INTRODUCTION

Four years after the first volume of the *Inventory of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence*, presenting the German-language correspondence, was published in the *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci* series¹, we are pleased to offer readers the next volume – *Inventory of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Latin Letters (1515-1548)*.

This inventory and the whole series are the result of many years of cataloguing and publishing Dantiscus’ correspondence; this work has been conducted at The Laboratory for Editing Sources of the Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies “Artes Liberales”, University of Warsaw (IBI AL, UW).

The present volume includes all known Latin letters written by Ioannes Dantiscus; they document both, his many years of diplomatic activity in the service of Sigismund I and Bona Sforza and the final period of his life when, as a bishop, he managed the Prussian dioceses of Kulm (1532-1537) and then of Ermland (1537-1548). The latter position also involved chairing two administrative bodies of Royal Prussia – the Prussian Council and the Assembly.

The sources presented here became an object of research interest almost from the moment they were written. Remarkably, already in the 16th century Dantiscus’ letters were given a special attention by Stanisław Górski, author of *Acta Tomiciana*, the 27-volume manuscript collection of documents showing the glory of Sigismund I’s reign. In the first edition of his work Górski devoted the whole volume 13² to Dantiscus’ correspondence, arranging all other documents in a chronological sequence of volumes. In the centuries that followed,

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² BJ, Ms 6557.
both, the handwritten *Tomiciana* and the original archival records of the bishops of Ermland, were copied many times. The most extensive program of copying correspondence and records, including Dantiscus’ Latin letters, was carried out in the 18th century by Adam Naruszewicz. A great quantity of material in the form of copies, registers and excerpts from Dantiscus’ correspondence has been preserved in the legacies of two 20th-century scholars: a Cracow archivist and historian of Polish literature, Antoni Marian Kurpiel and a Belgian historian, Henry De Vocht.

More information on the sources for Dantiscus’ Latin letters, their origin and later fate, is provided in the section “Characterization of the source materials for Ioannes Dantiscus’ Latin Letters” on p. 11-23, while a complete list can be consulted in the index on p. 185-187.

The inventory also records all previous print and web publications. The largest collection of Dantiscus’ Latin letters, based on Górski’s work, was published in print in the *Acta Tomiciana* series (to date 18 vols. covering years 1506-1536)\(^3\). These letters date from the time of Dantiscus’ diplomatic service and his early years as the bishop of Kulm. Subsequent letters and all others as yet unpublished represent material designated for publication in a full-text version within the first part of the *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci* series\(^4\). A complete bibliographic listing of print publications of Dantiscus’ Latin letters is provided on p. 187.

A full-text version of all Dantiscus’ Latin letters can also be found in the web publication *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Latin Texts & Correspondence*\(^5\) that is being developed by the same research team at IBI AL, in parallel to the series

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5 *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus Texts & Correspondence* ed. by Anna SKOLIMOWSKA & Magdalena TURSKA with collaboration of Katarzyna JASIŃSKA-ZDUN http://dantiscus.ibi.uw.edu.pl/?menu=call&f=search ([2011-06-28]).
Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci. This web publication is a regularly updated, developed and corrected prototype version serving as a kind of source editing laboratory for the print series.

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The Inventory’s structure

The letters have been arranged in chronological order. Letters bearing incomplete dates have been placed after the fully dated letters of the same year (e.g. a letter dated only with the year is placed after the letters from December 31 of that year). Letters dated the same day are arranged alphabetically according to the names of addressees; if the addressees are unknown, such letters follow after those listed alphabetically. Each letter’s description starts with a heading containing the item number, information on the addressee, on the place from where the letter was sent, and the date. The items are numbered in continuation of the numbering from the inventory’s first volume (CEID 4/1). Data not included in the primary sources are provided in square brackets [ ].

Next information indicates where the manuscript sources are stored, and to which category the source belongs: fair copy, early print, rough draft, office copy, copy, excerpt, register including excerpts, register, points. Primary sources are marked in bold type. They are mostly fair copies, but if these have not survived or are incomplete, other types of sources are listed, those believed by the editors to contain a variant of the text closest to the fair copy. In the case of fair copies, rough drafts and office copies, information is provided on whose hand copied the document. Copies, excerpts and registers are arranged in chronological order of dates they were produced.6

This data is followed by information on print publications listed in chronological order. The form of the publication – in extenso, translation (English, German, Polish, Spanish), register (English, German, Latin, Polish) and reference – is indicated in brackets.

Information about web publications comes next. For Dantiscus’ Latin letters, it consists exclusively of references to the Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Latin Texts & Correspondence mentioned above. Websites presenting facsimiles of existing print publications are not considered web publications.

This is followed by the incipit with the first words of a letter, excluding the salutation. The spelling of the incipit has been standardized in accordance with

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6 For more about the manuscript sources, see the section “Characterization of the source materials for Ioannes Dantiscus’ Latin letters”, p. 11-23.
the rules of modern Latin, similarly to the practice adopted in the vol. 2.1 of the series *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci*\(^7\).

The next information specifies where and when the letter was delivered (*red-ditum*), if such details were recorded by the addressee or by his office on the fair copy of the source.

The final section of a letter’s description is called **notes**, and contains various supplementary information, including:

1. the names of co-senders, if any
2. uncertainty about the letter’s authorship
3. the type of letter in case of poetic, pastoral, and dedicatory letters or book introductions; in case of dedicatory letters and prefaces, relevant bibliographic reference is also provided
4. major lost sources for the letter (especially in the case of lost fair copies)

The names of Dantiscus’ correspondents and of points of origin and delivery of the letters are provided in a uniform manner, usually reflecting the form used at the time. Some variants are provided in brackets to facilitate identification. The principles of the choice of a standardized form were discussed in the Introductions to the previous volumes of the series *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci*\(^8\). Complete information on the names, including the widest possible range of variations, is provided in the index.

The inventory does not include lost letters reconstructed on the basis of testimony contained in the extant correspondence. They are systematically recorded and presented in the web publication *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Latin Texts & Correspondence* mentioned above. The web publication is also the only place where the editors record data on the place and date of receipt of letters reconstructed from the replies. However, the data on lost letters and the reconstructed *reddita* is still far from complete.

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\(^7\) Experience with the reconstruction of Dantiscus’ own spelling acquired during the preparation of volume 1/1 of the Series Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci, led the editors of the Series to standardize spelling in all Latin texts contained in subsequent volumes of the Series, as well as in the web publication *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Latin Texts & Correspondence*, cf. Introduction to CEID 1/1, p. 69-73; CEID 2/1, p. 59; CIDTC / Information about the project / Graphic form of text, http://dantiscus.ibi.uw.edu.pl/?menu=ccor&menu2=project&f=aboutCorpus#7 ([2011-06-28]).

\(^8\) CEID 1/1, p. 114; CEID 2/1, p. 60-61; CEID 4/1, p. 8-9.
Characterization of the source materials for Ioannes Dantiscus’ Latin letters

From Ioannes Dantiscus’ correspondence survived 6137 letters, out of which 1691 (28%) are letters from Dantiscus and 4446 (72%) are those addressed to him. The letters were written in the following languages: Latin (3390), German (some in Low German) (2530), Spanish (38), Polish (38), Italian (16), Flemish (2), Czech (4) and French (2). Chronologically this correspondence covers the period from 1500 to 1548.

The graph below (Fig. 1) presents the breakdown by language of Ioannes Dantiscus’ correspondence.

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9 This section is largely based on the more detailed analyses performed in connection with the publication of the first part of the series Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci, cf. CEID 1/1, Introduction by Anna SKOLIMOWSKA, p. 85-110 and Katarzyna JASIŃSKA-ZDUN, “Methodology of work on secretaries’ rough drafts of Dantiscus’ letters (CEID 1/2-4)”, a paper delivered at the conference Respublica in Action 2, Cracow, 29 November 2010, being prepared for publication in the volume CEID 5/2.
There are 769 Ioannes Dantiscus’ Latin letters in the present inventory. They account for 46% of Dantiscus’ outgoing correspondence. The remaining letters are in German (54%) and Spanish (approx. 0.01%).

The percentage of Latin letters in Ioannes Dantiscus’ outgoing correspondence is represented by the Fig. 2.

![Figure 2. The percentage of Latin letters in Ioannes Dantiscus’ outgoing correspondence.](image)

Chronologically the Latin correspondence covers the period from 1515 to 1548. For the total number of known Latin letters sent by Dantiscus on various dates, see Fig. 3.

![Figure 3. The number of Latin letters sent by Dantiscus on various dates.](image)
The sources of letters survive in exceedingly diverse forms. Speaking most generally, they can be divided into original sources produced by Dantiscus himself or by his secretaries and derivative sources that were produced later.

Fig. 4 illustrates that there are many more sources for Dantiscus’ Latin letters than there are letters themselves.

The original sources include fair copies, rough drafts, office copies and points (i.e. outlines of the planned content of letters), and also some poetic and dedicatory letters as well as introductions to books – early prints. Derivative sources include copies, excerpts and registers – extracts of content. Registers sometimes contain excerpts from letters. Copies and excerpts are occasionally translated into languages other than Latin. The different types of sources for Dantiscus’ Latin letters and their numbers are presented in Fig. 5.
Original sources

Ideally, we may have a fair copy of a letter. The fair copy is the primary source for the letter, while the other types of existing sources may provide help in the reconstruction of any damaged sections of the fair copy; the derivative sources allow documenting the interest in the text as shown in later periods.

If the fair copy did not survive, the primary source for the letter is determined arbitrarily by the authors of the inventory on the basis of the closest possible similarity to the fair copy. In justified cases (e.g. substantial lacunae in the text of the first-choice source), additional primary sources may be indicated. In exceptional cases a letter may be documented solely by an outline or a 20th-century register based on a missing source.

The graph below (Fig. 6) shows the number of primary and secondary sources according to their different types.

Two main factors determined what type of source Dantiscus produced: the circumstances in which the letter was written and its addressee. The circumstances varied with the period in Dantiscus’ career and with his health. During his diplomatic missions in Europe Dantiscus usually dispatched letters written in his own hand, but before sending them he would have them copied by one of the trusted scribes who accompanied him on his travels. He gave the task of producing a fair copy to scribes only in exceptional situations, when he was unable to write because of a bout of chiragra or of eye disease. Near the end of his life, his deteriorating health forced him to dictate his correspondence.
A letter stood a chance of surviving in its fair copy, if the addressee kept an archive and if, by good fortune, it was not misled or destroyed over the course of time. Rulers as well as some institutions and higher-ranking individuals usually archived correspondence. The majority of multiple-page reports sent to the Polish royal court (primarily to King Sigismund I, Queen Bona Sforza, the Crown Vice-Chancellor Piotr Tomicki, the Crown Chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki and his brother Mikołaj – the Crown Grand Treasurer) survived among the fair copies kept in the archive of the Royal Office organized by Stanisław Górski, the King’s secretary. The archive is known as the Górski Files (Teki Górskiego) and currently stored at the National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa) in Warsaw. Fair copies of Dantiscus’ letters to Sigmund von Herberstein, a diplomat at the court of Ferdinand I Habsburg, the King of Rome, have been preserved among von Herberstein’s correspondence at the Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) in Vienna and the National Széchényi Library (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár) in Budapest. A fair copy of a letter to Ferdinand I himself is kept at the Austrian State Archives (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv) in Vienna, and another one, to Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury closely linked to the court of Henry VIII – at The British Library in London. Letters to the bishops of Royal Prussia – Tiedemann Giese, bishop of Kulm, and Mauritius Ferber, bishop of Ermland, letters to the Kulm and Ermland chapters and to some of the Ermland canons (Fabian Luzjański, Fabian Wojanowski) initially found their way to the archive of the bishops of Ermland and the relevant chapter archives. After Prussian archival materials were scattered as a result of the region’s stormy history,
the fair copies ultimately ended up at the Czartoryski Library (Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Biblioteka Czartoryskich) in Cracow (letters to the bishops) and in the Secret State Archives (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz) in Berlin (letters to the Kulm and Ermland chapters). A fair copy of a letter to Emperor Charles V has been preserved in the General Archive of Simancas (Archivo General de Simancas), and a fair copy of a letter to imperial secretary Alfonso de Valdés – at the Royal Academy of History (Real Academia de la Historia) in Madrid. Fair copies of Dantiscus’ letters to Joachim von Watt, the Swiss humanist from St. Gallen, are stored in the Vadianus Collection of St. Gallen Municipality (Vadianischen Sammlung der Ortsbürgergemeinde St. Gallen). A few remaining fair copies are preserved at the State Archive in Cracow, Department I, at the Wawel Castle (Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Oddział I na Wawelu), and at the Uppsala University Library, Carolina Rediviva (Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, Carolina Rediviva).

The number of surviving fair copies of letters from different years is shown in Fig. 7.

Figure 7. The number of surviving fair copies of letters from various years.

If a fair copy did not survive, rough drafts and office copies become important sources.

Hardly any rough drafts of letters survived from the times of Dantiscus’ diplomatic travels. Most likely he wrote the longer report letters straight away as fair copies; it is hard to say anything about the other letters for lack of source material. On the other hand, there are many (though certainly not all) office copies which survived from this period. Dantiscus used them for documentation purposes, as demonstrated by details of the dates, places and contents of previous letters frequently quoted in his correspondence. Sometimes he would also later send copies to the addressees of his letters, especially if he had reason to suspect that the original did not reach its destination. Dantiscus followed this habit of having office copies made even after he returned to Poland, but their number visibly de-
creased with time and rough drafts of letters assumed their previous documentary function. The number of preserved rough drafts of letters from various years is shown in Fig. 8 and the number of preserved office copies – in Fig. 9.

Outlines, or points survived in very few cases, but sometimes they are the only source of information about a letter. The number of preserved outlines of letters from various years is presented in Fig. 10.
Today the office copies, rough drafts and points are stored at the Ermland Archdiocesan Archives (Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej) in Olsztyn and at the Czartoryski Library in Cracow. Single office copies can also be found at the Uppsala University Library.

Office copies are related to a specific kind of derivative copies, namely copies of Dantiscus’ own letters sent as attachments to his letters to different addressees. Such copies attached to correspondence with the Gdańsk City Council survived at the State Archives in Gdańsk (Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku), while those sent to Prince Albrecht – at the Secret State Archives in Berlin-Dahlem. This type of copy is included in the statistics along with the other subsequent copies (see Fig. 11).

Because relatively few fair copies survived, especially from Dantiscus’ final years, a rough draft or office copy may often assume the role of a primary source. This is why the inventory also lists features of these sources important for interpreting the content of the letter. In other words, efforts have been made to identify the person who produced the source and who introduced any corrections. If we consider the person of the writer, we can divide the contemporary sources into autographs and secretarial sources. Some of the sources, particularly fair copies and rough drafts, exist in both varieties. Office copies are usually written in the secretary’s hand, while conceptual outlines (points) are in the author’s hand. This raises the question of the value of anything written in a secretary’s hand; how far this type of source reflects the ideas of the letter’s author? An analysis of how Dantiscus’ office worked and what his own writing habits were, based on the structure of rough drafts, on the type of corrections made and the manner they were made provides some answers. The office changed over time and its functioning fluctuated in relation to Dantiscus’ position or place of residence. As mentioned earlier, during his diplomatic missions, Dantiscus was being assisted by several scribes who accompanied him, among them Fabian Wojanowski, Dantiscus’ successor as royal envoy at the Imperial Court.

After taking over the dioceses of Kulm and Ermland, he had a team of more or less qualified scribes employed by the bishopric’s administration. Dantiscus’ own writing habits also evolved in accordance with his social status and health; these habits also depended (in the case of fair copies) on the importance and degree of friendship with the addressee. An analysis of the chronology of autographs and of secretarial sources for Dantiscus’ letters demonstrates a substantial increase in the number of the latter during his bishopric and their considerable ascendancy over his own handwritten sources starting from 1540. This tendency applies to the sources for both Latin and German letters, and it intensifies especially during the last two years before Dantiscus’ death, when his health (progressive chiragra, gastric disorders) almost completely prevented him from using his own hand for writing.
However, surviving sources clearly show that he did not entrust his secretaries with unsupervised articulation of texts on the basis of his general outline of content. There is no doubt that when unable to write himself, Dantiscus usually dictated the rough drafts to a more or less educated scribe. This is confirmed both by numerous references to this fact and by the analysis of the nature of mistakes made by the scribe – some are very often obvious aural errors and not mistakes of the eye and some are errors caused by the scribe wrongly anticipating the author’s words.

On a few occasions Dantiscus himself referred with a degree of self-irony to the arduous task of dictation. This is how he describes it to Kaspar Hannau:

*In praesens tuis copiosis et gratis mihi litteris, ut velim, fuisse respondere fessus dictando nequeo.* (Tired by dictation I am unable to reply as extensively to your long and kind letter as I would have wished.)

10 Letter No. 3281.

11 Letter No. 3287.

12 Letter No. 3286.

So far, four people employed in Dantiscus’ offices in Löbau (Lubawa) and Heilsberg (Lidzbark Warmiński) have been identified by name. They are: Baltazar of Lublin, Master of Arts and Canon of Kulm, Chancellor to the bishop of Kulm, Nicolaus Human, Dean of Guttstadt (Dobre Miasto), Chancellor to the bishop of Ermland, Johann Lehmann, Canon of Ermland and Dantiscus’ nephew, as well as a writer, the young Martin Allexwangen, son of the mayor of Elbing (Elbląg), Jacob Allexwangen. Sometimes he was also assisted in writing by his administrator and parish priest in Heilsberg Ioannes Langhannius. Further numerous different, unidentified hands writing for Dantiscus have been also detected.
Derivative sources

We mentioned earlier, that Dantiscus’ letters were copied on many occasions. Already in the 16th century, the letters stored in the royal archives were included in all three manuscript editions of *Acta Tomiciana* – a collection that initially provided briefs for King Sigismund II Augustus and senators of the Kingdom of Poland, covering political and social relations of the time as well as Polish diplomatic activities, and later on as a source of historical knowledge for future generations. For this later usage, many further copies based on the *Tomiciana* have been made, right up to the 19th century. Various volumes of *Acta Tomiciana* are currently stored at the Czartoryski Library in Cracow, at the Jagiellonian Library (Biblioteka Jagiellońska) in Cracow, at the Ossoliński National Institute (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich) in Wrocław, at the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN), and at the National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa) in Warsaw.\(^\text{13}\)

Independently from *Acta Tomiciana*, the Ermland archival materials were also copied in the 17th and 18th centuries; often, the extant collections of copies are interrelated.\(^\text{14}\)

A huge operation involving copying sources for the history of Poland was organized in 1781-1792 by historian Adam Naruszewicz, the author of the first study of Polish history entitled *Historia narodu polskiego* (*History of the Polish Nation*) and based on extensive and critically edited source material. This project under the financial patronage of King Stanisław August Poniatowski was carried out by a group of copyists. The result was more than 200 volumes of copies called by Naruszewicz *Acta Regum et populi Poloni* but usually referred to as Naruszewicz Files (Teki Naruszewicz). They are arranged chronologically. The relevant volumes, today preserved at the Czartoryski Library in Cracow, also include a sizable representation of Dantiscus’ correspondence.

The history of copies and books of copies was far from straightforward, as can be seen from the fact that they are now stored not only in Polish archives and libraries. Copies of Dantiscus’ Latin letters may be found in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb (Arhiv Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti) and at the National Library of France (Bibliothèque Nationale de France) in Paris. For the number of extant copies of letters from various years, see Fig. 11.

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\(^{14}\) A more in-depth analysis of the mutual relations among the books of copies of Dantiscus’ Latin letters from 1537 can be found in the introduction to volume 1/1 of the present series, cf. CEID 1/1, p. 93-99.
Another special group of sources are collections of registers and excerpts from Dantiscus’ correspondence preserved by modern-day scholars. The inventory includes two such collections: that of Antoni Marian Kurpiel and Henry De Vocht. Both were created with meticulous care and contain systematically organized material.

Cracow historian of literature and archivist Antoni Marian Kurpiel planned to write an extensive monograph on Ioannes Dantiscus, but the plan came to nothing when he died prematurely in 1914. The notes on Dantiscus’ correspondence that he left behind are kept at the Scientific Library of PAU & PAN in Cracow, in 13 files described in the literature as the Kurpiel Files (Teki Kurpiela)\textsuperscript{15}. File 1 contains a rough draft of the first chapters of the planned monograph with some source references, files 2-6 contain chronologically arranged registers, and files 7-12 – excerpts and sometimes also complete copies of Dantiscus’ letters. File 13 holds notes not arranged in any special order. The present inventory records the

\textsuperscript{15} B.PAU-PAN, pressmark 8239-8251 (TK 1-13).
contents of files 1-12. The registers produced by Kurpiel personally are in Polish. The scholar copied some of the registers from the extensive tables of contents in Ermland archival materials, which at the time were housed in Braunsberg (Braniewo) and Frauenburg (Frombork) (today in the Ermland Archdiocesan Archives in Olsztyn). These are registers in German. As mentioned earlier, some of the registers are accompanied by excerpts from letters, and this has been indicated in the inventory.

Belgian historian of the Renaissance Henry De Vocht, author of the multiple-volume monograph on Louvain’s famous *Collegium Trilingue*\textsuperscript{16}, was interested in Dantiscus in the context of his relations with Dutch humanists. The results of De Vocht’s research at Polish, German and Swedish libraries are contained in 4 notebooks of extracts from sources, kept at the Centrale Bibliotheek Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. Some of this material was used in the book *John Dantiscus and his Netherlandish Friends*\textsuperscript{17}. The notes by De Vocht are in English while the extracts from sources are in the language of the sources, chiefly Latin. The notes are arranged by the places where the sources are stored.

Kurpiel’s and De Vocht’s materials are valuable because in a dozen or so cases they constitute the primary source for letters from Dantiscus’ correspondence whose other sources are lost or were seriously damaged after these two scholars had recorded their excerpts. As regards Dantiscus’ Latin letters, this applies to 4 letters to Alfonso de Valdés, recorded on the basis of the lost AAWO volume with pressmark AB, D. 130. The number of excerpts from letters from different years is shown in Fig. 12 and the number of registers of letters from different years is shown in Fig. 13.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure12.png}
\caption{The number of extant excerpts from letters from different years.}
\end{figure}


\textsuperscript{17} Henry DE VOCHT, *John Dantiscus and his Netherlandish friends as revealed by their correspondence 1522-1546 published from the original documents*, Louvain, 1961.
Introduction

Figure 13. The number of extant registers (some of them including excerpts) of letters from different years.

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