps he had stopped somewhere near the city before the Emperor's wedding, but foreign envoys were not invited to the ceremony. On March 17 we find him in Cantillana, ca. 30 km north of Seville, a little to the east of the route the court took on its way to Seville. Dantiscus' stay in Seville is confirmed by sources up to May 13, 1526. On that day the Emperor left Seville to go to Granada, where he arrived on June 4. The Polish envoy traveled there at this time, overtaking the imperial retinue by three days, having arrived at his destination on June 1 at the latest.

The Emperor spent more than six months in Granada, making just five short trips to nearby Santa Fe. He left for good on December 10, making his way to Valladolid and stopping one week in Toledo on the way, for Christmas. At this time Dantiscus was still in Granada, which he left on December 27. He arrived in Valladolid on January 26, 1527, just three days after the Emperor. The court stayed in Valladolid, where the cortes of Castile began on February 11, for seven months, not counting a few short stays in Cigales a dozen or so kilometers away (February 6-8 and 14-15, March 19-21), a week-long trip to La Granja de Monviedro and Peñafiel and back (February 16-22), Easter spent at the nearby monastery of El Abrojo (April 17-23) and another week-long trip to Torquemada (May 9-15). Dantiscus certainly did not accompany the court to Peñafiel or Torquemada, and was also in Valladolid on Easter Monday, April 22.

Upon receiving news of cases of the plague having occurred, on August 23 the Emperor left the then capital of Castile and after traveling for three days stopped for a month and a half in Palencia where, as Dantiscus wrote to King Sigismund I, he allowed only his closest advisors to accompany him, fearing for his health.<sup>206</sup> The Polish envoy's presence in Valladolid is confirmed on August 30, but he followed the court soon afterwards, although – like the other ambassadors – he did not stay in Palencia but had quarters in nearby villages. In the first days of October he went out to meet Chancellor Gattinara as he was returning from Italy, meeting him in Torquemada and accompanying him as he entered Palencia, where Dantiscus was not allowed to stay, however.

From Palencia, the Emperor traveled to Burgos, arriving on October 17. Dantiscus followed the court. We know that Alfonso de Valdés, who accompanied Chancellor Gattinara, proposed they travel to Burgos together, but they only met after arriving there, Dantiscus' presence in the town being confirmed on October 26. Charles V spent more than four months in Burgos, departing on February 20, 1528 and heading south, staying a month and a half in Madrid (March 7 – April 23, 1528) where the cortes of Castile began on April 19. The Emperor spent Easter at the Convento de San Jeronimo near Madrid (April 8-12). There is no available information as to whether Dantiscus set off for Madrid at the same time as the court or, as he often did, a little later. His presence in Burgos is confirmed up to February 20, 1528; he arrived in Madrid no later than March 18 and left after April 20, traveling – like the Emperor – to Valencia, where the court arrived on May 3 and stayed there 18 days en route to Monzón.

Dantiscus' presence in Valencia is confirmed on May 18. He must have parted ways with the court sometime later, because on June 1, 1528 we find him in the capital of Aragon, Zaragoza, while from May 30 to July 20 the Emperor was a few days' journey northeast of there, in Monzón, where the cortes of Aragon began on June 1. The capital must have been more attractive to the Polish envoy, because over the next two months (up to August 10) his presence in Zaragoza is confirmed three times (June 28, July 20, August 10) and his presence in Almunia

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<sup>206</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 385: *Ab eo tempore hucusque scribere non potui propter dispersionem nostram et quod longius a curia aberamus, quo fuit factum, quod de postis abituris scientiam habere non potuimus, quandoquidem caesar cum suo consilio, quod privatum vocant, agebat Palentiae neque admittebat quemquam ob pestis saevitiam, quae in Valle Oleti et vicinis oppidis passim grassabatur. Oratores, cum quibus eram, dispositi fuerant ad oppidulum Paredes, consilarii caesaris alii, quorum non parvus est numerus, in Bezoril, alia pars curiae in Donnas, alia in Turri Cremata, ubi mortuus est archiepiscopus Rigensis ex Livonia, cui nomen erat Blankefelt. Sicque dispersi et vagabundi hucusque erravimus non sine parvis expensis et sumptu. Tandem cum 25 Octobris, de quo scripsi in novissimis, praeteriisset, quem diem non parum caesar metuebat, huc omnem redegit curiam.*

de San Juan near Monzón only once (1528-06-12). We can surmise that Dantiscus stayed in Zaragoza and traveled to the imperial court as needed. From Monzón, the Emperor traveled toward Madrid; he passed through Zaragoza on July 26, staying only for the midday meal. The court's stay in Madrid lasted more than two months – from August 3 to October 9. Dantiscus was there from August 29 at the latest and set off again, slightly later than the Emperor, no sooner than October 12. He must have traveled faster, though, because he arrived in Toledo at the same time as the court, October 16.

On December 17, 1528 the Polish envoy left the court in Toledo, intending to return home, to Poland. However, he first made his way to Valladolid where he spent about two months waiting for his travel documents enabling him to travel across France. (Valladolid was where Dantiscus' lover Isabel Delgada lived; he had two children with her, Juana, born 1527, and Juan – 1528.) Dantiscus' presence in Valladolid is confirmed by sources between January 2 and February 18, 1529, but we can assume he was already there at Christmas 1528. When the documents arrived, he set off on his return journey, traveling northeastwards. On March 6 his presence is confirmed in Pancorbo (a town between Burgos and Vitoria), and then there was a sudden change of plan: The Emperor, who was still in Toledo (until March 8) wanted Dantiscus to accompany him on his journey to Italy.

Dantiscus turned back southwards and on April 19, 1529 we find him in Utebo near Zaragoza, where the Emperor had stopped for almost a month (March 23 – April 19) on his way to Barcelona. Charles V arrived in Barcelona on April 30 and stayed almost three months. During this time, the cortes of Catalonia were in session as of May 4. On July 27 Charles V sailed for Italy. Sources confirm Dantiscus' presence in Barcelona only at the beginning of May and then in early June, but he most likely stayed there in May, June and July. On board one of the ships accompanying the Emperor, he sailed into Genoa on August 9 and was still there on September 1.

The Emperor sailed into Genoa on August 12 and left the city on August 30, arriving in Piacenza on September 6 and staying there for a month and a half. Sources confirm that Dantiscus was in Piacenza from October 2 to 10, but by October 22 he was in Bologna, where Charles V arrived with ceremony two weeks later, on November 5, 1529. The Emperor left Bologna a month after the coronation ceremony, on March 22. Dantiscus was still there on March 29, by which time the imperial court had been in Mantua for four days. We know Dantiscus arrived in Mantua on April 9, 1529 at the latest. He fell ill and became bedridden, which caused him to stay on at least until May 30.

Meanwhile, the Emperor continued his journey on April 19, making his way to the Imperial Diet in Augsburg, arriving there on June 15 after stopping for one

month in Innsbruck on the way (1530-05-04 – 1530-06-06). The Grand Chancellor, Cardinal Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara died in Innsbruck on June 5. Dantiscus met his funeral procession on his way to Augsburg, most likely ca. June 10, in Trento. We find Dantiscus in Innsbruck on June 16; he arrived in Augsburg on June 26, six days after the Imperial Diet began.

Having spent six months in Augsburg, the Emperor left on November 23 and traveled to Cologne, where he stopped on December 17 to spend Christmas and where the election of the Emperor's brother Ferdinand as king of the Romans took place. Dantiscus was still in Augsburg on December 6, but on December 9 we find him in Günzburg, one day's journey from Augsburg. His presence in Cologne is confirmed between December 26 and January 7, 1531. On the same January 7, Charles V left Cologne and set off for Aix-la-Chapelle, arriving there on January 10. Dantiscus reported to Sigismund I that he had reached Aix-la-Chapelle on January 9, one hour before the Emperor. The Emperor's itinerary shows he was in Haaren that day, a locality that can be considered a suburb of Aix-la-Chapelle.

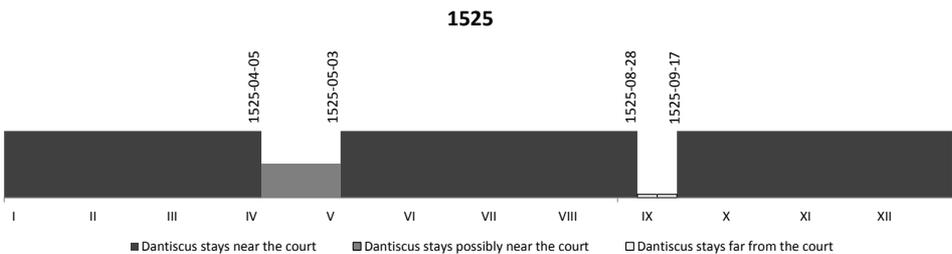
After Ferdinand's ceremonious coronation as king of the Romans (1531-01-11), on January 15 the Emperor set off for Brussels, arriving there after nine days, on January 24. Dantiscus, meanwhile, whose presence in Aix-la-Chapelle is confirmed up to January 13, took a different route to Brussels. On January 22 he was already in Leuven (a few dozen kilometers north of Namur where the Emperor stopped that day), and his presence in Brussels the next day is confirmed. The Emperor stayed in Brussels for almost two months, with a short break when he stayed at the nearby Augustinian monastery in Groenendaal (February 14-15), ultimately leaving on March 14. Dantiscus was in Brussels at least until March 13. Next, the Emperor traveled around the area for a month, spending Easter at the monastery in Groenendaal (April 5-13) and a few days each in different towns: Leuven (March 14-17, April 13-17), Mechelen (March 17-20), Antwerp (March 20-23), Baudeloo (March 23-24), Ghent (March 24 – April 3), Dendermonde (April 3-4), Brussels (April 4-5 and 17-19), Aalst (April 19-20), on April 20 stopping in Ghent for an almost two-month stay interrupted only by a three-day trip to Poeke (May 23-25). During this time we find Dantiscus in Antwerp on March 31 and then, between April 4 and June 30, sources provide regular confirmation of his stay in Ghent, the town the Emperor left earlier, June 15. Between June 16 and January 17, 1531 Charles V was in Brussels almost the whole time, not counting a brief stay in nearby Tervuren (August 24-25) and a three-week trip to Tournai and back (November 26 – December 14, of which he spent November 28 – December 12 in Tournai itself). Dantiscus reached Brussels between June 30 and July 3. His stay there finds quite regular confirmation in sources up to Ja-

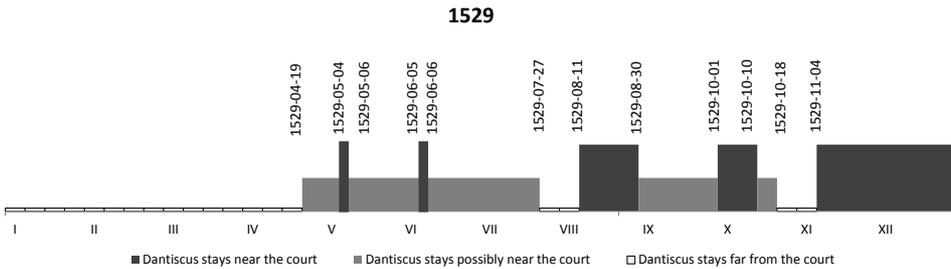
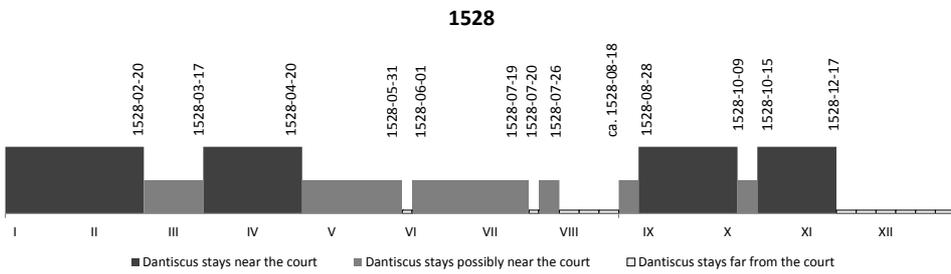
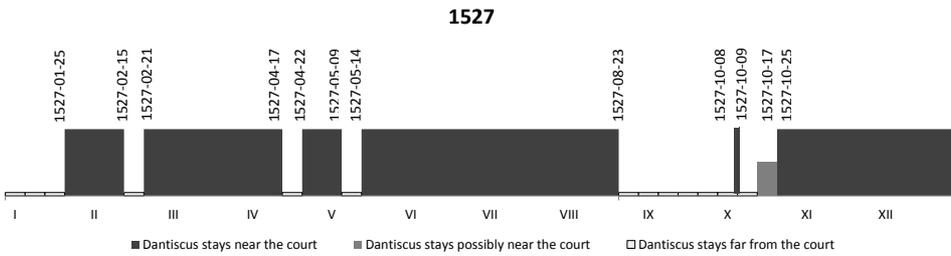
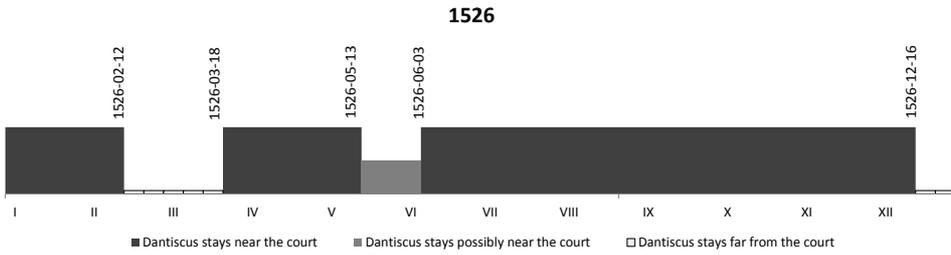
bruary 27, 1532, though he unquestionably left the city for a short time to go to Ghent (1531-07-07) and Leuven (1531-09-03), but certainly did not accompany the Emperor to Tournai.

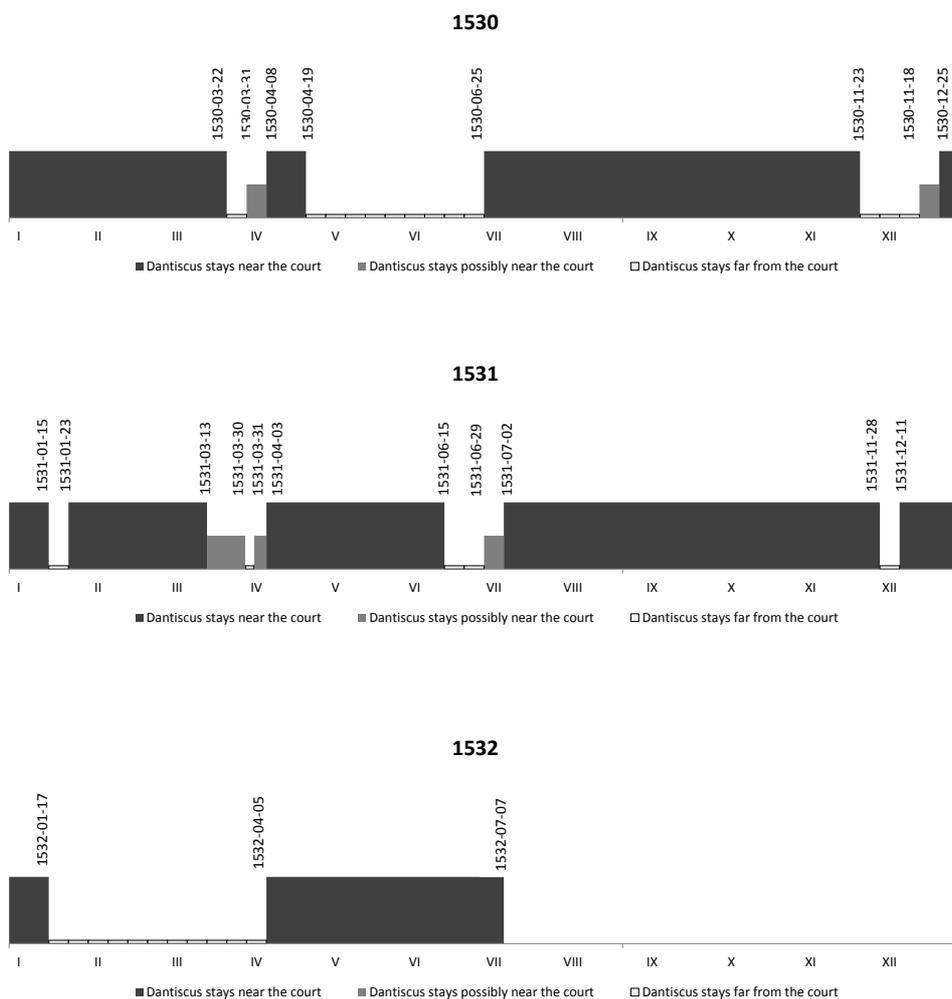
In the second half of February 1532 (at least between 1532-02-19 and 1532-02-22) we find Dantiscus in Antwerp, from where he dispatched his belongings to Poland, whereas on February 22 the imperial court was already in Ansbach almost 700 kilometers away, a few days' journey from Regensburg where Charles V was headed, not stopping for longer than two nights almost anywhere (except five-day stops in Mayence and Cologne), to take part in person in the Imperial Diet that began on April 17.

The Emperor reached Regensburg on February 28, 1532 and stayed there uninterruptedly until September 2. Dantiscus did not arrive until April 6. On his way to Regensburg, he stopped in Kuringen, where he stayed with the Archbishop of Liège, Erard de la Marck, and in Nuremberg, staying with his friends Eoban Hessus and Jan van Campen. Dantiscus left Regensburg no earlier than July 7. On July 16 he was already on his way back to Poland, in Sitzendorf an der Schmida, about 280 km east of Regensburg.

In summary, during his third independent diplomatic mission from September 19, 1524 to July 7, 1532, Dantiscus usually stayed near the court, but was sometimes quartered a few days' journey from where the Emperor was staying. He usually did not accompany the Emperor on his brief sojourns in neighboring localities. Whenever the court moved on, Dantiscus would usually follow with some delay. Even so, he sometimes reached the destination before the Emperor got there. He did not always take the same route as the court. Three different situations can be distinguished as regards Dantiscus' stay at the court: when he was very close to the court, when we do not know if he was with the court or not, and when he separated himself from the court. This is shown for different years in the graphs below:







When determining the time frame when Dantiscus stayed at the imperial court and corresponded with Alfonso de Valdés without dating his letters, the widest possible time range has been adopted, i.e. taking into account all the periods when we cannot preclude his presence near the court.

Finding the range of possible dates for Dantiscus' correspondence with Valdés is further complicated by the fact that though we can safely assume that Valdés as an imperial secretary usually accompanied the court on its travels and prolonged stays, there is no way of knowing if he also accompanied the Emperor on his short trips to surrounding localities. The sources for the places where Valdés stayed are very scant and correspond exactly to the Emperor's itinerary in the period consid-

ered here,<sup>207</sup> with one exception. Valdés' presence in Zaragoza is confirmed on August 6, 1528,<sup>208</sup> whereas the Emperor was already in Madrid at this time.

For the purpose of dating the letters, we have decided not to count the Emperor's several-day trips in which Dantiscus did not take part as a time when the friends were parted. In the case of longer trips of this kind, we have assumed that the chancellery (and Valdés with it) followed the Emperor with one exception: we know from the letter of Martín de Salinas to the Archduke Ferdinand, that the prominent members of the imperial chancellery departed from Granada six days later than the Emperor – not December 10, 1526 but December 16.<sup>209</sup> It was denoted by Headley, who pointed also at a few other, mostly hypothetical discrepancies between the itineraries of Charles V and his Great Chancellor, which are here irrelevant.<sup>210</sup> In 1529, we have excluded Dantiscus' sea voyage from Barcelona to Genoa (from July 28 to August 11) because it seems that if Dantiscus was on the same ship as Valdés, they did not have to communicate through letters, and even if he was not, it is very unlikely that they sent each other letters at this time.

The following time frame has been established for dating the letters that are undated due to the addressee being in close proximity to the writer:

in **1524** from November 25 until the end of the year

in **1525** from January 1 to August 28 and from September 18 until the end of the year

in **1526** from January 1 to February 12 and from March 19 to December 16

in **1527** from January 26 to August 23, October 9, from October 18 until the end of the year

in **1528** from January 1 to December 17 (Notabene, from July 27 to ca. August 18 Dantiscus was away from the court. Because both he and Valdés were in Zaragoza in early August, for the purpose of dating the letters it is assumed to be possible that they spent this time close to each other.)

in **1529** from April 20 to July 27, from August 12 to October 18 and from November 5 until the end of the year

in **1530** from January 1 to April 19, from June 26 to November 23 and from December 19 until the end of the year

<sup>207</sup> VALDÉS 1996, *passim*; CABALLERO 1875, *passim*; DONALD, *passim*.

<sup>208</sup> Baltasar Merklin von Waldkirch to Alfonso de Valdés, Leipzig, 1528-10-08, CABALLERO 1875, Appendix, No. 42, p. 390: *Accepi litteras Dominationis Tuae VI Augusti datas CaesarAugustae*.

<sup>209</sup> SALINAS, No. 146, p. 507.

<sup>210</sup> HEADLEY 1983, p. 164-165, Appendix V: "A Comparative analysis of the movements of the imperial court and the imperial chancellery 1518-1530".

in **1531** from January 1 to June 15, from June 30 to November 28 and from December 12 until the end of the year  
 in **1532** from January 1 to 17 and from April 6 to July 7.

### 7.4.2. Whereabouts of the people mentioned in the letters

It was key for the dating of some of the letters to determine where the people mentioned in them were in the years 1524-1532 and what their activities involved. They were mainly high-ranking officials in the Emperor's service: Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara, Baltasar Merklin von Waldkirch, Cornelis De Schepper, Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, Jean Lalemand, Louis of Flanders Lord of Praet, Esteban Gabriel Merino, as well as individuals associated with the Polish royal court and Dantiscus' diplomatic mission: Jan Lewicki and Scipione di Somma.

#### 7.4.2.1. Officials in the Emperor's service

*Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara* (1465-06-10 – 1530-06-05), from 1521 Grand Chancellor of the Emperor Charles V. Gattinara left the imperial court just once in the years 1524-1530, on March 30, 1527, to go to his native Italy, returning on October 19 of the same year. He also left the court – which was in Toledo at the time – for about two weeks at Christmas 1528 (as we learn from Valdés' correspondence with Dantiscus, letters No. 27, 28, 29).<sup>211</sup> As mentioned before (see p. 89), a few other, here irrelevant, hypothetical discrepancies between the routes of the Emperor and his chancellery were denoted by Headley.

*Baltasar Merklin von Waldkirch* (ca. 1479 – 1531-05-28), councilor at the imperial court, from 1527 Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire; from 1527 titular Bishop of Malta and Bishop of Hildesheim (confirmed in 1530) and Coadjutor of the Bishop of Constance (confirmed in 1530); from 1530 Bishop of Constance. Shortly before 1528-02-20<sup>212</sup> Merklin traveled on a mission to Germany, returning to the imperial court in early February 1530. He stayed with the court until March 1531, when he was in Brussels handling the negotiations with the envoys of the Archbishop of Mayence and the Palatine of the Rhine. He probably fell out of favor with the Emperor soon afterwards and left for Trier, where he died on May 28, 1531.<sup>213</sup>

*Louis of Flanders, Lord of Praet* (1488-11-25 – 1555-10-07), from 1517 member of the privy council of Charles V; 1522-1525 resident Ambassador in England; 1525 – at the court of the Regent of France Louise of Savoy; from 1530 Chamberlain of the Emperor. We know that in 1529 Lord of Praet served as the

<sup>211</sup> SÁNCHEZ MARTÍN.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 397.

<sup>213</sup> HASENCLEVER; BIETENHOLZ Baltasar; LOOZ-CORSWAREN.

Emperor's envoy to Rome. He arrived there on July 20, 1529,<sup>214</sup> which means he must have left Spain in June 1529 at the latest.<sup>215</sup>

**Esteban Gabriel Merino** (1472 – 1535-07-28), 1513-1530 Archbishop of Bari; 1523-1535 Bishop of Jaén; from 1530 Patriarch of the West Indies. As the bishop of Jaén, at first he lived in his diocese. In 1526 Emperor Charles V appointed him to the Council of State (Consejo de Estado) and summoned him to the court. In autumn and winter 1527 Merino stayed in the capital of his diocese – Jaén.<sup>216</sup> In 1529 he was a deputy to the Imperial Diet in Speyer on the Emperor's behalf (1529-03-15 – 1529-04-22), and then went on a mission to the Holy See. With the papal court, on October 23 he found himself in Bologna, where Charles V arrived on November 5. In summer 1530 Merino was sent out to meet Charles V's sister Eleanor on her way from Spain, to accompany her to the French court where she was to marry Francis I. He then stayed with the imperial court until October 1532, when he was sent on a mission to the Holy See.<sup>217</sup>

**Cornelis De Schepper** (1501-12-18 – 1555-03-28), from 1526 secretary, councilor and then also Vice-Chancellor of Emperor Charles V. Cornelis De Schepper arrived at Charles V's court in autumn 1526 at the latest,<sup>218</sup> after the death of his previous employer, Isabella of Austria (d. 1526-01-19), the Emperor's sister and queen consort of the exiled King Christian II Oldenburg of Denmark. In 1527 (1527-03-30 – 1527-10-10) he accompanied Chancellor Gattinara on his journey to Italy<sup>219</sup>. Soon after February 20, 1528 he left the court again, going on a mission to Belgium and Poland on the Emperor's behalf<sup>220</sup>. He returned to the court in December 1529 at the latest<sup>221</sup> and stayed there until spring 1531. On May 19 he set off from Ghent as the imperial envoy to Hungary,<sup>222</sup> returning to Brussels on July 20, 1531.<sup>223</sup> Next, ca. September 11, 1531 he went on a mission to Luxembourg and Paris<sup>224</sup>, returning to Brussels on February 18, 1532<sup>225</sup> and staying on in Belgium, when the court of Charles V had left on January 17, 1532 to attend

<sup>214</sup> Cf. LANZ, p. 318.

<sup>215</sup> SANZ CAMAÑES.

<sup>216</sup> He wrote to Valdés from Jaén on October 21 and November 25, 1527, and expected to be there in January 1528 as well, cf. CABALLERO 1875, Appendix, No. 20, p. 343-344, No. 23, p. 349-350.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. CABALLERO VENZALÁ arzobispo; CABALLERO VENZALÁ movimiento; RIBERA.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. letter No. 1.

<sup>219</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 331 and letter No. 12.

<sup>220</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 403, IDL 396, IDL 397, IDL 395, IDL 402.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 441, IDL 440.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 628.

<sup>223</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 653, IDL 4906.

<sup>224</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 682.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 752.

the Imperial Diet in Regensburg. De Schepper joined the court in Regensburg in June 1532<sup>226</sup>, only to leave on July 5, 1532 and travel to Augsburg.<sup>227</sup>

*Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle* (1484 – 1550-08-27), in 1519 entered the service of Charles V and soon became one of his most trusted advisors; imperial envoy to France several times up to 1528, from 1530 Secretary of State for German and Netherlandian affairs and Chancellor of the Kingdom of Both Sicilies (he replaced Gattinara as Grand Chancellor after his death, though he did not use the title). While in the service of Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle came to Spain in late September 1525 to take part in the peace talks with France that resulted in the Treaty of Madrid (1526-01). On April 5, 1526 he was already back in Mechelen. In the beginning of 1528 he was in France as the Emperor's envoy, setting off on his return journey to Spain in April.<sup>228</sup> No later than June 8, 1528, he joined the imperial court in Monzón. In July 1529 he went to Cambrai to take part in the peace talks, but returned to Spain before they ended ("Paix des Dames", 1529-08-05) in order to accompany the Emperor to Italy. In the period of interest here, from that moment he was with the court all the time, and after Gattinara's death (1530-06-05) managed the work of the imperial chancellery.<sup>229</sup>

#### 7.4.2.2. Individuals associated with the Polish royal court and Dantiscus' diplomatic mission

*Jan Lewicki* (†1555), envoy of Polish Queen Bona Sforza to Charles V. Jan Lewicki arrived at the imperial court on September 9, 1528, then left it in Piacenza on October 10, 1529 in order to travel to Naples and Bari.<sup>230</sup> He returned to the court in spring 1530<sup>231</sup> and then, before the court left Mantua (1530-04-18), traveled to Venice where he spent summer and autumn 1530 waiting for funds enabling him to return to Poland.<sup>232</sup> In the meantime, the court reached Augsburg, where Lewicki probably arrived in October 1530. He ultimately left the court between November 22 and November 29, 1530.<sup>233</sup>

*Scipione di Somma* (†before 1552), from 1525 General Auditor of Queen Bona Sforza in Bari; at least until 1540 Governor of Bari; councilor of Emperor

<sup>226</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 788.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 809; cf. also LUTTENBERGER Cornelius.

<sup>228</sup> LANZ, p. 270.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. ANTONY 2006, p. 77-135.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 441.

<sup>231</sup> Cf. letter No. 37.

<sup>232</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 544.

<sup>233</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDT 370, IDL 566.

Charles V. Scipione di Somma arrived at the court of Charles V between August 12 and October 6, 1530<sup>234</sup> and stayed there until mid-1532.<sup>235</sup>

#### 7.4.3. Alfonso de Valdés as a political writer, editor and publisher in the service of Charles V

As an imperial secretary and trusted associate of Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara, Alfonso de Valdés did not only produce the imperial chancellery's official documents. He was also entrusted with preparing texts that were supposed to popularize the political concepts and explain the moves of Charles V in the international arena. The issues discussed in these texts were mainly Spain's conflicts with France and the Papal State, and the attitude toward the Reformation movement in Germany. These kinds of texts were often published without the author's name and, as mentioned earlier, Valdés' correspondence with Dantiscus sheds new light on Valdés' contribution to some of them. A separate problem when dating the letters on the basis of texts they mention is that we do not always know if a given text was published in Valdés' lifetime, like *Lactancio* and *Dialogue of Mercury and Charon*, for example.

Any mentions of editing of political texts are important from the point of view of dating the letters, but caution needs to be exercised here because certain expressions describing those texts that were undoubtedly perfectly comprehensible to the correspondents are often not so clear to the editors of today. The undated letters of interest to us here include the following expressions used when discussing texts written or edited by Valdés:

- *apologia* (letter No. 1)
- *instrumentum litterarum caesaris ad pontificem* (letter No. 2)
- *refutatio Gallicae defensionis* (letter No. 5)
- *Lactantius meus de capta ac direpta Roma* (letter No. 34)
- *ratio rerum in hac urbe gestarum cum Lutheranis* (letter No. 42)
- *historia mea* (letter No. 43)

Editors of Valdés' letters usually assign the seemingly rather imprecise term ***apologia*** to Charles V's reply to the papal brief, *Epistola Caroli Caesaris, in qua huiusmodi falsis criminationibus diffuse respondet, a Pontifice Romano appellat, generaleque Concilium Christianorum congregari petit* (text No. 3.5. in the bibliographic information on p. 31). The correctness of this guess finds additional

<sup>234</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 543, IDL 561.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 807.

confirmation in Dantiscus' letter of October 12, 1526 written from Granada to King Sigismund I; among other things, it contains the following account of the presentation of the Emperor's reply to the papal brief to the Nuncio:

At this the Emperor, rightly outraged, replied extensively and violently to the Papal Nuncio who had presented the *breve*, and commanded the Grand Chancellor to reply to it in the form of an apology so that everything which had occurred between him [the Emperor] and the Pope, the arch-Christian King and the other [parties to the conflict] would be made public. He formulated this apology on thirty pages, on which he included everything that had happened at the time, and he did not leave out any argument against the Pope. The Emperor recently sent a copy of this apology to the King of England — — and soon afterwards, on September 17, he commanded that it be read to the Nuncio in the presence of a notary and witnesses, and then, having signed it, that it be handed to him as a sealed letter. — — I expect I will soon have a copy of this letter to the Pope, or rather this apology, for it is to be printed and made public among all mortals in different languages. The Chancellor has promised me a copy soon, which will make its way to Your Majesty as soon as I receive it.

*Ad haec non immerito percitus caesar multa vehementius nuntio pontificis, qui hoc breve reddidit, respondit, magnoque cancellario iussit ad ea, et ut omnia, quae inter ipsum et summum pontificem regemque Christianissimum atque alios acta sunt, nota fierent, per modum apologiae rescribere; quam in triginta paginas digessit, et omnia his inclusit, quae per haec tempora se obtulerunt, nihilque contra pontificem intactum reliquit. Huius apologiae exemplum caesar nuper regi Angliae — — transmisit, et paulo post nuntio pontificis 17 Septembris coram notario et testibus perlegi, et conscriptam deinde per modum clausurarum litterarum dari mandavit. — — Spero, me etiam istarum litterarum ad pontificem, seu potius apologiae, copiam habiturum, excudi enim debet et variis linguis in omnium mortalium notitiam deduci. Cancellariusque cum primis mihi illius exemplum pollicitus, quod cum habuero, quantocius ad Maiestatem Vestram Serenissimam pervolabit.*<sup>236</sup>

In this letter the Emperor's reply is referred to many times as *apologia*. Further on, Dantiscus summarizes this reply<sup>237</sup>, and then informs the King about another

<sup>236</sup> CIDTC, IDL 305.

<sup>237</sup> CIDTC, IDL 305: *sed reor, hoc illam prius ex Germania, quam a me habituram, cum iam illac sit missam, et ibidem promiscue omnia matura et immatura prelis subici in more positum est. In fine istius apologiae enumerat caesar beneficia sua in pontificem, et veri pastoris officia, a quibus illum longe aberrasse asserit, et quantum auri ex suis regnis et dominiis ad curiam Romanam confluat, adducens in medium centum gravamina Germanicae nationis, quodque hoc auro suorum, cum potius contra infideles vertendum esset, ipsemet impetatur, et per hoc exercitus conscripti dominia sua praeter rationem et aequitatem invasere. Unde hortatur pontificem, ut arma, quae illi non con-*

apology – an anonymous defense of the King of France against accusations that he has violated the treaty of Madrid, and the reply given by Chancellor Gattinara.<sup>238</sup>

It is undoubtedly this reply: *Apologiae Madritiae conventionis dissuasoriae pro Francisco Francorum Rege emissae refutatio* that Valdés mentions in his letter to Dantiscus as ***Refutatio Gallicae defensionis*** (*refuting the accusations of the Gallic defense*) (text No. 2.6. in the bibliographic information on p. 30).

***Instrumentum litterarum caesaris ad pontificem*** (notarial instrument of the Emperor's letter to the Pope) most likely refers to the group of texts marked 3.4., 3.5., 3.6. in the bibliographic information on p. 31. It is the same letter of Charles V to the Pope that is referred to elsewhere as *apologia*, with an added officially confirmed account of the public proceedings in which it was read out and handed to the Nuncio. This attribution is justified by the fact that the table of contents of text No. 3 in the bibliographic information on p. 31 describes texts 3.4., 3.5. and 3.6. jointly as ***Instrumentum praesentationis Responsionis Caroli Caesaris ad eiusmodi criminationes cum appellatione et generalis concilii indictionis postulatione***. We cannot preclude, however, that the expression Valdés uses, *Instrumentum litterarum caesaris ad pontificem*, refers to a different *instrumentum* – i.e. the Emperor's letter to the Pope and cardinals (text 3.10 in the bibliographic information on p. 31), or to a different letter still (e.g. text 3.8), though we do not know of documents of confirmation for the Emperor's other letters to the Pope.

On the other hand, it is impossible to identify with complete certainty the text described as ***historia mea*** (*my story/history*). Room for speculation in this case is limited by Valdés' comment when he asks Dantiscus to keep the text a secret until it is sent to the Pope and tells him that it will be published in print afterwards. (*Hoc unum te rogo, ut secreto apud te serves, quousque ad pontificem eat,*

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*veniunt, deponat, quod et ipse se facturum pollicetur; clavesque aureas contra infideles convertat et in Christianos Petri clavibus utatur, criminationemque per hoc breve obiectam diluat, in paternamque gratiam redeat. Quod si non fecerit, se sua omnino tueri in animum induxisse, et ab ea indigna criminatione se ad concilium generale, quod pro tempore et loco convenienti institui postulat, referre, illique se suaque omnia subicere. Qua de re sibi terminum praefigi et apostolos dari, more appellantium instantissime petit. Quid inde futurum, temporum successus docebit.*

<sup>238</sup> CIDTC, IDL 305: *Fuit etiam huc nuper alia apologia allata Parisiis in mense Augusto sup-presso nomine auctoris excussa in defensionem regis Christianissimi, quod iustis rationibus foedera et pacta cum caesare in Madrillis confecta non servaverit neque servare teneatur. Ad quam dominus cancellarius abunde respondit, et omnia, quae inter caesarem et regem Christianissimum transacta sunt, quam copiosissime descripsit, eaque ab ipso domino cancellario legi ad decursum fere trium horarum audivi, de quibus tamen neque disputare, neque iudicare meum est. Cumque haec propediem in lucem dabuntur; Maiestas Vestra Serenissima cum primis etiam habitura est exemplum, ne illam quicquam istarum rerum lateat.*

*postea enim typis excudetur*). Valdés' request that Dantiscus make corrections to this "history" indicates unequivocally that it was a text in Latin. The matter of a planned printed publication cannot be a clinching argument in identifying the text because these plans may not have been put into practice. Using the possessive pronoun *mea* in the expression *historia mea* enables us to eliminate texts that Valdés only edited, like the *apologia* discussed earlier and the letters of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera. Since the word *historia* in Dantiscus' correspondence with Valdés is used for a Latin text of Valdés' on Charles V's duel with King of France Francis I, which probably means the Latin version of *Dialogo de Mercurio y Carón* (text 9 in the bibliographic information on p. 34), we could guess that the words *historia mea* refer to one of Valdés' dialogues (in a now lost Latin version) – either *Lactancio* justifying the *Sacco di Roma* (text No. 8 in the bibliographic information on p. 33-34) or in fact the *Dialogue of Mercury and Charon*. However, it can also be a completely different text by Valdés, e.g. *ratio rerum in hac urbe gestarum cum Lutheranis* (a description of the events that occurred in this town in connection with the Lutherans) mentioned in another, also undated letter. This last text can, with high probability, be identified with the booklet that some researchers ascribe to Liévin Algoet, *Pro religione Christiana res gestae in comitiis Augustae Vindelicorum habitis. Anno Domini M.D. XXX.* (text No. 11 in the bibliographic information on p. 34). Valdés could have planned to send the Pope both dialogues as well as information about the events of the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530, or even a different text that is unknown to us.

Meanwhile, no doubts arise as to the identity of the item: *Lactantius meus de capta ac direpta Roma*. This is the Latin version of the title *Dialogo de las cosas acaecidas en Roma*, also known as *Lactancio* (text No. 8 in the bibliographic information on p. 33-34).

## 8. Source materials relating to the supplements and appendices

### 8.1. Source materials relating to the letter of Juan de Valdés to Ioannes Dantiscus

A fair copy of the unique known letter of Juan de Valdés to Dantiscus (letter No. 73) was lost with the whole sewn file AAWO, AB, D.130 (see p. 70-71, 75). Therefore the only preserved source of the letter is its **printed edition by Eduard Boehmer**, based on the copies made by Prof. Otto Waltz (see p. 78). There is also a register with an excerpt made by Henry De Vocht, stored in CBKUL, R.III,

31 (see p. 75). The letter was first published by Boehmer in 1882 in the journal *Rivista Cristiana*.

## 8.2. Source materials relating to the Ioannes Dantiscus' correspondence with Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara

### 8.2.1. Originals – fair copies

The originals – fair copies are available for all the letters of Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara to Dantiscus. These are 4 autographs and 3 letters in secretary's hand signed by the author. They can be found in the following libraries:

- **Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek** (Uppsala University Library), Carolina Rediviva [=UUB], pressmark **H. 154** (letters No. 74-78).
- **Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich** (the Princes Czartoryski Library) in Cracow [=BCz], pressmark **1596** (letter No. 80).
- **Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej** (Ermland Archdiocesan Archives) in Olsztyn [=AAWO], pressmark **AB, D. 3** (letter No. 81).

### 8.2.2. Rough drafts

The only known letter to Gattinara by Dantiscus is available in the form of a rough draft – autograph. It can be found in the **Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej** (Ermland Archdiocesan Archives) in Olsztyn [=AAWO], pressmark **AB, D. 66. (letter No. 79)**.

### 8.2.3. 20th-century copies, excerpts and registers

Copies, excerpts and registers of the correspondence between Dantiscus and Gattinara were made by both Henry De Vocht (see p. 75) and Antoni Marian Kurpiel. (see p. 75-76). They are kept respectively at the **Centrale Bibliotheek Katholieke Universiteit Leuven** (K.U.Leuven University Library) [=CBKUL], pressmarks **R.III, 30** (letters No. 74-78), **R.III, 31** (letter No. 81) and in **Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk** (Scientific Library of PAU & PAN) in Cracow [=B.PAU-PAN], pressmarks **8241 (TK 3)** (letters No. 76-79), **8245 (TK 7)** (letters No. 74, 80), **8246 (TK 8)** (letter No. 81).

## 8.3. Source materials relating to the appendices

Dantiscus' speeches and memoranda, and the replies to them, are stored in the form of fair copies, office copies and copies, in the following libraries:

- **Biblioteka Narodowa** (National Library) [=BNW] in Warsaw, pressmarks **BOZ, 2053, TG 4** (Appendices, No. 3); **BOZ, 2053, TG 5** (Appendices, No. 1, 2); **BOZ, 2053, TG 27** (Appendices, No. 8)
- **Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych** (Central Archives of Historical Records) in Warsaw [=AGAD], pressmark **Varia oddziału I** (Appendices, No. 13).
- **Biblioteka Jagiellońska** (Jagiellonian Library) in Cracow [=BJ], pressmark **6557** (Appendices, No. 1-3).
- **Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich** (the Princes Czartoryski Library) in Cracow [=BCz], pressmark **274** (Appendices, No. 1, 2, 3), pressmarks **403** (Appendices, No. 4, 5, 7, 10, 11), **1594** (Appendices, No. 9), **1598** (Appendices, No. 6).
- **Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej** (Ermland Archdiocesan Archives) in Olsztyn [=AAWO], pressmark **AB, D. 100** (Appendices, No. 9).

Two copies of an early printed booklet *Epitaphia, Epigrammata et Elegiae aliquot illustrium virorum in funere Mercurini Cardinalis marchionis Gattinariae caesaris Caroli Quinti Augusti supremi cancellarii* (Antwerp, 1531), which contains an introductory letter of Hilarius Bertholf to the Reader (Appendices, No. 13), can be found in the **Bibliothèque royale de Belgique** (Royal Library of Belgium) in Brussels, pressmarks **V H 24.301 A, VH 23.432 A 2**.

## 9. Previous publications of the supplements and appendices

### 9.1. Letter of Juan de Valdés to Dantiscus

The letter of Juan de Valdés to Dantiscus (letter No. 73) was included in the following publications:

- Eduard BOEHMER, “Una lettera di Giovanni Valdés”, in: *Rivista Cristiana* 10 (1882).
- Eduard BOEHMER, “Lives of the twin brothers Juán and Alfonso de Valdés extracted from the Bibliotheca Wiffeniana with the Author’s Additions on Recent Discoveries of Valdés’ Works”, in: *Juán de Valdés’ Commentary upon the Gospel of St. Matthew: now for the first time translated from the Spanish and never before published in English*, London, 1882.
- *Spiritual Milk or Christian Instruction for Children by Juán de Valdés*, ed. by John Thomas BETTS, London, 1882.
- *Cartas inéditas de Juan de Valdés al cardenal Gonzaga*, ed. by José F. MONTESINOS, 1931.
- Juan de VALDÉS, *Obras completas, I. Diálogos. Escritos espirituales. Cartas.*, ed. by Ángel ALCALÁ GALVE, Madrid, 1997.

Henry De Vocht also has published an excerpt of the letter in his book *John Dantiscus and his Netherlandish friends as revealed by their correspondence 1522-1546 published from the original documents*, Louvain, 1961.

## 9.2. Correspondence between Dantiscus and Gattinara

Three letters of Gattinara to Dantiscus were included in the following publications and studies:

- *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 9, ed. by Zygmunt CELICHOWSKI, Poznań, 1876, 2nd edition (letter No. 80).
- *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 11, ed. by Zygmunt CELICHOWSKI, Kórnik, 1901 (letter No. 81).
- Antonio PAZ y MELIA, “El embajador polaco Juan Dantisco en la Corte de Carlos V”, in: *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 11 (1924), 12 (1925), Madrid, 1924, p. 55-69, 304-320, 427-444, 586-600 t. 11 (1524); p. 73-93 t. 12 (1525) (letter No. 80).
- Henry DE VOCHT, *John Dantiscus and his Netherlandish friends as revealed by their correspondence 1522-1546 published from the original documents*, Louvain, 1961 (letter No. 74 – register only, 81 – reference only).
- *Españoles y Polacos en la Corte de Carlos V. Cartas del embajador Juan Dantisco*, ed. by Antonio FONTÁN, Jerzy AXER, Isabel VELÁZQUEZ, Jerzy MAŃKOWSKI, Madrid, 1994 (letter No. 74).

## 9.3. Appendices

The Memorandum of Ioannes Dantiscus submitted to the Emperor Charles V von Habsburg on behalf of the King Sigismund I Jagiellon and of the Queen Bona Sforza, with inserted replies of the Secretary of the Emperor, Alfonso de Valdés, [Regensburg, 1532-04-16] (Appendices, No. 12) was included in the source publication *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 14, ed. by Władysław POCIECHA, Poznań, 1952.

## 9.4. Web publications of the supplements and appendices

All the supplements and appendices are included *in extenso* in the online publication *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence* <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl>, edited by Anna SKOLIMOWSKA (director of the project) and Magdalena TURSKA in association with Katarzyna JASIŃSKA-ZDUN, first published on the web 2010-07-01 [=CIDTC].

## 10. Tables

**Table No. 1:** Correspondence between Alfonso de Valdés and Ioannes Dantiscus in its hypothetical chronological sequence  
Lost letters described in italics.

No.	CIDTC identification number	The number attributed in the present edition	Alfonso de Valdés		Ioannes Dantiscus	
			Place of dispatch	Date of dispatch	Place of dispatch	Date of dispatch
1.	<u>IDL 5740</u>	1	[Granada]	[1526-08-20 — 1526-09-17 ?]		
2.	<u>IDL 5785</u>	2	[Granada]	[ca. 1526-09-17]		
3.	<u>IDL 5741</u>	3	[Granada]	[1526-09-18 — 1526-10-11]		
4.	<u>IDL 5762</u>	4	[Granada?]	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 ?]		
5.	<u>IDL 5776</u>	5	[Granada?]	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 ?], or possibly 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1527-10-09 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-08-13]		
6.	<u>IDL 5742</u>	6	s.l.	[1527-08-31 — 1527-09-08]		
7.	<u>IDL 6781</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 7 (IDL 5744)</i>			Cubillas de Cerrato	<i>shortly before 1527-09-10</i>
8.	<u>IDL 5744</u>	7	Palencia	1527-09-10		
9.	<u>IDL 6782</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 8 (IDL 5745)</i>				<i>ca. 1527-09-11</i>
10.	<u>IDL 5745</u>	8	Palencia	1527-09-12		
11.	<u>IDL 5746</u>	9	Palencia	[1527]-09-24		

12.	<u>IDL 6783</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 11 (IDL 5748)</i>					<i>shortly before 1527-10-01</i>
13.	<u>IDL 5747</u>	10	Palencia	1527-10-01			
14.	<u>IDL 5748</u>	11	Palencia	[1527]-10-01			
15.	<u>IDL 6762</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 12 (IDL 5749)</i>				<i>Torquemada</i>	<i>1527-10-07 or shortly before</i>
16.	<u>IDL 5749</u>	12	Palencia	[1527]-10-07			
17.	<u>IDL 5789</u>	13	Palencia	[1527-10-08 — 1527-10-09]			
18.	<u>IDL 4019</u>	14	s.l.	[ca. 1527-10-10 ?], or possibly [1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-06-26 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — 1532-01-17]			
19.	<u>IDL 5784</u>	15	[Burgos?]	[shortly after 1527-10-17 ?], or possibly [1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-03-30 or 1527-10-07 — 1527-10-09 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19]			
20.	<u>IDL 100</u>	16	[Valencia]	[1528]-05-11			
21.	<u>IDL 5750</u>	17	Sagunto	1528-05-18			
22.	<u>IDL 5751</u>	18	[Madrid]	[1528-08-19 — 1528-08-31]			
23.	<u>IDL 5743</u>	20	s.l.	[1528, a few days after October 12]			

No.	CIDTC identification number	The number attributed in the present edition	Alfonso de Valdés		Ioannes Dantiscus	
			Place of dispatch	Date of dispatch	Place of dispatch	Date of dispatch
25.	<u>IDL 5781</u>	21	s.l.	[second half of 1528, not later than 1528-11-28 ?]		
26.	<u>IDL 5758</u>	22	s.l.	[1528-05-10 — 1528-07-26 or 1528-08-19 — 1528-12-14 ?], or possibly [1528-05-10 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27]		
27.	<u>IDL 5752</u>	23	s.l.	[1528-10 — 1528-12-13]		
28.	<u>IDL 5753</u>	24	[Toledo]	[1528, December 14 or 15]		
29.	<u>IDL 5755</u>	25	s.l.	[1528-09 — 1528-12-17 ?]		
30.	<u>IDL 6786</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 26 (IDL 5756)</i>				[1528-09 — 1528-12-17?]
31.	<u>IDL 5756</u>	26	s.l.	[1528-09 — 1528-12-17 ?]		
32.	<u>IDL 6774</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 27 (IDL 417)</i>				[1528-12-17 — 1528-12-18?], or possibly 1528-12-17 — 1528-12-24
33.	<u>IDL 417</u>	27	Toledo	1528-12-25		
34.	<u>IDL 6775</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 28 (IDL 421)</i>				[1528-12-26 — 1529-01-15]
35.	<u>IDL 421</u>	28	Toledo	1529-01-16		
36.	<u>IDL 5771</u> , <u>IDP 161</u> (enclosure)	29			Valladolid	1529-02-01

37.	<u>IDL 424</u>	30	Toledo	1529-02-01			
38.	<u>IDL 425</u>	31	Toledo	1529-02-14			
39.	<u>IDL 6787</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 32 (IDL 428)</i>					<i>shortly before 1529-04-10</i>
40.	<u>IDL 428</u>	32	Zaragoza	1529-04-10			
41.	<u>IDL 5763</u>	33	Zaragoza	[1529]-04-18			
42.	<u>IDL 5759</u>	34	s.l.	[ca. 1529-04-20]			
43.	<u>IDL 6788</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 35 (IDL 5757)</i>					[1529-04-20 — 1529-06-20?]
44.	<u>IDL 5757</u>	35	s.l.	[1529-04-20 — 1529-06-20 ?]			
45.	<u>IDL 5787</u>	36	s.l.	[1526-10-31 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 ?], or possibly [1529-08-12 — 1530-09-30]			
46.	<u>IDL 5765</u>	37	Mantua	[1530]-04-09			
47.	<u>IDL 5793</u>	38	s.l.	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-03-30 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-18]			
48.	<u>IDL 5788</u>	39	[Augsburg?]	[1530-06-26 — 1530-07-30 ?], or possibly [1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-03-30 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-02-20 or 1529-12-01 — 1530-04-18 or 1530-06-26 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-05-19 or 1531-07-20 — 1531-09-11 or 1532-06-01 — 1532-07-07]			

No.	CIDTC identification number	The number attributed in the present edition	Alfonso de Valdés		Ioannes Dantiscus	
			Place of dispatch	Date of dispatch	Place of dispatch	Date of dispatch
50.	<u>IDL 5780</u>	41	[Madrid, or Mantua, or Augsburg]	[shortly after 1528-09-09, or 1530, March/April, or ca. 1530-10, possibly also 1531/1532]		
51.	<u>IDL 5766</u>	42	[Augsburg]	[1530-10-31 — 1530-11-05]		
52.	<u>IDL 5760</u>	43	[Augsburg?]	[1530-10-31 — 1530-11-06 ?]		
53.	<u>IDL 30</u>	44			[Mantua or Augsburg]	[1530, shortly before April 18, or shortly before November 22]
54.	<u>IDL 5794</u>	45	[Mantua or Augsburg]	[1530, shortly before April 18, or shortly before November 22]		
55.	<u>IDL 5779</u>	46	[Augsburg?]	[1530-10 — 1530-11-22 ?], or possibly [1530-08-12 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — 1532-01-17 or 1532-04-06 — 1532-07-07]		
56.	<u>IDL 5792</u>	47	s.l.	[1528-09-09 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-10 or 1530-03-01 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-10-01 — 1530-11-28]		
57.	<u>IDL 5764</u>	48	s.l.	[1528-09-09 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-10 or 1530-03-01 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-10-01 — 1530-11-28]		
58.	<u>IDL 605</u>	49	Ghent (Gandavum)	1531-03-30		
59.	<u>IDL 129</u>	50			[Ghent (Gandavum)?]	[shortly after 1531-04-09]

60.	<u>IDL 5797</u>	51	[Ghent (Gandavum)?]	[shortly after 1531-04-09]			
61.	<u>IDL 130</u>	52				[Ghent (Gandavum)]	[1531-04-13 or shortly after]
62.	<u>IDL 5796</u>	53	[Ghent (Gandavum)]	[1531-04-13 or shortly after]			
63.	<u>IDL 5778</u>	54	[Brussels]	[1531-08-22 — 1531-09-24]			
64.	<u>IDL 5767</u>	55	[Brussels]	[ca. 1531-09-26]			
65.	<u>IDL 6789</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 56 (IDL 5777)</i>					[1531, Autumn ?]
66.	<u>IDL 5786</u>	56	[Brussels?]	[1531, Autumn ?], or possibly [1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1528-01-31 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-22 — 1529-06-30 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-09-01 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — 1532-01-17 or 1532-04-06 — 1532-07-07]			
67.	<u>IDL 5777</u>	57	[Brussels?]	[1531, Autumn ?], or possibly [1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1528-01-31 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-22 — 1529-06-30 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-09-01 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — 1532-01-17 or 1532-04-06 — 1532-07-07]			
68.	<u>IDL 5791</u>	58	[Brussels?]	shortly before [1531?]-11-11			

No.	CIDTC identification number	The number attributed in the present edition	Alfonso de Valdés		Ioannes Dantiscus	
			Place of dispatch	Date of dispatch	Place of dispatch	Date of dispatch
70.	<u>IDL 458</u>	60	[Regensburg]	[ca. 1532-04-16]		
71.	<u>IDL 5768</u>	61	[Regensburg]	[ca. 1532-04-16 ?], or possibly [1532-04-16 — 1532-06]		
72.	<u>IDL 6790</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 62 (IDL 5769)</i>				[ca. 1532-04-16?]
73.	<u>IDL 5769</u>	62	[Regensburg]	[ca. 1532-04-16 ?], or possibly [1532-04-16 — 1532-06]		
74.	<u>IDL 456</u>	63				[ca. 1532-04-16?], or possibly [1532-04-16 — 1532-06]
75.	<u>IDL 457</u>	64	[Regensburg?]	[ca. 1532-04-16 ?], or possibly [1532-04-16 — 1532-06]		
76.	<u>IDL 39</u>	65			s.l.	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-06-26 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — 1532-01-17 or 1532-04-06 — 1532-07-07]
77.	<u>IDL 5795</u>	66	s.l.	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19]		

					or 1530-06-26 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — 1532-01-17 or 1532-04-06 — 1532-07-07]			
78.	<u>IDL 5754</u>	67	s.l		[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-06-26 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — 1532-01-17 or 1532-04-06 — 1532-07-07]			
79.	<u>IDL 5761</u>	68	s.l		[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-06-26 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — 1532-01-17 or 1532-04-06 — 1532-07-07]			
80.	<u>IDL 5770</u>	69	[Regensburg]		[1532-05-03 — 1532-07-07]			
81.	<u>IDL 815</u>	70	Regensburg		1532-08-08			
82.	<u>IDL 6531</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 71 (IDL 824)</i>			<i>1532-08-08 — 1532-09-02</i>			
83.	<u>IDL 6530</u>	<i>Letter lost, mentioned in No. 71 (IDL 824)</i>						<i>1532, before September 3</i>
84.	<u>IDL 824</u>	71	Regensburg		1532-09-03			
85.	<u>IDL 831</u>	72	Passau		1532-09-11			

**Table No. 2:** The sources for the individual letters in the present edition, including Boehmer's edition. Archival units containing primary sources are marked in bold.

Letter No.	Location of source text																										
	fair copies (originals)					16th-19th century copies and excerpts					18th-century copies			20th-century registers and excerpts							print						
	AAWO, AB, D, 3	UUB, H, 154	BCz, 1596	RAH, Ms 9/6117	AAWO, AB, D, 130 ( <i>lost</i> )	GSA PK, X, HA Hist. StA Königsberg, HBA, H, K, 760	OS HHSA, LA Belgien, PA 21-4	BK, 222	BCz, TN 40	BCz, TN 42	BCz, TN 43	LSB, BR 19	SUB, Sup. Ep. 4041	SBB, MS Lat. Quart. 101	SLUB, C 110	BCz, 1366	B. Ossol., 151	BCz, TN 55	CBKUL, R.III, 30	CBKUL, R.III, 31	CBKUL, R.III, 32	B.PAU-PAN, 8241 (TK 3)	B.PAU-PAN, 8245 (TK 7)	B.PAU-PAN, 8246 (TK 8)	B.PAU-PAN, 8247 (TK 9)	B.PAU-PAN, 8250 (TK 12)	BOEHMER 1899
1.					X		X												X								X
2.							X																X				
3.							X													X							
4.					X		X													X							
5.							X													X							
6.					X		X													X							
7.					X		X													X							
8.					X		X													X							
9.					X		X													X							
10.					X		X													X							
11.					X		X													X							
12.					X		X													X							
13.							X													X							X







**Table No. 4:** Categories of publishing of the letters in the earlier printed editions (the numbers of 30 letters whose complete Latin text is being published for the first time in the present volume, are given in bold type).

IDL	CEID 2_3	CABALLERO 1875	BOEHMER 1899	AT 10	AT 11	AT 14	DE VOCHT 1961	STARNAWSKI	Españoles	VALDÉS 1996
5740	1		in extenso				<i>register</i>			in extenso
5785	2									
5741	3		in extenso				<i>register</i>			in extenso
5762	4		in extenso				<b>in extenso</b>			in extenso
5776	5									
5742	6		in extenso						<i>Spanish translation</i>	in extenso
5744	7		in extenso				<i>reference</i>			in extenso
5745	8		in extenso				<i>register</i>			in extenso
5746	8		in extenso							in extenso
5747	10		in extenso				<i>reference</i>			in extenso
5748	11		in extenso				<i>reference</i>			in extenso
5749	12		in extenso				<i>reference</i>		<i>excerpt in Spanish translation</i>	in extenso
5789	13									
4019	14						<i>reference</i>			
5784	15						<i>reference</i>			
100	16						<i>register</i>		<i>Spanish translation</i>	in extenso
5750	17		in extenso				<i>reference</i>			in extenso
5751	18		in extenso				<b>in extenso</b>		<i>Spanish translation</i>	in extenso
5790	19						<i>register</i>			
5743	20		in extenso				<i>reference</i>			in extenso
5781	21									
5758	22		in extenso				<i>excerpt</i>			in extenso



IDL	CEID 2_3	CABALLERO 1875	BOEHMER 1899	AT 10	AT 11	AT 14	DE VOCHT 1961	STARNAWSKI	Españoles	VALDÉS 1996
5764	48		in extenso				in extenso			in extenso, in extenso
605	49		in extenso				<i>register</i>			in extenso
129	50									
5797	51									
130	52									
5796	53						<i>register</i>			
5778	54						<i>reference</i>			
5767	55		in extenso				in extenso			in extenso
5786	56						<i>reference</i>			
5777	57						<i>reference</i>			
5791	58									
5782	59									
458	60									
5768	61		in extenso				in extenso			in extenso
5769	62		in extenso				in extenso			in extenso
456	63									
457	64						<i>register</i>			
39	65									
5795	66									
5754	67		in extenso				<i>reference</i>			in extenso
5761	68		in extenso				in extenso			in extenso
5770	69		in extenso				in extenso		<i>Spanish translation</i>	in extenso
815	70						<i>register; excerpt</i>	<i>excerpt</i>		in extenso
824	71		in extenso				in extenso			in extenso
831	72		in extenso				in extenso, <i>register</i>			in extenso

**Table No. 5:** Undated letters – the dating reconstructed by different researchers

XX – Letter not included in a given publication or notes

\* – Date determined by the editor as the most likely. Other possible dating ranges are provided in Table No. 1 (see p. 100-107), as well as next to the texts of individual letters where the reasons for dating are explained.

CIDTC, IDL	Number of letter in this edition	SKOLIMOWSKA	BOEHMER	KURPIEL	DE VOCHT notes	DE VOCHT print	ALCALÁ GALVE
IDL 5740	1	[1526-08-20 — 1526-09-17 ?]	1526 in Granada, placed before a letter dated October 12	XX	1526, September or October	1526, late September	1526, early October
IDL 5785	2	[ca. 1526-09-17]	XX	s.d.	XX	XX	XX
IDL 5741	3	[1526-09-18 — 1526-10-11]	1526-10	1526-10?	1526-10-12	1526-10-12	1526-10-12
IDL 5762	4	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 ?]	1529-02-14 — 1529-04-18	s.d.	1529, late February / early March	1529	1529-02-14 — 1529-02-16
IDL 5776	5	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 ?]*	XX	s.d.	XX	XX	XX
IDL 5742	6	[1527-08-31 — 1527-09-08]	1527, placed before the letter dated 1527-09-10	1527	1527, August – October	XX	1527, early September
IDL 5789	13	[1527-10-08 — 1527-10-09]	XX	s.d.	XX	XX	XX
IDL 4019	14	[ca. 1527-10-10 ?]*	XX	XX	1527-09	1527, September or October	XX
IDL 5784	15	[shortly after 1527-10-17 ?]*	XX	XX	1527-09	1527, September or October	XX
IDL 5751	18	[1528-08-19 — 1528-08-31]	1528-05-18 — 1528-12	1528	1528, spring	1528, first days of May	1528-08
IDL 5790	19	[shortly before 1528-10-09 ?]*	XX	s.d.	1530, July – October	1530, August	XX

CIDTC, IDL	Number of letter in this edition	SKOLIMOWSKA	BOEHMER	KURPIEL	DE VOCHT notes	DE VOCHT print	ALCALÁ GALVE
IDL 5743	20	[1528, a few days after October 12]	1527	1527	1527-05?	1527, September or October	immediately after a letter from early September 1527, with annotation "a few days later"
IDL 5781	21	[second half of 1528, not later than 1528-11-28 ?]	XX	XX	1531, summer	XX	XX
IDL 5758	22	[1528-05-10 — 1528-07-26 or 1528-08-19 — 1528-12-14 ?]*	1528-12-17 — 1529-02-01	XX	1528/1529	directly after a letter from May 18, 1528	1528, autumn
IDL 5752	23	[1528-10 — 1528-12-13]	1528-05-18 — 1528-12	1528	1528, late autumn	1528-05-18 — 1528-12-17	1528, autumn, before a letter dated November 14
IDL 5753	24	[1528, December 14 or 15]	before 1528-12-17	1528-12	1528-12	1528-12	1528-12-16
IDL 5755	25	[1528-09 — 1528-12-17 ?]	directly below the undated letter No. 67; before it he places letter No. 24 which is dated at prior to December 17, 1528	1528	1528-12	1528-05-18 — 1528-12-17	1528, Christmas
IDL 5756	26	[1528-09 — 1528-12-17 ?]	1528-12 — 1529-02-01	1528	at the turn of 1528/1529	1528-05-18 — 1528-12-17	1529-01
IDL 5759	34	[ca. 1529-04-20]	1529-02-14 — 1529-04-18	1529-02?	after 1529-02-14	1528 or 1529	1529-02-14 — 1529-02-16
IDL 5757	35	[1529-04-20 — 1529-06-20 ?]	suggested the letter was dispatched soon after Louis of Flanders, Lord of Praet left on his mission to Rome in spring 1529 but placed before a letter dated 1529-02-01	1528?	at the turn of 1528/1529	at the turn of 1528/1529	before a letter dated 1529-02-01

IDL 5787	36	[1526-10-31 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 ?]*	XX	s.d.	XX	XX	XX	XX
IDL 5793	38	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-03-30 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-18]	XX	s.d.	XX	XX	XX	XX
IDL 5788	39	[1530-06-26 — 1530-07-30 ?]*	XX	s.d.	1529-1530	XX	XX	XX
IDL 5783	40	[shortly after 1530-07-03 ?]*	XX	s.d.	1531, summer	XX	XX	XX
IDL 5780	41	[1528-09-09, or 1530, March/April, or ca. 1530-10, or 1531/1532]	XX	1530	1531, latter months	XX	XX	XX
IDL 5766	42	[1530-10-31 — 1530-11-05]	Augsburg, 1530	1530-11	1530-07 — 1530-10	1530-08	1530-10-31	1530-10-31
IDL 5760	43	[1530-10-31 — 1530-11-06 ?]	after a letter dated 1529-02-14	1529	1529, February or March	1529, February or March	after a letter dated 1529-02-14	after a letter dated 1529-02-14
IDL 30	44	[1530, shortly before April 18, or shortly before November 22]	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
IDL 5794	45	[1530, shortly before April 18, or shortly before November 22]	XX	s.d.	XX	XX	XX	XX
IDL 5779	46	[1530-10 — 1530-11-22 ?]*	XX	1529	1531, latter months	XX	XX	XX

CIDTC, IDL	Number of letter in this edition	SKOLIMOWSKA	BOEHMER	KURPIEL	DE VOCHT notes	DE VOCHT print	ALCALÁ GALVE
IDL 5792	47	[1528-09-09 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-10 or 1530-03-01 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-10-01 — 1530-11-28]	XX	s.d.	XX	XX	XX
IDL 5764	48	[1528-09-09 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-10 or 1530-03-01 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-10-01 — 1530-11-28]	1529-04-18 — 1530-04-09	1530	1530-04	1530-04	mistakenly published twice: 1) 1529-04-18 — 1529-04-19; 2) 1530-04-09 — 1530-04-28
IDL 129	50	[shortly after 1531-04-09]	XX	XX	1529 — 1530	XX	XX
IDL 5797	51	[shortly after 1531-04-09]	XX	s.d.	1529 — 1530	XX	XX
IDL 130	52	[1531-04-13 or shortly after]	XX	XX	1526, autumn	XX	XX
IDL 5796	53	[1531-04-13 or shortly after]	XX	XX	1526, autumn	a few days after the letter dispatched at the end of September 1526	XX
IDL 5778	54	[1531-08-22 — 1531-09-24]	XX	1531	1531-09 ?	s.d.	XX
IDL 5767	55	[ca. 1531-09-26]	1531, end of September	1531, end of September	1531, end of September	1531, end of September	1531-09-30
IDL 5786	56	[1531, Autumn ?]*	XX	s.d.	1528	1528	XX
IDL 5777	57	[1531, Autumn ?]*	XX	s.d.	1531, summer	1531, summer	XX
IDL 5791	58	shortly before [1531?-11-11]	XX	s.d.	1531, latter months	XX	XX

IDL 5782	59	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-07-26 or 1528-08-19 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-06-26 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — shortly before 1532-01-17]	XX	XX	XX	1531, latter months	XX	XX
IDL 458	60	[ca. 1532-04-16]	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
IDL 5768	61	[ca. 1532-04-16 ?]*	after a letter dated at the end of September 1531, before two other letters that make mention of the painter, the latter of these dated at 1532 in Regensburg	1531	1531-10	1531-10	1531-10	1531-10
IDL 5769	62	[ca. 1532-04-16 ?]*	between undated letter No. 55 (placed after letter No. 61, which he dates at the end of September 1531), and letter No. 69, dated at 1532 in Regensburg	1531 – 1532	1531 – 1532	mistakenly recorded twice: 1) October or November 1531 2) latter months of 1531	1531, end of October	after a letter from October 1531, with the annotation “soon afterwards”

CIDTC, IDL	Number of letter in this edition	SKOLIMOWSKA	BOEHMER	KURPIEL	DE VOCHT notes	DE VOCHT print	ALCALÁ GALVE
IDL 456	63	[ca. 1532-04-16 ?]*	XX	XX	1530-04-28 (date of Charles V's letter to the Council of the Kingdom of Naples mistakenly given to this one)	XX	XX
IDL 457	64	[ca. 1532-04-16 ?]*	XX	XX	1530-04-28 (date of Charles V's letter to the Council of the Kingdom of Naples mistakenly given to this one)	1530-04-28 (date of Charles V's letter to the Council of the Kingdom of Naples mistakenly given to this one)	XX
IDL 39	65	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-06-26 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — 1532-01-17 or 1532-04-06 — 1532-07-07]	XX	XX	1531, summer	XX	XX

IDL 5795	66	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-06-26 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — 1532-01-17 or 1532-04-06 — 1532-07-07]	XX	s.d.	1531, summer	XX	XX
IDL 5754	67	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-06-26 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — 1532-01-17 or 1532-04-06 — 1532-07-07]	below IDL 5753 which is dated at prior to 1528-12-17	s.d.	1528, end of December?	1528-05-18 — 1528-12-17	below IDL 5753 which is dated at prior to 1528-12-17
IDL 5761	68	[1526-09-18 — 1526-12-16 or 1527-01-26 — 1527-08-23 or 1527-10-18 — 1528-12-17 or 1529-04-20 — 1529-07-27 or 1529-08-12 — 1529-10-18 or 1529-11-05 — 1530-04-19 or 1530-06-26 — 1530-11-23 or 1530-12-19 — 1531-06-15 or 1531-06-30 — 1531-11-28 or 1531-12-12 — 1532-01-17 or 1532-04-06 — 1532-07-07]	1529-02-14 — 1529-04-18	1529-02	1529, at the turn of February and March	1529	1529-02-14 — 1529-02-16
IDL 5770	69	[1532-05-03 — 1532-07-07]	after 1532-05-03	1532	1532-03 — 1532-08	probably a few days after May 3, 1532	1532, early May

...

**Table No. 6:** The sequence of the letters in primary sources and in earlier publications (Italics and a lighter-colored typeface is used to mark the letters for which information about the dating is found in sources.)

CIDTC	Number of letter in this edition	sequence in the sources		sequence in the publications		
		AAWO, AB, D.130*	TN (vol./No.) the same sequence as in BK 222	BOEHMER	DE VOCHT (No. DE)	VALDÉS 1996 (No.)
IDL 5740	<b>1</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>40.24</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>DE 23</b>	<b>13</b>
IDL 5785	<b>2</b>	--	<b>40.25</b>	--	--	--
IDL 5741	<b>3</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>40.40</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>DE 25</b>	<b>17</b>
IDL 5762	<b>4</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>40.22</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>DE 72</b>	<b>60</b>
IDL 5776	<b>5</b>	--	<b>40.08</b>	--	--	--
IDL 5742	<b>6</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>40.31</b>	<b>3</b>	--	<b>27</b>
<i>IDL 5744</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>40.1</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>DE 39</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>IDL 5745</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>40.45</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>DE 40</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>IDL 5746</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>40.2</i>	<i>7</i>	--	<i>31</i>
<i>IDL 5747</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>40.3</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>DE 44</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>IDL 5748</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>40.43</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>DE 43</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>IDL 5749</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>40.44</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>DE 45</i>	<i>34</i>
IDL 5789	<b>13</b>	--	<b>40.34</b>	--	--	--
IDL 4019	<b>14</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>40.48</b>	--	<b>DE 42</b>	--
IDL 5784	<b>15</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>40.27</b>	--	<b>DE 42</b>	--
<i>IDL 100</i>	<i>16</i>	--	<i>40.16</i>	--	<i>DE 51</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>IDL 5750</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>40.49</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>DE 52</i>	<i>38</i>
IDL 5751	<b>18</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>40.28</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>DE 49</b>	<b>40</b>
IDL 5790	<b>19</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>40.51</b>	--	<b>DE 96</b>	--
IDL 5743	<b>20</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>40.17</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>DE 34</b>	<b>28</b>
IDL 5781	<b>21</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>40.18</b>	--	--	--
IDL 5758	<b>22</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>40.29</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>DE 61</b>	<b>42</b>
IDL 5752	<b>23</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>40.5</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>DE 54</b>	<b>41</b>
IDL 5753	<b>24</b>	<b>38</b>	--	<b>14</b>	<b>DE 56</b>	<b>47</b>
IDL 5755	<b>25</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>40.11</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>DE 58</b>	<b>49</b>
IDL 5756	<b>26</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>40.21</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>DE 59</b>	<b>51</b>
<i>IDL 417</i>	<i>27</i>	--	<i>42, not numbered</i>	--	--	<i>50</i>
<i>IDL 421</i>	<i>28</i>	--	<i>43.22</i>	--	--	<i>52</i>
<i>IDL 5771, IDP 161</i>	<i>29</i>	--	--	--	<i>missed in numbering on p. 44-45</i>	<i>Appendix no. IV</i>
<i>IDL 424</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>43.9</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>DE 64</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>IDL 425</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>43.16</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>DE 66</i>	<i>56</i>
<i>IDL 428</i>	<i>32</i>	--	<i>43.53</i>	--	--	<i>64</i>
<i>IDL 5763</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>40.26</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>DE 75</i>	<i>65</i>
IDL 5759	<b>34</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>40.4</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>DE 68</b>	<b>57</b>
IDL 5757	<b>35</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>40.53</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>DE 60</b>	<b>53</b>

CIDTC	Number of letter in this edition	sequence in the sources		sequence in the publications		
		AAWO, AB, D.130*	TN (vol./No.) the same sequence as in BK 222	BOEHMER	DE VOCHT (No. DE)	VALDÉS 1996 (No.)
IDL 5787	36	--	40.35	--	--	--
<i>IDL 5765</i>	37	30	40.32	28	DE 85	76
IDL 5793	38	--	40.36	--	--	--
IDL 5788	39	1C	40.33	--	--	--
IDL 5783	40	17	40.23	--	--	--
IDL 5780	41	1B	40.14	--	--	--
IDL 5766	42	32	40.20	29	DE 95	90
IDL 5760	43	24	40.6	23	DE 70	58
IDL 30	44	21[a]	--	--	--	--
IDL 5794	45	21[b]	40.37	--	--	--
IDL 5779	46	15	40.13	--	--	--
IDL 5792	47	16	40.38	--	--	--
IDL 5764	48	33	40.15	27	DE 76	65, 77
<i>IDL 605</i>	49	--	--	30	DE 130	94
IDL 129	50	2[a]	--	--	--	--
IDL 5797	51	2[b]	40.41	--	--	--
IDL 130	52	7[a]	--	--	--	--
IDL 5796	53	7[b]	40.42	--	DE 24	--
IDL 5778	54	1A	40.10	--	DE 65	--
IDL 5767	55	19	40.47	31	DE 166	96
IDL 5786	56	28	40.30	--	DE 55	--
IDL 5777	57	41	40.9	--	DE 41	--
IDL 5791	58	10	40.50	--	--	--
IDL 5782	59	4	40.19	--	--	--
IDL 458	60	--	--	--	--	--
IDL 5768	61	12	40.52	32	DE 171	98
IDL 5769	62	9	--	33	DE 173	99
IDL 456	63	--	--	--	--	--
IDL 457	64	--	--	--	DE 86	--
IDL 39	65	36[a]	--	36[a]	--	--
IDL 5795	66	36[b]	40.39	--	--	--
IDL 5754	67	35	40.12	15	DE 57	48
IDL 5761	68	18	40.7	24	DE 71	59
IDL 5770	69	14	40.46	34	DE 204	100
<i>IDL 815</i>	70	--	--	--	DE 232	104
<i>IDL 824</i>	71	--	--	35	DE 235	105
<i>IDL 831</i>	72	--	--	36	DE 236	106

## 11. Rules of the Edition

The principles below, besides minor differences due to the special nature of the texts published here, are the same as those adopted for the volume *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci* 2/1.

- 1) The letters are arranged in chronological order<sup>239</sup> and marked with consecutive numbers. If a letter does not have an exact date, it is placed under the most probable date. If such a date has been impossible to determine, the letter is placed under the latest possible date.
- 2) The editorial headings contain the register, in the case of undated letters – the grounds for the dating, information about the existence of a letter to which the given letter is a reply, and the existence of a reply to the given letter. Next follows source information about the originals as the basis for the edition (watermark, contemporary notes next to the addresses, seals or traces of sealing), and also information about subsequent manuscript and printed versions of the texts, and digital publications.
- 3) The orthography of the originals has not been preserved. It has been standardized in accordance with the traditional rules of modern Latin (e.g. Stuttgart edition of Philipp Melanchthon's correspondence).
- 4) In accordance with the above, proper nouns (mainly place names) that have a generally accepted Latin form have been standardized as well.
- 5) The orthography of non-Latin fragments of text has not been standardized.
- 6) Common words in languages other than Latin are transliterated in spaced-out type.
- 7) Whenever, for lack of other sources, the publication of a letter is based on 20th-century registers with excerpts; Latin excerpts are printed in antique, and English summaries in italics.
- 8) When writing numerals, Roman and Arabic numerals have been preserved. All Roman numerals are written in capital letters.
- 9) The following are capitalized:
  - a. Proper nouns
  - b. Polite forms of addressing the recipient
- 10) Abbreviations are spelled out without additional marking, apart from ambiguous or doubtful cases.
- 11) Contemporary punctuation has been introduced in the texts.
- 12) The following types of brackets are used in the source texts:
  - a) Parentheses ( ) are used for spelling out ambiguous abbreviations; they are also used for the parentheses used by a text's author.

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<sup>239</sup> Cf. the chapter "Determination of the proper sequence of the letters," p. 79-96.

- b) Square brackets [ ] are used for text that fills in damaged or poorly legible fragments of the original.
  - c) Braces { } are used for words the editor believes should be removed.
  - d) Angle brackets < > are used for words added to the text by the editor.
- 13) Source texts are accompanied by a critical apparatus that refers to the line numbers, a factual commentary marked with Arabic numerals, and footnotes signaling *similia* marked with letters. As regards the forms of geographical names used in the commentary to the source text, users are invited to read the explanation provided in the introduction to the volume *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci* 2/1.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> CEID 2/1, p. 61.

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Anna Skolimowska