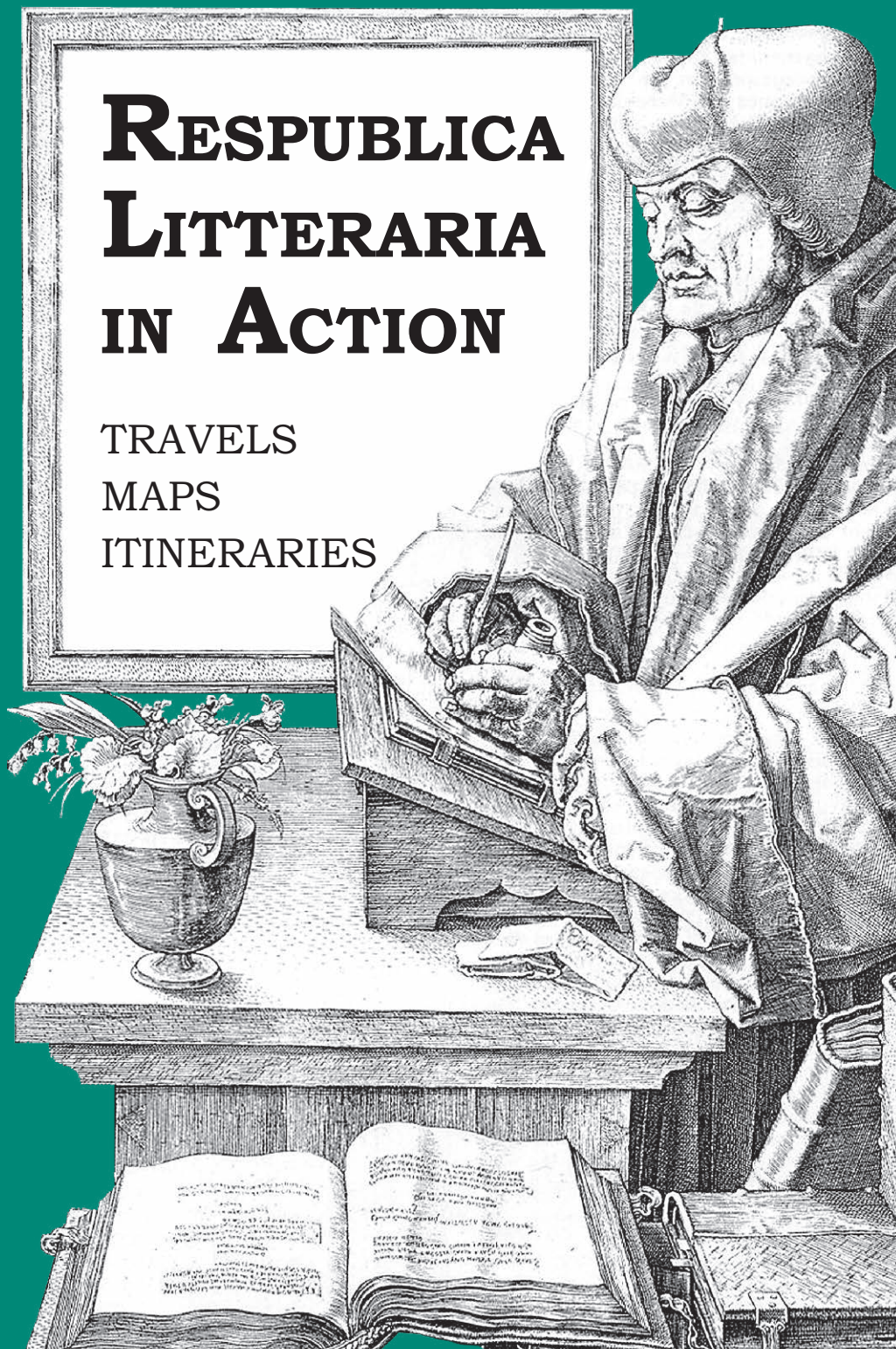


# RESPUBLICA LITTERARIA IN ACTION

TRAVELS  
MAPS  
ITINERARIES



*Respublica Litteraria* in Action  
Travels—Maps—Itineraries

CORPUS EPISTULARUM  
IOANNIS DANTISCI

Edited by Jerzy Axer and Anna Skolimowska

Pars V

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***RESPUBLICA LITTERARIA* IN ACTION**  
**TRAVELS—MAPS—ITINERARIES**

Ed. Katarzyna Tomaszuk

Supplement  
Patrik Sapała

**The Itinerary of Bishop Piotr Tomicki,  
Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland  
(1515–1535)**



**Warsaw 2023**



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## PREFACE

The compilation of Ioannes Dantiscus' itinerary, just completed by Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, along with the forthcoming publication in both print and digital formats, served as the impetus for the fourth gathering of the “*Respublica Litteraria* in Action” series, focusing on the theme of “Travels—Maps—Itineraries”. Continuing its tradition, the meeting coincided with the discussions of the International Scientific Council of the Project “Registration and Publication of the Correspondence of Ioannes Dantiscus (1485–1548)”, inviting historians and literary scholars specializing in the early modern period, both collaborators and friends of the project.

This volume emerges as a result of this collaborative effort. Its first part features contributions from session participants, while the second extensive part presents the itinerary of Bishop Piotr Tomicki, Vice-Chancellor of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland from 1515 to 1535, crafted in response to our conference invitation. Consequently, the content of the book boasts a diverse array of topics. Alongside source studies and historical analyses, there are reflections on the map and the verbal representation of geographical space as a literary motif and symbol, as instruments and practices of power/knowledge or as expressions of political and civic ideas and values.

The book opens with an article by Jerzy Axer, who interprets the message of the show that Cosimo II Vecchio staged in Florence in 1548 during the visit of Pope Pius II (formerly known as the eminent humanist Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini) and Galeazzo Maria Sforza. Alongside wild animals, including surprisingly peaceful lions, the spectacle featured a giant wooden giraffe with armed men inside. Considering the giraffe as the key to understanding the entire show, Axer argues that what we have here is not an unsuccessful attempt at staging Roman-style *venationes*, as evidenced by the fact that the lions refrained from attacking animals or people. Instead, he suggests that Cosimo's intention was to demonstrate Florence's position

against the papal plan for an anti-Ottoman crusade and to present his own policy toward the Turks and the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt, and he conveyed his message to the show's most important spectator with symbols drawn from the mythological and poetic geography of classical antiquity, which can also be found on maps of the time

The next paper, authored by Arne Jönsson, is devoted to a wall map compiled by Swedish diplomat and humanist Olaus Magnus (like his brother Johannes belonging to the circle of Dantiscus' friends and correspondents) and printed in Venice in 1539. This work, entitled *Carta marina et descriptio septentrionalium terrarum et mirabilium rerum in eis contentarum* [Marine chart and description of the northern lands and the wondrous things contained therein], was the first so accurate map of the North of Europe and the first to show the correct shape and positioning of the Scandinavian Peninsula. Its author, as a Roman Catholic clergyman, from 1524 until his death remained in exile, including in Gdańsk, where he worked on the map. With its very abundant and condensed pictorial information, complemented by accompanying textual descriptions both on the map itself and in separate booklets in Italian and German, the *Carta marina* was a cartographic compendium of multifaceted knowledge of the North, encompassing geographical, ethnographic, natural, historical, and political dimensions, while also indulging in the marvels promised in its title. Alongside Magnus' major work, the comprehensive narrative titled *Historia de gentibus Septentrionalibus* [History of the northern nations], published in 1555, it illuminated a North previously unknown to Europeans, arousing their curiosity about the region. Arne Jönsson presents the circumstances of the map's creation and examines its iconographic and verbal components. He also highlights some aspects of the reception of both Magnus' works, especially the *History*, which, translated into vernacular languages, abridged and reworked, helped shape the image of Scandinavia to meet the expectations of non-Scandinavian readers and contributed to the phenomena that today's researchers refer to as the "Apotheosis of the North" (Bernd Roling) and "orientalism" (Erling Sandmo).

Marcin Bielski's *Kronika wszystkiego świata* [Chronicle of the whole world], Jan Kieniewicz writes about in his essay, stands as the earliest universal history written in the Polish language (first edition: Cracow, 1551). Both the author and the recipients of this work constituted the political entity



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known as the *Rzeczpospolita* [Commonwealth]. It is their beliefs, ideas, and perceptions that were reflected in Bielski's narrative of the global history and geography, making the *Chronicle* akin to a map plotting their collective "identity coordinates". Looking at the horizon of their world, Kieniewicz directs his attention not to its temporal or spatial dimensions, but to one of its key determinants—the participation of the *Rzeczpospolita*'s citizens in the then-emerging European system of values by constructing their own distinct version of this system, into which they incorporated some common, pan-European elements while omitting others. Kieniewicz calls this system Euro-Sarmatian.

As an increasingly precise tool for navigating geographic space, a source of increasingly reliable knowledge about it, and an (increasingly) aesthetically appealing object, the map could not fail to stimulate the imagination of artists and had to enter the world of literature and art as a theme, motif or metaphor. In the text "Mapmakers among the Lions: From Medieval Romance to the Idol of the Map", Małgorzata Grzegorzewska deals precisely with the symbolic dimension of early modern maps as revealed in the literature of the period, analysing, among other things, scenes from Christopher Marlowe's dramas and excerpts from Edmund Spenser's poem *The Faerie Queene*. As she shows, the maps, without completely abandoning medieval allegory, depicted the expanding world in increasingly abstract ways, but still, albeit in a different way, seduced the observer's imagination and encouraged him to explore the unknown space, which turned out to be not fantastic or imaginary but as real as possible. Reflecting that space, they also reflected "the conqueror's inquisitive look and haughty mien". Simultaneously, Grzegorzewska references the words of the English humanist Thomas Elyot, claiming that a map, contemplated for pleasure, serves as both an inspiration and a tool for reflection on the breadth of God's creation within the confines of one's home. Consequently, the map transforms from a mere impulse to a substitute for risky endeavours. While Elyot's words can be interpreted as a broad, universal reflection, it is pertinent to note that their immediate recipient was Henry VIII. Elyot not only persuaded Henry of the map's capacity to provide pleasure but also underscored its utility in governance and territorial expansion.

John Gillies' paper addresses the geographical paradigm that took shape in the Age of Great Discovery. Gillies identifies its similarities with concep-

tions articulated by Giambattista Vico in his notion of poetic geography, a component of *scienza nuova*, when describing the “world’s childhood”. The New Geography, practiced by Europeans, commenced with the naming of the New World territories through, in the words of Vico, “semblances of things known or close at hand”, i.e., with recreating the Old World, and led to the removal of their indigenous inhabitants from both physical and cognitive landscapes. Gillies characterizes this phenomenon as “counter-geography”, considering it a deliberate strategy of *not knowing* the newly discovered world. By adopting it, explorers were able to lay claim to lands that had previously been unclaimed or seemingly non-existent, and therefore belonged to no one. The inherent violence of poetic geography is well evident in the cartography of the sixteenth century.

On Ioannes Dantiscus’ travel map, Borisov on the Berezina River in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania marked the easternmost point of continental Europe. During his time accompanying King Sigismund I with the Royal Chancellery, Dantiscus witnessed a report to the monarch on the victory of the Lithuanian-Polish army over Moscow forces at Orsha on 8 September 1514. Shortly thereafter, his Latin poem commemorating the victory, *Sylvula de victoria inclyti Sigismundi regis Poloniae contra Moschos*, was printed in Cracow, contributing to the conviction spread by Jagiellonian propaganda and diplomacy regarding the battle’s significance for Europe. The victory at Orsha, as well as the motif of Moscow’s barbarism and perfidy, Dantiscus also included in his later poem, *Ad Herbersteinium soteria*. Both the *Sylvula* and *Soteria* represent rare instances of Dantiscus’ engagement with “Moscow affairs” alongside his diplomatic endeavours, as discussed by Hieronim Grala in his article “The Shadow of Moscow: Ioannes Dantiscus and the Eastern Dimension of Jagiellonian Diplomacy”, which shows the historical and political background of the poems, and in particular their propaganda function.

In her study “Ioannes Dantiscus, *civis Gedanensis*”, Anna Skolimowska explores the dynamics of Dantiscus’ relationship with his hometown of Gdańsk. A thorough analysis of the very extensive source material of Dantiscus’ correspondence yields information on his interactions, opinions and sentiments toward Gdańsk and its inhabitants. Dantiscus never stopped feeling *civis Gedanensis* and despite his conflict with the Gdańsk patriciate, maintained a strong emotional bond and continued contact with his hometown. He unwaveringly supported the city in its dispute with King

Sigismund I, highlighting Gdańsk's loyalty to the Crown and the economic and propagandistic benefits derived from its trade.

This part of the book concludes with two communications. In the first, "TEI Publisher: Future Prospects of the Web Publication of the *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*, Magdalena Turska presents the IT systems used for the online publication of Dantiscus' legacy and, in this context, reflects on ways out of the pitfalls of rapidly aging technology for digital editions.

Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, who compiled Ioannes Dantiscus' itinerary, briefly discusses both forms of its publication: as a printed book in the series *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci* (Volume 1 of Part III entitled *Epistulae et Commentationes*) and as an interactive digital publication (with the ability to search, sort and correlate data), the website *Dantiscus' Itinerary*, nested in the *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*.

The second part of the book comprises the itinerary (that is, as defined by the Polish historian Antoni Gąsiorowski, a critical listing of the dates and places of stays of the person under study) of Bishop Piotr Tomicki, one of the most significant figures on the political scene during the reign of King Sigismund I Jagiellon. It spans the years 1515–1535, when Tomicki held the position of Vice-Chancellor of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland. In contrast to Chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, who was more active beyond the royal court, Tomicki remained almost constantly at the King's side, accompanying the royal retinue throughout his tenure. The itinerary, meticulously compiled by Patrick Sapała on the basis of the very extensive, carefully researched source material, lays the groundwork for a comprehensive biography of Tomicki, a work yet to be undertaken. Moreover, it serves as an effective tool for further exploration into the reign of Sigismund I, offering a deeper insight into the mechanisms of power at the time.

*Anna Skolimowska, Katarzyna Tomaszuk*



Fig. 1. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1485–1490, fresco, Florence, Santa Maria Novella, Tornabuoni Chapel.

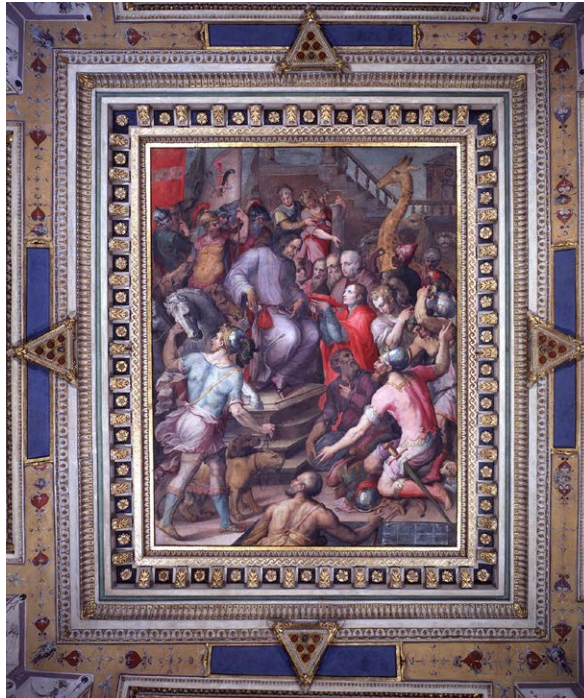


Fig. 2. Giorgio Vasari, *Lorenzo the Magnificent Receives the Tribute of the Ambassadors*, 1558, fresco, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Lorenzo il Magnifico.

**Jerzy AXER**

University of Warsaw

## THE HUMANISTIC IDEA OF AN IMAGINED MAP

### THE CASE OF THE MEDICIS' GIRAFFE

In 1487, Lorenzo il Magnifico received a live giraffe from the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, Abu Al-Nasr Sayf ad-Din Al-Ashraf Qaitbay. It was the first giraffe seen in Europe since Roman times.<sup>1</sup> On 11 November of that year, an unusual caravan magnificently proceeded down the streets of Florence. It boasted a 5-meter tall giraffe that elicited the wild enthusiasm of everyone looking on. At once, it became the subject of painted portraits (Fig. 1). For the next century, the spectacle was part of the powerful family's symbolism (Fig. 2). This was, in fact, the famous "Medici giraffe" that has been researched by many scholars in various contexts over the past quarter century,<sup>2</sup> and which has also become an element of popular culture.

Seeking an explanation for this spectacle and trying to find connections between power and the world of symbols and art, Marina Belozerskaya continues the thinking of earlier scholars—art historians—who claimed this was an

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<sup>1</sup> If we leave out those giraffes, which may have been received from the sultans of Egypt by Frederick II, King of Sicily and Holy Roman Emperor (in 1245), and his son Manfred (in 1261), cf. Berthold LAUFER, *The Giraffe in History and Art (Anthropology Leaflet 27)*, Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1928, pp. 70–72; Clive A. SPINAGE, *The Book of the Giraffe*, London: Collins, 1968, pp. 55 ff. Some information about giraffes sent to the courts of the rulers of Ferrara, Calabria and Naples in the fifteenth century does not seem to deserve trust, cf. Graham MITCHELL, *How Giraffes Work*, Oxford University Press, 2021, pp. 28–29.

<sup>2</sup> One major factor in this has been the book, reissued several times, by Marina BELOZERSKAYA, *The Medici Giraffe and Other Tales of Exotic Animals and Power*, New York–Boston–London: Little, Brown and Company, 2006. (Let us add that before then, there was also, e.g., the book by Joan BARCLAY LLOYD, *African Animals in Renaissance Literature and Art*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, and the paper by Christiane L. JOOST-GAUGIER, "Lorenzo the Magnificent and the Giraffe as a Symbol of Power", *Artibus et Historiae* 16 (1987), pp. 91–99.) See also Lorenzo MONTEMAGNO CISERI, "Camelopardalis. Storia naturale e straordinaria della giraffa di Lorenzo il Magnifico", *Interpres. Rivista di studi quattrocenteschi* 31 (2012), pp. 351–372. Angelica GROOM's *Exotic Animals in the Art and Culture of the Medici Court in Florence*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2018, is another important step in this research, see *ibidem*, pp. 179–207.



example of using ancient associations to legitimize power.<sup>3</sup> So she refers to ancient texts known to every humanist in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such as ones by Pliny the Elder, Cassius Dio, Diodorus Siculus, and finally Horace, for these texts refer to the triumphal procession that Caesar held in Rome in 46 BC, probably with Cleopatra in attendance, after his Egyptian campaign. The highlight of this celebration was the presentation of a never-before-seen giraffe to the people of Rome.<sup>4</sup>

Belozerskaya considered the hypothesis that Lorenzo il Magnifico might have used the giraffe to cast himself as a new Caesar. This explanation is often offered in academic and popular literature, but the author herself spoke of it as doubtful.<sup>5</sup> It would have been altogether dangerous to play Julius Caesar in republican Florence at this time when there was no shortage of potential Brutuses. Hence, such a propaganda move would have made no sense.

The matter was finally settled by Angelica Groom, who proved that the mission and the gifts bestowed were a tribute not to Lorenzo il Magnifico himself “but to the Florentine ‘nation’ as a diplomatic goodwill gesture to encourage mercantile relations”.<sup>6</sup> Only artists working under the patronage of Lorenzo and his successors caused a version of events with possible Caesarian associations to take root. Ultimately, these efforts were rounded off three generations later by Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici when he commissioned Giorgio Vasari to paint the picture *Lorenzo il Magnifico Receives Tribute of the Ambassadors* (Fig. 2).

To understand Lorenzo il Magnifico’s intention in giving so much publicity to the giraffe’s arrival, it is worth realising that this concept had emerged much earlier. Lorenzo’s grandfather Cosimo de’ Medici, who built the family’s power, used the “giraffe effect” in the context of relations between his native city and the Mamluk sultans of Egypt. More precisely, he used it in the spring of 1459 for the reception in Florence of the newly elected Pope Pius II and Galeazzo Maria Sforza, son of his closest ally, Duke of Milan Francesco I. On 1 May 1459, the illustrious guests sat in makeshift grandstands to watch, along with thousands of Florentines, the spectacle sponsored by the future Father of the Fatherland. A “herd” of domestic animals (mainly horses, goats, dogs, and pigs) was driven into the Mercato Nuovo square, transformed into a huge arena. Then twenty-six lions

<sup>3</sup> See JOOST-GAUGIER, “Lorenzo the Magnificent ...”, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> See Horace, *Epistulae* 2.1, 192–196: “Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus, seu / diversum confusa genus panthera camelo / sive elephans albus volgi converteret ora”. In this poetic letter to Augustus, the giraffe refers to Caesar’s triumph. At the same time, the white elephant is most likely a reference to the ceremony that Octavian Augustus organized a quarter century later.

<sup>5</sup> BELOZERSKAYA, *The Medici Giraffe ...*, op. cit., pp. 106–109.

<sup>6</sup> GROOM, *Exotic Animals ...*, op. cit., pp. 190.

were unleashed upon them. The lions, however, showed no interest in their potential prey and lay down for a collective nap after a while. Then a huge mockup of a giraffe entered the arena on wheels and scattered the herd. After a moment, the inside of the construction opened, and a bunch of armed youths emerged. However, the lions remained unruffled; no fight ensued, and not a single drop of blood was shed.

Previous interpreters of the spectacle have concluded that in a show imitating the Roman *venationes*, no bloody slaughter in the arena is evidence of the spectacle's failure. They follow this up by assuming that the predators were ill-prepared for the performance and that a giraffe dummy was introduced *ad hoc* by the desperate "director" of the show to force the big cats to be aggressive.<sup>7</sup>

This explanation is very unconvincing. It is hard to believe that after a few centuries of experience with breeding lions—animals that were venerated and symbolized the Republic—the Florentines were unaware of their temperament and did not know how to keep a proper feeding schedule. It is also hard to imagine that the appearance of an enormous mechanical giraffe—a unique effect whose attractiveness equaled that of the famous mechanical elephant that Leonardo da Vinci had produced a few years before for Duke of Burgundy Philip the Good—was not the highlight of the spectacle but an off-the-cuff idea aimed at preventing the unexpected failure of the whole project.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, I view Cosimo de' Medici's intention differently. I assume that the "director" prepared and faultlessly executed a plan to show his honorable guests a very original spectacle but also very meaningful as a political declaration.

Pius II visited Florence on his way to a council he had called in Mantua to announce the start of a new, all-European crusade against the Ottoman Empire. Cosimo de' Medici did not intend to support this initiative but could not officially dissociate himself from the crusade idea. Planning the visit as an opportunity to show the Republic's power, he thus built the ceremony's program to include a special message for the new pope, who, before his election, was already famous as one of the greatest humanists of his era under the name Enea Silvio Piccolomini.

The spectacle in the Mercato Nuovo began as an imitation of the Roman *venationes*—a reenactment of hunting and animal fighting in an arena. However, to my mind, from the very beginning, the lions were "programmed" to behave

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<sup>7</sup> See BARCLAY LLOYD, *African Animals ...*, op. cit., p. 39; BELOZERSKAYA, *The Medici Giraffe ...*, op. cit., pp. 90–94.

<sup>8</sup> "Mechanical" wooden animals with wheels will also appear later in spectacles (animal combats) organized in Florence, e.g., a porcupine and a tortoise in 1514, see BARCLAY LLOYD, *African Animals ...*, op. cit., p. 40.

non-aggressively. This unexpected situation, likely to disorientate the ordinary spectator, came in preparation for the main effect: the appearance of the “Trojan giraffe”! The allusion to the Trojan horse is the key to understanding the show producer’s intention, and it is a key selected especially with the chief guest in mind.

The message was framed in the language of the propaganda of the time brilliantly taking advantage of its being rooted in signs of ancient culture. The host’s intent must have been obvious to a great humanist and expert on ancient sources who knew how to conduct political negotiations in the convention of reflections on the Trojan War.

This was essentially the same language that Enea Silvio Piccolomini had used when he had outlined his vision of Europe not many years before. Promoting the necessity for the entire Christian world to unite against the power of the Ottomans, the future pope had declared a relentless battle against calling the Turks by the Latin term *Teucrici* instead of *Turci*. He took the humanistic custom of using a classical word instead of a medieval neologism as a declaration of readiness to accept the Ottoman state into the family of European nations. After all, *Teucrici* is the Virgilian word for Trojans, and the Turks called by that name might be acknowledged as the co-heirs to the noble Trojan tradition equally with the descendants of Aeneas—the Romans. At the same time, the Turks’ capture of Constantinople in 1453 might be interpreted as the Trojans’ descendants’ justified revenge on the descendants of the Greeks.

Devising his “Trojan giraffe”, Cosimo de’ Medici polemicized with the pope’s stand. The spectacle carried the following message: An army of courageous Florentine youths is ready for an expedition against the Ottomans to destroy them like the Greeks once destroyed Troy. In the meantime, however, the lions of Florence advocate peace (some reports from the event clearly suggest that the lions’ behavior should be interpreted as a manifestation of the Florentine Republic’s peaceful intentions).<sup>9</sup> This is because they are waiting for the “countries of the giraffe”, i.e., Egypt under the Mamluks and the “Kingdom of Prester John”, to side with the crusaders. Without the participation of the “Trojan giraffe” it will

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<sup>9</sup> See *Ricordi di Firenze dell’ Anno 1459 di autore anonimo*, a cura di Guglielmo VOLPI, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 27, Citta di Castello: Scipione Lapi, 1907, pp. 25–26, ll. 1061–1127. Groom, describing this spectacle, does not note the wooden giraffe but puts forward the hypothesis that “the lions’ uncharacteristic pacifism and humility were interpreted as a divine sign of the peace and goodwill that existed between the Florentine republic and other states represented by the assembled dignitaries” (*Exotic Animals ...*, op. cit., pp. 135–136), without noting the connection to the crusade planned by Pius II.



Fig. 3. Genoese map, 1457, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

be impossible to beat the Turks, just like it only became possible to conquer Troy after the Trojan horse was used.

Cosimo de' Medici thus ostentatiously rejected Piccolomini's recommendation not to call the Turks *Teuceri*, which had been meant to signify their political and cultural exclusion from Europe. Meanwhile, using the term *Teuceri* enabled negotiations and treaties with the Ottoman Empire and—under the mask of peace—the use of deceit and the striking of a deadly blow.

And this exactly would be Florence's policy. The idea of the necessity to wait for the decisive attack until the Turks were conquered by their rivals in Africa was presented by the Florentine envoy in Mantua when the crusade was announced.

Receiving the mission from the sultan of Egypt, it aimed to negotiate new trade agreements between the Florentine Republic and the Mamluk state; Cosimo de' Medici introduced the sign of the giraffe into his show of welcome as a traditional symbol of peace in the diplomatic language of the rulers of Egypt.

By this point, the sign of the giraffe was a familiar and correctly understood sign on the geopolitical map of the world of that time. It is enough to look at the images of animals on the Genoese map from 1457 (Fig. 3). We can recognize a pair: a giraffe and an elephant—as in Horace's famous text<sup>10</sup>—marking the area

<sup>10</sup> See p. 14, n. 4.

of Ethiopia and present-day Sudan. There is a deeper connection between the Medicis' giraffe and the history of cartography. I have put together various sources from the years preceding the spectacle organized by Cosimo de' Medici that show how European political and humanist circles, especially those associated with Medici patronage, used the sign and symbolism of the giraffe.

This process began around 1410; the testimonies are scattered, but taken together, they form a clear picture. Thus, Cyriacus of Ancona (Ciriaco De' Pizziccoli), a merchant, humanist, and spy, also acting on behalf of Cosimo de' Medici, visited Alexandria between 1412 and 1414 and Cairo and Upper Egypt between 1435 and 1436. During this trip, driven by a passion for searching for ancient monuments and, at the same time, fulfilling his political instructions to expand the potential base for the planned Florentine Union, he collected drawings of monuments and copies of Greek inscriptions. He also reported on the presence of Christian communities and the readiness of the Mamluk state to accept possible offers from the Christian West. Cyriacus read Strabo (he ordered and carried with him a manuscript copy of his *Geography*), from whom he learned that an unusual animal characteristic of the area toward which he was traveling, the Kingdom of Meroe and Nubia, was the giraffe. He, therefore, made from nature (probably already in Cairo) a faithful portrait of this fabulous creature for Westerners and disseminated its image widely with a description.

Negotiations between the Western and Eastern Churches for a new union had been underway in Florence since 1438. In 1441, this prospect led to the arrival in the city of an envoy from the ruler of Ethiopia, thus coming from the "legendary" Kingdom of Prester John. The Christian Churches of Africa were beginning to be seen as viable allies in the fight against the Turks. At the same time, Cyriacus of Ancona sent Pope Eugene IV a report on his experiences in Nubia and copies of drawings he had made on previous expeditions of a giraffe and white elephants (according to his copy of Strabo's work, they purportedly inhabited the Nile island of Meroe). In the following years, he sent similar sets of information and drawings to humanists and politicians, especially from the circle of the Medicis' patronage (Fig. 4). That is how the giraffe and the white elephant could have met in the imagination of the humanists, true to Horace's formula.

Between 1419 and 1444, Niccolò de' Conti traveled in the areas around the Indian Ocean and, upon his return, gave his accounts to Italian politicians and humanists. Included was an extensive description of a giraffe that went beyond Conti's own travel experiences; it was drawn up taking into account the stories of the Chinese sailor Admiral Zheng He (Fig. 5), whom Niccolò de' Conti is believed to have met, and supplemented by knowledge previously gathered in the





Fig. 4. Cyriacus of Ancona, *Giraffe*, c. 1475–1500, drawing, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze, Silloge di iscrizioni e disegni, MS Ashburnham 1174, f. 14.



**Fig. 5.** Unidentified artist, *Giraffe with Two Keepers*, seventeenth century or later, ink and colour on silk, Metropolitan Museum of Arts.

circle of Cosimo de' Medici's patronage with the participation of Poggio Bracciolini himself (and thus using the accounts and drawings of Cyriacus of Ancona).

Looking into how this symbol functioned, we notice the growing dynamics in making avail of the giraffe symbol in the fifteenth century.

With this concept, we can now harmonize the maps and reports produced at the Medici court, especially when the Florentine Union was being prepared, and Cosimo de' Medici's role in the plan to unite the Greek and Latin civilizations. The giraffe was part of an intercultural discourse: reshaping mythological and geographical European space in the changing world of the second half of the fifteenth century.

We can now fill in the interpretation of the spectacle organized by Lorenzo il Magnifico in 1487. Lorenzo was not attempting to improve on the show prepared by his grandfather. As a 10-year-old boy, he had participated in the ceremony in 1459 and played a major role in the Florentine youths' horse parade. There is no doubt that he understood the show's script very well.

The sultan of Egypt's mission came to Florence to strengthen trade relations and to ask for support for the Mamluks in their dispute with the Ottomans (the issue being the release to the Mamluks of Sultan Bayezid II's brother Cem, who was a prisoner of the Duke of Savoy at the time and was to be handed over to the pope).<sup>11</sup>

Lorenzo continued Cosimo's concept, defining Florence's sovereign policy toward Egypt under Mamluk rule.

The Trojan giraffe enters political rhetoric as the Medicis' opinion on the matter. Lorenzo openly demanded that Ottoman Turkey be recognized as a European power. A European identity does not require that the Ottomans be eliminated, but it does require that Egypt remain in the family of Mediterranean countries.

The Medicis wanted Florence to be recognized as a partner of the emperors and the popes in assuming responsibility for the future of Christianity and for restoring the unity of Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem.

To conclude, it is worth returning to that Horatian pair, the giraffe and the white elephant. If, for the Medici dynasty, the giraffe became a symbol of power and ambitions beyond the boundaries of imperial cultures and of the family's proposed role of mediator between Christianity and the Muslim world, why was the Horatian white elephant not used in this propaganda?

On the contrary, we need to look no further than the next Medici generation. I refer to the son of Lorenzo il Magnifico, Giovanni, who received a cardinal's

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<sup>11</sup> This is what Belozerskaya says (*The Medici Giraffe ...*, op. cit., pp. 119 and 127), but Groom points out that the sequence of events was reversed: the giraffe was meant to encourage Lorenzo's efforts; it was not a reward for their success (*Exotic Animals ...*, op. cit., pp. 189).





**Fig. 6.** Hieronymus Bosch, *Garden of Eden* (left panel of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, oil on oak panels, 1490–1510, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

hat at the age of 13 through his father's efforts. The future Leo X was groomed from his earliest years to assume the highest offices in the Church. He was elected pope in 1513, and it fell on him to deal with the protest of Martin Luther. He won fame as a great patron of the arts, an admirer of ancient art, and a supporter of the revival of Roman architecture and Roman ceremonies. At the same time, he was also famous for his love of hunting and nature. Among the gifts he received as pope, an Indian rhinoceros and, yes, a white elephant gained particular fame. This white elephant became Leo X's beloved mascot.<sup>12</sup> I do not doubt that Leo X, who was nine years old when he watched the "giraffe" parade organized by his father in 1487, deliberately filled in the Horatian formula here. He must have remembered that the famous Angelo Poliziano, who had also been among the spectators, began his description of the giraffe with a quote from Horace.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, as a humanist, he must have believed that animal symbolism predicting the glory of the Medici family required this kind of complementation.

Hence, it is also worth looking, from this point of view, at Hieronymus Bosch's famous *Garden of Earthly Delights* from 1500. As we can see, a giraffe in the company of a white elephant made it into Christian paradise exactly as its elder sister found the way to Chinese heaven (Fig. 6).

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<sup>12</sup> See Silvio A. BEDINI, *The Pope's Elephant*, Nashville, Tenn.: J. S. Sanders & Co., 1998.

<sup>13</sup> *Miscellaneorum centuria una*, Basileae: apud Valent[inum] Curionem, 1522, f. 7v (editio princeps 1489). See also MONTEMAGNO CISERI, "Camelopardalis ...", op. cit.





Arne JÖNSSON  
Lund University

## OLAUS MAGNUS' CARTA MARINA (VENICE, 1539) AND THE APOTHEOSIS OF THE NORTH

### The map, I

On 26 August 1539, our Dantiscus received a letter from Venice from his friend and protégé, the exiled Archbishop of Uppsala, Johannes Magnus,<sup>1</sup> who announced various news, among others, about the impending war between Venice and the Turks. He also, at the same time, announces that his chancellor, his younger brother Olaus Magnus, would, within a couple of months, publish the fruits of studies that he had conducted “pro publica totius Germanice nationis gloria, imo utilitate totius orbis” [for the general glory of the whole German nation, yes for the benefit of the whole world]. Olaus himself penned the letter in his capacity as chancellor, claiming, thus, that something great was to be born, namely, as was to be shown, a cartographic *magnum opus*, the *Carta marina*, which was to be the first part of his great project, a comprehensive description of the Scandinavian countries, or to quote the title of the map: *Carta marina et descriptio septemtrionalium terrarum ac mirabilium rerum in eis contentarum diligentissime elaborata*. Only two earlier maps of the Nordic countries are known, those of the Bavarian humanist and theologian Jacob Ziegler (Strasbourg, 1532) and the Danish geographer Claudius Clavus (first half of the fifteenth century; no original map extant). He promises to send a copy to Dantiscus.

To construct the map, Olaus Magnus drew from a variety of ancient sources, including Ptolemy's (or rather Claudius Clavus') map in *Geographia*, and contemporary sources such as the work of Ziegler whom the Magnus brothers had previously helped with information. For the Polish part, he seems to have been

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<sup>1</sup> Johannes Magnus to Johannes Dantiscus, Venice, 13 July, 1539, in Isak COLLIJN, “Johannes och Olaus Magnus i Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek förvarade bref till Johannes Dantiscus”, *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 1910, pp. 8–9.



**Fig. 1.** The *Carta marina* was made in wall map size, 1.70 m wide and 1.25 m tall. It was printed in black and white from 3 × 3 woodcut blocks, each measuring 55 by 40 cm.





Uppsala universitetsbibliotek:  
<https://www.ub.uu.se/hitta-i-vara-samlingar/verk-och-samlingar-i-urval/carta-marina/>  
<http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record%3A88495&dswid=7541>  
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek:  
München, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00002967>

influenced by the map of Poland by Bernard Wapowski (Cracow, 1526).<sup>2</sup> In addition to cartographic and literary sources (especially Pliny's *Naturalis historia*), Olaus also relied on the descriptions of sailors and his own observations.<sup>3</sup>

The *Carta marina* is in wall map size, 1.70 m wide and 1.25 m tall. It was printed in black and white from 3 x 3 woodcut blocks measuring 55 by 40 cm.

The blocks are arranged from west to east and north to south and identified in the center of each block with the letters A to I, like this:

A B C  
D E F  
G H I

The map and the commentaries (see below) were printed by Giovanni Thoma-so de Reame di Napoli (born in the Kingdom of Naples). The map is printed with the information about where and from whom it could be bought, viz. in Thomas de Rubis' shop near the bridge over the Canal Grande in Venice. The map seems, however, to have been virtually unknown in Sweden. It is a common opinion that the edition was very limited, still, Elfriede Regina Knauer and Erling Sandmo are of another opinion—Knauer, after having analysed Olaus' correspondence<sup>4</sup> and Sandmo, after discovering people who have used the map.<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly, Olaus Magnus took great pains to make this part of the world more widely known among people of power and influence. How successful the brothers were is difficult to tell. All copies of the original map had passed out of public knowledge after 1574, and the map was largely forgotten. A copperplate edition in reduced size, the Lafreri<sup>6</sup> edition, was made in 1572, of which about ten copies are extant. But of the original 1539 edition, only two copies are extant, both rediscovered after centuries of oblivion, one in 1886 in Bayerische Hof- und Staatsbibliothek (today's Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) in Munich; the other is the one in Uppsala University Library bought from the exiled (he lived in Rome at the time) Polish

<sup>2</sup> Jakub NIEDŹWIEDŹ, *Poeta i mapa. Jan Kochanowski a kartografia XVI wieku*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2019, pp. 131–132.

<sup>3</sup> On Olaus Magnus' sources and scientific methods see Karl AHLENIUS, *Olaus Magnus och hans framställning af Nordens geografi. Studier i geografiens historia* (diss.), Uppsala, 1895, pp. 59–87 (methods), 88–125 (sources), and Herman RICHTER, *Olaus Magnus Carta Marina 1539*, Lund, 1967.

<sup>4</sup> Elfriede Regina KNAUER, *Die Carta Marina des Olaus Magnus von 1539. Ein kartographisches Meisterwerk und seine Wirkung*, Göttingen: Gratia-Verlag, 1981, pp. 7, 10.

<sup>5</sup> SANDMO (see p. 47, n. 35), pp. 60, 71, 75.

<sup>6</sup> Antoine du Pérac Lafréry (Antonio Lafreri, 1512–1577) was a Burgundian engraver, cartographer and publisher active in Rome. Born in the County of Burgundy, Lafreri settled in Rome around 1540. His most important work is the so-called Lafreri atlases, with Atlas's figure holding the earth on its frontispiece.



diplomat and collector Count Emeryk August Hutten-Czapski in 1962.<sup>7</sup> Nothing is known of its provenance. The count may have acquired it in Poland before the war (the property left by Olaus was brought to Cracow in 1589 but has never been retrieved). It is, however, equally possible that he had been able to put his Italian contacts to good use. The Uppsala copy has been digitized<sup>8</sup> and can be studied conveniently on the Alvin platform (see Fig. 1 on page 26–27).

Olaus provided the map with a short commentary in Latin elucidating the remarkable features of the North shown on the map (the commentary is printed in the bottom left-hand corner); in addition, two commentaries in German and Italian were published separately (generally speaking, they are translations of the Latin version, but with some interesting additions and varieties).<sup>9</sup> The German version, a booklet of 16 pages entitled *Ain kurze Auslegung und Verklerung der neuuen Mappen von den alten Goettenreich und andern Nordlenden sampt mit den uunderlichen dingen in land und uasser darinnen begriffen biss her also klerlich nieintuuelit geschriben*, is dedicated to Burgrave, Major and Council of the Royal City of Gdańsk, whereas the Italian version, *Opera breve, laqvale demonstra, e dichiara, ouero da il modo facile de intendere la charta, ouer del le terre frigidissime di Setentrione, oltra il mare Germanico, doue si contengono le cose mirabilissime de quelli paesi, fin' a quest' hora non cognosciute, ne da Greci, ne da Latini*, is dedicated to the Doge of Venice, Pietro Lando. There is, to be sure, a touch of “norientalism” (cf. below, p. 48) in the Italian title. The countries are *frigidissime* and give proof of *le cose mirabilissime*, and Olaus emphasizes that his work surpasses the ancient Greeks' and Romans' geographical knowledge.

In addition to the big letters denoting the nine print blocks, 90 small letters refer to explanations and amplifications in the commentaries. These notes point indeed to a multitude of remarkable phenomena; just a few examples will suffice:

B<sup>D</sup>: a 300-foot-long worm wrapping itself around a big ship and crushing it (Fig. 2),

B<sup>G</sup>: an insatiable wolverine emptying its stomach by squeezing itself between two trees (Fig. 3),

<sup>7</sup> Elena BALZAMO has elucidated the intricacies of this acquisition in her *Den osynlige ärkebiskopen. Essäer om Olaus Magnus*, Stockholm: Atlantis, 2015, pp. 127–156. French version: *Un archevêque venu du froid. Essais sur Olaus Magnus (1490–1557)*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2019, pp. 99–131.

<sup>8</sup> Lars MUNKHAMMAR, “När *Carta marina* kom till Uppsala”, in *Från handskrift till XML, informationshantering och kulturarv, humanistdagarna vid Uppsala universitet 2002*, ed. Kerstin RYDBECK, Uppsala: Uppsala universitet 2003, pp. 61–69.

<sup>9</sup> Facsimilia in RICHTER, *Olaus Magnus ...*, op. cit., appendices. *Opera breve* is more complete than the Latin version of the map, where some small letters are left without explanations (AHLENIUS, *Olaus Magnus ...*, op. cit., pp. 84–85).



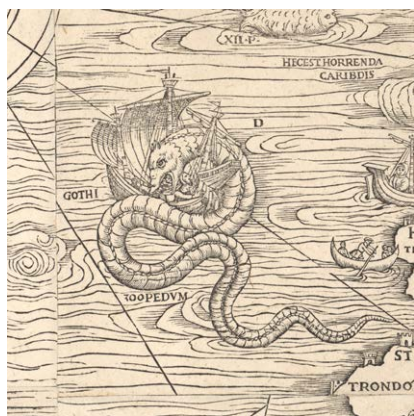


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

D<sup>L</sup>: ducks being hatched from the fruit of trees (Fig. 4),

D<sup>K</sup>: a sea monster similar to a pig with eyes on its body (Fig. 5),

I<sup>F</sup>: bears poking honey from the trees are beaten down by iron-spiked clubs hanged there (Fig. 6), etc., etc.

*Carta marina* was, as promised by the cartographer, followed in 1555 by a monumental work, the 800-page *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus, earumque diversis statibus, conditionibus, moribus, ritibus, superstitionibus, disciplinis, exercitiis, regimine, victu, bellis, structuris, instrumentis, ac mineris metallicis, & rebus mirabilibus, necnon universis penè animalibus in septentrione degentibus, eorumque natura. Opus ut varium, plurimarumque rerum cognitione refertum, atque cum exemplis externis, tum expressis rerum internarum picturis illustratum, ita delectatione iucunditateque plenum, maxima lectoris animum voluptate facilè perfundens*, a long title for a massive work with a detailed list of the subjects mentioned, to be illustrated with a wealth of pictures. Many of these subjects were, to be sure, heralded on the map. He promises not only a wealth of facts of all possible kinds, but also an amusing read; the book is “delectatione iucunditateque plenum”; it will thus be popular by its agreeable and entertaining qualities.<sup>10</sup>

## The author of the map

The brothers were to live in troubled times, politically and religiously. Olaus Magnus Gothus, brother of Johannes Magnus, the Archbishop of Uppsala, was born in the cathedral city of Linköping in Östergötland and studied at the University of Rostock. When the papal legate Arcimboldi came to Sweden to mediate peace between Swedes and Danes, he assigned Olaus to northern Sweden as a sub-collector of indulgences. Olaus travelled along the coast of Helsingland, where he turned off his route to Jämtland, a Norwegian province ecclesiastically belonging to the Archdiocese of Uppsala. He spent the winter of 1518/1519 in Trondheim, where he met Archbishop Erik Valkendorf, who had pushed his exploration to the northernmost parts of his diocese and was very knowledgeable about all aspects of this vast diocese. Olaus resumed his northward journey, and in the summer of 1519, he followed the coast from Medelpad to Övertorneå, where he watched salmon fishing. He reached the village of Pello, nearly 67°N (according to him, it was 86°N) before retracing his steps that autumn. His voyage was of immense value to geographical

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Cicero's *delectatio iucunditasque* (*De oratore* 3.155). It would be nice to get the opportunity someday to analyse Olaus' humour. Do we have to expect that his promise to entertain makes him include pictures and stories just for fun, distorting the factual presentation?

research and put local civilisations, such as the Sami, on the map. The *Carta marina* was to indicate correctly the north/south orientation of Scandinavia, which previously had been shown oriented east/west, and the Kjølén range as the dividing line between rivers flowing into the Atlantic and the Gulf of Bothnia, respectively.<sup>11</sup>

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In 1520, Christian II, King of Denmark-Norway, was crowned King of Sweden, in Stockholm after having taken Sweden by force of arms. The coronation was followed by a massacre known as the Stockholm Bloodbath, which occurred after Archbishop Gustav Trolle announced that the former protector of the realm, Sten Sture the Younger and his supporters were guilty of heresy. Nearly 100 people were executed from 7 to 9 November 1520 despite previous promises of amnesty.

Olaus became vicar of Stockholm in the autumn of 1520 and dean of Strängnäs in 1523. He was to make his career under the new Swedish king, Gustav Vasa. In 1523, he was sent to Rome to lobby for the confirmation of his brother, the *electus*, as archbishop of Uppsala. He remained abroad dealing with foreign affairs and is, for instance, known to have sent home a document that contained a trade agreement with the Netherlands. Johannes also had diplomatic assignments. King Gustav sent him to Poland in 1526 to negotiate a marriage between him and Hedwig, a daughter of King Sigismund, without success, however.

The Pope, Clement VII, proved unwilling to dismiss the previous archbishop Gustav Trolle, who had retained the see after his escape to Denmark with King Christian, nor did Olaus get any help in his attempt to fight against Lutheranism. Olaus would, in fact, never be able to return to his native Sweden. The brothers settled down in Gdańsk (together with, among others, the exiled bishop of Linköping, Hans Brask, another beacon of Nordic Catholicism who had been wrecked), living there for some years under the protection of the City Council while the conflict between Lutherans and Catholics raged. In 1537 the brothers left Gdańsk, never to return, and travelled to Italy to participate in the Council of Mantua, which was postponed *sine die*, wherefore they decided to go to Rome. Johannes was in a poor state of health from which he would never recover. The brothers went to Vicenza to participate in the council, but again, it was postponed. However, there was a turn of fortune. The brothers were invited to Venice by the patriarch Gerolamo Querini in whose house they stayed from April 1537 to January 1540. The patriarch was not only a generous host to the exiled and

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<sup>11</sup> Ulla EHRENSVÄRD, "Cartographical Representation of the Scandinavian Arctic Regions", *Arctic* 37/4 (1984), pp. 552–561, esp. 553.

impoverished prelates (who had had all their resources in Sweden confiscated by King Gustav in 1530) but also a great patron of cartographic studies. The cutting of the blocks and the printing of the map and the commentaries seem to have cost him 440 ducats. Olaus thanks the patriarch for his *liberalitas* in a legend in the upper right-hand corner of the map. At the death of Johannes in 1544, Pope Paul III made Olaus archbishop of Uppsala, an empty title by then but an important marker of the writer's authority as a Gothic historian. From 1545 to 1552, he attended sessions of the Council of Trent. He spent the remainder of his life as manager of St Bridget House in Rome. He had a printing press installed and was responsible for printing his brother's and his own books and of St Bridget's *Revelationes caelestes*. He was not a man who shied away from thick books (nor from a wealth of pictures; about 70 on the *Carta marina* alone, kings, ships, monsters, animals, hunting and battle scenes, etc.).

The author introduces himself in the *sphragis* down to the right. It consists of his name, the coat-of-arms, the emblem (the column, the fettered lion, the mouse and a legend), and two other legends. The brothers claimed to belong to an old noble family, the Store (i.e., *Magnus*) family, and thus this meant that *Magnus* was their *nomen gentile*, not a patronymic. *Got(h)us* was their cognomen, derived from their home province of Östergötland. (Olaus proudly calls the map *Carta Gothica*.) *Lin-copensis* calls attention to the fact that they were born in Linköping. Their coat-of-arms shows a shield with three ears growing from three hillocks. Perhaps it is meant to symbolize good harvests, for Östergötland was, and is a very fertile province.

The first phrase, "Vince malum bono" or "Vince in bono malum" [Defeat Evil with Good], comes from Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans, 12:21: "Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good" ("Noli vinci a malo sed vince in bono malum").

The other phrase, "Magnus Dominus in lateribus aquilonis fundavit civitatem suam PSL. 47" [The great Lord has founded his city in the countries of the north], has been adapted from the Book of Psalms 47:2–3: "Magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis in civitate Dei nostri in monte sancto eius / fundatur exultatione universae terrae montes Sion latera aquilonis civitas regis magni", a nice allusion to the claim that Nordic civilization was God-created, and thus it was a summons to all Christians to work for the Catholic faith.

The coat of arms (already mentioned), a column, a lion, and a mouse are in the lower right-hand corner. The picture is explained by the following distich: "En, leo terribilis quem solvit mus laqueatum, / Sic magni minima sepe iuvantur ope". *The Lion and the Mouse* is one of Aesop's fables, No. 150 in the Perry Index. A lion threatens to kill a mouse that wakes him from sleep. The mouse begs forgiveness, and the lion sets the mouse free. Later, the lion is caught by hunters

who tie him to a column. The mouse remembers the lion's clemency and frees it by gnawing through the ropes. The moral of the story is that there is no being so small that it cannot help a greater one. If we interpret the lion as *Gothia*, it seems reasonable to assume that Olaus wants to say that he hopes that a very little guy like himself with small resources can help great men and reinstate Catholicism.

The archepiscopal insignia of Olaus' brother Johannes (coat-of-arms, mitre, crosier and crucifix) are shown on the map (in Uppland). The legend implies that he was (still) the archbishop of Uppsala, primate of Sweden and legate (but in fact, he had already been deposed by the king).

## The map, II

The map is centered on *Scandia* (i.e., Scandinavia, which consists, as Olaus explains, of *Norvegia*, *Gothia* and *Svecia*). The name is shown in the largest-sized text on the map and placed in the middle of Sweden. It is followed by the explanation: "Pene insula quam Plinius libro 4 capitulo 13 alterum orbem vocat. Procopius sub nomine Thule asserit decies maiorem tota Britannia et XIII regna in se continere" [Almost an island; Pliny calls it in book 4, chapter 13 another world.<sup>12</sup> Procopius claims under the name Thule that it is ten times larger than the whole of Britain and contains 13 kingdoms]. The two quotations are meant to call the readers' attention to the greatness of the country and remind readers of the fact that his country was well-known in antiquity. Thule (in the far west on the map) was the most northerly location known by the ancient Greeks and Romans. The common opinion was that it was situated somewhere north of Britain. In his *Naturalis historia*, Pliny the Elder refers to Pytheas, the first discoverer, who claims that Thule is a six-day sail north of Britain (*Nat.* 2.77.187). Olaus seems to quote Procopius out of reverence, for he must have known there was no room for such a populous island in this rather well-explored and seemingly crowded area. He shows ships from Norway, England, Scotland, Bremen, Hamburg and Lübeck sailing in the sea north of Thule among the islands and the monsters of the North Atlantic.

The map, which covers *Svecia* (Svealand) and *Gothia* (Götaland) with *Finlandia* (Finland), *Norvegia* (Norway) with *Islandia* (Iceland), *Dania* (Denmark), *Lithuania* (Lithuania) and *Livonia* (Estonia and Latvia),<sup>13</sup> as well as strips of Muscovy,

<sup>12</sup> "alterum orbem terrarum" (*Nat.* 4.13.96). Islands were, generally speaking, assumed to be different from the continent(s).

<sup>13</sup> The meaning of the terms "Estonia" and "Livonia" changed many times in the political sense. Geographically, they were neighbouring regions on the northeastern shores of the Baltic Sea, Estonia the northern one, and Livonia the southern one.



Poland, North Germany and parts of Scotland and England, was drawn on the scale of approximately 1: 5,700,000 according to the geographer Herman Richter's calculation (if such a calculation can be done, he adds).<sup>14</sup> The length of various miles, German, Italian and Swedish, is shown down to the left.

The map is framed with longitudes running from 0 to 64, from the island of Iona in the Hebrides to Novgorod in the east (in fact, the difference between these places is 38°) and latitudes running from 55° to the *Polus Arcticus*, which he knew was at 90°. However, there is a serious error in the calculations of the latitudes north of the 60th latitude (Uppsala, Stockholm). The north-south extension of the Scandinavian Peninsula north of this latitude compared to that south of it is, in fact, constructed approximately double that of the truth. It seems that Olaus created his map from south to north. In the southern part, he could connect his mapping to that of continental maps with reliable positions for places mapped, quite accurately, for centuries. North of Stockholm–Uppsala, the state of things was very different. There were no maps, and he had to construct the map himself. Since the northern boundary for Swedish and Norwegian conurbation was rather southerly, he could not hope to get astronomically established positions. (The latitudes of Bergen and Trondheim that had been long-known were unknown to Olaus.)

	<i>Carta marina</i>	In fact	Difference +
Torneå	84°	66°	18°
Luleå	83°	66°	17°
Trondheim	74°	64°	10°
Åbo (Turku)	66°	60°	5°
Bergen	66°	60°	5°
Uppsala	65°	60°	5°
Stockholm	64°	59°	4°
Linköping	61°	58°	3°
Växjö	59°	57°	2°
Copenhagen	58°	56°	2°
Lund	58°	56°	2°
Lübeck	54°	54°	0°

<sup>14</sup> RICHTER, *Olaus Magnus* ..., op. cit., p. 39.



Thus, the table shows that Olaus had acquired good measurements from Uppsala southwards, unlike northwards, where the measurements were unreliable, leading to grave consequences for map drawing: a progressive displacement to the north becomes unavoidable, for it seems that the dimensions of the map had been decided from the beginning, possibly out of patriotic considerations, to make Sweden great, and he had to pad out the surplus northern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula. This increased extension gave him ample room for descriptions of more or less legendary or unknown lands: *Finmarchia*, *Scricfnia* and *Biarmia* and a second *Helsingi* people (in addition to the one north of Uppland),<sup>15</sup> and pictures illustrating various exotic figures. Such as pagans worshipping a piece of red cloth they hoisted up a pole, a marriage ceremony held among pagan worshippers, bartering, the well-known Swedish fist-fighter Starcaterus with rune staffs in his hands,<sup>16</sup> portrayed as a second Moses, and as a second Hercules, with a club, a sword and a lion.<sup>17</sup> There is also the extreme boundary of Sweden (“Hucusque extenditur regnum Svecie”). Out in the Scythian Ocean is the *Insula Magnetum*, the magnetic island, 30 miles from the Pole, beyond which the compass loses its power and which caused so many problems for cartographers.

## The Baltic Sea Area

The words of Jordanes and Paul the Deacon that Scandinavia was “*vagina sive officina gentium*” regarded the brothers Magnus as an indisputable fact. Johannes Magnus states that more than thirty different peoples originated from the Nordic Peninsula. Olaus has drawn up a pedigree-like compilation on *Carta marina* that shows 34 peoples who emigrated from Scandinavia, perhaps instead the southern part, *Gothia*. Examples of such people are Huns, Avars, Slavs and Bulgarians. For this reason alone, it is natural that Olaus would consider Sweden to be not only the noblest and most important country but also the most populous country in the North.

<sup>15</sup> I give a simplified version of Richter’s table (p. 87).

<sup>16</sup> For an investigation of the runic lore contained in the works of Johannes and Olaus Magnus, see Carla CUCINA, “*Literae Aquilonarium Antiquiores*. Le rune in Johannes e Olaus Magnus”, in *I fratelli Giovanni e Olao Magno. Opera e cultura tra due mondi. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Roma–Farfa*, ed. Carlo SANTINI, Roma: Editrice Il Calamo, 1999, pp. 33–100.

<sup>17</sup> For a recent analysis of Olaus’ transformation of one of the most spectacular figures in Saxo Grammaticus’s early thirteenth century *Gesta Danorum*, the fist-fighter Starcater, into a Swedish hero, a protector of the North of Sweden has been analysed by Erling SANDMO, “The Champion of the North: World Time in Olaus Magnus’s *Carta marina*”, pp. 274–285, in *Conceptualizing the World. An Exploration across Disciplines*, eds Helge JORDHEIM, Erling SANDMO, New York–Oxford: Berghen Books, 2019.

Around the Baltic Sea area were the lands of the Goths. The Goths were best known as the people who conquered great parts of the Mediterranean in the Age of the Great Migrations, but they had a history going back to the earliest postdiluvian world (Noah's grandsons). They settled in Northern Europe, from whence they started conquering expeditions.

A look at the map shows their settlements:

*Gothia* is one of two kingdoms of which *Svecia* consists. There you find the rich provinces of Östergötland and Västergötland, each of which is provided with an episcopal see, Linköping and Skara, respectively. Östergötland is *populosissima* and has copper deposits.

In the middle of the *Mare Goticum*, you find the island of *Gotlandia* with the city of Visby "emporium olim celeberrimum in toto orbe" [once the busiest trading centre in the whole world], still a centre from which maritime law was administered.

On the opposite side of the *Mare Goticum*, *Samogethia*, a former kingdom, as we are told, got its name from the Goths who disembarked there on one of their expeditions.

## THE KINGDOMS

The kingdoms are represented by stylized kings seated on their thrones with their coats of arms. The kings are equipped with legends. Let us look at the pictures and texts to pinpoint the messages. The legends are quotations from the Bible, which makes it feasible, at least hypothetically, to regard them as deeply felt expressions of Olaus' attitudes in a time when it was still possible to hope to save the North from Lutheranism and well-reasoned attempts to make sense of what was happening in the world with the help of exemplary passages in the Bible.

In two cases, the name of the reigning king is stated: that of Gustavus, King of *Svecia* and *Gothia* (Sweden) (protector from 1521, king from 1523), and that of Sigismundus, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania (from 1506).<sup>18</sup> Gustavus is a most interesting case. His name appears twice since Sweden consisted of two kingdoms, viz. as King of Sweden (*Svecia*) and as King of *Gothia*. In the first case, he is presented as "Gostaus Svecorum Gotorumque rex potentissimus", a pretty conventional reference to a king. Still, there is also a legend that reads: "Videat Dominus et requirat 2 Paral. 24" [May the Lord see this and take vengeance, 2 Chr 24:22].

<sup>18</sup> Strangely enough his daughter Hedwig's hand had been sought in marriage by King Gustav who was determined to make her his first queen, and in 1526, Johannes Magnus had been sent to Poland to negotiate the marriage. Hedwig's father declined Gustav's offer after hearing about Gustav's strained relations with the Roman Catholic Church.

The story is this. Zechariah, son of the priest Jehojada, had censured the king, Joas. He claimed that the people had deserted the Lord, and He had abandoned them. The people plotted against Zechariah and stoned him, by the king's orders, in the forecourt of the house of the Lord. King Joas did not think about the love that Zechariah's father had shown him. Zechariah said these words in his hour of death: "May the Lord see this and take vengeance". The Lord asked the Arameans to punish the people. The king was eventually killed in his bed (2 Chr 24:2).

As king of *Gothia*, Gustavus is illustrated by the coat-of-arms of this kingdom, a lion, and by the legend: "Leo didicit capere predam Eze. 19". There we read that a lioness brought up one of her cubs. He learned to take prey, and he ate human beings. But he was caught and brought to Egypt with a hook in his nose. The lioness brought up another of her cubs, making him a powerful lion. He, too, learned to take prey; he ate human beings, raped their widows and razed their cities to the ground. He was also eventually caught and imprisoned (Ez 19:3).

It is, of course, tempting to interpret these stories as allusions to King Gustavus and his reign, for similarities can easily be found, and Olaus (as well as Johannes) had every reason to take exception to the new regime that had driven them into exile and started to subvert the church order they had believed in and worked for.<sup>19</sup>

In 1531, Olaus Magnus' brother, Johannes, had been pushed aside as elected archbishop of Uppsala by the king's election and consecration of a staunch Lutheran, Laurentius Petri, brother of one of the leading Lutheran reformers, Olaus Petri, and the king took a firm grip on state and Church. Open criticism was, of course, out of the question. The references to Biblical stories might have been an expedient. The stories, not told explicitly, but alluded to, allowed Olaus to censure the regime by painting pictures in stark colours of the powerful, godless (i.e., Lutheranizing), cruel, and pillaging tyrant King Gustavus. Olaus may have felt he was obliged like the prophets of the Old Testament to preach God's message, however inconvenient, but was enough of a politician to veil his words. On Olaus' map, Johannes is still, in 1539, represented as Archbishop of Uppsala, Primate of Sweden and Papal Legate: "Jo. Magnus Gothus Archiepiscopus Upsalensis Suetiæ Primas et Legatus".

Another religiously suspicious prince was the Grand Prince of Muscovy. An exhortation from the Bible is quoted and, I assume, levelled against him: "Non sint in vobis scismata 1 Corin 1". In the first letter to the Corinthians, St Paul writes that he appeals to the brothers and sisters, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that all of them agree with one another ... and that there be no schisms among them (1 Cor 1:10).

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<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, as late as 1538, Johannes seems to have been prepared to go to the North to arrange the conditions in a sustainable Catholicizing direction if he got papal permission.

Olaus' attitude to the Swedish and Muscovite rulers can conveniently be compared to that of the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania (another double monarchy), Sigismund, a true Catholic monarch. His legend runs as follows: "Non fuit rex similis ei 4 Re 18" [There has never been a king like him, 4 Kgdms=2 Kgs 18:5]. The model king referred to is Hezekiah, King of Judah, considered a very righteous king in both the Second Book of Kings and the Second Book of Chronicles. And he is one of the kings mentioned in the genealogy of Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew 1:10.

#### WAR BETWEEN SWEDEN AND MUSCOVY

After the annexation of the republic of Novgorod by the Muscovites in 1478, Sweden and the Grand Duchy of Moscow had a common border. The first war between Muscovy and Sweden fought in 1495–1497, did not lead to territorial changes. In 1510 Muscovy annexed Pskov making it a neighbour of Livonia.

Only a narrow strip of the Grand Duchy of Moscow is shown on the map. In contemporary geographical literature, as in *Carta marina*, the common name of the realm to the east of Sweden was that of the capital, *Moscovia*. In the *Carta marina*, the strip is called *Moscovie pars* and the ruler *Magnus princeps Moscovitarum*. *Russia* occurs in combinations like *Russia Alba*, which stands for White Ruthenia (White Rus), at that time a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and *Russia Regalis Nigra* (Royal Black Ruthenia, Royal Black Rus), now a part of Belarus.<sup>20</sup>

The White Sea, named *Lacus Albus*, is situated in the north. Olaus' map is closed from *Oceanus Scithicus*, i.e., the Barents Sea, by a well-known land bridge as early as in Viking times, viz. *Biarmia*, roughly the Kola Peninsula. However, shortly afterward, it was to be demonstrated that *Biarmia* is not the land bridge drawn by this cartographer but a southern inlet of the Barents Sea. In the sea, writes Olaus, there are "innumere et diverse species piscium et avium", i.e., a lake abounds with all sorts of fish and birds. In the same way, *Biarmia* abounds in game such as marten, sable, ermine, different kinds of squirrels and an abundance of beavers. We see an eagle skinning a hare or a raven and putting the eggs in it to hatch them. On the Swedish side of the frontier, Muscovite merchants drag their boats between the lakes to do barter trade. There is also, on the Swedish side, a lake, in convenient opposition to *Lacus Albus*, called *Lacus Niger*: the sea is very deep, the water is black; the fish are very black, too, and taste delicious, as we are told at F<sup>F</sup> in the explanatory box.

<sup>20</sup> AHLENIUS, *Olaus Magnus ...*, op. cit., p. 403.

Lake Ladoga has been greatly reduced in size on the map, possibly because of lack of space, but can be identified thanks to the placenames in its vicinity. In *Russia Alba*, there was salt mining in the river Pela (“Hic fit sal optimum”) and hunting of various fur animals. As for religion, it is pointed out that the Muscovites are schismatics. Judging from the choice of pictures, one gets the impression that they are at more or less constant war with their neighbours. A most interesting tale of a war between Muscovites and Swedes is described in comic-strip style. It is winter, as we learn from the rubric *prelium glaciale* and that the gulf (the Gulf of Finland) is depicted as frozen over: the Muscovites attack (as almost always, they can be identified by their pointed cap). A Swedish army equipped with canons advances on the ice from the Finnish side. Swedish reinforcements, commanded by the *prefectus regis Svecie*, arrive. A knight comes bearing the banner of Sweden’s patron saint, King St Eric. He seems to be on his way to Ivangorod. The Swedes took this fortress in August 1496. The Muscovites flee. *Perdita pugna*. The war is lost. The ruler of Muscovy on his throne, wearing a mitre-shaped hat, armed with a sabre and wielding the sceptre, is placed so that we can get the impression that the war takes place before his eyes. This was the only war between Sweden and Muscovy in the period 1350–1557, so we can be rather sure that this war is what Olaus Magnus thought of.

A spectacular event during the war, the so-called Vyborg Bang, is the name of the explosion that occurred during Moscow assault on Vyborg Castle on 30 November 1495.

The commander of the Swedish garrison, Knut Jönsson Posse, is said to have rigged one of the castle’s gunpowder magazines to explode and then weakened the defences in that part of the castle to encourage the Muscovites to attack. When they swallowed the bait, Posse set the powder on fire, and a massive explosion killed many Muscovite soldiers, making them lift the siege. What occurred is disputed, but Olaus Magnus’ picture seems to show at least the gunpowder tower and the explosion, even if he has a relatively obscure explanation of the picture: not far from the castle and city of Vyborg, there is a cave from which comes an intolerable and terrifying sound whenever a living being is thrown into it. The canons outside the castle seem to support the interpretation of the picture, showing the Vyborg Bang as it was to be called.

## THE OTHER KINGS

The king of Denmark (*Dania, Dacia sive Dennemarca*): “Oportet iustum et humanum esse Sap 12” [The just man must also be kind-hearted, Wis 12:19. This book begins appropriately enough: “Love justice, you rulers of the earth, set your mind upon the Lord, as is your duty”].

The king of Norway (Norway was united with Denmark; a third double monarchy): [Venio cito, tene quod habes, ut] nemo accipiat coronam tuam Apo 3 [I am coming quickly! Hold fast what you have so that no one takes your crown, Apoc 3:11]. In the letter to the angel of the congregation of Philadelphia, St John (on behalf of Jesus) exhorts him to make sure that he can keep his crown, i.e., his life. To keep his life, the addressee had to keep his faith.

The king of England: "Oportet misereri conservi sui Mat 18. The king says in Christ's parable: "You are obliged to show your fellow-servant the same pity as I showed to you" (Matt 8:33).

The king of Scotland: "Esto fidelis usque ad mortem [et dabo tibi coronam vitae], Apo 2". (Johannes on behalf of Jesus:) [Be faithful unto death and I shall give you the crown of life, Apoc 2:10]. King James IV was awarded the title *Christianae fidei defensor* by Pope Julius II and James V *Fidei defensor* by Paul III in 1537 when Henry VIII had revoked his title. Perhaps Olaus has chosen the words to remind the Scottish king that the title was a life-long obligation.

The map shows Northern Europe as a battlefield between the Roman Church and emerging Lutheranism only twenty years after the publication of the Ninety-five Theses in 1517, but at a time when it was still feasible that these countries could turn back. The Bible legends quoted in connection with the kings seem to be meant to inculcate Christian virtues in turbulent times, such as *fides*, *miseri-cordia*, *iustitia* and *humanitas*, and by extension, to exhort the kings to stay faithful or turn back to the Roman Church. Only two kings were faithful to Rome, the kings of Poland and Scotland; the others were chastised or warned. The religious and political issues of the day were seen in the light of the Bible; in particular, the pictures of the kings are put to good use.

## The *Carta marina* as a map of economic and natural resources

Olaus Magnus calls his map a marine map, but a quick look discloses that it is much more than that. We have mentioned the political and religious aspects. There are also many pictures calling attention to natural resources and communications, of which I will give a few examples. I will begin with a subject that affects myself and my wife most pleasantly, and I am sure many other readers as well. Look at the northernmost part of the *Mare Bot(h)nicum*, the Bay of Bothnia. There you see jumping salmons. For my wife and I, salmon from the River Kalix is our favourite fish for the dinner table (wild-caught salmon is leaner and tastes better than farmed), and it was a pleasure to see that salmon fishing was an industry generously illustrated on the *Carta marina*. In addition to the fish in the sea, you can see River Kalix (*Chalis* on the map), the word *laxastrem*, i.e.,





Fig. 7. The northernmost part of the *Mare Bot(h)nicum*, the Bay of Bothnia: salmon fishing, jumping salmon, River Kalix, market.

salmon-stream, and four barrels that are meant to illustrate that there was an important market, an *emporium maximum*, for salted salmon (to-day it is of course frozen salmon that counts). Seal-hunting on ice floes can also be seen in that area.

Fishing scenes are often depicted: pilking (see Fig. 7), for instance, and there is a scene where a fisherman is beating on the ice with a club to stun and catch the fish. The catch seems generally to have been abundant. Salt could be bought from Norway and other places in the North. (Not far from Novgorod, there is, judging from the legend, a source of high-quality salt, “Hic fit sal optimum”.) Salt could be extracted in Sweden as well, we learn, but it would be more expensive, so it was more advantageous to buy from the Norwegians. It seems that Olaus, in a sense, had been able to picture to himself the meaning of the one-day, so productive term, “comparative advantage”, that was to be coined and developed in due time by David Ricardo and J. S. Mill.

The ice-covered sea is full of opportunities of very different kinds; it facilitates, for instance, travel and trade on sea and land, offers new theaters of war and gives much joy for riding or going in the sledges, which seems a wonderful experience. The engraver has skillfully given life to a racing scene on the Kvarken,

the narrow region separating the Bothnian Bay (the inner part of the gulf, *Mare Bot(h)nicum*) from the Bothnian Sea (*Mare Sueticum*). Olaus seems to have liked to depict reindeers: reindeers drawing a sledge across snow and ice; a king who fights with reindeers and foot-soldiers on skis; tamed reindeers racing; and reindeers giving milk for household use.

A little longer to the south on the Finnish side, at Ostrobothnian Närpes, there is a shipyard. Just keep a lookout for the phrase “*Hic fabricantur naves*”. In Lithuania, near Vilnius, probably in River Neman, grain ships can be seen, *naves frumentarie*. In Finnish Satakunta, there is a workshop for cannons (*bombarde*).

Olaus mentions the *birkarls* at least three times; they are a group of combined tradesmen and tax collectors that had their field of activities in central Lapland. The main purpose of the organization was to control trade with the Sami people and tax them as the crown's agents. The legends *Domus bircarorum* and *capitanei bircarorum* call attention to this organization which seems to have had its trading houses and managers. Their area appears to extend as far as Skellefteå.

There are many animals to be seen on the map, for instance, bears, polar bears, boars, wolves, wolverines, lynxes, horses, elks, reindeer, beavers, otters, martens, sables, ermines, squirrels, seals, lobsters, ravens, falcons, and pheasants. In Olaus' time, aurochs still roamed the forests. On the *Russia Nigra* (Black Ruthenia, Black Rus, a historical region on the Upper Nemunas), the picture shows an aurochs putting its long horns to good use in a trial of strength with a knight: “*Urus hominem armatum equo icit*”. The aurochs decreased due to habitat loss and hunting and became extinct when the last member of its species died in 1627 in Jaktorów forest in Poland.<sup>21</sup>

Other natural resources shown on the map are gold, silver, iron, copper, salt and amber. Amber has been an important export commodity since antiquity. Olaus shows us that it was collected in Prussia, on the beach (*ripa succini*). The ancient historian Tacitus had similarly told us in his monography *Germania* (45.5) that the “[*Aestii*] *sucinum ... in ipso litore legunt*”. It is also a well-known product to his older contemporary, Pliny the Elder. According to him, it was used as a jewel and medicine.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> For a survey of the animals of the *Carta marina*, see Anna SKOLIMOWSKA, “The Mediterranean of the North and its Bestiary”, in *Birthday Beasts' Book: Where Human Roads Cross Animal Trails... Cultural Studies in Honour of Jerzy Axer*, eds Elżbieta OLECHOWSKA, Jan KIENIEWICZ, Katarzyna MARCINIAK, Małgorzata BOROWSKA, and Przemysław KORDOS, Warszawa: Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies “*Artes Liberales*”, 2011, pp. 355–368.

<sup>22</sup> *Nat.* 37.44. Amber is also mentioned in *Nat.* 3. 152; 4.97 and 37.50.

## The North Atlantic

The North Atlantic is an island world, a fact that itself gives us reason to expect *mirabilia*. An Italian scholar points out that the Swede could not omit the component of the marvelous, if only for the need not to disappoint an audience that undoubtedly expected it. However, Olaus thought even more profoundly: he believed that Creation, as a work of God, also contains this sign of the mystery of the incomprehensible and the extraordinary.<sup>23</sup> It must be remembered that there are two sources of knowledge about God, the Bible and Nature. The monster of 1537, a warning for heretics and Turks, and the whale island are clear signs of this reasoning.

From south to north we see the following archipelagos: the Hebrides, the Orkneys and the Shetlands; north of these, the fabulous Thule Island and the Faeroe Islands, and in the very north, Greenland, Iceland and Greenland. Yes, Greenland appears twice, either meant to be considered as parts of a great northern continent or drawn as a doublet because of different master copies. The North Atlantic would have been an empty ocean unless Olaus had enlarged the islands and, more importantly, taken the opportunity to fill it with illustrations of sea-dwellers of various kinds, as cartographers were expected to do, to avoid empty space.<sup>24</sup> There are about fifteen drawings of monsters and other figures. I will give some examples:

Farthest north in Norway, close to Vardøhus Fortress, which is located on the island of Vardøya on the Barents Sea near the mouth of the Varangerfjord in northeastern Norway, we catch sight of a veritable sea monster the size of an elephant, climbing the cliffs, a fish, according to the legend called *rosmarus*. It was said to sleep hanging from a cliff. Probably Olaus meant to draw a walrus, an animal characterized by prominent tusks and whiskers and its considerable bulk, but the tusks were unfortunately misplaced. They should have been placed in the upper jaw, or the walrus could not hang from the cliff. The name is probably meant to form associations with the herb rosemary, for he liked to climb the cliffs when the dew was falling.

South of eastern Greenland are two giant monsters, one with dreadful teeth and the other with horrible horns and a burning gaze. There is also a whale rising up and sinking a Danish ship. Another whale, a *ziphius*, is seen east of the Faeroe Islands. It is one of the most widely distributed of all beaked whales. It is seen

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<sup>23</sup> Luigi Giuliano de ANNA, “Mostri e alterità in Olao Magno”, in *I fratelli Giovanni e Olao Magno ...*, op. cit., pp. 101–115.

<sup>24</sup> A recent study of North Atlantic monsters is Erling SANDMO’s *Uhyrlig. Sjømonstre i kart og litteratur 1491–1895*, Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket, 2019.

here, devouring a seal. To acquire prey, we know today that they use a suction process. The picture shows a whale that sucks its prey, the seal. A monster is lurking at its side, possibly to try to attack the whale or pinch the prey.

There were, however, *mirabilia* of other types as well. Ambergris is an example. Where ambergris (Latin: *ambra grisea*) comes from and what it is, a picture east of the Faeroe Islands shows and the legend explains: *sperma ceti* (whale sperm). What is it good for? It is an exclusive substance used for perfume production, produced only by sperm whales. Once expelled by the whale, it often floats for years on the surface before making landfall. The Atlantic was a most crucial source of ambergris in those days. The picture shows lumps of expensive substance floating on the sea's surface.

In the vicinity is a *cetus*,<sup>25</sup> presumably a whale. It is, however, not an ordinary whale; probably it is the so-called St Brendan's Island, named after an Irish monk, who sailed about to the islands of the Atlantic in the sixth century preaching and baptizing. The island could not be found again after Brendan's visit.<sup>26</sup> Maybe it was a giant whale he had discovered? The map shows an English ship casting anchor at what the crew thought was a small island. They go ashore and start to prepare their meal, but the whale looks angry, and hopefully, they manage to return to the ship in time before the whale dives.

Most interestingly, Olaus also reports a recent discovery of a monster: *Monstrum MDXXXVII visum*, a sea monster like a pig, seen in 1537. It had eyes on its sides and a crescent on its back. The source is a leaflet printed in Rome on 15 October 1537; the author warns against heresy and exhorts penance, as no doubt Olaus wanted to do.

All the ships in the Atlantic belong to countries and cities suffering religious upheavals. Do the many monsters signify threats against the peoples of the North from the heresies? Knauer, who has addressed this question, states that, in *sensu spirituali*, the ships stand for the threatened ship of Christianity that sails in the sea of heresies and runs the risk of being wrecked by them. The whales are, on the one hand, important prey for man but also dangerous enemies. They are "als mirakulöse Werke des Schöpfers gleichzeitig auch Instrumente von dessen Heilsplan: ehrfurchteinflößende Vollzugsorgane göttlicher Heimsuchungen" [as miraculous works of the Creator, at the same time instruments of his plan of salvation: awe-inspiring executive organs of divine visitations].<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Nat.* 32.82; 9.78; 36.26.

<sup>26</sup> The island/whale is mentioned in the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani abbatis*. More than 100 manuscripts are extant and many translations. It can thus be regarded as a true bestseller. Pliny's story could have served as a source for the Brendan and Olaus episode.

<sup>27</sup> KNAUER, *Die Carta Marina* ..., op. cit., p. 44.

But there was a place where seafarers (pious Catholics?) could find refuge: in the middle of the sea, south of the Faeroe Islands; a high rock looked like a hooded monk, and it was indeed called *Monachus* by the sailors. Ships anchoring in the sound north of the rock were sheltered from the storms. Tragically, the monk is, however, no more. In 1884–1885 the rock collapsed into the heavy sea and the rest turned into crags that sailors had better avoid.

The fact that Olaus quotes Pliny the Elder, calling *Scandia* another world (see above, p. 34) might be considered a way to introduce the North as quite strange as the monsters might indicate – and *Scandia* is certainly different – but in a way that will still give the southerners a feeling of acquaintance; for Olaus' *Carta* and *Historia* connect, for instance, nicely to a most important encyclopaedia, Pliny's *Naturalis historia* which in the Renaissance was a more important source of natural history than ever.<sup>28</sup> Marine animals like *pristis*,<sup>29</sup> *physeter*,<sup>30</sup> *balaena*<sup>31</sup> and its enemy the *orca*,<sup>32</sup> not to mention the whirlpool *charybdes*,<sup>33</sup> were well-known before to readers of Pliny. Olaus' mission seems to have been to complement Pliny with information about this other world and to determine the significance of these discoveries. Pliny and Olaus seem to have had much in common in restless life and intellectual interests. It was probably equally demanding to be an archbishop with encyclopedic ambitions as it had been to be an admiral. Pliny the Younger's words about his uncle (*Ep.* 3.5.8) could equally well apply to Olaus Magnus: "erat acre ingenium, incredibile studium, summa vigilantia" [he had a keen intelligence, incredible devotion to study and great diligence].

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In Olaus' works, an image of Sweden was founded that came to last for centuries, the image of a country where cold and darkness prevail, but where people still understand how to make a living, protect their freedom and live a happy life.

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<sup>28</sup> Many manuscript copies have been preserved, and many editions have been printed, beginning with those by Spira at Venice in 1469, Beroaldus at Parma in 1476 and Palmarius at Venice in 1499.

<sup>29</sup> *Nat.* 9.4; 9.41. According to Pliny, the largest number of animals and those of the largest size were in the Indian Sea. The *pristis* was 100 cubits long (50 meters). It was clad with hair and viviparous.

<sup>30</sup> *Nat.* 9.8; 32.144. The *physeter* is the largest animal in the Bay of Biscay. It rears up like a giant pillar, higher than a ship's rigging, and belches out a deluge.

<sup>31</sup> *Nat.* 9.4; 9.12; 11.235. The *ballaena* was a huge animal, covering four *iugera*, about three acres.

<sup>32</sup> *Nat.* 9.12; 32.144. The *orca* (grampus). Pliny gives a terrifying picture of its enmity to the other whales. It is an enormous mass of flesh with savage teeth.

<sup>33</sup> *Nat.* 3.87. No comment by Pliny; too well-known (from Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Propertius, etc.).



In his eagerness to heroize the people, Olaus Magnus moves the country of Sweden even further north (see above, p. 36), and northern Sweden is full of people, life and activity; he makes the winters incredibly grim but does not miss the beauty of winter's ice and spring's melting snow. He speaks little of the summers unless it concerns the midnight sun, which he presents as a great miracle. His fascination with winter, with its snow crystals and ice formations, seems completely unique in his time. It is usually said that it was only with Rousseau that the beauty of a mountain landscape was discovered. Olaus' patriotism has its prerequisite in the notion of ethnographic primitivism inherited from antiquity. He sees the people of the cold Nordic region as healthy, original and innocent. He perceives a distant time before money was invented as an ideal. Olaus' vision of North fell into good ground. A fertile imagination, a sound and intimate knowledge of these countries, and an ability to arouse enthusiasm for the North in the peoples south of the Baltic made his book into a bestseller.

The map is preserved in two copies only, but recent scholarship has shown that it must have been quite well-known in its first 100 years. The Polish poet Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584) is an interesting case. He took great interest in cartography and the northern geographic space and was greatly stimulated by the *Carta marina*. As shown recently by Jakub Niedźwiedź, who claims that Kochanowski was not interested in the great geographical discoveries of the time, but for him the close Otherness (Lithuania, Sweden, Finland, Muscovy) was of much greater importance since it allowed him an exploration of himself as the Other.<sup>34</sup>

The first Italian translation of the *Historia* came out only four years after the author's death, followed by other translations, abbreviations and translated abbreviations as well as compilations aimed at different target groups. As is pointed out by Sandmo<sup>35</sup> and Verner Egerland,<sup>36</sup> these translations and abbreviations change the focus of the book, sometimes radically. Some retain the relationship with antiquity; others emphasize the distinctive Nordic character. Translating into a vernacular can be seen as attempts to create popular editions; versions without pictures were probably meant to be sold at a low price. Title pages and frontispieces could be used to raise different kinds of expectations. For studies of the reception history of Olaus Magnus, it is necessary to give closer examination to

<sup>34</sup> NIEDŹWIEDŹ, *Poeta ...*, op. cit., pp. 130–132, 142–146.

<sup>35</sup> Erling SANDMO, "Historien om en *Historia*", in *Litterære verdensborgere. Transnasjonale perspektiver på norsk bokhistorie 1519–1850*, eds Aasta M. B. BJØRKØY, Ruth HEMSTAD, Aina NØDING, and Anne Birgitte RØNNING, Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket, 2019, pp. 56–80.

<sup>36</sup> Verner EGERLAND, "Olaus Magnus i Italien. Den italienska versionen av Olaus *Historia*", in *Språkets speglingar. Festskrift till Birger Bergh*, eds Arne JÖNSSON, Anders PILTZ, Lund: Klassiska institutionen and Ängelholm: Skåneförlaget, pp. 418–425.

a variety of editions, dictated less by the author (*die Ausgabe letzter Hand* is, in this case, the first edition; all the others came after the author's death) than by the readers in different countries and groups. For this phenomenon that Scandinavia was to be seen not through Scandinavian eyes but was adapted to foreign eyes directed by foreign expectations, Sandmo has coined the term "norientalism", as a parallel to "orientalism"<sup>37</sup>, i.e., when a culture is looked at from abroad. In contrast to Olaus' *Historia de gentibus*, which became an international bestseller, Johannes' *Historia de regibus* remained primarily a matter for the Swedes. The Goths had, he claims, a history going back to the earliest postdiluvian world and were thought to have got their name from Noah's grandson, Magog. Johannes' book is about the history of the Goths until the reign of Gustavus Vasa. The King, to put it mildly, was not amused by the portrait Johannes had painted of him. Still, his learned sons were, on the other hand, fascinated by all the wonderful things they learned about Swedish history,<sup>38</sup> and in the time of Gustav II Adolf, his grandiose Gothic history turned into something of a holy book, useful in international propaganda and as a source of inspiration for the Swedes, inciting them to valiant deeds. Gothicism had an impact on antiquarianism and science as time went on, culminating in Rudbeckianism. The cheeky thesis that the Swedish polymath Olof Rudbeck (1630–1702) formulated was that Sweden was the original home of mankind. Atlantis, mentioned by Plato in *Critias* and *Timaeus*, had not been destroyed, but it still existed in the best of health: it was Sweden! This idea became something of a new scientific paradigm that influenced generations of scientists and led them, for instance to try to discover the hypothetical prehistory. The German Latinist Bernd Roling has coined the term "the apotheosis of the North" for these endeavours.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> SANDMO, "Historien ...", op. cit., p. 67.

<sup>38</sup> The brothers Eric and Charles became kings Eric XIV and Charles IX thanks to the inflated list of kings in Johannes' book. Before Sweden's present monarch, Carl XVI Gustaf, there have not been 15 kings of that name.

<sup>39</sup> Bernd ROLING, "Introduction", in *Apotheosis of the North: The Swedish Appropriation of Classical Antiquity around the Baltic Sea and Beyond (1650–1800)*, eds Bernd ROLING, Bernhard SCHIRG, and Stefan Heinrich BAUHAUS, Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2017.

Jan KIENIEWICZ  
University of Warsaw

## THE NOBILITY'S "HORIZON OF ALL THE WORLD" AS PRESENTED IN MARCIN BIELSKI'S *KRONIKA WSZYTKIEGO ŚWIATA*

Who was first to give no care  
for riches nor for fame?  
And who couldn't fall asleep  
without first inventing them?<sup>1</sup>

The subject of my foray is the horizon of the nobleman, or rather that of the noble world itself, the limits of its visibility and its discernibility. First, however, a caveat: a horizon is not a boundary, and the nobleman's world knows no boundaries. So, was he a nobleman who, not caring about personal wealth, could set boundaries for his world? Who was the first to invent them? To what extent was this capability connected with citizenship? This citizen is a Sarmatian, constituting the *Res*, in which *Lex est rex*, and each such citizen individually was a free master of himself.<sup>2</sup> In what sense can we impose on the Rzeczpospolita's citizenship the criteria for seeing and defining formed in the times of partition and perpetuated by the uncertain identity of the present day? Invaders and partitioners set political boundaries, while in terms of civilisation, the world of the nobility cannot be placed within bounds. Emerging from the sixteenth century, modern Europe invented boundaries while expanding. However, when it began to break down along national lines into contemporary Europe, it treated those old boundaries conventionally. It was not until Enlightened Europe, defining itself as the

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<sup>1</sup> Kto pierwszy sławę wszelką / i włości swe miał za nic? / A kto nie umiał zasnąć / nim nie wymyślił granic? (Leszek Aleksander MOCZULSKI, *Korowód* [Procession]).

<sup>2</sup> "Szlachta polska była jednością – siebiepańską, niedbałą o nic" [The Polish *szlachta* was a bloc, with each a master unto himself that cared for nothing], is what Zygmunt Krasiński wrote to his father, Wincenty Krasiński on 26 January 1836 (Zygmunt KRASIŃSKI, *Wybór listów politycznych*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa UW, 2013, p. 48).

West that it began to separate itself from the Strangers it dominated and to exclude those Others it left outside<sup>3</sup>—or rather, it abandoned, giving them a name contrary to nature.<sup>4</sup> So the problem is that the Poles under partition (1795–1918) also began to pull apart, although they all remained in bondage. Before we get to that, however, I would like to reflect on what may have previously been only an imagined border.

The noble world of the sixteenth century was defined by the rules of conduct of several generations having formed their “Rzecz/Res” based on merit and virtue rather than wealth and glory.<sup>5</sup> These were their principles, although they did not always act in accordance with them. What I am interested in, however, is how numerous, or rather how significant were those for whom the need for a boundary, and therefore separation from Others and Strangers, “kept them awake”. I understand such a hypothetical “non-sleeping” state as inner anxiety. Not so much a fear of something as a concern for something. An anxious concern. I speak of the nobility “positioning” itself in relation to Others through its relation to Strangers and concern for the *Res*. From this concern is born the noble horizon, a reality that is not transcendable but is a looking-glass.

Though I do not share the uncritical adoration of Old Poland, nor do I participate in the rebuke of the noble Commonwealth that has been underway for some time. It reminds me too much of the sometimes tawdry and ever-sophomoric historical musings well typified in People’s Poland by Gryzelda Missalowa’s school book.<sup>6</sup> The original form of this citizens’ state was derived from the principle of neighbourliness, i.e., openness to those known from our vicinity. Although this was limited to the fellow gentry, it allowed the Noble Republic to accommodate Others near and far. These were co-existing Others, though not Citizens—namely, the bourgeoisie, peasants, and Jews. We can define the relationship to them by the position of separateness, imposed subjection and enforced submission. Contrary to appearances, this was not alienation. Estate differences were reinforced

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<sup>3</sup> Ricardo DUCHESNE, *The Uniqueness of Western Civilization*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2011; Christopher A. BAYLY, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914. Global Connection and Comparisons*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

<sup>4</sup> Larry WOOLF tells this story being unaware, it seems, that the invention of Eastern Europe was an act of violence regarding the World at once collapsing and dividing, see idem, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

<sup>5</sup> “Moja pospolitej rzeczy posługa” [My service to rzeczpospolita], Marcin BIELSKI, *Kronika, to jest historia świata*, eds Dorota Aniela KOZARYN, Dariusz Andrzej ŚNIEŻKO, Szczecin: Uniwersytet Szczeciński, 2019, vol. 3, p. 447 (first edition: Marcin BIELSKI, *Kronika wszytkyego swyata na ssesec wyekow, monarchie cztery rozdzielona ...*, [w] Krakowie: [u Unglerowej] wdowy [1551]).

<sup>6</sup> Gryzelda MISSALOWA, Janina SCHOENBRENNER, *Historia Polski*, Warszawa: PZWS, 1951.

mythologically. In contrast, violence against those still further, i.e., in serfdom, demarcated but did not separate. This was not the reason for sleeplessness. These internal boundary differences were perpetuated by the Strangers' opinion-makers. Initially, they were granted to each other, not imposed. For a time, of course. But let's not look too far ahead.

Marcin Bielski (1495–1575) wrote his *Kronika wszytkiego świata* [Chronicle of the Whole World] until the end of his life, expanding it in subsequent editions (1551, 1554, 1564), intending it for Citizens. I want to believe that the first and most zealous readers were Citizen-Scholars, among whom birth and estate were perhaps not the most important. Knowledge and position, especially of the clergy, were “ennobling”. I mention this only because I am not concerned with the reception of the work. On the contrary, based on the content and form of the *Kronika*, I wish to draw conclusions about what the world of Bielski and his contemporaries was like. In this world, I am interested in the horizon in its dual meaning. Not so much the temporal and spatial scope of the available narratives but the factors that determine it. Or rather, only one of them—namely, participation in the then-forming European value system.<sup>7</sup> Building a separate version of it, the Citizens had to not only fulfil themselves in their vortex but also relate to phenomena happening in their neighbourhood—next door, as it were, including the early expansion of the Spaniards and Lusitanians.<sup>8</sup>

The nobility's horizon was to invent itself in a world without borders. They were, after all, living on the frontier of a Europe just emerging from a disintegrating Latin Christianity. A borderland not at the border and not between or around it. It was a fluid state that was functioning instead of a dividing border. Imagining the horizon, citizens could dream of a connecting border—one with a neighbour. “For the Motherland is not between borders”, said, ever so aptly, Juliusz

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<sup>7</sup> I have addressed this topic several times, see Jan KIENIEWICZ, “Pogranicza i peryferie: o granicach cywilizacji europejskiej”, in *Cywilizacja europejska, różnorodności i podziały*, vol. 3, ed. Maciej KOŹMIŃSKI, Kraków: Universitas, 2014, pp. 81–96; idem, “Wartości polityczne Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów a granice aksjologiczne cywilizacji europejskiej – kilka refleksji końcowych”, in *Wartości polityczne Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Struktury aksjologiczne i granice cywilizacyjne*, ed. Anna GRZEŚKOWIAK-KRWAWICZ, Warszawa WUW, 2017, pp. 291–308.

<sup>8</sup> See my previous remarks, wherein I also thoroughly refer to the sources: Jan KIENIEWICZ, “Nouvelles et marchandises: La perspective polonaise des Découvertes portugaises au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle”, in *La Découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe. Actes du Colloque. Paris, les 26, 27, 28 mai 1988*, publiés sous la direction de Jean AUBIN, Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian 1990, pp. 331–345. Cf. idem, “The New European World Overseas: The Space of Contact and Limits of Cognition”, *Acta Poloniae Historica* LX (1989), pp. 33–50.



Słowacki through the person of Zawisza of Garbowo.<sup>9</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Crown Republic was already fully established and one step away from another mutation into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>10</sup> This process also included a new format for the place of the citizens' world in Europe, marking out new boundaries of recognition and dominion. The establishment of the dimensions of these projections came at the time of the second change that the Free Election brought to the nobility's imagination. By electing a ruler, they sought to shield themselves against tyranny; meanwhile, they were entering a time of inventing boundaries—still their own masters, though more solipsistically so. Trapped in the mythology of the *antemurale*, they did not notice they now found themselves outside the wall.<sup>11</sup>

The horizon of their world was also the space that fell between the range of the known and the range of the imagined. The world of the nobility of the second half of the sixteenth century was part of the Global World, for the imagined was cognizable through the stories that had become accessible. The global world was indeed not only cognizable but also presentable via the experience of the already known. What could be experienced became cognized. The *Kronika wszytkiego świata* thus responded to the demand created by the experience of the known but beyond provincial reach. Marcin Bielski provided information about what existed beyond the boundary of the experienced in the form of a narrative tailored to that experience. At the same time, he offered an interpretation of the past, describing land and history in equal measure.

In this sense, therefore, I treat the *Kronika* as a map, a record that defines the location of the noble community in a broader context. Adopting the interpretation of the map as a text, I allow myself to reverse the course of thought. I want to treat this record of geography and historiography as a map. The collection of signs (information), allowing me to coordinate the location and character of the person, became the causal factor of the assumed identity.

What image emerges from Bielski's work? The *Kronika* was a testimony to the idea of the world at the time as limitless, in the sense of freely accessible. At the same time, describing it laid the groundwork for setting boundaries—not state boundaries, of course, but mental boundaries. The author had ambitions to reach a wider audience and wrote in Polish. He also had his own vision in which not

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<sup>9</sup> Juliusz SŁOWACKI, *Zawisza Czarny* (1844/45). Cf. Jan KIENIEWICZ, *Wyraz na ustach zapomniany. Polskich inteligentów zmagania z Ojczyzną*, Warszawa: DiG, 2012, p. 41.

<sup>10</sup> Robert FROST, *Oksfordzka historia unii polsko-litewskiej. Powstanie i rozwój 1385–1569*, Poznań: Rebis, 2018, pp. 760–763.

<sup>11</sup> Janusz TAZBIR, *Polskie przedmurze chrześcijańskiej Europy. Mity a rzeczywistość historyczna*, Warszawa: Interpress, 1987.

only the Rzeczpospolita was a noble world. He expressed the idea shared with the Others of localness, the conviction that a world of some kind exists somewhere, even not necessarily far away. Readers of the *Kronika* were allowed to grapple with the multiplicity of worlds in a way that did not violate their axiology. In Book Five, there is a treatise on cosmography, "that is, on the Earth's distribution", a description of all the then-known worlds. However, what is striking here is the restraint in reporting on the knowledge of the time about countries outside the circle of common experience. This is not to question the author's competence. On the contrary, I even see this restraint as a conscious intention. Bielski was not interested in using the then "available literature on the subject". His intention was not to take his readers beyond the familiar or domesticated realm. True, he drew them beyond the European horizon, albeit with the familiar vision of the world formed by citizens for themselves and not for Others. Bielski recreates the Sarmatian horizon; I would call it the horizon of cognition for a European in the East, a Euro-Sarmatian convinced of his place, role, and historical task.<sup>12</sup> To understand the meaning of the Euro-Sarmatian horizon, we should assume that the great historical axis of the Intermarium<sup>13</sup> is responsible for it.

Beyond this was a world merely heard of, rarely visited, despite the intensely operating trade routes leading south<sup>14</sup>—despite the influx via these routes from the Orient of numerous and valued goods.<sup>15</sup> Still stretching from the Pacific to the Atlantic, it seems, was a realm of fable. Despite the maps, the horizon of citizens stretched from the Pillars of Hercules through Ararat to the Glacial Ocean and back to Scandinavia, Iceland, and Greenland. It was as if the world ended with Moscow, Turkey, Iberia, and Europe. "The third part of the world, our Europe".<sup>16</sup> Pointing out the qualities that prove Europe's superiority over Asia and Africa,

<sup>12</sup> Jan KIENIEWICZ, "The Eastern Frontier and the Borderland of Europe", in *Europa im Ostblock. Vorstellungen und Diskurse (1945–1991)*, eds José M. FARALDO, Paulina GULIŃSKA-JURGIEL, Christian DOMNITZ BÖHLAU, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2008, pp. 83–90; idem, "Pierwsza Rzeczpospolita: przestrzeń wielu kultur czy spotkań cywilizacyjnych?", in *Rzeczpospolita wielokulturowa dobrodziejstwo czy obciążenie?*, ed. Jerzy KŁOCZOWSKI, Warszawa: Collegium Civitas Press, 2009, pp. 51–60; idem, "The Eastern Frontiers and the Civilisational Dimension of Europe", *Acta Poloniae Historica* 107, pp. 165–178.

<sup>13</sup> Fernand BRAUDEL, *Morze Śródziemne i świat śródziemnomorski w epoce Filipa II*, vol. 1, transl. Marcin KRÓL, Maria KWIECIEŃSKA, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, p. 214.

<sup>14</sup> Bohdan BARANOWSKI, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku*, Łódź: Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1950; Marian MAŁOWIST, *Kaffa – kolonia genuńska na Krymie i problem wschodni w latach 1453–1475*, Warszawa: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii, 1947.

<sup>15</sup> Andrzej DZIUBIŃSKI, *Na szlakach Orientu. Handel między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Wrocław: Leopoldinum, 1997.

<sup>16</sup> BIELSKI, *Kronika ...*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 438.

“yet not equal to them in size and wealth”, he writes, “it has a friendly, intrinsic freedom”.<sup>17</sup>

Having written extensively about Greece, Italy and Spain, islands and riches and wars fought apparently, Bielski did not need an explanation of the Mediterranean phenomenon.<sup>18</sup> Even less so of other, not neighbouring worlds, though, ones that are known to the citizens. There is, after all, an as-yet unrecognized world, part four, i.e., North America. *Terra Australis* was not indicated, nor is Bielski aware that Cathay and China are in the same world—moreover, the vast expanses of islands and oceans have not yet been recognized. But he knows that the globe is enclosed and there is nothing beyond the horizon. Global finitude allows for separation—identification by relation to people and notification by relation to events.

In the *Kronika*, we find a description of the world of citizens, a genealogical portrait of the Euro-Sarmatians,<sup>19</sup> told chronologically. It is supplemented by depictions of neighbourhoods that are relatively close but distinct, foreign but familiar. The borderless nobleman maps them out for himself as was his wont regarding his neighbours. Wallachia and Hungary, the Tartars, Lithuania and Livonia, and finally Prussia, the lands of Silesia and Bohemia, are close neighbours, often quarrelsome. Behind their backs are the Turk and the Muscovite, neighbours further away, but Bielski gave them the same prominence. There are wars with them, but also commerce. And there are also free relations marked by a care-free acceptance of what “we here like”.<sup>20</sup>

Separately, Bielski reported on the neighbourhoods to the west, primarily the German Empire—and in its context, the farther lands of the Swiss, Italians, Franks, Iberians, and Angles. Why? Was it that they were familiar or close to the Rzeczpospolita’s citizens? Because they did not establish borders? No, it was simply that everywhere existed the *Respublica litteraria* to which he aspired. Therefore, book 9 of the *Kronika* discussed peoples and places admittedly distant but not foreign, familiar though perhaps somewhat peculiar. Book 10, on the other hand, was not limited to newly discovered worlds; it bore witness to the unfamiliar though already known. The stories read and quoted fulfilled the task

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>18</sup> Peregrine HORDEN, Nicholas PURCELL, *The Boundless Sea: Writing Mediterranean History*, London–New York: Routledge, 2019. See David ABULAFIA, *The Boundless Sea: A Human History of the Oceans*, Allen Lane, 2019.

<sup>19</sup> This is found in Book 8 of the *Kronika*.

<sup>20</sup> Janusz TAZBIR has repeatedly written at length about this; see idem, *Sarmaci i świat*, Kraków: Universitas, 2001. Cf. also Jan KIENIEWICZ, “Polish Orientalness”, *Acta Poloniae Historica* 49, pp. 67–103.

of recording what was changeable or movable; that is, they established a new dimension of the horizon of the noble world. It was new in relation to the primordial realm of Euro-Sarmatian experience deriving from the consent of the Nobles to all that was strange rather than foreign.

A decisive factor in the perception of the horizon as borderless is how the New World is incorporated into the imagination of the Commonwealth's citizenry. The *Kronika* is a testament to this. This is accomplished by going beyond the Old World's unknowns, that is, incorporating testimonies of the sailing and trading of the Portuguese into the noble *imaginarium* in the same way as recounting the conquest and use of the New World by the Spaniards—encounter by recounting discovery. Rather more by testimony than by tales; the testimony was also remarkably condensed in relation to the information flooding Europe at the time.<sup>21</sup>

Book 10 of the *Kronika* is a compilation of only slightly reworked texts available to citizens in various language versions. These are primarily Latin accounts of sailing from the collection of Simon Grynaeus,<sup>22</sup> written by him, and excerpts he made from Italian versions compiled by Fracanzano da Montalboddo.<sup>23</sup> Including these accounts, rather than his own story, is a notable move. The *Kronika*'s user learns of the existence of a new world beyond the author, who takes no responsibility for it. What purpose was served by presenting the Distant Stranger in this way?

Trying to present an answer requires several clarifications, without which Marcin Bielski's story suddenly appears like mere entertainment. People have always liked or always enjoyed this kind of sensationalism. I would say that the solemn tale of the chronicler may have quickly become boring, and the search for some deeper meaning in it, even political, was beyond the capacity of Sarmatian minds. The free Sarmatian had public duty in his esteem but did not like to strain himself mentally. An account quoted in an appendix would have been sylvan material, an anecdote to be read repeatedly on winter evenings. This seems at odds with the solemn nature of the entire *Kronika*<sup>24</sup>. There was room for expansion in Book 5; Bielski chose open paraphrase. In this way, citizens came to the horizon out of curiosity and without fear.

<sup>21</sup> Jacques PAVIOT, "L'imaginaire géographique des Découvertes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle", in *La Découverte...*, op. cit., pp.141–158.

<sup>22</sup> *Novus Orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum una cum tabula cosmographica ...*, Basileae, apud Io[annem] Hervagium, 1532.

<sup>23</sup> *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati et Novo Mondo Da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulato*, Vicenza, 1507; Milano, 1508 (facsimile edition: Princeton, 1916).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Dariusz ŚNIEŻKO, "Swojskie i obce w kronice uniwersalnej (przykład Marcina Bielskiego)", *Teksty Drugie* 2003, No. 1, pp. 23–40.

I return to the starting argument. Who set the boundaries? And did those who did not think up the boundaries sleep peacefully? Reading “about the islands of the sea newly found, which amount to a New World” seemed reassuring and allowed people to fall asleep because it was no longer necessary to invent. Euro-Sarmatia could be formed as an imagined space, i.e., one delineated by the distance to the horizon.<sup>25</sup> The *Res publica* not only learned but as the *Res nostra* was like fulfilling the promise of freedom guaranteed. Its boundlessness was supported by the power of neighbourly attraction; Sarmatism was born as an ideology of locality—it potentially posed the threat of restriction by the Others of the Neighbourhood. Restriction meant that by not constituting boundaries, one would have to accept their emergence by violence and imposition.

Boundless, on the other hand, meant unfettered by the horizon and the freedom of self-determination.

The problem with the “*Respublica Litteraria* in Action” project boils down to this question: did these people, scholars, educated humanists, embraced by the consciousness of a certain community, create something like a World? Or were they persons of distinction, to put it in today’s slang, influencers, in a European World, whether already existing or still coming into being?

This uncertainty stems from the belief that we adopted the term “Europe” long ago, disregarding the changes that have taken place over time, and not taking into account the complexity of its formation process. This happened regardless of whether Europe was treated geopolitically or civilisationally. And after all, in both approaches Europe was and is considered a whole with perhaps a changeable identity and not as a fixed way of defining the different forms of the world. I have in mind the distinctiveness or uniqueness of the emerging World, not the European World-Economy. Hence, Europe is an emerging World-System. I do not use the term in any of the generally accepted concepts; the World is just a set of entities capable of being described systemically—meaning having identity but not necessarily consciousness.

The *Respublica litteraria* formed simultaneously with Europe as a new form of civilisation, but in the modern World-System, it was a single network without a dominant core. We see it today as a network stretching across divisions, binding people not only of different cultures but belonging (in the sixteenth century) to different Worlds. Not separate, but unique. They were binding differently. There were Mediterranean and Inter-Marium Worlds, still multi-civilisational. The European World was being born, and on its way to global domination, this plurality

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<sup>25</sup> Jan KIENIEWICZ, “Eurosarmacja. O Europie Środkowej z perspektywy cywilizacyjnej”, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 120 (2013), No. 4, pp. 817–823.



was supplanting itself. The *Respublica litteraria* was a creation of people across divides, but it did not show unifying power. Science was to be born from it, but its civilisational influence did not prove sufficient to keep diversity in unity.

The humanists' sense of unity or closeness is older than Europe's and played an important role in the crucial formation of the dialogical vortex and the consolidation of the principle of opposites.<sup>26</sup> I pose the question of the importance of the influence of humanists in this process. That is, the proposal to consider the importance of the community expressed in reading the map in addition to the communication of ideas. This map results from access to the horizon, which, moving away with discovering the new, allowed citizens to fall asleep without inventing boundaries.

I intend that the reading of the map was and is the first thing: in the creation process, it had precedence and did not disappear, but rather only changed form. As a text describing and measuring the land, the map was not necessarily used as intended by the creator. Its subsequent study came as a consequence of choice. Scholars derived from their reading the desire to know and the ability to study. Thus, in their relationship with the map, scholars followed in the footsteps of the sailors who used it to navigate. The use of humanists, however, was different; being able to read, they undertook studies. The question is not so much how but for what purpose.

One can talk endlessly about a map, the basic question is usually about the relationship between its creation and use. I am not concerned with the creation of maps. Bielski freely uses others' maps. Nor am I interested in using them for navigation, warfare forecasts, or travel planning. I pose the question of using maps in the formation of the world or even that particular form of the world the scholars dreamed up. Their world was not formed in traveling, discovering or conquering—although they sometimes assumed the role of traveller, explorer, and even conqueror.

So how was the map (a map-narrative) used to create the World? In the case of the *Kronika*, a mapping-narrative. For learned men, the map was a tool for making the world and communicating with it. Specific to this milieu was the use of the map in internal communication. Each World was created to enable communication, and the network of cooperation was always the foundation of its existence, especially in the case of a World not formed into a centro-peripheral system.

Reading a map was one of the basic activities of learned people; in this way, they organized information obtained from correspondence and reading. It was an

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Edgar MORIN, *Penser l'Europe*, Paris: Gallimard, 1992.

aesthetically pleasing task, as a map looks great on a wall or table. The globe was an indispensable part of the presentation of the scholar's work. Taking a sheet from the *Fuggerzeitungen*, for example, a scholar would locate it on a map, even if it was a mental map. Through this procedure, he brought information into his world. On the other hand, studying was a search, a planned activity, part of the mental process that allows one to construct the world. This is how learning or inferring the nature of the World began. The result could be communicated, and this ability to communicate was the basis of the bond.

Let us consider, then, what function the map served. The life of humanists was writing correspondence. But the map was a necessary accessory. Scholars travelled seeking knowledge and a material basis for their work. This experience was peculiar; wanderers from another estate or profession did not necessarily "map" things. Even more alien to them was the ability to historicize. Studying a map was a prerequisite for building modern geography and historiography—the Basics of Science.

The world of scholars was not separate from the world of poets and philosophers. It was distinguished by study. All in all, the power of study proved insufficient. The scholarly network, in which universities and libraries acted as nodes, relied on the creation of the potential to perpetuate achievements in other spheres and by other circles. In addition to the circulation of money, the circulation of ideas and perceptions was equally important to the emerging Europe. Reading and studying the map connected the spiritual and material spheres, intensified the circulation of information, and gave power to the network. Although reading and studying left its mark on the nascent Europe, it needed to be stronger to give it direction. As a result, Science was subordinated to the World rather than the other way around.

The modest participation of Marcin Bielski, a concerned but peacefully slumbering citizen, provided the *Kronika* with a thing of undeniable importance. Readership. And, by extension, influence the minds of the Lords of the Manors. Thanks to this, we can read from it and reconstruct the noble horizon of the world.

**Małgorzata GRZEGORZEWSKA**

University of Warsaw

## **MAPMAKERS AMONG THE LIONS**

### **FROM MEDIEVAL ROMANCE TO THE IDOL OF THE MAP**

Looking at the early modern map, it is impossible to separate its “scientific” or factual content from its “epideictic eloquence”.<sup>1</sup> When the map appeared in early modern paintings, its diagrammatic character attested to the veracity of art: “Through the very process of transforming the map from print to painting, the artist signals the art of representation”.<sup>2</sup> Early modern maps also served as tools of persuasion, combining aesthetic delight with profitable occupation. Fanciful cartouches, richly decorated borders and fantastic miniature scenes depicting strange animals and exotic plants and illustrating the customs of the people who inhabited the newly discovered lands, all of which were laid inside the contours of the charted world, were clear evidence that mapmakers also recognized the rhetorical articulateness and symbolic resourcefulness of the map. Art and science, imagination and intellectual discipline coexisted throughout the long modernity of cartography.<sup>3</sup> The early modern map could be construed like any other text: read and re-read like the frontispiece in a book of adventure. In this discussion, I shall consider the symbolic dimension of early modern maps, exploring the connections between early modern cartography and poetic imagination. I argue that colonial cartography mingled plain facts with idealized visions of the new worlds first desired and then discovered, or rather “invented”, by the European settlers. The pleasure of seeing the world represented on a map could then be converted into the profit of further conquests and exploration.

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<sup>1</sup> Svetlana ALPERS, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, London: John Murray, 1983, pp. 158–159.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen BANN, “The Truth in Mapping”, in *The Inventions of History: On the Representation of the Past*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> David WOODWARD, “Introduction”, in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David WOODWARD, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987, p. 2.

Early modern maps articulate the difference between the knowing subject and the represented object. Still, at the same time, they encourage their readers to consider the uneasy connection between the subject matter and the purpose (another sense of the word “object”) of representation. They are selective and they inevitably privilege a specific point of view. Metaphors such as “interpretative gaze”<sup>4</sup> or “theoretical eye”,<sup>5</sup> common in cartographic criticism, thus imply the presence of an audience who may watch, construe and theorize topographic scenery.<sup>6</sup> Therefore early modern cartographic images could indeed be called a “theatre of the world”, *theatrum orbis terrarum*, whose stage was observed by the readers of these maps.

Over time, the images in early modern maps gave way to a geometric, stable and fixed abstraction set in the realm of an a-temporal ideal, conveying the European desire to control the entire globe. Still, the cartographic image retained its gripping power long after the “delightful mystery” of the primordial, Edenic romance of discovery and adventure had been lost and forgotten. The drive towards abstraction inevitably entailed silencing the manifold stories of exploration and discovery and the enframing of three-dimensional space in the flatness of the mirror. Thus the romance of the New Land was put to death in the idol of the map, which, in addition to depicting the world, aimed to arrest the viewer’s eye and set their imagination alight. On the one hand, *speculum orbis terrarum* showed the expanding world, while on the other, it also mirrored the conqueror’s inquisitive look and haughty mien. The cartographic image entailed the presence of a “synoptic and omniscient, intellectually detached” Apollonian gaze.<sup>7</sup> Early modern maps aimed at scientific objectivity, but they also were noted for their aesthetic appeal and valued as a source of inspiration. One glance at the map made it possible to imagine all possible journeys: both those which had been completed and those to be undertaken in the future.

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<sup>4</sup> William BOELHOWER, “Inventing America: A Model of Cartographic Semiosis”, *Word and Image* 4.2 (1988), p. 479.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, *Through a Glass, Darkly: Ethnic Semiosis in American Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Małgorzata GRZEGORZEWSKA, “Rewriting Early Modern Maps: Cartography and Post-colonial Critical Practice”, in *Mosaic of Words. Essays on the American and Canadian Literary Imagination in Memory of Professor Nancy Burke*, ed. Agata PREIS-SMITH, Ewa ŁUCZAK, Marek PARYŻ, Warsaw: Institute of English Studies, University of Warsaw, 2006, p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> Denis COSGROVE, *Apollo’s Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, p. 2.

## 1. Dreams of omnipotence

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Joseph Conrad ingenuously called early modern voyagers “knights-errant of the sea” in quest of immortal fame or earthly riches: “hunters for gold and pursuers of fame”.<sup>8</sup> This may be the reason why the narrator of *Heart of Darkness* bears a surname which, despite the different spelling, might perhaps gesture towards the figure of Christopher Marlowe, as if pointing in the direction of all Tamburlaines or Faustuses and thus evoking these early modern figures of human lust for power and knowledge; or perhaps recalling the island “like an apple” in Gonzalo’s pocket in William Shakespeare’s transatlantic play, *The Tempest*. Conrad changes this image into another, more ominous metaphor when he makes Marlow speak about “the germs of empire”.<sup>9</sup> Here “germs” mean not only “seeds”, but also the “virus” of colonization.

Tamburlaine the Great, the eponymous hero of a play in two parts penned by Shakespeare’s friend and rival, was based on the historical figure of the Central-Asian ruler Timur the Lame. In Marlowe’s play, Tamburlaine is a Scythian shepherd whose life story may have reflected the hubristic urge of Renaissance Europeans to move beyond the pillars of Hercules and, further out, conquer unknown worlds. He succumbs to none but death (or the alien God, whom he has offended in burning the Quran), but before he breathes his last, he orders the map to be brought in to recall all his conquests and wishes he had time to pursue more. Emry Jones describes one of the productions of this play in 1951, in which “a map was brought on a big as large as a Persian carpet and was unrolled to fill the whole central area of the stage”.<sup>10</sup> The dying Tamburlaine stepped onto it, recalling the so-called Ditchley portrait, which showed Elizabeth I in a sumptuous dress, with an earring of an armillary sphere used for navigation, in her left ear. The Queen in this portrait stands on the map of England, her feet resting on Oxfordshire. Tamburlaine’s last utterance is a mixture of pride in the accomplished conquests and longing for more earthly possessions. We cannot call it his deathbed confession, for the emperor leaves his tent despite his weakness and approaching death. Nobody dares testify about him, but in his own account, he is equal to God, evoking the words of Psalm 68: “Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered; / Let those also who hate Him flee before Him. / As smoke is driven away, so drive them away: / As wax melts before the fire, / So let the wicked perish at the presence of God” (1–2). Accordingly, Tamburlaine boasts: “Thus are

<sup>8</sup> Joseph CONRAD, *Heart of Darkness*, ed. Luciana PIRÉ (Firenze: Giunti, 2001), p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>10</sup> Emry JONES, “‘A World on Ground’: Terrestrial Space in Marlowe’s ‘Tamburlaine’ Plays”, *The Yearbook of English Studies* 38 (1/2) 2008, p. 195.



the villains, cowards fled for fear, / Like summer's vapours, vanished by the sun" (5.3.115).<sup>11</sup> Yet since, at the very same time, he realizes that his time is spent—although no fear of divine punishment troubles his thoughts, as he believes only he can judge his deeds—he then turns to his sons and bids them fulfil his desires:

But I perceive my martial strength is spent,  
 In vain I strive and rail against those powers,  
 That mean t'invest me in a higher throne,  
 As much too high for this disdainful earth.  
*Give me a Map, then let me see how much  
 Is left for me to conquer all the world,  
 That these my boys may finish all my wants.*  
 (5.3. 119–125; emphasis added)

This pronouncement establishes a firm link between the map and the all-encompassing desire. The cartographic mirror serves only one purpose: to fill the need of a subject who defies human mortality:

Look here, my boys, see what a world of ground,  
 Lies westward from the midst of *Cancer's* line,  
 Unto the rising of this earthly globe,  
 Whereas the sun declining from our sight,  
 Begins the day with our antipodes:  
 And shall I die, and this unconquered?  
 Lo here, my sons, are all the golden mines,  
 Inestimable drugs and precious stones,  
 More worth than *Asia*, and the world beside;  
 And from th'Antartic Pole eastward behold  
 As much more land, which never was descried,  
 Wherein are rocks of pearl that shine as bright

As all the lamps that beautify the sky,  
 And shall I die, and this unconquered?  
 Here, lovely boys, what death forbids my life,  
 That let your lives command in spite of death.  
 (5.3.145–160; emphasis added)

Marlowe's *Faustus* was another version of the Renaissance from-rags-to-riches story, depicting the legendary magician born, as the playwright reminds

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<sup>11</sup> Christopher MARLOW, *Tamburlaine the Great. Parts One and Two*, ed. Anthony B. DAWSON, London: A & C Black, 1997, p. 169. All further references to Marlow's play come from this edition.

us, “of parents base of stock” (Chorus, l. 11)<sup>12</sup> but desirous of knowledge which would make him as powerful as “Jove is in the sky / Lord and commander of these elements” (1.1.78–79). In the opening scene of the play, we see Faustus is his study, but his insatiate appetite “makes” his “little room an everywhere”. He says:

O, what a world of profit and delight,  
 Of power, of honour and omnipotence,  
 Is promis'd to the studious artisan!  
*All things that move between the quiet poles*  
*Shall be at my command.* Emperors and kings  
 Are but obey'd in their several provinces,  
 but his dominion that exceeds in this  
 Stretcheth as far as doth the mind of man!  
 A sound magician is a mighty God!  
 Here, tire my brains, to get deity  
 (1.1. 54–64; emphasis added)

In the following scenes, we are encouraged to imagine him travelling through the heavens and surveying the coasts and kingdoms of the world. Small wonder that Conrad made his narrator the namesake of the playwright who brought Tamburlaine and Faustus to life. Their dreams resonate in Marlow's name.

Marlow's oblique reference to Shakespeare's pastoral romance, the *Tempest*, is equally revealing. In Act 2 Scene 1, we hear two adversaries of the banished Duke of Milan, Prospero, mock his former servant, Gonzalo. Antonio is Prospero's treacherous brother who stole his dukedom; Sebastian, the King of Naples, was the accomplice in this crime. Shipwrecked on Prospero's magic island, they cannot understand Gonzalo, who does not give up hope in adversity and praises their new home:

ANTONIO: What impossible matter he will make easy next?  
 SEBASTIAN: I think he will carry this island home in his pocket  
 and give his son for an apple.  
 ANTONIO: And sowing the kernels in the sea, bring forth more islands.  
 (2.1.84–86)<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Idem, *Doctor Faustus. A 1604-Version Edition*, ed. Michael KEEFER, Peterborough: Broadview Editions, 2007, p.73. All further quotations from *Faustus* refer to this edition.

<sup>13</sup> William SHAKESPEARE, *The Tempest*, ed. David LINDLEY, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p.132.

Listening to this conversation, we can imagine Gonzalo presenting his son with a map of the newly discovered island, with seductive images of its plains, mountains, rivers and forests, and his son setting out on his quest to “bring forth”, that is, discover, more islands. This cartographic parallel certainly fits the context of the play, which records the English colonial endeavours in Jamestown.

Conrad’s use of the word “knight-errant” reaches even further back in time, evoking the world of Arthurian romance, like the story of Sir Gawain, Arthur’s nephew, whom the uncanny green giant dared to travel to the world’s end in search of his true identity.<sup>14</sup> On his way, Gawain saw marvels which fostered the imagination of Renaissance travellers who ventured into the uncharted regions of the earth, *ubi leones*, the unknown places where “beasts” dwell: “So many marvels did the man meet in the mountains / It would be too tedious to tell the tenth of them” (stanza 21).<sup>15</sup> The narrator of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* then mentions “worms”, “wolves”, “wood-trolls that wondered in the crags”, “bulls”, “bears”, and “boars” as well as uncanny “ogres that panted after him [Gawain] on the high fells” (stanza 21). The itinerary of Gawain’s journey cannot be traced on any actual map; it is akin to earlier descriptions, where all that there is are “places where”, to quote Mary Baine Campbell’s record of *Exotic European Travel Writing 400–1600*. Campbell explains this attitude as “Platonic scorn, not of mimesis but of the phenomena that constitute its subject”.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, the allegory of the invisible and transcendent, not the phenomenal world, interested the Gawain poet. Still, the cultural assumptions of the Middle Ages were not entirely erased from early modern epistemology. By incorporating the glamour of the medieval quests into the maps of the expanding world, early modern mapmakers were weaving together hindsight and foresight, geometric abstraction and embodied desire, scientific knowledge and poetic allegory. Medieval allegory became the groundwork of the early modern map.

<sup>14</sup> Jennifer R. GOODMAN, *Chivalry and Exploration*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998, p. 69.

<sup>15</sup> *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, transl. J. R. R. TOLKIEN, ed. Christopher TOLKIEN, New York: Ballantine Books, 1975, p. 305.

<sup>16</sup> Mary B. CAMPBELL, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing 400–1600* Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press, 1988, p. 32.

## 2. The rise of an idol

In his treatise, *The Book of the Governor*, written in 1531, the English humanist Thomas Elyot argued that with the help of a map, one could reflect on the copious resources of God's creation in the cosy space of one's "warm" study. His account seems to bear no trace of the restlessness which characterizes the Marlovian climbers. In Elyot's words, the map is not an incentive, but a substitute for adventurous enterprise. His focus is entirely on what the map represents, not where it leads the viewer:

For what pleasure it is in one hour to beholde those realms, cities, sees, ryveres, and mountaynes, that unneth [hardly] in an olde mannes life cannot be journeyed and pursued: what incredible delite is taken in beholding the diversities of people, beastis, foules, fishes, trees, frutes, and herbes: to know the sondry maners & conditions of people, and the varietie of their natures, and that in a warme studie or perler, without perile of the see, or daunger of longe and paynfull journeyes: I cannot tell what more pleasure should happen to gentil witte than to beholde in his own house every thinge that whith in all the world is contained.<sup>17</sup>

Joseph Conrad, however, reminds us how the map changed from an object of such quiet contemplation into a tool of conquest and colonization. He examines this process with his characteristic perceptiveness, telescoping it to Marlow's reminiscence of his childhood fascination with maps:

Now when I was a little chap I had a passion for maps. I would look for hours at South America, or Africa, or Australia, and lose myself in all the glories of exploration. At that time there were many blank spaces on the earth, and when I saw one that looked particularly inviting on a map (but they all look that) I would put my finger on it and say, 'When I grow up I will go there.' The North Pole was one of these places, I remember. Well, I haven't been there yet, and shall not try now. The glamour's off. Other places were scattered about the hemispheres. I have been in some of them, and... well, we won't talk about that. But there was one yet—the biggest, the most blank, so to speak—that *I had a hankering after*.<sup>18</sup>

(emphasis added)

The hypnotizing force of the cartographic image is represented in *Heart of Darkness* by the picture of a child standing spellbound in front of a shop window, gazing through the glass at the unattainable object of desire: the map rivets his attention like a coveted toy or a mouth-watering cake. The transparency of the window advocates the transparency of the cartographic image, but at the same the

<sup>17</sup> Thomas ELYOT, *The Boke Named The Governor*, Book XI, <http://www.luminarium.org/renaissance-editions/gov/gov1.htm> (accessed 3 August 2022).

<sup>18</sup> CONRAD, *Heart ...*, op. cit., p. 22.

window pane creates an invisible but insurmountable barrier between the craving subject and the object of his dreams. Inaccessibility defines the object and reinforces yearning. Conrad shows in this way that the cartographic image retains its gripping power long after the “delightful mystery” of the primordial, the Edenic romance of discovery and adventure has been lost and forgotten. Marlow’s story continues in the following manner:

True, by this time it was not a blank space any more. It had got filled since my boyhood with rivers and lakes and names. It had ceased to be a blank space of delightful mystery—a white patch for a boy to dream gloriously over. It had become a place of darkness. But there was in it one river especially, a mighty big river, that you could see on the map, resembling an immense snake uncoiled, with its head in the sea, its body at rest curving afar over a vast country, and its tail lost in the depths of the land. And as I looked at the map of it in a shop-window, it fascinated me as a snake would a bird—a silly little bird. ... The snake had charmed me.<sup>19</sup>

To better understand Conrad’s use of the map in *Heart of Darkness*, we may take advantage of Jean-Luc Marion’s concept of the idol as a phenomenon that shapes the looking subject in such a way as to transfigure that subject by the object which has been deified. The philosopher uses highly poetic language to explain this transformation of the observer into an ardent follower of a god of his own making:

In order for an idol to appear and, fixedly, draw the attention of a gaze, the reflection of a stable mirror must accommodate it. Instead of the gaze floating on ‘the sea, the sea perpetually renewed’, it must present itself in a mirror, a gaze as mortally immobile as coagulated blood: ‘the sun drowned in its blood which coagulates’ (Baudelaire). In order that the idol might fix it, the gaze must first freeze. ... When the gaze freezes, its aim settles ... and hence the not-aimed-at disappears. The idolatrous gaze exercises no criticism of its idol.<sup>20</sup>

In other words, the idol is an object of wonder but precludes wandering (“the not aimed at”); the enchantment it stimulates is so total, so absolute, that no space is left for hesitation or doubt. It is so determined, purposeful and thoroughgoing that nothing is left to chance. The idolatrous gaze allows no external realm; the eye fixed on the map becomes the true centre of the world. Instead of being a mirror of the world, the map was thus transformed into a mirror whose surface captured and reflected the surveyor’s gaze. It, therefore, performed a double role: it represented the charted territory and evoked the invisible, vigilant gaze of the surveyor.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>20</sup> Jean-Luc MARION, *God without Being. Hors-Texte*, trans. Thomas A. CARLSON, Chicago–London: Chicago University Press, 2012, p. 13.



### 3. Britomart's mirror

The mirror plays a key role in Edmund Spenser's great epic poem, *The Faerie Queene*, dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, whom we can certainly count among the most prominent Elizabethan "knights-errant of the sea". Spenser's noble patron, called by the poet "the shepherd of the ocean", was also the author of a famous Renaissance travelogue, *The Discovery of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*, written in 1595. *The Faerie Queene* was a romance designed "to fashion a gentleman in noble discipline", as Spenser explained in the letter to Raleigh attached to his poem.<sup>21</sup> Three main courtly virtues were depicted in the poem: holiness, temperance, and chastity. The third book praised chastity as embodied in the female character named Britomart.

Spenser makes this warrior princess fall in love with the mirror image (shadow) of a man she has not seen. When Britomart wonders where she can meet this ideal whom she is destined to marry, her nurse advises her that she should seek help from the maker of the mirror, Merlin:

At last she her auisd, that he, which made  
That mirrhour, wherein the sicke Damosell  
So straungely vewed her straunge louers shade,  
To weet, the learned *Merlin*, well could tell,  
Vnder what coast of heauen the man did dwell,  
And by what meanes his loue might best be wrought:  
For though beyond the *Africk Ismaell*,  
Or th'Indian *Peru* he were, she thought  
Him forth through infinite endeuour to haue sought.  
(III.iii.6)

The first geographic reference here is Africa, but the poet's attention is focused on the inhabitants of this continent, connected, as they are in this passage, with the outcast of the Book of Genesis. Ishmael's mother, Hagar, was an Egyptian slave of Sara, who gave Hagar to her husband, Abraham, to bear them a son. When Hagar became pregnant and began to despise her mistress, she was expelled. The angel of God prophesized then to her that her son would be "a wild man"; "his hand will be against every man, and he shall dwell in the presence of

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<sup>21</sup> Edmund SPENSER, *The Faerie Queene*, in idem, *Poetical Works*, eds J. C. SMITH, E. de SELINCOURT, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 315. All further quotations from *The Faerie Queene* refer to this edition.

all his brothers” (Gen. 16:20)<sup>22</sup>. If read through the lens of early modern cartography, the passage reveals the poet’s appreciation of the magic which can take one as far as an Africa inhabited by the descendants of Abraham’s son, Ishmael,<sup>23</sup> or even farther afield, to the New World.

Peru is also evoked in the proem to Book II, when Spenser defends his fiction against the charge that it was a “painted forgery”, arguing that his Faerie Land could be as “real” as the recently discovered Peru. The poet claimed that the existence of the fictional world could not be doubted simply on the ground that no one had been to this imaginary space or surveyed it with a physical eye because the journeys of discovery constantly reminded people that “of the world least part to us [was] read”. Paradoxically enough, Spenser contended that the discoveries entailed lifting the veil of human ignorance to let people see for the first time that which has always been there. This process could be compared to the biblical Apocalypse when Christ, acting as the archetypal groom, would reveal himself to the Church, His Bride, by lifting her veil. The change did not affect reality but human perception of reality. This reflection casts a shadow on the wholeness of cartographic representation. No map can be reduced to the verisimilitude of the actual space, and; each is a poem, envisaging further travels, promising new adventures, and foreboding possible failures. The early modern map dealt with the probable and even the (un)foreseeable as much as it pertained to the factual. Instead of only bringing reassurance, the map reminded its readers of the unknown, other “worlds” beyond its scope or below its surface.

The central image in Book III complies with the epistemological pattern outlined in the proem to Book II. It shows Britomart’s encounter with her shadow-lover in “Venus’ looking glass” (III.viii.9). Britomart’s love begins when she sees her “strange lover’s shade” in a magic mirror. The shadow becomes Britomart’s “engraft paine” which nourishes her imagination (III.ii.17) and speaks to the fecundity of the allegorical mirror. The biblical echoes in Spenser’s text illuminate the soteriological aspirations of the cartographic project. The vertical orientation of the quoted stanza, signalled by the mention of “the coast of heaven”, makes us first turn our eyes up and then down when we are invited to imagine people living

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<sup>22</sup> I quote here the King James Version, but other translations call Ismael “a wild donkey” (this is the literal meaning of the Hebrew noun *pere*) and prophecy that he will live “at odds” with his brothers (connoted by the Hebrew noun *paneḥ*), <https://biblehub.com/hebrew/6501.htm> (accessed 3 August 2022).

<sup>23</sup> Ishmael was Isaac’s older half-brother, born of a slave woman, Hagar. “Africk Ishmael” seems to indicate Muslims identified with the descendants of Ishmael, “robbed” of his birthright by the younger Isaac (cf. Marc SHELL, “The Wether and the Ewe: Verbal Usury in *The Merchant of Venice*”, *The Kenyon Review* 1 (4), Autumn 1979, p. 68).

in an unknown land on some remote coast of the terrestrial globe. Spenser's project of "poetic geography", derived from the Platonic concept of creativity, thus coincides with the ideological background of the early modern map: the poet "bodies forth" unknown territories, fantastic beasts and strange people, whereas the cartographer endows the poet's dreams with "a local habitation and a name" inscribed in a map.

Like Britomart's looking glass, early modern maps also seduced readers with the shadowy figures of "strange *lands*" and allegorical representations of the continents. The New World, in the beginning viewed "in a glass, darkly", was indeed pursued through "infinite endeavor" and found under Heaven's remotest coast. The progressivist rhetoric of St Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians (now we see "through a glass, darkly, but then face to face", 13:12), which shapes Spenser's understanding of poetic allegory, also served as a groundwork for early modern travel narratives and Renaissance mapmaking alike.<sup>24</sup> They were determined by what we may call a secularized version of Christian providentialism: these maps were not only records of accomplished exploration, not only records of land surveyed; they also fore-*saw* (this is a native English equivalent of the Latin *providere*) and predicted, i.e., fore-*said* (another loan translation for the Latin *praedicere*) future worlds. In this way, they encapsulated the early modern subject's quest for more world, time, and ever more life despite human mortality.

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<sup>24</sup> This well-known passage from St Paul's *Epistle* was quoted in the title of William BOELHOWER's seminal study of the Western culture of the map, *Through a Glass Darkly: Ethnic Semiosis in American Literature*, New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.



John GILLIES

## POETIC GEOGRAPHY RECONSIDERED

The word “reconsidered” in my title refers to an earlier reference to Giambattista Vico’s concept of “poetic geography” in my *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge University Press, 1994). There, I took the word “poetic” in the traditional sense whereby (as Sidney puts it in his *Apology for Poetry*) the poet is a God-like creator who “ranges freely in the zodiac of his own wit”. The poet, in other words, operates with a license to see the world in a non-scientific way.

My interest in poetic geography had arisen out of a need to explain why the global world of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century discoveries was so intensively populated by metaphors, personifications, figures and mythologies deriving from the ancient geographic symbolism of the *oikumene* or *orbis terrarum*: a geography which quite literally pictured the “world” within a frame, and which had then drawn a hard distinction between peoples inside the frame and peoples at the edge of it: peoples of the *eschatia*, peoples of the terminal lands. Vico’s conception of poetic geography pointed towards an explanation. In his *New Science* (1744), he defined it as:

that property of human nature that in describing unknown or distant things, in respect of which they ... have not had the true idea themselves ... men make use of the semblances of things known or near at hand.<sup>1</sup>

The ancient geography was “near at hand” for Shakespeare and his contemporaries in the sense of a deeply ingrained geographic tradition that interpenetrated ancient literature. Hence this set of “semblances of things known” contributed to the New World’s imaginary even though so clearly contradicted by the New World’s globalised matrix.

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<sup>1</sup> *The New Science of Giambattista Vico: Revised Translation of the Third Edition (1744)*, eds Thomas GODDARD BERGIN, Max Harold FISCH, Ithaca–New York: Cornell University Press, 1968, p. 285. All further references to Vico are to this edition.



I should like to take another look at “poetic geography”. Vico himself seems to have taken this predisposition primarily in a cognitive sense, whereby the extent and the detail of the fully evolved Greco-Roman world were already present in a tiny and archaic *Hellas*. An example is the name “Morea”, which had originally specified a distinct place within the Peloponnesus. As the Greco-Roman world came to fill the whole of the Mediterranean, the name was extrapolated outwards to become the “Mauretania” of Africa. By the same token, the feat of Hercules in taking the burden of the sky from the shoulders of Atlas was progressively exported outwards from Greek “Morea” to Mount Athos on a neck of land dividing Macedonia from Thrace, and finally to the Straits of Gibraltar, where “the Mounts Abyla and Calpe on the narrows of the sea similarly separate Africa from Europe” (Vico, p. 287). What Vico is saying here is that rather than invent new words for the new territories with which they became acquainted or rather than simply using existing native words, the ancient Greeks and then Romans recycled suggestive names from their shared heartland. Using names in this way was cognitively convenient and emotionally reassuring.

At this point, I should like to make two suggestions. First, that “poetic geography” should not *primarily* be taken in this cognitive sense. This is to say that it is less an ancestor form of scientific geography than a kind of counter-geographical way of seeing the world that geography progressively disclosed. By this, I mean that it is less a primitive way of *knowing* the world than a determined attempt *not to know* the world: less a form of cognition than a visceral misrecognition amounting to a *de facto* claim to strange land, land that one had not previously come across, that was not one’s own. The act of familiarising what was strange was actually a kind of cognitive atavism.

In the second place, I want to suggest that when truly cognitive ways of grasping the world did arrive (roughly in Greece of the fifth century BC, with figures such as Anaximander and Herodotus), poetic geography was not left behind in the mists of Viconian antiquity. It rode on the back of scientific geography and survived at least until the advent of the “new geography” of the early modern explorers, which it supercharged. The result was that the New World was described with a scientific exactness never before brought to a geographic object and yet served up on a plate to visceral land-hunger. What I am suggesting is that sophisticated scientific geography existed alongside of geographic atavism, with the two feeding off each other, locked in ghastly symbiosis.

My first claim is that poetic geography is not just a primitive form of geography but a primitive *refusal* of geographic understanding. We have seen what Vico meant by “poetic geography”, but what did he mean (or what might he have meant) by geography *per se*? Though, to my knowledge, Vico never embarked

on a systematic discussion of geography, he could not have been happy with what his contemporaries of the early eighteenth century understood by it. For them, “geography” was largely the product of advanced cartographic science. Geographic understanding was indistinguishable from mapping; a geographer was only as good as his map. And the maps were in a state of constant revision. By the early eighteenth century, for example, the Dutch East India Company, for the best part of a century, had been dispatching voyage after voyage to map the western, northern and southern coasts of Australia.<sup>2</sup> The company was far less interested in what they had found than in what they were looking for—the undisclosed Pacific coast of that mysterious continent. To “know” that continent, in other words, was to have as complete a cartographic comprehension possible of the shape described by its coastal line, first as recorded from shipboard at sea and next as a cartographic projection from a God’s eye view. If geography was scientific for Vico’s contemporaries, it was because cartographic technology was ever more exact. And the best proof of that was its capacity to be upgraded to ever higher standards of accuracy and comprehensiveness. Like the “new / map with the augmentation of the Indies” (3.2.68–69) in Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night* (almost certainly inspired by Edward Wright’s *Hydrographiae descriptio*, c. 1599), it was the quality of such maritime maps to be cutting-edge.<sup>3</sup>

Vico’s understanding of geography would have been quite different. Though he does not say so in as many words, geography could only ever have approached the condition of a *science* in the sense that Vico defined this term. In *The New Science*, Vico turned the contemporary idea of “science” on its head: science (*scienza*) or truth (*vera*) was possible only in respect of those things that human beings had created themselves: society, history, political institutions, customs. *Scienza* or *vera* were not possible in respect of the natural world because mankind did not make the natural world. Of this, God’s creation, all we can possess is certainty (*certa*). And our certainty in regards to nature is not of the order of *scienza* but the order of *coscienza*. The sophisticated mathematised cartography of the early eighteenth century, then, was not a science but a “coscience”; a technology, something adequate for a given purpose or use but with no further claim to truth. Vico’s understanding of “science” is deliberately un-Cartesian: science, what we can truly know, has nothing to do with the world of “extension”. It is possible only with respect to the human world, the world we have created ourselves. Had Vico taken the trouble to describe a truly scientific geography, it

<sup>2</sup> For this material, I am indebted to Liam BENISON, *Reduced to a Map: Poetic Geographies of ‘Australia’, 1606–1708*, PhD dissertation jointly with the Universities of Kent and Porto.

<sup>3</sup> *The Norton Shakespeare, Third Edition*, eds Stephen GREENBLATT et al., New York–London: Norton, 2016. All references to Shakespeare cite this edition.

would surely have looked something like the “human geography” of today, the kind of geography that we associate with *avant-garde* geographers such as David Harvey and Yi Fu Tuan or, more recently, with *cartographie radicale*.<sup>4</sup> As *scienza* always concerns itself with the human, a Viconian geography would not start with the land *per se* but with man as the geographic agent *par excellence*. By contrast, the New Geography of the sixteenth century began with the land which it modelled with scant regard for whoever lived there. The New Geography was less geography than a sort of primitive geo-morphology, a set of cartographically-based inferences.

A Viconian geography would have been about inhabitation quite as much as about land. To this degree, it would have one thing at least in common with the Roman geographic tradition as described by R. S. Thomas in his book *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry: The Ethnographic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1982).<sup>5</sup> For all Rome’s predatoriness upon other peoples (creating deserts and announcing “peace”), the Romano-Greek poetic tradition perceived geography primarily in ethnographic categories: hence other lands primarily meant other peoples.

We might compare this to the way in which the New World was pictured in the New Geography of the sixteenth century. To begin with, it was represented in ethnographic terms in line with Romano-Greek practice. Thus, “America” was pictured as a naked female savage with cannibalistic tastes.<sup>6</sup> It was also, almost by definition, imagined as the home of a people who were “new” in a prelapsarian sense: so new, that as Donne puts it in a verse letter to the Countess of Huntingdon, news of the Fall had yet to reach them.<sup>7</sup> But the categorical novelty of the New World was quickly displaced from the natives onto the colonists. What Donne called the “unripe” quality of the New World now spelt the promise of flourishing, of unrealised potential. Thus the New World came to represent the

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<sup>4</sup> Nephys ZWER, Philippe REKACEWICZ, *Cartographie radicale: Explorations*, Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2021.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas’ research into the Roman ethnographic tradition with its set repertoire of *topoi* and stylistic devices is underpinned by an earlier generation of German scholarship, summarised in K. E. MÜLLER, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und Ethnologischen Theoriebildung. Von den Anfängen bis auf die byzantinischen Historiographen*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972.

<sup>6</sup> She reposes at the base of a four-continent group on the frontispiece to Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, Antverpiae: apud Aegid[ium] Coppenium Diesth, 1573.

<sup>7</sup> Donne imagines America as “That unripe side of earth, that heavy clime / That gives us up man now, like Adams time/ Before he ate... / As yet the newes could not arrived bee / Of Adam’s tasting the forbidden tree” (ll.1–8), in *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. Herbert GRIERSON, vol. 1, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912, pp.417–418.

dream of a new European beginning rather than the discovery of a heretofore unknown and, therefore, distinct human nationality.<sup>8</sup> For renewal, the native was no longer needed, and his image was quickly edited out from the image of the land. Thus the nude personification of “America” is quickly domesticated into the figure of the nubile and biddable “Indian princess” (more Pocahontas than Cannibal Queen) and thence to a Greek Goddess.<sup>9</sup> And thus, in *The Tempest*, it is not Caliban who gets to speak the words, “Oh, brave new world / That has such people in’t” (5.3.183–184), but Miranda. And the people she wonders at are not natives but Europeans. As Bernadette Bucher has shown from her study of de Bry’s *Great Voyages*, the image of the American Indian—originally a classically beautiful nude—progressively morphs into a monstrous caricature, fit only for removal by the morally outraged colonists.<sup>10</sup>

Having now glimpsed how un-Viconian the New Geography was, and what a true geographic science *should be* in a Viconian view, we can return to Vico’s notion of “poetic geography” and particularly his use of the word “poetic”. Vico uses this word to indicate the kind of knowledge prevailing in the remotest antiquity of human societies. Contemporary and sophisticated branches of knowledge—astronomy, chronology, physics, history, and geography—are all said to have had their primitive or prehistoric counterparts. “Primitive” for Vico means the remotest antiquity, an antiquity far earlier than written sources. The principle of knowledge at this prehistoric stage, he tells us, is “poetic”. There is thus a poetic metaphysic and a poetic logic. It is important to grasp, however, that the word “poetic” does not at all track with what Sidney understood by poetry. “These first men”, Vico tells us, were “stupid, insensate, and horrible beasts” (Vico, p. 116). Their metaphysics was “not rational and abstract ... but felt and imagined”. Like “the American Indians” of his day, Vico tells us, they gave the name of god to “all the things that surpass[ed] their small understanding” (Vico, p. 116). Accordingly, their gods were mirrors of themselves: “they attributed senses and passions ... to bodies, and to bodies as vast as sky, sea, and earth” (Vico, p. 128). “Metaphor”, the root of “poetic logic” (Vico, p. 127)—and, of all tropes, the most “luminous ... necessary and frequent” (Vico, p. 129)—was thus essentially a vehicle of extrapolation outward, in the first instance, “from the human body and

<sup>8</sup> For further discussion, see my “The Figure of the New World in *The Tempest*”, in *The Tempest and its Travels*, eds Peter HULME, William SHERMAN, London: Reaktion Books, 2000, pp.183–203.

<sup>9</sup> See E. McClung FLEMING, “The American Image as Indian Princess”, *Winterthur Portfolio* 2 (1965), pp. 65–81; idem, “From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess: The American Image, 1783–1815”, *Winterthur Portfolio* 3 (1967), pp. 37–66.

<sup>10</sup> Bernadette BUCHER, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry’s Great Voyages*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

its parts and from the human senses and passions” (Vico, p. 129). Thus did “man in his ignorance” make “himself the rule of the universe” (Vico, pp. 129–130), whereby he became “all things by *not* understanding them” (“*homo non intelligendo fit omnia*”).

Such systematic misrecognition is or was the very opposite of what we now understand as cognition: “For when man *understands*, he extends his mind and takes in all things, but when he does not understand, he makes the *things* out of *himself* and becomes them by transforming himself into them” (Vico, p. 130).

If these first men saw new territory simply as an extension of their bodies, it was also an extension of the territory in which they dwelt. This, in turn, means that the new territory would be subject to the rites of dwelling that had originally defined their heartland. Those rites were bloody in the extreme. Vico tells us that the word *territorium*, meaning “the district within which the *imperium* is exercised” (Vico, p. 274), is etymologically related to the word *terror*, in as much as its boundaries “were guarded by Vesta with bloody rites” (Vico, p. 274). As the guardian of the household, Vesta seems harmless enough. The rites of dwelling, however, took the form of a homicidal exclusion of anyone who did not belong, anyone excluded from the *oikos* or any prospect of moral economy. Such uneconomised beings or “impious practicers of the infamous promiscuity” either of “women and things” or “people and things in the bestial state” (Vico, p. 194), were sacrificed on the altars or *arae*—a word Vico takes to be synonymous with the earliest towns. Though poetic geography makes no allowance for the possibility that those “unknown and distant lands” with which it concerns itself might already be inhabited, any such natives would, by definition, be equivalent to the infamous outsider, the non-people of no land. If this seems nonsensical, consider the doctrine of *terra nullius* (nobody’s land) proclaimed as law in 1835 by Richard Burke, governor of New South Wales, Australia, which held that aboriginals could not sell land to Europeans for the reason that they did not properly exist.

What we have been considering so far are Vico’s account of poetic geography and the corollary that the very existence of other peoples—let alone their territorial claims—would go unrecognised. We have also suggested that the inherent violence of poetic geography resurfaces in the New Geography of the discoveries. The fact that it resurfaces in later and self-consciously scientific geographies suggests that we are dealing not just with an archaic form of cognition but with an *atavism*; this is an ancestral feature that re-emerges unchanged in later generations. This is almost comically obvious in the new cartography of the sixteenth century. For all their apparent disinterestedness, the new maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tend to provoke violence rather than agreement, particularly when their exactitude is brought to the problem of the equal division of territory.



For example, John Norden's *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1618) is prefaced by an argument in which a farmer accuses a surveyor of fomenting trouble by meddling with traditionally established property borders. The map in *1 Henry IV*, which is said to be divided "very equally" (3.1.71) into three portions by the Archbishop of York, immediately provokes a quarrel between Hotspur and Glendower over whose portion is greater. The map-inspired divisions of the kingdom in *Woodstock* (4.1.20. ff) and *King Lear* (1.2.35. ff) are equally mischievous.<sup>11</sup> In Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* plays—keyed as they are to Ortelius's *Typus orbis terrarum* of 1571—the map is positively genocidal. Thus, Tamburlaine refuses Zenocrates's request to spare the entire population of Damascus for the reason that a new cartography deserves a clean sheet, an empty slate:

I will confute those blind geographers  
That make a triple region in the world,  
Excluding regions that I mean to trace,  
And with this pen [his sword] reduce them to a map,  
Calling the provinces, cities, and towns  
After my name and thine, Zenocrate,  
Here at Damascus will I make point  
That shall begin the perpendicular.

(I:4.4.81–88)<sup>12</sup>

If the naked violence of Vico's primitives is found alike in conquistadors or Mongol hordes (Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* is a fusion of both), one is driven to ask whether this is somehow an inevitable corollary of mapping *per se*. Another way of putting the same question might be: is it the case that man's primary geographic instinct—as supposed by Vico—is necessarily and innately predatory? Because Vico derives his genealogical fiction of primitive man from the Roman world, he necessarily assumes that his primitives are both martial and expansionary: "poetic geography" is triggered only by broadening horizons and opening up new territories. But genealogically speaking, such an appetite would not be confined to the Romans alone but to their linguistic, scientific and cultural heirs, Anglo-European cultures in the first instance but effectively the whole of the modern world.

If poetic geography can be thought to have ridden the wave of the new geography and of the discoveries and mass colonisation that followed, what might

<sup>11</sup> *Thomas of Woodstock or King Richard the Second, Part One, The Revels Plays*, eds Peter CORBIN, Douglas SEDGE, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Christopher MARLOWE, *Tamburlaine the Great*, ed. J. S. Cunningham, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981.

be said of more recent times when the world is fully discovered, apportioned, “settled”, contested and exploited; when geography is no longer “new” both in the sense of revolutionary technology and of refuting the closed world of the ancients along with their taboos on venturing *plus ultra* or “ever further”? What can be said when such vast tracts of the world are no longer available but more or less unavailable? Cartography today no longer has the resonance that it did when the New World was represented as the graphic equal of the Old, and the blank cartographic spaces invited exploration and possession. Moreover, in place of the master symbolism—the sheer authority—of the world maps of Ortelius and Mercator, cartography has now subdivided itself into a multitude of forms to serve any number of ends other than those of “discovery” and possession. Many such ends are “radical”, associated not with *Lebensraum* but with the rights of ethnic groups helpless to resist the encroachments of power. What is cartography indeed when “Google earth” makes it virtually continuous with landscape photography, as when in zooming down on a coastline, one sees the images of real people walking on a beach when the satellite passes over? What happens to poetic geography when uncoupled from a new geography which no longer exists?

These questions are perhaps too broad, but my answer would be that in this new phase, poetic geography is best understood less as nostalgia (such as the habit of transposing English place names to American or Australian places) than as a deep atavism, as in imperialist land-grabs, revanchism and irredentism. Of imperialism, we need not speak further. “Revanchism” is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as “the principle or practice of seeking retaliation or revenge; *spec.* a policy of seeking to recover a nation’s lost territory”. “Irredentism” is almost identical: “any policy of seeking the recovery and reunion to one country of a region or regions for the time being subject to another country”. The festering land grievance denominated by both words holds extreme danger for countries bordering each other where land has been claimed and ceded for centuries. Europe, Asia and Africa (less so the Americas, and not at all so Australia / New Zealand) are patchworks that can unravel if any of their component parts is tempted to encroach on what once was “theirs”. Has the blood-bolstered ghost of “poetic geography” been laid to rest? Unfortunately not.

**Hieronim GRALA**  
University of Warsaw

## THE SHADOW OF MOSCOW

### IOANNES DANTISCUS AND THE EASTERN DIMENSION OF JAGIELLONIAN DIPLOMACY

The nature of the present volume, like that of the entire *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts and Correspondence*, relieves us of the obligation to recall the extensive literature on Dantiscus' biography,<sup>1</sup> with particular reference to his diplomatic activity, especially as Moscow issues did not occupy a particularly prominent place in it. The specific nature of Jagiellonian diplomacy meant that eastern affairs were handled until the Union of Lublin (1569) almost exclusively by the diplomacy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: contacts with the Kremlin, on a par with those with the Crimea, but also with the other khanates, were the responsibility of the Lithuanian diplomatic service and the Hospodar's Council. Crown diplomacy at the time was practically devoid of contacts with the Kremlin, and the only Polish mission sent to Moscow at the time (of Piotr Myszkowski in 1503) was of a purely auxiliary nature, supporting the peaceful endeavours of the Lithuanian mission.<sup>2</sup> In this situation, the participation of Ioannes

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence* ([dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl](http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl); hereafter cited as CIDTC); currently, the list of sources and monographic secondary literature made by this project includes 1015 items!

<sup>2</sup> On the scope of the duties of Lithuanian diplomacy see Andrzej WYCHAŃSKI, "Polska służba dyplomatyczna w latach 1506–1530", in: *Polska służba dyplomatyczna XVI–XVIII wieku. Studia*, ed. Zbigniew WÓJCIK, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966, p. 13; Egidijus BANIONIS, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės pasiuntinybių tarnyba XV–XVI amžiais*, Vilnius: Diemedžio Leidykla, 1998, pp. 114–138. Cf. Hieronim GRALA, "Dyplomacja z upominkami w tle (Wokół ceremoniału dyplomatycznego w stosunkach polsko-moskiewskich XVI–XVII w.)", in: *Skarby Kremla. Dary Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Wystawa ze zbiorów Państwowego Muzeum Historyczno-Kulturalnego "Moskiewski Kreml", 7 września – 8 listopada 1998, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie. Katalog*, ed. Natalia W. RASZKOWAN et al., Warszawa: Arx Regia, 1998, pp. 47–48; idem, "Jagiellonowie a Moskwa", in: *Europa Jagiellonica 1386–1572. Sztuka, kultura i polityka w Europie Środkowej za panowania Jagiellonów*, ed. Przemysław MROZOWSKI et al., Warszawa: Arx Regia, 2015, pp. 61–62.

Dantiscus—a scribe, then secretary of the Royal Chancellery, and finally an *orator* at the imperial court—in Polish policy towards Moscow resulted from particular confluence of events, which was initiated by the participation of King Sigismund I himself, accompanied by the court and the monarch's chancellery, in an expedition to the eastern frontiers of the state threatened by a Moscow invasion. Jagiellon's decision was forced by a dramatic turn of events: in December 1512, Grand Prince Vasily III of Muscovy broke the recently sworn perpetual peace and attacked Smolensk. Vasily had to retreat with considerable losses, but he returned in June 1513, and again in June 1514. Considered inaccessible, the fortress fell on 30 July, having not received help, as the Lithuanian army, and some soldiers from Poland, was rather sluggish in assembling in Minsk and Vilnius. It was only with the arrival of the monarch that the slow mobilization of the Lithuanian land forces came to an end. However, Sigismund I, who had, after all, displayed considerable energy and command talent during the previous war (Battle of Orsha, 1508), did not set off from Minsk at the head of the assembled forces towards Smolensk until the second half of August. The army soon reached Borisov (23 August), where the forces were divided: the monarch remained in place with his court and a 4,000-strong retreat, while the main forces under Hetman Konstantin Ostrogski moved towards Orsha, where they were soon to converge in the field with the powerful Moscow army under Ivan Cheladnin (Vasily III acted as prudently as Sigismund I, remaining in captured Smolensk until the campaign was resolved).<sup>3</sup>

At this time, Dantiscus stayed with the monarch in camp near Borisov (23 August–18 September), from where, having learnt of great victory over the Muscovites at Orsha on 8 September, the King went back to Vilnius, where he remained until early January 1515.<sup>4</sup>

The victory of Orsha did not bring the King any tangible strategic benefits, except the expulsion of the enemy troops from the borderland. The Habsburg diplomat Sigismund von Herberstein, well acquainted with the meanders of politics

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<sup>3</sup> See Antoni GAŚIÓROWSKI, "Itineraria ostatnich dwóch Jagiellonów", *Studia Historyczne* 16 (1973), No. 2, p. 261. For the course of warfare see Marek PLEWCZYŃSKI, *Wojny i wojskowość polska w XVI wieku*, vol. 1: *Lata 1500–1548*, Zabrze: Wydawnictwo Inforteditions, 2011, pp. 180–189.

<sup>4</sup> GAŚIÓROWSKI, "Itineraria ...", op. cit., p. 261. The supposition that Dantiscus stayed at the royal "headquarters near Orsha" at the beginning of September, from where he was to travel with the monarch to Vilnius immediately after the victory, which he could have been an eye-witness to (Katarzyna JASIŃSKA-ZDUN, *Itinerarium Jana Dantyszka. Humanistyczna korespondencja jako świadectwo podróży*, PhD dissertation, University of Warsaw, Faculty of "Artes Liberales", 2023, unpublished, pp. 189, 194) is no based on primary sources, nor does the supposition that he might have been an eyewitness to the battle, see *ibidem*, p. 189. Let us recall that the two towns of Borisov and Orsha are almost 130 km apart.

in the Vienna-Moscow-Vilnius triangle, and also a correspondent and friend of Dantiscus, put it bluntly: “This victory gave the King nothing except the regaining of three castles in the Smolensk region”, probably meaning Mstislav, Krzyżew and Dubrovna.<sup>5</sup> Although the main object of the rivalry, Smolensk, was not recuperated, all the same, on the ground of European politics—and especially public opinion—it was undeniably a great victory. One has to agree with Władysław Dworzaczek’s balanced opinion that the effect of the victory was twofold: the immediate effect should be considered to be the complete cleansing of the borderland, while the far-reaching effect was to change the balance of political power on an international scale.<sup>6</sup>

In a letter sent on 18 August to Pope Leo X from the camp near Borisov, the victorious king saw fit to point out to the Holy See the circumstances attesting to Providence’s intervention—the schismatics were beaten on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 August), and thus at the unquestionable instance of Mary herself. In view of such obvious signs of Heaven’s favour, the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy aspired to the role of the bulwark of Christianity, while its ruler appeared to be an ardent wrestler of God, holding back the fierce invader—“a blasphemer and implacable enemy of the true faith—a perfidious Muscovite”—not in his own interests, but rather in defence of Christianity.<sup>7</sup> Drawing a large part of European opinion to the side of Sigismund I, or, more broadly, of the entire Jagiellonian house, as a great diplomatic showdown between Cracow and Vienna on the issue of the Bohemian-Hungarian succession was approaching, was in itself a highly attractive and, moreover, realistic goal.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> СИГИЗМУНД ГЕРБЕРШТЕЙН, *Записки о Московии. В 2 томах*. Редкол.: А. Л. ХОРОШКЕВИЧ (отв. ред.) и др. Т. 1, Москва 2008, p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> Władysław DWORZACZEK, *Hetman Jan Tarnowski. Z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego*, Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy “Pax” 1985, pp. 16–17. Cf. Henryk ŁOWMIĄŃSKI, *Polityka Jagiellonów*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1999, pp. 427–429.

<sup>7</sup> *Acta Tomiciana* (hereafter cited as AT), vol. 3, ed. Tytus DZIAŁYŃSKI, Posnaniae: [Biblioteka Kórnicka], 1853, No. 232, pp. 181–183; the monarch made explicit the religious dimension of his actions to the governor of Peter: “quandoquidem non privatam meam et regni mei rem ago, sed totius christiane reipublice, ne tam validus hostis, SS. Romane ecclesie inimicus, quandoque adversus sanctam ecclesiam pro ritu suo falso, blasphemus et scismaticus invalescat” (ibid., p. 183).

<sup>8</sup> See Hieronim GRALA, “Мотивы ‘оршанского триумфа’ в ягеллонской пропаганде”, in: *Проблемы отечественной истории и культуры периода феодализма: Чтения памяти В.Б. Кобрин*, Москва 1992, pp. 46–50; idem, “Jeńcy spod Orszy: między jagiellońską ‘propagandą sukcesu’ a moskiewską racją stanu (1514–1552)”, in: *Aetas media—aetas moderna. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Halina MANIKOWSKA et al., Warszawa: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2000, pp. 439–466; idem, “Палонныя з-пад Оршы: паміж ягеллонскай ‘прапагандай поспеху’ і дзяржаўнымі інтарэсамі Масковіі (1514–1552)”, *ARCHE* 12 (2014), pp. 645–679; idem, “Jagiellonowie



Creating the legend of the unprecedented scale of his Orsha triumph, Sigismund I personally initiated it, sending letters describing the victory not only to the Pope, but also to King Vladislaus II of Hungary, the Venetian doge Lorenzo Lore-dano, the Voivode of Transylvania John Zápolya and several other rulers and dignitaries of the Holy See. He did not omit, of course, those who had recently been in alliance with the Grand Prince of Moscow: the Master of the Teutonic Order and the Master of Livonia. In his messages, Jagiellon emphasised the monstrous size of the beaten army, but above all he stressed the theme of the Muscovite captives, among whom was their commander-in-chief, Ivan Andreyevich Cheladnin (“dux exercitus hostilis”), numerous commanders and dignitaries (“decem precipui duces et satrape et triginta septem barones, consiliarii primores”) and a mass of low rank captives (“officiales autem et armigeri nobiles supra duo milia”). Such a great triumph over Vasily III’s army was to be exemplified by the prisoners themselves, who were sent to European courts and Rome, together with the legates (the prisoners were also presented to envoys of the Teutonic Order in Vilnius)<sup>9</sup>. Sending of these “living proofs of triumph”, i.e., exotically clad (“habituque Sarmatico conspicuos”) and bearded Muscovites to the European courts clearly contributed to the birth of a popular phenomenon of European culture, namely the image of the barbarian “Muscovite”<sup>10</sup>.

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a Moskwa”, in: *Europa Jagellonica 1386–1572 ...*, op. cit., pp. 75–77; idem, “Wygrać klęskę: pamięć ‘Wielkiej Bitwy’ w oficjalnej narracji moskiewskiej (XVI w.)”, in: *Bitwa pod Orszą*, ed. Mirosław NAGIELSKI, Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne–Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2015, pp. 227–242. Cf. Mintautas ČIURINSKAS, “Pergale prie Oršos (1514) propaganda Europoje: Šaltinių apžvalga, literatūriniai ir kultūriniai aspektai”, *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra* 21 (2006), pp. 317–344; idem, “Прапаганда перамогі пад Оршай (1514) у Еўропе: агляд крыніц, літаратурныя ды культурныя аспекты”, *ARCHE* 12 (2014), pp. 714–735.

On the political context of the Jagiellonian action, see Jan NATANSON-LESKI, *Dzieje granicy wschodniej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 1: *Granica moskiewska w dobie jagiellońskiej*, Lwów–Warszawa: Książnica Polska Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych, 1922, p. 110; Kurt FORSTREUTER, *Preußen und Rußland von den Anfängen des deutschen Ordens bis zu Peter dem Großen*, Göttingen—Berlin—Frankfurt: Musterschmidt, 1955, pp. 75–81; Krzysztof WACZKOWSKI, *Zjazd wiedeński 1515. Geneza, przebieg i znaczenie*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975, pp. 150–153; idem, *Kongres wiedeński 1515 roku*, Oświęcim: Napoleon V, 2015, pp. 113–131. Cf. A. A. ЗИМИН, *Россия на пороге нового времени (Очерки политической истории России первой трети XVI в.)*. Москва 1972, pp. 169–170; А. Л. ХОРОШКЕВИЧ, *Русское государство в системе международных отношений конца XV – начала XVI в.*, Москва 1980, pp. 126–127; Dana PÍCKOVÁ, *Habsburkové a Rurikovci na prahu novověku. Příspěvek k dějinám rusko-habsburských vztahů na přelomu 15. a 16. století*, Praha: Karolinum, 2002, pp. 146–161; А. Н. ЛОБИН, *Битва под Оршей 8 сентября 1514 года. К 500-летию сражения*, СПб. 2011, s. 166–181.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. GRALA, “Jeńcy spod Orszy ...”, op. cit., pp. 444–445; idem, “Палонныя з-пад Оршы ...”, op. cit., pp. 652–655.

<sup>10</sup> The Polish chronicler left a picturesque description of the captives sent to the Pope, see *Kroniki Bernarda Wapowskiego z Radochoniec ... Część ostatnia, czasy przeddlugoszowskie*

Literature occupied a prominent place in the propaganda activities of the Jagiellonian diplomacy. As early as in 1514, Cracow publishing houses managed to print commemorative works by Valentin Eck, Ioannes Dantiscus, Christoph von Suchten, and soon also by Andrzej Krzycki (1515). All these Latin-language works were also included in the volume *Carmina de memorabili caede scismaticorum Moscoviorum*, published by Jan Łaski in Rome the following year, the propaganda function of which is obvious. The volume was also enriched by new—probably specially commissioned for this purpose—works by Bernard Wapowski, Franciscus Andronicus Tranquillus and Jacopo Piso, the papal legate in Poland! To the list of these occasional pieces, inspired by the Orsha victory, should be also added an epinicion by Caspar Ursinus Velius, published in Cracow (1514).<sup>11</sup>

A separate category of propaganda materials used by Sigismund's diplomacy were brochures and pamphlets printed in Cracow, Rome, Nuremberg (by Hieronymus Höltzer) and Leipzig (probably by Martin Landsberg). Latin- and German-language: *Epistola Pisonis ad Joannem Coritium de conflictu Polonorum et Lithuanorum cum Moscovitis*, *Epistola Sigismundi regis Poloniae ad Leonem X de victoria contra hereticos ac schismaticos Moscovios*, *Die Schlacht von dem König von Polen mit dem Moscoviter gescheen am Tag Marie Gepurt, Wahrhaftiger Anfang und Unterricht der Schlacht von dem König von Polen mit dem Herzog von Moscovia*, were to spread the fame of the Jagiellonian arms throughout Europe. It is symptomatic, that the above-mentioned prints, sometimes appearing in several versions, are in fact the first manifestation of the use of materials of this type by the Polish diplomatic service!<sup>12</sup>

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*obejmująca (1480–1535)*, ed. Józef SZUJSKI, Cracow: nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1874 (series: *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 2), pp. 122: “captivos etiam XIV Moscovitas proluxa barba et canicie insignes”; the presence of exotic captives (*Moschi seu Hamaxobitae*) in Vienna was noted by the well-known humanist Joachim Vadian, see Frank KÄMPFER, *Das Russlandbuch Sigismunds von Herberstein Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii, 1549–1999*, Hamburg: Ingrid Kämpfer, 1999, p. 78.

<sup>11</sup> Juliusz NOWAK-DŁUŻEWSKI, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Czasy zyguntowskie*, Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy “Pax”, 1966, pp. 49–59; ČIURINSKAS, “Pergale prie Oršos ...”, pp. 317–344; idem, “Karas ir kultūra Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje: 1514 metai”, *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra* 31 (2011) p. 127–157; idem, *Вайна і культура ў Вялікім Княстве Літоўскім: казус 1514 года*, *ARCHE* 12 (2014), pp. 480–507. Recently, this entire corpus has finally been published, see *Epinikia orszańskie, czyli wiersze o pamiętnej klęsce Moskali*, elaborated text, introduction and commentary by Zofia GŁOMBIOWSKA, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2019.

<sup>12</sup> See Jan LANKAU, *Prasa staropolska na tle rozwoju prasy w Europie 1513–1729*, Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960, pp. 26–27; Andreas KAPPELER, *Ivan Groznyj im Spiegel der ausländischen Druckschriften seiner Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des westlichen Russlandbildes*, Bern–Frankfur/M: Herbert Lang–Peter Lang, 1972, pp. 23–24; Konrad ZAWADZKI,

The effectiveness of the Jagiellonian propaganda's offensive was vividly confirmed during the Budzina negotiations conducted by Chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki with the imperial plenipotentiary Johannes Cuspinian in the autumn 1514, as well as by the Holy See's shift to the pro-Polish positions, which resulted, among other things, in the suspension of the mediation mission of the papal legate Jacopo Piso to Moscow, contested by Cracow and Vilnius. These incidents proved a significant increase in the prestige of the Jagiellons, while the pacifying of relations between them and the Habsburgs and the matrimonial pact at the Vienna Congress of 1515, for which the Orsha victory and its propaganda use were of paramount importance, finally buried the idea of a league of Sigismund I's enemies under the united leadership of Vienna and Moscow.<sup>13</sup>

*Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczące XVI–XVII wieku. Bibliografia*, vol. 1: 1514–1661, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977, Nos. 1–4, p. 1; vol. 3: 1501–1725, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1990, Nos. 17–16, pp. 1–2; Ulrich KOPP, “Relacja o bitwie pod Orszą (1514)—współczesna gazeta ulotna w języku niemieckim (Neue Zeitung)”, *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 34–35 (1984–1985), Nos. 1–2, pp. 109–111; Konrad ZAWADZKI, *Początki prasy polskiej. Gazety ulotne i seryjne XVI–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2002, pp. 49–51. Cf. GRALA, “Jeńcy spod Orszy ...”, op. cit., p. 441; idem, “Палонныя з-пад Оршы ...”, op. cit., pp. 647–648. On the artistic emanations of Jagiellonian propaganda see Mieczysław MORKA, *Sztuka dworu Zygmunta I Starego. Treści polityczne i propagandowe*, Warszawa: Argraf, 2006, pp. 346–350; Marek A. JANICKI, “Obraz *Bitwa pod Orszą* – geneza, datowanie, wzory graficzne a obraz bitwy ‘na Kropiwniej’ i inne przedstawienia batalistyczne w wileńskim pałacu Radziwiłłów”, in: *Bitwa pod Orszą ...*, op. cit., pp. 173–225.

<sup>13</sup> GRALA, “Jagiellonowie a Moskwa”, op. cit., pp. 75–78. The view that, considering the restrained and rather twisted policy of Emperor Maximilian I consistently avoiding the military involvement of his empire in the alliance with Vasily III, the collapse of the anti-Jagiellonian alliance was determined by the negotiations with the Moscow envoy somewhat earlier than the battle of Orsha (cf. А. Н. ЛОБИН, *Битва под Оршей ...*, op. cit., pp. 173–181), is based on older secondary literature on the subject and does not withstand confrontation with a detailed reconstruction of the diplomatic bargaining of the time (cf. BACZKOWSKI, *Zjazd wiedeński 1515 ...*, op. cit., pp. 150–223). A number of circumstances escaped the attention of the Russian researcher, proving the real interest of the Habsburg camp in the years 1513–1514 in the alliance with Moscow (incidentally, originally treated as a supplement to the broad anti-Jagiellonian league led by Maximilian, which is emphatically illustrated by the memorandum of Margrave Casimir von Hohenzollern of March 1513 (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 103–105), including the concessiveness of the imperial envoy Schnitzenbaumer during the Moscow negotiations (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 124–126), and the then activity of Habsburg diplomacy in the Reich and Rome (*ibidem*, pp. 127–129, 135–136, 139). It is also worth recalling in this context the taking over of the Moscow prisoners of war from Mikołaj Wolski who was sent to the Pope and their return to Vasily III, and above all the concrete plan of action against the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy, presented by the Emperor to the envoys of the Teutonic Order on 17 August 1514, i.e. just three weeks before the Orsha battle (*ibidem*, pp. 140–141). Moreover, Lobin's reflections do not seem to have taken sufficiently into account the extensive nature of the Habsburg-Jagiellonian rivalry: in this “global” game, the Moscow plot was an important factor, albeit—especially for Maximilian I—only one of many,

Dantiscus' epinicion in "honour of King Sigismund's glorious victory over Muscovy" (*Sylvula de victoria inclyti Sigismundi regis Poloniae contra Moschos*) was first published in Cracow by Florian Ungler in September 1514 (the printing is dated *XXIII Septembris*), together with Valentin Eck's *Hymnus exhortatorius ad Cracoviam* and again in the aforementioned Roman edition by Łaski (1515).<sup>14</sup> The work, as befits the description by an almost eyewitness to the events (who, after all, took part in the victorious march), and who due to his position in the monarch's chancellery possessed reliable and up-to-date information, abounds in a number of important details.<sup>15</sup>

giving way decisively to dynastic issues in Bohemia and Hungary; nevertheless, the impact of the news of Sigismund I's great victory was clearly visible during the aforementioned Budzina negotiations (ibidem, pp. 150, 160–161), while its relatively insignificant military consequences by no means influenced the final outcome of the negotiations between Poznań and Vienna (ibidem, pp. 191–193, 213–218), which altogether illustrates a serious increase in the authority of the Polish king. Cf. Krzysztof BACZKOWSKI, "Bitwa pod Orszą (8 września 1514) w kontekście konfliktu habsbursko-jagiellońskiego lat 1512–1515", *Prace Komisji Historii Wojen i Wojskowości PAU* 10 (2016), pp. 9–16. On Maximilian I's policy towards Moscow and the Jagiellonians, see Maïke SACH, *Hochmeister und Grossfürst. Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Deutschen Orden in Preussen und dem Moskauer Staat um die Wende zur Neuzeit* (series: Quellen und studien zur Geschichte des Östlichen Europa, vol. 62), Stuttgart 2002, pp. 199–238. Cf. Hermann WIESFLECKER, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, vol. 4, München: R. Oldenbourg, 1981, pp. 204–212. The Muscovite aspect of the congressional negotiations is completely ignored in Jacek WIJACZKA's reflections critical of the Jagiellonian diplomacy, see idem, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Rzeszą Niemiecką (1519–1556)*, Kielce: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej im. Jana Kochanowskiego, 1998, pp. 28–30.

<sup>14</sup> Ioannis DANTISCI *Carmen extemporarium de victoria insigni ex Moschis illustrissimi principis Sigismundi Dei gratia regis Poloniae*, Grachouie 1514; CIDTC, IDP 21. Cf. *Epinikia orszańskie ...*, op. cit., pp. 15–17, 37–43 (there are slight differences between the two editions, see ibidem, p. 37 ff.). For valuable remarks on the Cracow printing see Bartłomiej Czarski, "W poszukiwaniu najstarszego polskiego stemmatu—pytania i propozycje odpowiedzi", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 65 (2021), pp. 14–17.

<sup>15</sup> Ioannis DANTISCI poetae laureati *Carmina*, ed., praef. instruxit, annot. ill. Stanisław SKIMINA, Cracow: Academia Polonica Litterarum et Scientiarum, 1950 (series: Corpus Antiquissimorum Poetarum Poloniae Latinorum, vol. 7), No. 15, pp. 60–63; *Epinikia orszańskie ...*, op. cit., pp. 78–80. Cf. Polish translation: Jan DANTYSZEK, *Utwory poetyckie*, tłum. Jan HARHALA, rzecz o życiu Dantyszka napisał Roman GANSZYNIEC, Lwów: nakładem Filomaty, 1938 (series: Zbiór Pisarzy Polsko-Łacińskich, vol. 7), pp. 20–26. On the work see NOWAK-DŁUŻEWSKI, *Okolicznościowa poezja ...*, op. cit., p. 54; Alicja SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION, "Dwa wczesnorenesansowe łacińskie epinikia Jana Dantyszka", *Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium* 6 (1983), pp. 209–214; ČIURINSKAS, "Pergale prie Oršos ...", op. cit., pp. 326–327; idem, "Karas ir kultura ...", op. cit., pp. 138–141, 146–147; idem, "Lietuva pergaleis prie Oršos (1514) poetų tekstos", *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra* 40 (2015), pp. 37–42; Jakub NIEDŹWIEDŹ, *Poeta i mapa. Jan Kochanowski a kartografia XVI wieku*, Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2019, pp. 204–207.

There is no doubt that Dantiscus' piece, regardless of its propaganda purpose and undisguised triumphalism, accurately reflects the feeling that prevailed at the Jagiellonian court in the early autumn of 1514: immense relief! Here was the cruel and vicious enemy, who had only just torn another province from Gediminas' inheritance and led some of the Jagiellon's subjects to betray him, being defeated and forced to flee disastrously. After two decades of permanent defeats and severe territorial losses, Moscow's onslaught was finally halted, and moreover at the time when the perspective of a vast alliance of enemies of the Jagiellonian house was already looming on the horizon.<sup>16</sup> The slaughter of the Muscovite regiments on the fields above the Kropivna River in the context of the recent loss of Smolensk (so unexpected that persistent attempts were made to justify it—especially in the Crown—by the imaginary betrayal of the Ruthenians), was seen not only as a turning point in the war effort, but also as a visible verdict of Providence, rightly punishing a deceitful and faithless neighbour (*contra perfidiam, contra periuriam Mosci*) and all its supporters. Dantiscus' view, moreover, perfectly fits in with the general tenor of Sigismund's propaganda, which sees the Orsha victory as the intervention of the Creator (*Omnipotens Genitor*). Thus the poet's statement corresponds excellently with the general thesis of Jagiellonian propaganda, reminding the Holy See and the European courts about the extraterrestrial inspiration of the victory, the tenor of which was, after all, well known to him. After all, Dantiscus was a secretary in the Royal Chancellery where this triumphal epistolography of Sigismund I was prepared (it seems, by the way, that his participation in this endeavour deserves additional consideration).

The description of the celebrations accompanying the return of the victorious monarch to the capital occupies a separate place in Dantiscus' epinicion, and—as is clear from the text itself, but also from the chronology of events—has a purely symbolic, imaginary character. In fact, one has to agree with the editor of the work that this fragment shows similarity to Andrzej Krzycki's account of the Cracow celebrations of the triumph over the Tartars at Wiśniowiec (1512).<sup>17</sup> The solemn ingress of Sigismund I to the capital of the Grand Duchy included—according to the reliable, albeit late, testimony of Stanisław Górski—the presentation of evidence of the triumph, for the monarch “cum consiliaris captivos Moscos insignes ante se ducens Vilnam venit, effusa in occursum ejus universa civitate, adorantium eum et benedictentium Deum”. The relevant details of the royal ingress are contained in a chronicle entry from volume two of the slightly older *Tomiciana*: “Vigesima octava Sep-

<sup>16</sup> Krzysztof BACZKOWSKI, *Projekty rozbiorów państw suwerennych w późnym średniowieczu i u początku doby nowożytnej*, Cracow, 2001 (series: Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego PAU, vol. 95), pp. 9–12.

<sup>17</sup> *Epinikia orszańskie ...*, op. cit., pp. 80 (v. 88–106), 122, 130–131.

tembris rex captivos Moscos, duces, palatinos, capitaneos exercitus, optimates, boiarios insigniores secum ex prelio ducens Vilnam triumphanter est ingressus”.<sup>18</sup>

It seems, however, that *spolia opima* mentioned by Dantiscus in his texts were indeed deposited in the St Stanislaus Cathedral in Vilnius a little later, on the occasion of a completely different ceremony. The honour to present the trophies was bestowed on the real perpetrator of the Orsha victory, Prince Konstantin Ostrogski, who, after all, at the time of the royal ingress was with his victorious regiments on his way to reconquer—unsuccessfully, in fact—Smolensk<sup>19</sup> It was this “Ruthenian Marius”, who, on his return to the capital, enjoyed a truly ancient triumph, who had the honour of placing the Moscow banners in the Vilnius Cathedral (according to Górski: “vexilla ceteraque signa militaria hostibus adempta cum pompa militari Vilnam ad regem veniens in ecclesia cathedrali reposuit”, which in turn the already mentioned chronicle from the Jagiellonian Tomicians supplements with an important chronological element: “Tercia Decembris: Constantinus dux de Ostrorogh vexilla ac signa Moscorum in praelio capta Vilnam secum attulit. Is fuit imperator exercitus victrices”).<sup>20</sup> The above account is confirmed by a Russian tradition ignored by Polish researchers, yet according to the testimony of a Volyn letopis, close to the Ostrogski family, King Sigismund was to receive the victorious prince and the “Lithuanian and Ruthenian knights” in the capital Vilnius with great honours on 3 December “on the holy prophet Sophronius” (Sunday).<sup>21</sup> Thus, the ceremony of the laying of the Moscow flags took place in Vilnius Cathedral more than two months after the epinicion was published in print. Interestingly, the official date of the *Sylvula*’s publication also precedes the actual ingress of King Sigismund by a few days (28 September 1514)<sup>22</sup>, which the poet undoubtedly attended, thus confirming that the Dantiscus account is merely a prelude to the celebrations which were to take place in the near future. Moreover, it cannot be ruled out that the poetic text does not refer to Vilnius but to Cracow—the capital of the state and the place where the epinicion was published. It

<sup>18</sup> AT, vol. 3, p. 6; JANICKI, “Obraz Bitwa pod Orszą ...”, op. cit., p. 208, n. 158.

<sup>19</sup> ЛОБИН, *Битва под Оршей ...*, op. cit., pp. 163–164; PLEWCZYŃSKI, *Wojny i wojskowość ...*, op. cit., p. 211.

<sup>20</sup> AT, vol. 3, p. 7; JANICKI, “Obraz Bitwa pod Orszą ...”, op. cit., p. 208, n. 158. During the fire in 1529 in the Vilnius Cathedral 12 captured Moscow flags from under Orsha were burnt down, see МИХАЛОН ЛИТВИН. *О нравах татар, литовцев и москвитян*. Пер. В. И. МАТУЗОВОЙ; отв. ред. А. Л. ХОРОШКЕВИЧ, Москва: Изд-во Моск. ун-та, 1994, p. 96.

<sup>21</sup> *Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. 35. Летописи белорусско-литовские*. Сост. и автор предисл. Н. Н. УЛАШИК, Москва: Наука, 1980, p. 127.

<sup>22</sup> For a slightly different dating of the royal return to Vilnius (27 September) see GAŚIOROWSKI, “Itineraria ...”, op. cit., p. 261, which is accepted by Katarzyna JASIŃSKA-ZDUN, see eadem, *Itinerarium Jana Dantyszka ...*, op. cit., p. 43.



should also be noted that the official dating of the Cracow first printing should be treated with great caution: after all, the *Sylvula* was supposed to have been published only two weeks after the Orsha Triumph, which, considering the distance (ca. 900 km) between the royal headquarters where Dantiscus was staying (Borisov on the Dnieper) and the place of publication (Cracow), raises serious doubts, given that the royal letter reporting the triumph to Bishop of Cracow Jan Konarski is dated 13 September, while the epistolary-propaganda international offensive of the Jagiellonian Chancellery does not begin until 18 September (letter of Sigismund I to Pope Leo X).<sup>23</sup>

However, it is worth taking this opportunity to correct the unjustified skepticism of the editor of the Orsha epinicions regarding Dantiscus' phrase about the fallen Muscovite chieftains ("Tot cecidisse duces"). Besides the impressive number of dignified prisoners of war, one can easily point out a number of names of Vasily's princes and boyars who died on the battlefield (Prince Ivan Temka Rostovsky—governor of the regiment of the advance guard, Prince Ivan Semyetka Yaroslavsky, Vasily Shapkin of the Vsevolozhsky-Zabolotsky family, and probably also governor of the regiment of the left arm—Prince Andrei Obolensky).<sup>24</sup>

Closing the question of the source value of the *Sylvula*, it is probably worth recalling once again the strictly political context in which the work was written. In this situation, the accusations levelled at Dantiscus by a respected researcher of Old Polish literature that he depicts the despair of Vasily III with "some specifically sadistic pleasure" must come as a surprise, in particular the statement that with "primitive vindictiveness he also viciously pursues the Ruthenian allies" of the Moscow ruler in Poland (sic!). The point of these rather bizarre deductions is as categorical as it is unfair: "Poetry ceases, vulgar propaganda begins".<sup>25</sup> Reading *Sylvula*, however, leads us to a quite different conclusion: Dantiscus' poetry does an excellent job in the service of propaganda: the epinicion is skilfully composed—containing a considerable number of specific facts (including a dynamic and relatively faithful description of the battle itself), it does not shy away from successful references to ancient tradition, and finally, it conveys the mood of triumph in an elegant form.

The Orsha theme was merely a prelude to Dantiscus' greatest encounter with Moscow issues—and at the same time a kind of a prologue to his long and spectacular career as a diplomat—his participation in the protracted and exhausting Jagiellonian-Habsburg negotiations in Pressburg and Vienna (March—August

<sup>23</sup> AT, vol. 3, p. 181 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Epinikia orszańskie ...*, op. cit., pp. 78, 121. Cf. GRALA, "Jeńcy spod Orszy ...", op. cit., pp. 449, 454–455.

<sup>25</sup> NOWAK-DŁUŻEWSKI, *Okolicznościowa poezja ...*, op. cit., p. 54.

1515). After their conclusion—as if in conjunction with the congress’s findings—Dantiscus remained at the imperial court as secretary of the embassy, and was to observe, together with Sigismund I’s plenipotentiaries, the Habsburg negotiations with the Muscovite envoy Aleksei Zabolotsky and Deacon Aleksei Shchekin, in addition to representing Poland in the efforts for an anti-Turkish crusade and mediating in Maximilian I’s armed conflict with Venice.

The composition of the delegation that the King left at the imperial court reflects the actual balance of power between Crown and Lithuanian diplomacy during the congress, which was, after all, devoted primarily to the broad pacification of Jagiellonian-Habsburg relations and plans to tighten matrimonial ties between the competing dynasties. Moscow affairs, like the Prussian question, were an important but by no means decisive element of this diplomatic counter-offensive, so it should come as no surprise that Sigismund I’s interests were to be represented by the natives of the Crown—Bishop of Włocławek Maciej Drzewicki and Starosta of Człuchów Rafał Leszczyński, who were assisted by an experienced Lithuanian diplomat, Mikhailo Bohush Bohovitinovich, a scribe and hospodar’s marshal, and soon also treasurer (*podskarbi ziemski*), but first of all an expert in the eastern affairs.<sup>26</sup> The presence of this experienced Lithuanian diplomat in the company of the Poles, who were relatively poorly versed in the matter of Moscow’s may not come as a surprise. Bohush had been a participant in the embassy to Vasily III in 1509 that led to the conclusion of the Perpetual Peace (soon broken by the Rurikovich), deservedly enjoyed a reputation as leading expert on Moscow (he would go there on several more occasions in 1517–1518, 1520, 1522 and 1526), but also had the complete trust of his monarch and maintained close links with the Crown elite, as evidenced by the marriages of his daughters: Hanna, married to Stanisław Tęczyński, and Fedora, *secundo voto* Trzebuchowska, *tertio voto* Działyńska. Bohovitinovich must have been able to cooperate very well with the Poles, since in the not-too-distant future he would accompany Erazm Ciołek and Rafał Leszczyński on their deputation to the Diet of the Reich (Augsburg, 1518).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> BACZKOWSKI, *Kongres wiedeński ...*, op. cit., p. 166; ПИКОВА, *Habsburkové a Rurikovci ...*, op. cit., pp. 165–166. Cf. Marek A. JANICKI, Tomasz OSOSIŃSKI, “Introduction”, in: *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci*, pars 2: *Amicorum sermones mutui*, vol. 1: *Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein* (hereafter cited as CEID 2/1), Warsaw–Cracow: OBTA UW–Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2008, pp. 17–22.

<sup>27</sup> Oskar HALECKI, “Bohowitynowicz Bohusz Michał h. Korczak (Pelikan?) (†1530)”, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 2 (1936), z. 1, pp. 226–227; У. КАНАНОВІЧ, “Богуш Міхал Багавіцінавіч—вялікакняжацкі дыпламат Жыгімонта Старога”, *Штогоднік Інстытута гісторыі НАН Беларусі*, Выпуск 1 (1999), pp. 31–39; BANIONIS, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės ...*, op. cit., pp. 128–129, 157–159, 213–218. Cf. *Urządnicy centralni i dostojnicy*

In fact, any hope of the Emperor's effective participation in the mediation between Sigismund and Vasily III was utterly in vain. Clearly, the Polish mission was to remind Maximilian to keep his promise, namely doing his best to secure peace treaty between the two countries. Muscovite legates came to Maximilian's court solely to remind him of his failure to fulfil his alliance obligations, i.e. to act militarily against the Jagiellon, as he had been obliged to do by the earlier—admittedly still unratified—Muscovite offensive and resistance treaty (Schnitzenbauer's mission of February–March 1514). In the changed political configuration, Maximilian abandoned his earlier commitments, offering instead his mediation between the feuding parties. Soon, for exactly this reason, the imperial legate Sigismund von Herberstein left for Moscow, which greatly disappointed the envoys of Vasily III.<sup>28</sup>

It is worth noting that, in the light of Moscow's customs as a deputy and the long-established practices of bargaining between the king and the grand prince, the hope of any contact between the representatives of the two states under the auspices of the emperor-mediator was completely illusory. Moscow diplomats, going on a diplomatic mission, received a strictly formulated and usually very extensive instruction (*order*), which they could not violate under any circumstances: it is obvious that, going to Vienna, they could not have any powers to negotiate on foreign soil with a monarch other than the Emperor.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the practice of Lithuanian-Muscovite relations to date excluded the participation—as a party—of Polish diplomacy, while in the case of bilateral relations, the initiative traditionally belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the essential negotiations were conducted in Moscow. It does not seem that Sigismund I himself was under any illusions in this matter. His instruction for Drzewicki and Leszczyński of 16 September 1515 is more than laconic, which seems to suggest that the main task of the legates was to keep an eye on Maximilian's activities ...<sup>30</sup>

The Moscow envoys appeared before the Emperor at the end of August/beginning of September (the Emperor's court was in Innsbruck at the time), bluntly making it clear to their hosts that there could be no talk of any peace negotiations

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*Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. by Henryk LULEWICZ and Andrzej RACHUBA, Kórnik: Biblioteka Kórnicka, 1994, p. 155. On Bohusz's participation in the Augsburg mission see Stanisław LUKAS, *Erazm Ciołek. Biskup płocki (1503–1522), dyplomata polski XVI-go wieku*, Warszawa: w drukarni Józefa Bergera, 1878, pp. 50–51, 57.

<sup>28</sup> FORSTREUTER, *Preußen und Rußland ...*, op. cit., pp. 80–81; PÍCKOVÁ, *Habsburkové a Rurikovci ...*, op. cit., pp. 165–166; ЛОБИН, *Бумга нод Опвееü ...*, op. cit., pp. 177–180.

<sup>29</sup> Hans UEBERSBERGER, *Österreich und Russland seit dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Wien–Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1906 pp. 99–102; SACH, *Hochmeister und Grossfürst ...*, op. cit., pp. 233–234, 260.

<sup>30</sup> AT, vol. 3, No. 565, pp. 420–421.

or imperial mediation.<sup>31</sup> So they soon went back, while the Jagiellonian delegation (with the exception of Bohush Bohovitinovich) went to Venice on the Emperor's orders. This also marked the end of Dantiscus' direct participation in diplomatic activities related to the Moscow question, although during his presence at the Habsburg court as Sigismund's *orator* he would regularly inform his supervisors of further Muscovite envoys, as it happened in the early autumn of 1516 after the arrival at the imperial court of Grigory Zagriazhsky.<sup>32</sup>

It was probably during the protracted negotiations held in Poznań and Vienna that Dantiscus made the acquaintance of the future Emperor Maximilian's envoy to Moscow—Sigismund von Herberstein, whose *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*, written as a result of this mission (April–November 1517), for centuries was to be the most authoritative description of Moscovia<sup>33</sup> in European travel literature, and whose the pan-European popularity is evidenced by the fact that

<sup>31</sup> Cf. AT, vol. 3, No. 592, pp. 441–442 (letter of Vice-Chancellor Piotr Tomicki to Jan Lubrański with news from Maciej Drzewicki: “Nuntii Moscovitae nullum mandatum habuerunt ad pacem faciendam, solum hortati sunt cesarem, ut juxta promissa et incriptiones suas juvaret dominia eorum contra nos”). On the then whereabouts of the imperial court see Victor von Kraus, *Itinerarium Maximiliani I 1508–1518 mit einleitenden Bemerkungen über das Kanzleiwesen Maximilians I*, Wien, 1899, p. 76. Cf. H. Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I. Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, Wien–München: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik–Oldenbourg, 1991, p. 403; see also Jasińska-Zdun, *Itinerarium Jana Dantyszka ...*, op. cit., pp. 44–45.

<sup>32</sup> CIDTC, IDL 6190.

<sup>33</sup> A significant increase in the last quarter of a century of literature devoted to Herberstein's work and activities, including the proceedings of an international conference dedicated to this anniversary (12–16 October 1999, Munster)—see *450 Jahre Sigismund von Herbersteins Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii 1549–1999. Jubiläumsvorträge*, hrsg. Frank Kämpfer, Reinhard Frötschner (series: Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa, Bd. 24), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002—and, above all, the publication of several new, important and successful, editions of the “Herbersteinians” and a number of important items referring to the influence of the relations of the Habsburg diplomat on European writing, is conducive to undertake further research on the present issue. See *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii. Synoptische Edition der lateinischen und der deutschen Fassung letzter Hand Basel 1556 und Wien 1557*, unter der Leitung von Frank Kämpfer erstellt von Eva Maurer, Andreas Fülberth, redigiert und herausgegeben von Herman Beyer-Гнома, München: Osteuropa-Institut, 2007; *Сигизмунд Герберштейн. Записки о Московии*, в 2 тт. под ред. А. Л. Хорошкевич, пер. А. И. Малейна, А. В. Назаренко. Москва, 2008; CEID 2/1. Cf. also Stéphane Mund, *Orbis Russiarum. Genèse et développement de la représentation du monde «russe» en Occident à la Renaissance* (series: Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 382), Genève: Droz, 2003; Wolfgang Geier, *Russische Kulturgeschichte in diplomatischen Reiseberichten aus vier Jahrhunderten. Sigmund von Herberstein, Adam Olearius, Friedrich Christian Weber, August von Haxthausen* (series: Studien der Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa an der Universität Dortmund, Bd. 37), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004.

by the end of the sixteenth century it had 22 editions in five languages.<sup>34</sup> In the early modern era, this work became a veritable must-read for European diplomats heading to the Russian capital.<sup>35</sup> The validity of this definition is well illustrated by the fact that it was simultaneously used by representatives of such different schools and diplomatic services as the papal legate Antonio Possevino, the Grand Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, and the imperial *orator in Poloniam* Abbot Johann Cyrus.<sup>36</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the *Commentarii* were in the library of King Sigismund II Augustus (Basel edition *per Ioannem Oporinum* from 1556), but also in the field office of Stefan I Batory during the Pskov campaign (1581), probably thanks to Jan Zamoyski. The special interest of the Polish Chancellor in this work is clearly evidenced by the presence of *Commentarii* among the books he took over from the library of the last Jagiellon.<sup>37</sup>

The acquaintance of Dantiscus and Herberstein soon developed into an intimacy (probably fostered by their joint stay in Augsburg at the end of 1516, where, incidentally, the aforementioned Grigory Zagriazhsky was also staying; he was soon to accompany the Habsburg diplomat on his legation to Moscow<sup>38</sup>), which resulted in their long-standing correspondence. According to a list compiled by Marek Janicki and Tomasz Ososiński, 45 letters from the years 1516–1545 have survived.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> MUND, *Orbis Russiarum* ..., op. cit., p. 358; Walter LEITSCH, "Herberstein's Impact on the Report about Muscovy in the 16th and 17th Centuries: Some Observation on the Technique of Borrowing", *Forschungen zur osteuropäische Geschichte*, Bd. 24, Wiesbaden, 1978, pp. 171–172.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. KAPPELER, *Ivan Groznyj* ..., op. cit., pp. 26–28.

<sup>36</sup> *Посевино Антонио. Исторические сочинения о России XVI в.* Перевод, вступительная статья и комментарии Л. Н. Годовиковой. Москва, 1983. p. 9, 51, 65, 71; *Дополнения к Актам Историческим, собранная и изданная исторической комиссией. Т. I.* Санкт-Петербург, 1846, pp. 20–22; Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Wien). I.15 Polen. Fasc. 9e, k. 1 (letter from Abbot Cyrus to Emperor Maximilian II dated 4 January 1570).

<sup>37</sup> Alodia KAWECKA-GRYCZOWA, *Biblioteka ostatniego Jagiellona. Pomnik kultury renesansowej*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1988, pp. 83–85, 259 (No. 763). Cf. Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie, Stare Druki, Ref. Z.A. 129 ad locum.

<sup>38</sup> Памятники дипломатических сношений съ Имперією Римскою. Томъ I. С 1488 по 1594, СПб. 851, s. 193–194.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. CEID 2/1, passim. Summary of correspondence ibidem, pp. 5–7. According to Herberstein's testimony, at that time Dantiscus was to insist very vigorously on quickly sending an imperial mission to the Moscow court, which, in view of the tardiness of one of his potential companions and the unexpected death of the other, made him have to go alone, see A. Л. ХОРОШКЕВИЧ, "Сигизмунд Герберштейн и его "Записки о Московии"", in *Сигизмунд Герберштейн. Записки о Московии*. Перевод с немецкого А. И. Малейна и А.В. Назаренко. Вступительная статья А. Л. Хорошкевич. Под редакцией В. Л. Янина. Москва, 1988, pp. 227–229; *Сигизмунд Герберштейн. Записки о Московии в 2 томах*, Т. 1, pp. 597–599.

This was soon to result in a reoccurrence of Orsha themes in Dantiscus' works, as aforementioned text does not, in fact, exhaust Moscow's presence in his writings. The trigger for the poet's return to this issue was precisely a request from an unfortunate Habsburg mediator returning via Cracow from a mission that was as exhausting as it was sterile, having failed to reconcile Sigismund I and Vasily III by Emperor Maximilian in accordance with the Vienna Agreement. It was at the personal request of the imperial diplomat that the poet delivered a small commemorative work at the beginning of 1518, *Ad Herbersteinium soteria*, in which he revived memories of several years before, when he accompanied his monarch to the camp near Borisov and saw with his own eyes the manifold evidence of the Orsha victory (*memoranda clade sub Orsza*), as well as the conviction, well established during his chancellery service and diplomatic career, of the "barbarity" and "perfidy" of the subjects of the Moscow tyrant.<sup>40</sup>

It is probably worthwhile to devote some attention to the personal meaning of this work by Dantiscus in the context of the numerous political entanglements of the recipient of his poem. In the literature on the subject—especially in Russian historiography—it has been pointed out more than once that there were accusations made by some important personalities of the Polish-Lithuanian state (e.g., Bishop of Płock Andrzej Krzycki, who in the years 1535–1537 was the Archbishop of Gniezno and Primate of Poland) against the credibility of particular passages and threads included in this work, as well as against Herberstein himself.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, in the light of what is known about quite extensive reception of the *Commentarii* in the Jagiellonian monarchy, it is not difficult to prove that it enjoyed considerable popularity both in the Crown and in Lithuania. It is likely that the Herberstein's extensive—and sometimes very intimate—relations with Jagiellonian politicians and humanists (Dantiscus was no exception) played no small part in this.<sup>42</sup> There is also no evidence to suggest that his attitude aroused

<sup>40</sup> Ioannis Dantisci poetae laureati *Carmina*, op. cit., pp. 92–98; CIDTC, IDP 30. Cf. NOWAK-DŁUŻEWSKI, *Okolicznościowa poezja ...*, op. cit., p. 60; Zbigniew NOWAK, *Jan Dantyszek. Portret renesansowego humanisty*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Cracow: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1982, pp. 110–111, 240; JANICKI, OSOSIŃSKI, "Introduction", in: CEID 2/1, pp. 25–27. Probably in the same year (April?) Dantiscus produced another occasional work, never published in print during his lifetime, in which Moscow and Orsha themes appeared: the poem *Epithalamium reginae Bonaë*, see CIDTC, IDP 31, v. 98–104. Cf. *Epinikia orszańskie ...*, op. cit., p. 67. Dantiscus also mentions the slaughter of the Muscovite army in a poem dedicated to Riccardo Bartolini (first edition 13 IX 1515), cf. CIDTC, IDP 23, v. 161–166; the battle is also mentioned in the poem *De profectioe Sigismundi in Hungariam*, ibidem, IDP 22.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. ХОРОШКЕВИЧ, *Сигизмунд Герберштейн ...*, op. cit., pp. 10–15, 23–25.

<sup>42</sup> For example, on the Baron's contacts with the Jagiellonian historian and cartographer Bernard Wapowski, see Christine HARRAUER, "Sigmund von Herberstein als Humanist. Mit der



suspicion at the time—or later—in the circle of personalities with whom he came into contact, and which was not small at all (over 40 people!), given that between 1516 and 1553, the Habsburg diplomat visited the Polish-Lithuanian state 15 times!<sup>43</sup> His sympathisers included the Lithuanian chancellor Olbracht Marciniwicz Gasztołd (they worked together particularly closely in 1529, when the Lithuanian magnate, newly made a count by Pope Clement VII, seemed to have hoped for the title of the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, although he was eventually forced to settle for the dignity of Count of the Empire, obtained in 1530 from the Emperor Charles V) and his fierce rival Mikołaj Mikołajewicz Radziwiłł, Grand Chancellor of Lithuania (who held the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire since 1518); Bishop of Vilnius John of the Lithuanian Dukes (natural son of Sigismund I); Voivode of Troki Grzegorz Ościk; Crown Vice-Chancellor Piotr Tomicki; Cracow burgrave and royal banker Jan Boner and his nephew and successor to his fortune and offices Seweryn Boner; Great Chancellor of the Crown Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, royal chamberlain Marcin Zborowski; Castellan of Cracow Andrzej Tęczyński (Herberstein's partner in the 1518 Hungarian negotiations); the Archbishop of Gniezno Piotr Gamrat and Piotr Opaliński, Court Steward and Castellan of Gniezno, and many others. The indefatigable defender of the Ukrainian borderlands Ostafi Daszkiewicz did not spare Herberstein any information, and he was also willingly contacted by the aforementioned Andrzej Krzycki, who was, after all, closely associated with—constantly suspicious of the Habsburgs—Queen Bona, and her trusted secretary Ludovico Alifio. A separate place among Herberstein's Polish contacts was occupied by the tireless adventurer and seasoned diplomat in the service of the Jagiellons, Zápolyas and Habsburgs—Hieronim Łaski.<sup>44</sup>

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Erstpublikation eines Briefes an Herberstein aus dem Jahr 1535 über die neuen astronomischen Erkenntnisse des Nicolaus Copernicus”, in: *450 Jahre Sigismund von Herbersteins ...*, op. cit., pp. 20–25. Cf. Michail M. KROM, “Polnische Einflüsse auf die Rossica im Reich in der 1. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts”, *ibidem*, pp. 311–316.

<sup>43</sup> JANICKI, OSOSIŃSKI, “Introduction”, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>44</sup> On Herberstein's Polish-Lithuanian contacts see Hieronim GRALA, “Die Rezeption der *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* des Sigismund von Herberstein in Polen-Litauen in der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts”, in: *450 Jahre Sigismund von Herbersteins ...*, pp. 318–321; *idem*, “Baro Gerberstainu—człowiek wielki, zacny’ i jagiellońscy dyplomaci (wokół recepcji *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*)”, in: *Многоликий и беспокойный славянский мир. Научный сборник к 50-летию Юрия Аркадьевича Борисенка*. Ред. Г. Ф. МАТВЕЕВ, Москва 2016, pp. 30–33. Cf. Bertold PICKARD, *Das Gesandtschaftswesen Ostmitteleuropas in der frühen Neuzeit. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Diplomatie in der ersten Hälfte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts nach den Aufzeichnungen des Freiherrn Sigmund von Herberstein*, Graz–Wien–Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1967 (= Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slaventums und Osteuropas, Bd. 6), pp. 25, 54, 106–107, 113–114, 138, 151–154; LEITSCH, “Sigismund von Herberstein, sein Buch über den

Let us return for a moment to the aforementioned work by Dantiscus, *Soteria to Herberstein* (otherwise probably quite weak in literary terms—Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski even called it “badly circumstanced”).<sup>45</sup> The fact that this literary man but also a diplomat, after all sincerely devoted to the Jagiellonian house, saw it fit to offer Herberstein a work intended as a kind of reparation for the hardships of his legation to Moscow, but also for the diplomatic work he had done (it is perhaps symptomatic that the author compares Herberstein to Hercules and Ulysses!),<sup>46</sup> proves that the actions of the imperial envoy at that time were perceived among Cracow’s humanists with sympathy, but also confidence. (NB Herberstein was honoured at the same time with a work written by Rudolf Agricola, a Swiss humanist whose work for the Jagiellons was his bread and butter).<sup>47</sup> It should be noted that in his work dedicated to Herberstein, Dantiscus did not shy away from invectives on “perfidious Muscovy”, treating the imperial diplomat as someone who would share his views. The unquestionable intimacy between the two diplomats allows us to assume that Dantiscus—otherwise an accomplished diplomat and cautious man—was not inclined to suspect Herberstein of vague contacts with Moscow, and in *Soteria* gave vent to his true feelings towards his eastern neighbour... Nevertheless, although the circumstances that fostered the diplomats’ friendship had a clear Muscovite context, this theme occupies surprisingly little space in the correspondence of the two humanists.<sup>48</sup> This is probably due in no small part to the fact that the two diplomats (who were otherwise very busy) actually drifted apart. After all only one of them, Herberstein, specialised in Moscow affairs, which Dantiscus finally stopped following closely after his return from the mission to the imperial court in 1517. In fact, Dantiscus remained with Emperor Maximilian precisely when Herberstein was carrying out

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Moskauer Staat und seine Beziehung zu Polen”, in: *Studia Podlaskie* 4 (1993), pp. 15–19. Cf. JANICKI, OSOSIŃSKI, “Introduction”, op. cit., pp. 23–28. It is worth adding that during the Moscow negotiations Herberstein also met with Dantiscus’ partner from the 1515 Viennese mission—the treasurer Bohush Bohovitinovich, see Памятники дипломатических сношений съ Имперією Римскою. Томъ I. С 1488 по 1594, p. 278.

<sup>45</sup> NOWAK-DŁUŻEWSKI, *Okolicznościowa poezja ...*, op. cit., p. 60. On Dantiscus’ literary tributes to the Habsburg diplomat see JANICKI, OSOSIŃSKI, “Introduction”, op. cit., pp. 25–27.

<sup>46</sup> Nowak-Dłużewski is inclined to link this comparison with the Baron’s long journeys, see idem, *Okolicznościowa poezja ...*, op. cit., p. 60. At the same time, Dantiscus strongly emphasizes—which is even funny—that Herberstein did not need 10 years for his journeys, using the topos of modesty, because he suggests that it would take Homer to make the addressee a new Odysseus, and that the literary space is still “open” to his praises. However, given the whole context of Dantiscus’ statement, one can assume that the poet probably also wanted to express his appreciation of the cunning of the Habsburg diplomat, demonstrated by him during the difficult Moscow negotiations.

<sup>47</sup> Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja ...*, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. JANICKI, OSOSIŃSKI, “Introduction”, op. cit., pp. 28–30.

his mission to the Kremlin, and met the Habsburg legate only during his return trip to Cracow in January 1518 (see above). Nor did Herberstein's subsequent Moscow escapade (January 1526 – November 1527) provide any opportunity for an exchange of experiences, as at the same time Dantiscus was staying in places far away: Toledo, Seville, Granada, Valladolid, Burgos and Barcelona (September 1524 – July 1529).<sup>49</sup> Although information about Herberstein's Moscow legation appears in his letter to Dantiscus, dispatched on 24 July 1529 from Cracow (in the extant correspondence of both humanists, this letter actually ends a 7-year gap), it is a highly laconic reference.<sup>50</sup>

Incidentally, it is worth noting that it was during his Spanish mission that Dantiscus had the opportunity to take another closer look at Moscow's diplomats: the behaviour of Vasily's legates—Prince Ivan Zasekin-Yaroslavsky and Deacon Semyon Borisov—during the solemn audience and banquet in Toledo on 2 May 1525, confirmed his opinion about the barbarism and “thickness of customs” of the Muscovites, as evidenced not only by their unfamiliarity with court etiquette and Latin, which contrasted sharply with the proverbial Spanish grandezza, but also by their exotic dress and propensity for alcohol abuse, which the Jagiellonian orator commented on in a highly venomous way.<sup>51</sup>

To recapitulate, the era of Orsha and the Vienna negotiations constitutes the only period of intense interest in the issues linked to Muscovy in Dantiscus' long diplomatic career. The humanist, who specialised in contacts with the Habsburg diplomacy, rarely returned to these issues later, even during those periods when the imperial court was heavily involved in mediating between the Jagiellons and the Kremlin (Herberstein's second mission, the peace negotiations of 1535–1537), although he did refer to them more than once in official speeches and his correspondence.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> JASIŃSKA-ZDUN, *Itinerarium Jana Dantyszka ...*, op. cit., pp. 44–47, 62–69; 193–195, 197–198; PICARD, *Das Gesandtschaftswesen Ostmitteleuropas ...*, op. cit., pp. 167–170; JANICKI, OSOSIŃSKI, “Introduction”, op. cit., pp. 10–12.

<sup>50</sup> CEID 2/1, No. 13, pp. 99–100.

<sup>51</sup> UEBERSBERGER, *Österreich und Russland ...*, op. cit., pp. 175, 184–190. Cf. SACH, *Hochmeister und Grossfürst ...*, op. cit., p. 420. For Dantiscus' description of the Moscow dispatch, cf. AT, vol. 7, 1857, No. 29, p. 243; No. 37, pp. 270–271. Cf. CIDTC, IDL 244, 246.

<sup>52</sup> See, e.g., speech to King Henry VIII Tudor (before 12 October 1522), CIDTC, IDT 332; two speeches before Emperor Charles V (27 XII 1522 – Valladolid; [11] X 1524 – Tordesillas), ibidem, IDT 14, 206; memorandum to Emperor Charles V (VIII 1525), ibidem, IDT 271. Moscow theme appear somewhat more frequently in Dantiscus' correspondence, both private and official (nearly 40 letters from 1516–1546), of which Dantiscus' correspondence with King Sigismund I during his stay as a Jagiellonian orator at the imperial court is of a diplomatic nature, see CIDTC, IDL 5093 (Dantiscus' letter to King Sigismund I, 5 January 1516), IDL 6190 (September–October 1516), IDL 142 (30 July 1519), IDL 157 (28 July 1522), IDL 244 (5 May 1525), IDL 276 (10 January

It seems, therefore, that the events of 1534–1537 to some degree can be treated as a recollection of Dantiscus' entanglement in the eastern policy of the Jagiellonian monarchy. The war in which the Jagiellonian court had pinned great hopes, despite considerable expenditure and temporary successes, ended with very modest territorial gains (the recovery of Homel) and another long truce, which remained intact until the end of Dantiscus' life.<sup>53</sup> Moscow issues therefore receded into the distant background...

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1526). A separate complex of Dantiscus' correspondence, containing Moscow issues, relates to the diplomatic negotiations culminating in the armed conflict of 1534–1537 (the so-called Starodubian War); it consists of reports by correspondents and informants of the Bishop of Kulm, cf. CIDTC, IDL 1169, 1643, 1647, 3618, 3619, 3627, and the royal letter of 1 April 1535, *ibidem*, IDL 1292. It is worth remembering that the Moscow factor still appeared in Vilnius and Cracow as a threat to the uneasy relations with Vienna (the Prussian affair, the Hungarian succession), especially as Vasily III (d. 1533) and his successor, the under-aged Ivan IV, were making efforts to renew a close alliance with the Emperor, and Dantiscus was regarded in the Jagiellonian circles as an expert on Habsburg diplomacy. The subsequent conflict with Moscow was also closely followed in Königsberg, as Albrecht I Hohenzollern himself was keenly interested in it, although now a Jagiellonian fief, until recently—in the years 1517–1521—he was a close ally of Vasily III, and had been in close contact with Dantiscus since the early 1530s, being regularly informed of developments by his resident in Cracow, Nikolaus Nibschitz, Dantiscus' friend and permanent correspondent.

On Moscow's efforts to form an alliance with the House of Habsburg, see UEBERSBERGER, *Österreich und Russland ...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–190; SACH, *Hochmeister und Grossfürst ...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 401–421. On the attitude of Albrecht I in the era of the Starodubian War, see FORSTREUTER, *Preußen und Rußland ...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–107. It is worth remembering that at the same time the Hohenzollern was trying, with the help of Sigismund I, at the imperial court, to have the banishment order issued by the Chamber Court of the Reich removed, in which Dantiscus played an important role at the duke's personal request, see WIJACZKA, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne ...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–68.

<sup>53</sup> On the negotiations see Ludwik KOLANKOWSKI, *Zygmunt August Wielki Książę Litwy do roku 1548*, Oświęcim: Wydawnictwo Napoleon V, 2015 (re-edition; first printing Lviv, 1913), pp. 138–146, Hartmut Rüss, "Die Friedensverhandlungen zwischen Moskau und Polen-Litauen im Jahre 1537. Eine Studie zur moskowitzischen Diplomatiegeschichte", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 36 (1988), pp. 191–217.



**Anna SKOLIMOWSKA**

University of Warsaw

## **IOANNES DANTISCUS, CIVIS GEDANENSIS**

In my presentation, I would like to outline the great humanist's relationship with his native city and show its dynamic. In the scholarly literature to date, Dantiscus' ties with Gdańsk have mainly been analysed in relation to his poetic work *Jonas Propheta*—a sombre vision of the city's annihilation, destroyed by its citizens' indulgence, hubris and godlessness.<sup>1</sup>

Among the hundred-plus poems written by Dantiscus and known to us, *Jonas Propheta* is the only one devoted to his native city. Suppose we measure the interest shown in a poem by the number of its manuscript copies and published editions. In that case, this piece holds the record in every aspect: we know of two different editions,<sup>2</sup> 14 manuscript representations, and as many as 21 publications (including 12 early prints, i.e., from before 1800).

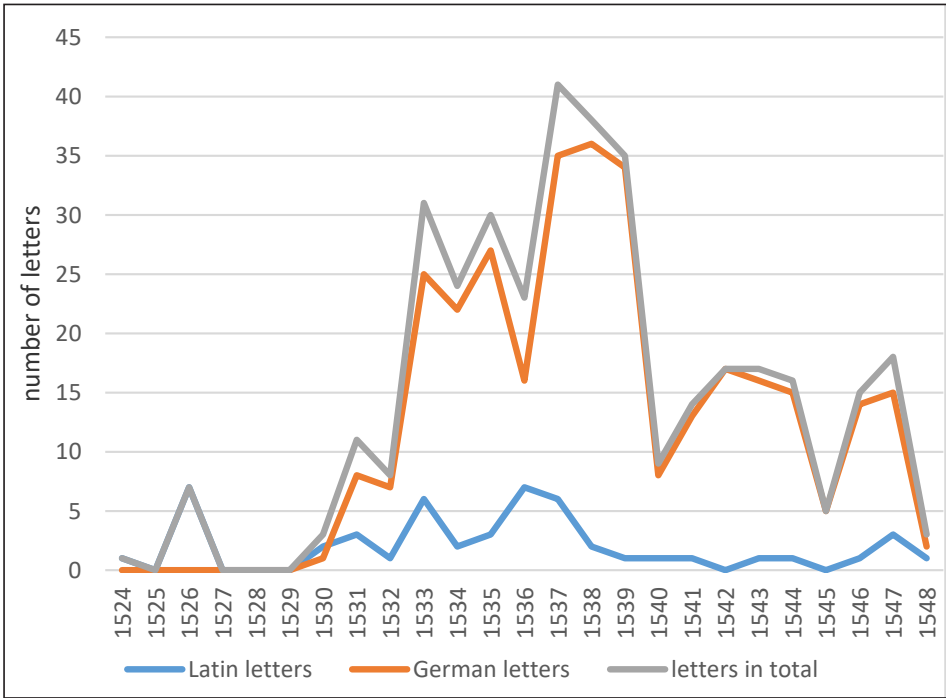
In most cases, however, this enormous interest was not related to the poem's author but, first and foremost, to the application of the catastrophic mood of his vision of the city's future to current persuasive purposes. The real contacts between the humanist and his native city were not studied. However, both Dantiscus' family ties and the character of his consecutive public functions, i.e., notary at the Royal Chancellery, royal secretary, deputy chairman and then chairman of the Prussian Council and the Prussian Diet, meant that these contacts were intensive over a significant part of his life. Dantiscus' correspondence remains a largely unutilised source of relevant information. It provides data on Dantiscus' sojourns in Gdańsk, his relations with the residents and people staying there temporarily, his material ties to the city as well as his opinions about the city itself and the town community, those expressed directly and those revealed by an analysis of the terminology used in the texts.

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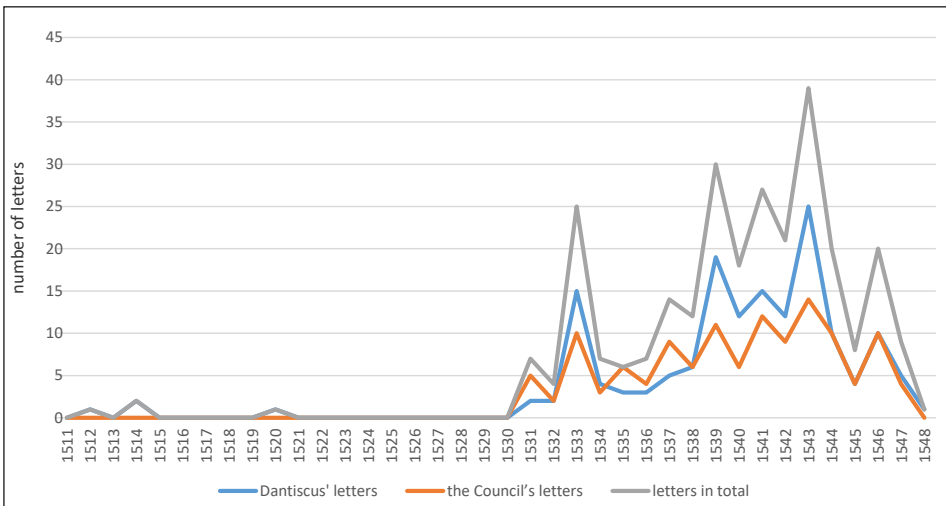
<sup>1</sup> Zbigniew NOWAK, "Antyreformacyjna elegia Dantyszka o zagładzie Gdańska", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 16 (1971), pp. 5–35; *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence* ([dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl](http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl)), eds Anna SKOLIMOWSKA, Magdalena TURSKA, Katarzyna JASIŃSKA-ZDUN, first published online 1 July 2010 (accessed 7 December 2021, hereafter cited as CIDTC).

<sup>2</sup> For more on the editions of this text, see Stanisław SKIMINA, *Twórczość poetycka Jana Dantyszka*, Kraków, PAU, 1948, pp. 63–64; Anna SKOLIMOWSKA, "Vaticinium ruiturae Poloniae: Was Dantiscus Foretelling the Downfall of Poland?", pp. 103–104, in *Respublica Litteraria in Action. New Sources*, ed. Katarzyna TOMASZUK, Warsaw–Cracow: AL–PAU, 2016, pp. 99–114.





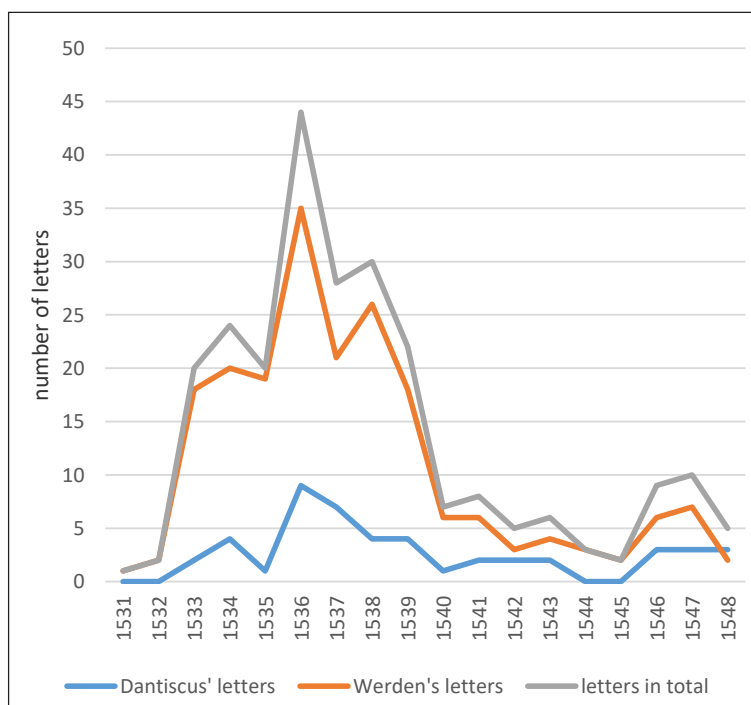
**Fig. 1.** Surviving letters to Dantiscus dispatched from Gdańsk (366 letters in total, including 315 in German and 51 in Latin).



**Fig. 2.** Surviving correspondence between Dantiscus and the Gdańsk Town Council (281 letters in total, including 155 letters from Dantiscus and 125 letters from the Council).

The *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*, edited at the University of Warsaw<sup>3</sup>, lists 6,116 preserved letters, mostly in Latin and German, of which 367 were dispatched from Gdańsk. Only one of these letters was written by Dantiscus, the remaining 366 having been penned by 59 different correspondents (see Fig. 1 and Appendix 2), including the Town Council, seven mayors (see Appendix 3), town scribes and other clerks, clergymen, bankers, merchants, booksellers, lawyers, physicians as well as family and kin of the addressee. These are mainly German-language correspondents: the letters sent from Gdańsk include as many as 314 in German, i.e., 85% of the total number.

Special attention should be given to the large volume of surviving correspondence with the Gdańsk Town Council (155 letters from Dantiscus to the Council and 125 letters from the Council to Dantiscus, totalling 281 letters, see Fig. 2), and also with one of the mayors—Johann von Werden (47 letters from Dantiscus to Werden and 197 from Werden to Dantiscus, totalling 244 letters, see Fig. 3).



**Fig. 3.** Surviving correspondence between Dantiscus and Johann von Werden (244 letters in total, including 47 letters from Dantiscus and 197 letters from Werden).

<sup>3</sup> CIDTC (see p. 99, n. 1).

As opposed to the Latin letters (nearly all of which have already been published in full-text versions), the accessibility of the German letters *in extenso* is limited as yet: all of Dantiscus' German letters (916 of them) are accessible in their full-text version in the online *Corpus*, but only 12% of the 1,732 German letters addressed to him. This means that only about 42% of the German letters are searchable. Another few percent of relatively accessible letters (though not searchable automatically) are German letters published in print, primarily in volumes 15–17 of *Acta Tomiciana*.<sup>4</sup> The remaining German letters, ca. 1,500, are still only available in manuscript form.

We will thus only be able to answer some of the questions we would like to put to the epistolographic sources in the next several or more years when the *Corpus* becomes fully searchable. Nevertheless, even at this stage, there is much to be obtained from it, especially since the metadata for all the letters are available, and—as mentioned—all of Dantiscus' letters have been published, i.e., also those his replies to the letters sent to him from Gdańsk. I will therefore disregard those aspects of Dantiscus' relations with the people of Gdańsk that will be much clearer once the entire corpus of sources is published, concentrating instead on his visits to his native city. I will also focus on his opinions of Gdańsk, expressed explicitly and implicitly in his texts connected with the city.

What, then, do we know about Ioannes Dantiscus' visits to his native city? The first spot on the map illustrating Dantiscus' itinerary is Gdańsk—his place of birth. Hans Flachs binder vel Johann von Höfen was born on 1 November 1485 as the eldest child of Johann senior and Christine née Schultze.<sup>5</sup>

According to the testimony of Dantiscus' first biographer, his relative Philippus Frencking, Johann senior immigrated to Gdańsk as a child with his father, a Prussian nobleman called von Höfen who had lost his wealth during the Thirteen Years' War. This exile earned a living with his hands, making fishing nets, which gave rise to the appellation Flachs binder, used by him and his descendants. Initially, the young Johann helped him in this work but later turned to beer brewing, which made him rich enough to educate his sons.<sup>6</sup> The eldest had

<sup>4</sup> *Acta Tomiciana* (hereafter cited as AT), vol. 15, ed. Władysław POCIECHA, Wrocław–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1957; vol. 16/1, ed. idem, Wrocław–Kraków–Poznań: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1960; vol. 16/2, ed. idem, 1961; vol. 17, eds Władysław POCIECHA, Waclaw URBAN, Andrzej WYCZAŃSKI, 1966.

<sup>5</sup> Cf., e.g., Anna SKOLIMOWSKA, "Przyczynki do biografii Jana Dantyszka: uzupełnienia i sprostowania dotyczące jego pochodzenia, edukacji i początków kariery", *Przegląd Historyczny* 109 (2018), p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Philippus FRENCKING, *Oratio de vita et moribus reverendi in Christo domini Iohannis Dantisci Episcopi Culmensis et Vvarmiensis*, Gdańsk: Martinus Rhodus, 1605, ff. A2v–A3r (CIDTC, IDT 750): "Atque, ut a natalibus eius, quod in hoc orationis genere praecipuius rhetores, initium faciam,

a very successful career: he became famous at all the courts of Europe as *Ioannes Dantiscus, secretarius regius, doctor utriusque iuris, poeta laureatus, eques Hierosolymitanus*, and then, for the last years of life, settled in his native Prussia as a bishop of Kulm (Chełmno) (1532–1537) and Ermland (Warmia) (1537–1548), and chairman of the local government authorities.

The fact that Dantiscus was born in Gdańsk is common knowledge. This was an evident piece of information not requiring documentation for his early and contemporary biographers.<sup>7</sup> Its most obvious confirmation is the toponymic name *Dantiscus* which he assumed according to the custom among humanists. Further confirmation is provided by his terminology when writing about Gdańsk and its people. Naturally, he uses proper names: *Gdanum* and—less often—*Gedanum*, and sporadically also *civitas Gdanensis*; the name *Dantiscum* appears just once, in the poem *Ionas Propheta* (in the apposition *Dantiscum sive Gedanum*); the German versions of the name are *Danczk*, *Danczke*, less often *Danzig*, *Dantzig* in many different writing variants.

Wherever the name is replaced with a periphrasis, the word “city” (*civitas, die stadt*) is much less frequent than the term “fatherland” (*patria, das vaterland*). In the German version, in letters to the Gdańsk Town Council, “fatherland” sometimes appears in apposition along with the term “good city” (*die gute stadt, unser vaterland*)—likely in the sense of “good old city” or “nice city”. As this is not a frequent collocation in Dantiscus’ letters,<sup>8</sup> it would be interesting to investigate

narrationem hanc ex maioribus auditione accepi, quod bello civili terrarum Prussiae tredecennali, cum multi nobiles suis expellerentur sedibus veteresque iuberentur migrare coloni, quidam huius familiae de Curiis, eandem belli aleam expertus, Dantiscum venerit comitatus parvulo filio, licet non passibus aequis (ut Aeneas ille Vergilianus Iulo suo), quumque non esset, quod esset, forte cum comite suo impubi ad illam accessit aream, ubi restiarii suum exercent opificium. Conspicatus ibi linum in fascas colligari, se quoque eiusdem artis gnarum profitetur. Quid fit? Conducitur ad illas operas manuaras, quas obit gnaviter, atque ex eo se suumque sustentat impuberem, quem ad idem condocescit atque adhibuit artificium.

Mortuo parente, filius ad alia se confert ac artem coquendi cerevisiam imbibit. Ubi pauperculus servus, pauperulam ducit conservam, honestis tamen ortam parentibus, consularibus nimirum in oppido Putzk, idque fretus divinae benedictionis exspectatione. In hoc suo coniugio, post invocationem divini nominis, parsimonia et frugalitate ex coctura cerevisiae mediocriter locupletatus est, genuitque tres filios: Iohannem, Bernhardum et Georgium ab Hoeffen, filias tres quoque: Catharinam, Ursulam, Annam ...”.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., Thomas TRETER, *De episcopatu et episcopis ecclesiae Varmiensis*, chapter: “Ioannes IV”, pp. 108–110, Cracovia: Franciscus Cezarius, 1685; Andreas CHARITIUS, *Commentatio historico literaria de viris eruditis Gedani ortis speciatim iis qui scriptis inclaruerunt*, chapter: “Joannes a Curiis”, pp. 32–37, Wittemberga Saxonum: Impensis Ludovicianis, 1715.

<sup>8</sup> I found this collocation used for a city other than Gdańsk only four times in Dantiscus’ texts: the term “good city” was used twice for Toruń (CIDTC, IDL 3998, IDL 3077) and twice for Elbląg (CDITC, IDL 3924, IDL 3060); all these cases involved correspondence with the town councils.

whether the epithet *gute* appears next to *stadt* in any particular circumstances and if, e.g., it is used to ease any tension in the relations between Dantiscus being the chairman of the Prussian Diet and the town councillors. However, checking this would require a careful reading of the entire correspondence between them, some of which is still unpublished.

In very rare cases, when Dantiscus writes about his homeland, the designatum of this word is not the city of Gdańsk but a wider area—this almost only happens when, as a diplomat, he mentions his return from a journey: he was usually not returning to Gdańsk but to the royal court, and he was looking at the situation from a very distant perspective. In such cases, the term “fatherland” is easiest to explain as “home” in a broad sense without specifying its identification any further.

Dantiscus mentions the people of Gdańsk as *Gdanenses*, *Gedanenses*, *cives G(e)danenses*, *die von Danczk*, but also *nostrates*, *gentiles mei*, *gentiles nostri*, *conterranei*, sometimes also *contribuli*, *contribules*, *tribuli*, and the German *unser/mein lan(n)dsleut(te)*, *gemein burgerschaft*. The periphrastic expressions mainly refer exclusively to the people of Gdańsk, except for the term *nostrates*, whose designatum might be—depending on the context—either the people of Gdańsk or the people of Prussia.

After a lengthy search, I found two places where Dantiscus speaks *expressis verbis* about being born in Gdańsk. The first case is a letter to the Gdańsk Town Council regarding customs duty on beer. In it, Dantiscus declares that he will do his best to serve the city of his birth so that there might be no grounds for complaints that bishops who come from Gdańsk act to its disadvantage.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> “Wir haben vor gestern E(wer) Er(barkei)t glawbsbryff neben den gewerben des achbarn, hochgelerthen, beyde der rechte und der ertzney doctoris, hern Ioannis Tresler(r) empfangen und wol eingenhomen, / doruff wir im noch unsers eydtsplicht, / domit wir, dysem lande vorbunden, freuntlicher und keyner ander weyss unsere gruntliche meynnunge E(wer) Er(samkei)t und **der stadt, dorynnen wir geborn**, zum besten / vor ein antwort haben angetzeygt. / Das er E(wer) Er(barkei)t weyter und andre unsere befelh der schuldt halben, / dy uns noch bey E(wer) Er(barkei)t aussteth, / noch seynnem hohen(n) vorstande, / domit er von Gotte begabet, / wirt antragen, / und wy wir auch mit eygner handt unserm lyben, vortrawtem freunde, dem edlen ernfesten hern Hansen von Werden, hawptman(n) zu der Nawmburg und Prewschenmarckte, / E(wer) Er(samkei)t mittels burggraffe / und burgemeyster, geschryben, / doruff wir uns thun referiren / gunstiglich und freuntlich byttend, / dy **stadtkinder, dy hy byschove werden**, nicht so zu achten, wy etliche ewers mittels davon reden, / das sy sych E(wer) Er(barkei)t und der stadt pflegen zu wideren, / so wir in warheit nicht winniger(r), also eynner auss E(wer) Er(samkei)t, der stadt ehre und nucz, / der byllichkeit nach, / gerne wolten schaffen und furdern, / so uns dass zu thun nicht uffrichtige ursachen hindren, / dy wir hoffen, / E(wer) Er(samkei)t, welche wir Got in sein gnade befehlen, / uns nicht werden geben” (CIDTC, IDL 4349). We know that this meant Gdańsk from the context provided by another letter on the same matter: “... magistratum Gdanensem hic apud me dominum

The other case is a fragment of a poem—the *silva De nostrorum temporum calamitatibus*—in which the author describes himself as “born ... where the winding Vistula joins the Sarmatian Sea and forms a port with a safe harbour”.<sup>10</sup> The port at the point where the River Vistula enters the Baltic Sea is undoubtedly Gdańsk.

Like all the other children of Hans Flachsbinder/von Höfen and Christine Schultze, Dantiscus was born in a house still owned by his brother, Georg von Höfen, in 1545. Dantiscus protested against its sale at the time. He advised Georg to sell his garden and a plot near the city rather than the house where he and all his siblings had been born.<sup>11</sup>

Discussing Dantiscus’ visits to Gdańsk, I draw on the itinerary reconstructed by Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun and now almost ready for publication.<sup>12</sup> The main source base for this study has been Dantiscus’ correspondence (both metadata and texts) and, to a lesser extent, other available archival materials. The great humanist’s activity in his mature years is relatively easy to follow. Things are much worse regarding his youth and early career. At the same time, his childhood is practically undocumented in sources, apart from his place of birth and a single mention indicating the parish school in Grudziądz (Graudenz) as being where he started his education. The biography by Frencking mentioned earlier includes a theme of youthful naughtiness, or even hooliganism, involving the future bishop. According to the chronicler:

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doctorem Ioannem Tresler habuisse nuntium. Qui obtinuit, ut usque ad futurum nostrum conventum in negotio cerevisiae conniverem idque ea lege, quod in extorquendo teloneo sic agatur, ne querelae subditorum interea me adigant ad petendum a maiestate regia contra eam insolentiam frenum” (CIDTC, IDL 1840). Here and below bolding in source texts are from the author of the article.

<sup>10</sup> “natus ..., / Hic ubi Sarmaticum vagus Istula fertur in aequor/ Et tuta portum cum statione beat” (CIDTC, IDP 42, ll. 511–512).

<sup>11</sup> Dantiscus to Bernhard von Höfen, Heilsberg (Lidzbark Warmiński), 1545-06-01: “Mit unserm bruder Jorgenn wirstu handelenn, / das mich bedunckt vor ihnn vil besser zu sein, / das er seine lustgartenn unnd was auswendig der stadt mauren leit / ihm zugehörig thet vorkeuffenn, / dann die stelle, darinnen ehr unnd wir bruder unnd schwesternn alle geborenn sein, / inn frembde hende lasse komen. / Nichtwenigers, / weil das haus sein ist, / thu er noch seinem gefallenn / damit er sich aus schulde thu brechenn / etc.” [Please, let our brother Jorgenn know, that in my opinion he will do much better, if he sells his pleasure garden and his possessions outside the city walls, than the place, where he and we all his brothers and sisters were born would fall in the hands of someone else. However, as the house is his property, let him do what he likes, and so he will be free from debts] (CIDTC, IDL 3919).

<sup>12</sup> This itinerary will soon be published in volume 3/1 of the series *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci*, and in digital form on the platform [dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl](http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl) (see below in this volume the text of Katarzyna JASIŃSKA-ZDUN “Ioannes Dantiscus Itinerary: the Project of Its Publication”, pp. 135–139; see also Appendix 1).



Iohannes vero, natu maximus ... cum primis aetatis suae annis paulo viveret dissolutius ac intemperantius, nocturno tempore per vices grassando, civium aedes pulsando etc., uti solent turbones noctambuli, contigit aliquando, ut cum idem more solito districtoque gladio vagabundus discursaret, mater eius, a qua saepius ob dissolutam morum licentiam erat increpatus, viderit cum admiratione et singulari animi voluptate spectrum specie ac habitu filii sui Iohannis domi mensae assidere librosque evolvere, quod illa, rata suum esse filium, Deo agere gratias pro tam repentina et Paulina conversione.

Quid fit? Sedet illa sibique gratulatur de hac recenti felicitate, cum subito filius Iohannes fores pulsare, postulare, ut intromittatur. Mater, agnita voce filii, expavefacta agnoscit spectrum illud esse, quod intus sit, quia ne verbum quidem fecerit, ideoque Iohanni intromisso se sibimetipsi commonstrat, exemplo Plautini illius Sosiae. Quo ille spectaculo consternatus et tantum non externatus, secumque respiscere coepit, a crapulatione ad sobrietatem, a fastigiosa turpitudine ad compositam vitae morumque honestatem ac modestiam revocatus.<sup>13</sup>

Then Iohannes, the eldest ... having pursued a rather free and excessive lifestyle in the first years of his youth, wandering around the villages at night, pounding on people's doors etc., like nocturnal vagrants and troublemakers are wont to do, it happened once that as he was, as usual, wandering about here and there with a sharp sword, his mother, who had often chastised him for his reckless dissolute ways, was amazed and overjoyed to see an apparition with the shape and posture of her son Iohannes sitting at home at the table, leafing through books. Thinking it was her son, she thanked God for this sudden, almost Paul-like conversion.

And what then? She sits down and congratulates herself on this new happiness, when suddenly her son Iohannes pounds on the door and demands to be let in. Recognising her son's voice, the mother realises with dismay that whatever is inside is an apparition, especially since it never said a word. Having let Iohannes in, she shows him himself (similarly to [what happened] to Sosia in Plautus). At this sight, shocked and at his wits' end, he came to his senses, dissuaded from drunkenness in favour of sobriety, from shameful haughtiness in favour of an orderly life as well as goodness and modesty of temper.

Given the inaccuracy of other information provided by Frencking (e.g., absolutely false notice about the young Dantiscus' alleged formation in Rome and a papal recommendation that supposedly opened the way to a career at the Royal Chancellery), it is hard to say if the family legend illustrated actual problems with Dantiscus or just a myth-building tradition also serving as an exemplification underlining the possibility of a sinner's conversion similar to the transformation of Paul the Apostle.

<sup>13</sup> FRENCKING, *Oratio ...*, op. cit., ff. A3v–A4r.

It is a separate matter whether this alleged hooliganism of the future diplomat and bishop took place on the outskirts of his native Gdańsk or in Grudziądz since that was where he went to school. However, in 1499 at the latest (and maybe even two years earlier), Dantiscus left Prussia to start his university studies and then his career at the royal court. Since then, his first visit to Gdańsk documented in sources was in late **1505**, when King Alexander Jagiellon financed the 20-year-old Royal Chancellery novice's studies in Italy. Based on a royal mandate, the young man was paid the scholarship money by the Gdańsk Town Council.

Upon his return from this foreign journey, which had unexpectedly turned into an 18-month pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in **1507**, Dantiscus visited his native city again, only to leave shortly afterwards to continue his career at the Royal Chancellery.

Up to 1518, when he set off on his first independent diplomatic mission to the courts of Europe as the royal secretary, he visited Gdańsk many times, both on private matters and as King Sigismund I's envoy to the Town Council. Three such missions in **1509** and one each in **1512**, **1520** and **1521** are documented by royal mandates.

It is highly likely that he also visited his native city when he was representing the King at the Royal Prussian General Diets in the years **1504**, **1508**, **1509** (twice), **1511**, **1512**, **1517** in Malbork (Marienburg) and **1513** in Grudziądz.

We also know that in **1511–1517**, he represented his cousin (*meder*) Katherina, widow of Lukas von Thelgen, in a court case against Dietrich (*Dirrig*) Falcke, appealing to the King during the proceedings. Preserved documents (including King Sigismund's correspondence with the Gdańsk Town Council) do not allow us to draw any conclusions about Dantiscus' visits to Gdańsk concerning this case. Still, it is worth noting that he turned to the King on the matter, which the town authorities considered unlawful, citing a privilege obtained from Casimir Jagiellon.<sup>14</sup> In Kaspar Schütz's *Historia rerum Prussicarum*, this conflict was recorded as the first-ever violation of that privilege and, at the same time, "the aged rights and liberties of the Prussian Lands and Cities".<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Marian PELCZAR, *Polski Gdańsk*, Gdańsk: Biblioteka Miejska, 1947, p. 42: "With the privilege dated 28 January 1472, Casimir Jagiellon granted Gdańsk full right of jurisdiction over Gdańsk's debtors, abolishing the option for appealing the city's judgments on such matters to the King. The city authorities thus received the powers of the highest instance in this area"; Tadeusz MACIEJEWSKI, "Wpływ polityki monarchów polskich na ustrój Gdańska w latach 1454–1793", *Studia z Dziejów Państwa i Prawa Polskiego* 17 (2014), pp. 51–52.

<sup>15</sup> "... dieses obbemelte Jahr [1512] ward durch Johannem Flaxbinder, Koniglichen Notarium, der geburt von Dantzic, der nochmaln zu Bischofflicher dignitet erhoben, ein newes furgenommen, als der Rath daselbst in einer sachen einen Erbfall rürende, darinnen er ein Procurator und Vollmechtiger war, ihme zu wieder gesprochen, dabey ers nicht wolte wenden lassen, sondern an

Another sixteenth-century chronicler, Christoph Beyer (a Gdańsk juror and town councillor, author of *Die Danziger Chronik*, d. 1518), noted that in August 1517, during St Dominic's Fair, Dantiscus was in Gdańsk during his return journey from the imperial court (Emperor Maximilian I was in the Netherlands at the time) and then, a few weeks later, took part in a mission to the Gdańsk Town Council on behalf of Fabian von Lusian (Luzjański), Bishop of Ermland, and the Chapter of Ermland.<sup>16</sup>

Given the lack of continuity in the source documentation (the gaps in the correspondence being especially acute), we cannot rule out that Dantiscus stayed in Gdańsk many more times during the early period of his life.

In 1518–1532, Dantiscus was abroad, almost without interruption, as the Polish rulers' ambassador to European courts. He visited Gdańsk only when accompanying the King during the last war between Poland and the Teutonic Order in 1520–1521. However, while away from the country, he dealt with matters of Gdańsk and Prussia as a part of his diplomatic activity. Implementing the Polish monarch's policy, he indicated to Emperor Charles V and his brother Archduke Ferdinand on many occasions that the Prussian Hanseatic cities (primarily Gdańsk and Elbląg) were independent of the Reich and subordinate to Poland, and he also outlined the history of the Prussian lands in connection with the claims to them made by the Teutonic Order. These efforts have been described in detail by Władysław Pociecha in volume four—devoted to foreign policy—of his monograph *Królowa Bona* [Queen Bona]. He quotes the following expression used by the Polish envoy: “Prussiam scilicet semper subfuisse regno Poloniae” [Prussia has always been under the Kingdom of Poland's authority],<sup>17</sup> and “de Vandalis

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Königliche Maiestat appellirte .... Derwegen nicht allein die von Dantzic, als da sich der ursprung dieser newigkeit erregt, sondern auch samptliche Land und Städte die Königliche Maiestat durch ihre Gesandten beschickten, und baten, die Lande und Städte in Preussen bey ihrer uhralten Frey und Gerechtigkeit damit sic gutwillig an die Krone getreten weren ... welchs Recht auch Konig Casimirus und die Nachfaren biss auf nu dem Lande bestetigt hetten ...”, in Caspar SCHÜTZ, *Historia rerum Prussicarum, wahrhafftige und eigentliche Beschreibung der Lande Preussen, ihrer gelegenheit, namen und teilunge von den eltesten Koenigen an derselben Regierung und Heidnischer Auffopfferung Auch vom Ursprung des Deutschen Ordens und was sich bey eines bey jeglichen Hohmeisters leben und Regierung zugetragen hat Vom ersten bis zum letzten darinnen auch Die ankunfft und erbawung der Koeniglichen Stadt Dantzic und wie sie von Jaren zugenommen fleißig und mit allen umbstaenden beschrieben und angezeigt wird*, Eißleben–Leipzig: Henning Groß-Bartholomeus Hörnigk, 1599, f. 443r.

<sup>16</sup> *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, eds Max TÖPPEN, Theodor HIRSCH, Ernst STREHLKE, vol. 5, Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1874, pp. 485–486.

<sup>17</sup> Władysław POCIECHA, *Królowa Bona*, vol. 4, Poznań: PWN, 1958, p. 242; cf. CIDTC, IDL 518: “... coepi in compendio historiam Prutenam recensere: **Prussiam scilicet semper subfuisse regno Poloniae** et quod cum quondam per multos annos in regno fuisset sine rege interregnum,

habuimus sermonem, quos lingua uti Polona asserebam, sicut Cassubae et adhuc in hodiernum quidam rustici in propinquis villis Lubeci” [the Vandals spoke the Polish language, which the Kashubians and peasants also use in some of the villages near Lübeck].<sup>18</sup> NB Pociecha then adds (his own words, though the reader is under the strong impression that they might have been said *expressis verbis* by Dantiscus): “which testifies to the Slavic origins of the population settled on the Baltic”. Pociecha already gives an inaccurate translation of the first quotation: **“Prussia was always a constituent part of the Polish State”**. This kind of subtle distortion is compatible with Pociecha’s wider discourse presenting Dantiscus as a model, 100-percent anti-German Pole. This is an obvious anachronism stemming from the anti-German attitude that was predominant in Poland during World War II and directly after it.

Meanwhile, in the sources known to us, Dantiscus speaks of himself as a “Pole” (*Polonus*) just once, in response to a taunt from Treasurer of Prussia Stanisław Kostka, with whom he was in conflict. To his accusation that the Prussian councillors disliked the Poles, Dantiscus replied that “according to the

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quidam Masoviae dux sibi Prussiam usurpasset, quam postquam omnimode subigere non potuisset, advocasset in aditorium quosdam fratres de nigra cruce ex Alemania, qui tunc paulo ante ex Hierosolimis fuerant expulsi, dando eis, quod suum non erat, dominium in quadam parte terrarum Prussiae, ea conditione, quod, si communibus viribus reliquam Prussiae partem occuparent, eam inter se dividerent et primam donationem relinquendo ipsi fratres ex terris eis datis cederent. Quod pactum non observantes paulo post facti duci Masoviae rebelles, in ipsum arma sua verterunt, et in dies, quidquid occupabant, sibi reservarunt, quousque schisma hoc perniciosum regno esse Poloni considerantes, iterum sibi regem deligerunt, qui et eius posterum ad haec usque tempora cum his fratribus ad recuperandum ablata bella plurima gesserunt cum non parva sanguinis Christiani effusione, saepiusque reges Poloniae, cum contra infideles progredierentur, a tergo hos fratres habuisse hostes et numquam a 300 ferme annis solidam pacem toties confectam cum illis habere potuisse, quae intra 50 annos per eos gravissimo semper bello recrudescente non fuisset rupta, numquam illos foedera et superioribus annis pacem perpetuam, per legatum pontificis et oratores alios servasse. Qua de re ante decem annos novissimum hoc bellum in Prussia fuisse exortum, fuissentque tum fratres isti una cum Ordine per Maiestatem Vestram Serenissimam eieci, nisi serenissimi domini nostri et suae maiestatis oratores cum aliis ad hoc missis quadriennales inter Maiestatem Vestram Serenissimam et eum Ordinem fecissent indutias, quibus stantibus, cum marchio Albertus tunc magister Ordinis generalis omnia tentasset et se longe inferiorem potentiae Maiestatis Vestrae Serenissimae cognovisset iam pridem Lutheranismum infectus et omnium ope destitutus ad homagium praestandum Maiestati Vestrae Serenissimae animum induxisset”.

<sup>18</sup> POCIECHA, *Królowa ...*, op. cit., p. 241; cf. CIDTC, IDL 518: “... **de Vandalis habuimus sermonem, quos lingua uti Polona asserebam, sicut Cassubae et adhuc in hodiernum quidam rustici in propinquis villis Lubeci**, dixique de his septuaginta duabus civitatibus plurimas non subesse Imperio, ut est in Moscovia Novogardia, in Livonia Riga et Revalia, in partibus Germaniae inferioribus Antverpia Brugis Gandavum, in Prussia Maiestati Vestrae Serenissimae subiecta Gdanum et Elbingum, quae tamen malo quodam abuso sub Imperium vocarentur, cum illi non pareant”.

criterion of fidelity, he himself and all [the councillors] were Poles to no lesser degree than [Kostka] may consider himself to have been born among them [i.e., in Prussia].<sup>19</sup> This is, therefore, a verbal scuffle containing a declaration of not so much Polish as Prussian identity, at the same time being loyal to Poland.<sup>20</sup>

Dantiscus spent the final years of his life (1532–1548) in Prussia, exercising the offices of bishop and chairing the Prussian Diet. After 1521 (the year of the aforementioned mission to the Town Council on the King's behalf), we only have source documentation for his three visits to Gdańsk: in **1533**, **1534**, and **1535**.

Dantiscus described the stay in May **1533** (19–26 April) as his first visit to his fatherland in 13 years.<sup>21</sup> We know that one of the important reasons for this trip was mediation in achieving a settlement on matters of trade between Toruń and Gdańsk.<sup>22</sup> Analysing Dantiscus' anti-Reformation activity in an article discussing the aforementioned poem *Jonas Propheta*, Zbigniew Nowak notes that the bishop-elect of Chełmno, who had held the prebend of the Gdańsk Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary since 1523, might have inspected the work of the local clergy during this visit, particularly that of the preacher and Dominican monk Pancrattius Klemme.<sup>23</sup> We also know from other sources that Dantiscus kept com-

<sup>19</sup> Letter from the Royal Prussian Council to Piotr Tomicki, Löbau (Lubawa), 1534-12-30, CIDTC, IDT 314: "Eramusque iam prope finem consilii ituri ad prandium, unde surreximus illico omnes. Quod videns dominus Costka contra reverendissimum dominum episcopum Culmensem stomachabunde verbis non satis amicis invehebatur dicens non gratos nobis esse **Polonos**. Ad quod dominatio eius ita respondit: se pro fide sua non minus **Polonum** et nos omnes esse, quam ipse apud nos natus esse posset".

<sup>20</sup> For more about the Polish-Prussian borderland in Dantiscus' time, see, e.g., Janusz Małek, *Dwie części Prus. Studia z dziejów Prus Królewskich i Książęcych w XVI i XVII wieku*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2015 (2) and *Panorama Lojalności. Prusy Królewskie i Prusy Książęce w XVI w.*, ed. Anna SKOLIMOWSKA, Warszawa: OBTA-DiG, 2001, especially the chapters: Marian BISKUP, "Prusy Królewskie w II połowie XV i w XVI stuleciu" (pp. 7–15), Janusz MAŁEK, "Prusy Książęce w XVI wieku—panorama lojalności" (pp. 16–20), Stefan HARTMANN, "Polityka Księcia Albrechta w aspekcie lojalności wobec Korony" (pp. 21–26), Igor KAŃKOLEWSKI, "Lojalność stanów pruskich wobec zwierzchności lennej na tle walki o przestrzeganie zasady indygenatu w Prusach Książęcych w XVI w." (pp. 36–45), Jans Jürgen BÖMELBURG, "Lojalność w protestancko-kalwińskiej rodzinie stanu panów w Prusach Książęcych: trzy pokolenia rodziny Dohnów (1540–1625)" (pp. 46–62), Jerzy AXER, "Jan Dantyszek—dyplomata, mąż, ojciec, biskup warmiński: granice (nie)lojalności" (pp. 66–72), Danuta BOGDAN, "Próba skategoryzowania pojęcia lojalności w aspekcie miejsca Warmii w Prusach i w Koronie w XVI wieku" (pp. 92–110), "Dyskusja" (pp. 120–128, 131–141).

<sup>21</sup> Dantiscus to Bona Sforza, Marienburg (Malbork), 1533-05-17: "Iturus sum recta hac hora Gdanum in patriam meam, quam a 13 annis non vidi" (CIDTC, IDL 948).

<sup>22</sup> CIDTC, IDL 954 (AT 15, No. 275, pp. 381–385).

<sup>23</sup> NOWAK, "Antyreformacyjna ...", op. cit., p. 12 (cf. AT 14, No. 525, pp. 803–804, CIDTC, IDL 4318; AT 15, No. 589, pp. 833–834, CIDTC, IDL 4227).

pany with Fabian Wojanowski during that visit to Gdańsk and planned to purchase a gift for Queen Bona there, which proved impossible due to the blockade of maritime trade via Lübeck.<sup>24</sup>

According to a remark in Dantiscus' letter to Tiedemann Giese from June 1536,<sup>25</sup> two years earlier, Dantiscus had taken part in the nuptials of Tiedemann's brother (Gdańsk merchant Georg Giese). German genealogies indicate two different dates of this ceremony: **16 January 1534** or **25 May 1535**. An analysis of the correspondence enables us to say with high probability that only the former date can be considered in the context of Dantiscus' attendance,<sup>26</sup> where we also need to remember that we have no further proof of this stay other than the aforementioned belated remark.

The circumstances of the visit in **1535** are relatively best documented. They are described in detail in Nowak's article, mentioned earlier, which correctly relates Dantiscus' actions at the time to his broader counter-Reformation activity.<sup>27</sup> I want to summarise this passage, supplemented with a few significant details (marked in bold font).

Dantiscus and Malbork Voivode Georg von Baysen (Jerzy Bażyński) travelled to Gdańsk on behalf of King Sigismund I to receive the oath of fidelity to the Roman Church from councillors and jurors who had not been sworn in yet, and to demand the performance of royal edicts issued against Lutherans, Anabaptists and other heretics.<sup>28</sup> The King sent them on this mission at the initiative of Dantiscus himself (however, they submitted not to the King but to Vice-Chancellor Piotr Tomicki).<sup>29</sup> However, when they arrived, it turned out that the

<sup>24</sup> CIDTC, IDL 948, IDL 966.

<sup>25</sup> "Meminerit etiam, quod idem in nuptiis fratris Dominationis Vestrae Gdani ante duos annos, si recte recorder, fecerim" (CIDTC, IDL 1475).

<sup>26</sup> For example, it seems unlikely that Hans Brask would have written to Dantiscus from Gdańsk on 24 May 1535 (date of receipt of the letter: 26 June) if the addressee was meant to attend the nuptials in Gdańsk the next day (CIDTC, IDL 1307); meanwhile, the remark in Dantiscus' letter to the Gdańsk Town Council dated 26 January 1534 could apply to his stay in connection with this ceremony: "Uns gedenckt ouch, das **wir zw Danczke beÿ E(wr) Er(barkei)t wesende** eÿne vorbit unser elste schwester, / doctor / Hans Reineck gemahel, / belangende, / salcz czum stheur aus irem keller zuvorkouffen zw gunstende, / wie dan ouch andren zwgelossen etc., uff welchs wir den zw Danczke Ewre wilferige antwurt erhoret" (CIDTC, IDL 4334).

<sup>27</sup> NOWAK, "Antyreformacyjna ...", op. cit., pp. 12–14.

<sup>28</sup> CIDTC, IDL 1259.

<sup>29</sup> Dantiscus to Tomicki, Lōbau (Lubawa), [shortly after 1534-07-11]: "Huic malo obicem non intempestivum hoc maxime tempore ponendum censerem, qualis vero esse debeat, sic cum amicis quibusdam meis faciendum esse putavimus, ut commodo quodam tempore vel pro Maio futuro (alias periculum in mora) serenissima maiestas regia nuntios suos auctoritate praeditos ad Gdanenses mitteret sub praetextu se intellexisse multos novos consules factos, qui iuramentum



people of Gdańsk wanted a change in the text of the oath previously sworn to the King in 1526. They had decided to replace the adjective “Roman”, referring to their faith and the Church (*fides Romana, ecclesia Romana*), with the adjective “Christian” (*fides Christiana, ecclesia Christiana*). A discussion ensued between the councillors and the royal commissioners. **Dantiscus argued that the oath of fidelity to the Roman Church was only binding for them for as long as that Church was holy and Christian, and if it were to become immoral and unchristian, they would no longer be bound by the oath.**<sup>30</sup> However, he failed to convince the councillors, who expressed their will in writing. **The commissioners took this document, its content generally conciliatory but uncompromising on the letter of the oath, to the King, who gave it his unwilling approval.**<sup>31</sup> The extensive accounts related to this dispute that Dantiscus sent to the senators of the Kingdom of Poland (particularly to Vice-Chancellor Piotr Tomicki<sup>32</sup> and Primate Maciej Drzewicki<sup>33</sup>) resound with bitterness and anxiety about the future. These ominous visions culminate in a significant sentence in the letter to Tomicki: **“Never has my fatherland pleased me less than today! My heart weeps predicting the impending destruction”.**<sup>34</sup> The negative emotions triggered by this conflict found an outlet in the more extended edition of *Ionas Propheta*, the poem previously mentioned here. **Thanks to the evidence of the correspondence, we can establish the exact date of creating this poem, as it was already commented upon in the first half of May in letters sent to Dantiscus by Ermland Bishop Mauritius Ferber (1535-05-04) and Dantiscus’**

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suae maiestati debitum, quod omnes iurarunt, cum novissime maiestas eius Gdani ageret, non praestitissent, in quo cautum est, quod nulla in re Luteranismo adhaerere, favere, aut sectae huius institutum tueri debeant, verum in omnibus sanctorum patrum constitutionibus et ecclesiasticis caeremoniis obsequi illasque omnimode observare et quod hi, qui non iurassent, una cum illis, qui prius iurarunt, hoc iuramentum iterum et denuo praestarent, hocque deinceps singulis annis facerent illosque serenissimae maiestati regiae declararent, qui contra hoc iuramentum egissent, vel illud facere reluctarentur, hocque fieret a consulibus tum etiam a scabinis et ut fieret publicum edictum, ne quis istius sectae publicus professor vel Anabaptista et hoc genus homines in civitate ut cives commorari permitterentur vel pro civibus susciperentur” (CIDTC, IDL 1198).

<sup>30</sup> “... neque declaratio mea profuit, qua planum feci eos ad iuramentum non astringi diutius quam eo usque, quo Romana Ecclesia sancta et Christiana esse perseveraret, eo deficiente (quod omen Deus avertat) ad Romanae Ecclesiae iniquae et non Christianae ritus et caeremonias et illarum observantiam neminem etiam, nedum illos obligari, aut teneri” (CIDTC, IDL 1320).

<sup>31</sup> CIDTC, IDT 238 (AT 17, No. 253, pp. 343–347); CIDTC, IDL 1332 (AT 17, No. 341, pp. 440–441).

<sup>32</sup> CIDTC, IDL 1320.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 1311, IDL 1315.

<sup>34</sup> “Numquam patria mea minus, quam ad praesens, mihi placuit lacrimaturque cor meum imminentem ruinam prospiciens” (CIDTC, IDL 1320).

**companion on the mission to Gdańsk, Georg von Baysen (1535-05-12), and then in June also by Przemyśl Bishop Jan Chojeński (1535-06-12).**<sup>35</sup> Vice-Chancellor Tomicki also received it together with the aforementioned account of the events in Gdańsk; in a letter dated 19 June, Dantiscus wrote to him that **he did not want the piece to be connected with his name and wanted even less to see the predictions it contained come true.**<sup>36</sup>

There is no doubt that immediately after his mission in 1535, Dantiscus felt disappointed and outraged. However, his disagreements with the town authorities were most likely not the only element of his visit to his native city. It is probably this particular visit that is the subject of a note dated 24 May 1535 from a Swedish bishop, Hans Brask, who was in exile in Gdańsk at the time, thanking Dantiscus for allowing him into the circle of his friends and brightening his loneliness with some fortifying conversation.<sup>37</sup> It would therefore seem that the royal commissioners sweetened the trials and tribulations of their public activity with the fun of social gatherings.

Dantiscus probably never visited Gdańsk after 1535. Despite many sources related to the latter years of his life, there is no evidence of any later stay there. We know that the ageing and increasingly frail bishop travelled less and less, which is reflected in his itinerary. Mentions exist of a journey to Gdańsk planned in 1542,<sup>38</sup> but unfortunately, there is no way of knowing what the purpose of that visit might have been or if it came about. However, the very existence of such plans in 1542 enables us to fully rule out the hypothesis that the conflict with the town patriciate on religious grounds caused Dantiscus to break off his contacts with his native city. There are some fluctuations in the dynamics of his correspondence with the people of Gdańsk, but it is not possible to conclude from this that the contacts were broken.<sup>39</sup> The variability in the number of letters in particular years depends on many factors, such as Dantiscus' health failing over time, current duties unrelated to Gdańsk, and also (despite the extensive archival collections of Gdańsk and Ermland) the fragmentary nature of the surviving source material.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. CIDTC, IDL 3592, IDL 3595, IDL 4547.

<sup>36</sup> "... ne hoc vaticinium, quod seorsum obsignatum, ne fraudi mihi esse possit, his inclusi, verificetur et eveniat. Cuius nollem videri fuisse auctor multoque minus, ut succederet velim. Praesciri tamen fata, vitari non possunt, quae a Deo sunt" (CIDTC, IDL 1320).

<sup>37</sup> "... agendo ipsi Reverendissimae Paternitati Vestrae multiples gratiarum actiones, cuius virtute ac humanitate factum est, ut me asciret in sodalicium amicorum suorum meque in hoc diuturno luccinio favorosis suis colloquiis multipliciter est consolata" (CIDTC, IDL 1307).

<sup>38</sup> CIDTC, IDL 2576, IDL 2525.

<sup>39</sup> See Figures 1, 2, 3 on pp. 100, 101.

Dantiscus continued an intensive exchange of correspondence with Gdańsk officials after 1535 and sometimes sent envoys to the city.<sup>40</sup> Nor is there any noticeable change in the way he wrote about Gdańsk. He did not idealise his native city, being capable of criticising it in harsh words, e.g., for the ineptness of its judiciary<sup>41</sup>. Still, he continued to refer to Gdańsk as *die gute stadtt unser liebes vaterland*,<sup>42</sup> and when intervention with the royal court was needed on the city's behalf, he did not hesitate to support its affairs ardently. For example, in 1546, in connection with the prolonged "Puck affair", the Bishop of Ermland very emphatically reminded Sigismund I that both lately and earlier, Gdańsk had spared neither gold nor blood in the service of the Crown. He underlined the city's loyalty and the benefits of Gdańsk's trade, which not only brought measurable profits but also made the names of the (Polish) Kingdom and its ruler famous in the farthest corners of the world.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> CIDTC, IDT 450.

<sup>41</sup> Dantiscus to Samuel Maciejowski, s.l., 1547-03-18: "Et certe miserandum est, quod in ea civitate patria mea eousque lites protrahantur, donec altera partium penitus exhauriatur, et ob contractam ex diuturnis litibus paupertatem a iustissimis actionibus et causis plerumque desistere multi cogantur" (CIDTC, IDL 3065).

<sup>42</sup> CIDTC, IDL 4444, IDL 4415.

<sup>43</sup> [Dantiscus] to [Sigismund I Jagiellon], Heilsberg (Lidzbark Warmiński), 1546-02-10: "Serenissimam Maiestatem Vestram clementer meminisse arbitror, quoties diligentissime et dominorum hic consiliariorum et meo seorsum nomine pro terraneis meis, magistratu et incolis civitatis Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae Gedanensis suppliciter adductis non vanis rationibus supplicaverim, ut eos in districtu Pucensi mari adiacenti ob propinquam coniunctionem et usum, quo illo sine gravi detrimento carere non possunt, **pro bene meritis et fidelibus servitiis, quae superioribus annis Regno et Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae maioribus multa auri et sanguinis profusione impenderunt, ne ex eo districtu redimerentur**, per singularem suam regiam clementiam conservaret, quod quidem non parvo tempore successit. Cum visum tandem esset Serenissimae Maiestati Vestrae, ut pro suis augendis emolumentis eundem districtum ad se resumeret, constituit meum cum aliis designatis consiliariis diserte praescripta facultate cognitorem, ut quanta illis deberetur summa inscripta, perlectis diplomatis et litteris, quas super eo districtu ordines civitatis illius haberent, ex thesauro Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae persolveretur, unde demum tota haec exemptionis causa ad Serenissimam Maiestatem Vestram devoluta apud eandem in sola gratia regia dependet. Defunctus itaque hoc officio a Serenissima Maiestate Vestra mihi eo tempore cum aliis iniuncto, in quo id quod Serenissima Maiestas Vestra noluit diligenter praestiti, licet non sine mala quorundam suspitione, quasi ego auctor fuerim, quo Serenissima Maiestas Vestra inducta hoc ipsum negotium ad eum modum transigi commiserit, deprecatoris iam ad Serenissimam Maiestatem Vestram personam, et ut ea me suspitione exonerem et ne patriae meae defuisse videar, non gravate suscepi atque indui. Demisse proinde rogo Serenissima Maiestas Vestra post decursum iam anni, quo huius rei tractatio suspensa iterum venit retractanda, dignetur se clementer patriae meae eiusque incolis exhibere ac pro innata sua benignitate districtum hunc modo et condicione aliqua tolerabili et quantum fieri posset relevante ipsis meis gentilibus relinquere. Sine quo eorum res publica, quam semper Serenissima Maiestas Vestra singulari clementia est prosecuta, se commode sustinere nequit, sine quo etiam

This calm but resolute apologia stands in stark contrast with the very emotional lamentations and catastrophic visions from 11 years before. What, then, is the truth? Dantiscus' relation to his native city was multi-dimensional. There was room for quarrels and polemics, feasting with friends, court disputes and strong family ties, pride in his fatherland's achievements and fear for its future.

On the threshold of his diplomatic career, in 1516, Dantiscus claimed he could live anywhere.<sup>44</sup> After years spent constantly travelling, he completely changed his mind. He did not hesitate to repeat after Ovid that “the native land attracts everyone with an indescribable sweetness and does not allow itself to be forgotten”.<sup>45</sup>

Native land (*natale solum, solum nativum*)—a notion that in Dantiscus' case was broader than that of the fatherland (*patria*)—was the name by which he called Prussia,<sup>46</sup> but, as far as we know, he never called himself a Prussian in the singular. On rare occasions, when the context required it, he would place himself within the group of the Prussians. I have found four instances when he used the expression “we Prussians” (*nos Pruteni*,<sup>47</sup> *wir Preussen*<sup>48</sup>).

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**commercica maritima, ex quibus Regno et dominiis Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae utilitatis plurimum accedit, cum profectu exerceri non possunt. Ex quibus, inquam, commerciis, quae in remotissimas se regiones extendunt, Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae et Regni apud externas rationes, nomen atque existimatio redditur celeberrima.** Cumque me usa est Serenissima Maiestas Vestra in hac Pucensi causa obsequentissimo commissario, ut me in praesens etiam supplicissimo deprecatore intercedente, patriae meae, (quod omnibus commune est) vi quadam naturali mihi carae, clementem se praestare velit, precibus quibus possum omnibus a Serenissima Maiestate Vestra summopere precor. Cui me cum eadem patria mea supplicissime commendo a domino Deo intime orans, ut eandem Serenissimam Maiestatem Vestram nobis diutissime incolumem felicissimamque conservet” (CIDTC, IDL 102).

<sup>44</sup> “Non sum ut aspalacus, qui non nisi apud Boeotios, ubi nascitur, vivere potest. **Ego vivam undique** et moriar, ubi maiestas caesarea voluerit” (CIDTC, IDL 119); “Gaudeo me non esse ut aspalacus, qui nusquam nisi in Boetia, ubi nascitur, vivere potest. **Quocumque advenio, mihi patriam esse oportet**” (CIDTC, IDL 120).

<sup>45</sup> *Dantiscus* to Bona Sforza, Granada, 1526-10-13: “Angit me tamen hoc, quod nesciam, quid illic actum sit, de quo non parvo sciendi desiderio teneor, et ad me nihil scribitur, unde me hic plerumque exsulem non oratorem agere existimo, istudque Ovidii verissimum esse experior, qui dicit: **Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos attrahit, immemores nec sinit esse sui.** Quapropter Maiestati Vestrae Serenissimae humillime supplico, cum ad me litteras dari committit, iniungat etiam scribis, ut saltem obiter in his de rebus nostris aliquid attingant, quod me ingenti hic levabit taedio et ad omnia servitia Maiestatis Vestrae Serenissimae alacriorem reddat” (CIDTC, IDL 306).

<sup>46</sup> Dantiscus to Cornelis [De Schepper], Löbau (Lubawa), 1536-02-24: “Sumque in hoc nativo nostro solo et sale per Dei gratiam longe sanior atque valentior, quam cum essem tecum in externo” (CIDTC, IDL 1421).

<sup>47</sup> CIDTC, IDL 1548, IDL 1616.

<sup>48</sup> CIDTC, IDL 4915, IDL 6299.

Writing letters from the bishop's castles in Heilsberg (Lidzbark Warmiński) or Löbau (Lubawa) to foreign countries, he sometimes supplemented the name of the town in the dating with the expression "in Prussia" (*in Prussia*<sup>49</sup>/*in Preussen*<sup>50</sup>). To foreigners unacquainted with the special character of the Prussian borderland, he usually introduced himself as Sarmata.<sup>51</sup> In the early twentieth century, when Poland was striving to regain independence, this gave historians cause to pursue anachronistic deliberations about his nationality.<sup>52</sup> However, we must remember that the sixteenth-century understanding of nationality issues and geography differed greatly from today's. In 1517, Maciej of Miechów placed European Sarmatia between the Don (*Tanais*) and Vistula (*Visla*) rivers.<sup>53</sup> Ortelius' 1584 edition of Caspar Henneberger's map of Prussia is titled *Prussiae, regionis Sarmatiae Europaeae nobilissimae, vera et nova descriptio* [A True and Novel Description of Prussia, the Most Noble Land of European Sarmatia].

In conclusion: In *Respublica litteraria*, Dantiscus represents *Sarmatia*, of which his native country—Prussia—is a part; in the very centre of this "map" lies the city of Gdańsk, which he calls his fatherland.

<sup>49</sup> CIDTC, IDL 1771, IDL 1774, IDL 1790, IDL 1782, IDL 1789, IDL 5374, IDL 2469.

<sup>50</sup> CIDTC, IDL 3994, IDL 2259, IDT 148.

<sup>51</sup> CIDTC, IDL 1450, IDL 5771, IDP 33, IDP 35, IDP 41, IDP 42, IDT 216.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., *Jana Dantyszka poemat „De nostrorum temporum calamitatibus silva”*. (*Z portretem Dantyszka i medalem wybitym na cześć jego r. 1529*), ed. Zygmunt CELICHOWSKI, Poznań, 1902, pp. 13–14; Pociecha's later discourse, already discussed on p. 107–108, is part of the same trend having overtones of propaganda (see also n. 17, 18, 20).

<sup>53</sup> MACIEJ OF MIECHÓW, *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis*, Cracovia: Ioannes Haller, 1517, p. Av; idem, *Descriptio Sarmatiarum Asianae et Europianae et eorum, quae eis continentur*, Cracovia: Ioannes Haller, 1521, f. Aiiiiir.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1. Dates of Dantiscus' stays in Gdańsk

(Based on Dantiscus' itinerary reconstructed by Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun<sup>54</sup>. Italics denote the dates of royal mandates for Dantiscus as an envoy to the Gdańsk Town Council where no sources mention their implementation.)

1485-11-01 (date of birth)<sup>55</sup>

1505, before 13 December

1507, before 19 February

1509-05-04

1509-08-03

1509-08-17

*1511, after 14 February*

*1512, after 20 March*

1512, after 13 August, before 9 September

1517-08-05 – 1517-08-13

1517-09-04

*1520, after 16 March*

*1520, after 31 March*

*1521, after 19 April*

1533-05-28

1534-01-16

1535-04-19 – 1535-04-26

### Appendix 2. Senders of letters to Dantiscus from Gdańsk

SENDER	NUMBER OF LETTERS FROM GDAŃSK	NUMBER OF LETTERS IN TOTAL	LANGUAGE
Abshagen, Hans	1	1	German
Baltazar of Lublin	2	22	Latin
Barthen von, Jakob	11	11	Latin (10) German (1)

<sup>54</sup> See p. !!!, n. 11.

<sup>55</sup> Departure for studies in 1499 or 1497.



SENDER	NUMBER OF LETTERS FROM GDAŃSK	NUMBER OF LETTERS IN TOTAL	LANGUAGE
Behme, Barbara	1	1	German
Bischoff, Philipp	4	5	German
Brask, Hans	4	5	Latin
Breden, Johann	2	2	German
Bremer, Hermann	2	2	German
Drzewicki, Maciej	1	29	Latin
Fughe, Ioannes	1	1	Latin
Fürstenberger ( <i>Archimontanus</i> ), Jakob	2	2	Latin
Gdańsk Town Council	125	125	German
Giese, Georg	1	2	German
Giese, Tiedemann (1491–1556)	3	3	German
Haraldi, Magnus	1	2	Latin
Hermsdorf, Martin	2	2	German
Hitfeld, Konrad	1	9	German
Höfen, Anna von (Flachsbinder)	1	1	German
Höfen, Bernhard von (Flachsbinder)	1	11	German
Höfen, Georg von (Flachsbinder)	3	3	German
Höfen, Ursula von (Flachsbinder)	1	2	German
Hoffman, Johann	1	7	German
Holkner, Philipp	2	2	Latin (1) German (1)
Holsten, Hans	5	6	German
Kammermann Gregor, wife of	1	1	German
Kempen, Eggert van	1	1	German
Konopacki (von Konopat) Sr, Jerzy	1	18	German (17) Latin (1)
Krassowski, Paweł Sebastian	1	3	Latin
Krzycki ( <i>Cricius</i> ), Andrzej	1	26	Latin
Kunigk, Franz	1	1	German
Lehmann, Johann	3	7	Latin

SENDER	NUMBER OF LETTERS FROM GDAŃSK	NUMBER OF LETTERS IN TOTAL	LANGUAGE
Lehmann, Zacharias	1	1	German
Lohmüller, Johann	1	11	German (7) Latin (4)
Loitz, Michael	3	3	German
Longus, Iacobus	1	1	Latin
Magnus, Ioannes	5	11	Latin
Mandt, Georg	1	1	German
Margarete, widow of Caspar Schilling	2	2	German
Marianus, Ioannes Ursus	1	1	Latin
Möllner, Georg	3	4	German
Niederhoff, Leonard	4	16	Latin (14) German (2)
Platen, Mathias	26	26	German
Reisen, Jakob	1	1	German
Reyneck, Johann	3	3	Latin
Schewecke, Georg	10	12	German
Schewecke, Jakob	1	1	German
Schewecke Jr, Johann	1	1	German
Schewecken, Katarina	2	2	German
Schultz, Georg	1	1	German
Senger, Bartholomeus	3	3	German
Sigismund I Jagiellon	1	173	Latin
Solfa, Jan Benedyktowicz	1	17	Latin
Tomicki, Piotr	1	48	Latin
Tresler, Ioannes	7	7	Latin
Ulrici, Urbanus	1	1	Latin
Werden von, Johann	102	197	German
Witsche, Lorenz	1	1	German
Wolder, Simon	1	3	German
Zambocki, Jan	2	10	Latin

### Appendix 3. Mayors of Gdańsk—Dantiscus' correspondents

FIRST NAME, SURNAME, YEARS IN OFFICE	NUMBER OF LETTERS FROM DANTISCUS	NUMBER OF LETTERS TO DANTISCUS
Georg Mandt (1502–1513)	2	1
Philip Bischof II (1517–1535)	0	5
Georg Zimmermann (1525)	1	5
<b>Johann von Werden (1526–1554)</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>197</b>
<b>Georg Schewecke (1531–1547)</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>12</b>
Peter Behme (1536–1538)	0	1
Tiedemann Giese (1540–1556)	0	3

**Magdalena TURSKA**  
TEI Publisher / e-editiones

## TEI PUBLISHER

### FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE WEB PUBLICATION OF THE *CORPUS OF IOANNES DANTISCUS'* *TEXTS & CORRESPONDENCE*

#### Introduction

The technical scaffolding for the current online publication of the *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence* was created between 2007 and 2010, well over a decade ago. Computer systems are, unfortunately, very much like house pets when it comes to aging. Therefore, in “computer years”, *Dantiscus* is a reverend but increasingly feeble older man now. Not all is grim, though—a new dawn is on the horizon and we are anxiously awaiting to see *Dantiscus* reincarnated once again.

#### Long, long time ago...

*Dantiscus'* setup reflects its deep roots in *humanities computing*.<sup>1</sup> The first use of computers in the project dates back to the '80s. At first, editors used standard database systems and text processors; in time, they moved towards custom-tailored solutions. Roughly every decade, it has been necessary to migrate to a new setup—as, on the one hand, technologies became obsolete, but, on the other, new, exciting possibilities opened up. Nevertheless, with the new opportunities, our goals and aspirations also evolved. From the initial task of publishing just an inventory of *Dantiscus'* correspondence to a printed edition of selected letters, all the way to the full-blown online publication of the entire corpus *in extenso*—our tooling needed to evolve rapidly to cope with editors' needs.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Willard McCARTY “Humanities Computing”, in *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, 2nd edn., ed. Miriam DRAKE, New York: Marcel Dekker, 2003, pp. 1224–1235 (available at <https://www.mccarty.org.uk/essays/McCarty,%20Humanities%20computing.pdf>).

At the outset, all the extensive project metadata, collected and curated over many years, has been stored in a simple relational database, a fact not surprising given decades of uninterrupted hegemony of this data model<sup>2</sup> and the powerful SQL query language in the computing world. Early transcriptions have been maintained separately, as MS Word files, for the sole purpose of becoming a base for a traditional, printed edition, a process heavily relying on manual labour and careful assistance of the publishing house in the typesetting process before the volume could be finally sent to press.

In preparation for the parallel online and print publication, we migrated all the transcriptions into the TEI XML format. We enriched the encoding to allow us to generate both web and typesetting outputs directly and automatically from a single TEI source. Nevertheless, as before, we kept the metadata in a relational database and built an elaborate, dedicated content management system on top of it, daily used by the editors. With carefully crafted form-based inputs for every aspect of information about letters and witnesses, our system assisted editors in assuring completeness, high quality and consistency of the collected data.

Given the editorial workflow, which clearly separated transcriptions and metadata, we considered these two aspects of the project relatively loosely connected. At the time, we believed that continuing with the relational paradigm—and resulting rigid structure—for the metadata would give us better control over the editing process and lowers the technical barrier to using the system.

Embracing the TEI as an encoding standard for the transcriptions allowed us to achieve similar quality and consistency of the critical presentation of the text, commentaries and apparatus as we already had assured for the inventory metadata. Instead of manually-prepared apparatus notes, always subject to human errors and influence by personal style, we generated them via a set of XSLT scripts, ascertaining the consistency of the apparatus throughout the corpus. Switching the paradigm from largely unstructured text transcriptions to TEI did require a steep learning curve for the editorial team. Even more effort was needed to implement the technical infrastructure to support the XML-based workflow. The resulting XSLT suite comprises almost 10 thousand lines of code which have been notoriously difficult to write and remains no mean feat to maintain. Nevertheless, all this hard work allowed us to reach our stated goals: single-source print and web publication, consistency and quality assurance, and, last but not least, conformance with TEI—a renowned community standard—opening the path to future reuse of material and interoperability with other resources.

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<sup>2</sup> Current database popularity ranking still shows 7 RDBMS in top 10 and around 70% market share for relational databases (cf. <https://db-engines.com/en/ranking>).

## Moving target

While we were happy with the result, we were far from resting on our laurels. It has quickly become apparent that there are significant drawbacks to the hybrid system regarding queries and analyses spanning the divide between *text* and *metadata*. At the same time, we could not switch our entire workflow to pure TEI XML—we did not have the resources required to do so. Available technologies for XML were also much more limited than nowadays. Though, some did already exist. Or should we say *eXist*?

As early as 2013, we were testing the potential for eliminating the relational database and running a native XML engine as our backend instead. Back then, the available open-source options were *eXist-db* or *BaseX*. After initial trials, we settled on *eXist* for querying our data and as an application framework with which we could build our entire system. At that time, despite being still only in version 2 as opposed to 6 nowadays, *eXist-db* already provided virtually everything we needed to build a robust application following modern design principles and leveraging not only the power of the database engine itself but also its templating framework and lightning fast Lucene indexes.

```

62 <div type="header">
63   <p>
64     <pb n="AAW0, AB, A. 1, f. 83v" facs="16775_000_IDL10AAW0_AB_A1f083v.JPG"/>
65     <name type="person" key="1">Ioanni Flachs binder</name>
66   </p>
67 </div>

```

The screenshot shows a search interface with a search bar at the top containing the query "AAW0, AB, A. 1, f. 83v". Below the search bar, the results are displayed for the entry "Ioanni Flachs binder".

**[Mauritius FERBER] to Ioannes DANTISCUS**  
**[Heilsberg (Lidzbark Warmiński)?]**  
 1528-12-02 — 1528-12-04

**Primary sources:**  
 1. office copy in Latin , A 1 83v

**Auxiliary sources:**  
 1. register in Latin B. PAU-PAN, 8246 (TK 8) 39

**Prints:**

**Ioanni Flachs binder**  
 Ioannes Dantiscus (Johannes von Höfen, *Ioannes de Curtis*, Jan Dantyszek, Johannes Flachs binder) (\*1485 – †1548-10-27), diplomat, neo-Latin poet and traveller; 1504 royal scribe; 1507 referendary for Prussian affairs at the court of Sigismund Jagiellon; 1508-1513 royal envoy to Prussian towns and to the Prussian assemblies; 1515 secretary of the Polish legation at the imperial court; in 1516-1532 envoy in the service of the king of Poland Sigismund Jagiellon and emperors Maximilian and Charles V of Habsburg; 1529 Kulm canon; 1530-1537 bishop of Kulm; 1537-1548 bishop of Ermland

Quibus totus rēnic orbis Christianus concurrens, discrimina saluum et incolumem evenisse gratulamur. Quem hic quoque fortunarum ac omnis felicitatis successus ut excipiat, optamus. Ad quod, si quid vel nostro calculo adicere poterimus, ut singulare ad

minationis  
 reditum  
 lentiarum,  
 discrimina

**Fig. 1.** Example of TEI encoding for a person reference and corresponding prototype of the new online edition.



These experiments have shown great promise but also made clear how complex a task it is to create a complete mapping between an incredibly rich and detailed metadata model of the *Dantiscus* project and a structure dedicated to the representation of the metadata in the TEI vocabulary—the *teiHeader*. To illustrate the complexity, let's consider that we only use about 30 different TEI elements to encode all the transcriptions, but we need at least 5 to create a correspondence metadata section (*correspDesc*)<sup>3</sup> alone. Given that, in *Dantiscus*, we are collecting detailed information on physical, spatial, temporal and social contexts of texts and all their witnesses—in the database represented by around 70 relations—establishing a complete mapping to TEI remains a distant future. It is not because the task is conceptually challenging but due to its sheer volume.

## Contemporary development

During the extended period after the first tests of using an XML database as a publication backend, the *Dantiscus* team has been seeking funding to support the transition towards a homogeneous TEI XML environment, largely to little or no avail. Consequently, until around 2020, no major technological breakthroughs existed in *Dantiscus*' publication workflow.

At the same time, *Dantiscus* project members remained deeply involved in major developments slowly shaping the future of many editorial projects worldwide. Magdalena Turska co-authored the TEI Processing Model, a machine-actionable abstract specification layer for expressing editorial intentions for XML processing in TEI and, shortly after, the TEI Publisher, a standard-based open-source publication framework for editions and scholarly publications. Anna Skolimowska has been working on aggregated catalogue engine for early modern correspondence within the EMLO<sup>4</sup> initiative and Handwritten Text Recognition models within the scope of the Transkribus project and READ-COOP cooperative, gradually moving away from manual transcriptions to HTR assisted process. Both were among the founding members of the e-editiones scholarly society, which promotes open standards and community collaboration—with the ultimate goal of helping to sustain editions far into the future.

These engagements gave us much needed perspective and time to reflect on how the *Dantiscus* project sits in a much broader scholarly context and what kind

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<sup>3</sup> Peter STADLER, Marcel ILLETSCHKO, Sabine SEIFERT, "Towards a Model for Encoding Correspondence in the TEI: Developing and Implementing <correspDesc>", *Journal of the Text Encoding Initiative* 9 (2016), <https://journals.openedition.org/jtei/1433>.

<sup>4</sup> Early Modern Letters Online, eds Howard HOTSON, Miranda LEWIS, <http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>.

of responsibility we have not only to complete the immediate tasks of the current funding term but how to ensure the project's longevity and interoperability with others. We also became painfully aware that we cannot rely on adequate funding for the project maintenance. Therefore days of our custom solution are inevitably counted, and we must, for our own sake, pool resources with other scholarly projects, usually facing very similar challenges. Luckily, we were a part of the major developments in the scholarly community, making our deliberations easier and actions more directed. It was evident that we must focus on finding a foundation of standards for data representation and interchange and any application framework we choose must respect this foundation.

#### OPEN SOURCE COMMUNITY STANDARDS: OPENAPI, TEI XML AND IIIF

In some areas, the decision has been straightforward. There are no contenders for the position of IIIF<sup>5</sup> when it comes to serving high-quality images with open-source, community-driven ethics. For similar reasons, we were fully committed to the TEI XML vocabulary, a *de facto* standard in the community for years. As no scholarly project exists in a void, it is also undisputable that, wherever possible, connections between resources should be not only explicitly recorded but also machine actionable through an open application programming interface (API)<sup>6</sup>. The OpenAPI<sup>7</sup> is such a specification for a machine-readable interface definition language for web services. Overseen by the OpenAPI Initiative, an open-source collaboration project of the Linux Foundation, supported and implemented by small projects and huge research groups, startups and software giants alike,<sup>8</sup> it was an easy decision to settle on this specification for editions too. Thanks to the OpenAPI specification, we can rely on having clear documentation on how to build and use any connection or *interface* the edition system exposes.

#### TEI PROCESSING MODEL

Due to its non-prescriptive nature, transforming heterogeneous TEI documents has always been a challenge, and, except for smaller, domain-specific schemas, like EpiDoc or MEI, there needed to be more consensus on best practices

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<sup>5</sup> IIIF is a set of open standards for delivering high-quality, attributed digital objects online at scale <https://iiif.io/>

<sup>6</sup> API is a way for two or more computer programs to communicate with each other. It is a type of software interface, offering a service to other pieces of software.

<sup>7</sup> Open API Initiative, <https://www.openapis.org/>.

<sup>8</sup> Apart from the Linux Foundation, OpenAPI Initiative founding member companies included, among others, Google, IBM, Microsoft and PayPal.

for TEI encoding. Consequently, each project was forced to maintain a dedicated suite of transformation code, typically in XSLT or XQuery. Extending the TEI vocabulary with the TEI Processing Model specification in 2016 dramatically changed the situation: with this conceptual advance, editorial decisions regarding intended transformation could be documented, following the literate programming principle,<sup>9</sup> in the language of TEI itself. Early adoption tests conducted by the Foreign Relations of the United States<sup>10</sup> project have shown more than a ten-fold reduction of the transformation code with the TEI Processing Model compared to the previously used XQuery suite. Not only the lines of code became fewer, but more importantly, they became highly formulaic, therefore simpler to read, understand and ultimately, much easier to maintain.

### TEI PUBLISHER

TEI Processing Model solved a major problem of handling TEI (and, more generally, XML documents) in the context of a software application. However, online editions require more than just a text transformation: the text needs to be embedded into an application context, which adds navigation, search, facsimile display and so on. A simple observation that, despite all the diversity between various scholarly projects, they share a very long list of common functionalities required for the presentation eventually gave rise to the *TEI Publisher*: an open-source framework that enables scholars and editors to publish their material, whatever it might be, without becoming programmers. TEI Publisher is a community effort inspired by the earlier *eXist-db* application and templating framework, literate programming paradigm and the TEI Processing Model idea of creating a self-documenting, machine-actionable abstraction layer to empower the scholars and developers. The *Publisher* aims to create sustainable, connected applications which reuse a communal library of components to reduce costs for everyone. Still, at the same time, it does not force anyone into a one-size-fits-all framework limiting research methods and possibilities.

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<sup>9</sup> Literate programming: a programming paradigm introduced in 1984 by Donald E. KNUTH in which a computer program comprises of an explanation of its logic in a natural language, interspersed with snippets of source code, from which compilable source code can be generated, cf. <https://academic.oup.com/comjnl/article/27/2/97/343244>.

<sup>10</sup> Foreign Relations of the United States, a publication of the Office of the Historian, Foreign Service Institute of the United States Department of State, cf. <https://history.state.gov/>.

The screenshot displays the TEI Publisher interface for a parallel edition of a 15th-century letter. At the top, the header includes the TEI Publisher logo, the title 'KORESPONDENCJA MIKOŁAJA SERAFINA', and navigation links like 'Start', 'Wstęp', and 'Pobierz'. A search bar and a language selector set to 'Polski' are also visible.

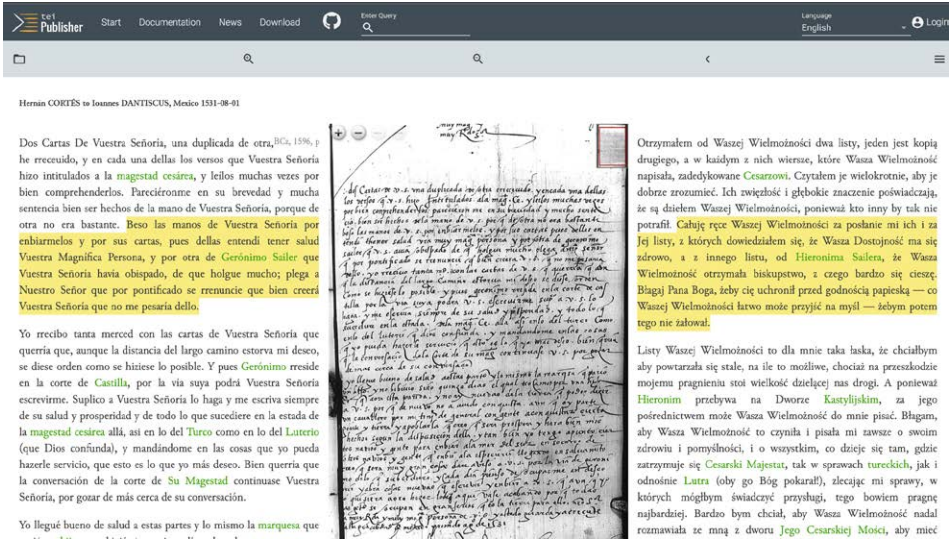
The main content area is titled 'Jan Parawicini do Mikołaja Serafina, Przemysli, [16 kwietnia 1437]'. It features two columns of text: the original Latin on the left and the Polish translation on the right. Yellow highlights are used to mark aligned fragments between the two columns. A 'Places' section on the right includes a map of the region around Przemyska, with blue pins indicating locations like Baszowa, Jastynica, and Przemyska. A 'Baszowa' section provides a detailed commentary on the location, mentioning its distance from Przemyska and its historical significance.

At the bottom of the interface, there is a footer with the text 'Anna Skolimowska, Tomasz Płocieniec, Waldemar Bukowski (ed.) / Magdalena Turska, Anna Kzyżak (dg. ed.) / v1.0.0' and a 'NAJŚWIŻSZY' button.

**Fig. 2.** Correspondence of Mikołaj Serafin: TEI Publisher-based parallel edition of 15<sup>th</sup>-century letters with Polish translation, geographical visualization and commentary. Aligned fragments highlighted in yellow.

TEI Publisher underwent substantial changes from its first 2016 release and continues to evolve. Still, *Dantiscus* material has always been a part of the corpus of samples demonstrating the standards-based approach that the TEI Publisher advocates. Accompanied by a selection of very varied material: from plays and philosophical tractates to quirky manuscript dictionaries and sheet music, all these samples of diverse provenience served as proof positive that standards compliance does not mean compromising scholarly and encoding freedom while it lets us reap the sweet fruits of cooperation.

To illustrate the collaborative and open-source aspect of the modular approach guiding the TEI Publisher development: each of the user interface components—like the map and facsimile viewers or the highlighting component for aligned translations, which we can see in illustrations above and below—only needs to be built once and becomes immediately available to all projects which might want to use it worldwide. For other editions, the upgrade process is as simple as increasing the version number in a configuration file. This way, funds and resources are spent once, while everyone is able to benefit from the community effort without delay. It is also much easier to pool resources between interested projects to cross-finance the costs of new features.



**Fig. 3.** Hernán Cortés to Ioannes Dantiscus, TEI Publisher demo sample. Aligned fragments of the Spanish original and Polish translation are highlighted in yellow.

In 2020, *Dantiscus* received a UAI<sup>11</sup> micro-grant to prototype a TEI Publisher and TEI Processing Model-based version of the online publication of the correspondence. Unlike a decade earlier, we benefitted from earlier open-source community efforts to significantly reduce the development burden in preparing our new app. As a result, we managed to easily generate a TEI Publisher application and create a TEI ODD with the processing specification, a corresponding page layout template, and a few necessary custom code modules. A rough comparison of the codebase size between the old system and the prototype clearly indicates the speed of development, scale of required customizations and future maintenance and long-term preservation prospects.

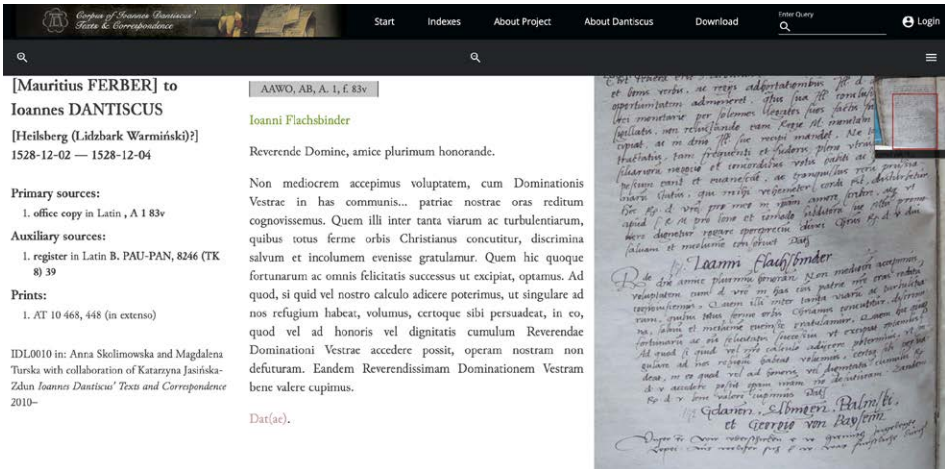
Hybrid MySQL/TEI/ PHP system	TEI Publisher prototype	
> 10 000 lines of XSLT	600 lines of ODD	reduction by a factor of ~20 (for comparable functionality)

<sup>11</sup> Union Académique Internationale, cf. <http://www.unionacademique.org>.

40 000 lines of PHP	1 000 lines of HTML, CSS and custom XQuery code	reduction by ~40 times (for about 50% functionality)
custom code with mixed concerns	separation of concerns, modular, standardized architecture	ease of maintenance
no API	standard and well-specified API	interoperability
difficult to upgrade	clear upgrade path	long term preservation

**Table 1.** Comparison of the previous hybrid system with the TEI Publisher prototype.

The prototype boasts a much-improved presentation of individual letters, from modern styling to accessibility and responsive design, allowing users to access the edition on tablets and mobile phones. The difference is particularly striking regarding interaction with facsimile images, now conveniently accessible via an IIIF viewer with various functions it offers.



The screenshot displays the TEI Publisher interface for a letter by Mauritius FERBER to Ioannes DANTISCUS. The left pane shows the metadata, including the author's name, recipient's name, date (1528-12-02), and primary sources (office copy in Latin B. PAU-PAN, 8246 (TK) 8) 39). The right pane shows a facsimile image of the handwritten letter, with the text of the letter visible in a side-by-side view.

**Fig. 4.** One of the letters to Dantiscus presented in a side-by-side facsimile view.

Even of greater importance is the much more powerful query interface. Intuitive to use and much faster than the old one, it allows for full-text searches with wildcards, filters, and faceted search options. Unlike the old version, query criteria for metadata and transcriptions can be easily combined. Since only



a subset of the metadata has been included in the conversion, we are still limited in what we can query in practice, but the method and corresponding user interface solution will immediately work on the full metadata set once we can migrate it to XML.

The screenshot displays the search interface for the 'Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus Texts & Correspondence'. The top navigation bar includes links for 'Start', 'Indexes', 'About Project', 'About Dantiscus', and 'Download'. The main search area features a search bar with a 'Filter' button and a 'Sort by' dropdown menu set to 'Date'. Below the search bar, the results are displayed in a list format, showing item IDs (e.g., IDL1308, IDL1328, IDL5581, IDL1330, IDL1333, IDL6017) and their corresponding titles and dates. The left sidebar contains faceted search options for 'Language', 'Transcription', 'Preserved', 'Date', and 'Place'. The 'Date' facet is expanded, showing selected filters for '1535' and '07', and other available dates like '05', '09', '15', '18', and '29'. The 'Place' facet is also expanded, showing 'Gdańsk' as the selected filter.

Fig. 5. Faceted search options.

As a side effect of moving to the TEI Publisher and corresponding standards, the prototype edition exposes several standard API endpoints that can be used to integrate with the other system. Among others, the *Dantiscus* prototype implements the Distributed Text Services<sup>12</sup> API as one of our efforts to comply with FAIR principles.<sup>13</sup> We also expose dedicated endpoints to view registers of persons and places and plan to extend the API to allow our database to be used as an external authority register by other projects:

<sup>12</sup> Distributed Text Services, cf. <https://distributed-text-services.github.io/specifications/FAQ.html>.

<sup>13</sup> Findable, Accessible, Interoperable and Reusable (FAIR), cf. <https://www.go-fair.org/fair-principles/>.

The screenshot shows the 'Custom API' interface. At the top left, it says 'Custom API 1.0.0 OAS3' with a small URL 'modules/custom-api.json' and a note 'This is the place to add your own path endpoints'. Below this is a 'Servers' section with a dropdown menu showing 'http://localhost:8080/exist/apps/dantiscus - Endpoint for testing on localhost' and an 'Authorize' button. The main area is titled 'default' and contains two endpoint cards: one for 'GET /api/places List places' with a 'custom:places' dropdown and lock icon, and another for 'GET /api/people List correspondents' with a 'custom:correspondents' dropdown and lock icon.

While the lack of funds did not allow us to migrate all the website’s functions to the new solution, we are convinced it is the best way to ensure the project’s sustainability in the long run. We were able to significantly reduce software dependencies and custom code base for the project and arrive at a structure that is easy to upgrade and extend, thus ready to add new features in the future. Relying on standards, as opposed to custom solutions built in-house, we make it easier and more likely that new personnel can take over the maintenance responsibilities, which is highly problematic with the old version.

## Remaining challenges

### METADATA

Migration of the metadata for the time being covers only a subset of the information available in the relational database. Due to its detailed structure, allowing the editing team to precisely record even minute pieces of information, from the colour of the wax on the letter seal to variant names of any person mentioned in the correspondence, it is a long and tedious task to establish a mapping between relational structure and TEI. As of today, there’s no funding secured for this work.

An intertwined issue is the workflow for curating the metadata collection—a significant factor in the complexity of our current system is the metadata editing interface. After data migration to TEI, the logical step would be to transition the editing interface to a pure XML solution. Several other TEI projects successfully use a recently released XForms library called *Fore* for similar, albeit less complex, applications. We are aware that developments in the area are very active under the umbrella of e-editiones and its member projects, and we expect in the not-too-far future to be able to use and extend the results of these initiatives.

## TRANSCRIPTION AND ENCODING

An interesting challenge, but also a great opportunity, comes from collaboration with Transkribus and, more broadly, the availability of relevant HTR environments. As the *Dantiscus* editorial team increasingly uses Transkribus to prepare the transcriptions, it opens up a question of seamless integration between our systems. With a conversion from Transkribus' native format, PageXML, to TEI and the affordances of the graphic Annotation Editor recently released by e-editions, we can imagine a user-friendly and efficient workflow, in which our editors don't need to manually edit XML at virtually any time.

The screenshot shows a web-based annotation editor. On the left, there is a toolbar with icons for user, location, image, and other functions. Below the toolbar, there is a search bar with the text 'gnd:119442086'. A dropdown menu shows 'Dantyszek Jan' with the dates '1485-10-31 - 1548-10-28'. Below this, there is a section titled 'Wystąpienia w tablicy' with a checked box for 'Ioanni Flachsbinder'. The main area of the editor displays a transcription of a Latin letter. The text is: 'Ioanni Flachsbinder person  
Reverende Domine, amice plurimum honorande.  
Non mediocrem accepimus voluptatem, cum Dominationis Vestrae in has communis patriae nostrae oras reditum cognovissemus. Quem illi inter tanta viarum ac turbulentiarum, quibus totus ferme orbis Christianus concutitur, discrimina salvum et incolumem evenisse gratulamur. Quem hic quoque fortunarum ac omnis felicitatis successus ut excipiat [?], optamus. Ad quod, si quid vel nostro calculo adicere poterimus, ut singulare ad nos refugium habeat, volumus, certoque sibi persuadeat, in eo, quod vel ad honoris vel dignitatis cumulum Reverendae Dominationi Vestrae accedere possit, operam nostram non defuturam. GND  
Eandem Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram bene valere cupimus.  
Datae GND

On the right side of the editor, there is a search bar with the text 'Ioannes Dantiscus'. Below it, there is a list of search results. The first result is '+ Dantyszek Jan' with the dates '1485-10-31 - 1548-10-28; Diplomat, Schriftsteller, Humanist, Jurist, Bischof, Poln. Humanist, Dichter und Diplomat; Bischof von Kulm (Chełmno) und Ermland (Warmia), Sohn einer deutschen aus dem Ermland nach Danzig eingewanderten Familie; enge Freundschaft zu Nicolaus Copernicus, Humanist, Botschaftssekretär und Ständiger Polnischer Gesandter Kaiserhof Karl V.' Below the text are two tags: 'GND' and 'person'.

Fig. 6. An annotation editor allowing to look up and identify person references in authority files.

## LINKED OPEN DATA AND INTEROPERABILITY

Issues of curating metadata, particularly taxonomies or registers of people and places, converge with questions of identification and classification of references in the studied source texts. Both are deeply intertwined and bring to the front the challenges of discovering and creating connections between multiple distributed resources. While large, established registers like GND, *Geonames* or VIAF are natural candidates to be used as authority files, they are never fully corresponding to a particular project's scope, and it is necessary to make provisions for establishing external connections, while, at the same time, allowing local extensions to the authority registers. Building a consensus around basic API for taxonomies and authority files and creating a standard but extensible form-based management interface is floating to the top of priority lists for numerous TEI Publisher-based projects. The same is true for *Dantiscus*.

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## Summary

The landscape around digital editions has changed rapidly during the past decade. Where there were mostly disconnected islands of individual projects or, at the very best, research centres building a platform for in-house use, we now see a particular trend to follow standards-based, open-source solutions, particularly built upon the TEI Publisher. So far, such editions seem to map quite well on the sort of informal, modern-day *Respublica Litteraria*, a network of scholars sharing material and experiences, most of which use some flavour of TEI in their workflow. As yet, only limited interest and support follow at the level of national or pan-European infrastructures, with the notable, albeit short-lived exception of the NIE-INE<sup>14</sup> in Switzerland. Nevertheless, smaller cooperatives and associations, like Sources Online,<sup>15</sup> allow the hope that the situation will change. The number of editorial projects employing the approaches that TEI Publisher embodies is likely to constitute a critical mass that must be addressed. Many of these projects already lobby for concerted support from large funding agencies. The first step on this path is the support for eXist-db-based services in general, already offered by TGIR Huma-Num,<sup>16</sup> where numerous editions are currently hosted.

The position and significance of *Dantiscus* in this landscape are quite particular, in that our material and use cases have always been well represented and considered in the development of the TEI Publisher. At the same time, *Dantiscus* represents so many digital editions projects worldwide: struggling with inadequate funding, lack of sufficient institutional support for technical aspects and unclear long-term perspective. On the national level, *Dantiscus* is certainly a lighthouse project, one of the first editions to embrace the single-source workflow and TEI as a standard, even now remaining a model edition, in clear contrast with multiple other “digital” efforts often limited to putting PDF files online. We hope that the necessary resources will be soon found to finalize the migration to purely TEI/XML and IIIF data representation, which will give us peace of mind that this great resource to which so many brilliant scholars have contributed over the decades is safe and fit for the future.

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<sup>14</sup> *Nationale Infrastruktur für Editionen – Infrastructure nationale pour les éditions* (NIE – INE), a Swiss national programme for digital editions, dissolved in 2021.

<sup>15</sup> *Geschäftsstelle Archives Online*, is a hosting and search service provided by a cooperation of Swiss federal, state, and city archives and libraries which are individually responsible for the content of the delivered results, <https://sources-online.org>.

<sup>16</sup> Huma-Num: *Infrastructure de recherche pour les sciences humaines et sociales*, an international level digital infrastructure (French node of ERIC DARIAH and CLARIN) for humanities and social sciences, <https://www.huma-num.fr/>.



Katarzyna JASIŃSKA-ZDUN

University of Warsaw

## IOANNES DANTISCUS' ITINERARY THE PROJECT OF ITS PUBLICATION

The intensity of Ioannes Dantiscus' travels, his status as a humanist, Latin poet, bishop and a man who associated with the greatest personalities of his era, as well as the extensive source material related to his travels, give us sufficient grounds to undertake to publish his Itinerary.

Dantiscus spent a large part of his life travelling. The examined source material has confirmed his stays in no less than 133 localities, but he must have visited many more places. The list of countries he travelled to includes almost all the European realms of his time and the Holy Land.

These were journeys of different kinds, for diverse purposes, and along various distances. First, he travelled for educational purposes—this early stage of his life ended with the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Then, as a young courtier connected with the Royal Chancellery, he was sent many times as an envoy to the Prussian assemblies and cities. At the side of King Sigismund I, he also took part in war expeditions. In 1515, sworn in as a royal secretary, he followed the King to the Congress of Pressburg and Vienna. This journey marked the start of his international diplomatic career, which consisted of: the stay at the court of Emperor Maximilian in 1515–1517; three long-term diplomatic missions (1518–1519, 1522–1523, 1524–1532) primarily to King and later then Emperor Charles V Habsburg, but also (by the way) to other European rulers; a short mission to Ferdinand Habsburg in 1539. In 1532–1548, Dantiscus' travels were mainly related to bishop duties and sometimes to his private affairs.

The Itinerary will be published in two versions:

- paper—as a volume 3/1 of the series *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci* (CEID),
- online—as a part of the web publication *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*, [dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl](http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl) (CIDTC).

Each form of publication will be based on the same source base, collected in the digital *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*, but will have different functionalities resulting from the specificity of a given form.



## The paper publication

The paper volume will include an introduction, an itinerary, a source appendix, and a set of maps presenting (schematically) the routes of individual Dantiscus' journeys.

The Itinerary will provide information on every dated stay of Dantiscus in a specific location, confirmed by sources. I call every such stay an "event".

The Itinerary will be presented in the form of a four-column table. The first column provides a broader context for the events included in the Itinerary or other explanations if needed. The second column lists the dates of stay (in chronological order). The third one lists places of stay. The fourth one lists information on the source basis of each event included in the Itinerary. A date range for stays in particular places is only listed if all the days of that range are confirmed by the same source (e.g., "1–9 June 1522, Cracow"). Also provided is information on whether Dantiscus' stay is confirmed by the date and place of sending the letter or receiving it.

The Appendix of Sources, to which the table refers the reader, will consist of three parts:

- excerpts from Dantiscus' correspondence (1515–1548),
- excerpts from records issued by or for Dantiscus and other texts relating to him (1509–1547),
- excerpts from Dantiscus' poems (1515–1548).

The texts in the Appendix will be numbered continuously. The chronological order will be maintained within the individual parts of the Appendix. The texts will be presented in a bilingual version: the text in the original language (Latin, German) on the left and its translation into English on the right. Texts will be provided with the critical apparatus (placed in the original texts) and—if necessary—with a basic factual commentary (placed in the translations). Personal and place names whose identification is not straightforward will be identified in square brackets. Dates that are hard to interpret will be given (or clarified) in square brackets, e.g., "on the Friday after the Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross in 1509 [1509-05-04]". Each excerpt will be marked with keywords concisely describing its content.

## The web publication

As said above, the same material will be presented on the web. The website *Dantiscus' Itinerary* will be nested in the web publication CIDTC.

Of course, the online version of Dantiscus' Itinerary will use the opportunities provided by digital technologies. It will be interactive: searchable, sortable and allowing data correlation. A functional interface allowing navigation between different views and levels will be developed. Interactive maps, calendars, and links to the source texts will be included. It will also be provided with an advanced search engine and annotations offering access to authorities with just one click. All these elements will enable users to see (with the possibility to narrow down the observed aspect geographically and chronologically) among others:

- all the places from Dantiscus' Itinerary,
- the routes of particular journeys (e.g., pilgrimage to Jerusalem, diplomatic missions, travels as a bishop),
- list of travel circumstances,
- length of stay in a given place.

There are a great many possibilities for presenting and correlating the data.

## Methodology: the most important points

Both publications—paper and digital—will draw the data from the IT system developed for CIDTC, which currently consists of the relational my-SQL database (providing metadata) and a set of XML files (providing transcriptions of the source texts).

The metadata regarding Dantiscus' correspondence comprises information about the following:

- sender,
- addressee,
- place of dispatch,
- date of dispatch,
- place of receipt (*redditum*),
- date of receipt (*redditum*),
- language of text,
- place where the source is stored,
- printed publications.

Of these data, places and dates of dispatch of Dantiscus' letters, and locations and dates of receipt of letters to Dantiscus are relevant for the Itinerary.

At present, the Itinerary comprises ca. 2,300 entries or "events", from which ca. 82% of entries are based on metadata from CIDTC. The rest (ca. 18%) is based on the mentions of the places and dates of Dantiscus' stays contained in the CIDTC source texts (mainly the letters). The texts also provide very interesting material concerning travel circumstances. Relevant fragments of transcripts

in CIDTC have been encoded with tags **<ref target="travel">**. Regarding information for the Itinerary, the tag was enlarged with the attribute **ana="itinerary"**. For information on the travel circumstances, the tags were enlarged with several other attributes. In some (quite numerous) cases, one fragment has been marked up with more than one attribute. The full list of tags with attributes applied to "Dantiscus' Itinerary" is as follows:

TAGS	INFORMATION
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="itinerary"&gt;</b>	location of stays
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="accommodation"&gt;</b>	accommodation in particular localities
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="dangers"&gt;</b>	dangers on the journey
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="distance"&gt;</b>	distances between localities
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="experiences"&gt;</b>	impressions and experiences during the journey
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="food"&gt;</b>	food during the journey
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="health"&gt;</b>	health during the journey
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="languages"&gt;</b>	language skills
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="money"&gt;</b>	financial matters (paying for the journey and the stay)
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="return"&gt;</b>	return home, homeland, homesickness
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="staff"&gt;</b>	travel companions
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="status"&gt;</b>	Dantiscus' status as an envoy
<b>&lt;ref target="travel" ana="transport"&gt;</b>	means of transport used

All the apparatus and factual commentary regarding excerpts derive from the CIDTC publication, where it has been encoded for the Corpus' publishing.

There are still some important elements of the project which need further development. For example, the issue of the optimal choice of the map for web publication seems crucial and has been giving rise to fervent discussions for a long time. Discussed issues concern the state borders, which, in the period we are considering, 1485–1548, changed dynamically, as well as the names of locations

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and landform features (important, e.g., for understanding the speed of a journey), which also changed, especially in the case of river beds and the coastline of the seas.

The easiest solution is to use the schematic contour maps only (as it was decided in the case of paper publication). However, we are still looking for other possibilities to give the readers a more attractive and rich layout.

Both paper and digital publications are being produced within the grant “Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Correspondence” obtained for 2020–2025 in the National Programme for the Development of Humanities.



**PATRYK SAPAŁA**

**THE ITINERARY  
OF BISHOP PIOTR TOMICKI,  
VICE-CHANCELLOR OF  
THE KINGDOM OF POLAND (1515–1535)**





## INTRODUCTION

Itineraries detailing the specific locations of certain individuals at particular times are widely recognized, important tools for studying the lives of key historical figures and their political, social, and cultural environments. The extensive contributions of earlier Polish historiography on medieval and early modern times in this area were critically analysed in Piotr Węcowski's seminal 2000 study.<sup>1</sup> Not only did the author compile information about existing documentary editions, but he also compared the methodologies employed and suggested guidelines that, in his opinion, could improve the efficiency of producing such works and make them more useful for scholars.

A quarter-century later, further dynamic progress in the field is unequivocal. This pertains not only to the publication of additional itineraries. Over the past two decades, dispersed printed and manuscript materials, once difficult to retrieve, have become widely accessible thanks to digitization. Simultaneously, digital tools for storing, processing, comparing, and visualizing travel data provide previously unknown opportunities. In this context, a study akin to Węcowski's work is highly desirable, as it would help compile information on recent publications and stimulate reflection on the direction further work should take under current conditions.

For this documentary edition, it is particularly noteworthy that the state of research for my specific area of interest—namely, the reign of Sigismund Jagiellon (1507–1548)—is quite limited. Nikolay Berezhkov's itinerary of the Jagiellonian monarchs only covers the period from 1481 to 1530, thus accounting for just about half of the reign in question.<sup>2</sup> Antoni Gąsiorowski only compiled the basic

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<sup>1</sup> Piotr Węcowski, "Polskie itineraria średniowieczne i nowożytne. Przegląd badań i propozycje badawcze", *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 37 (2000), pp. 13–48. See also Aleksander Swieżawski, "O itinerariach, spisach urzędników i sprawach pokrewnych", *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 44 (2006), pp. 127–137.

<sup>2</sup> Николай Георгиевич Березжков, "Итинерарий великих князей литовских по материалам Литовской Метрики", *Археографический ежегодник* (1961), pp. 180–205.

itinerary of the last two Jagiellon rulers on the Polish throne.<sup>3</sup> The shortcomings of these two works will be discussed later in the section describing the sources and methods used in my research. Ludwik Kolankowski included Sigismund Augustus' itinerary for 1543–1548 in an appendix to the monarch's partial biography, solely based on the data from the royal accounts.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the royal itineraries, only those of a select few individuals have thus far managed to attract scholarly attention. In his chronology of Nicolaus Copernicus' life, Jerzy Sikorski also mentioned some of the astronomer's residences, although that was not the primary aim of his work.<sup>5</sup> Wiktor Szymaniak supplemented his work on the diplomacy of Ducal Prussia with a brief itinerary of Nikolaus Nibschitz, an agent of Duke Albrecht at the Polish court, primarily based on correspondence.<sup>6</sup>

The most detailed work is Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun's study of Ioannes Dantiscus' travels, which became the basis of her doctoral dissertation.<sup>7</sup> The author meticulously compiles and interprets the itinerary of the famous Polish diplomat and bishop, mainly based on Dantiscus' extensive correspondence. I have chosen to present the itinerary of Dantiscus' trusted and powerful ally, Piotr Tomicki. This work can be seen as complementary to Dantiscus' itinerary, as it represents a different pattern of itineration corresponding to a different career path. Dantiscus built his position during relentless diplomatic journeys throughout Europe, whereas Tomicki became a policymaker itinerating with the royal retinue.

Tomicki had been in the service of the Jagiellonian dynasty for many years, first as a chancellor of Cardinal Frederick Jagiellon (1500–1503), later as a royal secretary (1507–ca. 1514) and a grand secretary (ca. 1514–1515). His last climb up the ladder of power within the court hierarchy was the appointment to the office of vice-chancellor, which was of critical importance for the political system as a whole. Therefore, an analysis of Tomicki's attendance at the royal court during the tenure of the office—from 4 March 1515 to his death on 29 October

<sup>3</sup> Antoni GAŚSIOROWSKI, "Itineraria dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów", *Studia Historyczne* 16 (1973), fasc. 2, pp. 249–275.

<sup>4</sup> Ludwik KOLANKOWSKI, *Zygmunt August, wielki książę Litwy do roku 1548*, Lwów: Towarzystwo dla Popierania Nauki Polskiej, 1913, Appendix 23, pp. 390–393.

<sup>5</sup> Jerzy SIKORSKI, *Mikołaj Kopernik na Warmii. Chronologia życia i działalności*, Olsztyn: Stacja Naukowa Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego Instytut Mazurski, 1968.

<sup>6</sup> Wiktor SZYMANIAK, *Organizacja dyplomacji Prus Książęcych na dworze Zygmunta Starego 1525–1548*, Bydgoszcz: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, 1992, pp. 167–171.

<sup>7</sup> Katarzyna JASIŃSKA-ZDUN, *Itinerarium Jana Dantyszka. Humanistyczna korespondencja jako świadectwo podróży*, PhD dissertation, University of Warsaw, Faculty of "Artes Liberales", 2022, unpublished. See in this volume pp. 135–139.

1535—allows us to gain better insights not only into his life and career but also into the mechanics of the government of the time.

A vice-chancellor was, in theory, one of two equally important chief officers of the Royal Chancellery: “cancellarius et vicecancellarius, nominibus et loco distincti, sed potestate et munere exaequati” [the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor are distinct offices with different names, yet they wield equal power and share the same responsibilities].<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, Tomicki shouldered a more significant responsibility for the office than his colleague—Chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki. Different involvement in daily assignments is apparent from registers of royal documents (*Metryka Koronna*) made between Tomicki’s appointment as vice-chancellor on 4 March 1515, and the death of Szydłowiecki on 30 December 1532. For this period, there are 10 books (=ca. 8100 pages) maintained by the Vice-Chancellor<sup>9</sup> and only seven (=ca. 5400 pages) by the Chancellor.<sup>10</sup> Szydłowiecki instead was more active outside the royal court—he was sent on important diplomatic missions several times: to Hungary in 1516, 1518, 1527, to Austria in 1523, to Gdańsk in 1526, to the Congress in Poznań in 1530.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, he acted as the royal representative in the Kingdom during the King’s stays in Lithuania. The repeated absence of the Chancellor meant that a smooth operation of the Royal Chancellery, not just the writing office but the heart of government, was largely dependent on the Vice-Chancellor’s continuous work at the court. On this occasion, Tomicki became almost indispensable to King Sigismund, and it is barely surprising that he was bestowed particular favor.

He was handsomely remunerated with opulent and prestigious bishoprics of Poznań (1520) and Kraków (1523), but I would argue that constant privileged access to the King was equally rewarding. As Jan Tarnowski pointed out in a letter to Tomicki: “sam to Wasza Miłość znać raczysz, że te urzędy, z którymi człowiek doma siedzieć musi, a na swego pana nieczęsto patrzyć, parum et fere nihil auctoritatis in se continent” [you know this yourself, offices that make individuals stay at home and only occasionally meet the King have only a small amount of authority, almost nothing at all].<sup>12</sup> It was, then, widely agreed that only actual attendance at the center of power allowed to gain and keep a preeminent position within the polity. Significant advantages Tomicki secured when he was at the court are quite easy

<sup>8</sup> Martinus CROMERUS, *Polonia, sive de situ, populis, moribus, magistratibus et Republica regni Polonici libri duo, 1578*, ed. Wiktor CZERMAK, Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1901, p. 86.

<sup>9</sup> Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, *Metryka Koronna*, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 39, 40, 43, 45, 47.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, 30, 34, 37, 38, 42, 44, 46.

<sup>11</sup> Mariusz LUBCZYŃSKI, Jacek PIELAS, “Szydłowiecki Krzysztof”, in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 49, Warszawa–Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2013–2014, pp. 551–566.

<sup>12</sup> *Acta Tomiciana* (hereafter cited as AT), vol. 15, No. 163, p. 235.

to identify. Firstly, he could shape, at least to some extent, official policies in line with his views. This happened because, in addition to the authority of the keeper of the seal, who was personally responsible for the final form of the royal documents, he provided immediate assistance and authoritative advice to the ruler in all matters at hand. Moreover, as a member of the King's inner circle, he had early access to reliable political information of the highest importance, another valuable resource available only to a few. Last but not least, Tomicki, daily whispering in King Sigismund's ear, effectively promoted his relatives, friends and clients for benefices and secular offices granted by the monarch. As the successful mediator of preferments distributed by the King, he could achieve political goals through the support and cooperation of aspiring supplicants and grateful beneficiaries.

As one of the most significant figures on the political scene during the reign of King Sigismund, Tomicki has attracted much scholarly attention despite the lack of a comprehensive biography. Discussing the entire body of literature dedicated to his multifaceted activities is unnecessary, so I will limit myself to mentioning the most recent and influential works.

Leszek Hajdukiewicz focused on Tomicki as a book collector and provided a comprehensive analysis of this aspect within the context of the Vice-Chancellor's biography and the historical period.<sup>13</sup> Kazimierz Gabryel examined Tomicki's role as a functionary of the Catholic Church, emphasising his administrative and pastoral responsibilities.<sup>14</sup> Over the past two decades, Anna Odrzywolska-Kidawa (recently published as Odrzywolska) has published extensively on Tomicki. Her two books, published almost concurrently, detailing his political and ecclesiastical career,<sup>15</sup> and political and cultural activities,<sup>16</sup> have been recognized as significant, as demonstrated by the many published reviews they have received. However, these works have garnered mixed reviews and have attracted substantial critique, including some fundamental objections.<sup>17</sup> In separate

<sup>13</sup> Leszek HAJDUKIEWICZ, *Księgozbiór i zainteresowania bibliofilskie Piotra Tomickiego na tle jego działalności kulturalnej*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1961.

<sup>14</sup> Kazimierz GABRYEL, "Działalność kościelna biskupa Piotra Tomickiego (1464–1535)", in *Studia z historii Kościoła w Polsce*, ed. Eugeniusz Hieronim WYCZAŃSKI, vol. 1, Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1972, pp. 237–430.

<sup>15</sup> Anna ODRZYWOLSKA-KIDAWA, *Biskup Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535). Kariera polityczna i kościelna*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2004.

<sup>16</sup> Eadem, *Podkanclerzy Piotr Tomicki (1515–1535). Polityk i humanista*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2005.

<sup>17</sup> See especially the critical review by Andrzej WYCZAŃSKI, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 114 (2007), No. 4, pp. 130–132. Other reviews: Jacek BRZOZOWSKI, *Białostockie Teki Historyczne* 6 (2008), pp. 263–271; Anna KOWALSKA-PIETRZAK, *Przegląd Nauk Historycznych* 3 (2004), No. 2, pp. 202–206; Paweł STANISZEWSKI, *Nasza Przeszłość* 106 (2006), pp. 339–348; Piotr TAFIŁOWSKI, *Przegląd*

articles, Odrzywolska addressed some crucial aspects of Tomicki's life, including his health issues,<sup>18</sup> activities in the Royal Chancellery,<sup>19</sup> and patronage over its officials.<sup>20</sup> These areas all merit re-examination and further exploration. Most recently, she crafted an extensive entry on Tomicki for the Polish National Biographical Dictionary.<sup>21</sup>

Naturally, references to Tomicki's whereabouts and travels appear in the aforementioned works and in many other secondary sources that mention him in any way on numerous occasions. However, to my knowledge, only Waclaw Urban delved deeper into the Vice-Chancellor's travels, albeit with a focus limited to the journeys within the episcopal estates of the Kraków bishops.<sup>22</sup> Urban's primary interest lay in Tomicki's judicial and administrative activities, as he mainly utilized the episcopal registers (*acta episcopalia*) with less emphasis on correspondence and other sources. Importantly, he did note when Tomicki resided in particular localities. Urban even compiled a list of locations within the episcopal estates in the Kielce region visited by the Bishop on specific dates.<sup>23</sup> However, this list is far from complete and contains some errors. As Urban did not provide references to source evidence, verifying all of his information is impossible.

Although the causes, course and consequences of Tomicki's residency at the royal court have not been studied separately, the general picture of his political strength achieved through the close connection to the monarch is well-established and generally agreed upon. Much less attention was given to his final years when

*Historyczny* 96, (2005), fasc. 4, pp. 652–658, see also author's response to Tafilewski's review in *Przegląd Historyczny* 100 (2009), fasc. 1, pp. 133–139; Zofia WILK-WOŚ, *Rocznik Łódzki* 53 (2006), pp. 280–283; Jan ZWIĄZEK, *Częstochowskie Studia Teologiczne* 32 (2004), pp. 370–374.

<sup>18</sup> ODRZYWOLSKA-KIDAWA, "Problemy zdrowotne biskupa Piotra Tomickiego", in *Relacje lekarz–pacjent w aspekcie społecznym, historycznym i kulturowym*, ed. Bożena PŁONKA-SYROKA, Warszawa–Wrocław: DiG–Oficyna Wydawnicza Arboretum, 2005, pp. 133–148 (series: *Studia z Dziejów Kultury Medycznej*, vol. 10).

<sup>19</sup> Eadem, "Prace kancelaryjne podkanclerzego Piotra Tomickiego 1515–1535", in *Polska kancelaria królewska czasów nowożytnych między władzą a społeczeństwem*, pt 2, eds Waldemar CHORAŻYCZEWSKI, Wojciech KRAWCZUK, Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 2006, pp. 157–177.

<sup>20</sup> Eadem, "Protektorat podkanclerzego Piotra Tomickiego nad niższym personelem kancelaryjnym", in *Piśmiennictwo pragmatyczne w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku na tle powszechnym*, eds Jan GANCEWSKI, Andrzej WALKÓWSKI, Olsztyn: Pracownia Wydawnicza ElSet, 2006, pp. 136–146.

<sup>21</sup> Eadem, "Tomicki Piotr", in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 54, Warszawa–Kraków: Instytut Historii PAN–Societas Vistulana, 2022, pp. 328–344.

<sup>22</sup> Waclaw URBAN, "Miasteczka biskupie Kielecczyzny za Piotra Tomickiego (1524–1535)", *Studia Historyczne* 30 (1987), fasc. 4, pp. 537–548; idem, "Podróż biskupa Piotra Tomickiego po Sandomierszczyźnie w 1533 roku", *Między Wisłą a Pilicą* 2 (2001), pp. 11–14.

<sup>23</sup> Idem, "Miasteczka biskupie Kielecczyzny ...", op. cit., pp. 537–538.



his reduced impact on politics coincided with a notable absence in the King's entourage. Odrzywolska argued that the decline in the influence of Tomicki at the court was caused by Queen Bona jostling for dominance over the senile King and the Kingdom.<sup>24</sup> However, it must be noted that neither the political circumstances conditioning Tomicki's removal from power, its timeline, nor the frequency of stay at the court as the indicator of his current political status were systematically and thoroughly explored. His comprehensive biography should deal with all those problems someday.

Here, I will restrict myself to presenting some general observations derived from Tomicki's itinerary during his tenure as vice-chancellor: from 4 March 1515, to 29 October 1535. The period in question can be divided into four subperiods, each characterized by different patterns in his frequency of presence at the royal court. Unless stated otherwise, data about the travels of Tomicki and the King are derived from the itinerary I compiled and have published below.

## I

The first subperiod spans from 4 March 1515, to 6 December 1520. The key events setting the boundaries of this period are Tomicki's appointment to the office of the vice-chancellor and his departure from the royal court following the General Diet (*sejm walny*) in Bydgoszcz, which marked the start of his long absence from the King's entourage, the first of its kind since he became vice-chancellor. Up to that point, Tomicki was nearly always present at the royal court.<sup>25</sup>

Throughout this subperiod, he accompanied the King on all of his numerous and extensive travels—to the Congress of Vienna (5 March – 21 August 1515), to Lithuania (8 November 1515 – 1 January 1518; 4 November 1518 – 18 January 1519), to Piotrków for the General Diet (8 February – 16 March 1519), to Sandomierz for the extraordinary Provincial Diet of Lesser Poland (*sejmik generalny małopolski*) (20 August – 1 September 1519), and to Royal Prussia and Kuyavia in connection with the war against the Teutonic Order (15 November 1519 – 6 December 1520). Furthermore, his presence at the royal court during the King's stays in Kraków between these travels is also largely confirmed. The only exceptions appear during the King's brief excursions to areas near the capital, primarily to the hunting lodge in Niepołomice and less frequently to

<sup>24</sup> ODRZYWOLSKA-KIDAWA, *Podkanclerzy ...*, op. cit., pp. 40–41.

<sup>25</sup> Towards the end of this subperiod, in a letter written shortly after 20 February 1520, Tomicki reprimanded Andrzej Krzycki for, in his view, excessively attending to his affairs outside the royal court. Contrarily, Tomicki highlighted his own experience: "non solum episcopatum meum adire, sed ne unum quidem prediolum circa Cracoviam visere potui" [not only was I unable to go to my diocese, but I could not even visit a single estate near Kraków] (AT, vol. 5, No. 174, p. 176).

Bochnia and the shrine in Szczepanów. For these occasions, we find no evidence of Tomicki's presence.

## II

The second distinguishable subperiod ranges from 6 December 1520 to 5 March 1528. This phase is marked by Tomicki's intermittent presence at the royal court. The start and end points of this period are determined by prolonged separations between the Vice-Chancellor and the King. At the beginning of this period, Tomicki and the King parted ways in Bydgoszcz. Tomicki departed for the Diocese of Poznań, while the monarch returned to Toruń, the site of royal headquarters for military operations in the war against Grand Master Albrecht. This period ends with Tomicki's farewell to the King in Radom, as the ruler was *en route* from the General Diet in Piotrków to Lithuania.

At this time, Tomicki frequently attended the royal court and often accompanied the King on various occasions, including trips to Piotrków for General Diets (28 October 1521 – 7 January 1522; 13 October – 18 December 1523; 20 December 1524 – 24 February 1525; 11 December 1525 – 29 January 1526; 29 November 1527 – 20 February 1528), to Lithuania (7 January 1522 – 2 January 1523), to Gdańsk and Mazovia (20 February – 27 September 1526), to Częstochowa (20–27 April 1523) and Szczepanów (14–19 June 1524) for pilgrimages. Similarly to the prior subperiod, the Vice-Chancellor is not documented during the King's travels to Niepołomice. His presence is only confirmed during the King's journey to and from Szczepanów via Niepołomice around mid-June 1524. He may also have accompanied the monarch to the hunting lodge between 16–19 August 1527.

This subperiod exhibits significant differences compared to the previous one. Primarily, Tomicki spent extended periods away from the royal court. The most prolonged absence lasted around six months, from shortly after 13 December 1520, to just after 24 May 1521. This prolonged stay in the Diocese of Poznań resulted in his missing an important political event—the truce negotiations with the Teutonic Order in Toruń, which occurred between January and April 1521. The second significant absence spanned about three months, from 10 June to just before 11 September 1523, when he was again in the Diocese of Poznań. He also did not participate in the King's military expedition to Ruthenia, which lasted almost three months, from 10 August to 2 November 1524.

Another difference is that even when the Vice-Chancellor travelled with the King, he sometimes did not accompany the monarch throughout the entire journey. In 1525, when the King returned from Piotrków to Kraków on 27 February, Tomicki's presence there was not recorded until after 6 March. The

Vice-Chancellor did not accompany the King on his way to Piotrków for the General Diets in December 1525 and November 1527, but instead, he departed directly from the episcopal estates and arrived a few days after the King. After the General Diet in 1526, the King initially travelled to Niepołomice on 3 February, and only a few days later did he proceed to Kraków, where his meeting with Tomicki is, for the first time, documented on 8 February. Shortly after that, Tomicki did not accompany the King to Kuyavia; he departed earlier than the royal household (14 February) and awaited the King's arrival in Jędrzejów until 20 February. He also stayed a week longer in Malbork on the way to Gdańsk due to health issues. The ruler departed from Malbork on 16 April and arrived in Gdańsk on 17 April; Tomicki is first recorded in the city as late as 25 April. Returning from Royal Prussia with the King that same year, he accompanied him only as far as Iłża (27 September). Towards the end of the subperiod, he only accompanied the King on the initial stage of the monarch's journey from Piotrków to Lithuania, namely to Radom (20 February – 5 March 1528).

In addition, Tomicki left for the Provincial Synod in June 1525 and for Local and Provincial Diets (*sejmiki*) in November 1521, December 1524, November 1525, December 1526, and November 1527. These travels were frequently accompanied by temporary stays in bishopric estates. For instance, Tomicki, after the Provincial Synod held in Piotrków at the end of June and beginning of July 1525, halted in the episcopal estates in Iłża, Kunów, and Bodzentyn for most of July. After Local Diets in 1525, 1526, and 1527, he also spent at least a week in the episcopal estates. Occasionally, suburban episcopal residences near Kraków were the sole travel destination, such as Radłów (16–17 May 1525; 21 September – 29 October 1527) and Wawrzeńczyce (16–17 September 1527).

It is worth considering whether this subperiod should be divided into two shorter ones. After Tomicki was appointed coadjutor bishop of Kraków in 1523 and his acquisition of the majority of the local episcopal estates in 1524, the pattern of his travels seems to change slightly. His absences from the royal court became shorter as he no longer needed to undertake lengthy journeys to the Diocese of Poznań. However, these absences became more frequent as he had easier access to the vast episcopal estates in Lesser Poland, which were relatively close to the capital. Furthermore, Tomicki began to regularly participate in Local Diets before the General Diets only as the bishop of Kraków. It appears then that this change was caused by the shorter distance from the capital to locations in the Kraków Voivodeship (Proszowice) and Sandomierz Voivodeship (Nowe Miasto Korczyn), where the Diets relevant to the bishops of Kraków were held.

### III

The third subperiod, extending from 5 March 1528 to 17 June 1533, marks a distinct shift in Tomicki's attendance pattern at the royal court. This period begins when the Vice-Chancellor diverges from the King in Radom, as the King is heading towards Lithuania, and it culminates at the same spot, with the King embarking on another journey to Lithuania. Tomicki's presence at the royal court can be depicted as noticeably less consistent during this timeframe than in the prior periods.

The most substantial factor affecting Tomicki's significantly decreased presence in the King's company was his absence during the King's extended stay in Lithuania and immediately following his return to the Kingdom (5 March 1528 – 15 December 1529). It was the first situation of this kind since he became the vice-chancellor, as he had previously always accompanied the monarch on such travels. Although the circumstances behind the decision to leave the Kingdom without the head of the Royal Chancellery and temporarily replace him with Grand Secretary Chojeński still need to be examined more precisely, there is no doubt that it was an extremely important event, marking a turning point in the balance of power and the decline of Tomicki's influence at the royal court.

During the monarch's stay in Lithuania, which lasted more than a year and a half, the Vice-Chancellor was almost as frequently in his episcopal estates as in Kraków. He also made a pilgrimage to Częstochowa (4–12 August 1528), attended the Local Diet in Proszowice (around 13 December 1528), the Provincial Diet in Nowe Miasto Korczyn (15 December 1528), and made a journey to the General Diet in Warszawa (5 January – 27 February 1529). In the summer of 1529, he took a short break at his residence in Bolechowice near Kraków (20–23 June).

After the King's return to the Kingdom, Tomicki's presence at the royal court was almost entirely limited to the General Diets in Piotrków and the monarch's stays in Kraków. Hence, greater emphasis should be placed on presenting his absences than his presence in the King's entourage.

Tomicki failed to meet the King returning from Lithuania and join him in Radom in late November 1529 *en route* to the General Diet in Piotrków, even though he intended to do so. He also did not accompany the King on pilgrimages to Częstochowa (25 April – 4 May 1530) and Święty Krzyż (13–25 May 1530).

During this subperiod, Tomicki rarely accompanied the King to and from Piotrków for General Diets. He travelled separately and returned separately for the assemblies in 1529/1530 and 1530/1531. In January 1533, despite setting off from Kraków to the General Diet together with the King, he likely stayed one day longer at one of the stops because he arrived at the destination one day later than the ruler, on 10 January. The only time the Vice-Chancellor travelled the entire

route between Piotrków and Kraków with the King was during the return to the capital on 13–16 February 1533. Apart from that, he accompanied the King on a journey only once more, when he spent a week accompanying him during the first stage of the trip to Lithuania, escorting him to Radom (10–17 June 1533).

Although the King primarily resided in Kraków during this period, it did not imply the continuous presence of Tomicki by his side. Similar to previous sub-periods, there is no evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's presence at the royal court during most of the King's frequent stays in Niepołomice. The only exception is his presence there on 25 October 1532.

Short absences were caused by Tomicki's participation in Local Diets (3 February 1530; 28, 30 November 1531; around 5, 10 December 1532). There is no direct evidence that he stopped at his episcopal estates in 1531 and 1532 while returning to Kraków from these meetings. However, especially for 1532, it seems probable because his presence in the capital is only recorded a week after the Provincial Diet in Nowe Miasto Korczyn (the assembly was convened on 10 December and the first evidence of Tomicki's presence in Kraków dates from 16 December).

Some trips from Kraków were certainly slightly extended, as he stopped for a certain period at his episcopal estates on the return journey. This was the case when in 1531, returning from the General Diet in Piotrków, where he was present from shortly before 9 December 1530 to 8 January 1531, he stayed in the episcopal estates from 15 January to 10 February 1531. When he left for the Provincial Synod in Piotrków (20–30 August 1532), he spent at least 12 days (3–14 September) in his episcopal estates during the return journey.

Other reasons for his absence included a pilgrimage to Częstochowa in mid-May 1531, which lasted more than a week, and summer rest in suburban residences in Wawrzeńczyce (17 July 1530), Radłów (1–3 August 1531), and Bolechowice (6–12 July 1532).

A different type of absence, which gains importance in this subperiod, pertains to instances when Tomicki, though in Kraków, is confined to his residence due to severe health problems and does not appear in the royal castle for a long time. This requires separate research, but examples of such situations can be pointed out. In early March 1532, Tomicki mentioned in letters that he had to stay home due to poor health. In 1533, after a severe illness that started on 21 April he appeared in public only on 16 May and visited the castle the following day.

#### IV

The fourth and final subperiod spans from 17 June 1533 to 29 October 1535. It begins with Tomicki's farewell to the King in Radom as the King departs

for a prolonged stay in Lithuania. The subperiod ends with the Vice-Chancellor's death. This period can be characterized as his retirement from presence at the royal court.

During the King's absence from the Kingdom (ca. 22 June 1533 – ca. 30 July 1535),<sup>26</sup> Tomicki spent roughly half of his time in Kraków. In total, he dedicated around a year to various locations within his episcopal estates. He also made two trips to Sandomierz and its surroundings (12–23 July and 26 September – 3 October 1533), partly to conduct visitations. Moreover, he made pilgrimages to Częstochowa (10 May – around 23 May 1535) and Szczepanów (7–19 June 1535). His duties also led him to attend Local and Provincial Diets (around 11, 13–14 December 1533, and 14 November 1534), as well as journeying to the General Diet in Piotrków (3–29 January 1534).

Upon the King's return to the Kingdom, Tomicki was unable to meet him at the border and accompany him to Kraków. Nevertheless, despite his poor health, he managed to reach the capital before the monarch (3 August 1535) and delivered a welcoming speech (9 August 1535). This occasion marked his last public appearance and final personal meeting with the King. Although the King remained in Kraków until 4 October due to the wedding of his daughter Hedwig to Joachim II Hector, Tomicki could not meet him, as his health prevented him from leaving his home.

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The data collected in this publication should be seen as a starting point for further research into Tomicki's itinerary. It is essential to identify the factors leading to observed changes in his presence within the King's entourage during subsequent subperiods. Potential determining factors of his absence from the royal court that warrant further investigation include the combination of the vice-chancellor role with the bishoprics of Poznań and Kraków, declining health, Queen Bona's curtailment of his role, and unforeseen circumstances such as epidemic outbreaks. Once these aspects have been thoroughly examined, subsequent research should explore the implications of Tomicki's increasingly infrequent presence at the royal court on the operations of the Royal Chancellery, the Royal Council, and his political standing.

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<sup>26</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, "Itineraria ...", op. cit., pp. 265–266.



## Note to the table showing the Itinerary of Piotr Tomicki

### SOURCES

All sources upon which the documentary edition is based can be found in the list of abbreviations provided, so I found it unnecessary to provide precise bibliographic descriptions in this section. However, some comments on various types of material used in this research are necessary to highlight the differences in quantity and quality of information available. The most important observation is that the information on Tomicki's movements was mainly drawn from the dating clauses found in documents and letters.

Registers of the Royal Chancellery supervised by Vice-Chancellor Tomicki (*księgi pokanclerskie Metryki Koronnej*) comprise documents of various kinds issued by the King, but, as a rule, only those prepared and/or authorized by the keeper of the seal during his presence at the royal court, even though some abridged entries are lacking appropriate formulas. Documents of different origins, created outside the Royal Chancellery but still entered into the registers, are easily identifiable and thus excluded from the materials used for the present documentary edition. The royal documents entered into the record books are of first importance for establishing Tomicki's progress with the King. The summaries of the record books by Teodor Wierzbowski (*Matricularia Regni Poloniae summaria*) were used as a starting point, and the original registers were consulted when necessary to correct or supplement the data from there.

In addition, registers supervised by Chancellor Szydłowiecki and Grand Secretary Chojeński were searched for Tomicki's presence in the witness lists. I also searched for transumpt of royal documents authorized or witnessed by Tomicki in record books created after the death of the Vice-Chancellor by his successors in the office. In this way, I was able to find some documents unknown from earlier books or with complete formulas that were missing there. As could be expected, the later the record books, the fewer such documents I could locate.

An important caveat must be acknowledged when considering the witness lists from the registers of the Royal Chancellery supervised by Szydłowiecki. The standard practice of the chancellery often involved the omission of full transcriptions of charters in the registers, particularly in the case of attestation clauses. Witnesses are typically referred to by phrases like "praesentibus ut supra" or similar. However, these phrases may not only refer to the immediately preceding record but also to an entry much earlier in the book. If the reference and the referenced entry are far apart within the book, the record is more susceptible to scribal errors. The structural understanding of the record books, including the arrangement of quires and the process of their compilation, remains too deficient to trust

these types of cross-references fully.<sup>27</sup> Hence, it is always specified whether I'm employing a complete witness list or a reference to an earlier entry.

Episcopal registers (*Acta episcopalia*) also provide a wealth of new information, especially for periods when Tomicki was absent from the royal court. They comprise records of different kinds pertaining to the Bishop's judicial and administrative activity. The episcopal court acted in the last instance in a place of the bishop's stay; information on his progress was often included in the court registers—in the headings of entries or the margins.<sup>28</sup> I assumed that lack of information about the location implicitly means that entries were made in the see city. Among these entries, I have only considered those that record legal actions taken personally by the Bishop<sup>29</sup> or in his presence and not by the Chancellor of the curia or before the office. Significantly, episcopal registers contain not only judicial records but also full copies of documents issued by Tomicki.

There are no episcopal registers for the period when Tomicki served as the bishop of Przemyśl. The scant register of the documents issued by Tomicki as the bishop of Poznań is bound together with the episcopal register of Jan Lubrański, his successor in the see. *Acta episcopalia* of Kraków are far more abundant and diverse. There are three record books of the bishop's court (*Acta acticata coram episcopo*), one register of institutions to benefices (*Acta institutionum*) and one register of grants (*Acta privilegiorum, erectionum et dotationum*). Only selected documents from these materials have been published. The most significant selection of entries was prepared by Bolesław Przybyszewski, who collected mentions on Wawel Hill (*Wypisy źródłowe do dziejów Wawelu*). The collections of summaries of records pertaining to rural areas in the Radom region (*Regesty dotyczące wsi radomskiej*) and parochial schools (*Regesty do dziejów szkolnictwa parafialnego*) published by Urban are comparatively much smaller.

Documents by the King and Tomicki were not always recorded in the respective registers, though the exact proportion is difficult to determine. Given the dispersed nature of the source material, no pretence of tracing all surviving items was made. Nevertheless, the published catalogues of parchment documents,

<sup>27</sup> Lack of codicological studies as a hindrance to research the registers was recently emphasized in the synthetic work by Wojciech KRAWCZUK, "Metryka Koronna i Metryka Litewska", in *Dyplomatyka staropolska*, ed. Tomasz JUREK, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2015, p. 192.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Andrzej TOMCZAK, *Kancelaria biskupów wrocławskich w okresie księgi wpisów (XV–XVIII w.)*, Toruń: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964, pp. 186–188; Hieronim Eugeniusz WYCZAWSKI, *Przygotowanie do studiów w archiwach kościelnych*, second edition, revised and expanded, eds Tomasz MOSKAL, Aleksander Krzysztof SITNIK, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska: Calvarianum, 2013, p. 342.

<sup>29</sup> I considered only the legal actions undertaken by the *reverendissimus dominus*, as it appears that the term *dominus* may refer to the chancellor and auditor of the curia.

useful for the present study were examined, the most important of them cover the collections of Jagiellonian Library (Biblioteka Jagiellońska), Jagiellonian University Archives (Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego), Czartoryski Library (Biblioteka Czartoryskich), Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences (Biblioteka PAU-PAN), National Museum (Muzeum Narodowe), National Archives (Archiwum Narodowe), Church of St Mary (Kościół Mariacki) in Kraków, State Archives (Archiwum Państwowe) in Lublin, Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Львів), Cathedral Archive of Sandomierz (Archiwum Kapituły Katedralnej Sandomierskiej, now integrated into the collection of the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz), State Archives (Archiwum Państwowe) in Toruń, former Zamoyski and Krasieński libraries (Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej, Biblioteka Ordynacji Krasieńskich), Tomasz Niewodniczański Collection at the Royal Castle in Warszawa, Wróblewski Library (Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka) in Vilnius, Ossolineum (Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich) in Wrocław. Apart from that, the collections of parchment and paper documents lacking sufficient published descriptions were also consulted: Kórnik Library (Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN), Cathedral Archive of Kraków (Archiwum Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej), Dominican Order Archives of Kraków (Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów), Archdiocesan Archives (Archiwum Archidiecezjalne) of Poznań, State Archives (Archiwum Państwowe) in Poznań and Central Archives of Historical Records (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych) in Warszawa.

Another extensive source of documents by the King and Tomicki, partially absent from the record books and not preserved as original documents, comprises cartularies. However, tracking all such collections of transcriptions created by institutions and families that might potentially contain documents relevant to the present study was, of course, beyond my capabilities. I could examine only a few sources of that nature that were relatively easily accessible to me. I have consulted the cartularies of the abbeys in Jędrzejów (housed in the Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences), Sulejów (in the Central Archives of Historical Records), Tyniec (currently in the National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa) and Ossolineum), Wąchock (at the National Library), and of the Szafraniec family (also at the National Library).

Consistory records (*acta officialia*) preserve further transcriptions of documents issued by Tomicki, often otherwise unknown. Only a limited number of such documents were entered in the records of Przemyśl and Poznań. A relatively large number were included in the records of the Diocese of Kraków, specifically in the general consistory in the see city and the local consistories in Lublin,

Radom, Sandomierz, and Wiślica. Furthermore, the Kraków records also include casual notes on the Bishop's departures from the city. Selected entries from the consistory records of Kraków have been published by Przybyszewski along with materials extracted from the episcopal registers.

Tomicki's letters, which significantly outnumber those surviving from other leading figures of his generation, except maybe Dantiscus, are an important source of information. However, a significant portion of them lack dating clauses. The main corpus of Tomicki's letters was compiled posthumously by his long-time scribe, Stanisław Górski, who copied them into comprehensive collections of political materials for the elite known as *Acta Tomiciana*.<sup>30</sup> Górski used mainly rough drafts left over in the chancellery, which often lacked dates or parts of dates. The Górski's Archive (*Teki Górskiego*), most of which is stored in the National Library,<sup>31</sup> shows that the number of undated letters was initially larger, but Górski supplied some of the missing clauses himself. In some cases, he did this when preparing fair copies for dispatch, and in other cases, he added approximate dates when putting the letters in order for *Acta Tomiciana*, relying on internal evidence from the contents and his memories.

As a result, not all data from the letters preserved in Górski's collections is accurate and reliable, so they should be used with caution. The use of the letters is further hindered by the edition of *Acta Tomiciana*, as the first eight volumes are not based on the best manuscripts available and contain numerous errors, resulting in some letters being missing, undated, or misdated.<sup>32</sup> Although the edition was considered here, omitted letters and correct dates were taken from manuscript collections of *Acta Tomiciana* and the Górski's Archive. I supplied missing or incomplete dates, where possible, from internal evidence or other sources of information. I also used the same method to verify dates provided by the editors of volumes 9–17 of *Acta Tomiciana*, Zygmunt Celichowski and Władysław Pocięcha. Due to space limitations and the fact that this documentary edition is not intended to be a comprehensive edition of the letters, I was unable to provide

<sup>30</sup> The most extensive examination available on Górski's collections is Ryszard MARCINIAK, *Acta Tomiciana w kulturze politycznej Polski okresu odrodzenia*, Warszawa–Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1983.

<sup>31</sup> Patryk SAPAŁA, "The Górski Archive (*Teki Górskiego*) at the National Library of Poland. A collection of letters and official documents pertaining to the reign of King Sigismund", *Polish Libraries* 7 (2019), pp. 6–59.

<sup>32</sup> Władysław POCIECHA, "W sprawie wydawnictwa Aktów Tomicjanów", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 3 (1939–1946), p. 35: "Pierwszych ośm tomów ... wydanych zostało tak bezkrytycznie, że nie przedstawiają one wartości naukowej, co już dawno stwierdzono" [the first eight volumes ... were published so uncritically that they do not present any value for research purposes, as has long been noted]. Cf. idem, "Przedmowa", in AT, vol. 14, p. VIII.

detailed explanations of the motivations behind the corrections and completions made to the dating clauses.

The materials collected by Górski have also been used in other editions of Tomicki's letters beyond just *Acta Tomiciana*. Two critical editions of particular significance are worth noting here. The letters to Erasmus, published in Percy Stafford Allen's indispensable edition, have garnered and continue to command significant attention from historians. The letters to Stephanus Brodericus, a diplomat serving the Hungarian kings Louis II Jagiellon and John Zápolya, were initially published in *Acta Tomiciana* and subsequently received a critical revision by Péter Kasza, who provided additions and corrections to the chronology of the letters.

Original letters of Tomicki, held in the archives of the addressees, although fewer in number than the copies gathered by Górski, are considered more reliable as they are not subject to the reservations made about the accuracy of the data in Górski's collections. Furthermore, Górski only preserved those letters available to him that he found interesting or important. Below, I present the most significant collections containing Tomicki's original letters and editions based on them. However, it should be noted that individual letters may still lie unidentified in other archives and libraries.

Letters addressed to Duke Albrecht of Prussia from the Prussian Privy State Archives (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz) are included in *Acta Tomiciana* and *Elementa ad fontium editiones*. Summaries of letters sent before 1525 can be found in *Regesta historico-diplomatica*, published by Erich Joachim and Walther Hubatsch.

Letters to members of the Habsburg dynasty and their functionaries are primarily housed in the Austrian State Archives, specifically in the Department of Family, Court, and State Archives (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv). Unfortunately, I have not examined its abundant holdings. My research used only published letters from volumes 9–17 of *Acta Tomiciana*, some letters mentioned in the extensive, though unfinished, biography of Queen Bona by Pocięcha, and those registered among materials pertaining to the Kingdom of Hungary in the inventory prepared by the Hungarian archival delegation at the Austrian State Archives (*Viennese inventory*).

Regarding correspondence with the most important Austrian dignitaries, letters to the renowned diplomat Sigismund von Herberstein occupy a special place. Original letters to him from Polish correspondents, including Tomicki, were bound in volumes and are currently stored in the National Library of Austria (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) and the National Széchényi Library in Hungary (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár). Only some of these letters were published in *Acta Tomiciana*, but these copies were not used for the edition.

The letters addressed to bishops of Ermland (Warmia)—Fabian von Lusian (Luzjański) and Mauritius Ferber, and to Dantiscus can be found in the archives of the Diocese of Ermland, now held in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Warmia (Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej) in Olsztyn and the Czartoryski Library. Many of these letters have already been published in *Acta Tomiciana* and *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*, but many remain in manuscript form.

Letters from Tomicki addressed to Gdańsk, the most affluent city under Polish rule, are stored in the State Archives (Archiwum Państwowe) in Gdańsk. Only some letters to the City Council were published in *Acta Tomiciana*, but the editors did not utilize the copies from the Gdańsk collection.

A few letters addressed to the City Council of Bardejov are preserved in the Bardejov Branch of the State Archive in Prešov (Štátny archív v Prešove, pracovisko Archív Bardejov). Stanisław A. Sroka published these in a collection of documents relating to Poland from the archives of the former Kingdom of Hungary (*Dokumenty polskie z archiwów dawnego Królestwa Węgier*). One of these letters had previously been published in *Acta Tomiciana*, based on copies from Górski's collections.

The royal letters composed with Tomicki's involvement were excluded from the source material. While the Górski's Archive contains drafts of these letters, making it possible to identify items crafted in this way, they should not be viewed as definitive proof of Tomicki's presence with the King on the day the letter was sent. Although it can be assumed that most of these letters were dispatched while Tomicki was at the royal court, there is also solid evidence suggesting that the Vice-Chancellor occasionally worked on the royal correspondence remotely.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, the connection between the dispatch of these letters and Tomicki's specific location is not necessarily straightforward, unlike the case of royal documents issued under his supervision, where his presence, attested by the seal and specific formulas, had legal significance.

In addition to the dating clauses of documents and letters, a considerable amount of information about Tomicki's locations can be derived from various sources. Of particular note is the wealth of mentions in the correspondence of the Vice-Chancellor and his contemporaries. While these references significantly supplement the dataset, they also present notable limitations. Firstly, not all

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<sup>33</sup> See, for instance, the following royal letters: 1) dated Niepołomice, 16 Sept. 1527, drafted by Tomicki while he was in Wawrzeńczyce (TG, No. 3260 – the rough draft; AT 8, No. 124 – the letter published with the incorrect date of 1526); 2) composed by Tomicki in Wawrzeńczyce on 17 Jul. 1530, and sent to the royal court to be dispatched on behalf of the King (mentioned in AT 12, No. 201, p. 182).



existing correspondence, potentially containing relevant information, could be thoroughly examined. This is because only a portion of letters—the extent of which is difficult to estimate—is published, and an even smaller amount is critically published from the best manuscripts available, complete with commentary and scholarly apparatus. Moreover, unpublished letters are dispersed across various repositories, often lacking inventories or catalogues suitable for effectively identifying materials relevant to the project. Secondly, mentioning Tomicki's location in letters is not systematic and is not distributed evenly throughout the period. Lastly, many of these references are not precise enough to track his location on a daily basis. For instance, they might confirm his presence at a particular location without providing a specific date. Despite these limitations, I made a concerted effort to review all the sources containing Tomicki's letters mentioned above. I did not limit myself to his own letters but also sought letters from other individuals in his circle, as well as diplomatic dispatches from foreign envoys and representatives from the city of Gdańsk that mentioned his stays and travels.

A wealth of unique and precise information about Tomicki's movements was gleaned from the diaries, primarily preserved as annotations in printed almanacs. The significance of these concise entries, made on a daily basis, arises from the fact that one of the main preoccupations of the authors was to document travels—both their own and those of prominent public figures, including Tomicki in his roles as vice-chancellor and bishop.

Tomicki himself was known to annotate his daily activities in a copy of the printed *ephemerides*, as attested by a 1571 letter from Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz, the Bishop of Ermland to Franciszek Krasieński. Serving as one of the Vice-Chancellor's close associates during his twilight years, Hozjusz probably came into possession of this book after the demise of his master. In the letter, Hozjusz details this copy, highlighting the abundant annotations left by Tomicki.<sup>34</sup> Although this item has been mentioned in academic literature,<sup>35</sup> attempts to trace its whereabouts have thus far proven unsuccessful. It is plausible that it was lost during the Swedish plundering of Ermland's libraries amidst the Polish-Swedish wars of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The library of the Jesuit College in Braunsberg (Braniewo), which contained volumes from the Library of the Bishops of Ermland bequeathed by Hozjusz, fell prey to looting in 1626. Likewise,

<sup>34</sup> Biblioteka Czartoryskich, 1613, p. 338: "in castro meo Heilsbergensi habeo Ephemerides olim domini Tomicii episcopi Cracoviensis, in quibus multa notavit" [in my Heilsberg Castle, I have the *ephemerides* of the late Tomicki, the Bishop of Kraków, in which he noted many things].

<sup>35</sup> Henryk BARYCZ, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w epoce humanizmu*, Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1935, p. 696. HAJDUKIEWICZ, *Księgozbiór i zainteresowania ...*, op. cit., p. 138, only repeats the information after Barycz.

the library of the Bishops of Ermland in Heilsberg (Lidzbark Warmiński) suffered despoliation during 1703–1704.<sup>36</sup>

The loss of a crucial source for reconstructing Tomicki's itinerary can only be partially compensated for by referring to the diaries of individuals from his close circle. Among these, the diary of Filip Padniewski, published by Wojciech Kętrzyński, covering the last years of Tomicki's life from 1532 to 1535, is particularly informative. During this period, Padniewski was a member of the Vice-Chancellor's household and often accompanied him on stays in the episcopal estates and his travels. Comparatively, the diary of Stanisław Kilowski yields fewer details. His affiliation with Tomicki's household was more fleeting, and his documentation of the Vice-Chancellor's movements was restricted to a narrower timeframe, extending from June 1533 to early 1534. Only a few entries from Kilowski's diary have been published in Jerzy Starnawski's collected works (*Polska w Europie*). This edition is restricted to entries that mention Andrzej Krzycki and contains numerous errors.

It is noteworthy that the manuscript housing Kilowski's diary also contains a copy of the diary of Piotr Konarski, Canon of Kraków, with entries spanning the period from 1522 to 1533.<sup>37</sup> The fact that Konarski's diary is distinct from the notations penned by Kilowski was overlooked by Starnawski, who was the first scholar to identify this manuscript as an item from the pre-war holdings of the National Library, hitherto considered lost.<sup>38</sup> The manuscript was acquired from a private individual by the State Archives (Archiwum Państwowe) in Łódź around 1950. As far as I am aware, Pociecha was the only one who noted the existence of another diary in the manuscript, basing this on his pre-war notes. However, he refrained from definitively attributing its authorship, only asserting that it was penned by a nephew of Bishop Jan Konarski.<sup>39</sup> The author, Piotr Konarski, can be precisely identified from mentions of his close family members. He refers

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<sup>36</sup> Aleksander BIRKENMAJER, "Książka Ottona Waldego o szwedzkich zdobyczach bibliotecznych", in idem, *Studia bibliologiczne*, eds Helena WIĘCKOWSKA, Aleksandra BIRKENMAJER, Wrocław etc.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich–Wydawnictwo PAN, 1975, pp. 241, 255.

<sup>37</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, pp. 10–56 (=ff. 5–28v in old foliation).

<sup>38</sup> Jerzy STARNAWSKI, *Polska w Europie*, Kraków: Collegium Columbinum, 2002, p. 151. Cf. idem, "Kodeks Stanisława Kilowskiego odnaleziony", in *Listy bibliofilskie. Materiały z działalności Łódzkiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Książki*, ed. Michał KUNA, Łódź: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Książki, 1983, p. 64.

<sup>39</sup> Władysław POCIECHA, *Królowa Bona (1494–1557). Czasy i ludzie odrodzenia*, vol. 2, Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1949, p. 472, n. 50.

to his brother, who served in the military in Ruthenia<sup>40</sup> and was named Jerzy<sup>41</sup> (this was Jerzy Konarski), his other brother as the archdeacon of Kraków, who passed away on November 1522<sup>42</sup> (this was Jan Konarski Jr), and the Bishop of Kraków as his uncle<sup>43</sup> (this was Jan Konarski).

The diaries offer data directly related to Tomicki's travels and crucial contextual information, such as the King's itinerary and dates of General Diets, which were pivotal in shaping the timeline and travel routes. The diaries of significant political event participants provide detailed insights into public life. The diary of Bishop Maciej Drzewicki (published by Henryk Rybus), which spans the period from 1499–1515, becomes relevant only from March to August 1515 when he accompanied Tomicki to the Congress of Vienna. The same period is illuminated in a respective fragment of Johannes Cuspinian's diary (published by Hans Ankwichz-Kleehoven), a notable diplomat in Emperor Maximilian's service and another participant of the congress.

The diaries of Paweł Dunin-Wolski (published by Andrzej Obrębski), an ambitious nobleman and nephew of Chancellor Szydłowiecki, Stanisław Naropiński (published by August Bielowski), who served Archbishops of Gniezno—Jan Łaski and Maciej Drzewicki, and Stanisław Skrodzki, who seemed to be part of the household of Adam Drzewicki, the castellan of Radom and brother of Maciej Drzewicki, cover broader periods. Multiple diaries from members of the academic community at the University of Krakow offer smaller but significant contributions to the collected data, as these individuals documented events occurring in the capital. These diarists include Stanisław Aurifaber (Lubart), Bernard of Biskupie, Marcin Biem, Mikołaj of Wieliczka, Łukasz Noskowski (published by Ludwik Birkenmajer), and Mikołaj Sokolnicki. The diaries of Paweł of Rawa, a priest in Włocławek, and Jan Źdżarnowski, Canon of Poznań (published by Rafał Wójcik and Wiesław Wydra), hold less significance.

The commentaries compiled by Górski for the *Acta Tomiciana* collections, while often resembling diary entries in format, are markedly different in origin and purpose. Significantly, these commentaries were not created in real-time concurrent with the events they delineate. Instead, Górski compiled them several decades later during his work on the *Acta Tomiciana* collections from the early 1550s to the late 1560s. He intended to guide readers through the collections and contextualize individual texts in relation to one another. Much of

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<sup>40</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, p. 16 (=f. 8 in old foliation).

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem, p. 44 (=f. 22 in old foliation).

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, p. 46 (=f. 23 in old foliation).

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem, p. 24 (=f. 12 in old foliation).

Górski's information for these commentaries was derived from the correspondence and documents he collated for his collections. However, this data is not entirely redundant. There are instances where the travel dates deviate from those mentioned in the correspondence, and in certain cases, dates can only be found within the commentaries. This discrepancy suggests that the source of this information could either be lost manuscripts from Górski's collections, unidentified sources outside of his papers to which he had access or his personal recollections. For this reason, Górski's accounts of Tomicki's movements should not be overlooked. As a close associate of the Vice-Chancellor for several years, his insights and memory could significantly complement the dataset.

The more extensive historical commentaries by Górski, featured in the early volumes of *Acta Tomiciana*, were also included in the current study. These commentaries were compiled primarily using chronicles by Iustus Ludovicus Decius and Bernard Wapowski. I have also used these chronicles, along with the chronicle of Emericus of Hungary (Emeryk Węgier), which served as a primary source for Wapowski. Likewise, I used published reports about particularly significant events, such as the Congress of Vienna, as detailed by Riccardo Bartolini and Cuspinian, and the wedding of King Sigismund and Queen Bona, as reported by Decius. Although they mostly do not contribute a significant amount of new data, they largely corroborate the information obtained from other sources.

Supplementary information was also obtained from various other sources, some of which deserve a brief discussion. Records of the Cathedral Chapters in Poznań and Kraków contain copies of a few documents by Tomicki and occasionally mention his presence. Hozjusz prepared a panegyric biography of Tomicki, providing information on the Vice-Chancellor's final years. Tomicki was the collector of Peter's Pence in Poland; hence, reports on the collection, published by Tadeusz Gromnicki, inform us where payments to him were made. Records of the royal court, published by Michał Bobrzyński (*Decreta in iudiciis regalibus tempore Sigismundi I*), sporadically report on Tomicki's participation in the sessions.

In a few cases, I cite secondary sources to confirm locations when I cannot access the respective repositories housing the primary sources. I limit my references to literature that appears to be based on solid evidence and reliable in the context of other sources. Each time I cite the source indirectly, I clearly mark it as such.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF DATASET

The purpose of presenting this itinerary is to provide a clear, informative, easy-to-read, and readily consultable dataset for finding specific whereabouts information. The data, arranged chronologically, are presented in columnar form.

The first column contains Tomicki's itinerary with information about specific dates and locations. Aggregated data for stays at particular locations are highlighted in bold print with a gray background. Information about a stay is accompanied by a reference to the source evidence. Different types of sources are referenced in the same order they have been discussed above, starting from the registers of the Royal Chancellery cited from summaries by Wierzbowski, followed by royal documents from other sources, then episcopal record books, then documents issued by Tomicki found in other sources, then correspondence, then entries from diaries, and mentions of travel and stays in other incorporated sources. When citing manuscripts, I provide only the folio or page number where the date can be found, not the location of the entire text, unless stated otherwise.

When necessary, I provide minimal descriptive information in parentheses about the source used. If the same document or letter exists in different sources, I denote this with an equals sign (=), even though some cited editions or manuscripts are not identical. For instance, some editions provide an excerpt or summary instead of the full text. For me, the crucial factor is that they provide the same location and date. I indicate the type of source and clarify how it illustrates the itinerary when citing editions and manuscripts consisting of various types of texts or when citing relatively less well-known editions. Finally, I explain how I correct and supplement mistaken or missing places and dates from the sources, denoting, for example, that the data was found in another source or was inferred based on internal evidence.

In citing documents from the registers of the Royal Chancellery, I do not reference all other copies found by me. Numerous royal documents incorporated in the record books are preserved as original charters or manuscript copies, many of which have also been published. These are plentiful, and it would be quite arduous to trace and enumerate all of them. What is more, such enumeration would impede the readability of the itinerary without supplying additional data. I only refer to other copies of documents registered in record books if they provide corrections or supplementary information to data from the witness lists or dating clauses. This approach ensures that the most accurate and comprehensive information is presented while keeping the presentation of the data manageable and readable.

The second column, titled "Additional Information", is intended to provide essential contextualization for the main dataset. It should help to perceive iteration as a process intertwined with specific political and personal realities and oriented towards achieving specific goals. Adopting this approach enables a more comprehensive understanding of the travels' course and assists in filling some gaps in the itinerary. The information included in this column has been selected

based on its potential to help understand the underlying factors that influenced Tomicki's movements.

The first category of additional information includes mentions of Tomicki's movements drawn from the correspondence reviewed to obtain the data in the first column. Particular emphasis is placed on the motivations behind his travels and identifying travel plans, both realized and unrealized. References to his health are noted if they significantly affected his movements. Health becomes a particularly important determinant of his itinerary in the final years of his life when he was battling serious and chronic illnesses. Letters from the Vice-Chancellor, as well as those from other individuals, are not cited *in extenso*. Instead, they have been summarized in English for the sake of clarity and to save space, avoiding overburdening the reader with excessive text.

Given the importance of Tomicki's presence at the royal court for his political status, it was deemed necessary to compare his movements with King Sigismund's (who in the text of the itinerary is referred to simply as "the King"). Therefore, I reconstructed the King's progress only for periods when it could be identical to the Vice-Chancellor's itinerary. For this procedure, some explanation needs to be made. Since the primary source for determining the Vice-Chancellor's location is the registers of the Royal Chancellery under his supervision, the dating clauses of royal documents cited from there also serve as evidence of the monarch's location. The same applies to the royal documents authenticated by Tomicki found elsewhere. In such cases, citing other sources to corroborate the King's location is considered unnecessary. I only document the King's location on a specific day when the evidence in the first column solely attests to Tomicki's location or when no data concerning the Vice-Chancellor is available. Moreover, I report the King's shorter departures from Kraków, underscoring that Tomicki could not have joined these journeys.

Initially, I tried to obtain needed data about the monarch's whereabouts from the itinerary of the last two Jagiellons by Gąsiorowski. However, it soon became apparent that this source was not comprehensive enough and required constant verification. The limited number of only roughly verified sources (summaries of the registers of the Royal Chancellery, a selection of the books of royal accounts, Berezhkov's itinerary, and the dating clauses of letters published in *Acta Tomi-ciana* along with Górski's commentaries from the same edition) led to numerous gaps and inconsistencies in the itinerary as reconstructed by Gąsiorowski. Another published royal itinerary compiled earlier by Berezhkov was even less helpful than Gąsiorowski's. It was based solely on the record books of the Lithuanian Chancellery (*Metryka Litewska*, *Lietuvos Metrika*, *Литоўская метрыка*),



which consisted of significantly fewer dated entries<sup>44</sup> and contained many obvious mistakes in the dating clauses.

Therefore, I decided to supplement information from published royal itineraries with more data from primary sources. To achieve this, I re-examined the manuscript and printed materials previously used for Tomicki's proper itinerary. In addition, I sought further materials deemed most informative for tracking the movements of the royal household. The most important additional sources include the registers of the Royal Chancellery supervised by Chancellor Szydłowiecki (*księgi kanclerskie Metryki Koronnej*), record books of the Lithuanian Chancellery, royal accounts (*rachunki królewskie*), and castle court records (*księgi grodzkie*) of Kraków.

In certain cases, I reconstructed missing stops of the royal retinue based on the "standard royal itinerary". This term, introduced by me, refers to typical stopping places on routes frequently travelled by the Polish kings in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, as recorded in previously published royal itineraries—of Władysław Jagiełło,<sup>45</sup> Władysław of Varna,<sup>46</sup> Casimir Jagiellon,<sup>47</sup> Jan Olbracht,<sup>48</sup> Alexander,<sup>49</sup> Sigismund I (also for the periods beyond the scope of this study: 1493–1507<sup>50</sup> and 1507–1515, 1535–1548<sup>51</sup>), Sigismund Augustus,<sup>52</sup> Stephen Báthory,<sup>53</sup> and Sigismund III.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, I followed the pattern of itineration identified in the literature, which suggested that the King typically travelled about 30 km per day, moving between customary stopover

<sup>44</sup> In his review of Berezhkov's work, Tadeusz WASILEWSKI highlighted that the record books of the Lithuanian Chancellery don't provide sufficient data for compiling a comprehensive royal itinerary: *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 2 (1965), pp. 432–436.

<sup>45</sup> Antoni GAŚSIOROWSKI, *Itinerarium króla Władysława Jagiełły 1386–1434*, second edition, revised and expanded, eds Antoni GAŚSIOROWSKI, Grażyna RUTKOWSKA, Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2015.

<sup>46</sup> Stanisław A. SROKA, Wioletta ZAWITKOWSKA, *Itinerarium króla Władysława III 1434–1444*, Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2017.

<sup>47</sup> Grażyna RUTKOWSKA, *Itinerarium króla Kazimierza Jagiellończyka 1440–1492*, Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN–Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne–Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2014.

<sup>48</sup> Fryderyk PAPÉE, *Jan Olbracht*, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1936, pp. 229–248.

<sup>49</sup> Krzysztof PIETKIEWICZ, *Itinerarium króla Aleksandra Jagiellończyka 1492–1506*, Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2016.

<sup>50</sup> Adolf PAWIŃSKI, *Młode lata Zygmunta Starego*, Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1893, pp. 219–232.

<sup>51</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, „Itineraria ...”, pp. 258–261, 266–268.

<sup>52</sup> KOLANKOWSKI, loc. cit.; GAŚSIOROWSKI, „Itineraria ...”, op. cit., pp. 268–273.

<sup>53</sup> Marek WREDE, *Itinerarium króla Stefana Batorego 1576–1586*, Warszawa: DiG, 2010.

<sup>54</sup> Idem, *Itinerarium króla Zygmunta III 1587–1632*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2019.

locations situated approximately at such a distance, mainly within the royal estates.<sup>55</sup> I have also taken into account that since the royal retinue stopped overnight at a certain location, it must also have commenced further travel from the same point on the following day.

When referencing primary sources for the royal itinerary, I generally refrain from specifying the type of material used in parentheses, a practice I employ when documenting Tomicki's whereabouts in the first column, except in special cases. This approach stems from the fact that the data concerning the King's movements are only supplementary information relative to the main dataset. This data will likely be cross-referenced and further detailed in a comprehensive royal itinerary compiled in the future. Moreover, this method was chosen to adhere to space constraints.

The presence of Tomicki with the King, even if there is no direct evidence, can be inferred for days during most distant travels with the royal retinue and extended stays with the ruler outside the capital, such as in Lithuania, as well as during general assemblies of the parliament. As Vice-Chancellor, he was in constant demand at such times, making it highly unlikely that he would distance himself from the court, even briefly. In cases like these, if only the King's presence is confirmed by sources for a specific day, it is assumed that it is highly likely that the Vice-Chancellor was accompanying the ruler.

The assumption that Tomicki did not leave the King during the General Diets necessitated an accurate establishment of when the parliamentary meetings took place. However, an important reservation must be made. Individual assembly participants perceived the dates of the opening and closure of the parliament differently. Joint sessions involving the King, Royal Council, and envoys of the nobility marked the assembly's progress only for the latter. The Royal Chancellery typically dated documents *in conventione* (alternatively—*in conventu*) for a few days before the official opening of the proceedings and continued to do so even after the departure of the envoys of the nobility and the promulgation of agreed-upon legislation. This practice would continue as long as the King was still at the meeting place, conferring with the Royal Council and exercising certain prerogatives reserved for the ruler during the assembly<sup>56</sup>. Therefore, while the usefulness of the *in conventione* formula for determining the exact duration of the General Diet is limited, it does provide a reasonably precise indication of the periods of particular importance to

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<sup>55</sup> GAŚIOROWSKI, „Itineraria ...”, pp. 252–253.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. findings regarding the opening and closing of General Diets during the reign of King Sigismund: Waclaw URUSZCZAK, *Sejm walny koronny w latach 1506–1540*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981, pp. 148–150, 184–185.

the Royal Chancellery, during which Tomicki presumably could not leave the royal court, especially without being noticed. For this very reason, in addition to incorporating available data on the commencements and terminations of the General Diets, I also include information on the earliest and latest instances of the usage of the formula *in conventione*.

Other institutionalized events, although not as politically significant as the General Diets, were still crucial enough to influence the course and timeline of the itinerary and are thus included in the dataset. Local and Provincial Diets (*sejmiki, sejmiki generalne*), integral parts of the parliamentary system, were convened before the General Diets to elect representatives of the nobility and discuss issues for presentation at the nationwide assembly. As a member of the Royal Council, Tomicki was legally obliged to participate in these meetings.<sup>57</sup> However, for a prominent policymaker like him, these meetings were not merely a necessity but also an opportunity to display his power and influence public life. This is also true for provincial synods, where Tomicki, along with other members of the episcopate, made decisions not only on ecclesiastical matters but also on political issues. The final and least significant types of meetings included in the additional information are diocesan synods, which did not always take place in the presence of ordinaries at that time.

Certain primary and secondary sources used to compile the itinerary and the “Additional Information” column present conflicting data or propose locations that are implausible or highly unlikely on specific dates. I have managed to rectify only a portion of these inconsistencies. Conflicting data are cited and discussed in the footnotes.

All dates have been converted to the contemporary representation. The presentation style has been chosen to facilitate sorting: the year appears first, followed by the month, and then the day. Names of locations are given in languages according to the current political affiliations of territories. I use historical place names only if they significantly differ from the present, as is the case with Pressburg, currently known as Bratislava.

Information not derived from direct or indirect source evidence but inferred from the context is indicated in square brackets. Contrasting with Węcowski’s viewpoint,<sup>58</sup> I have included uncertain and reconstructed locations and dates in

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 100.

<sup>58</sup> WĘCOWSKI, “Polskie itineraria ...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 48, emphasized that compiled itineraries should include only explicit information derived from primary sources. This approach was aimed at preventing confusion and the incorporation of inadequately documented facts into scholarly literature.

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the itinerary. This incorporation is based on the premise that, when these data are appropriately indicated, the reader will critically assess them and treat them solely as tentative suggestions that necessitate thorough verification.

The data extracted from the rows of the table that provide aggregate information about Tomicki's location during specific periods are duplicated in the overview after the corresponding itinerary. This simplified summary is designed to provide an overall perspective of the itinerary and aid in navigation within the documentary edition.

The index of identified places that Tomicki visited only includes data derived from the rows of the itinerary that aggregate information about a specific period, not from information for individual days. The date format and the adopted versions of place names are replicated from the itinerary. Cross-references have been created from the other variants of place names.



## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE ITINERARY

### Archives, collections and manuscript items

**AA Cap. Cr.** – *Acta actorum Capituli Cracoviensis*, Archiwum Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej

**AA Cap. Posn.** – *Acta actorum Capituli Posnaniensis*, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Poznaniu

**AAG** – Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Gnieźnie

**AAP** – Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Poznaniu

**AAWO** – Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej w Olsztynie

**ADK** – Archiwum Diecezjalne w Kielcach

**AEp. Cr.** – *Acta episcopalia Cracoviensia*, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie

**AEp. Posn.** – *Acta episcopalia Posnaniensia*, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Poznaniu

**AGAD** – Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie

**AKKK** – Archiwum Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej

**ANK** – Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie

**AOff. Cr.** – *Acta officialia Cracoviensia*, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie

**AOff. Lubl.** – *Acta officialia Lublinensia*, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne Lubelskie

**AOff. Posn.** – *Acta officialia Posnaniensia*, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Poznaniu

**AOff. Premisl.** – *Acta officialia Premisliensia*, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Przemyślu

**AOff. Radom.** – *Acta officialia Radomiensia* (1531–1546), Biblioteka Diecezjalna w Sandomierzu, Archiwum Kapituły Kolegiackiej i Katedralnej w Sandomierzu, 833

**AOff. Sand.** – *Acta officialia Sandomiriensia* (1522–1531), Biblioteka Diecezjalna w Sandomierzu, Archiwum Kapituły Kolegiackiej i Katedralnej w Sandomierzu, 805



- AOff. Wisl.** – *Acta officialia Wisliciensia*  
**APG** – Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku  
**APL** – Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie  
**APŁ** – Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi  
**APP** – Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu  
**APPD** – Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie  
**APT** – Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu  
**ASK 1, RK** – Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego 1, Rachunki Królewskie, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie  
**ASK VI, KA** – Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego VI, Księgi Asygnat, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie  
**AURIFABER** – Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Inc. 2272: Johannes STÖFFLER, Jacob PFLAUM, *Almanach nova*, Ulm: Johann Reger, 13 II 1499 [the diary of Stanisław Aurifaber]  
**AV Cr.** – *Acta visitationum Cracoviensia*, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie  
**AZ** – Archiwum Zamoyskich, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie  
**BCz** – Biblioteka Czartoryskich  
**BDiec. Sand., AKKKS** – Biblioteka Diecezjalna w Sandomierzu, Archiwum Kapituły Kolegiackiej i Katedralnej w Sandomierzu  
**BERNARD z BISKUPIEGO** – Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cim. 5515: Johannes STÖFFLER, *Almanach nova*, Venetiis: Petrus Lichtenstein, 3 I 1507 [the diary of Bernard of Biskupie]  
**BIEM I** – Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Inc. 2697: Johannes STÖFFLER, Jacob PFLAUM, *Almanach nova*, Ulm: Johann Reger, 13 II 1499 [the diary of Marcin Biem]  
**BIEM II** – Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cim. 4735: Andreas PERLACH, *Almanach novum super anno ... MDXVIII*, Vienna: Johannes Singrenius, [1518] [the diary of Marcin Biem]  
**BJ** – Biblioteka Jagiellońska  
**BK** – Biblioteka Kórnicka Polskiej Akademii Nauk  
**BN** – Biblioteka Narodowa  
**B. Ossol.** – Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich  
**B. PAU-PAN** – Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie  
**CC** – *Castrensia Cracoviensia*, Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie  
**CDIAUL** – Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Львів  
**CWWKP** – Centralne Władze Wyznaniowe Królestwa Polskiego, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie

- GSStA PK** – Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz
- KIŁOWSKI** – Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, pp. 57–121 (=ff. 29–61 in old foliation) [the diary of Stanisław Kiłowski]
- Kod. Jag.** – *Acta Tomiciana*, Kodeks Jagielloński, vols 2, 6, 7, 9–12, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 6547, 6550, 6551, 6553–6556
- Kod. Karn.** – *Acta Tomiciana*, Kodeks Karnkowskiego, vol. 10, Biblioteka Kórnicka, 220; vol. 16, Biblioteka Narodowa, †Lat.F.IV.146p
- Kod. Op.** – *Acta Tomiciana*, Kodeks Opalińskiego, vol. 14, Biblioteka Kórnicka, 217; vol. 26, Biblioteka Naukowa im. Zielińskich Towarzystwa Naukowego Płockiego, 1655
- KONARSKI** – Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, pp. 10–56 (=ff. 5–28v in old foliation) [the diary of Piotr Konarski]
- LL** – *Libri Legationum*, Księgi Poselstw Metryki Koronnej, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie
- MIKOŁAJ Z WIELICZKI** – Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2482 [the diary of Mikołaj of Wieliczka]
- MK** – Metryka Koronna, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie
- ONB** – Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
- OS HHSA** – Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv
- OSK** – Országos Széchényi Könyvtár
- PAWEŁ Z RAWY** – B. Ossol., 6244, Teki Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego, vol. 11, fasc. 7, ff. 68–76v [the diary of Paweł z Rawa, copy based on a missing almanac from the Library of the Seminary in Płock]
- RGADA** – Российский государственный архив древних актов
- SOKOLNICKI** – Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cim. 5514: Johannes STÖFFLER, *Almanach nova*, Venetiis: Petrus Lichtenstein, 1507 [the diary of Mikołaj Sokolnicki]
- SKRODZKI** – Västerås stadsbibliotek, Paleotyper 1518: Johannes STÖFFLER, Jacob PFLAUM, *Almanach nova*, Venetiis: Petrus Lichtenstein, 1518 [the diary of Stanisław Skrodzki]
- Such.** – Zbiór Branickich z Suchej, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie
- TG** – Teki Górskiego, Biblioteka Narodowa, BOZ, 2053/1–29
- TN** – Teki Naruszewicza, Biblioteka Czartoryskich
- tzw. ML** – tak zwana Metryka Litewska, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie

## Bibliographic abbreviations

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- AT** – *Acta Tomiciana. Epistolae, legationes, responsa, actiones, res gestae serenissimi principis Sigismundi, eius nominis primi, regis Poloniae, magni ducis Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Masoviae domini*, vols 3–8, eds Tytus DZIAŁYŃSKI, Ludwik KOENIGK, Posnaniae: sumptibus Bibliothecae Kornicensis, 1853; vol. 9, editio prima, ed. Ludwik KOENIGK, Posnaniae, s.d.; vols 9–13, ed. Zygmunt CELICHOWSKI, Posnaniae: sumptibus Bibliothecae Kornicensis, 1876–1915; vols 14–16, ed. Władysław POŚIECHA, Wratislaviae–Cracoviae–Posnaniae: sumptibus Bibliothecae Kornicensis, Instituti Nationalis Ossoliniani, 1952–1960; vol. 17, eds Władysław POŚIECHA, Waclaw URBAN, Andrzej WYCZAŃSKI, Wratislaviae–Cracoviae–Posnaniae: sumptibus Instituti Nationalis Ossoliniani, 1966.
- AVK** – *Акты издаваемые Виленскою комиссією для разбора древних актов*, vol. 24: *Акты о боярах*, Вильна: Типография А.Г. Сыркина, 1897; vol. 28: *Акты о евреях*, Вильна: Типография “Русский Почин”, 1901; vol. 31: *Акты о литовских татарах*, Вильна: Типография “Русский Почин”, 1906.

- AZP** – Irena JANOSZ-BISKUPOWA, “Archiwum ziem pruskich. Studium archiwoznawcze”, *Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 77 (1972), fasc. 3.
- AZR** – *Акты, относящиеся к истории Западной России*, vol. 2, Санкт-Петербург: Типография II отделения собственной Е.И.В. Канцелярии, 1848.
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- BUJAK** – *Materiały do historii miasta Biecza (1361–1632)*, ed. Franciszek BUJAK, Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1914.
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## Non-bibliographic abbreviations and symbols

**a.k.a.** – also known as

**app.** – appendix

**approx.** – approximate

**ca.** – *circa*

**cf.** – *confer*

**ed., eds** – editor, editors

**et al.** – *et alii*

**et seq.** – *et sequens, sequentes, sequentia*

**f., ff.** – folio, folios

**h.** – *hora*

**i.e.** – *id est*

**m.** – *minutae*

**n., nn.** – note, notes

**n.d.** – no date

**No., Nos** – number, numbers

**p., pp.** – page, pages

**pap.** – paper [document]

**perg.** – *pergameneum* [*diploma*], “parchment document”

**pt, pts** – part, parts

**PT** – Piotr Tomicki

**v** – verso

† – lost item



## ITINERARY

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1515 Mar. 4 to 5 — Kraków</b>	
Mar. 4: MRPS 4/1, No. 2455 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 10522–10527; ASPK 6, No. 108, p. 258 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	PT is appointed vice-chancellor <sup>1</sup> at the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ): AT 3, No. 475 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); <i>Urzędnicy</i> 10, No. 634. The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) concludes before Mar. 4, when the last resolution ( <i>konstytucja</i> ) is issued: VC 1/1, p. 288. <sup>2</sup>
Mar. 5 – PT is in Kraków: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10528, 10529 (No. 10529 – date corrected <sup>3</sup> ); CC 34, p. 70 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT), and departs from there with the King: AT 3, No. 433, p. 310 (Stanisław Górski's commentary).	The King departs from Kraków towards Pressburg: AURIFABER, f. unnumbered (under specific date) – h. 18 m. 30; BIEM I, f. 266v; DRZEWICKI, p. 366; NOSKOWSKI, p. 412; LISKE, p. 161; ASPK 6, No. 108, p. 261; CUSPINIAN I, f. a <sub>4v</sub> ; DECIUS, p. 89; WAPOWSKI, p. 129; AT 3, Nos 433, 475 (Stanisław Górski's commentaries); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261. The last day the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, No. 2461; <sup>4</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 10529 – date corrected. <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> PT was already styled as vice-chancellor in the witnessed list of the royal document, dated (or possibly misdated) Mar. 2: MRPS 4/1, No. 2455 (witness list supplied from MK).

<sup>2</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 25; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 283; and *Posłowie*, p. 54, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) proceeded until Mar. 5. This is based on the latest royal documents dated *in conventione*, see the additional information for that day.

<sup>3</sup> The date “feria 2 post Reminiscere” in MRPS 4/2, No. 10529, is incorrectly converted by Teodor Wierzbowski into the modern form as Mar. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Contrary to the information provided by Teodor Wierzbowski in MRPS 4/1, Nos 2458–2460, the dating clauses of the corresponding entries in MK 30, ff. 6v, 7v, 9v, lack the formula *in conventione*.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1515 Mar. 5 to 6 — Tyniec</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 5–6 in Tyniec: LISKE, p. 162 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>5</sup>
<b>1515 Mar. 6 to 7 — Lipowiec</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 6–7 in Lipowiec: LISKE, p. 162 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Mar. 7 to 8 — Oświęcim</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 7–8 in Oświęcim: LISKE, p. 162 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>5</sup>
<b>1515 Mar. 8 to 9 — Pszczyna</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 8–9 in Pszczyna: LISKE, p. 162 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Mar. 9 to 10 — Strumień</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 9–10 in Strumień: LISKE, p. 162 (no exact date given). <sup>6</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Mar. 10 to 11 — Fryštát</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 10–11 in Fryštát: LISKE, p. 162 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Mar. 11 to 12 — Ostrava</b>	
Mar. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Ostrava: AT 3, No. 475 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261, and stays there: AT 3, No. 471. <sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> MRPS 4/1, Nos 2462–2464, and GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261, record the King in Oświęcim on Mar. 6.

<sup>6</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 10530, and the corresponding entry in MK 29, p. 12, record the King and PT in Nový Jičín on Mar. 10.

However, the correct date of that stay must be later, as the location of the town clearly indicates that it had to be visited after their stay in Ostrava. Far more probable evidence of the King's stay in Nový Jičín comes from Mar. 13 (see below, the additional information for that day).

<sup>7</sup> MRPS 4/1, Nos 2465–2467, record the King in Ostrava already on Mar. 10.

Mar. 12 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Ostrava: AT 3, No. 475 (Stanisław Górski's commentary). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Mar. 12 to 13 — Nový Jičín</b>	
Mar. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Nový Jičín: LISKE, p. 162 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Mar. 13 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Nový Jičín: AT 3, No. 472; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
<b>1515 Mar. 13 to 14 — Hranice</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 13–14 in Hranice: LISKE, p. 162 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Mar. 14 to 15 — Lipník</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 14–15 in Lipník: LISKE, p. 162 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Mar. 15 to 16 — Přerov</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 15–16 in Přerov: LISKE, p. 162 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Mar. 16 to 17 — Kroměříž</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 16–17 in Kroměříž: LISKE, p. 162 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Mar. 17 to 18 — Uherské Hradiště</b>	
Mar. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10532–10534.	The King's presence in Uherské Hradiště on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Mar. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 17–18 in Uherské Hradiště. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Mar. 18 to 19 — Veselí nad Moravou</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 18–19 in Veselí nad Moravou: LISKE, p. 163 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.



Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1515 Mar. 19 to 20 — Skalica</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 19–20 in Skalica: LISKE, p. 163 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Mar. 20 to 23 — Trnava</b>	
Mar. 20: LISKE, pp. 105, 164 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King arrives in Trnava: LISKE, pp. 104, 163 (in the second mention, no exact date is given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Mar. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 10535.	The King's presence in Trnava on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Mar. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 10536.	The King's presence in Trnava on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
<b>1515 Mar. 23 to 24 — Senec</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 23–24 in Senec: LISKE, p. 164 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Mar. 24 to Jul. 11 — Pressburg</b>	
Mar. 24: CUSPINIAN I, f. a <sub>3v</sub> ; AT 3, Nos 475 (Stanisław Górski's commentary, PT mentioned), 476, 477 (PT's speeches, place and date supplied from other sources).	The King arrives in Pressburg: CUSPINIAN II, p. 313; DRZEWICKI, p. 366; LISKE, pp. 105, 165; CUSPINIAN I, f. a <sub>3</sub> ; AT 3, Nos 433, 475 (Stanisław Górski's commentaries); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261. <sup>8</sup>
After Mar. 24: AT 3, No. 488 (PT's speech, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Mar. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10537, 10538.	
Mar. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 10539.	
Mar. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 482.
Mar. 28: AT 3, No. 485 (PT's speech, date supplied from other sources).	
Mar. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: LISKE, p. 109.
Mar. 30: LISKE, p. 110 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned); BARTOLINI, f. C <sub>3v</sub> ; AT 3, No. 486 (PT's speech, date supplied from other sources).	
Mar. 31: AT 3, No. 487 (PT's speech, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	

<sup>8</sup> According to BARTOLINI, f. C<sub>1</sub>, the King came to Pressburg on Mar. 25.

Apr. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: CUSPINIAN I, f. a <sub>6</sub> .
Apr. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 10540; LISKE, pp. 114, 116 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Apr. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 10541; CUSPINIAN I, f. a <sub>6v</sub> .	
Apr. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 493 (date corrected from DOGIEL 1, No. 17, p. 167); LISKE, pp. 116, 117.
Apr. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: LISKE, p. 117; BARTOLINI, f. C <sub>4v</sub> .
Before Apr. 9: AT 3, No. 490 (PT's speech, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2469, 2470; LISKE, p. 118.
Apr. 10 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: LISKE, p. 119.
Apr. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10542, 10543.	
Apr. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: LISKE, p. 120; BARTOLINI, f. D <sub>1v</sub> .
Apr. 13 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, No. 2471.
Apr. 14 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, No. 2472.
Apr. 15: AT 3, No. 492 (PT's speech, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, No. 2473.
Apr. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 496.
Apr. 17 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: LISKE, p. 121.
Apr. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 10544.	
Apr. 19 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, No. 2474; LISKE, p. 125.
Apr. 20 – <i>ut supra</i> . <sup>9</sup>	The King is in Pressburg: CUSPINIAN I, f. a <sub>7</sub> .

<sup>9</sup>MRPS 4/1, No. 2475, records PT and the King in Kraków on Apr. 22.

Itinerary	Additional information
Apr. 23 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: KUTRZEBA 1909, No. 7.
Apr. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 10545.	
Apr. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10546, 10547.	
Apr. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 10548.	
Apr. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg during the city fire: LISKE, p. 121. <sup>10</sup>
Apr. 30 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 510 (date supplied from internal evidence).
May 1 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, No. 2478.
May 3 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2479, 2480.
May 4 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 501.
May 6 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: AAG, Letters, No. 4594.
May 7 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: AAG, Letters, Nos 4595, 4596.
May 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, No. 2481.
May 9 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2482, 2483.
May 10 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 502.
May 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 10549.	
May 14: BARTOLINI, f. D <sub>4</sub> .	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2484, 2485.
May 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 504.
May 16: LISKE, p. 125 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
May 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: BARTOLINI, f. H <sub>2</sub> .

<sup>10</sup> According to DRZEWICKI, p. 366, Pressburg was burned on Apr. 28. BARTOLINI, f. D<sub>3</sub>; DECIUS, p. 91; and AT, No. 433, p. 314 (Stanisław Górski's commentary), report that the fire in the royal residences in Pressburg broke out on Apr. 30.

May 18 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, No. 2486.
May 19: LISKE, p. 128 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, No. 2487.
May 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10551, 10552.	
May 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: LISKE, p. 128; CUSPINIAN I, f. b <sub>1</sub> ; BARTOLINI, f. H <sub>2v</sub> .
May 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 10553.	
May 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 532 (date supplied from internal evidence).
May 24 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, No. 2489; AT 3, No. 505.
May 25: CIDTC, IDL 116 (Ioannes Dantiscus' letter, PT mentioned).	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, No. 2490; AT 3, No. 506.
May 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10554–10556.	
May 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 507.
May 29 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: AAG, Letters, No. 5725.
May 31: AT 3, No. 509 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: LISKE, pp. 131–132.
Jun. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 511, PT remains with the King, in contrast to many other members of the King's entourage who departed the court and Pressburg due to the extended delay in waiting for Emperor Maximilian: AT 3, No. 512, pp. 376–377 (Jan Konarski Jr's letter to Bishop Jan Konarski).
Jun. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10557, 10558.	
Jun. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: SROKA 4, No. 772.
Jun. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: SROKA 4, No. 773; AT 3, Nos 514–516.
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 10559; AT 3, No. 517 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 522.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jun. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 10560.	
Jun. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, No. 2494.
Jun. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10561–10563.	
Jun. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 524.
Jun. 16: AT 3, No. 526 (PT's letter).	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 525.
Jun. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 527.
Jun. 19 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 528.
Jun. 20 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 529.
Jun. 21 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: ASPK 6, No. 104.
Jun. 24 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: ASK 1, RK 35, f. 35; MRPS 4/1, No. 2496.
Jun. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10565–10568.	
Jun. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 531.
Jul. 1 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 533 (=BARTOLINI, f. K <sub>1v</sub> ).
Jul. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2497, 2498; AT 3, No. 534.
Jul. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10569–10571.	
Jul. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 10572.	
Jul. 6 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 536.
Jul. 7 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Pressburg: AT 3, No. 537.
Jul. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 10573.	
Jul. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 10574.	The King's presence in Pressburg until Jul. 11 recorded in GAŚIOROWSKI, p. 261.
<b>1515 Jul. 14 to 16 — Hainburg</b>	
Jul. 14: AT 3, No. 539 (PT's speech, place and date supplied from other sources).	The King arrives in Hainburg: LISKE, p. 139, and stays there: CUSPINIAN I, f. b <sub>2</sub> . Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
Jul. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Hainburg: LISKE, p. 139; CUSPINIAN I, f. b <sub>2</sub> . Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
Jul. 16 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King leaves Hainburg for the meeting with Emperor Maximilian and King Vladislaus: LISKE, p. 139. Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.

<b>1515 Jul. 16 — between Bruck and Hainburg (near Trautmannsdorf)</b>	
AT 3, No. 540 (PT's speech, place inferred from other sources); CUSPINIAN I, f. b <sub>4</sub> .	The first meeting of Emperor Maximilian, King Vladislaus, and King Sigismund takes place in the open field: CUSPINIAN II, p. 313; DRZEWICKI, pp. 366, 367; LISKE, p. 139; AT 3, Nos 541, 543, 545 (the meeting mentioned); CUSPINIAN I, ff. a <sub>4v</sub> , b <sub>2v</sub> ; DECIUS, p. 93; AT 3, No. 433, p. 312 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261. <sup>11</sup>
<b>1515 Jul. 16 to 17 — Enzersdorf</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Jul. 16–17 in Enzersdorf: DRZEWICKI, p. 368; LISKE, p. 140; CUSPINIAN I, f. b <sub>4v</sub> . Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Jul. 17 to 31 — Wien</b>	
Jul. 17: BARTOLINI, f. L <sub>4v</sub> .	The monarchs' solemn entry in Wien: DRZEWICKI, pp. 366, 368; LISKE, p. 140; CUSPINIAN I, f. c <sub>1</sub> ; AT 3, Nos 542, 545 (the entry mentioned); DECIUS, p. 95. <sup>12</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Wien: LISKE, p. 141; BARTOLINI, f. M <sub>2</sub> ; CUSPINIAN I, f. c <sub>2v</sub> . Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 19: CUSPINIAN I, f. c <sub>3</sub> .	The commencement of the Congress of Wien: CUSPINIAN II, p. 313; LISKE, p. 141; BARTOLINI, f. M <sub>2</sub> ; CUSPINIAN I, f. c <sub>2v</sub> ; DECIUS, p. 95; WAPOWSKI, p. 134; AT 3, No. 538 (Stanisław Górski's commentary). The King's presence in Wien on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Jul. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Wien: LISKE, p. 142; AT 3, No. 545.
Jul. 21: AT 3, No. 551 (PT's speech, date corrected from other sources).	

<sup>11</sup> According to WAPOWSKI, p. 132, the meeting took place on Jul. 15, while AT 3, No. 538 (Stanisław Górski's commentary), suggests it occurred on Jul. 12.

<sup>12</sup> According to WAPOWSKI, p. 133, the entrance took place on Jul. 16; CUSPINIAN II, p. 313, reports that the entrance occurred on Jul. 18.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 22: BARTOLINI, f. M <sub>4</sub> ; CUSPINIAN I, f. c <sub>4</sub> .	
Jul. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 10575.	
Jul. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 10576.	
Jul. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Wien: BARTOLINI, f. Q <sub>3</sub> ; CUSPINIAN I, f. d <sub>2</sub> .
Jul. 28 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Wien: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2502–2504; LISKE, p. 144; CUSPINIAN I, f. d <sub>2v</sub> ; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Jul. 31 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King leaves Wien for Wiener Neustadt: AT 3, No. 560 (the travel mentioned); CUSPINIAN II, p. 313; LISKE, p. 144; CUSPINIAN I, f. d <sub>3</sub> ; DECIUS, p. 97; WAPOWSKI, p. 135. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Aug. 1 to 3 — Wiener Neustadt</b>	
Aug. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Wiener Neustadt: CUSPINIAN I, f. d <sub>3</sub> . Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Aug. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Wiener Neustadt: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2505, 2506; CUSPINIAN I, f. d <sub>3</sub> ; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Aug. 3 – PT leaves Wiener Neustadt: AT 3, No. 557 (PT's letter).	The King is in Wiener Neustadt: AT 3, Nos 555, 556, and leaves for Wien: CUSPINIAN I, ff. d <sub>3</sub> –d <sub>3v</sub> . Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261 (information about the stay, not the departure).
<b>1515 Aug. 3 to 6 — Wien</b>	
Aug. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King returns to Wien: LISKE, p. 144; CUSPINIAN I, f. d <sub>3v</sub> ; DECIUS, p. 97; WAPOWSKI, p. 135. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Aug. 4 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Wien: AT 3, Nos 558, 559; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Aug. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 10578.	The King's presence in Wien on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.



Aug. 6 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King departs from Wien: CUSPINIAN II, p. 313; LISKE, p. 144; CUSPINIAN I, f. d.; DECIUS, pp. 97, 102; WAPOWSKI, pp. 135, 138. <sup>13</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>14</sup>
<b>1515 Aug. 6 to 7 — Ulrichskirche</b>	
Aug. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 10579.	The King's presence in Ulrichskirche on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Aug. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Aug. 6–7 in Ulrichskirche: LISKE, p. 144. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Aug. 7 to 8 — Mistelbach</b>	
Aug. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Mistelbach: LISKE, p. 144. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Aug. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Aug. 7–8 in Mistelbach. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Aug. 8 — Falkenstein</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King passes Falkenstein Castle: LISKE, pp. 144–145. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Aug. 8 to 9 — Mikulov</b>	
Aug. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Mikulov: LISKE, pp. 144–145. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Aug. 9 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Aug. 8–9 in Mikulov. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Aug. 9 to 10 — Hustopeče</b>	
Aug. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Hustopeče: LISKE, p. 145. <sup>15</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Aug. 10 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Aug. 9–10 in Hustopeče. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Aug. 10 to 11 — Vyškov</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Aug. 10–11 in Vyškov: LISKE, p. 145. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>13</sup> According to DRZEWICKI, p. 367, and AT 3, No. 538 (Stanisław Górski's commentary), the King left Wien on Aug. 5.

<sup>14</sup> According to GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261, the King left Wien on Aug. 5. It is based on the information provided by Stanisław Górski, see n. 13.

<sup>15</sup> MRPS 4/1, Nos 2511–2514, record the King in Jičín on Aug. 9.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1515 Aug. 11 — Prostějov</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King passes through Prostějov: LISKE, p. 145. Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Aug. 11 to 12 — Olomouc</b>	
Aug. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 10580.	The King arrives in Olomouc: LISKE, p. 145. Cf. GAŚIOROWSKI, p. 261 (information about the stay, not the arrival).
Aug. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King leaves Olomouc for Hranice: LISKE, p. 145. Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Aug. 12 — Helfštýn</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King passes Helfštýn Castle: LISKE, p. 145. Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Aug. 12 to 13 — Hranice</b>	
Aug. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Hranice: LISKE, p. 145. Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
Aug. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 10581.	The King's presence in Hranice on that day recorded in GAŚIOROWSKI, p. 261.
<b>1515 Aug. 13 to 14 — Nový Jičín</b>	
Aug. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 10582.	The King's presence in Nový Jičín on that day recorded in GAŚIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Aug. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Aug. 13–14 in Nový Jičín. Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>[1515 Aug. 14 to 15 — Ostrava]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Aug. 14–15 in Ostrava: place and date inferred from the route previously used by the royal retinue on the way from Kraków to Nový Jičín. <sup>16</sup> ] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.

<sup>16</sup> Another argument for utilizing the same or at least a similar route for the return journey from Ostrava to Kraków in the summer of 1515 is its strong resemblance to the path taken by Sigismund's household during his travels between these two cities when he was the Duke of Głogów and Opava. In December 1501, the future King of Poland traversed the route Ostrava–Fryštát–Pszczyna–Oświęcim–Kaszów–Kraków (PAWIŃSKI, p. 222). In January 1503, he took the route

<b>[1515 Aug. 15 to 16 — Fryštát]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Aug. 15–16 in Fryštát: place and date inferred from the route previously used by the royal retinue on the way from Kraków to Nový Jičín.] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>[1515 Aug. 16 to 17 — Strumień]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Aug. 16–17 in Strumień: place and date inferred from the route previously used by the royal retinue on the way from Kraków to Nový Jičín.] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>[1515 Aug. 17 to 18 — Pszczyna]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Aug. 17–18 in Pszczyna: place and date inferred from the route previously used by the royal retinue on the way from Kraków to Nový Jičín.] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>[1515 Aug. 18 to 19 — Oświęcim]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Aug. 18–19 in Oświęcim: place and date inferred from the route previously used by the royal retinue on the way from Kraków to Nový Jičín.] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>[1515 Aug. 19 to 20 — Lipowiec]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Aug. 19–20 in Lipowiec: place and date inferred from the route previously used by the royal retinue on the way from Kraków to Nový Jičín.] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.

Fryštát–Pszczyna–Oświęcim–Kraków (ibidem, p. 223). And in May 1504, he followed the path Fryštát–Pszczyna–Oświęcim–Kaszów–Kraków (ibidem, p. 225).

Notably, Siegmund von Herberstein followed a similar route in January 1516. His journey spanned Ostrava–Fryštát–Strumień–Pszczyna–Oświęcim, and he described two potential routes from Oświęcim to Kraków: one via Lipowiec and the other through Zator (HERBERSTEIN, pp. 108–110). During his return journey from Muscovy in January 1518, he followed the route Kraków–Lipowiec–Oświęcim–Pszczyna–Strumień–Fryštát–Ostrava (ibidem, p. 131). He adhered to the same route in May 1529 (ibidem, p. 288). For his journey from Kraków in July 1531, he only documented the route Kraków–Oświęcim–Pszczyna–Fryštát–Ostrava (ibidem, p. 295).

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>[1515 Aug. 20 to 21 — Tyniec]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Aug. 20–21 in Tyniec: place and date inferred from the route previously used by the royal retinue on the way from Kraków to Nový Jičín.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Aug. 21 to Nov. 8 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Aug. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Kraków: BIEM I, f. 271v; NOSKOWSKI, p. 413; SPPP 6, p. 20 (inferred from the royal court session held on Sept. 2, 12 days after the King's return to Kraków). <sup>17</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>18</sup>
Aug. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 10584.	The King's presence in Kraków on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Aug. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10585, 10586.	
Aug. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 10587.	
Aug. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10588–10590.	
Aug. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 10591.	
	Aug. 31 – the King is in Kraków: ASPK 6, No. 109.
Sept. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 10592.	

<sup>17</sup> According to DECIUS, p. 103; WAPOWSKI, p. 138; and AT 3, No. 538 (Stanisław Górski's commentary), the King returned to Kraków on Aug. 19.

<sup>18</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261, only mentions the King's stay in Kraków starting from Aug. 25. Moreover, he wrongly suggests that the King was in Pszczyna on Aug. 22. This information was based on the date of the last will of Andrzej Kościelecki (MRPS 4/2, No. 10583), but the document was issued when Kościelecki was already absent from the royal court. It was later entered into the register of the Royal Chancery in the royal transumpt dated Oct. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 10664.

	Sept. 3 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2521, 2522.
Sept. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 10593.	
Sept. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10594–10597.	
Sept. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10598, 10599.	
Sept. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10600, 10601.	
Sept. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10602, 10603.	
	Sept. 10 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2526, 2527.
Sept. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10604–10606.	
Sept. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10607–10609.	
Sept. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10610–10613.	
Sept. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 10614.	
Sept. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 10615.	
	Sept. 16 – the King is in Kraków: LM 9 (9), Nos 459, 460; GORCZAK 3, No. 155; Kod. Jag. 12, f. 17v.
Sept. 17: MRPS 4/1, No. 2533 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 10616.	
Sept. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10617–10628.	
Sept. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10629, 10630; APT, Akta miasta Torunia, Dokumenty i listy, No. 2842 (PT's letter).	
	Sept. 20 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/2, No. 10631 (the King's letter); AT 4, No. 185 (date corrected from internal evidence).
Sept. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 10632.	
	Sept. 22 – the King is in Kraków: LM 9 (9), No. 461.
Sept. 23: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2539 (royal document, witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from BORZEMSKI, No. 8, p. 35), 2540 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ibidem ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 10633–10637.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Sept. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 10638.	
Sept. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10639, 10640.	
Sept. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 10641.	
Sept. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10642–10645.	
Sept. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 10646.	
Sept. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10647, 10648.	
Oct. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 10649.	
Oct. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 10650.	
Oct. 3: AT 3, No. 573 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 3, No. 572.
Oct. 4: APG, 300, D/6, 400 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 10651.	It is highly likely that between Oct. 5 and Oct. 10, the King spends a few days in Niepołomice without PT. He goes there after the death of Queen Barbara to find solace and for hunting ("solacii et venandi causa"): AT 3, No. 575, p. 427 (PT's letter to Jan Lubrański, n.d., before Oct. 12). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 10652.	
Oct. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 10653.	
Oct. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 10654.	
Oct. 14: MRPS 4/1, No. 2547 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – "praesentibus ut supra"); MRPS 4/2, Nos 10655–10658.	
Oct. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10659, 10660.	
	Oct. 16 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2548, 2549.
	Oct. 17 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2550, 2551.
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10661–10664.	
	Oct. 19 – the King is in Kraków: LM 9 (9), No. 464.
Oct. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10665–10667.	

Oct. 21: MRPS 4/1, No. 2560 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 10668–10674.	
Oct. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10675–10677.	
Oct. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 10678.	
Oct. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10679–10681.	
Oct. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 10682.	
Oct. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10683–10687.	
Oct. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 10688; AT 3, No. 586 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Oct. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 10689.	
Oct. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 10691.	
Oct. 30: MRPS 4/1, No. 2573 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 10692.	
Oct. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10693, 10694.	
Nov. 1: MRPS 4/1, No. 2579 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from NABIALEK et al., No. 308); MRPS 4/2, Nos 10695, 10696.	
Nov. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10697–10699.	
	Nov. 3 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2581–2583; LM 9 (9), No. 468.
Nov. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 10700.	
Nov. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10701–10704; AGAD, perg. 5279 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); NALEWAJEK, p. 76 (=RYKACZEWSKI, p. 181, royal document, signature by PT).	
Nov. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 10705.	



Itinerary	Additional information
Nov. 7: MRPS 4/1, No. 2589 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ibidem ut prius”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 10706–10709.	
Nov. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10710–10713.	The King departs from Kraków towards Lithuania: ASK 1, RK 46, f. 5; BIEM I, f. 275; AT 3, No. 597 (Stanisław Górski’s commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261. <sup>19</sup>
<b>1515 Nov. 8 to 9 — Skala</b>	
Nov. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Skala: MRPS 4/1, No. 2596 (date corrected), <sup>20</sup> 2597. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 9 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Nov. 8–9 in Skala. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1515 Nov. 9 to 10 — Proszowice]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Nov. 9–10 in Proszowice: inferred from the fact that it is the only usual stop of the King situated on the way from Skala to Książnice, which is located approximately halfway between both localities. The distance between Skala and Proszowice is approximately 30 km, and between Proszowice and Książnice is slightly over 20 km. Since the King travelled at a pace of around 30 km per day, he could have had one overnight stay in Proszowice and arrived in Książnice on Nov. 10.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>19</sup> According to AT 4, No. 347, p. 299 (report of the royal wedding by Iustus Ludovicus Decius); DECIUS, pp. 106, 113; and AT 3, No. 433, p. 317 (Stanisław Górski’s commentary), the King left Kraków on Nov. 6. The same day as the expected date of the King’s departure is mentioned in PT’s letter: AT 3, No. 586.

<sup>20</sup> The original dating clause of the document in the record book read “in oppido Skala feria quinta proxima ante festum S. Martini” (Nov. 8): MK 30, f. 113. Another hand crossed out the name of the place of issue and corrected “quinta” to “quarta”, which gives Nov. 7. However, yet another hand annotated the crossed-out name of the locality with the note “bene fecit”. Teodor Wierzbowski interpreted these corrections and their control so that the original place of issue and the

<b>1515 Nov. 10 to 11 — Książnice</b>	
Nov. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 10714.	The King's presence in Książnice on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Nov. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 10–11 in Książnice. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Nov. 11 — Nowe Miasto Korczyn</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: MRPS 4/1, No. 2602; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
<b>1515 Nov. 13 to 14 — Połaniec</b>	
Nov. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Połaniec: AOff. Cr. 35, f. 409v (=p. 812 in old pagination, royal document). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 14 – <i>ut supra</i> . <sup>21</sup>	The King spends the night of Nov. 13–14 in Połaniec. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1515 Nov. 14 to 15 — Osiek]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Nov. 14–15 in Osiek: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Połaniec and Sandomierz.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Nov. 15 to 29 — Sandomierz</b>	
Nov. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 10716.	The King arrives in Sandomierz: AT 3, No. 597 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Nov. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 10717.	
Nov. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10718–10721.	
Nov. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10722, 10723.	
Nov. 19: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2603 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK), 2604 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 10724–10726.	

corrected date were valid. This solution contradicts the royal itinerary, as on Nov. 7, the King was still in Kraków. Therefore, it should be assumed that the original dating clause was correct and the unnecessary corrections were withdrawn during the control of the entry.

<sup>21</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 10715, records PT and the King in Kraków on Nov. 14.

Itinerary	Additional information
Nov. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10727, 10728.	
Nov. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10729–10740.	
Nov. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 10741.	
Nov. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10742, 10743.	
Nov. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10744–10756.	
Nov. 25: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2610 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut superius”), 2615 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 10757–10761.	
Nov. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10762–10764.	
Nov. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 10765.	
Nov. 29: MRPS 4/1, No. 2622 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	The King’s presence in Sandomierz on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in GAŚIOROWSKI, p. 261.
<b>[1515 Nov. 29 to 30 — Zawichost]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King. <sup>22</sup>	[The King probably spends the night of Nov. 29–30 in Zawichost: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Sandomierz and Lublin.] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI. <sup>23</sup>
<b>[1515 Nov. 30 to Dec. 1 — Urzędów]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Nov. 30–Dec. 1 in Urzędów: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Sandomierz and Lublin.] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Dec. 1 to 2 — Lublin</b>	
Dec. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10767–10776.	The King’s presence in Lublin on that day recorded in GAŚIOROWSKI, p. 261.

<sup>22</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 10766, records PT and the King in Urzędów on Nov. 29.

<sup>23</sup> According to GAŚIOROWSKI, p. 261, the King was in Urzędów on Nov. 29. It is based on the entry in the register of the Royal Chancellery, see n. 22.

Dec. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Dec. 1–2 in Lublin. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1515 Dec. 2 to 3 — Kolechowice]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 2–3 in Kolechowice: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Lublin and Parczew.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1515 Dec. 3 to 4 — Parczew</b>	
Dec. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10777, 10778; MRPS 5/1, No. 130 (transumpt of the royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT, the formula supplied from MK).	The King's presence in Parczew on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Dec. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Dec. 3–4 in Parczew. Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261 (information about the stay, not the departure).
<b>[1515 Dec. 4 to 5 — Łomazy]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 4–5 in Łomazy: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Parczew and Brest-Litovsk.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>24</sup>
<b>1515 Dec. 5 to 1516 Jan. 27 — Brest-Litovsk</b>	
Dec. 5 – PT arrives in Brest-Litovsk: AT 3, No. 599 (PT's letter, the arrival mentioned).	The King arrives in Brest-Litovsk: AT 3, Nos 597 (Stanisław Górski's commentary), 598 (Jan Konarski Jr's letter); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Dec. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 9 (9), No. 470; BEREZHKOVA, p. 198. <sup>25</sup>
Dec. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 10780.	
Dec. 12: AT 3, No. 599 (PT's letter).	
Dec. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 10781.	

<sup>24</sup> According to MRPS 4/2, No. 10779, and GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261, PT and the King were in Parczew on Dec. 5. However, the place of issue in MRPS was silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski because there is no such information in the corresponding entry in MK 29, p. 228.

<sup>25</sup> GORCZAK 3, No. 157, records the King in Kraków on Dec. 8.

Itinerary	Additional information
Dec. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10782–10784.	
Dec. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 9 (9), No. 301; BEREZHKOVA, p. 198.
Dec. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 10785.	
Dec. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 9 (9), No. 302.
Dec. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10786, 10787.	
Dec. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 9 (9), No. 297; BEREZHKOVA, p. 198.
Dec. 23 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 1 (1), No. 176=LM 9 (9), No. 471.
Dec. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10789–10792.	
Dec. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 9 (9), No. 472; BEREZHKOVA, p. 198.
Dec. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 10793.	
<b>1516</b>	
Jan. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 10794.	
Jan. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 10795.	
Jan. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10796–10799.	
Jan. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 10800.	
Jan. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 9 (9), No. 209.
Jan. 7 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 9 (9), No. 304; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199.
Jan. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10801, 10802; MRPS 4/3, No. 23174 (entry not considered in MRPS 4/2).	
Jan. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 9 (9), No. 210.

Jan. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10803–10813; CIP 3, No. 182 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
Jan. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10814–10817.	
Jan. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10818, 10819.	
Jan. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: BŁASZCZYK, No. 67.
Jan. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10820, 10821.	
Jan. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 9 (9), No. 361; TOMASZEWICZ 1992, No. 78. <sup>26</sup>
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10822–10826.	
Jan. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 1 (1), No. 553; GORCZAK 3, No. 160.
Jan. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10827, 10828.	
Jan. 19 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 9 (9), No. 363; LM 222 (2), No. 217.
Jan. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 10829.	
Jan. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10830, 10831.	
Jan. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 10832.	
Jan. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10833–10835.	
Jan. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10836–10840.	
Jan. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 9 (9), Nos 215–220, 308–314a; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199.
Jan. 27 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 9 (9), Nos 225–227; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.

<sup>26</sup> CHMIEL, No. 27, records the King in Vilnius on Jan. 15, but the date in the royal document is most likely incorrectly converted into the modern form by the editor.

The dating clause reads “*feria 4 ante festum S. Antonii*”, so to avoid contradiction with the royal itinerary, the feast mentioned could not be that of St Anthony the Abbot (Jan. 17), but rather of St Anthony of Padua (Jun. 13). The correct date of the issue of the document would then be Jun. 11.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1516 Jan. 28 — Kamyenyets</b>	
MRPS 4/2, Nos 10841–10843.	The King's presence in Kamyenyets on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
<b>1516 Feb. 2 — Krynki</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Krynki: LM 222 (2), No. 454; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261. <sup>27</sup>
<b>1516 Feb. 4 to 11 — Grodna</b>	
Feb. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grodna: GORCZAK 3, No. 165. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Feb. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Grodna: AGAD, perg. 7468. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Feb. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10844, 10845.	The King's presence in Grodna on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Feb. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10846, 10847.	The King's presence in Grodna on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
<b>[1516 ca. Feb. 11–13 — Pryvalki]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends at least one night in Pryvalki on his way to Valkininkai: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Grodna and Valkininkai.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>28</sup>
<b>[1516 ca. Feb. 12–14 — Merkinė]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends at least one night in Merkinė on his way to Valkininkai: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Grodna and Valkininkai.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1516 ca. Feb. 13–15 — Varėna]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends at least one night in Varėna on his way to Valkininkai: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Grodna and Valkininkai.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>27</sup> LM 222 (2), No. 218, records the King in Vilnius on Feb. 1.

<sup>28</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261, the King was in Valkininkai on Feb. 11. This is based on the misdated entry in MRPS 4/2, No. 10848, see below, n. 29.



<b>1516 Feb. 15 — Valkininkai</b>	
MRPS 4/2, No. 10848 (date corrected). <sup>29</sup>	The King's presence in Valkininkai on that day not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1516 ca. Feb. 15–22 — Rudninkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends at least one night in Rudninkai on his way to Vilnius: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Valkininkai and Vilnius.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1516 Feb. 22 to Sept. 10 — Vilnius</b>	
Feb. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 7 (7), No. 375; AJZR 8/4, Nos 26.5 (=KOSTOMAROV, No. 63=AZR 2, No. 95), 25.6. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Feb. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 10850.	The King's presence in Vilnius on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Feb. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 10853.	
Feb. 26: BCz, 1594, p. 333 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 10854.	
Feb. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 369–371.
Feb. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 10855.	
Mar. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: APG, 300, D/5a, 813.
Mar. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: RGADA, fond 389, LM 13 (13), No. 73.
Mar. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 10856.	

<sup>29</sup> Teodor Wierzbowski in MRPS repeated the date “feria 2 proxima ante Dominicam Reminiscere” (Feb. 11) from the summary of the document entered in MK 29, p. 301. However, such a date is impossible since the straight-line distance between the previous place of the King's stay on Feb. 11 in Grodna, and Valkininkai is far more than 100 km. Additionally, it would be peculiar to describe the date in that manner, using a Sunday six days after the supposed date.

Among possible and less intrusive conjectures regarding this scribal error, two seem the most probable and compliant with the dating convention. The first one is based on the assumption that the scribe wrote “ante” instead of “post”, which results in the date being Feb. 18. The other conjecture assumes that while copying the text, the word “sexta” was misread by a scribe as “secunda”. The correct date would then be Feb. 15. An additional argument in favor of this second possibility is the fact that in the royal letter sent on Feb. 15 (RH-D 1/3, No. 20754), the dating clause looks exactly the same: “feria sexta ante Dominicam Reminiscere”.

Itinerary	Additional information
Mar. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10857–10860.	
Mar. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), No. 523; APG, 300, D/5a, 824.
Mar. 6 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 373.
Mar. 7 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 374 (cf. AZR 2, No. 97), 375; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199.
Mar. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 10861.	
Mar. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10863, 10864.	
Mar. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: APG, 300, D/5a, 815.
Mar. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 10865.	
Mar. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 7 (7), No. 173; LM 9 (9), No. 203; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199.
Mar. 15 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 231.
Mar. 17 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 219.
Mar. 18 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 7 (7), No. 174.
Mar. 24 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 205.
Mar. 25 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 236.
Mar. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: AT 4, No. 6 (date supplied from LL 5, f. 2v).
Mar. 27: AT 4, No. 15 (PT's letter).	The King is in Vilnius: AT 4, No. 10.
Mar. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10866, 10867.	
Mar. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 10868.	
Mar. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 10869.	
Apr. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 238.
Apr. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 227 (8), No. 340.
Apr. 3 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 197.
Apr. 4 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 239; ASPK 7, No. 7 (=RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 198).
Apr. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10870–10872.	

Apr. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 240, 246.
Apr. 9: CC 34, p. 715 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Apr. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 241.
Apr. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 10873.	
Apr. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 10874.	
Apr. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 10875.	
Apr. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: ASPK 7, No. 16, p. 70; BŁASZCZYK, No. 74.
Apr. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10876, 10877.	
Apr. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AT 4, Nos 14, 33.
Apr. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10878, 10879.	
Apr. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 10880; ASPK 7, No. 6, p. 13 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Apr. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 244, 245.
Apr. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 10882.	
Apr. 30: ASPK 7, No. 6. p. 16 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
May 2: ASPK 7, No. 6, p. 17 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Vilnius: LM 25 (25), No. 70.
May 3: ASPK 7, No. 6, pp. 19, 20 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 461.
May 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 10883; ASPK 7, No. 6, p. 21 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
May 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 10884.	
May 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 10885; ASPK 7, No. 6, pp. 25–28 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
May 7: ASPK 7, No. 6, pp. 28, 29 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
May 8: ASPK 7, No. 6, p. 31 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Vilnius: LM 25 (25), No. 137.
May 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10887, 10888.	

Itinerary	Additional information
May 10: ASPK 7, No. 6, pp. 32, 35 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 483; AT 4, No. 142 (date supplied from RH-D 1/3, No. 20856).
May 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 10889.	
May 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10890, 10891; MRPS 4/3, No. 23175 (entry not considered in MRPS 4/2).	
May 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 204, 248 (No. 248=LM 222 (2), No. 223).
May 15 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 249=RGADA, Fond 389, LM 13 (13), No. 49; JATULIS 1, No. 125; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199.
May 16 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: RH-D 1/3, No. 20861.
May 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10893–10895.	
May 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 221.
May 24 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: ASPK 7, No. 6, pp. 38–39.
May 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10896, 10897.	
May 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 10898.	
May 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: ASPK 7, No. 6, p. 40.
May 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10899–10904; ASPK 7, No. 6, p. 43 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
May 31: ASPK 7, No. 6, pp. 43, 47 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Vilnius: LM 25 (25), No. 125; CC 34, pp. 319, 320.
Jun. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 207, 208; AT 4, No. 176 (place and date supplied from RH-D 1/3, No. 20881); BEREZHKOVA, p. 199.
Jun. 2: ASPK 7, No. 6, p. 49 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Jun. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 620–622 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 82–84).

Jun. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 10905.	
Jun. 7: ASPK 7, No. 6, p. 50 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Vilnius: CIDTC, IDL 117.
Jun. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10906–10908.	
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 10909.	
Jun. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 10910.	
Jun. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10911, 10912.	
Jun. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10913–10915.	
Jun. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 542 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 4).
Jun. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10916–10920; ASPK 7, No. 6, p. 53 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Jun. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 10921.	
Jun. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 10922; ASPK 7, No. 6, p. 54 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Jun. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10923, 10924.	
Jun. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10925, 10926.	
Jun. 19 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 624 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 86); AGAD, perg. 8755.
Jun. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 10927.	
Jun. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 625 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 87).
Jun. 23 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: ASPK 7, No. 23.
Jun. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10928–10934.	
Jun. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 626 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 88).
Jun. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 627 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 89); LM 222 (2), No. 432; AT 4, No. 161 (place and date supplied from RH-D 1/3, No. 20908).
Jun. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 10935.	
Jun. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10936–10941.	
Jun. 30: BCz, 1594, p. 294 (PT's letter).	The King is in Vilnius: JASAS, No. 214.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 10942.	
Jul. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 630 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 92).
Jul. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10943, 10944.	
Jul. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 10945.	
Jul. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 10946.	
Jul. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10947, 10948.	
Jul. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10949, 10950.	
Jul. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 10951.	
Jul. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10952–10954.	
Jul. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 631 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 93).
Jul. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 10955.	
Jul. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10956–10958.	
Jul. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 10959.	
Jul. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 10960.	
Jul. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 632 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 94).
Jul. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 633 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 95).
Jul. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 10961.	
Jul. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 10962.	
Jul. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10963, 10964.	
Jul. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 548 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 10).
Jul. 30 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 634 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 96).
Jul. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 10965.	
Aug. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10966–10968.	
Aug. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10969–10977.	
Aug. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), No. 552; LM 222 (2), No. 243.
Aug. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10978, 10979.	

Aug. 6 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 636 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 98).
Aug. 7 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 552 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 14).
Aug. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10980–10983.	
Aug. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 637 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 99).
Aug. 10 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 553, 638, 639 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 15, 100, 101).
Aug. 11 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 25 (25), No. 87.
Aug. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 10984.	
Aug. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10985–10988.	
Aug. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10989–10991.	
Aug. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10992, 10993.	
Aug. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10994, 10995.	
Aug. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 10996.	
Aug. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10997, 10998.	
Aug. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 10999–11002.	
Aug. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 11003.	
Aug. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11004–11006.	
Aug. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11007, 11008; AT 4, No. 87 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11009–11011.	
Aug. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 11012.	
Aug. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 7 (7), No. 182.
Aug. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 11013.	
Sept. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11014, 11015.	
Sept. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11016, 11017.	
Sept. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 11018.	
Sept. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AT 4, No. 101.
Sept. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 11019.	
Sept. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11020–11026.	



Itinerary	Additional information
<b>[1516 ca. Sept. 10–12 — Rudninkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends at least one night in Rudninkai on his way to Valkininkai: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Vilnius and Valkininkai.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1516 Sept. 12 to 18 — Valkininkai</b>	
Sept. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Valkininkai: LM 9 (9), No. 556 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 18). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Sept. 18 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Valkininkai: LM 9 (9), No. 557 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 19). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1516 Sept. 20 to 22 — Varėna</b>	
Sept. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Varėna: LM 9 (9), No. 641. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Sept. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Varėna: AT 4, No. 21 (date supplied from LL 5, f. 23). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1516 Sept. 23 — Valkininkai</b>	
BCz, 1594, p. 311 (PT's letter).	PT left Vilnius with the King, who wanted to rest and hunt: PT's letter to Fabian von Lusian, as referenced on the left. The King's presence in Valkininkai on that day not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1516 ca. Sept. 23–Oct. 1 — Rudninkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends at least one night in Rudninkai on his way to Vilnius: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Valkininkai and Vilnius.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1516 Oct. 1 to 1517 Feb. 3 — Vilnius</b>	
Oct. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11027, 11028.	
Oct. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 558 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 20 <sup>30</sup> ).

<sup>30</sup> The summary by Krzysztof Pietkiewicz is dated Oct. 1.

Oct. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 11029.	
Oct. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 565, 566 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 27, 28).
Oct. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 11030.	
Oct. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11031, 11032; RH-D 1/3, No. 21199 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AT 4, No. 51.
Oct. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 11033.	
Oct. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 11034.	
Oct. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 11035.	
Oct. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11036, 11037.	
Oct. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 568 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 30).
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 11038.	
Oct. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 11039.	
Oct. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 11040.	
Oct. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 570 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 32).
Oct. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 11041.	
Oct. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11042–11044.	
Oct. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11045, 11046.	
Oct. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: BŁASZCZYK, No. 76.
Oct. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 11047.	
Nov. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 11048.	
Nov. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 574, 642 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 36, 104).
Nov. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 11049.	
Nov. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11050–11054.	
Nov. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11055–11057.	
Nov. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11058, 11059.	
Nov. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 25 (25), No. 16.
Nov. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 11061.	
Nov. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 11062.	
Nov. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 11063.	
Nov. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11064–11066.	
Nov. 19 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 7 (7), Nos 183, 355; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Nov. 20 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 644 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 106).
Nov. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 575 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 37); LM 222 (2), No. 251.
Nov. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11067, 11068.	
Nov. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 25 (25), No. 73.
Nov. 27 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 7 (7), No. 376.
Nov. 28 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 252.
Nov. 30 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 645 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 106).
Dec. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 11069.	
Dec. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 11070.	
Dec. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 11071.	
Dec. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 579 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 41).
Dec. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 580, 581 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 42, 43); AVK 24, No. 17.
Dec. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11073–11077.	
Dec. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11079, 11080.	
Dec. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11081, 11082.	
Dec. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11083, 11084.	
Dec. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 25 (25), No. 144.
Dec. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 11092. <sup>31</sup>	
Dec. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 11093.	
Dec. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 253.
Dec. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 11094.	
Dec. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 647 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 109); ASPK 7, No. 36 (=RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 201).
Dec. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 11095.	

<sup>31</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 11091, records PT and the King in Brest-Litovsk on Dec. 17.

Dec. 27: AT 4, No. 148 (=ASPK 7, No. 37, PT's letter, date supplied from BCz, 1594, p. 371).	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 583 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 45).
Dec. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), Nos 267, 433; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199.
Dec. 30 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 648 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 110).
<b>1517</b>	
Jan. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11096, 11097.	
Jan. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11098, 11099.	
Jan. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: BEREZHKOVA, p. 199. <sup>32</sup>
Jan. 5 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 650 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 112); LM 222 (2), No. 266.
Jan. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 584 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 46).
Jan. 10 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 270.
Jan. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 11101.	
Jan. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11102, 11103.	
Jan. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 11104.	
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 11105.	
Jan. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 589, 590 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 51, 52).
Jan. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11107, 11108.	
Jan. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), No. 291.
Jan. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 652, 653 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 114, <sup>33</sup> 115); PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 116, 117.
Jan. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 11109.	
Jan. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 593–595 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 55–57), 655.
Jan. 29 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), Nos 109, 362; LM 9 (9), Nos 596, 656 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 58, 118); HRUSHEVSKY 1901, No. 21.

<sup>32</sup> I was unable to identify the entry in LM, on which the information in the itinerary by Nikolay Berezkhov regarding the King's stay on that day was based.

<sup>33</sup> The summary by Krzysztof Pietkiewicz is dated Jan. 20.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11110, 11111.	
Jan. 31 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 598 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 60).
Feb. 1 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 599, 657 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 61, 119).
Feb. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 11112.	
Feb. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 11113.	The King departs from Vilnius towards Valkininkai: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Vilnius and Valkininkai. Cf. GAŠIOROWSKI, p. 261 (information about the stay, not the departure).
<b>[1517 Feb. 3 to 4 — Rudninkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Feb. 3–4 in Rudninkai: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Vilnius and Valkininkai.] Not in GAŠIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Feb. 4 to 8 — Valkininkai</b>	
Feb. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 11114.	The King's presence in Valkininkai on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GAŠIOROWSKI, p. 261. <sup>34</sup>
Feb. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 11115.	
Feb. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 11116.	The King's presence in Valkininkai on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in GAŠIOROWSKI, p. 261.
<b>[1517 ca. Feb. 8–11 — Rudninkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends at least one night in Rudninkai on his way to Vilnius: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Valkininkai and Vilnius.] Not in GAŠIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Feb. 11 to Jul. 30 — Vilnius</b>	
Feb. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 280.
Feb. 14 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: RH-D 1/3, No. 21249. <sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> LM 9 (9), No. 601 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 63), records the King in Vilnius on Feb. 6.

<sup>35</sup> According to LM 18 (18), No. 99, the King was in Trakai on Feb. 13, but the year-date in the copy must have been mistaken, as it contradicts the indiction number from the dating clause

Feb. 15 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 658 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 120).
Feb. 17 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 659 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 121).
Feb. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 11117.	
Feb. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11118–11122.	
Feb. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 11123.	
Feb. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 11124.	
Feb. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 11125.	
Feb. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 11126.	
Feb. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 660 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 122).
Feb. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 11127.	
Feb. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 11128.	
Mar. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AT 4, No. 133 (place and date supplied from RH-D 1/3, No. 21262).
Mar. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 11129.	
Mar. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: TROJANOWSKA, No. 43.
Mar. 4: HERBERSTEIN, p. 113.	
Mar. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 11130.	
Mar. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 661 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 123).
Mar. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11131–11133.	
Mar. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 11134.	
Mar. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11135–11138.	
Mar. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11139–11144.	
Mar. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11145, 11146.	
Mar. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11147–11153.	
Mar. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 11154.	
Mar. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 11155.	
Mar. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11156–11165.	
Mar. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11166, 11167.	

of the document and the royal itinerary. To avoid that contradiction, the year-date should be corrected to 1509.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Mar. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11168, 11169.	
Mar. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: ASPK 7, No. 45 (=RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 205); AT 4, No. 255 (date supplied from LL 22, f. 372v).
Shortly before Mar. 23: TG, No. 97 (Jan Konarski Jr's letter, PT mentioned).	
Mar. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 11170.	
Mar. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 7 (7), No. 187; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199.
Mar. 28 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 284.
Mar. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11171, 11172.	
Mar. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 282.
Mar. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11173, 11174.	
Apr. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: JATULIS 1, No. 126.
Apr. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11175–11178.	
Apr. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 11179.	
Apr. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 283.
Apr. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11180–11186.	
Apr. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11187, 11188.	
Apr. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 11189.	
Apr. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11190, 11191.	
Apr. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11192–11195.	
Apr. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11196, 11197; TG, No. 99 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 604 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 66).
Apr. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11198–11201.	
Apr. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11202, 11203.	
Apr. 19 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 606 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 68); RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 206.
Apr. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 11204.	
Apr. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11205, 11206.	
Apr. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11207, 11208.	



Apr. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 11209.	
Apr. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 607 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 69); BERSHADSKI 3, No. 95.
Apr. 25 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: AVK 28, No. 1.
Apr. 27 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 667 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 129).
Apr. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 11210.	
Apr. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 668 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 130).
Apr. 30 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 608 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 70).
May 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11211–11213.	
May 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 11214.	
May 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 670 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 132).
May 9: CC 34, p. 736 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
May 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: CC 34, p. 737.
May 11 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 286.
May 12 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 610 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 72).
May 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11215, 11216.	
May 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 11217.	
May 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 11218.	
May 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: GORCZAK 3, No. 176.
May 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11219, 11220.	
May 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 11222.	
May 21: TG, No. 3139 <sub>b</sub> (PT's letter, place and date supplied from the royal letter sent simultaneously).	The King is in Vilnius: AT 4, No. 180 (date supplied from ASPK 7, No. 48). PT is absent from the Provincial Synod in Piotrków held on May 21: SUBERA 1971, p. 102; SUBERA 1981, p. 81.
May 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11223, 11224.	
May 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 11225.	
May 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: APG, 300, D/5a, 831a; BŁASZCZYK, No. 81.

Itinerary	Additional information
May 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 11226.	
May 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 11227.	
Jun. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius LM 9 (9), Nos 672, 675 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 134, 137); APG, 300, D/5a, 833.
Jun. 3: TG, No. 103 (PT's letter).	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 673, 676 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 135, 138).
Jun. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11228–11231.	
Jun. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 11232.	
Jun. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: APG, 300, D/5a, 834; LM 9 (9), No. 674 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 136); JASAS, No. 222.
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 11233.	
Jun. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 11234.	
Jun. 11: AT 4, No. 230 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from TG, No. 151).	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 616 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 78).
Jun. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AT 4, No. 231.
Jun. 18 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: AT 4, No. 162 (date supplied from TG, No. 3122).
Jun. 19: AT 4, No. 160 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11235, 11236.	
Jun. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 11237.	
Jun. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AT 4, No. 161 (place and date supplied from RH-D 1/3, No. 20908).
Jun. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11238, 11239.	
Jul. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11240, 11241.	
Jul. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 11242.	
Jul. 3: AT 4, No. 66 (PT's letter, date corrected from TG, No. 105).	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 677 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 139); LM 222 (2), No. 292; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199.
Jul. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11243–11245.	
Jul. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11246, 11247.	
Jul. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 11248.	
Jul. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11249–11252.	

Jul. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 678 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 140).
Jul. 16 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: GORCZAK 3, No. 177.
Jul. 17 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: SZACHERSKA, No. 318 (=RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 207); AT 4, p. 160 (Stanisław Górski's commentary).
Jul. 21 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: DANIŁOWICZ 2, No. 2273. <sup>36</sup>
Jul. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11253–11257.	
Jul. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 11258.	
Jul. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 11259.	
Jul. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11260–11266.	
Jul. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11267–11270.	The King departs from Vilnius towards Polotsk: NAROPIŃSKI, p. 222; AT 4, p. 187 (Stanisław Górski's commentary). <sup>37</sup> Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261 (information about the stay, not the departure).
<b>1517 Aug. 5 to 6 — Markovo</b>	
Aug. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11272–11274.	The King's presence in Markovo on that day not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>38</sup>
Aug. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11275, 11276.	The King's presence in Markovo on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
<b>1517 Aug. 10 — Maladzyechna</b>	
MRPS 4/2, Nos 11277, 11278.	The King's presence in Maladzyechna on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
<b>1517 Aug. 23 to Sept. 24 — Polotsk</b>	
Aug. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Polotsk: AT 4, p. 187 (Stanisław Górski's commentary). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>36</sup> In a later edition of the same document, the indiction number in the dating clause was emended from 5 to 15, resulting in a change in the year from 1517 to 1512: LM 222 (2), No. 149. However, such a date is untenable as the King was in Kraków during the summer of 1512: GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 260.

<sup>37</sup> EMERYK, p. 110, and WĄPOWSKI, p. 151, mention that the King departed from Vilnius in the last few days of July (“*extremis mensis Iulii diebus*”).

<sup>38</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261, records the King's stay in Markovo from Aug. 6–8, but there is no proof of it in either MRPS or MK.

Itinerary	Additional information
Aug. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11279, 11280.	The King's presence in Polotsk on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Aug. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 11281.	
Aug. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 11282.	
Aug. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11283–11285.	
Sept. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Polotsk: LL 5, f. 49v.
Sept. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 11286.	
Sept. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 11287.	
Sept. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Polotsk: GORCZAK 3, No. 178 (=FASTNACHT, No. 38); AT 4, No. 126 (date corrected from LL 5, f. 56).
Sept. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 11288.	
Sept. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11289–11291.	
Sept. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 11292.	
Sept. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Polotsk: APG, 300, D/5a, 839. <sup>39</sup>
Sept. 15 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Polotsk: LM 9 (9), No. 683 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 145).
Sept. 18 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Polotsk: LM 9 (9), No. 684 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 146).
Sept. 23: AT 4, Nos 244 (PT's letter), 245 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	PT plans to leave Polotsk the next day (Sept. 24) and go to Braslaw with the King: PT's letters to Andrzej Tęczyński and Paweł Holszański, as referenced on the left. The King is in Polotsk: AT 4, No. 177 (date supplied from RH-D 1/3, No. 21533).
Sept. 24 – PT is in Polotsk: MRPS 4/2, No. 11294, and departs from there towards Braslaw with the King: AT 4, Nos 244, 245 (PT's letters, expected departure mentioned).	The King departs from Polotsk: AT 4, p. 194 (Stanisław Górski's commentary). <sup>40</sup> Cf. GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261 (the information about the stay, not the departure).

<sup>39</sup> BŁASZCZYK, No. 84, records the King in Vilnius on Sept. 14.

<sup>40</sup> The letter from the King in AT 4, No. 243, is misdated as Sept. 25 and thus incorrectly suggests the King was in Polotsk on that day.

<b>1517 Sept. 29 to Oct. 26 — Braslaw</b>	
Sept. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Braslaw: AT 4, p. 194 (Stanisław Górski's commentary). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>41</sup>
Oct. 3 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Braslaw: LM 9 (9), No. 685 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 147). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 7 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Braslaw: APG, 300, D/5a, 840. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 11295.	The King's presence in Braslaw on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Oct. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Braslaw: LM 9 (9), No. 686 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 148); AT 4, No. 138.
Oct. 12 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Braslaw: LL 5, f. 21v (year-date supplied from internal evidence); Kod. Jag. 12, f. 44.
Oct. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11297–11303.	
Oct. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 11304; APG, 300, D/6, 421 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 11305.	The King's presence in Braslaw on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Oct. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Braslaw: LM 9 (9), No. 688 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 150). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Braslaw: AT 4, No. 288 (place and date supplied from LL 5, f. 40v, and TG, No. 3769). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Oct. 30 to Dec. 4 — Vilnius</b>	
Oct. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Vilnius: AT 4, p. 196 (Stanisław Górski's commentary), and stays there: LM 9 (9), No. 689 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 151). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>42</sup>
Nov. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: APG, 300, D/5a, 842. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>41</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261, only mentions the King's stay in Braslaw starting from Oct. 9, but it should be noted that Braslaw (Braslaw) was mistakenly identified in that work as Bratslaw (Braclaw).

<sup>42</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261, only mentions the King's stay in Vilnius starting from Nov. 9.

Itinerary	Additional information
Nov. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11306, 11307.	The King's presence in Vilnius on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Nov. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 293; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199.
Nov. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11308, 11309.	
Nov. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 11310.	
Nov. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11311, 11312.	
Nov. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: APG, 300, D/5a, 843a.
Nov. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 11313.	
Nov. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11314–11317.	
Nov. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11318, 11319, 11322–11324.	
Nov. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 11326.	
Nov. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: ROWELL, No. 20 (=BŁASZCZYK, No. 85).
Nov. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 11327.	
Nov. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 11328.	
Nov. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 11329.	
Nov. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 693 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 155).
Nov. 28 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), No. 694 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 156).
Nov. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 11330.	
Nov. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11331–11337.	
Dec. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 9 (9), Nos 698, 699 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 160, 161).
Dec. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11338–11340.	
Dec. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), Nos 158 (=LM 9 (9), No. 701=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 163), 250 (=LM 9 (9), No. 704=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 166), 444; LM 9 (9), Nos 702 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 164), 703 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 165=LM 25 (25), No. 185); BŁASZCZYK, No. 86; APG, 300, D/5a, 846. The King's presence in Vilnius on that day as the final

	day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261. <sup>43</sup>
Dec. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11341–11343.	The King departs Vilnius, as it would otherwise be impossible for him to arrive in Varėna on Dec. 6. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1517 Dec. 4 to 5 — Rudninkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 4–5 in Rudninkai: the place inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Vilnius and Varėna, and the date of the stop is the only possible one for the King to arrive in Varėna on Dec. 6.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1517 Dec. 5 to 6 — Valkininkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 5–6 in Valkininkai: the place inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Vilnius and Varėna, and the date of the stop is the only possible one for the King to arrive in Varėna on Dec. 6.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Dec. 6 to 7 — Varėna</b>	
Dec. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 11344.	The King's presence in Varėna on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Dec. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Dec. 6–7 in Varėna. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1517 Dec. 7 to 8 — Merkinė]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 7–8 in Merkinė: place inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Varėna and Grodna, and the date of the stop is the only possible one for the King to arrive in Grodna on Dec. 9.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>43</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261, assumed that the King left Vilnius on Dec. 3, even though he knew entries from MRPS that confirm the stay of the King and PT in Vilnius on Dec. 4. He favored the departure date from the commentary by Stanisław Górski: AT 4, p. 254.

However, Górski's opinion should be treated with caution because he probably relied only on mentions in PT's letters gathered in *Acta Tomiciana*, which reflected earlier plans of departure rather than the actual event. See letters to Mikołaj Firlej (AT 4, No. 266, p. 205), Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (AT 4, No. 258, p. 206), Mikołaj Szydłowiecki (TG, No. 120.), Mikołaj Jordan of Zakliczyn



Itinerary	Additional information
<b>[1517 Dec. 8 to 9 — Pryvalki]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 8–9 in Pryvalki: the place inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Varëna and Grodna, and the date of the stop is the only possible one for the King to arrive in Grodna on Dec. 9.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Dec. 9 to 10 — Grodna</b>	
Dec. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grodna: LM 9 (9), No. 707 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 169). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 10 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Dec. 9–10 in Grodna. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Dec. 10 to 11 — Krynki</b>	
Dec. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Krynki: APG, 300, D/5a, 847. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 11 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Krynki: LM 9 (9), No. 708 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 170). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Dec. 11 to 12 — Kołodziezna</b>	
Dec. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 11345.	The King's presence in Kołodziezna on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Dec. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kołodziezna: LM 9 (9), No. 710 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 172). <sup>44</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Dec. 12 to 13 — Rudniki</b>	
Dec. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Rudniki. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 13 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Rudniki: LM 9 (9), No. 712 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 174). <sup>45</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

(TG, No. 120<sub>c</sub>), another to Mikołaj Firlej (AT 4, No. 270, p. 206), and Mikołaj Jordan of Zakliczyn (AT 4, No. 269, p. 206). Furthermore, LM 222 (2), No. 294, also records the King's presence in Vilnius on Dec. 4.

<sup>44</sup> LM 25 (25), No. 177, records the King in Narew on Dec. 12.

<sup>45</sup> LM 9 (9), No. 711 (=PIETKIEWICZ, No. 173), records the King in Kołodziezna on Dec. 13.

<b>1517 Dec. 13 to 14 — Narew</b>	
Dec. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11346–11349.	The King's presence in Narew on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 261.
Dec. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Dec. 13–14 in Narew. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Dec. 14 to 15 — Bielsk</b>	
Dec. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Bielsk: LM 9 (9), Nos 715, 716 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 177, 178). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 15 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Bielsk: LM 1 (1), Nos 391, 475 (No. 475=LM 18 (18), No. 141); LM 9 (9), Nos 717–719 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 179–181 <sup>46</sup> ). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Dec. 15 to 16 — Milejczyce</b>	
Dec. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11350, 11351.	The King's presence in Milejczyce on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Dec. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Dec. 15–16 in Milejczyce. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Dec. [16 to 17] — Mielnik</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 16–17 in Mielnik: date inferred from the subsequent part of the royal itinerary.] <sup>47</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1517 Dec. 17 to 18 — Łosice]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 17–18 in Łosice: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Mielnik and Łuków.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1517 Dec. 18 to 19 — Trzebieszów]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 18–19 in Trzebieszów: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Mielnik and Łuków.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Dec. 19 to 20 — Łuków</b>	
Dec. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 11354.	The King's presence in Łuków on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.

<sup>46</sup> The summary in PIETKIEWICZ, No. 179, is dated Dec. 14.

<sup>47</sup> LM 9 (9), Nos 720–722 (=PIETKIEWICZ, Nos 182–184), record the King in Mielnik on Dec. 18.

Itinerary	Additional information
Dec. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Dec. 19–20 in Łuków. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Dec. 20 to 21 — Zadybie</b>	
Dec. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Zadybie. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 21 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Zadybie: ASK 1, RK 46, f. 12; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
<b>1517 Dec. 21 to 22 — Kozienice</b>	
Dec. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Kozienice. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kozienice: ASK 1, RK 46, f. 12. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1517 Dec. 22 to 23 — Jedlnia]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 22–23 in Jedlnia: place and date inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Kozienice and Radom.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Dec. [23 to 26] — Radom</b>	
Dec. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably arrives in Radom: based on the assumption that he spent the previous night in Jedlnia.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 11355.	The King's presence in Radom on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Dec. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Radom: ASK 1, RK 46, f. 12v. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	[The King probably leaves Radom: based on the assumption that he spends only the night of Dec. 26–27 in Wąchock.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1517 Dec. [26] to 27 — Wąchock</b>	
Dec. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably arrives in Wąchock.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 27 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Wąchock: ASK 1, RK 46, f. 12v; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.

<b>1517 Dec. 27 to 28 — Nowa Słupia</b>	
Dec. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Nowa Słupia. Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262 (no exact date given).
Dec. 28 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Nowa Słupia: ASK 1, RK 46, f. 13. Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262 (no exact date given).
<b>1517 Dec. 28 — Święty Krzyż</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Święty Krzyż: ASK 1, RK 46, f. 12v; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262. <sup>48</sup> Cf. BORKOWSKA, p. 186 (no exact date given).
<b>1517 Dec. 28 — Nowa Słupia</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King passes through Nowa Słupia on his way back from Święty Krzyż.
<b>1517 Dec. 28 to 29 — Łagów</b>	
Dec. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Łagów: ASK 1, RK 46, f. 13. Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262 (no exact date given).
Dec. 29 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Dec. 28–29 in Łagów. Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262 (no exact date given).
<b>1517 Dec. 29 to 30 — Szydłów</b>	
Dec. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 11356.	The King's presence in Szydłów on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Dec. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 11357.	The King's presence in Szydłów on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
<b>1517 Dec. 30 to 31 — Wiślica</b>	
Dec. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 11358.	The King's presence in Wiślica on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Dec. 31 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Dec. 30–31 in Wiślica. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1517 Dec. 31 to 1518 Jan. 1 — Proszowice]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 31–Jan. 1 in Proszowice: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Wiślica and Kraków.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>48</sup> I assumed that the King did not spend the night at the Święty Krzyż Monastery, as the royal itineraries published so far do not provide sufficient evidence to support such a practice.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1518 Jan. 1 to Apr. 13 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Jan. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 46, f. 13v; AURIFABER, f. unnumbered (under specific date); BIEM I, f. 307; NOSKOWSKI, p. 413; MPH 3, p. 92 (annals from Święty Krzyż Monastery); EMERYK, p. 112; WAPOWSKI, p. 153; AT 4, p. 254 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
	Jan. 3 – the King is in Kraków: AT 4, No. 303 (place and date supplied from internal evidence).
	Jan. 4 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2639.
Jan. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 11359.	
Jan. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11360–11362.	
Jan. 7: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2640 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”), 2641 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK and NABIAŁEK et al., No. 310); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11363, 11364.	
Jan. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11365, 11366.	The King visits the shrine in Skalka: ASK 1, RK 46, f. 15v. Cf. BORKOWSKA, p. 201 (no exact date given); SZYMBORSKI 2007, p. 176 (repeated from BORKOWSKA). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Jan. 12 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2643, 2644; LL 5, f. 85 (year-date supplied from internal evidence).

Jan. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 11367.	
	Jan. 14 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2645, 2646.
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 11368.	
Jan. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 11369.	
	Jan. 20 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2647, 2648.
Jan. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 11370.	
Jan. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11372–11374.	
	Jan. 25 – the King is in Kraków: SPPP 6, No. 94; HERBERSTEIN, p. 131. The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked in Kraków for that day: AT 4, Nos 305–307, 310.
Jan. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11375, 11376.	
Jan. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 11377.	
Jan. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11378–11380.	
Jan. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 11381.	
Feb. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11382, 11383.	
	Feb. 2 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2653.
Feb. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11384, 11385; BIEM I, f. 308.	
Feb. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 11387.	The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, No. 2654; MRPS 4/2, No. 11387. <sup>49</sup>
Feb. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11388–11390. <sup>50</sup>	
Feb. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11392–11395.	
Feb. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11396–11401.	
Feb. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11402–11406.	

<sup>49</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 27; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 292; and *Posłowie*, p. 55, consider that day as the commencement of the General Diet (*sejm walny*).

<sup>50</sup> Although MRPS 4/2, No. 11391, is dated Kraków, Feb. 5, the corresponding entry in MK 31, p. 46, has no dating clause.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Feb. 9: MRPS 4/1, No. 2663 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus quibus supra”).	
Feb. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11408–11413.	
Feb. 11: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2664 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK), 2666 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ibidem ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11414–11416.	
Feb. 12: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2668, 2669 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus quibus supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11417–11420.	
Feb. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11421–11424.	
Feb. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: SPPP 6, No. 104.
Feb. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 11425.	
Feb. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11426–11428.	
Feb. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 11429.	
Feb. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11430, 11431.	
Feb. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11432–11435.	
Feb. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11436, 11437.	
Feb. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11438, 11439.	
Feb. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11441–11446.	
Feb. 24: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2685 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from AGAD, perg. 6789), 2686 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus quibus supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11447–11450.	



Feb. 25: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2691, 2696 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”, “praesentibus quibus supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11451–11455.	
Feb. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11456–11461.	
Feb. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11462–11465.	
Feb. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11466, 11467.	
Mar. 1: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2705, 2707 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus quibus supra”, “praesentibus ut supra”), 2709 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from BK, Dypl. 49); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11468–11471.	
Mar. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 11473.	
Mar. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11474–11477.	
Mar. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11478–11482.	
Mar. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11483–11486.	
Mar. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11487–11489.	
Mar. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: AT 4, No. 325 (place and date supplied from LL 5, f. 78, year-date corrected from internal evidence).
Mar. 8: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2727, 2728 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus quibus supra”, “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11490–11494.	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) is concluded before Mar. 8, when the resolutions ( <i>konstytucje</i> ) are issued: CIP 3, Nos 192, 193. <sup>51</sup>
Mar. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 11495.	

<sup>51</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 27; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 292; and *Posłowie*, p. 55, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) proceeded until Apr. 19. This is based on the assumption that the participants of the assembly stayed in Kraków until the wedding of the King and Bona Sforza (Apr. 18).

Itinerary	Additional information
Mar. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 2737 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11496–11499.	
Mar. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11500–11504.	
Mar. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11505, 11506.	
Mar. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11507–11515.	
Mar. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11516, 11517.	
Mar. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11518–11524.	
Mar. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11525–11527; CIP 3, No. 196 (=ASPK 7, No. 86 =RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 213, royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Mar. 17: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2755, 2756 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus [...] quibus supra”, “praesentibus quibus supra in aliis litteris”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11528–11536.	The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2755, 2756; MRPS 4/2, Nos 11528–11530.
Mar. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 11537.	
Mar. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11538–11542; AGAD, perg. 3693 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Mar. 20: MRPS 4/1, No. 2767 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from BISCHOFF, No. 26 =KAPRAL, No. 64); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11543–11545.	
Mar. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 11546.	
Mar. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 11547.	
Mar. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11548–11552.	
Mar. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11553–11555.	
Mar. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11556, 11557.	

Mar. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11558, 11559.	
Mar. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 11560.	
Mar. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11561–11564.	
Mar. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11565–11569.	
Mar. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11570–11577; AOff. Premisl. 14, f. 345v (=PAWŁOWSKI, p. 180, No. 2, PT's document).	
Mar. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11578–11581.	
Apr. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11582, 11583.	
Apr. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11584, 11585.	
Apr. 6: MRPS 4/3, Nos 23184 (entry not considered in MRPS 4/2), 23185 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Apr. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 11586.	
Apr. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11588–11590.	
	Apr. 10 – the King is in Kraków: ASPK 7, No. 89.
Apr. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11591, 11592.	
<b>1518 Apr. 13 — Morawica</b>	
PT leaves Kraków to greet arriving Bona: AT 4, No. 347, p. 304 (report of the royal wedding by Iustus Ludovicus Decius).	
<b>1518 Apr. 14 to Nov. 4 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Apr. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11593–11595.	
Apr. 15: AT 4, No. 347, pp. 305, 310, 313 (report of the royal wedding by Iustus Ludovicus Decius, PT mentioned); WAPOWSKI, p. 154.	

Itinerary	Additional information
	Apr. 17 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2777.
Apr. 18: AT 4, No. 347, pp. 317, 319 (report of the royal wedding by Iustus Ludovicus Decius, PT mentioned); EMERYK, p. 118.	
Apr. 19: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2778 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus etc. ut in registro praecedenti cancellariatus in litteris Maczynsky, qui est susceptus per dominos Lanczkorunenses de Brzezye ad arma ipsorum”), 2779 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 11596.	
Apr. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11597–11599.	
Apr. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 11600.	
Apr. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11601–11607.	
	Apr. 26 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2780; SPPP 6, No. 127.
Apr. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11608–11610.	
Apr. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11611, 11612; JOACHIM 2, No. 15, p. 178 (diplomatic report, PT mentioned).	
	Apr. 29 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2781.
Apr. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 11613.	
May 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11614–11618.	
May 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 11619.	
May 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11620–11624.	
May 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 2786 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
May 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11625–11628.	

May 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11629–11633.	
May 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11634–11639.	
May 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11640–11645.	
	May 10 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2790; AGZ 10, Nos 268, 269.
May 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11646–11648.	
May 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11649–11653.	
May 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11654–11659.	
May 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11660–11666.	
May 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11667–11669.	
May 16: MRPS 4/1, No. 2796 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11671, 11672.	
May 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11673, 11674.	
May 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11675, 11676.	
May 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 11677.	
	May 20 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2799; SPPP 6, p. 21.
May 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 11678.	
May 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11679–11681.	
May 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 11682.	
May 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11683–11685.	
May 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11686–11690.	
May 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11691–11694.	
May 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11695–11698.	
May 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11699–11703.	
May 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11704–11710.	
	May 30 – the King is in Kraków: LM 11 (11), No. 17.
May 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11711–11713.	
Jun. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 11715.	
Jun. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 11716.	

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
	Jun. 4 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2809.
Jun. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 11717.	
Jun. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 11718.	
Jun. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 11719.	
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11720, 11721.	
Jun. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 2811 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11722, 11723.	
Jun. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 11724.	
Jun. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 11725.	
Jun. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 11726.	
Jun. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11727–11732.	
Jun. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 11733.	
Jun. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11734, 11735.	
Jun. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 11736.	
Jun. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 11737.	
Jun. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 11738.	
Jun. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 11739.	
Jun. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11740, 11741.	
	Jun. 26 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2817.
Jun. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 11742.	
Jun. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11743, 11744.	
	Jun. 29 – the King is in Kraków: JASAS, No. 225.
Jul. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 11746.	
Jul. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11747, 11748.	
Jul. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 11749.	
	Jul. 4 – the King is in Kraków: LM 10 (10), Nos 12, 13=LM 11 (11), Nos 21, 22.

	Jul. 5 – the King is in Kraków: LM 11 (11), No. 26.
Jul. 7: MRPS 4/1, No. 2820 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Jul. 8: MRPS 5/2, No. 7473 (transumpt of royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT, witness list and formulas supplied from MK).	
Jul. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 11751.	
	Jul. 10 – the King is in Kraków: VMPL 2, No. 408, p. 384.
Jul. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 11752.	
	Jul. 12 – the King is in Kraków: Kod. Jag. 12, f. 20v.
Jul. 15: NABIAŁEK et al., No. 312 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
Jul. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 11753.	
Jul. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11754, 11755.	
	Jul. 18 – the King is in Kraków: AGAD, perg. 3694.
Jul. 19: AGAD, perg. 3248 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jul. 20: AOff. Cr. 37, f. 324 (=p. 645 in old pagination, royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jul. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11756, 11757; AGAD, perg. 1943 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jul. 22: AGAD, perg. 3355 (royal document witnessed by PT, cf. transumpt in MRPS 5/1, No. 3925).	
	Jul. 23 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 273.



Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 11758; B. Ossol., 2160, pp. 46–47 (cartulary of the Abbey of Tyniec, royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
	Jul. 26 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2826–2828.
	Jul. 27 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, D/5a, 864.
	Jul. 28 – the King is in Kraków: LM 10 (10), No. 17=LM 11 (11), No. 27; LM 11 (11), No. 28; AGZ 10, No. 272.
Jul. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 11759.	
	Jul. 30 – the King is in Kraków: LM 10 (10), No. 19=LM 11 (11), No. 30.
	Aug. 2 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2829; LM 10 (10), No. 18=LM 11 (11), No. 29.
	Aug. 4 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2830, 2831.
Aug. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11760, 11761.	
Aug. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11762, 11763.	
Aug. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 11764.	
Aug. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 11765.	
Aug. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11766, 11767.	
Aug. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11768, 11769; CDUJ 4, No. 343 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Aug. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11770–11775.	
Aug. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11776–11781.	
Aug. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 11782.	
Aug. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 11783.	
Aug. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11784–11786; BCz, 1594, p. 485 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 11787.	

Aug. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 11788.	
Aug. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 11789.	
	Aug. 22 – the King is in Kraków: CC 35, p. 775.
Aug. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11790–11793.	
Aug. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11794–11800.	
Aug. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11801–11805.	
Aug. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11806–11809.	
Aug. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 11810.	
Aug. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 11811.	
Aug. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 11812.	
	Aug. 31 – the King is in Kraków: LM 222 (2), No. 297.
Sept. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 11821.	
Sept. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 11822.	
Sept. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 11823.	
Sept. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11824–11827.	
Sept. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11828–11830.	
Sept. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11831–11836.	
	Sept. 8 – the King is in Kraków: LM 222 (2), No. 298; BEREZHKOVA, p. 199.
	Sept. 9 – the King is in Kraków: RH-D 1/3, No. 22081.
Sept. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11837, 11838.	
Sept. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11839–11841.	
Sept. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11842–11844; AOff. Premisl. 14, f. 338v (PT's document). <sup>52</sup>	
Sept. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11845, 11846.	The King is also in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 39v. Not is GĄSIOROWSKI.
Sept. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 11847.	

<sup>52</sup> The same document in PAWŁOWSKI, p. 180, No. 3, is misdated as Sept. 11. The date was repeated from a much later copy from the 1720s found in the records of the visitation conducted by the Bishop of Przemyśl, Krzysztof Jan Szembek.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Sept. 16 – the King is in Kraków: LM 1 (1), No. 132.
Sept. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 11848.	
Sept. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 11849.	
Sept. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 11850.	
Sept. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11851–11855.	
Sept. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11856, 11857.	
Sept. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 11858.	
Sept. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 11859.	The King leaves Kraków for Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 51.
	ca. Sept. 27 – the King makes a pilgrimage to Szczepanów via Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 39v (no exact date given). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Sept. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11860–11862.	
	Sept. 30 – the King is in Kraków: LM 10 (10), No. 22=LM 11 (11), No. 34.
Oct. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11863, 11864.	
Oct. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11865, 11866.	
	Oct. 3 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2834; RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 218.
Oct. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11867–11869.	
	Oct. 5 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2837.
Oct. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11871, 11872.	
Oct. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11873–11876.	
	Oct. 9 – the King is in Kraków: CC 35, p. 766.
Oct. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11877, 11878.	
	Oct. 12 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2844.
Oct. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11879–11881.	

	Oct. 15 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2846.
Oct. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11882–11886.	
	Oct. 17 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, D/5a, 872.
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 11887.	
Oct. 19: BISCHOFF, No. 28 (=KAPRAL, No. 66, royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Oct. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11888, 11889.	
Oct. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 11891.	
	Oct. 24 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 276; RH-D 1/3, No. 22163.
Oct. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11892, 11893.	
Oct. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11894–11897.	
Oct. 27: MRPS 4/1, No. 2852 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 11898–11905.	
Oct. 28: MRPS 4/1, No. 2853 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 11906.	
	Oct. 29 – the King visits the shrine in Skałka: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 40. Cf. BORKOWSKA, p. 201 (no exact date given); SZYMBORSKI 2007, p. 176 (repeated from BORKOWSKA). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11908–11916.	
Nov. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11919–11924.	
Nov. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11925–11927.	
Nov. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11928–11938; AOff. Cr. 44, f. 226 (=p. 451 in old pagination, royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Nov. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 11939.	The King departs from Kraków towards Lithuania for the Lithuanian Diet in Brest-Litovsk: ASK 1, RK 47, ff. 40, 47, 54v; AOff. Cr. 37, f. 302v (=p. 602 in old pagination, note in the records of the Consistory Court of Kraków); BIEM I, f. 317; NOSKOWSKI, p. 413; AT 5, Nos 1 (Stanisław Górski's commentary), 2 (the departure mentioned); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262. <sup>53</sup>
<b>[1518 Nov. 4 to 5 — Proszowice]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Nov. 4–5 in Proszowice: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Kraków and Nowe Miasto Korczyn.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1518 Nov. 5 to 6 — Nowe Miasto Korczyn</b>	
Nov. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 11941.	The King's presence in Nowe Miasto Korczyn on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 11942.	The King's presence in Nowe Miasto Korczyn on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
<b>1518 Nov. 6 to 7 — Połaniec</b>	
Nov. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 11943.	The King's presence in Połaniec on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11944–11946.	The King's presence in Połaniec on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
<b>1518 Nov. 7 to 8 — Osiek</b>	
Nov. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 11947.	The King's presence in Osiek on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11948, 11949.	The King's presence in Osiek on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.

<sup>53</sup> According to GORCZAK 5, No. 92, the King was in Kraków on Nov. 5, but the same document in MRPS 4/1, No. 2866, is dated Nov. 4.

<b>1518 Nov. 8 to 9 — Sandomierz</b>	
Nov. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11950–11952.	The King's presence in Sandomierz on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 11953.	The King's presence in Sandomierz on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
<b>1518 Nov. 9 to 10 — Zawichost</b>	
Nov. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 11954.	The King's presence in Zawichost on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 9–10 in Zawichost. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1518 Nov. 10 to 11 — Urzędów</b>	
Nov. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Urzędów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11955–11959.	The King's presence in Urzędów on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
<b>[1518 Nov. 11 to 12 — Lublin]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Nov. 11–12 in Lublin: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Urzędów and Kolechowice.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1518 Nov. 12 to 13 — Kolechowice</b>	
Nov. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 11965 (date corrected). <sup>54</sup>	The King's stay in Kolechowice on that day not recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>54</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 11965, is dated Nov. 18. The date is repeated by Teodor Wierzbowski from an erroneous entry in MK 33, p. 443, that reads “feria 5 post S. Martini”. The royal court could not be in Kolechowice on that day because this town is on the route between two other stopping points on the itinerary – Urzędów on Nov. 11 and Parzew on Nov. 13. The royal household must then have stopped in Kolechowice somewhere between these dates. The scribal error in the analyzed entry is also evident for another reason. Since St Martin's Day (Nov. 11) in 1518 fell on Thursday, it was virtually useless as a point of reference for the Thursday one week later (Nov. 18). Therefore, a textual conjecture should give a probable date within the period that begins on Nov. 11 and ends on Nov. 13.

The earliest possible date (Nov. 11) can be obtained through the simplest of possible conjectures by removing the word “post”. However, the distance between Urzędów and Kolechowice is about 80 km, whereas the average distance per day of the itinerant Jagiellonian court is approximately 30 km, so the royal household could not be in these two places on the same day. Instead, it must be assumed that *en route* between the two towns, the King and his entourage stopped overnight, even though there is no direct evidence for it so far.

The missing location can be reconstructed with high probability from the standard royal itinerary to Lithuania, which suggests that the King stayed at the royal castle in Lublin, halfway between

Itinerary	Additional information
Nov. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 12–13 in Kolechowice. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1518 Nov. 13 to 14 — Parczew</b>	
Nov. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 11960.	The King’s presence in Parczew on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11961, 11962.	The King’s presence in Parczew on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262. <sup>55</sup>
<b>[1518 Nov. 14 to 15 — Łomazy]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Nov. 14–15 in Łomazy: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Parczew and Brest-Litovsk.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1518 Nov. 15 to 1519 Jan. 3 — Brest-Litovsk</b>	
Nov. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Brest-Litovsk: AT 5, No. 1 (Stanisław Górski’s commentary); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11963, 11964.	
Nov. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 10 (10), Nos 23, 26, <sup>56</sup> 33–35=LM 11 (11), Nos 39–41, 44, 45. <sup>57</sup>
Nov. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 11966.	

Urzędów and Kolechowice. The visit to Lublin is then to be dated Nov. 11–12, and the visit to Kolechowice Nov. 12–13. Such findings are consistent with the fact that the next stopping point, Parczew, is exactly one day away from Kolechowice, i.e., approximately 25 km away.

The scribal error in the MK must be conjectured for “feria 6 post S. Martini” (Nov. 12) because an unwitting alteration of “quinta” instead of “sexta” is much easier for a scribe to make than it would be from other possible reading “Sabbato post S. Martini” (Nov. 13), especially since Friday in Polish is “piątek”, that is, “fifth day of the week”.

<sup>55</sup> LM 12 (12), No. 760, records the King in Vilnius on Nov. 14.

<sup>56</sup> In LM 10 (10), No. 26, the editors dated the entry as Dec. 1, which was changed to Nov. 18 in LM 11 (11), No. 40.

<sup>57</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262, the King was in Kolechowice on Nov. 18. This is based on the misdated entry in MRPS 4/2, No. 11965. See above, n. 54.



Nov. 21: BCz, 1594, p. 495 (PT's letter).	The King plans to return to the Kingdom shortly after Christmas (Dec. 25) or by the Circumcision of Jesus (Jan. 1) at the latest, to attend the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) and be present for the birth of his child. PT is expected to accompany the monarch on this journey: BCz, 1594, p. 495 (PT's letter to Fabian von Lusian); AT 5, No. 4, pp. 4–5 (PT's letter to Jan Boner, n.d.).
Nov. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11967, 11968.	
Nov. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11969, 11970.	
Nov. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 11971.	
Nov. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11972, 11973.	
Nov. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11974, 11975.	
Dec. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 1 (1), No. 189; LM 11 (11), No. 55.
Dec. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 11976.	
Dec. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 11977.	
Dec. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11978–11986.	
Dec. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: AGAD, perg. 8425.
Dec. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 11988.	
Dec. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 10 (10), No. 27.
Dec. 13 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: ROWELL, No. 57 (=BŁASZCZYK, No. 97).
Dec. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 11989.	
Dec. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 11990.	
Dec. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 10 (10), Nos 30, 32; BŁASZCZYK, No. 98.
Dec. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 11993.	
Dec. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 11994.	
Dec. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11995–11997.	
Dec. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 11998, 11999.	
Dec. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 11 (11), No. 48.

Itinerary	Additional information
Dec. 23 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 11 (11), No. 49; JASAS, No. 227; BŁASZCZYK, No. 101; RH-D 1/3, No. 22229.
Dec. 24 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 25 (25), No. 19; GORCZAK 3, No. 193.
Dec. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12000, 12001.	
Dec. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 11 (11), Nos 47, 52, 59; LM 25 (25), No. 35.
Dec. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 12002.	
<b>1519</b>	
Jan. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 12003; GORCZAK 5, No. 94 (royal document, information about <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT supplied from NIEWODNICZAŃSKI, No. 147).	
Jan. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 12004.	
Jan. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12005–12007.	The King departs from Brest-Litovsk towards Poland: AT 5, No. 1 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262. <sup>58</sup>
<b>1519 Jan. 3 to 4 — Janów</b>	
Jan. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 12008.	The King's presence in Janów on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Jan. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Jan. 3–4 in Janów. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Jan. 4 to 5 — Łosice</b>	
Jan. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Łosice. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jan. 5 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Łosice: LM 25 (25), No. 180. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>58</sup> Two documents incorrectly suggest the King's presence in Brest-Litovsk after Jan. 3:

- 1) LM 11 (11), No. 60, records the King in Brest-Litovsk on Jan. 5;
- 2) LM 11 (11), No. 72, records the King in Brest-Litovsk on Jan. 8.

<b>[1519 Jan. 5 to 6 — Trzebieszów]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jan. 5–6 in Trzebieszów: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Łosice and Łuków.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Jan. 6 to 7 — Łuków</b>	
Jan. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12009–12011.	The King's presence in Łuków on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Jan. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Jan. 6–7 in Łuków. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Jan. 7 to 8 — Zadybie</b>	
Jan. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12012, 12013.	The King's presence in Zadybie on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Jan. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Jan. 7–8 in Zadybie. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Jan. 8 to 9 — Kozienice</b>	
Jan. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kozienice: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 55. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jan. 9 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kozienice: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 40v. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1519 Jan. 9 to 10 — Jedlnia]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jan. 9–10 in Jedlnia: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Kozienice and Radom.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Jan. 10 to [12] — Radom</b>	
Jan. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Radom: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 55. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jan. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 12014.	The King's presence in Radom on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Jan. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably departs from Radom: based on the assumption that he spends the night of Jan. 12–13 in Wąchock.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1519 Jan. 12 to 13 — Wąchock]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jan. 12–13 in Wąchock: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Radom and Nowa Słupia.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1519 Jan. 13 to 14 — Nowa Słupia</b>	
Jan. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Nowa Słupia: APG, 300, D/5a, 881. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Jan. 14 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Jan. 13–14 in Nowa Słupia. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Jan. 14 — Święty Krzyż</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Święty Krzyż: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 40v. <sup>59</sup> Cf. BORKOWSKA, p. 186 (no exact date given). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Jan. 14 — Nowa Słupia</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King passes through Nowa Słupia on his way back from Święty Krzyż.
<b>1519 Jan. 14 to 15 — Łagów</b>	
Jan. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Łagów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Jan. 15 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Łagów: ASK 1, RK 47, ff. 40v (no exact date given), 55v. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Jan. 15 to 16 — Szydłów</b>	
Jan. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 12015.	The King's presence in Szydłów on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Jan. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Szydłów: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 40v. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Jan. 16 to 17 — Wiślica</b>	
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 12016.	The King's presence in Wiślica on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Jan. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Jan. 16–17 in Wiślica. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1519 Jan. 17 to 18 — Proszowice]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jan. 17–18 in Proszowice: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Wiślica and Kraków.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>59</sup> I assumed that the King did not spend the night at the Święty Krzyż Monastery, as the royal itineraries published so far do not provide sufficient evidence to support such a practice.

<b>1519 Jan. 18 to Feb. 4 — Kraków</b>	
Jan. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Kraków from Brest-Litovsk: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 40v; SPPP 6, p. 21 (date inferred from the mention on the royal court session held on Jan. 30, 12 days after the King's return to Kraków); AURIFABER, f. unnumbered (under specific date); BIEM I, f. 321; BIEM II, f. A <sub>3</sub> – “ante h. 19”; NOSKOWSKI, pp. 413–414; EMERYK, p. 124; WAPOWSKI, p. 157; AT 5, Nos 1 (Stanisław Górski's commentary), 5, 6 (date mentioned in contents); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
ca. Jan. 20: AT 5, No. 6 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	Jan. 20 – the King is in Kraków: AT 5, No. 8.
Jan. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 12017.	
Jan. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 12018.	
	Jan. 23 – the King is in Kraków: AT 4, No. 376.
Jan. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 12019.	
Jan. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12020–12022.	
Jan. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12023–12027.	
Jan. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 12028.	
Jan. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12029–12031.	The King visits the shrine in Skałka: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 41. Cf. BORKOWSKA, p. 201 (no exact date given); SZYMBORSKI 2007, p. 176 (repeated from BORKOWSKA). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jan. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12032–12034.	
Jan. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 12035.	
Jan. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12036, 12037.	
Feb. 1: MRPS 4/1, No. 2870 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from DÖRFLERÓWNA, No. 42).	
Feb. 2: MRPS 4/1, No. 2876 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12038–12040.	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Piotrków was convoked on that day: MK 33, pp. 150–152.

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12041–12043.	
Feb. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 12044.	The King departs from Kraków towards Piotrków for the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ): BERNARD Z BISKUPIEGO, f. Q <sub>3v</sub> ; BIEM II, f. A <sub>4</sub> ; NOSKOWSKI, p. 414. <sup>60</sup> Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262 (information about the stay, not the departure).
<b>1519 Feb. 8 to Mar. 13 — Piotrków</b>	
Feb. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2883; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262. <sup>61</sup> The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, No. 2883. <sup>62</sup>
Feb. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 12045.	
Feb. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 2884 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut infra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12046, 12047.	
Feb. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2885. The mass for the Holy Spirit: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 41.
Feb. 12 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2886. The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) probably begins: assembly proceedings commenced at the earliest <sup>63</sup> on the day after the mass for the Holy Spirit. <sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> According to BIEM I, f. 322, the King had left Kraków on Feb. 3.

<sup>61</sup> MRPS 4/1, No. 2882, records the King in Kraków on Feb. 8.

<sup>62</sup> The earliest entry dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by PT is from Feb. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 12045.

<sup>63</sup> According to URUSZCZAK, p. 151, the proceedings of the General Diets typically began on the same day as a mass for the Holy Spirit, or the following day. However, he did not provide any source evidence to support this claim. In the sources I have examined, the opening of the proceedings usually occurs no earlier than the day following the mass (see below, the additional information for Dec. 4 and 5 of 1519, Oct. 25 and 29 of 1523, Dec. 7 and 9 of 1529). Only in one instance does the General Diet begin on the same day as the mass is celebrated (see below, the additional information for 1524 Jan. 6).

<sup>64</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 28; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 304; and *Posłowie*, p. 56, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) commenced on Feb. 9. This is based on the

Feb. 13 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 41.
Feb. 14: MRPS 4/1, No. 2887 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12048, 12049.	
Feb. 15: MRPS 4/1, No. 2889 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus quibus supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12050.	
Feb. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2890; AT 4, No. 387.
Feb. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 12051.	
Feb. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 12052.	
Feb. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 12053.	
Feb. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12054, 12055.	
Feb. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 12056.	
Feb. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12057–12066.	
Feb. 24: MRPS 4/1, No. 2899 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from NABIALEK et al., No. 313); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12067–12069; ASPK 7, No. 111, p. 282 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Feb. 25: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2900 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from transumpt in MRPS 5/1, No. 103, where witness list supplied from MK), 2901 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ibidem ut supra</i> ”), 2906 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from CIP 3, No. 209); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12070–12073.	

earliest entry found in MRPS with a dating clause *in conventione*. However, it was overlooked that the entry in MRPS 4/1, No. 2883, from Feb. 8, is also dated *in conventione* (see above, the additional information for that day).



Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 26: MRPS 4/1, No. 2907 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ibidem ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12074–12080.	
Feb. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 12081.	
Feb. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12082–12086.	
Mar. 1: MRPS 4/1, No. 2911 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ibidem ut supra”).	
Mar. 2: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2914, 2915 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”, “praesentibus quibus supra”).	
Mar. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 12449 (date supplied from AGAD, perg. 4965).	
Mar. 4: MRPS 4/1, No. 2923 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12087–12091.	
Mar. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12092–12108.	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) is concluded before Mar. 5, when the resolutions ( <i>konstytucje</i> ) are issued: CIP 3, Nos 210–212. <sup>65</sup>
Mar. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12109–12114.	
Mar. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12115–12121; ASPK 7, No. 111, p. 290 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Mar. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 12122.	

<sup>65</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 28; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 304; and *Posłowie*, p. 56, the assembly proceeded until Mar. 17. This is based on the latest entries in MK dated *in conventione*: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2957, 2758. However, these documents must be misdated, as their dating clauses contradict the royal itinerary.

Mar. 9: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2938–2940 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”, “praesentibus [...] quibus supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12123–12128; ASPK 7, No. 111, pp. 292, 295 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Mar. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 2943 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut in eodem conventu”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12129–12132.	
Mar. 11: MRPS 4/1, No. 2946 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from transumpt in MRPS 5/2, No. 6114, where witness list supplied from MK), 2947 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra in conventione”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12133, 12134.	
Mar. 12: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2953, 2955 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus eisdem ut supra”, “praesentibus ut ante”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12135–12139; SZACHERSKA, No. 327 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT); ASPK 7, No. 111, p. 297 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2953–2955; MRPS 4/2, Nos 12135–12139.
Mar. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King departs from Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 41v; SKRODZKI, f. Q <sub>4v</sub> . <sup>66</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Several documents wrongly suggest the King’s presence in Piotrków after Mar. 13:

- 1) MRPS 4/1, Nos 2957, 2758, record the King in Piotrków on Mar. 17;
- 2) LM 11 (11), No. 64, records the King in Piotrków on Mar. 20;
- 3) AGZ 10, No. 283, records the King in Piotrków on Mar. 14.

<sup>67</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262, only mentions the King’s departure from Piotrków before Mar. 17.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1519 Mar. 13 to 14 — Przedbórz</b>	
Mar. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Przedbórz: ASK 1, RK 47, ff. 41v, 58. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Mar. 14 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Mar. 13–14 in Przedbórz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Mar. 14 to 15 — Secemin</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Mar. 14–15 in Secemin: ASK 1, RK 47, ff. 41v, 58 (no exact date given in both entries); date inferred from the dates of the stops in Przedbórz and Miechów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Mar. 15 to 16 — Miechów</b>	
Mar. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Miechów: ASK 1, RK 47, ff. 41v (no exact date given), 58. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Mar. 16 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Mar. 15–16 in Miechów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Mar. 16 to Aug. 20 — Kraków</b>	
Mar. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Mar. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 12144.	
Mar. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 12145.	

<sup>68</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262, only mentions the King's arrival in Kraków after Mar. 17.

Mar. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 12146.	
Mar. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 12147.	
	Mar. 24 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2959.
Mar. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 12148.	
	Mar. 26 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2960; ANK, perg. 447.
Mar. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12149, 12150.	
	Mar. 29 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2962.
	Mar. 30 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2963.
Mar. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12151, 12152.	
Apr. 1: MRPS 4/1, No. 2964 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12153, 12154.	The King visits the shrine in Skalka: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 42. Cf. BORKOWSKA, p. 201 (no exact date given); SZYMBORSKI 2007, p. 176 (repeated from BORKOWSKA). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Apr. 2: KOLAK et al., No. 77 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
	Apr. 4 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 5/1, No. 1650 (transumpt).
	Apr. 5 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 2966–2968; RIABININ, No. 114.
Apr. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 12156.	
Apr. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 12157.	
Apr. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 12451 (date supplied from MEISEL, No. 93).	
	Apr. 9 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2973; AT 5, No. 37 (date supplied from MÜLLER 1, p. 12).
Apr. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12158, 12159.	
Apr. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12160–12162.	
Apr. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 12163.	
Apr. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12164–12166.	
Apr. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12167–12169.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Apr. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12170, 12171.	
Apr. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 12172.	
	Apr. 19 – the King is in Kraków: AT 5, No. 39 (date supplied from RTA JR 1, No. 234).
Apr. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 12173.	
Apr. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 12174.	
Apr. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12175, 12176.	
Apr. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 12177.	
May 1: CC 36, p. 128 (royal document, signature by PT).	
	May 4 – the King is in Kraków: AT 5, No. 48.
May 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12179, 12180.	
May 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 12450 (place and date supplied from the transumpt in MRPS 5/2, No. 7332).	
	May 9 – the King is in Kraków: SPPP 6, p. 22.
May 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12182, 12183; CC 36, p. 149 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
May 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 12184.	The King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 47, f. 60. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
May 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 12185.	
May 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12186, 12187.	The King is in Niepołomice: MRPS 4/1, No. 2980, but without PT as indicated by the corresponding entry in MK 34, f. 130 (PT is absent from the witness list of the document). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
May 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 12188; CC 36, p. 157 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
May 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 12189.	
May 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12190, 12191.	
May 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12192, 12193.	

May 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12194–12197.	
May 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 12198.	
	May 23 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2991.
May 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 12200.	
May 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12201, 12202.	
May 26: MRPS 4/1, No. 2998 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
May 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 12203.	
	May 28 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 2999.
May 29: MRPS 4/1, No. 3000 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
May 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 12204.	
Jun. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 12205.	
Jun. 3: MRPS 4/1, No. 3002 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12206, 12207.	
	Jun. 5 – the King is in Kraków: LM 11 (11), No. 70.
Jun. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 12208.	
Jun. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12209–12211.	The Diocesan Synod of Przemyśl in the absence of PT: CP 8, p. 28.
Jun. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12212–12214.	
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12215, 12216; HRUSHEVSKY 1905, No. 72 (royal document witnessed by PT).	
Jun. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 12217.	
	Jun. 13 – the King is in Kraków: LM 11 (11), No. 73; AGAD, perg. 3133.
Jun. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12218, 12219, 13590 (No. 13590 – date corrected from MK).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Jun. 16: MRPS 4/1, No. 3007 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Jun. 17: AGAD, perg. 3133 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jun. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12221, 12222.	
Jun. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 12223.	
Jun. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 12224.	
Jun. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12225, 12226.	
Jun. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12227–12229.	
Jun. 23: CC 36, p. 207 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jun. 24: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3012 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK), 3013 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus [...] ut supra</i> ”), 3016 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from HRUSHEVSKY 1905, No. 73), 3018 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from transumpt in MRPS 5/1, No. 2293, where witness list supplied from MK).	
Jun. 26: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3015, 3026 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus [...] ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12230, 12231.	
	Jun. 27 – the King is in Kraków: AGAD, perg. 7491.
Jun. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12233–12235.	
	Jun. 29 – the King is in Niepołomice: RGADA, Fond 389, LM 13 (13), No. 15. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.



Jun. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 12236.	
Jul. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 12237.	
	Jul. 2 – the King is in Kraków: LM 11 (11), No. 75.
Jul. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12238–12240.	
	Jul. 5 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3033.
Jul. 6: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3034, 3036, (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra in conventione Piotrcoviensi”, “praesentibus [...] ut supra”), 3035 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK), 3037 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra in sexto folio”).	
	Jul. 7 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3038.
Jul. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 12241.	
	Jul. 10 – the King is in Kraków: LM 11 (11), No. 62.
Jul. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12242, 12243.	
Jul. 12: MRPS 4/1, No. 3039 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from HRUSHEVSKY 1905, No. 74); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12244–12247.	
Jul. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12248–12250.	
Jul. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 12251.	
Jul. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 12252.	
	Jul. 17 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 286.
Jul. 18: MRPS 4/1, No. 3042 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus [...] ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12253–12255.	

Itinerary	Additional information
	Jul. 19 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3043.
	Jul. 20 – the King is in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 14; MRPS 4/1, No. 3044; RH-D 1/3, No. 22554.
	Jul. 21 – the King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 3, No. 199.
Jul. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12256–12258.	
Jul. 24: MRPS 4/1, No. 3047 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Jul. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12259, 12261.	
Jul. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12262–12265.	
Jul. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 12266.	
Jul. 29: MRPS 4/1, No. 3050 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
	Jul. 30 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3051, 3052.
Jul. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 12269.	
	Aug. 2 – the King is in Kraków: SPPP 6, p. 22.
Aug. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12270, 12271.	
Aug. 4: MRPS 4/1, No. 3053 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Aug. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 3056 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 12272.	
Aug. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 12273.	
	Aug. 7 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3057–3060; AT 5, No. 90.
Aug. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12274–12278; ASK 1, RK 47, f. 50 (PT mentioned).	

Aug. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 3063 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus [...] ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12279–12286.	
Aug. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12287–12289.	
	Aug. 12 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3066–3068; LM 11 (11), No. 76; LM 25 (25), No. 104.
	Aug. 13 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3069.
	Aug. 15 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3070.
Aug. 16: MRPS 4/1, No. 3071 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12291–12295.	
Aug. 17: MRPS 4/1, No. 3074 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12296.	
Aug. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 12297.	
Aug. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12298–12300; APPD, DokKr 262 (PT’s document).	
Aug. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 12301.	The King departs from Kraków towards Sandomierz: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 76v; BIEM II, f. B <sub>4</sub> ; AT 5, p. 75 (Stanisław Górski’s commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
<b>1519 Aug. 20 to 21 — Proszowice</b>	
Aug. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Proszowice. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Aug. 21 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Proszowice: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 76v. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1519 Aug. 21 to 22 — Nowe Miasto Korczyn</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Aug. 21–22 in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 76v (no exact date given); date inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Proszowice and Sandomierz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Aug. 22 to 23 — Połaniec</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Aug. 22–23 in Połaniec: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 76v (no exact date given); date inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Proszowice and Sandomierz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1519 Aug. 23 to 24 — Osiek]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Aug. 23–24 in Osiek: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Połaniec and Sandomierz.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Aug. 24 to 28 — Sandomierz</b>	
Aug. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Sandomierz: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 76v. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. The Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ) was convoked on that day: MRPS 4/1, Nos 12285; AT 5, No. 72, and actually begun on that day: SKRODZKI, f. Q <sub>9v</sub> ; KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 29.
Aug. 25: MRPS 4/1, No. 3078 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, No. 3078. <sup>69</sup> The King's presence in Sandomierz on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Aug. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 12303.	The last day the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, No. 3079. <sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 29, considers that day as the end of the Provincial Diet of Lesser Poland (*sejmik generalny małopolski*).

<sup>70</sup> No entries are dated *in conventione* in the respective register supervised by PT: MK 31.

Aug. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 12304.	
Aug. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12305, 12306.	The King's presence in Sandomierz on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
<b>[1519 Aug. 28 to 29 — Osiek]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Aug. 28–29 in Osiek: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Sandomierz and Połaniec.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Aug. 29 to 30 — Połaniec</b>	
Aug. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12307, 12308.	The King's presence in Połaniec on that day not recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Aug. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Aug. 29–30 in Połaniec. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1519 Aug. 30 to 31 — Nowe Miasto Korczyn]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Aug. 30–31 in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Połaniec and Proszowice.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Aug. 31 to Sept. 1 — Proszowice</b>	
Aug. 31 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives at Proszowice. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Sept. 1 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Proszowice: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 77. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Sept. 1 to Nov. 15 — Kraków</b>	
	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Sept. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 77; BIEM II, f. B <sub>3</sub> . Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>71</sup>

<sup>71</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262, only mentions the King's stay in Kraków starting from Sept. 6.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Sept. 3 – the King is in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 70v. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Sept. 4: APG, 300, D/6, 436 (PT's letter).	
	Sept. 5 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, D/5a, 895. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Sept. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12309, 12310.	The King's presence in Kraków on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Sept. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 12311.	
Sept. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12312, 12313.	
Sept. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 12314.	
	[ca. Sept. 10–13 – the King probably spends at least one night in Niepołomice: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Kraków and Bochnia.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Sept. 14 – the King is in Bochnia: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 77. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	[Sept. 14–15 – the King probably spends the night in Niepołomice: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Bochnia and Kraków.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Sept. 15 – the King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 3, No. 200.
	Sept. 16 – the King is in Kraków: LM 11 (11), No. 81; LM 25 (25), No. 225.
Sept. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 12317.	
Sept. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 12318.	
Sept. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12319, 12320.	
Sept. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 12321.	
Sept. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 12322.	
Sept. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12323, 12324.	
Sept. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12325, 12326.	
Sept. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12327–12329. <sup>72</sup>	

<sup>72</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 12327 (cf. transumpt in MRPS 5/2, No. 8694), may potentially be identical to the document summarized in Jop, No. 7, dated Sept. 20. This needs to be verified with the full text of the document preserved in the records of the Castle Court of Chełm (*księgi grodzkie chełmskie*), as referenced by Robert Jop.

Sept. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12330–12332; MRPS 4/3, No. 23195 (entry not considered in MRPS 4/2).	
Sept. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 12333; SPPP 6, p. 22 (session of the royal court, PT mentioned).	
Oct. 1: SPPP 6, p. 22 (session of the royal court, PT mentioned).	
	Oct. 2 – the King is in Kraków: RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 222.
Oct. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12334, 12335; SPPP 6, p. 22 (session of the royal court, PT mentioned).	
Oct. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12336–12338.	
Oct. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 12339; APT, Akta miasta Torunia, Dokumenty i listy, No. 2915 (PT's letter).	
	Oct. 7 – the King is in Kraków: RH-D 1/3, No. 22703.
Oct. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12340, 12341.	
Oct. 11: MRPS 4/1, No. 3086 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12342.	
Oct. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12343–12345.	
Oct. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 12346.	
Oct. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12347–12349.	
Oct. 16: APG, 300, D/6, 437a (PT's letter).	
Oct. 17: MRPS 4/1, No. 3097 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12350–12355.	
Oct. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12358, 12359.	
Oct. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 12360.	
	Oct. 21 – the King is in Kraków: ASPK 7, No. 139; RH-D 1/3, No. 22728a.



Itinerary	Additional information
Oct. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 12361.	
	Oct. 25 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3105; LM 11 (11), No. 83.
Oct. 26: MRPS 4/1, No. 3107 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 12363 (date corrected from STARZYŃSKI et al., No. 55); FASTNACHT, No. 50 (PT's document).	
Oct. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 12362.	
	Oct. 28 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3113.
Oct. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 12364.	
	Oct. 30 – the King is in Kraków: LM 11 (11), No. 86.
Oct. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 12365.	
Nov. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 12367.	
Nov. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 12368.	The King visits the shrine in Skalka: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 78. Cf. BORKOWSKA, p. 201 (no exact date given); SZYMBORSKI 2007, p. 176 (repeated from BORKOWSKA). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Nov. 5 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3122.
Nov. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 12369.	
Nov. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12370, 12371.	
	Nov. 9 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3124, 3125; Kod. Jag. 12, f. 11.
Nov. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 3126 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12372–12374.	
Nov. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12375–12378; AOff. Cr. 44, f. 165v (=p. 328 in old pagination, royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Nov. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12379, 12380.	

Nov. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12381–12388.	
Before Nov. 14: AT 5, No. 111 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	The departure of PT with the royal court from Kraków is planned for Monday after the Feast of St Martin (Nov. 14): PT's letter to Łukasz Górka, as referenced on the left.
Nov. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12389–12394.	
Nov. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King departs from Kraków towards Royal Prussia: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 78; BERNARD Z BISKUPIEGO, f. Q <sub>13</sub> ; BIEM I, f. 331; BIEM II, f. C <sub>3</sub> – h. 17; DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16; NOSKOWSKI, p. 414; SKRODZKI, f. Q <sub>13v</sub> ; EMERYK, p. 136; WAPOWSKI, p. 163; AT 5, p. 118 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
<b>1519 Nov. 15 to 16 — Słomniki</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 15–16 in Słomniki: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 90v (no exact date given); DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Nov. 16 to 17 — Książ</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 16–17 in Książ: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 90v (no exact date given); DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Nov. 17 to 18 — Jędrzejów</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 17–18 in Jędrzejów: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 90v (no exact date given); DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Nov. 18 to 19 — Małogoszcz</b>	
Nov. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 12398.	The King's presence in Małogoszcz on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 19 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 18–19 in Małogoszcz: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Nov. 19 to 20 — Przedbórz</b>	
Nov. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 12399.	The King's presence in Przedbórz on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.

Itinerary	Additional information
Nov. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 19–20 in Przedbórz: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Nov. 20 to 21 — Piotrków</b>	
Nov. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 49, ff. 1v, 78; MRPS 4/1, Nos 3132–3134; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 21 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Nov. 20–21 in Piotrków: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Nov. 21 to 22 — Ujazd</b>	
Nov. 21: AT 5, No. 123 (PT's letter).	The King is in Ujazd: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 78. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 21–22 in Ujazd: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16; SKRODZKI, f. Q <sub>13v</sub> . Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Nov. 22 to 23 — Rawa</b>	
Nov. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 12400.	The King's presence in Rawa on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 22–23 in Rawa: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Nov. 23 to 24 — Skierniewice</b>	
Nov. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 12401.	The King's presence in Skierniewice on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 23–24 in Skierniewice: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Nov. 24 — Bolimów</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Bolimów: MRPS 4/1, No. 3135; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
<b>1519 Nov. 24 to 25 — Sochaczew</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 24–25 in Sochaczew: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<b>1519 Nov. 25 to 26 — Gąbin</b>	
Nov. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gąbin: ASK 1, RK 49, ff. 78, 90v; DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Toruń was convoked for that day: AT 5, No. 109; SKRODZKI, f. Q <sub>13v</sub> .
Nov. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Gąbin: MRPS 4/1, No. 3136; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262. <sup>73</sup>
<b>1519 Nov. 26 to 28 — Gostynin</b>	
Nov. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gostynin: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 27 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Gostynin: ASK 1, RK 49, ff. 2, 71 (in the second entry, no exact date given), 78; MRPS 4/1, No. 3137; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 28 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Nov. 27–28 in Gostynin: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Nov. 28 to 29 — Kowal</b>	
Nov. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kowal: ASK 1, RK 49, ff. 33v, 90v (in the second entry, no exact date given). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 29 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Nov. 28–29 in Kowal: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Nov. 29 to Dec. 1 — Brześć Kujawski</b>	
Nov. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12402, 12403.	The King's presence in Brześć Kujawski on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Nov. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12404–12407.	The King's presence in Brześć Kujawski on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Dec. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Nov. 30–Dec. 1 in Brześć Kujawski: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>73</sup> ASK 1, RK 49, f. 78, records the King in Sochaczew on Nov. 26.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1519 Dec. 1 to 2 — Służewo</b>	
Dec. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Służewo: ASPK 7, No. 148, p. 357. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Dec. 1–2 in Służewo: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1519 Dec. 2 to 1520 Oct. 1 — Toruń</b>	
Dec. 2: TG, No. 199 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence); ASPK 7, No. 148, p. 358 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King arrives in Toruń: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 78; BERNARD Z BISKUPIEGO, f. Q <sub>12v</sub> ; BIEM II, f. C <sub>4</sub> ; DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16; SKRODZKI, f. Q <sub>14</sub> ; ASPK 7, No. 148, p. 357; AT 5, p. 119 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262. <sup>74</sup>
Shortly after Dec. 2: AT 5, No. 116 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Dec. 3 – MRPS 4/1, No. 3141 (royal document witnessed by PT, date corrected from FASTNACHT, No. 51, witness list supplied from B. Ossol., perg. 2526).	The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: FASTNACHT, No. 51.
Dec. 4 – PT presumably attends the Mass of the Holy Spirit.	The Mass of the Holy Spirit: ASPK 7, No. 148, p. 359.
Dec. 5: ASPK 7, No. 148, pp. 360, 365, 366 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) begins: ASPK 7, No. 148, pp. 359–360; DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 16; NAROPÍŃSKI, p. 222. <sup>75</sup>
Dec. 6: RH-D 1/3, No. 22836 (PT's letter); ASPK 7, No. 148, p. 367 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	

<sup>74</sup> According to NAROPÍŃSKI, p. 222; EMERYK, p. 136; and WAPOWSKI, p. 163, the King arrived in Toruń on Dec. 1.

<sup>75</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 30, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) began after Dec. 2.

According to URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 323; and *Posłowie*, p. 56, the General Diet began on Dec. 8. This is based on the earliest entries in MK dated *in conventione*. However, one of the utilized entries is dated Dec. 7 (MRPS 4/1, No. 3139), and another is dated Dec. 9 (MRPS 4/2, No. 12408).

The Royal Chancellery began using the formula in dating clauses on Dec. 3 (see above, the additional information for that day).

Dec. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3139; ASPK 7, No. 148, p. 368.
Dec. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 12408.	
Dec. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12409–12414.	
Dec. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3142–3144; ASPK 7, No. 148, p. 369.
Dec. 13: MRPS 4/1, No. 3145 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12415, 12416; MRPS 4/3, No. 23197 (entry not considered in MRPS 4/2).	
Dec. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12417, 12418.	
Dec. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 12419; ASPK 7, No. 148, p. 369 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Dec. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12420–12422.	
Dec. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 33v; MRPS 4/1, Nos 3149–3152.
Dec. 18 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: APG, 300, D/5a, 903a.
Dec. 19: MRPS 4/1, No. 3153 (royal document witnessed by PT, date silently corrected by Teodor Wierzbowski, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12423.	
Dec. 20: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3156, 3157, 3159 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12424, 12425; TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 810 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Dec. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12426–12428.	
Dec. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12429–12431.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Dec. 23: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3166, 3167 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12432–12435.	
Dec. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 12436; ASPK 7, No. 148, pp. 372, 373 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Dec. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 12437; ASPK 7, No. 148, pp. 374, 376, 377 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Dec. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3168; RYKACZEWSKI, p. 293 (date corrected from AGAD, perg. 1006).
Dec. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12438–12440.	
Dec. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12441, 12442.	
Dec. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12443–12445; ASPK 7, No. 148, p. 382 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
<b>1520</b>	
Jan. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3171.
Jan. 2: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3175, 3176 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12467, 12468; ASPK 7, No. 148, pp. 383–386 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Jan. 3: MRPS 4/1, No. 3177 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12469, 12470.	
Jan. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12471–12474; ASPK 7, No. 148, pp. 387, 388 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Jan. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12475, 12476.	



Jan. 6 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3180.
Jan. 7: MRPS 4/1, No. 3181 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12477, 12478.	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) is concluded before Jan. 7, when the last resolutions ( <i>konstytucje</i> ) are issued: CIP 3, No. 229. <sup>76</sup>
Jan. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12479, 12480.	
Jan. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12481–12483.	
Jan. 10: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3187, 3188 (royal documents, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12484.	
Jan. 11: MRPS 4/1, No. 3192 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12485.	
Jan. 12: AT 5, No. 184 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from RH-D 1/3, No. 23037).	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3194; LM 25 (25), No. 146; AT 5, No. 202 (date supplied from RH-D 1/3, No. 23031).
Jan. 13: MRPS 4/1, No. 3195 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12486–12492.	
Jan. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 12493; BCz, 1594, p. 571 (PT’s letter).	
Jan. 15: AT 5, No. 139 (PT’s letter).	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3196.
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12494–12496.	
Jan. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3199.

<sup>76</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 30, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) proceeded until Feb. 9. This is based on MRPS 4/1, No. 3247, the latest entry in the publication dated *in conventione*, but the corresponding entry in MK 34, f. 260v, has no such formula. Some earlier entries from Jan. 25 and Feb. 1 in MRPS 4/1, Nos 3214, 3233, are also mistakenly identified by Teodor Wierzbowski as dated *in conventione*, see corresponding entries in MK 34, ff. 238, 251.

The latest entry was dated *in conventione* on Jan. 24 (see below, the additional information for that day).

According to URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193, and *Postowie*, p. 56, the General Diet was concluded on Dec. 30. This is probably based on the taxation act (“*Ordinatio contributionum publicarum exigendarum*”) passed by the assembly on that day: CIP 3, No. 225.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12497–12500.	
Jan. 19 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3204, 3205.
Jan. 20: MRPS 4/1, No. 3206 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus [...] ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12501–12503.	
Jan. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 12504.	
Jan. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3210.
Jan. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12505–12507.	
Jan. 24: MRPS 4/1, No. 3213 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12508.	The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, No. 3213. <sup>77</sup>
Jan. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 12509; AT 5, No. 176 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jan. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3218, 3219; AT 5, Nos 143, 144.
Jan. 27: MRPS 4/1, No. 3221 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12511, 12512.	
Jan. 28: AGAD, perg. 3698 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jan. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 12513; MRPS 4/3, No. 23200 (entry not considered in MRPS 4/2).	
Jan. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12514, 12515.	

<sup>77</sup> The latest entry dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by PT is from Jan. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 12501. Compare this with later entries mistakenly dated *in conventione* by Teodor Wierzbowski in n. 76.

Jan. 31: MRPS 4/1, No. 3228 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Feb. 1: MRPS 4/1, No. 3231 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from transumpt in MRPS 5/1, No. 2767, where witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12520, 12521.	
Feb. 2: MRPS 4/1, No. 3234 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); AT 5, No. 181 (PT’s letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Feb. 3: MRPS 4/1, No. 3235 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12522.	
Feb. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12523–12525; APP, Akta miasta Poznania, D. 208 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Feb. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 12527.	
ca. Feb. 6: AT 5, No. 177 (PT’s letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Feb. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 12528.	
Feb. 8: MRPS 4/1, No. 3241 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Feb. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 12529; APG, 300, D/6, 450 (PT’s letter).	
Feb. 10: AT 5, No. 154, p. 159 (Andrzej Krzycki’s letter, PT’s letter mentioned).	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3249.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Feb. 11: MRPS 4/1, No. 3251 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12530.	
Feb. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3253.
Feb. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 12531.	
Feb. 15: MRPS 4/1, No. 3255 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Feb. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3256, 3257; APG, 300, D/5a, 914; AZ, 2999, p. 76.
Feb. 17: AT 5, No. 175 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3258, 3259.
Feb. 18: AT 5, No. 173 (PT’s letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	PT was afflicted twelve days ago with a severe toothache and a slight catarrhal fever. Now, he is feeling somewhat better. The Pope’s envoys have arrived in Toruń, but he has not yet seen them, as he is still staying at home: TG, No. 2988 <sub>b</sub> (PT’s letter to Mikołaj Bedleński, n.d., [Feb. 18]).
Feb. 19 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 3; LM 10 (10), No. 37.
Feb. 20: AT 5, No. 181 (PT’s letter; date supplied from TG, No. 2999).	
Shortly after Feb. 20: AT 5, No. 174 (PT’s letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Feb. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: LM 10 (10), Nos 38, 39; APG, 300, D/5a, 915 and 916.
Feb. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3260, 3261.
Feb. 23 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3262, 3263.

Feb. 27: MRPS 4/1, No. 3265 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Feb. 29: MRPS 4/1, No. 3266 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Mar. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3269–3271; LM 7 (7), No. 197; BEREZHKOVA, p. 200.
Mar. 2: MRPS 4/1, No. 3273 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12532–12534.	
Mar. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3274.
Mar. 4 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3275; APG, 300, D/5a, 918 and 919.
Mar. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 3278 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus [...] ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12535.	
Mar. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12536, 12537.	
Mar. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12538, 12539.	
Mar. 9: AT 5, No. 186 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Mar. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 3283 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12540.	
Mar. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3288; APG, 300, D/5a, 921.
Mar. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 12541.	
Mar. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: AT 5, No. 185.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Mar. 14 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: AT 5, No. 193 (=ANP 2, No. 17, p. 46).
Mar. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12542, 12543.	
Mar. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: CIDTC, IDT 691.
Shortly after Mar. 16: AT 5, No. 188 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Mar. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12544–12546, 12548.	
After Mar. 17: TG, No. 3029 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Mar. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3290.
Mar. 19: MRPS 4/1, No. 3291 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12549.	
Mar. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 12550; AT 5, No. 190 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence); RH-D 1/3, No. 23430 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 12551.	
Mar. 23: MRPS 4/1, No. 3300 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12552.	
Mar. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 12553.	
Mar. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12554, 12555.	
Mar. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3302, 3303.
Mar. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 3304 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from AGAD, perg. 3699); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12556, 12557.	

Mar. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3306.
Mar. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 12558.	
Apr. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: APG, 300, D/5a, 926.
Apr. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3307; CC 36, p. 628.
Apr. 3 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 3; MRPS 4/1, No. 3308.
Apr. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 12560.	
Apr. 5: RH-D 1/3, No. 23517 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3310.
Apr. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 12561.	
Apr. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: LM 10 (10), No. 50.
After Apr. 12: AT 5, No. 208 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 13: AT 5, No. 200 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12562, 12563; AT 5, No. 201 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3311.
Apr. 19 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3312, 3313.
Apr. 20 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3314, 3315.
ca. Apr. 20: AT 5, No. 209 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: RH-D 1/3, No. 23592.
Apr. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12565–12569; SZANIAWSKI, No. 32 (royal document witnessed by PT).	
Apr. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 12570.	
Apr. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: APG, 300, D/5a, 931.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Apr. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 12571.	
After Apr. 29: AT 5, No. 211 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 12572.	
May 1: MRPS 4/1, No. 3321 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – "praesentibus ut supra").	
May 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3322, 3323; AT 5, No. 214 (date supplied from LL 5, f. 186v); APG, 300, D/5a, 933a.
ca. May 2: AT 5, No. 216 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
May 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 12573.	
May 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12574–12576.	
May 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3330, 3331.
May 6 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: LM 10 (10), Nos 51–53.
May 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 12577.	
May 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: LM 10 (10), No. 60.
May 11 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: LM 10 (10), No. 59; APG, 300, D/5a, 938.
May 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 12578.	
May 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 12579.	
May 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 12580.	
May 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 12581.	
May 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3334.
May 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12582, 12583.	



May 19: MRPS 4/1, No. 3335 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12584; ASPK 8, No. 4, pp. 8, 9 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3335.
May 20: ASPK 8, No. 4, p. 10 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3336, 3337.
ca. May 20: AT 5, No. 228 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
May 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: ASPK 8, No. 4, pp. 11–12.
May 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: AT 5, Nos 230, 231, 233; ASPK 8, No. 4, p. 12.
May 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12585–12588; AT 5, No. 268 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
May 23 or 24: AT 5, No. 262 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
After May 23: AT 5, No. 260 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
May 24: MRPS 4/1, No. 3341 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); ASPK 8, No. 4, pp. 14, 15 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	PT is appointed bishop of Poznań: AT 5, p. 239 (Stanisław Górski’s commentary).
After May 24: AT 5, No. 227 (PT’s letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	Although PT is already recuperating, he still cannot leave the house. Due to his illness, he does not have detailed information about the King’s travel and the planned route: AT 5, No. 350, p. 326 (PT’s letter to Jan Łaski, n.d., after May 24).

Itinerary	Additional information
May 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12589, 12590; AGAD, perg. 4906 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); ASPK 8, No. 4, p. 15 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
May 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 12591.	
May 28: ASPK 8, No. 4, pp. 20, 22 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Toruń: LM 10 (10), No. 57.
May 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12593–12595; ASPK 8, No. 4, p. 23 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
After May 29: AT 5, No. 267 (PT's letter place and date supplied from internal evidence).	Members of the royal court are greatly wearied by staying in Toruń for so long. Still, they must endure until the end of the war with the Teutonic Order: PT's letter to Mikołaj Jordan of Zakliczyn, as referenced on the left.
May 30: AT 5, No. 255 (PT's letter, date supplied from TG, No. 237).	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3346–3349; LM 10 (10), No. 67; LM 25 (25), No. 188; CC 36, p. 737.
May 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12596, 12597.	
Jun. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 12598.	
Jun. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12599–12601; AT 5, No. 259 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: APG, 300, D/5a, 948.
Jun. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12603, 12604.	
Jun. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: LM 10 (10), No. 69.
Jun. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 12605.	
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12606, 12607.	
Jun. 10: AT 5, No. 261 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	The King is in Toruń: LM 10 (10), Nos 62, 63.
ca. Jun. 10: AT 5, No. 333 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	

Jun. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 12608.	
Jun. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12609–12612.	
Jun. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12613–12615.	
Jun. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12616, 12617. <sup>78</sup>	
Jun. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 12618.	
Jun. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: RH-D 1/3, No. 23823.
Jun. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 12620; ASPK 8, No. 8, pp. 33, 34 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned); JOACHIM 2, No. 134, p. 317 (peace talks, PT mentioned).	
Jun. 20: ASPK 8, No. 8, p. 36 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3353–3355.
Jun. 21: ASPK 8, No. 8, pp. 37, 38, 41 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Jun. 22: ASPK 8, No. 8, pp. 42, 43, 45 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned); JOACHIM 2, No. 134, p. 318 (peace talks, PT mentioned).	
ca. Jun. 22: AT 5, No. 271 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jun. 23: ASPK 8, No. 8, pp. 47, 48 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Toruń: AGAD, perg. 9050.
Jun. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 12622; ASPK 8, No. 8, p. 50 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	

<sup>78</sup> The royal document with a signature and *relatio* by PT in the transumpt in MRPS 5/1, No. 270, is dated “feria 6 ante festum S. Viti”. Teodor Wierzbowski converted it to modern date as Jun. 14.

However, the Feast of St Vitus fell on Friday in 1520, so it should have been converted to Jun. 8 if we assumed the reading was correct. Nevertheless, this is likely incorrect because establishing the day in relation to the fest that occurred a week earlier seems to be a scribal error. Wierzbowski silently conjectured changing “feria 6” to “feria 5”, which results on Jun. 14, but this conjecture is arbitrary.

Consequently, I have not taken the entry into account while compiling PT's itinerary.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Jun. 25: ASPK 8, No. 8, pp. 51, 52, 54, 55 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Toruń: LM 10 (10), No. 68.
Jun. 26: MRPS 4/1, No. 3359 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); ASPK 8, No. 8, p. 56 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Jun. 27: ASPK 8, No. 8, p. 58 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3360.
Between Jun. 27–29: AT 5, Nos 229, 244 (PT's letters, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jun. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12623, 12624.	
After Jun. 28: AT 5, Nos 278–280, 293, 294 (PT's letters, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jun. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12625, 12626.	
Jun. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12627, 12628; ASPK 8, No. 8, p. 66 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Jul. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3367; APG, 300, D/5a, 952.
Jul. 2: MRPS 4/1, No. 3368 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12630; AT 5, No. 295 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 4: MRPS 4/1, No. 3371 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12631–12633.	

Jul. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 12634; RH-D 1/3, No. 23862 (PT's letter); ASPK 8, No. 8, p. 68 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Jul. 6: MRPS 4/1, No. 3378 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – "praesentibus ut supra"); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12635, 12636, 12638, 12639.	
Jul. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12640, 12641.	
Jul. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12642–12645.	
Jul. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: AGAD, perg. 1137; AT 5, No. 290 (place and date supplied from RH-D 1/3, No. 23887).
Jul. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 12646.	
Jul. 12: MRPS 4/1, No. 3383 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – "praesentibus ut supra"); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12647, 12648; ASPK 8, No. 8, p. 70 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Jul. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 12649; ASPK 8, No. 8, p. 70 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned); JOACHIM 2, No. 146, p. 335 (peace talks, PT mentioned).	
Jul. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 12650; ASPK 8, No. 8, p. 76 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned); JOACHIM 2, No. 146, p. 335 (peace talks, PT mentioned).	
Jul. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 12651; ASPK 8, No. 8, p. 80 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
ca. Jul. 15: AT 5, No. 303 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12652, 12653.	
Jul. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12654–12656.	
Jul. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12657–12660. <sup>79</sup>	
Jul. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 12661.	
Jul. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12662, 12663.	
Jul. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 12664; AT 5, No. 300 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3387, 3389; AT 5, p. 282 (Stanisław Górski's commentary).
Jul. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 12665.	
Jul. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12666, 12667.	
Jul. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12668, 12669.	
Jul. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 12670.	
Jul. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: LM 10 (10), Nos 65, 78.
Jul. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12672–12676; RH-D 1/3, No. 23961 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12677–12681.	
Aug. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12682–12684.	
Aug. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12685, 12686.	
Aug. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 12687.	
Aug. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 12688.	
Aug. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: KUTRZEBA 1909, No. 9.
Aug. 7: AGAD, perg. 3705 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	

<sup>79</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 12660, is dated “die S. Arnolphi” and converted by Teodor Wierzbowski into modern form as Jul. 18; however, since there were two saints of that name, it cannot be ruled out that it was the Feast of St Arnulf (Arnold), the abbot, which falls on Aug. 16.

This second possibility is accepted in KIRYK, No. 387, describing Piotr Gamrat's *vidimus* of the royal document in question.

Aug. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 12690.	
Aug. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 12691.	
Aug. 10 – PT is presumably with the King. <sup>80</sup>	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3391.
Aug. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 12692.	
Aug. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: RH-D 1/3, No. 24009.
Aug. 13 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3392 (date corrected from TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 814).
Aug. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 12693.	
Aug. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: APG, 300, D/5a, 957; AT 5, Nos 314, 315.
Aug. 16 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3394–3396; AZ, 2999, p. 77; RH-D 1/3, No. 24020.
Aug. 17 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3397–3400; AT 5, No. 316.
Aug. 20 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3401.
Aug. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12694–12696; AGAD, perg. 2280 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Aug. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12697, 12698.	
Aug. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3403.
Aug. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 12699.	
Aug. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: AGZ 10, No. 297.
Aug. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 12700.	
Aug. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3406, 3407.
Aug. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 12702.	
Aug. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12703–12706.	

<sup>80</sup> ANTONOVYCH & KOZLOVSKY, No. 26, records PT and the King in Warszawa on Aug. 10.

Itinerary	Additional information
Aug. 31 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3411; APG, 300, D/5a, 960.
Sept. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12707–12709.	
Sept. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3412; APG, 300, D/5a, 962.
Sept. 3 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3413; APG, 300, D/5a, 963 and 964.
Sept. 4 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: APG, 300, D/5a, 965.
Sept. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 3414 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Sept. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3415.
Sept. 10: AGAD, perg. 4545 (PT’s document).	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3416.
Sept. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12710, 12711.	
Sept. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 12712; NABIALEK et al., No. 317 (PT’s document).	
Sept. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12713–12715.	
Sept. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 12716.	
Sept. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: APG, 300, D/5a, 968.
Sept. 18 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3424, 3425.
Sept. 19: CC 36, p. 945 (royal document, signature by PT).	
Sept. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 12717.	
Sept. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 12718.	
Sept. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3428.
Sept. 23 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, No. 3430.
Sept. 24 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: AT 5, No. 348 (=VMPL 2, No. 425).
Sept. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 12719.	



Sept. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3436–3441.
Sept. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12720–12724.	
Sept. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 4; MRPS 4/1, No. 3453.
Sept. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12725, 12726.	
Sept. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 12727.	The King's presence in Toruń on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Oct. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King departs from Toruń towards Wągrowiec: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 81; DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 17. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1520 Oct. 1 to 3 — Inowrocław</b>	
Oct. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Inowrocław: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 81. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 3: MRPS 5/1, No. 3234 (transumpt of royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	The King's presence in Inowrocław on that day not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1520 Oct. 4 — Żnin</b>	
MRPS 4/2, No. 12728.	The King's presence in Żnin on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
<b>1520 Oct. 5 to Nov. 2 — Wągrowiec</b>	
Oct. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Wągrowiec: EMERYK, p. 156; WAPOWSKI, p. 175, and stays there: APG, 300, D/5a, 972. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>81</sup>
Oct. 6 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Wągrowiec: AT 5, No. 355 (place and date supplied from LL 5, f. 174v). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12729, 12730.	The King's presence in Wągrowiec on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
Oct. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 12732.	
Oct. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 12733.	

<sup>81</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 262, only mentions the King's stay in Wągrowiec starting from Oct. 7.

Itinerary	Additional information
Oct. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 12734.	
Oct. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12735, 12736.	
Oct. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12737, 12738.	
Oct. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 12739.	
Oct. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12740, 12741.	
Oct. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 12742.	
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12743–12745.	
Oct. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 12746.	
Oct. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 12747.	
Oct. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 12748.	
Oct. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12749–12752.	
Oct. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 12753.	
Oct. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 12754.	
Oct. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12755–12765.	
Oct. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12621 (date corrected), <sup>82</sup> 12766–12768.	
Oct. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Wągrowiec: AT 5, No. 324 (place and date supplied from APG, 300 D/4, 976).
Oct. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 12769.	
Oct. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12770–12775.	
Oct. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is Wągrowiec: APG, 300, D/5a, 977.

<sup>82</sup> The entries in MRPS 4/2, No. 12621, and MK 35, p. 120, share the same date, “feria 6 ante festum Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum” (Jun. 22). However, it is unlikely that the King was in Wągrowiec on that day as he was in Toruń.

The discrepancy is most likely caused by a scribal error, which is additionally substantiated by an unusual use of the nearest saint’s day in the date. In 1520, the Feast of Sts Peter and Paul (Jun. 29) fell on Friday. Typical references in dates were limited to the same week, so it would be strange to use it as a reference point for the previous Friday.

The correct reading can be restored by consulting adjacent entries in MK 35. In all of them, the dates are very similar (Oct. 25–29) and specified by references to the Feast of Sts Simon and Jude (Oct. 28). It is likely that a scribe confused the Feast of Sts Peter and Paul with the feast of the other pair of apostles.

Oct. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12776, 12777.	
Nov. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12780, 12781.	
Nov. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is Wągrowiec: APG, 300, D/5a, 978, and departs from there towards Bydgoszcz: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 81; WAPOWSKI, p. 178. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>83</sup>
<b>[1520 Nov. 2 to 3 — Żnin]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Nov. 2–3 in Żnin: inferred from the King's recent stay on the way between Inowrocław and Wągrowiec, as well as from the stay of King Casimir Jagiellon on his way from Gniezno to Bydgoszcz in 1457.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1520 Nov. 3 to Dec. 6 — Bydgoszcz</b>	
Nov. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 12782.	The King's presence in Bydgoszcz on that day not recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>84</sup> The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, No. 12782. <sup>85</sup>
Nov. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Bydgoszcz: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 81v; APG, 300, D/5a, 979 and 980. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 5 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Bydgoszcz: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3494–3496. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 6 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Bydgoszcz: ASK 1, RK 49, ff. 4, 81v; APG, 300, D/5a, 982. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 7 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Bydgoszcz: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 51v; MRPS 4/1, No. 3497. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12731 (date corrected from MK), 12783.	The King's presence in Bydgoszcz on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.

<sup>83</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262, mentions the King's stay in Wągrowiec until Nov. 7.

<sup>84</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262, only mentions the King's stay in Bydgoszcz starting from Nov. 8.

<sup>85</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 31; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 346; and *Postłowie*, p. 56, consider that day as the commencement of the General Diet (*sejm walny*).

Itinerary	Additional information
Nov. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Bydgoszcz: APG, 300, D/5a, 982.
Nov. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 12784; RH-D 1/3, No. 24324 (PT's letter).	
Nov. 11: APG, 300, D/6, 492 (PT's letter).	The King is in Bydgoszcz: MRPS 4/1, No. 3498; LM 18 (18), No. 100.
Nov. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Bydgoszcz: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3499–3502.
Nov. 13 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Bydgoszcz: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3503, 3504.
Nov. 16 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Bydgoszcz: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3507, 3508; APG, 300, D/5a, 983.
Nov. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12785–12787.	
Nov. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 12788.	
Nov. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12789, 12790.	
Nov. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 12791.	
Nov. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Bydgoszcz: ASK 1, RK 49, ff. 81v, 99; MRPS 4/1, Nos 3514–3516.
Nov. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Bydgoszcz: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3517–3524; APG, 300, D/5a, 985.
Nov. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 12792; APT, Akta miasta Torunia, Dokumenty i listy, No. 2930 (PT's letter).	
Nov. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Bydgoszcz: APG, 300, D/5a, 986.
Nov. 25 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Bydgoszcz: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 81v; MRPS 4/1, No. 3527.
Nov. 26: MRPS 4/1, No. 3528 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra in conventu Bidgostiensi</i> ”).	
Nov. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Bydgoszcz: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3529–3532; APG, 300, D/5a, 987.
Nov. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 12793.	

Nov. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Bydgoszcz: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 81v; MRPS 4/1, No. 3534.
Dec. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Bydgoszcz: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 81v.
Dec. 3: MRPS 4/1, No. 3540 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12796–12802; GÓRSKI, No. 11 (royal document witnessed by PT, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Dec. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 12803.	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) concludes before Dec. 4, when the last resolution ( <i>konstytucja</i> ) is issued: CIP 3, No. 242. <sup>86</sup>
Dec. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 3544 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3545, 3546. <sup>87</sup>
Dec. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12804–12806.	
	Dec. 7 – the King is in Bydgoszcz: MRPS 4/1, No. 3548; AGZ 10, No. 298.
	Dec. 8 – the King is in Bydgoszcz: ASK 1, RK 49, ff. 71, 81v, 100; AGZ 10, No. 299; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 262.
	Dec. 9 – the King departs from Bydgoszcz towards Brześć Kujawski: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 81v. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1520 Dec. 13 — Gniezno</b>	
AEp. Posn. 7, f. 1v.	
<b>1521 Jan. 3 to late Feb. — Ciężen</b>	
Jan. 3: TG, No. 285 (letter to PT, endorsed with place and date of receipt).	

<sup>86</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 31; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 346; and *Posłowie*, p. 56, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) continued until Dec. 7. This conclusion was based on MRPS 4/1, No. 3548, which has the formula *in conventione*. However, the corresponding entry in the record book lacks this formula: MK 37, f. 19v. The entry from Dec. 6 in MRPS 4/1, No. 3547, is also mistakenly labeled as *in conventione* by Teodor Wierzbowski, see MK 37, f. 19v. The latest entries using the formula *in conventione* are dated Dec. 5 (see the additional information for that day).

<sup>87</sup> The latest entry dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by PT is from Dec. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 12803.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 7: AEp. Posn. 7, f. 2.	
	Jan. 25 – the Provincial Synod was convened for that day: ULANOWSKI 1891, No. 308; ULANOWSKI 1894, No. 1106; ULANOWSKI 1908, No. 809, and actually took place on that day: SKRODZKI, f. S <sub>2v</sub> .
Feb. 19: AOff. Posn. 95, f. 156v (PT mentioned).	
Late Feb.: AT 5, No. 385 (Andrzej Krzycki's letter, PT's letter mentioned).	
<b>1521 Feb. 28 to May 13 — Poznań</b>	Note that only a few days within this relatively broad timeframe are documented. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that PT may have briefly left Poznań during this time. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Feb. 28: AEp. Posn. 7, f. 2v.	
Before Mar. 16: AT 5, No. 401 (Andrzej Krzycki's letter, PT's arrival mentioned).	
Apr. 22: TG, No. 307 (letter to PT, endorsed with date of receipt, place of receipt inferred from contents of the letter, see AT 5, No. 401).	
May 10: AA Cap. Posn. 35, f. 143 (PT's document).	
May 13: AAP, DK, perg. 240 (PT's document); ULANOWSKI 1902, No. 1752 (PT's document).	

<b>1521 shortly after May 24 to Oct. 28 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
May 24 – PT's arrival in Kraków is expected very shortly: AT 5, No. 407 (Andrzej Krzycki's letter, May 24, date supplied from TG, No. 310). <sup>88</sup>	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3791, 3792; SPPP 6, Nos 186, 187, 189. The King arrived in the capital on May 5: ASK 1, RK 49, f. 83; AURIFABER, f. unnumbered (under specific date); SOKOLNICKI, f. S.; AT 5, No. 401 (Andrzej Krzycki's letter, expected day of arrival mentioned). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>89</sup>
	May 26 – the King is in Kraków: LM 1 (1), No. 288; AGZ 10, No. 305.
May 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 12813.	
May 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12814–12816.	
May 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12817–12821.	
	May 30 – the King is in Kraków: LM 1 (1), No. 288 (date corrected). <sup>90</sup>
May 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 12822.	
	Jun. 1 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3794.
Jun. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 12823.	
	Jun. 3 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3795, 3796.
Jun. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 12825.	
	Jun. 5 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3798; AZ, 2999, p. 82.

<sup>88</sup> AT 5, No. 357, p. 339 (Stanisław Górski's commentary) indicates PT's arrival in Kraków on May 15, contradicting evidence from other sources.

<sup>89</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263, only mentions the King's stay in Kraków starting from May 6.

<sup>90</sup> The editors erroneously converted the date "we czwartek na Boże Ciało" into the modern form as May 26.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jun. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 12826.	The King leaves Kraków for Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 48, f. 22v; RK 50, f. 11; RK 53, f. 39. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 12828.	
Jun. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 3799 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Jun. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 12829.	
Jun. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 12830.	
Jun. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12831–12833.	
	Jun. 14 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3805, 3806.
Jun. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12834–12837.	
Jun. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12838–12842.	
Jun. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12843–12845.	
Jun. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12846–12850.	
Jun. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12851–12862.	
Jun. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12863–12867.	
Jun. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 12868; AGAD, perg. 6793 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jun. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 12869.	
Jun. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12870–12873, 12960 (in the last entry, date supplied from AOff. Cr. 44, f. 234=p. 465 in old pagination).	
	Jun. 27 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3815, 3816.
Jun. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 12874.	
Jul. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12875, 12876.	
	Jul. 3 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 306.
Jul. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 12877.	
Jul. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 12878.	



Jul. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 12879.	
	Jul. 8 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3819; LM 10 (10), No. 79.
Jul. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 12880.	
	Jul. 11 – the King is in Kraków: CC 36, p. 1186.
Jul. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 12881.	
Jul. 13: MRPS 4/1, No. 3823 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from AGZ 4, No. 66); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12882–12884; AGAD, perg. 1131 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
	Jul. 14 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 307.
	Jul. 15 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 308.
	Jul. 16 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3814; LM 10 (10), Nos 80, 81; AT 5, No. 414.
	Jul. 17 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, D/5b, 27.
Jul. 18: MRPS 4/1, No. 3827 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from transumpt in MRPS 5/2, No. 7701, where witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12885, <sup>91</sup> 12886.	
Jul. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12887–12889.	
Jul. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 12890.	
Jul. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 12891.	
	Jul. 22 – the King is in Kraków: AT 5, No. 419.
	Jul. 23 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3832; SPPP 6, No. 190, p. 184.

<sup>91</sup> The date of MRPS 4/2, No. 12885, reads “die S. Arnolphi”; however, it cannot be ruled out that it was the Feast of St Arnulf, the abbot, which falls on Aug. 16. In the summary of the transumpt of the document in MRPS 5/2, No. 7889, the date is converted to the modern form as Aug. 16.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 12893.	
	Jul. 25 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3835, 3836; APG, 300, D/5b, 28; AT 5, No. 420; RH-D 1/3, No. 24990.
	Jul. 26 – the King visits the shrine in Skalka: ASK 1, RK 48, ff. 28–28v=RK 50, f. 15v; RK 53, f. 34. Cf. BORKOWSKA, p. 201 (no exact date given); SZYMBORSKI 2007, p. 176 (repeated from BORKOWSKA). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 12894.	
Jul. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 12895.	
Jul. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12896–12904.	
Aug. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12905, 12906.	
	Aug. 2 – the King is in Kraków: LM 10 (10), No. 91.
	Aug. 3 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3842; BISCHOFF, No. 30 (=CIP 3, No. 258=KAPRAL, No. 71).
	Aug. 4 – the King is in Kraków: LM 10 (10), No. 84.
Aug. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12907, 12908.	The King departs from Kraków towards Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 53, f. 42. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Aug. 6 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3844–3849.
	Aug. 7 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3850, 3851.
Aug. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 12909.	
	Aug. 9 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3861–3863.
Aug. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 3865 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus [...] ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12910, 12911.	
	Aug. 11 – the King is in Kraków: AT 5, No. 430 (date inferred from other sources).

	Aug. 12 – the King is in Kraków: LM 10 (10), No. 85.
Aug. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12912–12914.	
	Aug. 15 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3869.
Aug. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 12915.	
Aug. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12916–12918.	
Aug. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12919–12921.	
Aug. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12922, 12923.	
	Aug. 20 – the King leaves Kraków for Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 48, f. 35=RK 50, ff. 21, 21v. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Aug. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 12924.	
Aug. 26: MRPS 4/1, No. 3871 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 12925.	
Aug. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12926, 12927.	
Aug. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 12928.	
Aug. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 12930.	
Aug. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 12931.	
Sept. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 12934.	
Sept. 2: MRPS 4/1, No. 3873 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Sept. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12935, 12936.	The King leaves Kraków for Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 50, f. 24v. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Sept. 6 – the King is in Kraków: CC 37, p. 96.
Sept. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 12937.	
Sept. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12938, 12939.	
Sept. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 12942.	
Sept. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12944–12947.	

Itinerary	Additional information
	Sept. 12 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3882; LM 10 (10), No. 89; CC 37, p. 84.
	Sept. 13 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 310.
	Sept. 14 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3884.
	Sept. 16 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3885.
Sept. 17: MRPS 4/1, No. 3887 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); AGAD, perg. 7690 (transumpt of royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
	Sept. 19 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3889.
	Sept. 20 – the King is in Kraków: LM 10 (10), No. 93.
Sept. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12950, 12951.	
	Sept. 22 – the King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 48, f. 44v=RK 50, f. 27v. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Sept. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12952, 12953.	
Sept. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 12954.	
Sept. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 12955.	
	Sept. 28 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 311, and in Niepołomice: RGADA, Fond 389, LM 13 (13), No. 19. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Sept. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 12956.	
Sept. 30: MRPS 4/1, No. 3896 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 12957–12959; TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 819 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	

	Oct. 1 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3897–3904.
Oct. 2: MRPS 4/1, No. 3906 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Oct. 3: MRPS 4/1, No. 3908 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Oct. 4: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3914, 3915 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
	Oct. 5 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3918.
	Oct. 6 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3919.
Oct. 7: MRPS 4/1, No. 3920 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
	Oct. 8 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, D/5b, 33.
	Oct. 12 – the King is in Kraków: AT 5, No. 438.
Oct. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 12962.	
Oct. 15: MRPS 4/1, No. 3925 (royal document, date silently corrected by Teodor Wierzbowski, <sup>92</sup> witness list supplied from transumpt in MRPS 5/2, No. 8530, where witness list supplied from MK).	
Oct. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12963–12965.	

<sup>92</sup> The date in MK 37, f. 270, reads “feria 3 post festum S. Hedvigis”, which appears to be a scribal error because in 1521 the Feast of St Hedwig fell on Tuesday. This is why Teodor Wierzbowski corrected the reading by removing “post”. However, it should be noted that another copy of the document in the transumpt by King Sigismund Augustus repeats the same dating clause: see MRPS 5/2, No. 8530. This suggests that the original document might have also expressed the day in that manner. Hence, the date proposed by Wierzbowski cannot be considered as the final resolution of the problem.

Itinerary	Additional information
Oct. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12966–12973.	
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12974–12982.	
	Oct. 19 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3928, 3929.
Oct. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12983–12985.	
Oct. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12986–12992.	
Oct. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 12993.	
Oct. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12994–12997.	
Oct. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 12998–13000.	
Oct. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13001–13009.	
Oct. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13010, 13012. <sup>93</sup>	
Oct. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13013, 13014.	
Oct. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	<p>The King leaves Kraków for Piotrków to attend the General Diet (<i>sejm walny</i>): ASK 1, RK 53, f. 35; AURIFABER, f. unnumbered (under specific date); NOSKOWSKI, p. 414; SOKOLNICKI, f. S<sub>12</sub> – h. 11; AT 6, No. 3 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.</p> <p>The General Diet (<i>sejm walny</i>) was convoked in Piotrków for that day: AT 6, No. 1.</p>
<b>1521 Oct. 28 to 29 — Słomniki</b>	
Oct. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Słomniki: ASK 1, RK 48, f. 74v=RK 50, f. 6v; RK 50, f. 63=RK 53, f. 35v. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 29 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Oct. 28–29 in Słomniki. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1521 Oct. 29 to 30 — Książ</b>	
Oct. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Książ: ASK 1, RK 50, f. 63v=RK 53, f. 35v. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>93</sup> In MRPS 4/2, No. 13011, the date Oct. 26 is silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski. The corresponding entry in MK 35, p. 340, does not bear a date. Wierzbowski's reconstruction is probably based on the previous entry in the register, dated Oct. 26: MK 35, p. 339.

Oct. 30 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Oct. 29–30 in Książ. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1521 Oct. 30 to 31 — Jędrzejów</b>	
Oct. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Jędrzejów: ASK 1, RK 50, f. 63v (no exact date given)=RK 53, f. 35v (no exact date given); date inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Książ and Małogoszcz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 31 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Oct. 30–31 in Jędrzejów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1521 Oct. 31 to Nov. 1 — Małogoszcz</b>	
Oct. 31 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Małogoszcz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 13016.	The King's presence in Małogoszcz on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263. <sup>94</sup>
<b>1521 Nov. 1 to 2 — Przedbórz</b>	
Nov. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Przedbórz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Przedbórz: ASK 1, RK 50, f. 63v=RK 53, f. 35v; RK 53, f. 44 (no exact date given). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1521 Nov. 2 to 13 — Piotrków</b>	
Nov. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Piotrków: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 19; SKRODZKI, f. S <sub>12v</sub> . Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>95</sup>
Nov. 3 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 50, f. 63v=RK 53, f. 35v.
Nov. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 13017.	The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, No. 3933; MRPS 4/2, No. 13017. <sup>96</sup>

<sup>94</sup> ALRG, No. 155, records the King in Kraków on Nov. 1. However, dating the document to 1520 based on the indiction number in the dating clause contradicts the known royal itinerary.

<sup>95</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, notes the King's arrival in Piotrków on Nov. 1, but the information is based solely on a mention from Stanisław Górski's commentary: AT 6, No. 3, p. 8.

<sup>96</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 32; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 369; and *Postowie*, p. 57, consider that day as the commencement of the General Diet (*sejm walny*).

Itinerary	Additional information
Nov. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 3934.
Nov. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 13018.	
Nov. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 13019.	
Nov. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3935, 3936.
Nov. 9: MRPS 4/1, No. 3939 (royal document witnessed by PT, date silently corrected by Teodor Wierzbowski, <sup>97</sup> witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Nov. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13020–13022.	
Nov. 11: MRPS 4/1, No. 3940 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut in sequenti privilegio”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13023, 13024.	
Nov. 12: MRPS 4/1, No. 3943 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13025, 13026.	
Nov. 13 – PT is sent by the King to the repeated Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) in Środa: AT 6, No. 3 (Stanisław Górski’s commentary). <sup>98</sup>	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3944–3946.

<sup>97</sup> The copy in MK 37, f. 304v, bears the obviously incorrect date of “Sabbato in vigilia S. Martini”, since in 1521 the Feast of St Martin fell on Monday. Teodor Wierzbowski concluded that the reading “in vigilia” must be corrupted and corrected it to “ante”.

<sup>98</sup> Several documents incorrectly suggest PT’s presence in Piotrków after Nov. 13. Documents dated Nov. 14, 15 and 17 in MK 37, ff. 284, 286v, 288, corresponding to MRPS 4/1, Nos 3947, 3949, 3951, instead of a full witness list, use the reference “praesentibus ut supra”, suggesting they repeat the witness list from the previous entry with PT’s name in it. In a record of this type, an error could easily occur. Hence, another entry dated Nov. 30 in MK 37, f. 299v, with the same reference, corresponding to MRPS 4/2, No. 3977, cannot be taken into consideration, even though it suggests PT’s presence in Piotrków on the day of his expected return (see below, the additional information for Nov. 25). Additionally, MRPS 4/2, No. 13027, suggests PT’s presence in Piotrków on Nov. 20.



<b>1521 Nov. 23 to 25 — Środa</b>	
Nov. 23: AT 6, No. 3 (Stanisław Górski's commentary).	The Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) was convoked on Nov. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13023, 13024 (in the second entry, date supplied from MK).
Nov. 25: TG, No. 324 <sub>a</sub> (PT's letter).	PT leaves Środa on that day and plans to arrive in Piotrków by the upcoming Feast of St Andrew (Nov. 30): PT's letter to the King, as referenced on the left.
<b>1521 ca. Nov. 30 to 1522 Jan. 7 — Piotrków</b>	
ca. Nov. 30 – PT arrives in Piotrków: TG, No. 324 <sub>a</sub> (PT's letter, expected day of arrival mentioned).	
Dec. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 13029.	
Dec. 2: MRPS 4/1, No. 3983 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 13028 (date corrected). <sup>99</sup>	
Dec. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 13030.	
Dec. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: AGZ 10, No. 318.
Dec. 6: MRPS 4/1, No. 3987 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Dec. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13031–13035.	
Dec. 8: MRPS 4/1, No. 3991 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from transumpt in MRPS 5/1, No. 820, where witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13036, 13037.	

<sup>99</sup> The date “feria 2 ante Andreae” (Nov. 25) in both MRPS 4/2, No. 13028, and in the corresponding entry in MK 35, p. 724, is incorrect, as PT was in Środa, which is about 200 km from Piotrków, on that day. The entry in MK repeats the dating clause of the original document: AGAD, perg. 1356. Additionally, it is unlikely that the Feast of St Andrew, which fell on a Saturday in 1521, was used to specify a relatively distant day like the previous Monday. To resolve the issue, the least invasive emendation would be substituting “ante” with “post”, which would change the date from Nov. 25 to Dec. 2, consistent with PT's probable location and the typical use of the Feast of St Andrew for dating.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Dec. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13038, 13039.	
Dec. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 13040.	
Dec. 11: MRPS 4/1, No. 3994 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”).	
Dec. 12: MRPS 4/1, Nos 3997, 3999 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus [...] ut supra</i> ”).	
Dec. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13041–13044.	
Dec. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 13045.	
Dec. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 13046; AGAD, perg. 5774 (PT’s document).	
Dec. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4005–4008.
Dec. 17 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4009.
Dec. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 13047.	
Dec. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13048, 13049.	
Dec. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13050–13056.	
Dec. 21: MRPS 4/1, No. 4015 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13057, 13058.	
Dec. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4016–4018.
Dec. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13059–13062.	
Dec. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13063–13067; GORCZAK 5, No. 113 (royal document witnessed by PT).	
Dec. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 53, f. 36.
Dec. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4023; SZACHERSKA, No. 340.

Dec. 27 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4024, 4025; LM 1 (1), Nos 510, 589 (in the second record date corrected). <sup>100</sup>
Dec. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13068, 13069.	
Dec. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13070–13073.	
Dec. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 4029 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Dec. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 13074.	
<b>1522</b>	
Jan. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4031; APP, Akta miasta Poznania, D. 719. <sup>101</sup>
Jan. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 13076; MRPS 4/3, No. 23210 (entry not considered in MRPS 4/2).	
Jan. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13077–13083, 13129 (No. 13129 – date corrected <sup>102</sup> ).	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) concludes before Jan. 3, when the resolutions ( <i>konstytucje</i> ) are issued: CIP 3, No. 261. <sup>103</sup>
Jan. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13084–13105; CC 37, p. 527 (royal document, signature by PT).	
Jan. 5: CC 37, p. 328 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jan. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13116–13125; AOff. Cr. 58, f. 115 (=p. 229 in old pagination, royal document witnessed by PT).	

<sup>100</sup> The editors have assumed that the 10th indiction is incorrect and have corrected it to the 12th indiction, supplementing the year as 1523.

<sup>101</sup> LM 25 (25), No. 173, records the King in Vilnius on Jan. 1.

<sup>102</sup> The date “*feria 6 post Epiphaniarum*” in MRPS 4/2, No. 13129, and the corresponding entry in MK 35, p. 690, is incorrect since the King had left Piotrków a few days earlier. The least invasive correction, consistent with the royal itinerary, is replacing “*post*” with “*ante*”, changing the date from Jan. 10 to Jan. 3.

<sup>103</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 32; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 369; and *Posłowie*, p. 57, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) continued until Jan. 7, as indicated by the latest entries dated *in conventione* (see below, the additional information for that day).

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13126, 13127.	The King departs Piotrków for Lithuania via Radom: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 19; AT 6, p. 16 (Stanisław Górski's commentary). Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263 (information about the stay, not the departure). The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, No. 4067; MRPS 4/2, No. 13126.
<b>[1522 Jan. 7 to 8 — Sulejów]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jan. 7–8 in Sulejów: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Piotrków and Opoczno.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Jan. 8 to 9 — Opoczno</b>	
Jan. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Opoczno: MRPS 4/1, No. 4068; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Jan. 9 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Jan. 8–9 in Opoczno. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Jan. 9 to 10 — Skrzywno</b>	
Jan. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 13128.	The King's presence in Skrzywno on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Jan. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Jan. 9–10 in Skrzywno. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Jan. 10 to 14 — Radom</b>	
Jan. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Radom: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 20. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jan. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 13130.	The King's presence in Radom on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Jan. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Radom: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4069–4073.
Jan. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13131, 13132, 13134–13139.	The King's presence in Radom on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.

Jan. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Radom: ASK 1, RK 53, f. 40, and departs from there towards Lithuania: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 20. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>104</sup>
<b>[1522 Jan. 14 to 15 — Jedlnia]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jan. 14–15 in Jedlnia: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Radom and Kozienice.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Jan. 15 to 16 — Kozienice</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Jan. 15–16 in Kozienice: ASK 1, RK 53, f. 36 (no exact date given); date inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Jedlnia and Kozienice. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Jan. 16 to 17 — Zadybie</b>	
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 13140.	The King's presence in Zadybie on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Jan. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Jan. 16–17 in Zadybie. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Jan. 17 to 18 — Łuków</b>	
Jan. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 13141.	The King's presence in Łuków on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Jan. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13142, 13143.	The King's presence in Łuków on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
<b>[1522 Jan. 18 to 19 — Trzebieszów]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jan. 18–19 in Trzebieszów: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Łuków and Bielsk.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1522 Jan. 19 to 20 — Łosice]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jan. 19–20 in Łosice: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Łuków and Bielsk.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>104</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, only mentions the King's stay in Radom until Jan. 13.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>[1522 Jan. 20 to 21 — Mielnik]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jan. 20–21 in Mielnik: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Łuków and Bielsk.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1522 Jan. 21 to 22 — Milejczyce]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jan. 21–22 in Milejczyce: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Łuków and Bielsk.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Jan. [22 to] 23 — Bielsk</b>	
Jan. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably arrives in Bielsk: based on the assumption that he spent only one night at each stop on his usual way from Łuków to Bielsk.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Jan. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 13144.	The King's presence in Bielsk on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
<b>1522 Feb. 2 to Apr. 3 — Grodna</b>	
Feb. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Grodna: AT 6, p. 16 (Stanisław Górski's commentary), and stays there: AT 6, Nos 14 (date supplied from TG, No. 341), 15. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Feb. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13146, 13147.	The King's presence in Grodna on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Feb. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grodna: ASPK 8, No. 37 (=RH-D 1/3, No. 25315).
Feb. 5: ASPK 8, No. 38 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 6 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grodna: LM 1 (1), No. 300.
Feb. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 13148.	
Feb. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grodna: AZR 2, No. 109 (=JASAS, No. 252); AT 6, No. 17.

Feb. 10 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Grodna: LM 222 (2), No. 312; BŁASZCZYK, No. 143; BEREZHKOVA, p. 200.
Feb. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13149, 13150.	
Feb. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 13151; TOMASZEWICZ 1992, No. 87 (PT and others' document).	
Feb. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 13152.	
Feb. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13153–13155.	
Feb. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grodna: LM 11 (11), No. 125.
Feb. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 13156.	
Shortly before Mar. 5: TG, No. 349 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Mar. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13157, 13158.	
Mar. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grodna: AT 6, Nos 21, 22.
Mar. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Grodna: AZR 2, No. 110.
Mar. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 13159.	
Mar. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 13160.	
Mar. 11: BCz, 1596, p. 101 (PT's letter).	The King is in Grodna: AGAD, perg. 4634.
Mar. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13162, 13163. <sup>105</sup>	
Mar. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grodna: LM 222 (2), Nos 320, 321.
Mar. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13164–13167.	
Mar. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13168, 13169.	
Mar. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grodna: LM 222 (2), No. 335; AVK 31, No. 2.
Mar. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 13170.	
Mar. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grodna: KOSTOMAROV, No. 71.
Mar. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13171–13174.	
Mar. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 13175.	

<sup>105</sup> BŁASZCZYK, No. 149, records the King in Trakai on Mar. 12, but the place of issue is mistaken, as the original document is dated in Grodna, see JASAS, No. 253.

Itinerary	Additional information
Mar. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grodna: AT 6, No. 31.
Mar. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13176, 13177.	
Mar. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 13178.	
Mar. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 13179.	
Mar. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13180, 13181.	
Mar. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 13182.	
Mar. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grodna: RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 233.
Mar. 30 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Grodna: GORCZAK 3, No. 233.
Mar. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 13184.	
Apr. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 13185.	
Apr. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 13186.	
Apr. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King departs from Grodna towards Vilnius: AT 6, p. 45 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); <sup>106</sup> GAŚIÓROWSKI, p. 263.
<b>[1522 Apr. 3 to 4 — Pryvalki]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Apr. 3–4 in Pryvalki: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Grodna and Vilnius.] Not in GAŚIÓROWSKI.
<b>[1522 Apr. 4 to 5 — Merkinė]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Apr. 4–5 in Merkinė: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Grodna and Vilnius.] Not in GAŚIÓROWSKI.

<sup>106</sup> In another more elaborate commentary, Stanisław Górski provides the departure date of the King as “Dominica Iudica” (AT 6, No. 9, p. 16), which corresponds to Apr. 6.

However, this date must be excluded, as in such a case, the King would not have had sufficient time to reach Vilnius by Apr. 9, a date that Górski identifies as the King's arrival day in both versions of his commentary.

The probable route of the King's journey from Grodno to Vilnius can be reconstructed using the standard royal itinerary, but it is not possible to pinpoint exact dates of stay, as the King spent two nights at one of the stops, presumably in one of the locations used for rest – Varėna, Valkininkai, or Rudninkai.



<b>[1522 Apr. 5 to ca. 6 — Varėna]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Apr. 5–6 or two nights (Apr. 5–6 and Apr. 6–7) in Varėna: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Grodna and Vilnius.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1522 ca. Apr. 6–8 — Valkininkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night or two in Varėna between Apr. 6–8: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Grodna and Vilnius.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1522 ca. Apr. 7–9 — Rudninkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night or two in Varėna between Apr. 7–9: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Grodna and Vilnius.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 ca. Apr. 9 to Sept. 14 — Vilnius</b>	
Apr. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Vilnius: AT 6, No. 8, p. 16; p. 45 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Apr. 10 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: GORCZAK 3, No. 234.
Apr. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 13187.	
Apr. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: JASAS, No. 257; BEREZHKOVA, p. 200. <sup>107</sup>
Apr. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13188, 13189.	
Apr. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AGAD, perg. 759.
Apr. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13190, 13191.	
Apr. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 13193.	
Apr. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13194, 13195.	
Apr. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 13196.	
Apr. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13198, 13199.	
Apr. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 13200.	

<sup>107</sup> I could not identify the entry in LM on which the information in the itinerary by Nikolay Berezhkov regarding the King's stay on that day was based.

Itinerary	Additional information
Apr. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13201–13203.	
May 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13204–13206. <sup>108</sup>	
May 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 350.
May 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13207–13209.	
May 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: APG, 300, D/5b, 45.
May 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 13210.	
May 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), Nos 354, 355, 358.
May 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 13211.	
May 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 13212.	
May 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13213–13215.	
May 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 364.
May 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 13216.	
May 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13217–13220.	
May 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 371.
May 19 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 370.
May 21 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 372.
May 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 13221.	
May 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AGAD, perg. 7508.
May 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 13222.	
May 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), Nos 376, 379, 380.
May 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13223, 13224.	
May 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 384.
May 30 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), Nos 381, 383.

<sup>108</sup> JASAS, No. 258, records the King in Kraków on May 1.

Jun. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 13225.	
Jun. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AT 6, No. 61.
Shortly after Jun. 3: AT 6, Nos 148, 149 (PT's letters, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jun. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 28 (28), No. 5.
Jun. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 13226.	
Jun. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 13227.	
Jun. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13228–13231.	
Jun. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 10 (10), No. 113.
Jun. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 13232.	
Jun. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 13233.	
Jun. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13234, 13235.	
Jun. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AGAD, perg. 7513.
Jun. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 13236.	
Jun. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 392; AGZ 10, No. 330.
Jun. 18 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 10 (10), No. 100.
Jun. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 13237.	
Jun. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13238–13242.	
Jun. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 13243.	
Jun. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 10 (10), Nos 103, 104; BŁASZCZYK, No. 167.
Jun. 25 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: BŁASZCZYK, No. 168.
Jun. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13244, 13245.	
Jun. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13246–13250.	
Jun. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), No. 6; IMT 2, No. 229.
Jun. 30 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), No. 479.
Jul. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 13251; BCz, 247, p. 103 (PT's letter).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13253, 13254.	
Jul. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), No. 567; LM 10 (10), No. 108; LM 28 (28), No. 6; AZR 2, No. 112; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201.
Jul. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13255–13257.	
Jul. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 10 (10), No. 109.
Jul. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), No. 140.
Jul. 9 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 10 (10), No. 112.
Jul. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 13258.	
Jul. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), No. 157=LM 10 (10), No. 120.
Jul. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 13259.	
Jul. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13260, 13261, 13264–13266.	
Jul. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 10 (10), No. 110=LM 18 (18), No. 15.
Jul. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 13267.	
Jul. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 398.
Jul. 19 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 222 (2), No. 400; BEREZHKOVA, p. 200.
Jul. 20 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), No. 94=LM 224 (4), No. 1; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201.
Jul. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 13268.	
Jul. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 13269.	
Jul. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), Nos 88, 89; AT 6, No. 78; BEREZHKOVA, p. 200.
Jul. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13270, 13272, 13273.	
Jul. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13274, 13275.	

Jul. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), Nos 4, 6; LM 224 (4), No. 2.
Jul. 27 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 10 (10), No. 111; LM 12 (12), No. 5; LM 224 (4), No. 6.
Jul. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 13276.	
Jul. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), No. 122=LM 12 (12), No. 13; LM 12 (12), Nos 14, 15.
Jul. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 13277.	
Jul. 31 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), No. 104; LM 12 (12), Nos 16–18.
Aug. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13279–13282; SZACHERSKA, No. 344 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Aug. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13283, 13284.	
Aug. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), Nos 102, 103, 109, 142 (No. 109=LM 224 (4), No. 8); LM 224 (4), No. 35.
Aug. 4 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 224 (4), No. 7.
Aug. 5 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), Nos 23, 24; RYKACZEWSKI, p. 363 (=AGAD, perg. 6352).
Aug. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13285, 13286.	
Aug. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13287–13293.	
Aug. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 13294.	
Aug. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13295–13297, 13299–13306.	
Aug. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13307, 13308.	
Aug. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 13309.	
Aug. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 13310.	
Aug. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13311–13329.	
Aug. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), Nos 32, 33; GORCZAK 3, No. 242.
Aug. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13330–13332.	
Aug. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13333–13336.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Aug. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13337–13340.	
Aug. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13341–13343.	
Aug. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13344, 13345.	
Aug. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13346–13350.	
Aug. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), Nos 36–38; LM 224 (4), No. 4.
Aug. 31: BCz, 1596, p. 106 (PT's letter).	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), Nos 39–41.
Sept. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13351, 13352.	
Sept. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 43; LM 224 (4), No. 13.
Sept. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13353, 13354.	
Sept. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 13355.	
Sept. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13357, 13358.	
Sept. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), No. 114; LM 12 (12), No. 46.
Sept. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13359, 13360.	
Sept. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), No. 113.
Sept. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13361, 13362.	
<b>[1522 ca. Sept. 14–15 — Rudninkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends one night in Rudninkai ca. Sept. 14–15: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Vilnius and Valkininkai.] Not in GAŚTOROWSKI.
<b>1522 ca. 15 Sept. — Valkininkai</b>	
MRPS 4/2, No. 13363 (date supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski).	The King's presence in Valkininkai on that day recorded in GAŚTOROWSKI, p. 263. <sup>109</sup>

<sup>109</sup> LM 12 (12), No. 48, records the King in Valkininkai on Sept. 14.

<b>1522 Sept. 17 — Varėna</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Varėna: AT 6, No. 90 (Jan Zambocki's letter, date supplied from CIDTC, IDL 162). <sup>110</sup> Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>[1522 ca. Sept. 18 — Valkininkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends at least one night in Valkininkai ca. Sept. 18: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Varėna and Vilnius.] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>[1522 ca. Sept. 19 — Rudninkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends at least one night in Rudninkai ca. Sept. 19: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Varėna and Vilnius.] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Sept. 20 to Dec. 9 — Vilnius</b>	
Sept. 20: AT 6, No. 109 (=CIDTC, IDL 153, PT's letter, date supplied by Anna Skolimowska).	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 54.
Sept. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 49; AT 6, No. 93 (=CIDTC, IDL 152, date supplied by Anna Skolimowska).
After Sept. 21: AT 6, No. 94 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Sept. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AT 6, Nos 116, 160 (No. 160 – date supplied from LANZ 1, No. 39). <sup>111</sup>
Sept. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 13364.	
Sept. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 51.
Sept. 25 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 224 (4), No. 17.
Sept. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 52.

<sup>110</sup> According to the letter, it was the ninth day since the royal court departed from Vilna for hunting, so the departure day would be Sept. 9, which contradicts data from MK and LM (see above, the information for Sept. 10 and 14). The return to Vilnius was planned for the following Saturday (Sept. 20).

<sup>111</sup> LM 12 (12), No. 50, records the King in Valkininkai on Sept. 22.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Sept. 28 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 53.
ca. Sept. 28: AT 6, Nos 136, 141 (PT's letters, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Sept. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 13365.	
Oct. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), No. 115=LM 224 (4), No. 19; LM 12 (12), Nos 55–57.
Oct. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 13366.	
Oct. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 58.
Oct. 4 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), Nos 59, 60.
Oct. 5 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), Nos 61 (=LM 17 (17), No. 239), 62.
Oct. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13367–13373.	
Oct. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), Nos 63, 64.
Oct. 9 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 65.
Oct. 10 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), Nos 66, 67; LM 224 (4), No. 20.
Oct. 12 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 68.
Oct. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13375, 13376, 13378, 13379.	
Shortly after Oct. 13: AT 6, Nos 181, 182 (PT's letters, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Oct. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 69.
Oct. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 13381.	
Oct. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 13383.	
Oct. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 70.
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13384–13387.	



Oct. 19 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AGAD, perg. 3712.
Oct. 21 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 73; LM 25 (25), No. 70.
Oct. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 74; LM 224 (4), Nos 21, 22; AT 6, Nos 119, 127.
Oct. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13388–13391.	
Oct. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 13392; AT 6, Nos 121 (PT's letter), 122 (PT's letter, date supplied from TG, No. 358).	
Oct. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), Nos 75–77.
Oct. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 78.
Oct. 27 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: AT 6, No. 128.
ca. Oct. 27: AT 6, Nos 137, 139 (PT's letters, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Oct. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13393–13395.	
Oct. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 13396; AT 6, Nos 140 (PT's letter), 141 (PT's letter, date corrected from TG, No. 3008).	
After Oct. 30: AT 6, No. 155 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Oct. 31 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 224 (4), No. 24; APG, 300, D/5b, 52.
Nov. 5 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: GORCZAK 3, No. 245.
Nov. 6 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), No. 124; LM 12 (12), No. 82.
Nov. 7 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 224 (4), No. 33; AT 5, No. 411 (date supplied from RH-D 1/3, No. 25722).
Nov. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), No. 126.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Nov. 10 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 83.
Before Nov. 11: AT 6, No. 118 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	The King wants to wait in Vilnius for Muscovite envoys, even if they do not arrive on Nov. 11 when they are expected. However, the date of the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) has already been promulgated by PT to ensure that the King will leave Lithuania for Poland at the appropriate time and to prevent Lithuanians from stopping him: PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, as referenced on the left.
Nov. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AT 6, No. 133 (date supplied from Kod. Jag. 12, f. 58).
Nov. 12 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), Nos 84, 85.
Nov. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13397, 13398.	
Nov. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), Nos 413, 519=LM 12 (12), Nos 85, 84 [!].
Nov. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 13400; CIDTC, IDL 7096 (lost PT's letter).	
Nov. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 13401.	
Nov. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), Nos 128–130 (No. 129=LM 224 (4), No. 26); LM 12 (12), No. 87; LM 224 (4), No. 27.
Nov. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 13402.	
Nov. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: AT 5, No. 409 (place and date supplied from RH-D 1/3, No. 25746).
Nov. 21 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 89.
Nov. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 90.
Nov. 23 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), No. 91.
Nov. 24 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 224 (4), No. 29.
Nov. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), No. 134; LM 224 (4), No. 31.

Nov. 28 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 224 (4), No. 30; AT 6, No. 159.
Nov. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13404, 13405.	
Nov. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 11 (11), No. 139; LM 12 (12), Nos 92, 93.
Dec. 1 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), No. 360; LM 12 (12), No. 94; LM 224 (4), No. 36.
Dec. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 12 (12), Nos 95, 96.
Dec. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 13406.	
Dec. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 13407.	
Dec. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 13408.	
Dec. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: LM 25 (25), No. 18; LM 224 (4), No. 37; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201.
Dec. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Vilnius: LM 1 (1), Nos 303, 371, 596, 600; LM 12 (12), Nos 104–106; BEREZHKOVA, p. 200.
Before Dec. 9: AT 6, No. 156 (PT's letter, place supplied from TG, No. 382, date supplied from internal evidence).	The King intends to depart from Vilnius either on the second or third day after the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin (Dec. 9 or 10) and plans to arrive in Brest-Litovsk or Lublin by Christmas Day (Dec. 25). If during his journey, he is informed that envoys from Muscovy are on their way, he will wait for them in Brest-Litovsk or Lublin to receive them. Otherwise, he will proceed directly to Kraków and Piotrków to attend the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ): PT's letter to Łukasz Górka, as referenced on the left.
Dec. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vilnius: JASAS, No. 267, and departs from there: AT 6, p. 204 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263. <sup>112</sup>

<sup>112</sup> According to AT 6, p. 16 (Stanisław Górski's commentary), the King stayed in Vilnius only until Dec. 4.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>[1522 Dec. 9 to 10 — Rudninkai]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 9–10 in Rudninkai: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Vilnius and Vasilishki. <sup>113</sup> ] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>[1522 Dec. 10 to 11 — Eišiškės]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 10–11 in Eišiškės: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Vilnius and Vasilishki.] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI. <sup>114</sup>
<b>[1522 Dec. 11 to 12 — Radun]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 11–12 in Radun: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Vilnius and Vasilishki.] Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Dec. 12 to 13 — Vasilishki</b>	
Dec. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vasilishki: LM 12 (12), Nos 107–110; LM 224 (4), No. 40; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GAŚIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Dec. 13 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Dec. 12–13 in Vasilishki. Cf. GAŚIOROWSKI, p. 263 (information about the stay on that day in Vasilishki based on the false premise that the King was in Vasilishki on Dec. 14; see below, the additional information for Dec. 14 and n. 115).
<b>1522 Dec. 13 to 14 — Masty</b>	
Dec. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Masty. Not in GAŚIOROWSKI.
Dec. 14 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Masty: AT 6, No. 165. Not in GAŚIOROWSKI. <sup>115</sup>

<sup>113</sup> LM 1 (1), No. 96, records the King in Vasilishki on Dec. 10.

<sup>114</sup> According to LM 224 (4), No. 39; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; and GAŚIOROWSKI, p. 263, the King was in Vasilishki on Dec. 11.

<sup>115</sup> According to LM 12 (12), No. 111; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; and GAŚIOROWSKI, p. 263, the King was in Vasilishki on Dec. 14.

<b>1522 Dec. 14 to 15 — Vawkavysk</b>	
Dec. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Vawkavysk: LM 224 (4), Nos 41, 49; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Dec. 15 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Dec. 14–15 in Vawkavysk. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Dec. 15 to 16 — Novy Dvor</b>	
Dec. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Novy Dvor: LM 12 (12), No. 112; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Dec. 16 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Dec. 15–16 in Novy Dvor. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1522 Dec. 16 to 17 — Sharashova]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Dec. 16–17 in Sharashova: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Novy Dvor and Kamyenyets.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Dec. 17 to 18 — Kamyenyets</b>	
Dec. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kamyenyets: LM 12 (12), Nos 113, 115; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Dec. 18 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Dec. 17–18 in Kamyenyets. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Dec. 18 to 20 — Brest-Litovsk</b>	
Dec. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 1 (1), Nos 520, 521; LM 12 (12), Nos 114, 116–118; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Dec. 19 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 1 (1), Nos 69, 308 (No. 308=LM 12 (12), No. 119); LM 12 (12), Nos 120–123; LM 25 (25), No. 66; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263. <sup>116</sup>
Dec. 20 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Brest-Litovsk: LM 1 (1), No. 37; LM 12 (12), Nos 124, 125; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.

<sup>116</sup> LM 226 (7), No. 49.3, records the King in Lublin on Dec. 19.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1522 Dec. 20 to 21 — Łomazy</b>	
Dec. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Łomazy: LM 1 (1), No. 299; LM 12 (12), No. 126; LM 224 (4), No. 48 (date corrected) <sup>117</sup> ; GORCZAK 3, No. 247; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Dec. 21 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Łomazy: LM 12 (12), Nos 127–129, <sup>118</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
<b>1522 Dec. 21 to 22 — Parczew</b>	
Dec. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Parczew. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Parczew: LM 12 (12), No. 132; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263. <sup>119</sup>
<b>1522 Dec. 22 to 23 — Kolechowice</b>	
Dec. 22: MRPS 5/1, No. 2732 (transumpt of royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT, formula supplied from MK).	The King's presence in Kolechowice on that day recorded in BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Dec. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kolechowice: LM 12 (12), Nos 135–137; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263. <sup>120</sup>
<b>1522 Dec. 23 to 26 — Lublin</b>	
Dec. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Lublin: LM 12 (12), Nos 138, 139; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Dec. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13410–13413.	

<sup>117</sup> The dating clause reads “Sabbato in vigilia S. Thomae Ap., anno Domini 1523”, but the year-date is mistaken since the eve of the Feast of St Thomas Apostle fell on Saturday in 1522.

<sup>118</sup> The document from LM 12 (12), No. 128, is dated Dec. 20 in GORCZAK 3, No. 248.

<sup>119</sup> According to LM 1 (1), No. 133=LM 12 (12), No. 130; LM 12 (12), No. 131=LM 18 (18), No. 102; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; and GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263, the King was also in Łomazy on Dec. 22.

The King's presence in Łomazy on Dec. 22 seems well documented by more than one record, but considering the distance between Łomazy, Parczew, and Kolechowice (about 70 km), it would be very difficult for the King to have visited all three locations within a single day.

<sup>120</sup> GORCZAK 3, No. 249, records the King in Łomazy on Dec. 23.

Dec. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Lublin: LM 12 (12), No. 143.
Dec. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13414–13416.	The King's presence in Lublin on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
<b>1522 Dec. 26 to 27 — Urzędów</b>	
Dec. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13417, 13418.	The King's presence in Urzędów on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Dec. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Dec. 26–27 in Urzędów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Dec. 27 to 28 — Zawichost</b>	
Dec. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Zawichost. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13419, 13420.	The King's presence in Zawichost on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
<b>1522 Dec. 28 to 29 — Sandomierz</b>	
Dec. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Sandomierz: ASK 1, RK 52, f. 156v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer travelled with the King from Sandomierz to Kraków); AT 6, No. 157 (expected route mentioned, no exact date given). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 29 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Dec. 28–29 in Sandomierz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1522 Dec. 29 to 30 — Osiek</b>	
Dec. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Osiek: ASK 1, RK 52, f. 156v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer travelled with the King from Sandomierz to Kraków). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 13421.	The King's presence in Osiek on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
<b>1522 Dec. 30 to 31 — Połaniec</b>	
Dec. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Połaniec: ASK 1, RK 52, f. 157 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer travelled with the King from Sandomierz to Kraków); LM 224 (4), No. 42; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.

Itinerary	Additional information
Dec. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 13422.	The King's presence in Połaniec on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
<b>1522 Dec. 31 to 1523 Jan. 1 — Nowe Miasto Korczyn</b>	
Dec. 31 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: ASK 1, RK 52, f. 157v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer travelled with the King from Sandomierz to Kraków); MRPS 4/1, Nos 4098, 4099. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Jan. 1 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Dec. 31–Jan. 1 in Nowe Miasto Korczyn. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1523 Jan. 1 to 2 — Proszowice</b>	
Jan. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Proszowice: ASK 1, RK 52, f. 157v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer travelled with the King from Sandomierz to Kraków). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Jan. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Jan. 1–2 in Proszowice. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1523 Jan. 2 to Apr. 20 — Kraków</b>	
Jan. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.  The King arrives in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 52, f. 158; AURIFABER, f. unnumbered (under specific date); BERNARD Z BISKUPIEGO, f. U <sub>2v</sub> ; BIEM I, f. 376v; KONARSKI, p. 48 (=f. 24v in old foliation); MIKOŁAJ Z WIELICZKI, p. 19 – post h. 19; SOKOLNICKI, f. U <sub>3</sub> – h. 20; AT 6, p. 204 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); SPPP 6,



	p. 22 (date inferred from the mention of the royal court session held on Jan. 14, 12 days after the King's return to Kraków); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
	Jan. 3 – the King is in Kraków: BIEM I, f. 377; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201. <sup>121</sup>
Jan. 4: MRPS 4/1, No. 4100 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Jan. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 4101 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Jan. 6: MRPS 4/1, No. 4105 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); RINCON, p. 34 (diplomatic dispatch, PT mentioned).	
	Jan. 7 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 145; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201.
	Jan. 8 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 146.
	Jan. 9 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 147.
	Jan. 10 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 148.
	Jan. 11 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 149.
	Jan. 12 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 150, 151.
Jan. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13425, 13426.	
	Jan. 14 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 336.
	Jan. 15 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4110, 4111. The Diocesan Synod of Poznań in the absence of PT: NOWACKI, No. 32, p. 53.

<sup>121</sup> I could not identify the entry in LM, on which the information in the itinerary by Nikolay Berezkhov regarding the King's stay on that day was based.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13427–13433.	
Jan. 17: MRPS 4/1, No. 4113 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13434, 13435.	
Jan. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13436–13439.	
Jan. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13440–13442.	
Jan. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13443–13449.	
Jan. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13451, 13452.	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was initially convoked on Jan. 21 in Piotrków: AT 6, No. 177, but was later rescheduled to Feb. 2 in Kraków (see below, the additional information for that day).
Jan. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13453, 13454.	
	Jan. 25 – the King is in Kraków: LM 11 (11), No. 152; LM 224 (4), No. 45.
Jan. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13455, 13456.	
Jan. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 13457.	
Jan. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 13458.	
	Jan. 30 – the King is in Kraków: AGAD, perg. 2094.
	Jan. 31 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, Nos 337, 338.
	Feb. 1 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4123; AT 6, No. 204 (date supplied from TG, No. 394).
Feb. 2: RINCON, p. 35 (diplomatic dispatch, PT mentioned).	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was rescheduled to that day: AT 6, Nos 185, 188; MRPS 4/2, No. 13433.
Feb. 3: RINCON, p. 37 (diplomatic dispatch, PT mentioned).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 155.
Feb. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 13459.	
	Feb. 6 – the King is in Kraków: AT 6, No. 205 (date supplied from TG, No. 398).
Feb. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 13460.	

	Feb. 8 – the King is in Kraków: AT 9 ed. 1, No. 209.
Feb. 11 – PT presumably takes part in the opening of the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ).	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) begins: MIKOŁAJ Z WIELICZKI, p. 21. <sup>122</sup>
Feb. 12: MRPS 4/1, No. 4127 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, No. 13461. <sup>123</sup>	The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, No. 13461 (the formula supplied from MK).
Feb. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4128, 4129.
Feb. 14 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 234.
Feb. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 13462.	
Feb. 19: AA Cap. Posn. 35, f. 173v (PT’s document mentioned).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4131, 4132; BK, 228, p. 96.
Feb. 20: SOKOLNICKI, f. U <sub>3v</sub> .	
Feb. 21: AGAD, perg. 2918 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Feb. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13463–13465.	
Feb. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13466, 13467.	
Feb. 25: MRPS 4/1, No. 4136 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13468, 13469.	

<sup>122</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 33; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 381; and *Postowie*, p. 57, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) commenced on Feb. 18. This is based on the earliest entry found in MRPS with a dating clause *in conventione*: MRPS 4/2, No. 13462.

However, there are two earlier entries dated *in conventione* in MK. In MRPS 4/1, No. 4129, dated Feb. 13, Teodor Wierzbowski did not record the formula in question that was utilized in the corresponding entry in MK 37, f. 369v. The earliest entry dated *in conventione* is from Feb. 12 (see the additional information for that day).

<sup>123</sup> Although the dating clause in MRPS 4/2, No. 13461, reads “*feria 6 ante Quinquagesimae*”, while the corresponding entry in MK 36, pp. 52–53, reads “*feria 5 ante Quinquagesimae*”, the date was correctly converted to the modern form by Teodor Wierzbowski as Feb. 12.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Feb. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13470, 13471.	
Feb. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4137, 4138; LM 12 (12), Nos 157, 197.
Feb. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 13472.	
Mar. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4139–4141; DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 23.
Mar. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13473–13477.	
Mar. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 160=LM 25 (25), No. 182; AT 6, No. 200 (place and date supplied from ANP 2, No. 5, pp. 146–147).
Mar. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 13478; AT 6, No. 221 (PT's document).	
Mar. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 13479.	
Mar. 6 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4145.
Mar. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 13482.	
Mar. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13483, 13484.	
Mar. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 13485.	
Mar. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 13486.	
Mar. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4151; LM 12 (12), No. 163.
Mar. 12: MRPS 4/1, No. 4154 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 13487.	
Mar. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 13488.	
Mar. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: LM 25 (25), No. 184; LM 224 (4), No. 46.
Mar. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 13489.	
Mar. 16: MRPS 4/1, No. 4157 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13490, 13491.	

Mar. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4159–4161; LM 224 (4), No. 47.
Mar. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 13492.	
Mar. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 167–169.
Mar. 21: MRPS 4/1, No. 4165 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 13493.	
Mar. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 13494.	
Mar. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13495, 13496; B. PAU-PAN, 1887, f. 41 (royal accounts, PT’s payment).	
Mar. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13497, 13498; BK, 228, p. 290 (PT’s document).	
Mar. 25: AEp. Posn. 7, ff. 4, 10.	
Mar. 26: MRPS 4/1, No. 4171 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus [...] ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13499, 13500.	
Mar. 27: MRPS 4/1, No. 4177 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 13501.	
Mar. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 13502.	
Mar. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4180, 4181; LM 7 (7), No. 229; LM 25 (25), No. 191; AT 6, No. 214 (place and date supplied from ΤóτΗ, No. 185); BEREZHKOV, p. 201.
Mar. 30: MRPS 4/1, No. 4189 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13503–13507.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Mar. 31: MRPS 4/1, No. 4195 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from AGZ 5, No. 95). <sup>124</sup>	
Apr. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13508–13511.	
Apr. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 13512.	
Apr. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4197, 4198; RC, No. 245.
Apr. 6 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: ANK, perg. 194.
Apr. 7: MRPS 4/1, No. 4199 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, No. 13513.	
Apr. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13514, 13515.	
Apr. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13516–13518.	
Apr. 10: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4205 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”), 4207 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from BDiec. Sand., AKKKS, perg. 118); MRPS 4/2, No. 13519.	
Apr. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13520–13525.	The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13520–13523. <sup>125</sup>

<sup>124</sup> The year-date in AGZ (1517) is incorrect, and as a result, the date given differs from the copy in MK.

<sup>125</sup> Although MRPS 4/2, Nos 13524, 13525, are also dated Apr. 11 *in conventione*, the formula is absent from the corresponding entries in MK 36, p. 160.

The latest entry dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki is from Apr. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 4207 (the formula supplied from MK 37, f. 410).

KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 33; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 381; and *Posłowie*, p. 57, consider Apr. 11 as the end of the General Diet (*sejm walny*).

	Apr. 12 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4209; LM 12 (12), No. 176.
Apr. 13: MRPS 4/1, No. 4210 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus [...] ut supra”).	
	Apr. 14 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4213.
Apr. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13526–13530.	
Apr. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13531–13535; MRPS 4/3, No. 23214 (entry not considered in MRPS 4/2).	
Apr. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 13536.	
Apr. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 13537.	
Apr. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 13538.	The King departs from Kraków towards Częstochowa for the pilgrimage to Jasna Góra with Queen Bona and Princess Hedwig: MIKOŁAJ Z WIELICZKI, p. 23; SOKOLNICKI, f. U <sub>sv</sub> – h. 13. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1523 Apr. 20 to 21 — Olkusz</b>	
Apr. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Olkusz: ASK 1, RK 52, f. 183 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki’s accounts, the Treasurer travelled with the King to Częstochowa). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Apr. 21 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Apr. 20–21 in Olkusz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1523 Apr. 21 to 22 — Kromolów</b>	
Apr. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kromolów: ASK 1, RK 52, f. 183 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki’s accounts, the Treasurer travelled with the King to Częstochowa). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Apr. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Apr. 21–22 in Kromolów. <sup>126</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>126</sup> The royal accounts document the arrival of the Hungarian envoy to Częstochowa on Apr. 22 (B. PAU-PAN, 1887, f. 53v *a tergo*), maybe he arrived there before the King.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>[1523 Apr. 22 to 23 — Olsztyn]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Apr. 22–23 in Olsztyn: the only royal castle between Kromolów and Częstochowa. <sup>127</sup> ] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1523 Apr. 23 to 24 — Częstochowa</b>	
Apr. 23: AGAD, perg. 3719 (royal document, signature by PT), 3720 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	The King's presence in Częstochowa on that day recorded also in: ZBUDNIEWEK, No. 278a (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer travelled with the King to Częstochowa). <sup>128</sup> Cf. BORKOWSKA, p. 197 (no exact date given). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Apr. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Apr. 23–24 in Częstochowa. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1523 Apr. 24 to 25 — Olsztyn]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Apr. 24–25 in Olsztyn: the only royal castle between Częstochowa and Kromolów.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1523 Apr. 25 to 26 — Kromolów</b>	
Apr. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kromolów: ASK 1, RK 52, f. 184 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer travelled with the King from Częstochowa). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Apr. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Apr. 25–26 in Kromolów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>127</sup> The published royal itineraries do not provide sufficient comparative data to ascertain where the royal retinue most frequently halted for their last night before arriving in Częstochowa from Kraków. In 1502, the future King Sigismund paused in Kromolów, Żarki, and Olsztyn before reaching Częstochowa, and on the return journey, only a stop in Kromolów is recorded (PAWIŃSKI, p. 222). In 1503, the only known stop from Olkusz to Częstochowa was Żarki (*ibidem*, pp. 223–224). In 1505, he paused only in Żarki *en route* to Kraków, but while travelling in the opposite direction a few weeks later, he stayed in both Żarki and Olsztyn (*ibidem*, pp. 228–229). Data from 1506 suggest that he stopped solely in Kromolów on his way to Częstochowa (*ibidem*, p. 230). In 1504, King Alexander returned to the capital via Olsztyn. The next available information comes from the reign of Sigismund III: in 1594 and 1602, the King returned to Kraków via Żarki and Kromolów.

<sup>128</sup> STARZYŃSKI et al., No. 56 (=RYKACZEWSKI, p. 363), records the King in Kraków on Apr. 23.



<b>1523 Apr. 26 to 27 — Rabsztyn</b>	
Apr. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 13539.	The King's presence in Rabsztyn on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Apr. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Apr. 26–27 in Rabsztyn. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1523 Apr. 27 to Jun. 10 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Apr. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Kraków from the pilgrimage to Jasna Góra: MIKOŁAJ Z WIELICZKI, p. 23; SOKOLNICKI, f. U <sub>sv</sub> – h. 16. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Apr. 28 – the King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 3, No. 258.
	Apr. 29 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 52.
	May 3 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 179, 180. <sup>129</sup>
May 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 13542; TG, No. 388 (letter to PT, endorsed with place and date of receipt).	
May 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 13543.	
May 6: MRPS 4/1, No. 4221 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
May 7: MRPS 4/1, No. 4222 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 13545.	

<sup>129</sup> JASAS, No. 271, records the King in Vilnius on May 3.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
May 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 13546.	
	May 9 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4226–4228; LM 11 (11), No. 158; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201.
May 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13547, 13548.	
	May 11 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 181.
May 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 13549; AEp. Posn. 7, ff. 6, 7.	
	May 13 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 183, 184.
May 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 13550.	
May 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 13551.	
May 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13552, 13553.	
	May 17 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 185.
May 18: MRPS 4/1, No. 4234 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
	May 20 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4235; SPPP 6, No. 235.
May 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 13554.	
	May 22 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4237; LM 12 (12), Nos 186–188; SPPP 6, Nos 246, 250, 253, 257.
May 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13555–13559.	
	May 27 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4241, 4242.
May 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 13566 (wrong date silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski, corrected from tzw. ML, IV B 17, p. 491).	

May 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 13560.	
May 30: MRPS 4/1, No. 4244 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus [...] ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 13561.	
May 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13562, 13563.	
Jun. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13565, 13567–13572; SZACHERSKA, No. 349 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	The King visits the St Catherine’s Church: SZYMBORSKI 2008, p. 25. Not in GĄSIO-ROWSKI.
Jun. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13573–13575.	
Jun. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13576–13579; PIEKOSIŃSKI, No. 20 (royal document witnessed by PT, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jun. 6: MRPS 4/1, No. 4246 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus [...] ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13580, 13581; AEp. Posn. 7, f. 7v.	
	Jun. 7 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4247; LM 224 (4), No. 58.
Jun. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13582, 13583; KONARSKI, p. 53 (=f. 27 in old foliation).	
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/1, No. 4255 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus [...] ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13584–13586.	
Jun. 10 – PT is in Kraków: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13587–13589, and departs towards Poznań: KONARSKI, p. 53 (=f. 27 in old foliation) – post h. 16. <sup>130</sup>	

<sup>130</sup> Several documents suggest PT’s presence in Kraków after Jun. 10:

1) MRPS 4/2, No. 13590, bears the date 1523 Jun. 15, but it is an obvious mistake by Teodor Wierzbowski, as the corresponding entry in MK 36, p. 210, is dated Jun. 15, but of the year 1519;

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1523 before Jun. 16 — Przedbórz</b>	
AT 6, No. 262 (Jan Zambocki's letter, PT's letter mentioned).	
<b>1523 Jun. 22 to 23 — Ciężen</b>	
Jun. 22: ULANOWSKI 1902, No. 1775 (PT's document).	
Jun. 23: AGAD, perg. 3722 (PT's document); AEp. Posn. 7, f. 9v; ULANOWSKI 1902, No. 1776 (PT's document).	
<b>1523 Jul. 3 to Aug. 26 — Poznań</b>	
Jul. 3: AEp. Posn. 7, f. 16v.	
Jul. 7: AEp. Posn. 7, ff. 11v, 12v; BK, 228, p. 3 (PT's document).	
Jul. 10: ULANOWSKI 1902, No. 1777 (PT's document); BK, 228, pp. 10, 287 (PT's letters).	
Jul. 11: BK, 228, p. 4 (PT's document).	
Jul. 15: AEp. Posn. 7, f. 18v.	
Jul. 16: AEp. Posn. 7, f. 20.	
Jul. 21: MRPS 4/1, No. 4307 (PT and Łukasz Górka's document).	
Jul. 27: AEp. Posn. 7, f. 23.	
Aug. 1: AEp. Posn. 7, f. 23.	
Aug. 11: BK, 228, p. 283 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 26: AEp. Posn. 7, f. 24v; BK, 228, p. 11 (PT's letter).	

2) MRPS 4/2, No. 13591, is dated 1523 Aug. 22, but the date of the copy in MK was disputed by Oswald Balzer in the critical edition of the document: CIP 4/1, No. 9, pp. 21–28;

3) The document registered in MRPS 4/1, No. 4263, dated 1523 Jun. 13, has a witness list, but the entry in MK gives witnesses only as “praesentibus ut supra”. The previous full witness list in the record book includes PT, but the later reference “ut supra” is mistaken, as PT is absent from the full witness list in another copy of the same document: AOff. Posn. 98, f. 133.

<b>1523 Aug. 31 — Pызdry</b>	
AЕp. Posn. 7, f. 25.	
<b>1523 Sept. 1 — Ciężen</b>	
AT 6, No. 293 (Jan Charbowski's document, PT's stay and departure mentioned).	
<b>Shortly before 1523 Sept. 2 — on the way to Kraków</b>	
AT 6, No. 283 (Andrzej Krzycki's letter, sender corrected from TG, No. 435, PT's travel mentioned).	
	Sept. 3 – the King leaves Kraków for Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 52, f. 227. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Sept. 5 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4362, 4363.
	Sept. 7 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4364, 4365; LM 1 (1), No. 294.
	Sept. 8 – the King is in Kraków: B. PAUPAN, 1887, f. 3; LM 12 (12), No. 281.
	Sept. 10 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4366, 4367.
<b>1523 Sept. 11 to Oct. 13 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Sept. 11 – PT participates in Maciej Miechowita's funeral: MIKOŁAJ Z WIELICZKI, p. 33. <sup>131</sup>	
Sept. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 13592.	

<sup>131</sup> SOKOLNICKI, f. U<sub>10v</sub>, mentions the funeral taking place on the morning of Sept. 10.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Sept. 15 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 229, 230, and departs from there towards Niepołomice and Bochnia: ASK 1, RK 52, f. 230. <sup>132</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Sept. 19 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, D/5b, 70.
	Sept. 21 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4371.
Sept. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13593, 13594.	
Sept. 24: MRPS 4/1, No. 4374 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from GORCZAK 5, No. 125).	
Sept. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 13595.	
Sept. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13596–13601.	
	Sept. 27 – the King is in Kraków: CC 38, p. 245.
Sept. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 13602.	
Sept. 29: BK, 228, pp. 293, 295 (PT's documents).	
Sept. 30: MRPS 4/1, No. 4381 (royal document, PT mentioned); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13603–13606.	
	Oct. 1 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4383, 4384; LM 224 (4), No. 72.
Oct. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 13607.	
Oct. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 13608.	
Oct. 4 – PT co-consecrates Andrzej Krzycki as the Bishop of Przemyśl: KONARSKI, p. 55 (=f. 28 in old foliation), cf. STARNAWSKI, No. 1, p. 151 (edition with errors).	
	Oct. 6 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 237.

<sup>132</sup> LM 12 (12), Nos 231, 232, record the King in Kraków on Sept. 16.

Oct. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 13609.	PT is absent from the Provincial Synod in Łęczycza convened on Oct. 7: SUBERA 1971, p. 102; SUBERA 1981, p. 81.
	Oct. 8 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 73.
	Oct. 9 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 240, 242; LM 224 (4), No. 74.
Oct. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 13610.	
Oct. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13611, 13612.	
Oct. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13613–13617.	
Oct. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: CC 38, p. 249, and departs from there to attend the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Piotrków: MIKOŁAJ Z WIELICZKI, p. 35; NOSKOWSKI, p. 415. <sup>133</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>134</sup>
	Oct. 15 – the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked in Piotrków for that day: MRPS 4/1, No. 4356.
<b>1523 Oct. 16 to Dec. 18 — Piotrków</b>	
Oct. 16 – PT arrives in Piotrków with the King: AT 6, No. 304 (PT's letter, the arrival mentioned).	The King arrives in Piotrków: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 25. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>135</sup>
Oct. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: B. PAU-PAN, 1887, f. 93v <i>a tergo</i> . Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 20: CIDTC, IDL 187 (Jan Zambocki's letter, PT mentioned).	
Oct. 21: CIDTC, IDL 188 (PT's letter, previous day mentioned).	
Oct. 22: CIDTC, IDL 188 (PT's letter).	

<sup>133</sup> Several sources incorrectly suggest the King's presence in Kraków after Oct. 13:

- 1) According to SOKOLNICKI, f. U<sub>12</sub>, the King left Kraków on Oct. 14;
- 2) MRPS 4/2, No. 13618, records PT and the King in Kraków on Oct. 16;
- 3) LM 12 (12), Nos 241, 250 (No. 250=RGADA, Fond. 389, LM 13 (13), No. 27); LM 224 (4), No. 75, record the King in Kraków on Oct. 15;
- 4) LM 12 (12), No. 249, records the King in Kraków on Oct. 18;
- 5) BEREZHKOVA, p. 201, claims that the King was in Kraków on both Oct. 15 and Oct. 23.

<sup>134</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, mentions the King's stay in Kraków until Oct. 23.

<sup>135</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, only mentions the King's stay in Piotrków starting from Oct. 24.

Itinerary	Additional information
Oct. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 13619.	The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, No. 13619. <sup>136</sup> The King's presence in Piotrków on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Oct. 25: GORCZAK 5, No. 127 (royal document, signature by PT).	The mass for the Holy Spirit: KONARSKI, p. 55 (=f. 28 in old foliation).
Oct. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: LM 12 (12), No. 252; Kod. Jag. 12, f. 83.
Oct. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13620–13622.	
Oct. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: LM 12 (12), Nos 253–255.
Oct. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 13623.	
Oct. 30: AT 6, Nos 304–306 (PT's letters).	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) cannot commence because the envoys of the nobility from Greater Poland and Lesser Poland are disputing the seating order in the chamber: AT 6, Nos 304–306. <sup>137</sup>
Oct. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 13624.	
Nov. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: LM 12 (12), No. 258.
Nov. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 13625.	
Nov. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13626–13628.	
Nov. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13629–13631.	
Nov. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13632–13635.	
Nov. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 13636.	

<sup>136</sup> Chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki was absent from Piotrków (LUBCZYŃSKI & PIELAS, p. 556), so no entries use the formula *in conventione* in record books supervised by him.

<sup>137</sup> According to SKRODZKI, f. U<sub>11v</sub>, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) began (“celebrari incept”) on Oct. 15. This date might simply have been repeated from the royal missive that summoned the assembly for that day (see above, the additional information for Oct. 15).

According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 34; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 386; and *Postowie*, p. 61, the General Diet commenced on Oct. 24. This is based on the date of the first document dated *in conventione* in MK (see above, the additional information for Oct. 24).



Nov. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13637–13640.	
Nov. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13641, 13642.	
Nov. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: B. PAU-PAN, 1887, f. 18; LM 224 (4), Nos 77, 78.
Nov. 12 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: LM 1 (1), No. 346=LM 12 (12), No. 269=LM 25 (25), No. 29; LM 12 (12), Nos 271, 273, 275, 276.
Nov. 13 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: LM 12 (12), No. 272.
Nov. 14 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: AGAD, perg. 3725; GORCZAK 3, No. 262.
Nov. 16 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: LM 224 (4), No. 79.
Nov. 17 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: LM 10 (10), No. 97; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201.
Nov. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 13643.	
Nov. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 13644.	
Nov. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13645, 13646.	
Nov. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 13647.	
Nov. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13648, 13649.	
Nov. 24: AT 6, No. 308 (PT's letter).	
Nov. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13650, 13651; ASPK 8, No. 79, pp. 336, 337 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Nov. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13652, 13653.	
Nov. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 13654.	
Nov. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13655–13657; ASPK 8, No. 79, p. 338 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Nov. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 13658.	
Dec. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13664–13670.	
Dec. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 13671.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Dec. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13672–13674.	
Dec. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13675–13679.	
Dec. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 13680.	
Dec. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13681–13689 (No. 13681 – date corrected from MK); ASPK 8, No. 79, p. 339 (dispatch to Gdańsk, PT mentioned).	
Dec. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 13690.	
Dec. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13691–13694.	
Dec. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13695–13700.	
Dec. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13701–13707.	
Dec. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13708–13717.	
Dec. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13718–13720.	
Dec. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13727–13732.	
Dec. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13733–13736; ULANOWSKI 1902, No. 789 (Jan Łaski's document, PT mentioned).	The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13733–13736. <sup>138</sup>
Dec. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 13737.	The King's presence in Piotrków on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
	Dec. 20 – the King is in Piotrków: LM 12 (12), No. 274. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Dec. 23 – the King arrives in Kraków from Piotrków: KONARSKI, p. 56 (=f. 28v in old foliation); MIKOŁAJ Z WIELICZKI, p. 39; NOSKOWSKI, p. 415; SPPP 6, p. 23 (date inferred from the mention of the royal court session held on 1524 Jan. 7, 15 days after the King's return to Kraków). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>139</sup>

<sup>138</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 34; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 386; and *Postłowie*, p. 61, consider that day as the end of the General Diet (*sejm walny*).

<sup>139</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, only mentions the King's stay in Kraków starting from Dec. 26.

<b>1523 Dec. 26 to 1524 Jun. 14 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Dec. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 13738.	The King's presence in Kraków on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
	Dec. 27 – the King visits the St Catherine's Church: SZYMBORSKI 2008, p. 25. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 13739.	
<b>1524</b>	
Jan. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 13740.	
Jan. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13741–13743.	
Jan. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 13744.	
Jan. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13745, 13747, 13748.	
	Jan. 6 – the King is in Kraków: CC 38, p. 321.
Jan. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 13749.	
Jan. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 13750.	
	Jan. 9 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 278.
Jan. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 13751.	
	Jan. 11 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 277; LM 224 (4), No. 86; LM 227 (8), No. 339; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201.
Jan. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 13752.	
Jan. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13753–13756; BK, 228, p. 311 (PT's letter).	
Jan. 14: DZIWIK, No. 517 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jan. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 13757.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 13758.	
Jan. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13759–13762. <sup>140</sup>	
	Jan. 20 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4398; LM 12 (12), No. 284.
	Jan. 21 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4399, 4400; LM 12 (12), No. 285; GORCZAK 5, No. 129.
	Jan. 22 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4401, 4402.
	Jan. 23 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4403–4406.
Jan. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13763, 13764.	
	Jan. 26 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4408–4410; LM 12 (12), No. 721; LM 224 (4), No. 90.
Jan. 27: BCz, 403, p. 706 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 720; LM 224 (4), Nos 94, 174.
Jan. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13765–13767.	
Jan. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13768–13770.	
Jan. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13771–13774.	
Jan. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 13775.	
Feb. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13776–13779.	
Feb. 2: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4422 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from transumpt in MRPS 5/2, No. 6040, where witness list supplied from MK), 4423 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from DÖRFLERÓWNA, No. 44).	
Feb. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 13780.	
	Feb. 4 – the King is in Kraków: AT 7/1, No. 8; APG, 300, D/5b, 80.

<sup>140</sup> The document from MRPS 4/2, No. 13759, in the transumpt by King Sigismund Augustus (MRPS 5/2, No. 5792) is dated “die S. Agnetis” (Jan. 21) instead of “die S. Priscae” (Jan. 18).

	Feb. 5 – the King is in Kraków: APP, Akta miasta Poznania, D. 461; GORCZAK 3, No. 268.
	Feb. 6 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4424.
Feb. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13781, 13782.	
Feb. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13783, 13784.	
	Feb. 12 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 291.
Feb. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13785, 13786.	
Feb. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 13787.	
Feb. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13788–13790.	
	Feb. 16 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 298.
	Feb. 17 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4429, 4430; LM 12 (12), No. 294; LM 224 (4), No. 96.
	Feb. 18 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4431, 4432; MRPS 5/2, No. 5499 (document mentioned); LM 12 (12), No. 299; LM 224 (4), No. 95; AGZ 10, No. 348; AT 7/1, No. 12.
Feb. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13791–13793.	
Feb. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13794–13798.	
	Feb. 21 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 300, 301, 728.
Feb. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13799, 13800.	
Feb. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13801–13805.	
Feb. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13806–13808.	
Feb. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13809–13811.	
Feb. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13812, 13813.	
	Feb. 28 – the King is in Kraków: LM 1 (1), No. 135=LM 12 (12), No. 304.
Feb. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13814–13816.	
Mar. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13818, 13819.	
Mar. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13820, 13821.	

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Mar. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13822, 13823.	
Mar. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 13824.	
Mar. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 13825.	
Mar. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 13827.	
Mar. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 13829; ONB, Autogr. 127/25-1 (PT's document).	
Mar. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13830, 13831.	
	Mar. 9 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 102.
Mar. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13832, 13833.	
Mar. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13834, 13835.	
Mar. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13836, 13837.	
Mar. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13838–13840.	
Mar. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 13841.	
Mar. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 13842.	
Mar. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 13843.	
Mar. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 13844.	
	Mar. 18 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 314.
Mar. 19: CIDTC, IDL 201 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 318.
Mar. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 13845.	
Mar. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13846, 13847.	
Mar. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13848, 13849.	
Mar. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13850, 13851.	
	Mar. 24 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 101.
Mar. 25: CIDTC, IDL 202 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: CIDTC, IDL 195 (place and date supplied by Anna Skolimowska).
Mar. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 13853.	
Mar. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 13854.	
Mar. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13855, 13856.	

	Apr. 1 – the King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 3, No. 273.
Apr. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13857–13861.	
Apr. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 13862.	
Apr. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13863–13865.	
Apr. 5: CIDTC, IDL 207 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13866–13870; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 2 (=f. 1 in old foliation), cf. STARNAWSKI, No. 4, p. 152 (edition with errors); AT 7/1, No. 13 (Andrzej Krzycki's speech to PT); AURIFABER, f. unnumbered (under specific date); BIEM I, f. 393v; KONARSKI, p. 26 (=f. 13 in old foliation); MIKOŁAJ Z WIELICZKI, p. 49; SOKOLNICKI, f. X <sub>5v</sub> – h. 12.00; HOZJUSZ, p. CLIX.	PT's solemn entry into the Cathedral Church of Kraków.
Apr. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13873, 13874, 13876, 13877; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 2 (=f. 1 in old foliation).	
	Apr. 8 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 323.
Apr. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13878, 13879; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 3 (=f. 2 in old foliation).	
Apr. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 13880.	
Apr. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13881, 13882, 13884, 13885.	
Apr. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 13886; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 2v (=f. 1v in old foliation).	
Apr. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 13888.	
Apr. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 13889; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 3 (=f. 2 in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 14, f. 4v (=f. 1v in old foliation).	
Apr. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13897, 13898; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 3v (=f. 2v in old foliation); KURAS, No. 10 (PT's document).	

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Apr. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13899–13903.	
Apr. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13904, 13905; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 4 (=f. 3 in old foliation).	
Apr. 19: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 5 (=f. 2 in old foliation); BCz, 247, p. 195 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13906–13910; APPD, DokKr 278 (PT's document); BCz, 247, p. 15 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 21: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 5 (=f. 4 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: CC 38, p. 607.
Apr. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13911–13913.	
Apr. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 13914.	
	Apr. 24 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 326; AT 8, No. 83 (date supplied from TG, No. 560).
Apr. 26: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 5v (=f. 4v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 14, f. 5v (=f. 2v in old foliation).	
Apr. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 13915; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 6 (=f. 5 in old foliation).	
Apr. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13916–13918.	
Apr. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 13919.	
Apr. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13920–13922; AEp. Cr. 14, f. 6 (=f. 3 in old foliation).	
May 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 13923.	
May 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13924, 13925; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 6v (=f. 5v in old foliation).	
May 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13926, 13927.	
May 4: MRPS 4/1, No. 4450 (royal document, PT mentioned); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13928–13930.	



May 5: SOKOLNICKI, f. X <sub>6v</sub> .	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4452–4454.
May 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13931, 13932.	
May 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 13933.	
May 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 13934.	
May 9: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 8 (=f. 7 in old foliation); KACZMARCZYK, No. 393 (PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4461; AGZ 10, No. 351.
May 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13935, 13936.	
May 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13937–13939.	
May 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 13940 (date corrected from MK and TROJANOWSKA, No. 46=RIABININ, No. 120); AEp. Cr. 11, f. 8v (=f. 7v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 4v (=f. 3v in old foliation); KIRYK, No. 332 (PT's document).	
May 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13941, 13942.	
	May 16 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), Nos 108, 111.
May 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 13944.	
May 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13945–13949.	
May 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13950–13954.	
May 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13955–13957; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 9 (=f. 8 in old foliation).	
May 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 13958.	
May 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 13959; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 9v (=f. 8v in old foliation).	
May 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13960–13962.	
May 25: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4467 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK), 4466, 4468 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 13964; APPD, DokKr 280 (PT's document).	

Itinerary	Additional information
	May 26 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 114.
May 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13965–13969; B. PAU-PAN, 1887, f. 41v (royal accounts, PT's payment).	
May 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 13970.	
May 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13971, 13972.	
May 30: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 10 (=f. 9 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AT 7/1, No. 24.
May 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 13976.	
Jun. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13977–13979.	
	Jun. 2 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4470, 4471.
Jun. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13980, 13981.	
Jun. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13982–13985.	
Jun. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 13986.	
Jun. 6: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 11 – date, 11v – records considered (=ff. 10, 10v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 339.
Jun. 7: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 12 – date, 12v et seq. – records considered (=ff. 11, 11v et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 343, 738; LM 14 (14), Nos 352, 366.
	Jun. 8 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 340, 341, 344.
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13987, 13988.	
Jun. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 4478 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 13989–13991; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 13v (=f. 12v in old foliation).	
Jun. 11: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 14 et seq. (=ff. 13 et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 342.
	Jun. 12 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 346.
Jun. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 13992.	

Jun. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 13993.	The King leaves Kraków with Queen Bona, Bishop of Vilnius John of the Lithuanian Dukes and other bishops for a pilgrimage to Szczepanów and a stay in Niepołomice: SOKOLNICKI, f. X <sub>8</sub> (pilgrimage); <sup>141</sup> DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 28 (travel to Niepołomice). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1524 Jun. 14 to 15 — Niepołomice]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jun. 14–15 in Niepołomice: the road to Szczepanów led through Niepołomice and Bochnia.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1524 Jun. 15 to 16 — Bochnia]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jun. 15–16 in Bochnia: the road to Szczepanów led through Niepołomice and Bochnia.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1524 Jun. [16] — Szczepanów</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King visits the shrine in Szczepanów, probably on Jun. 16: this date is based on the assumption that the King spent one night at each stop on his way there. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1524 Jun. 16 to 17 — Bochnia]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jun. 16–17 in Bochnia: the road from Szczepanów to Niepołomice led through Bochnia.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1524 Jun. 17 to 19 — Niepołomice</b>	
Jun. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Niepołomice: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4482, 4483; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Jun. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 13994. <sup>142</sup>	The King's presence in Niepołomice on that day not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>141</sup> BORKOWSKA, p. 202, wrongly dates the King's pilgrimage as Jun. 1525.

<sup>142</sup> According to LM 12 (12), No. 743, the King was in Sandomierz on Jun. 19. The date is clearly incorrect since a scribe appears to have omitted the word "Decollationis" from the dating clause that reads "Dominica ante festum S. Ioannis Baptistae". Thus, the actual date would be Aug. 28, when the King was in Sandomierz: GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1524 Jun. 20 to Dec. 6 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Jun. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 13995; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 16 (=f. 15 in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 11.	
	Jun. 21 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 347.
	Jun. 22 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 370; LM 224 (4), No. 132.
Jun. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 13996–13998.	
	Jun. 25 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 348; LM 14 (14), No. 387; APG, 300, D/5b, 92.
	Jun. 26 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 349, 732.
Jun. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 13999; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 16 et seq. (=ff. 15 et seq. in old foliation).	
Jun. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14000–14002; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 17 – date, 17v – record considered (=ff. 16, 16v in old foliation); AAWO, AB, D. 33, f. 36 (PT's letter).	
	Jun. 29 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 350, 352; AT 7/1, No. 133 (date corrected from CIDTC, IDL 215).
Jun. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14003, 14004.	
Jul. 1: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 17v et seq. (=ff. 16v et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 353, 354, 736; LM 14 (14), No. 392; LM 224 (4), No. 118; AZR 2, No. 129.

	Jul. 2 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 396.
	Jul. 3 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 397.
Jul. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14006, 14007.	
Jul. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14008–14010; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 18 – date, 18v et seq. – records considered (=ff. 17, 17v et seq. in old foliation); B. PAU-PAN, 1887, f. 110 <i>a tergo</i> (royal accounts, payment for PT).	
Jul. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 14011; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 20 (=f. 19 in old foliation).	
Jul. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 14012.	
Jul. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14013, 14014; AEp. Cr. 15, f. 2v (=f. 1v in old foliation).	
	Jul. 9 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4485; LM 12 (12), No. 739; LM 224 (4), No. 126; AGAD, pap. 526; APG, 300, D/5b, 93.
	Jul. 11 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 359; LM 224 (4), No. 127; AT 7/1, No. 39.
Jul. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 21 (=ff. 20 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), No. 47; LM 224 (4), No. 129.
Jul. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 14015.	
Jul. 14: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 21v et seq. (=ff. 20v et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 361.
Jul. 15: AEp. Posn. 7, f. 26.	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 360; LM 14 (14), No. 408; LM 224 (4), No. 131.
Jul. 16: AOff. Cr. 43, f. 115v (=p. 228 in old pagination, PT mentioned); AT 7/1, No. 43 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4487, 4488; LM 12 (12), No. 740.
	Jul. 17 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 362; LM 14 (14), No. 411.
	Jul. 18 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 363, 364.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Jul. 19 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4489.
	Jul. 20 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4490; LM 224 (4), No. 130; APG, 300, D/5b, 96.
Jul. 21: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 23 et seq. (=ff. 22 et seq. in old foliation), cf. URBAN 2001, No. 1 (incomplete summary of one of the entries, place supplied by Waclaw Urban).	
Jul. 22: MRPS 4/1, No. 4491 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Jul. 23: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1516–1525, No. 322 (summary of PT’s court record, relevant chancery formulas supplied from AEp. Cr. 11, f. 24=f. 23 in old foliation, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise, date corrected <sup>143</sup> ).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4492.
Jul. 25: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 25 (=f. 24 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4493; APG, 300, D/5b, 97.
	Jul. 26 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 365, 367, 373.
	Jul. 27 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 366, 368, 369; LM 14 (14), No. 426.
	Jul. 28 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 135.
	Jul. 29 – the King is in Kraków: LM 7 (7), No. 244; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201.

<sup>143</sup> The heading of the record contains an error and reads “Sabbati XX Iulii” due to a scribal mistake, since 1524 Jul. 20 fell on a Wednesday. The previous record in the book is dated Thursday, Jul. 21, and the next is dated Monday, Jul. 25. This indicates that the correct date should be Saturday, Jul. 23.

Jul. 30: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 25v (=f. 24v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 355, 356; LM 14 (14), No. 430.
Aug. 3: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 26 (=f. 25 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 374.
	Aug. 4 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 432; BEREZHKOVA, p. 201.
	Aug. 5 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 375.
Aug. 6: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 27 (=f. 26 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 376; LM 224 (4), No. 136.
Aug. 7: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 28 (=f. 27 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AVK 24, No. 29.
Aug. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14016, 14017.	
Aug. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 14018; AEp. Cr. 15, f. 9v (=f. 8v in old foliation); AT 7/1, No. 124 (=CIDTC, IDL 214, PT's letter).	
Aug. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14019–14023; AT 7/1, No. 44 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	The King departs from Kraków towards Sandomierz: AT 7/1, Nos 44, 124 (No. 124=CIDTC, IDL 214); AURIFABER, f. unnumbered (under specific date) – h. 13 m. 40; BIEM I, f. 397v – h. 14; DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 28; MIKOŁAJ Z WIELICZKI, p. 57 – h. 14; NOSKOWSKI, p. 415; SOKOLNICKI, f. X <sub>9v</sub> – h. 13. <sup>144</sup> Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263 (information about the stay, not the departure).
Aug. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 28v (=f. 27v in old foliation).	
Aug. 16: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 28v (=f. 27v in old foliation).	
Shortly after Aug. 17: AT 7/1, No. 57 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Aug. 22: AT 7/1, No. 60 (PT's letter).	

<sup>144</sup> Several sources incorrectly suggest the King's presence in Kraków after Aug. 10: 1) LM 12 (12), No. 378, records the King in Kraków on Aug. 18; 2) LM 224 (4), No. 138, records the King in Kraków on Aug. 19; 3) LM 12 (12), No. 377, records the King in Kraków on Aug. 22; 4) LM 12 (12), No. 293, records the King in Kraków on Sept. 20; 5) BEREZHKOVA, p. 201, claims that the King was in Kraków on Aug. 18 and 19.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
After Aug. 22, before Aug. 29: AT 7/1, No. 61 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Aug. 25: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 29v (=f. 28v in old foliation).	
Aug. 26: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 30 et seq. (=ff. 29 et seq. in old foliation).	
Aug. 27: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 33v – date, 34v – record considered (=ff. 32v, 33v in old foliation).	
Aug. 29: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 35 – date, 36v – records considered (=ff. 34, 35v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 14, f. 7v (=f. 4v in old foliation).	
Sept. 1: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 37v – date, 38 – record considered (=ff. 36v, 37 in old foliation).	
Before Sept. 2: AT 7/1, Nos 69, 70 (PT's letters, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Sept. 5: B. PAU-PAN, 1887, f. 38 (royal accounts, PT's payment).	
Sept. 8: B. PAU-PAN, 1887, f. 38 (royal accounts, PT's payment).	
Sept. 14: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 38v – date, 39 – records considered (=ff. 37v, 38 in old foliation); AT 7/1, No. 63 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 19: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 40 – date, 40v – record considered (=ff. 39, 39v in old foliation).	
Sept. 24: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 41 et seq. (=ff. 40 et seq. in old foliation).	
Oct. 1: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 42 (=f. 41 in old foliation); AKKK, perg. 683 (PT's document).	
Oct. 3: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 11 (=f. 8 in old foliation).	
Oct. 6: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 10v (=f. 7v in old foliation).	



Oct. 7: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 43 – date, 43v – record considered (=ff. 42, 42v in old foliation).	
Oct. 14: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 44 (=f. 43 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 3).	
Oct. 18: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 45v (=f. 44v in old foliation).	
Oct. 20: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 45v (=f. 44v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 14, ff. 11–11v (=ff. 8–8v in old foliation).	
Oct. 21: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 46v – date, 47 – record considered (=ff. 45v, 46 in old foliation).	
Oct. 24: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 47 – date, 47v et seq. – records considered (=ff. 46, 46v et seq. in old foliation).	
Oct. 25: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 48 (=f. 47 in old foliation).	
Oct. 31: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 51 (=f. 50 in old foliation).	
	Nov. 1 – the King is in Bochnia: SOKOLNICKI, f. X <sub>13</sub> . <sup>145</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>146</sup>
	[Nov. 1–2 – the King probably spends the night in Niepołomice: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Bochnia and Kraków.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 14026.	The King arrives in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 55, ff. 21, 81; SPPP 6, p. 23 (date inferred from the mention of the royal court session held on Nov. 22, 20 days after the King’s return to Kraków); BIEM I, f. 401; MIKOŁAJ Z WIELICZKI, p. 63; NOSKOWSKI, p. 415; SOKOLNICKI, f. X <sub>12v</sub> – “ante h. 19”; EMERYK, p. 192; WAPOWSKI, p. 196. Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263 (information about the stay, not the arrival).

<sup>145</sup> According to LM 224 (4), No. 156, and BEREZHKOVA, p. 202, the King was present in Bochnia on Nov. 8.

<sup>146</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263, only mentions the month-date of the King’s stay in Bochnia, without specifying the day.

Itinerary	Additional information
Nov. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14027–14029, 14031; AGAD, perg. 7526 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Nov. 4: AA Cap. Cr. 3, f. 7v (PT mentioned).	
Nov. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14033–14036; CDUJ 4, No. 351 (Kraków Cathedral Chapter's document, PT mentioned).	
Nov. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 14037.	
Nov. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 14040; AEp. Cr. 14, f. 11v (=f. 8v in old foliation).	
Nov. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 14041.	
Nov. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14044, 14045.	
Nov. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 14046.	
Nov. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14047, 14048.	
Nov. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 14049; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 51v et seq. (=ff. 50v et seq. in old foliation).	
	Nov. 13 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 425–427, 430.
Nov. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 14050.	
Nov. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 14051.	
Nov. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14052–14055; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 53 (=f. 52 in old foliation).	
	Nov. 18 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 433; LM 25 (25), No. 169.
Nov. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14056, 14057.	
Nov. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 14058; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 53v et seq. (=ff. 52v et seq. in old foliation).	
Nov. 23: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 54v (=f. 53v in old foliation).	
Nov. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 14060.	

Nov. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 14061.	
Nov. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14062–14064; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 55v, 60v (=ff. 54v, 59v in old foliation).	
Nov. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 14065.	
Nov. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14066–14068; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 57 et seq. (=ff. 56 et seq. in old foliation).	
Nov. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14069–14071; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 58 et seq. (=ff. 57 et seq. in old foliation).	
Nov. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14073–14075.	
Dec. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 14077; AOff. Cr. 58, f. 156 (=p. 311 in old pagination, PT's document).	
Dec. 2: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 64v (=f. 63v in old foliation).	The Diocesan Synod of Kraków: BIEM I, f. 401v.
Dec. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 14078; CDUJ 4, No. 352 (=KACZMARCZYK, No. 395, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
Dec. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14079, 14080.	
Dec. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14081–14084.	
Dec. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 14085.	
<b>1524 ca. Dec. 7 — Proszowice</b>	
PT attends the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ): AT 7/1, p. 131 (Stanisław Górski's commentary, no exact date given).	The Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) was convoked on Dec. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 14030. PT's absence in Kraków on that day is additionally confirmed by Andrzej Krzycki's letters to him dated Kraków, Dec. 7: AT 7/1, Nos 152, 153.
<b>1524 ca. Dec. 9 — Nowe Miasto Korczyn</b>	
PT attends the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ): AT 7/1, p. 131 (Stanisław Górski's commentary, no exact date given).	The Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ) was convoked on Dec. 9: MK 39, p. 6.
	Dec. 10 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 168.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Dec. 12 – the King is in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 14v.
	Dec. 13 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 744–746.
	Dec. 14 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 671; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.
	Dec. 16 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4604 (place corrected from MK).
<b>1524 Dec. 17 to 20 — Kraków</b>	
Dec. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 14087.	
Dec. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 14088; BUJAK, No. 160 (royal document witnessed by PT); AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 59 et seq. (=ff. 58 et seq. in old foliation).	
Dec. 19 – “in curia solitae residentiae [...] domini episcopi in platea canonicorum sita”: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 59v, 60v (=ff. 58v, 59v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4605.
Dec. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14089, 14090.	The King leaves Kraków for Piotrków: BIEM I, f. 401v; MIKOŁAJ Z WIELICZKI, p. 65; NOSKOWSKI, p. 415. Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263 (information about the stay, not the departure).
	Dec. 21 – the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked in Piotrków for that day: AT 7/2, No. 1.
<b>1524 Dec. 23 to 1525 Feb. 24 — Piotrków</b>	
Dec. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Piotrków: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 29. <sup>147</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>148</sup>
Dec. 24: BCz, 247, p. 21 (PT’s letter).	

<sup>147</sup> SKRODZKI, f. X<sub>13v</sub>, notes the King’s arrival in Piotrków on Dec. 22. However, considering the standard royal itinerary, the shortest route from Kraków to Piotrków would typically involve three overnight stops: Miechów, Secemin, and Przedbórz. Therefore, given that the King’s departure from Kraków on Dec. 20 is well-documented, his arrival in Piotrków could have been at the earliest on Dec. 23.

<sup>148</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263, only mentions the King’s stay in Piotrków starting from Dec. 28.

Dec. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 14402 (year-date corrected from MARCINIAK, p. 198).	The King's presence in Piotrków on that day not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 14404 (year-date corrected from CIP 4/1, No. 33).	The King's presence in Piotrków on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263. The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, No. 14404 (year-date corrected from CIP 4/1, No. 33). <sup>149</sup>
<b>1525</b>	
Jan. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: LM 14 (14), No. 676; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.
Jan. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 14092.	
Jan. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: B. PAU-PAN, 1887, f. 61 <i>a tergo</i> .
Jan. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 14093 (place corrected). <sup>150</sup>	
Jan. 6 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: B. PAU-PAN, 1887, f. 23v. The mass for the Holy Spirit and the commencement of the General Diet (“consilarii s[yn]o[du]m coeperunt”): SKRODZKI, f. Y <sub>2v</sub> . <sup>151</sup>
Jan. 7 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 15.
Jan. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 14094.	
Jan. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14096–14101.	

<sup>149</sup> The earliest entry dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki is from Jan. 2: MRPS 4/1, No. 4607.

<sup>150</sup> The place of issue stated in the document from MRPS and MK is impossible, as it is listed as Kraków.

<sup>151</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 35, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) began on Dec. 24, but the source of this information is unknown.

According to MARCINIAK, p. 198, the General Diet commenced on Dec. 26. This is based on the date of the first document issued in Piotrków by the King (MRPS 4/2, No. 14402), even though the formula *in conventione* is absent from the dating clause. See also the corresponding entry in MK 39, p. 83.

URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 422; and *Posłowie*, p. 65, reiterated the information about the commencement of the General Diet from the paper by Ryszard Marciniak.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Jan. 12: MRPS 4/1, No. 4608 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Jan. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14102, 14103.	
Jan. 14: MRPS 4/1, No. 4612 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus [...] ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 14104.	
Jan. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14105, 14106.	
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 14107.	
Jan. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 16; LM 14 (14), Nos 682, 683.
Jan. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14108–14110.	
Jan. 19: MRPS 4/1, No. 4616 (royal document, PT mentioned).	
Jan. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: LM 12 (12), No. 748; LM 224 (4), No. 173; RYKACZEWSKI, p. 364 (=TOMASZEWICZ 1992, No. 92).
Jan. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 14111.	
Jan. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 14112.	
Jan. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 17.
Jan. 24: MRPS 4/1, No. 4618 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14113, 14114.	
Jan. 25: MRPS 4/1, No. 4619 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14115–14117.	
Jan. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14118, 14119.	
Jan. 27: MRPS 4/1, No. 4622 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); AEp. Cr. 11, f. 65v (=f. 64v in old foliation).	

Jan. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14120, 14121; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 65v (=f. 64v in old foliation).	
Jan. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 14122.	
Jan. 30: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4625, 4628 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14123, 14124.	
Jan. 31: MRPS 4/1, No. 4630 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14125, 14126.	
Feb. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 14127.	
Feb. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 18; MRPS 4/1, No. 4632.
Feb. 3: MRPS 4/1, No. 4633 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14128–14134; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 66 (=f. 65 in old foliation).	
Feb. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: B. PAU-PAN, 1887, f. 13; MRPS 4/1, No. 4634; LM 224 (4), No. 182; CC 38, p. 972.
Feb. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14135, 14136.	
Feb. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14137–14139.	
Feb. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14140, 14141; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 66 (=f. 65 in old foliation).	
Feb. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 18v; MRPS 4/1, Nos 4642–4644.
Feb. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 4645 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Feb. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 14142.	
Feb. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14143–14146; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 66v (=f. 65v in old foliation).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 18v; MRPS 4/1, No. 4650.
Feb. 13: MRPS 4/1, No. 4652 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14147–14149.	
Feb. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14150–14153.	
Feb. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14154, 14155.	
Feb. 16: MRPS 4/1, No. 4660 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from BCz, perg. 754); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14156, 14157.	
Feb. 17: MRPS 4/1, No. 4664 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14158–14174.	
Feb. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 14175.	
Feb. 19 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 19v; APG, 300, D/5b, 108.
Feb. 20: MRPS 4/1, No. 4676 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14176, 14177.	
Feb. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14178–14180. <sup>152</sup>	
Feb. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14181–14183.	
Feb. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 14184. <sup>153</sup>	

<sup>152</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 35, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) concluded on Feb. 21, but the source of this information is misdated entries dated *in conventione*: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14185, 14186 (see n. 154).

<sup>153</sup> According to MARCINIAK, p. 208, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) ended that day. This is based on the assumption that the last royal documents using the formula *in conventione* were issued on Feb. 23: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4680, 4682; MRPS 4/2, No. 14184. URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193, and *Posłowie*, p. 65, reiterated the information about the end of the General Diet (*sejm walny*) from the paper by Ryszard Marciniak. However, two other documents from Feb. 24 were also dated *in conventione* (see below, the additional information for that day and n. 154).



Feb. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14185, 14186 (date corrected). <sup>154</sup>	The King departs from Piotrków towards Kraków: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 29; SOKOLNICKI, f. Y <sub>3v</sub> . Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263 (information about the stay, not the departure). The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14185, 14186 (date corrected). <sup>154</sup>
	Feb. 24 – the King is in Przedbórz: ASK 1, RK 55, ff. 38, 86v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer travelled with the King from Piotrków to Kraków). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Feb. 24–25 – the King spends the night in Przedbórz. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Feb. 25 – the King is in Secemin: ASK 1, RK 55, ff. 38v, 86v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer travelled with the King from Piotrków to Kraków). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Feb. 25–26 – the King spends the night in Secemin. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Feb. 26 – the King is in Miechów: ASK 1, RK 55, ff. 38v, 87 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer travelled with the King from Piotrków to Kraków). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Feb. 26–27 – the King spends the night in Miechów. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Feb. 27 – the King arrives in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 55, f. 39; SPPP 6, p. 23 (date inferred from the mention of the royal court session held on Mar. 19, 20 days after the King's return to Kraków); SOKOLNICKI, f. Y <sub>3v</sub> – h. 18. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>155</sup>

<sup>154</sup> The date “feria 6 Mathiae” was incorrectly converted by Teodor Wierzbowski to the modern form of Feb. 21 instead of Feb. 24.

<sup>155</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263, only mentions the King's stay in Kraków starting from Mar. 8.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Feb. 28 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 451. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Mar. 1 – the King is in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 20. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1525 after Mar. 6 to May 12 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
After Mar. 6, before Mar. 9: AT 7/2, No. 32 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Mar. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 14188.	
Mar. 9: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 67 (=f. 66 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4686.
	Mar. 10 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4687.
Mar. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 14189.	
Mar. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 67 – date, 67v – record considered (=ff. 66, 66v in old foliation); AGAD, perg. 4573 (PT's document).	
Mar. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 14190; CIDTC, IDL 235 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 14191.	
	Mar. 15 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4689; SROKA 5, No. 991.
Mar. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14192–14194.	
	Mar. 18 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4696.
	Mar. 20 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4697; LM 14 (14), No. 711; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.

Mar. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 14196.	
	Mar. 22 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4700; LM 224 (4), No. 183; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.
	Mar. 24 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4701; LM 14 (14), No. 712.
Mar. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 14197.	
	Mar. 26 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4702, 4703.
Mar. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14198–14200.	
	Mar. 28 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4706; LM 12 (12), No. 452; LM 224 (4), Nos 184, 190.
Mar. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 14201.	
Mar. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 14202; AEp. Cr. 14, f. 13 (=f. 10 in old foliation).	
	Mar. 31 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4709; LM 12 (12), Nos 455, 459, 749; LM 14 (14), No. 718.
	Apr. 1 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4711.
	Apr. 2 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4712.
Apr. 2 and shortly after: AT 7/2, No. 28, pp. 224–226 (PT's speeches, place and date inferred from other sources).	
Apr. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14203, 14204.	
Apr. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 14205.	
Apr. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 14206.	
Apr. 6: MRPS 4/1, No. 4717 (PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 719.
Apr. 7: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 70 (=f. 69 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4718, 4719; LM 12 (12), Nos 463, 465; LM 224 (4), No. 186.
Apr. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14207, 14208.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Apr. 9: MRPS 4/1, No. 4722 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 14210; VMPL 2, No. 451 (PT and other bishops' letter).	
Apr. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 4725 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14212–14214; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 70v (=f. 69v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 14, f. 13v (=f. 10v in old foliation); AT 7/2, No. 33, p. 254 (=ANP 2, No. 19, p. 192, Andrzej Krzycki's report of the Prussian homage, PT mentioned); ULANOWSKI 1902, No. 799 (description of the Prussian homage, PT mentioned).	The Prussian homage.
Apr. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 14215.	
Apr. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14216–14219.	
	Apr. 15 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4730; AGAD, perg. 7529, and visits St Catherine's Church: SZYMBORSKI 2008, p. 25. The visit to St Catherine's Church not recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Apr. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 14220.	
	Apr. 18 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4731, 4732.
Apr. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 14221; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 71 – date, 71v – record considered (=ff. 70, 70v in old foliation).	
	Apr. 21 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 467, 469; LM 14 (14), No. 727.
Apr. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14222–14224.	
Apr. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 14225.	

Apr. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14226–14230.	
Apr. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14231–14236.	
Apr. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 14237.	
Apr. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 14238; AEp. Cr. 14, f. 13v (=f. 10v in old foliation).	
	Apr. 28 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4753, 4754; LM 14 (14), Nos 735, 738; LM 224 (4), Nos 187–189; SPPP 6, No. 302.
Apr. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14239–14241.	
Apr. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14242, 14243.	
May 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 14246.	
	May 2 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 470; LM 14 (14), No. 736; AGZ 10, No. 368.
	May 3 – the King is in Kraków: SPPP 6, No. 318, p. 284.
May 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14247–14249.	
May 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 14250; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 72 et seq. (=ff. 71 et seq. in old foliation).	
May 6: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 72v – date, 73 – record considered (=ff. 71v, 72 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4761; SPPP 6, Nos 318, 320, 321, 323.
May 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14251–14254.	
May 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14255, 14256.	
May 10: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4764, 4765 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14257–14259.	
May 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 14260; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 73v (=f. 72v in old foliation).	
May 12: MRPS 4/1, No. 4770 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from PIEKOSIŃSKI, No. 28); MRPS 4/2, No. 14261.	

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>[1525 ca. May 12–16 — Wawrzeńczyce]</b>	
[PT probably spends at least one night in Wawrzeńczyce on the way to Radłów; the episcopal residence in Wawrzeńczyce is conveniently situated halfway between Kraków and Radłów; PT used the road through Wawrzeńczyce when travelling to Radłów on 1527 Sept. 16 to 17 (see below, the information for that days).]	
	May 13 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4771–4774; LM 12 (12), Nos 474, 478, 479.
	May 15 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 477.
<b>1525 May 16 to 17 — Radłów</b>	
May 16: AKKK, perg. 686 (PT and Jan Tarnowski's document).	The King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 191.
May 17: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 73v (=f. 72v in old foliation).	
<b>[1525 ca. May 17–23 — Wawrzeńczyce]</b>	
[PT probably spends at least one night in Wawrzeńczyce on the way to Kraków; the episcopal residence in Wawrzeńczyce is conveniently situated halfway between Radłów and Kraków.]	
	May 20 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 482.
	May 21 – the King is in Kraków: VMPL 2, No. 455.
<b>1525 May 23 to Jun. 22 — Kraków</b>	
May 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 14262; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 74v (=f. 73v in old foliation).	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.

May 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 14263.	
May 25: AT 7/2, No. 62 (=ANP 2, No. 24, p. 202, PT's speech, date corrected from TG, No. 617, f. 127v).	The King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 762, and is honoured with a blessed sword and hat by the Pope: ANP 2, No. 23, p. 201; BERNARD Z BISKUPIEGO, f. Y <sub>6v</sub> .
	May 26 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 480; LM 14 (14), No. 761; APG, 300, D/5b, 117.
May 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14264, 14265.	
	May 28 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 476; LM 14 (14), No. 763.
May 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14266, 14267.	
May 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 14268.	
May 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 14269; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 77v (=f. 76v in old foliation).	
Jun. 1: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 75 et seq. (=ff. 74 et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 7 (7), No. 251.
	Jun. 2 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), Nos 769, 771; LM 224 (4), No. 193.
Jun. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14274, 14275.	
Jun. 4: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 75v et seq. (=ff. 74v et seq. in old foliation); EFE 34, No. 2 (PT's letter).	
	Jun. 5 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4775.
	Jun. 6 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 753; APG, 300, D/5b, 118.
Jun. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 14276.	
Jun. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14277, 14278.	
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14279–14281; AOff. Cr. 43, ff. 262–262v (=pp. 519–520 in old pagination, PT's document).	
Jun. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14282, 14283.	
Jun. 11: AT 7/2, No. 40 (=CIDTC, IDL 249, PT's letter).	

Itinerary	Additional information
	Jun. 12 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 486; LM 14 (14), No. 770; AT 7/2, Nos 41 (date supplied from CIDTC, IDL 251), 49 (date supplied from CIDTC, IDL 229), 51, 52 (date supplied from internal evidence), 53 (=BRODERICUS, No. 46, place and date supplied by Péter Kasza); VMPL 2, No. 458.
Jun. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 14284; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 78 et seq. (=ff. 77 et seq. in old foliation).	
Jun. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 14285.	
Jun. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 14286.	
Jun. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14287, 14288.	
	Jun. 18 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 489.
	Jun. 19 – the King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 3, No. 283; AZ, 2999, p. 115.
Jun. 20: AOff. Cr. 58, f. 321 (=p. 641 in old pagination, PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 496; LM 14 (14), No. 773; LM 224 (4), No. 197.
Jun. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 14289; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 79 (=f. 78 in old foliation).	
Jun. 22 – PT is in Kraków: MRPS 4/2, No. 14290, and departs towards Piotrków for the Provincial Synod: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1516–1525, No. 356 (note in the records of the Consistory Court of Kraków).	
<b>1525 Jun. 22 — Miechów</b>	
AAWO, AB, D. 33, f. 28v (PT's letter). <sup>156</sup>	

<sup>156</sup> If PT strictly followed the royal route from Miechów to Piotrków, he would have made overnight stops at the following locations: Miechów from Jun. 22 to 23, Secemin from Jun. 23 to 24, and Przedbórz from Jun. 24 to 25. In this case, he would have arrived in Piotrków on Jun. 25, one day before the expected opening of the Provincial Synod.



<b>1525 Jun. 25 — Przedbórz</b>	
EFE 34, No. 4 (PT's letter).	
<b>1525 Jun. 26 to Jul. 1 — Piotrków</b>	
Jun. 26 – PT presumably takes part in the opening of the Provincial Synod.	The Provincial Synod was convened for that day: ULANOWSKI 1908, No. 7.
Jun. 27: GROMNICKI, p. 405 (reports on the collection of Peter's Pence, PT mentioned).	
Jun. 28: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 80 (=f. 79 in old foliation).	
Jun. 30 – PT presumably attends the Provincial Synod. <sup>157</sup>	The Provincial Synod is held in Piotrków: BCz, 307, p. 47 (Jan Łaski's letter).
Jul. 1 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The Provincial Synod is held in Piotrków: BCz, 249, p. 47 (Maciej Drzewicki's letter).
<b>1525 Jul. 10 to 11 — Hża</b>	
Jul. 10: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 154 (=f. 153 in old foliation).	
Jul. 11: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 80v (=f. 79v in old foliation).	PT's presence in Hża on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 537.
<b>1525 Jul. 13 — Kunów</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 81 (=f. 80 in old foliation =URBAN 2001, No. 5).	PT's presence in Kunów on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 537.
<b>1525 Jul. 15 to 26 — Bodzentyn</b>	
Jul. 15: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 81v et seq. (=ff. 80v et seq. in old foliation).	PT's presence in Bodzentyn on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 537.
Jul. 26: AGAD, perg. 2941 (PT's document).	
Jul. 27 – PT is absent from Kraków: AT 7/2, No. 75 (Andrzej Krzycki's letter to PT from Kraków).	The King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 525; TOMASZEWICZ 1992, No. 94.
	Jul. 28 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4814; LM 12 (12), Nos 504–506, 511.

<sup>157</sup> Further evidence confirms PT's absence at the royal court during that period due to his attendance at the Provincial Synod:

1) LM 224 (4), No. 205, p. 173 (royal document, Jul. 3, PT's location mentioned);

2) AT 7/2, p. 296, n. 1 (Stanisław Górski's commentary on Andrzej Krzycki's letter to PT, dated Jul. 4);

3) AT 7/2, No. 64 (=CIDTC, IDL 253, Queen Bona's letter, Jul. 5, PT's absence in Kraków due to the Provincial Synod mentioned).

Itinerary	Additional information
	Jul. 29 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 507, 508, 510.
	Jul. 31 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4816–4821.
	Aug. 1 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4823, 4824; LM 12 (12), No. 755.
	Aug. 3 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 526.
	Aug. 4 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 527.
<b>1525 Aug. 5 to Nov. 19 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Aug. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14292, 14293; EFE 34, No. 9 (PT's letter).	PT was absent from the royal court for a few weeks when the envoy of Duke Albrecht arrived: EFE 34, No. 9 (PT's letter to Albrecht).
	Aug. 6 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 372, and departs from there towards Niepołomice for hunting: SOKOLNICKI, f. Y <sub>9v</sub> . Not in GAŚTOROWSKI.
	Aug. 10 – the King is in Kraków: RYKACZEWSKI, p. 295.
Aug. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 14294; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 83 et seq. (=ff. 82 et seq. in old foliation).	
Aug. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14295, 14296.	
	Aug. 15 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 206.
Aug. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 14297.	
Aug. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 14298.	

	Aug. 18 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 515, 757.
Shortly before Aug. 21: AT 7/2, No. 116 (PT's speech, place and date supplied from other sources).	
Aug. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 14299.	
Aug. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 14300.	
Aug. 23: BCz, 247, p. 27 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 534.
	Aug. 24 – the King is in Kraków: LM 7 (7), No. 252; AGZ 10, No. 373.
	Aug. 25 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4828.
	Aug. 26 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4829–4831; SROKA 5, No. 1001.
Aug. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14301, 14302; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 84v – date, 89v – record considered, 90v et seq. (=ff. 83v, 88v, 89v et seq. in old foliation).	
	Aug. 28 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4833.
	Aug. 29 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4834; LM 1 (1), No. 502, and departs from there towards Niepołomice: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 30; SOKOLNICKI, f. Y <sub>10</sub> . Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Aug. 30 – FASTNACHT, No. 68 (PT's document, day-date supplied from B. Ossol., perg. 230).	The King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 55, f. 112. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Aug. 31: AAWO, AB, D. 33, f. 29 (PT's letter).	
	Sept. 2 – the King is in Niepołomice: BDSand., AKKKS, 64 II. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Sept. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 14303.	
Sept. 9: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 94 (=f. 93 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 1 (1), Nos 431, 587; LM 12 (12), Nos 518–520, 525; RYKACZEWSKI, p. 295 (=AGAD, perg. 1036); SPPP 6, No. 509.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Sept. 10 – the King is in Kraków: LM 1 (1), Nos 72 (=LM 12 (12), No. 522), 79, 336; LM 12 (12), Nos 521, 523.
Sept. 11: BIEM I, f. 412v; SOKOLNICKI, f. Y <sub>10v</sub> .	The King is in Kraków: LM 1 (1), No. 150 =LM 12 (12), No. 524; AT 7/2, No. 84 (date supplied from CIDTC, IDL 230).
Sept. 12: CIDTC, IDL 266 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4836; LM 12 (12), No. 526.
Sept. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14306, 14307.	
Sept. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14308–14315.	
Sept. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 14316.	
	Sept. 16 – the King is in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 59, f. 3; MRPS 4/1, No. 4838.
	Sept. 17 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 529.
	Sept. 18 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 530; LM 18 (18), No. 119.
Sept. 19: MRPS 4/1, No. 4839 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from BCz, perg. 759).	
Sept. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 14317.	
Sept. 22: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 94v (=f. 93v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 533–537.
	Sept. 25 – the King is in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 59, f. 3; MRPS 4/1, Nos 4840, 4841; LM 12 (12), Nos 539, 540; LM 224 (4), No. 208; SPPP 6, Nos 512–514.
Sept. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 14318.	
	Sept. 28 – the King is in Kraków: LM 1 (1), No. 610=LM 12 (12), No. 542.
	Sept. 29 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 543–546 (No. 546=LM 25 (25), No. 28); LM 224 (4), No. 204.
	Sept. 30 – the King is in Kraków: SPPP 6, No. 519.

	Oct. 1 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4842–4846; ASPK 8, No. 109; EFE 30, No. 2.
Oct. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14319–14326; KUMOR 1960, No. 5 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> by PT); AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 85, 95 (=ff. 84, 94 in old foliation); AT 7/2, No. 129 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 3: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 96v et seq. (=ff. 95v et seq. in old foliation); WOLFE, No. 258 (lost PT's document, mentioned also in AV Cr. 8, f. 316).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4849; EFE 30, No. 3.
Oct. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14327, 14328.	
Oct. 5: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 98 (=f. 97 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4851, 4852; LM 14 (14), No. 560; AT 7/2, No. 89 (=AT 8, No. 240, place and date supplied from CIDTC, IDL 269).
Oct. 6: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4854 (royal document, PT mentioned), 4855 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14329–14335.	
Oct. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 14336.	
Oct. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 14337.	
Oct. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 14338.	
	Oct. 10 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, D/5b, 122.
Oct. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 14339.	
	Oct. 12 – the King is in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 59, f. 3v; MRPS 4/1, Nos 4858, 4859; LM 12 (12), Nos 548, 550.
Oct. 13: MRPS 4/1, No. 4861 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Oct. 14: MRPS 4/1, No. 4862 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
	Oct. 15 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 556.
Oct. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14340, 14341.	
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14342–14346.	
Oct. 19: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 98v (=f. 97v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4865.
	Oct. 21 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4866–4868.
Shortly before Oct. 22: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 12v (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	PT has been ill for fourteen days, and because of this, he stays at home: PT's letter to Piotr Kmita, as referenced on the left.
	Oct. 22 – the insignia of a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece is handed to the King: AT 7/2, No. 90.
Oct. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 14350.	
Oct. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 14351.	
Oct. 26: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 99v (=f. 98v in old foliation).	
Oct. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14352–14354.	
	Oct. 29 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 211.
Oct. 30: AGAD, perg. 5724 (PT's document).	
Oct. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 14355.	
Nov. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 14357.	
Nov. 3: TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 836 (PT's document).	
	Nov. 4 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 758; AZ, 2999, p. 121.
Nov. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14358–14360.	

Nov. 6: BCz, 247, p. 39 (PT's letter).	PT did not participate in the meetings of the Royal Council when he was ill: PT's letter to Mauritius Ferber, as referenced on the left. The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4877–4879.
	Nov. 7 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4880; LM 12 (12), No. 763.
	Nov. 8 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4881; LM 224 (4), No. 212; APG, 300, D/5b, 124.
Nov. 9: AAWO, AB, D. 33, f. 30v (PT's letter).	PT is going to the Local Diets ( <i>sejmiki</i> ) within ten days, and afterwards, he will stay in his episcopal estates: PT's letter to Mauritius Ferber, as referenced on the left, ff. 30–30v.
Nov. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 14363.	
Nov. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14364–14368, 14370.	
	Nov. 12 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4883.
Nov. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14371, 14372.	The King is in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 59, f. 4v, and departs from there towards Niepołomice: SOKOLNICKI, f. Y <sub>12v</sub> . The King's departure not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Nov. 14 – the King arrives in Kraków from Niepołomice: SOKOLNICKI, f. Y <sub>13</sub> , and stays in Kraków: LM 224 (4), Nos 215–218. The King's arrival not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 15: CDUJ 4, No. 353 (=KRZYŻANOWSKI, No. 474, PT's document).	
Nov. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 14373; AGAD, perg. 1024 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Nov. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14374–14390; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 100 (=f. 99 in old foliation).	

Itinerary	Additional information
	Nov. 18 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4887; LM 224 (4), Nos 219, 220.
Nov. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14391–14394; tzw. ML, IV B 17, p. 244 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
	Nov. 20 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4891.
	Nov. 21 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4892, and departs towards Piotrków via Niepołomice: NOSKOWSKI, p. 415; SOKOLNICKI, f. Y <sub>12v</sub> – h. 13. <sup>158</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>159</sup>
<b>1525 ca. Nov. 22 — Proszowice</b>	
PT attends the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ): AT 8, p. 10 (Stanisław Górski's commentary, no exact date given).	The Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) was convoked on Nov. 22: MK 39, p. 630.
<b>1525 ca. Nov. 24 — Nowe Miasto Korczyn</b>	
PT attends the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ): AT 8, p. 10 (Stanisław Górski's commentary, no exact date given).	The Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ) was convoked on Nov. 24: MK 39, p. 631. PT's absence in Kraków in that period is additionally confirmed by Andrzej Krzycki's letters to him dated Kraków, Nov. 24 and 26: AT 7/2, No. 133; AT 8, No. 2.
<b>1525 Nov. 27 — Dobrowoda</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 101 (=f. 100 in old foliation).	

<sup>158</sup> LM 14 (14), No. 575, and BEREZHKOVA, p. 202, record the King in Kraków on Dec. 9.

<sup>159</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263, mentions the King's stay in Kraków until Dec. 11. This is based on MRPS 4/1, No. 4897, but the dating clause in the entry was silently supplied and misinterpreted by Teodor Wierzbowski. The corresponding entry in MK 38, p. 697 reads: "anno et loco quibus supra feria 2 proxima post festum Gloriosissimae Virginis Mariae". The previous entry is dated Piotrków, 1526 Jan. 5, so this one should be dated for Piotrków and the same year. As there was no major Marian feast day during the King's stay in Piotrków in 1526, the exact date of the entry remains unresolved.



<b>1525 Nov. 29 to Dec. 4 — Kielce</b>	
Nov. 29: TG, No. 597 (Stanisław Górski's commentary).	
Dec. 2: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 102v (=f. 101v in old foliation).	PT's presence in Kielce on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 537.
	Dec. 3 – the King departs from Niepołomice towards Piotrków: SOKOLNICKI, f. Y <sub>14</sub> . <sup>160</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 4: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 106v (=f. 105v in old foliation).	PT's presence in Kielce on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 537.
Dec. 5 – PT is not accompanying the King to Piotrków: TG, No. 598 (Andrzej Krzycki's letter to PT; Krzycki travelled with the King to Piotrków).	The King is in Jędrzejów: Andrzej Krzycki's letter, as referenced on the left. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Dec. 6 – the King spends the night of Dec. 5–6 in Jędrzejów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked in Piotrków for that day: AT 8, No. 1.
	[Dec. 6–7 – the King probably spends the night in Małogoszcz: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Jędrzejów and Piotrków.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	[Dec. 7–8 – the King probably spends the night in Przedbórz: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Jędrzejów and Piotrków.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Dec. 8 – the King arrives in Piotrków for the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ): Kod. Jag. 6, f. 10 (Stanisław Górski's commentary). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>161</sup>
<b>1525 Dec. 11 to 1526 Jan. 29 — Piotrków</b>	
Dec. 11: GROMNICKI, p. 409 (reports on the collection of Peter's Pence, PT mentioned).	The King's presence in Kraków on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.

<sup>160</sup> LM 14 (14), No. 575, records the King in Kraków on Dec. 9.

<sup>161</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, only mentions the King's stay in Piotrków starting from Dec. 15.

Itinerary	Additional information
Dec. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14396, 14397.	The King's presence in Piotrków on that day not recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI. The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14396, 14397. <sup>162</sup>
Dec. 13: BCz, 1596, p. 184 (PT's letter).	The King is in Piotrków: LM 1 (1), No. 443=LM 12 (12), No. 558; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: LM 14 (14), p. 231 (heading for the group of records); LM 224 (4), No. 221. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14398, 14399.	The King's presence in Piotrków on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
Dec. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 14400.	
Dec. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 59, f. 6v.
Dec. 20 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 30v; RK 59, f. 7; LM 224 (4), Nos 222, 223; KIRYK, No. 121=AGAD, perg. 3732.
Dec. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 14401.	
Dec. 23: MRPS 5/2, No. 6551 (transumpt of royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Dec. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 14403.	
Dec. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4900; LM 12 (12), No. 560; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.
<b>1526</b>	
Jan. 1: CIDTC, IDL 275 (PT's letter).	
Jan. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14405–14428.	

<sup>162</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 36; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/1, p. 436; and *Postłowie*, p. 69, consider that day as the commencement of the General Diet (*sejm walny*).

The earliest entries dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki are from Dec. 23: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4898, 4899.

Jan. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4901, 4902.
Jan. 6 – <i>ut supra</i> . <sup>163</sup>	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4903; APG, 300, D/5b, 137.
Jan. 6/7: ANP 2, Nos 7, 11, pp. 237, 242 (Niccolò Fabri's dispatches, PT mentioned). <sup>164</sup>	Jan. 7 – the King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4904; LM 14 (14), No. 588.
Jan. 8: ANP 2, No. 7, p. 237 (Niccolò Fabri's dispatch, PT mentioned).	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4905, 4906; LM 12 (12), No. 561=LM 17 (17), No. 99.
Jan. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 14430; ANP 2, No. 7, p. 238 (Niccolò Fabri's dispatch, PT mentioned).	
Jan. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 31; MRPS 4/1, No. 4907; LM 14 (14), No. 594.
Jan. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 14431.	
Jan. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 14432.	
Jan. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: LM 12 (12), No. 563.
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14433–14435.	
Jan. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4910; APG, 300, D/5b, 138.
Jan. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14436–14441.	
Jan. 19 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 4912; LM 12 (12), No. 564; LM 224 (4), No. 226; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.
Jan. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 14442.	
Jan. 21: AOff. Cr. 58, f. 453 (=p. 905 in old pagination, PT's document).	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4913–4916.
Jan. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14443–14445.	
Jan. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14446, 14447.	

<sup>163</sup> URBAN 2001, No. 6, incorrectly identifies Kraków as the location where PT issued the verdict on Jan. 6.

<sup>164</sup> Niccolò Fabri specified a different day for his arrival to Piotrków in each of his letters, so the references to PT could pertain to either Jan. 6 or Jan. 7.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 25: MRPS 4/1, No. 4929 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from tzw. ML, IV B 9, p. 62); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14448–14451.	
Jan. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14452–14458.	
Jan. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14459, 14460, 14462–14468; GROMNICKI, p. 406 (reports on the collection of Peter's Pence, PT mentioned).	
Jan. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 14469.	
Jan. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 14470.	<p>The King departs from Piotrków towards Kraków: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 31.<sup>165</sup> Cf. BEREZHKOVA, p. 202; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263 (information about the stay, not the departure).</p> <p>The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, No. 14470.<sup>166</sup></p>
	Jan. 29 – the King is in Przedbórz: ASK 1, RK 59, ff. 3v, 104v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer left Piotrków with the King); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
	Jan. 29–30 – the King spends the night in Przedbórz. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>167</sup>

<sup>165</sup> According to AT 8, No. 14 (Stanisław Górski's commentary), the King left Piotrków on Jan. 30 and, after that, spent about 20 days in Kraków.

<sup>166</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 36; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; and *Posłowie*, p. 69, consider that day as the end of the General Diet (*sejm walny*). VC 1/1, p. 436, erroneously mentions the General Diet's conclusion date as Jan. 21, not just once but twice. This mistake was made despite Władysław Konopczyński's work being the source of the information.

The latest entries dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki are from Jan. 28: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4942, 4943, 4945–4948.

<sup>167</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 263, notes that the King reportedly spent the night of Jan. 29–30 in Żeleźnica. However, the corresponding entry in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki (ASK 1, RK 61, f. 104v) only specifies the location where the Treasurer's household spent the night and does not necessarily confirm the King's presence in Żeleźnica at that time.

	Jan. 30 – the King is in Małogoszcz: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 5, 104v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Piotrków); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
	Jan. 30–31 – the King spends the night in Małogoszcz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>168</sup>
	Jan. 31 – the King is in Jędrzejów: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 5, 105 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Piotrków). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Jan. 31–Feb. 1 – the King spends the night in Jędrzejów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	[Feb. 1 – the King is probably in Książ: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Jędrzejów and Kraków.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>169</sup>
	[Feb. 1–2 – the King probably spends the night in Książ.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>170</sup>
	[Feb. 2 – the King probably arrives in Słomniki: place inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Jędrzejów and Kraków, or, alternatively, the King arrives in Proszowice: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 5v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Piotrków, but it's hard to determine exactly when he departed the court). <sup>171</sup> ] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>168</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, the King spent the night of Jan. 30–31 in Jędrzejów. The dates were derived from the misinterpreted entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 5.

<sup>169</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, the King was in “Przyłborz” on Feb. 1. The place was derived from the entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 5, 105. The location seems mistaken because it is the repeated name of Przedbórz, visited a few days earlier.

<sup>170</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, the King spent the night of Feb. 1–2 in Proszowice. The dates were derived from the misinterpreted entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 5v, 105v.

<sup>171</sup> LM 12 (12), No. 592, records the King in Niepołomice on Feb. 2, but he could not get there before Feb. 3.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Feb. 2–3 – the King spends the night in a place where he arrived on Feb. 2.
	Feb. 3 – the King arrives in Niepołomice: the earliest possible arrival date; confirmed stay in the following days; a later mention in SOKOLNICKI, f. Z <sub>4</sub> , suggesting that the King entered Kraków on Feb. 7 for the first time since returning from the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Piotrków: “veniens in Nyepolomicze ex sinodo Petrkovyensi Cracoviam est ingressus”; before the travel to the General Diet in Piotrków, the King was also in Niepołomice, he might have wanted to join Queen Bona, who stayed in Niepołomice in early 1526: POCIECHA 2, p. 122. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>172</sup>
	Feb. 5 – the King is in Niepołomice: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 55; ASK 1, RK 61, f. 6 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki’s accounts, a Treasurer’s visit to the King seems to be the most likely reason for his arrival in Niepołomice). Cf. GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263. <sup>173</sup>
	Feb. 6 – the King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 6, 105v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki’s accounts, a visit to the King seems to be the most likely reason for his stay in Niepołomice); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
	Feb. 6–7 – the King spends the night in Niepołomice. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>174</sup>

<sup>172</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, the King was in Kraków on Feb. 3. He followed Mikołaj Szydłowiecki’s accounts: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 5v, 105v. The Treasurer accompanied the King on the way from Piotrków, but in the light of the arguments supporting the King’s arrival in Niepołomice on that day, it seems that he left the court and went to Kraków on his own.

<sup>173</sup> Antoni Gąsiorowski took Mikołaj Szydłowiecki’s movements on Feb. 3–5 as the royal itinerary following the Treasurer’s accounts: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 6. He assumed that the King on Feb. 4 left Kraków for Pleszów, the village owned by Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, and on the following day arrived in Niepołomice.

<sup>174</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, the King spent the night of Feb. 6–7 in Wieliczka, but the respective entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki indicate the first stop of the Treasurer

	Feb. 7 – the King arrives in Kraków from Piotrków: SOKOLNICKI, f. Z <sub>4</sub> – h. 23. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>175</sup>
<b>1526 Feb. 8 to 14 — Kraków</b>	
Feb. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14485, 14486.	The King is in Kraków: SOKOLNICKI, f. Z <sub>4</sub> . <sup>176</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>177</sup>
Feb. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14487–14491.	The King’s presence in Kraków on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263.
	[Feb. 10 – the King is in Kraków or, more probably, already in Niepołomice.] Cf. GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263. <sup>178</sup>
Feb. 11: SOKOLNICKI, f. Z <sub>4</sub> .	[The King is probably already in Niepołomice.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>179</sup>
Feb. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 109v et seq. (=ff. 108v et seq. in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529, No. 7 (PT’s court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	The King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 7 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki’s accounts, a visit to the King seems to be the most likely reason for his arrival in Niepołomice); LM 12 (12), No. 592; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
	Feb. 13 – the King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 7, 106 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki’s accounts, a visit to the King seems to be the most likely reason for his arrival in Niepołomice); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.

on his way from Niepołomice to Zator, where he held the office of local starost: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 6, 105v.

<sup>175</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, the King was in Zator on Feb. 7, but the respective entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki indicate that the Treasurer was executing his duties on that day as the starost there: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 6, 106.

<sup>176</sup> According to LM 12 (12), No. 509, and BEREZHKOVA, p. 202, the King was in Niepołomice on Feb. 8.

<sup>177</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, the King spent the night of Feb. 8–9 in Czernichów. The respective entry in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki indicates that the village, which was owned by the Treasurer, is where his household stayed overnight: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 106.

<sup>178</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, the King was in Kraków on Feb. 10, but the respective entry in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki indicates that the Treasurer stayed in the city after the King’s return to Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 6v, 105v.

<sup>179</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 263, the King was in Pleszów on Feb. 11, but the respective entry in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki indicates that the Treasurer left Kraków for the nearby village owned by him: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 7.

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 14 – PT departs from Kraków towards Malbork: AOff. Cr. 58, f. 446 (=p. 891 in old pagination, note in the records of the Consistory Court of Kraków). <sup>180</sup>	The King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 31; RK 61, f. 7 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, a visit to the King seems to be the most likely reason for his stay in Niepołomice); SOKOLNICKI, f. Z <sub>3v</sub> ; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
	Feb. 15 – the King is in Niepołomice; SOKOLNICKI, f. Z <sub>3v</sub> . Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>181</sup>
	Feb. 16 – the King is in Niepołomice: CC 39, p. 444; SOKOLNICKI, f. Z <sub>3v</sub> . Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Feb. 17 to 21 — Jędrzejów</b>	
Feb. 17: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529, No. 9 (PT's document).	The King is in Niepołomice: ANK, pap. 4. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Feb. 18 – the King is in Niepołomice: AJZR 1/1, No. 2 (=TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 838). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Feb. 19 – the King departs from Niepołomice towards Kuyavia: SOKOLNICKI, f. Z <sub>3v</sub> . <sup>182</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>183</sup>
	Feb. 19 – the King is in Skalbmierz: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 9, 107 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King to Gdańsk); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.

<sup>180</sup> If PT strictly followed the royal route from Kraków to Jędrzejów, he would have made overnight stops at the following locations: Słomniki from Feb. 14 to 15 and Książ from Feb. 15 to 16. In this case, he would have arrived in Jędrzejów on Feb. 16, one day before his confirmed stay there.

<sup>181</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King was in Kraków on Feb. 15–18, but the respective entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki indicate that the Treasurer went to Kraków after he had left the royal court in Niepołomice and stayed in the city for the next few days: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 7v–8v.

<sup>182</sup> According to EMERYK, p. 212, and WAPOWSKI, p. 206, the King set out from Kraków (“ex regia urbe”) on Feb. 19.

<sup>183</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King spent the night of Feb. 18–19 in the village of Pobiedniki near Niepołomice, but the respective entry in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki indicates the place where the Treasurer's household stayed overnight: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 106v.



	Feb. 19–20 – the King spends the night in Skalbmierz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Feb. 20 – it is likely that as the King arrives in Jędrzejów (see the additional information on the right), PT joins the royal retinue and travels with the monarch from this point.	The King is in Jędrzejów: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 9, 107 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King to Gdańsk); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Feb. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Feb. 20–21 in Jędrzejów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Feb. 21 to 22 — Małogoszcz</b>	
Feb. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Małogoszcz: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 9 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King to Gdańsk); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Feb. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Feb. 21–22 in Małogoszcz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>184</sup>
<b>1526 Feb. 22 to 23 — Przedbórz</b>	
Feb. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Przedbórz: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 9, 107 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King to Gdańsk); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Feb. 23 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Feb. 22–23 in Przedbórz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Feb. 23 to 24 — Piotrków</b>	
Feb. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14492–14494.	The King's presence in Piotrków on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Feb. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Feb. 23–24 in Piotrków. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Feb. 24 to 25 — Tuszyn</b>	
Feb. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14495–14497.	The King's presence in Tuszyn on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Feb. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Feb. 24–25 in Tuszyn. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>184</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King spent the night of Feb. 21–22 in Oleszno, but the respective entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki indicate the place where the Treasurer's household stayed overnight: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 9, 107.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1526 Feb. 25 to 26 — Zgierz</b>	
Feb. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Zgierz: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 9v, 107v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King to Gdańsk); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Feb. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Feb. 25–26 in Zgierz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Feb. 26 to 27 — Łęczyca</b>	
Feb. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14498, 14499.	The King's presence in Łęczyca on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Feb. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Łęczyca: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 56. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Feb. 27 to 28 — Przedecz</b>	
Feb. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14500, 14501; AGAD, perg. 3738 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	The King's presence in Przedecz on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Feb. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Feb. 27–28 in Przedecz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Feb. 28 to Mar. 1 — Brześć Kujawski</b>	
Feb. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Brześć Kujawski: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 10, 108 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King to Gdańsk); MRPS 4/1, Nos 4958, 4959 (date of both entries corrected) <sup>185</sup> ; LM 12 (12), No. 565b (incomplete copy, cf. JASAS, No. 291); BEREZHKOVA, p. 212; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Mar. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14503, 14504.	The King's presence in Brześć Kujawski on that day not recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>186</sup>

<sup>185</sup> The scribe of MK confused “feria quarta ante Oculi” (Feb. 28) with “feria quarta post Oculi” (Mar. 7) twice in a row.

<sup>186</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, denied the King's stay in Brześć Kujawski on Mar. 1 as he made unnecessary corrections in the date of the entries from MRPS 4/2, Nos 14503, 14504, suggesting that “feria 5 post Reminiscere” (Mar. 1) should be replaced with “feria 4 post Reminiscere” (Feb. 28). This was because he believed that the King spent the night of Feb. 28–Mar. 1 in Łowiczek, relying on Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts. However, the accounts' respective entry indicates where the Treasurer's household stayed overnight: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 10.

<b>1526 Mar. 1 to 2 — Służewo</b>	
Mar. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Służewo: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 10 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King to Gdańsk); <sup>187</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Mar. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Mar. 1–2 in Służewo. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>188</sup>
<b>1526 Mar. 2 to 4 — Toruń</b>	
Mar. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Toruń: LM 12 (12), No. 568; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Mar. 3 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 56. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Mar. 4 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Toruń: AGAD, pap. 869, and departs from there towards Malbork: AT 8, No. 15 (the departure mentioned). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Mar. 4 to 5 — Chełmża</b>	
Mar. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Chełmża: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 10v, 108v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King to Gdańsk); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Mar. 5 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Mar. 4–5 in Chełmża. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Mar. 5 to 6 — Grudziądz</b>	
Mar. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Grudziądz: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 10v, 108v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King on his way to Gdańsk); <sup>189</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Mar. 6 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Grudziądz: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 57. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>187</sup> According to LM 12 (12), No. 567, and BEREZHKOVA, p. 202, the King was in Toruń on Mar. 1.

<sup>188</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King spent the night of Mar. 1–2 in Toruń. The dates were derived from the entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 10, 108, 108v.

<sup>189</sup> According to LM 12 (12), No. 566, and BEREZHKOVA, p. 202, the King was in Toruń on Mar. 5. LM 14 (14), No. 597, records the King in Malbork on the same day.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1526 Mar. 6 to 7 — Kwidzyn</b>	
Mar. 6 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kwidzyn: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 11, 108v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King to Gdańsk); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Mar. 7 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Mar. 6–7 in Kwidzyn. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>190</sup>
<b>1526 Mar. 7 to 8 — Sztum</b>	
Mar. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Sztum: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 11, 108v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King on his way to Gdańsk); <sup>191</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Mar. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Mar. 7–8 in Sztum. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Mar. 8 to ca. Apr. 23 — Malbork</b>	
Mar. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 14505.	The King arrives in Malbork: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 11, 109; MRPS 4/1, No. 4961 (commentary on the King's travel to Royal Prussia and Gdańsk); CIDTC, IDL 295 (Jan Benedyktowicz Solfa's letter, the arrival mentioned); AT 8, No. 14 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264. <sup>192</sup>
Mar. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 14506.	
Mar. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Malbork: LM 12 (12), No. 569; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.
Mar. 12 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Malbork: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 58.
Mar. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14508, 14509.	

<sup>190</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King spent the night of Mar. 6–7 in Sztum, but the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki do not provide unambiguous evidence for it because they are missing the data for Mar. 7: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 11.

<sup>191</sup> According to BEREZHKOVA, p. 202, the King was in Malbork on Mar. 7. However, none of the referenced entries in LM bears such a date.

<sup>192</sup> According to SKRODZKI, f. Z<sub>5</sub>, the King arrived in Malbork on Mar. 4.

Mar. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14510, 14511. <sup>193</sup>	
Mar. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 14512.	
Mar. 16: MRPS 4/1, No. 4962 (royal document witnessed by PT, date corrected from MK, witness list supplied from MK).	
Mar. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 14513.	
Mar. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Malbork: MRPS 4/1, No. 4962; tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 64. <sup>194</sup>
Mar. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 14515.	
Mar. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14516–14518.	
Mar. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Malbork: GORCZAK 3, No. 293.
Mar. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14519, 14520.	
Mar. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Malbork: LM 14 (14), Nos 28, 602.
Mar. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14521, 14522.	
Mar. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Malbork: LM 14 (14), p. 83 (heading for the group of records); AT 9 ed. 1, No. 208 (year-date corrected from internal evidence).
Mar. 29 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Malbork: MRPS 4/1, No. 4963.
Mar. 31 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Malbork: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 31v; LM 14 (14), No. 29.
Apr. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 14524.	
Apr. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Malbork: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 31v.
Apr. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14525, 14526.	
Apr. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Malbork: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 65; LM 14 (14), No. 600; AT 8, Nos 19 (=DOGIEL 4, No. 173), 32 (date supplied from ANP 2, No. 25, p. 265), 93 (place and date supplied from EFE 30, No. 12); EFE 30, No. 11.

<sup>193</sup> According to LM 12 (12), No. 764, the King was in Niepołomice on Mar. 14 (the original document provides the same date: see JASAS, No. 293).

<sup>194</sup> According to BEREZHKOVA, p. 202, the King was in Malbork on Mar. 21. However, it is based on the entry in LM 7 (7), No. 252.4, dated Mar. 27.

Itinerary	Additional information
Apr. 6 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Malbork: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 66.
Apr. 7 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Malbork: LM 12 (12), Nos 572, 574; LM 14 (14), No. 603; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.
Apr. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Malbork: LM 12 (12), No. 573; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.
Apr. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 14528.	
Apr. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14529, 14531–14533.	
Apr. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Malbork: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 67; LM 14 (14), Nos 30, 31; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.
Apr. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14534–14539.	
Apr. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 14540.	
Apr. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14541–14544; tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 76 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Apr. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 14545; EFE 34, No. 33 (PT's letter).	Due to poor health, PT has been prevented from attending the meeting of the Royal Council and from appearing before the King: EFE 34, No. 33 (PT's letter to Duke Albrecht). The King's presence in Malbork on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in GAŚCIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Apr. 16 – PT does not leave Malbork with the royal household due to illness: AT 8, p. 42 (Stanisław Górski's commentary).	The King is in Malbork: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 68; EFE 30, No. 13, and departs from there towards Gdańsk. Not in GAŚCIOROWSKI.
	Apr. 16 – the King is in Tczew: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 17 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King on his way to Gdańsk); GAŚCIOROWSKI, p. 264. The King crosses the Vistula River on a boat in Tczew: EMERYK, p. 212; WAPOWSKI, p. 209 (no exact date given).

	Apr. 16–17 – the King spends the night in Tczew. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Apr. 17 – the King arrives in Gdańsk: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 17, 110v; CIDTC, IDL 295 (Jan Benedyktowicz Solfa's letter, the arrival mentioned); SOKOLNICKI, f. Z <sub>sv</sub> – around noon; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Apr. 18 – PT is absent from the royal court: AT 8, No. 27 (Andrzej Krzycki's letter dated in Gdańsk, PT's absence mentioned).	
	Apr. 20 – the King is in Gdańsk: MRPS 4/1, No. 4965; tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 68; LM 12 (12), Nos 577, 760, 761.
	Apr. 21 – the King is in Gdańsk: MRPS 4/1, No. 4966; tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 69; LM 12 (12), No. 762; LM 224 (4), No. 230.
	Apr. 22 – the King is in Gdańsk: LM 12 (12), No. 575.
ca. Apr. 23: AT 8, No. 34 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	Due to his health, PT could not travel to Gdańsk with the King, but as his illness subsides, he hopes to join him soon: PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, as referenced on the left.
	Apr. 24 – the King is in Gdańsk: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 71; LM 14 (14), Nos 46, 47; LM 224 (4), No. 232.
<b>1526 Apr. 25 to Jul. 23 — Gdańsk</b>	
Apr. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14546–14549.	
Apr. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14550, 14551.	
Apr. 27: MRPS 4/1, No. 4968 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 14552.	
Apr. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 14553.	
May 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 14555.	
May 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gdańsk: MRPS 4/1, No. 4970; tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 74.
May 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14556–14558.	

Itinerary	Additional information
May 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gdańsk: LM 224 (4), Nos 234, 235, 237.
May 5 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Gdańsk: LM 14 (14), No. 604; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.
May 6 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Gdańsk: LL 5, f. 295v.
May 7 – <i>ut supra</i> . <sup>195</sup>	The King is in Gdańsk: LM 12 (12), No. 583; LM 14 (14), No. 607; LM 224 (4), No. 238; AT 8, No. 41.
May 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Gdańsk: LM 12 (12), No. 582.
May 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14559, 14560.	
May 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14561, 14562.	
May 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14564, 14565.	
May 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14566, 14567.	
May 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14568, 14569.	
May 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14570, 14571.	
May 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gdańsk: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 78; LL 5, f. 302.
May 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 14573.	
May 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 14574.	
May 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gdańsk: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 32.
May 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14576, 14578.	
May 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 14579.	
May 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gdańsk: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 81; AT 8, No. 35.
May 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14580, 14581.	
May 28: MRPS 4/1, No. 4976 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from PANSKE, No. 9).	
May 29: EFE 34, No. 41 (PT's letter).	

<sup>195</sup> According to ULANOWSKI 1902, No. 806 (royal document, signature and *relatio* by PT), PT and the King were at the General Diet (*sejm walny*) in Piotrków on May 7.



May 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14582, 14583.	
Jun. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gdańsk: MRPS 4/1, No. 4977.
Jun. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14587–14589.	
Jun. 3: MRPS 4/1, No. 4978 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	The King visits the monastery in Oliwa: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 32. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jun. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14590–14592.	
Jun. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 14593.	
Jun. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14594–14596.	
Jun. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 14597.	
Jun. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gdańsk: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 99.
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4983, 4985 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 14598.	
Jun. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14599–14601.	
Jun. 12: MRPS 4/1, No. 4988 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 14602.	
Jun. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 14603.	
Jun. 14: MRPS 4/1, No. 4991 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Jun. 15: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4992, 4993 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14604, 14605.	
Jun. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 14606.	
Jun. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gdańsk: LM 14 (14), No. 36.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jun. 18: MRPS 4/1, Nos 4995–4997 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”).	
Jun. 19: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5000, 5003 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”).	
Jun. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14607–14609.	
Jun. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14610–14643, 14804 (in the last entry, place and date corrected from the transumpt in MRPS 5/1, No. 1299); MRPS 5/2, No. 8126 (transumpt of royal document witnessed by PT, date corrected from MK, witness list supplied from MK).	
Jun. 22: MRPS 4/1, No. 5005 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”).	
Jun. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 14644.	
Jun. 25: MRPS 4/1, No. 5006 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”).	
Jun. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gdańsk: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 110; LM 14 (14), No. 41.
Jun. 27 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Gdańsk: MRPS 4/1, No. 5008; tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 111; LM 14 (14), No. 616; EFE 30, No. 17.
Jun. 28: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5009, 5010 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”).	
Jun. 29: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5011–5013 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”).	

Jun. 30: MRPS 4/1, No. 5015 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14645, 14646.	
Jul. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gdańsk: ASK 1, RK 57, f. 32v.
Jul. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 14648.	
Jul. 4: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5018, 5019 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Jul. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 5020 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); CIDTC, IDL 292 (PT’s letter).	
Jul. 6: PANSKE, No. 10 (royal document witnessed by PT); CIDTC, IDL 295 (Jan Benedyktowicz Solfa’s letter, PT mentioned).	
Jul. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gdańsk: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5025–5027; tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 117; LM 12 (12), No. 584; LM 14 (14), No. 619.
Jul. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Gdańsk: LM 224 (4), No. 229; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.
Jul. 9: MPRS 5/2, No. 5849 (transumpt of royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> by PT, witness list and formula supplied from MK); AEp. Cr. 11, f. 108v (=f. 107v in old foliation).	The King is in Gdańsk: MRPS 4/1, No. 5029.
Jul. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 5033 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Jul. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 14651.	
Jul. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 14652.	
Jul. 13: MRPS 4/1, No. 5044 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 14: MRPS 4/1, No. 5046 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Jul. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Gdańsk: MRPS 4/1, No. 5048; AT 8, No. 161 (date corrected from TG, No. 637).
Jul. 16: MRPS 4/1, No. 5049 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14653–14655.	
Jul. 17: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5053, 5055 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14656, 14657; PIEKOSIŃSKI, No. 34 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jul. 18: MRPS 4/1, No. 5071 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from B. Ossol., perg. 980); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14658–14660.	
Jul. 19: MRPS 4/1, No. 5072 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Jul. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14661–14665.	
Jul. 21: MRPS 4/1, No. 5084 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14666–14670.	
Jul. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14671–14674, 14686 (the date in the last record corrected). <sup>196</sup>	

<sup>196</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 14686, and the corresponding entry in MK 40, p. 1, bear the date “Gdani, Dominica proxima post festum S. Iacobi Ap.” (Jul. 29), but the King was then in Malbork. The word

Jul. 23: AT 8, No. 50 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	The King departs from Gdańsk: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 39; Kod. Jag. 6, f. 135 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264. <sup>197</sup>
<b>1526 Jul. 23 to 24 — Tczew</b>	
Jul. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 14675.	The King's presence in Tczew on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Jul. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Jul. 23–24 in Tczew. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>198</sup>
<b>1526 Jul. 24 to 31 — Malbork</b>	
Jul. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Malbork: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 39, 114; AT 8, No. 129 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Jul. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 14676. <sup>199</sup>	
Jul. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14678–14680. <sup>200</sup>	
Jul. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14681–14683.	
Jul. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14684, 14685.	
Jul. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Malbork: APG, 300, 53/1, p. 39; EFE 30, No. 22.
Jul. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14687–14689.	
Jul. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 14690.	The King departs from Malbork: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 40v; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264. <sup>201</sup>

“post” should be then conjectured for “ante”, which gives the date consistent with the royal itinerary – Jul. 22.

<sup>197</sup> According to EMERYK, p. 222, and WAPOWSKI, p. 212, the King set out from Gdańsk on Jul. 24.

<sup>198</sup> According to GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King spent the night of Jul. 23–24 in Lichnowy, but the respective entry in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki indicates that this was the place where the Treasurer's household stayed overnight: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 39.

<sup>199</sup> According to LM 12 (12), Nos 589–691, and BEREZHKOVA, p. 202, the King was in Gdańsk on Jul. 25.

<sup>200</sup> According to BEREZHKOVA, p. 202, the King was in Gdańsk on Jul. 26.

<sup>201</sup> According to the commentary by Stanisław Górski, the King left Malbork on Jul. 30: AT 8, No. 129.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1526 Jul. 31 to Aug. 1 — Sztum</b>	
Jul. 31 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Sztum: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 40v, 114; MRPS 4/1, Nos 4950–4952 (date corrected), <sup>202</sup> 5103; APG, 300, 53/1, p. 45; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Aug. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 14698.	The King's presence in Sztum on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
<b>1526 Aug. 1 to 2 — Kwidzyn</b>	
Aug. 1 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kwidzyn: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 40v, 114 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Aug. 2 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Aug. 1–2 in Kwidzyn. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>203</sup>
<b>1526 Aug. 2 to 3 — Grudziądz</b>	
Aug. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14699–14803, 14805–14826 (in Nos 14700, 14703–14826, the date was silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski, whereas corresponding entries in MK 40, pp. 108, 113–136, lack it; it should be noted that discovering the full text of the documents might reveal a different date, as exemplified by No. 14804, which was not issued in Grudziądz on Aug. 2, but in Gdańsk on Jun. 21; see above, the information for Jun. 21).	The King's presence in Grudziądz on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, but the information is based solely on the misinterpreted entries in Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts (see n. 203) without consulting MRPS.
Aug. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Aug. 2–3 in Grudziądz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>204</sup>

<sup>202</sup> MRPS 4/1, Nos 4950–4952, and the corresponding entries in MK 42, f. 122v, are misdated “feria 3 ante festum S. Petri cathedra” (Feb. 20). The most probable conjecture and the same time consistent with the royal itinerary is based on the assumption that the scribe confused “Petri cathedra” (Feb. 22) with “Petri vincula” (Aug. 1). Such a modified reading gives Jul. 31.

<sup>203</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King spent the night of Aug. 1–2 in Grudziądz. The dates were derived from the misinterpreted entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 41.

<sup>204</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King spent the night of Aug. 2–3 in Chełmża. The dates were derived from the misinterpreted entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 41.

<b>1526 Aug. 3 to 4 — Chelmża</b>	
Aug. 3 – PT is presumably with the King. <sup>205</sup>	The King is in Chelmża: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 41, 114v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>206</sup>
Aug. 4 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Aug. 3–4 in Chelmża. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>207</sup>
<b>1526 Aug. 4 to 5 — Toruń</b>	
Aug. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 14829.	The King's presence in Toruń on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Aug. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Aug. 4–5 in Toruń. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Aug. 5 to 6 — Służewo</b>	
Aug. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Służewo: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 41v, 115; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Aug. 6 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Aug. 5–6 in Służewo. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Aug. 6 to 7 — Brześć Kujawski</b>	
Aug. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14830, 14831.	The King's presence in Brześć Kujawski on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264. <sup>208</sup>
Aug. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Aug. 6–7 in Brześć Kujawski. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>209</sup>
<b>1526 Aug. 7 to 8 — Gostynin</b>	
Aug. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Gostynin: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 32, and stays there: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 42, 115 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>205</sup> MRPS 4/2, Nos 14827 and 14828, record PT and the King in Toruń already on Aug. 3, but this information should be questioned, as it contradicts the other stages of the journey from Malbork to Sochaczew.

<sup>206</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King was in Toruń on Aug. 3. He followed the entries from MRPS, see n. 205.

<sup>207</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King spent the night of Aug. 3–4 in Toruń.

<sup>208</sup> PAWEŁ Z RAWY, f. 74v, records the fire in Brześć Kujawski that occurred before midnight on the night of Aug. 5–6, noting that it took place prior to the King's arrival in the city.

<sup>209</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King spent the night of Aug. 6–7 in Gostynin. The dates were derived from the misinterpreted entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 42.

Itinerary	Additional information
Aug. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Aug. 7–8 in Gostynin. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Aug. 8 to 9 — Gąbin</b>	
Aug. 8 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Gąbin: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 32, and stays there: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 42, 115 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Aug. 9 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Aug. 8–9 in Gąbin. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Aug. 9 to 24 — Sochaczew</b>	
Aug. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 14832. <sup>210</sup>	The King arrives in Sochaczew: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 32; ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 42, 115v; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Aug. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Sochaczew: LM 14 (14), No. 785; BEREZHKOVA, p. 202.
Aug. 11 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Sochaczew: AOff. Cr. 58, f. 572v (=p. 1144 in old pagination).
Aug. 12 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Sochaczew: MRPS 4/1, No. 5117.
Aug. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 14833.	
Aug. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 14834.	
Aug. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Sochaczew: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 133; EFE 30, No. 23. <sup>211</sup>
Aug. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14835–14838.	The King departs from Sochaczew towards Rawa: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 44. <sup>212</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Aug. 17 – the King is in Bolimów: MRPS 4/1, No. 5122. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Aug. 19 – the King is in Rawa: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 135. <sup>213</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>210</sup> AGAD, perg. 3739 (royal document, signature by PT), records PT and the King in Brześć Kujawski on Aug. 9.

<sup>211</sup> APG, 300, 53/1, p. 56, records the King in Bolimów on Aug. 16.

<sup>212</sup> LM 14 (14), No. 786, records the King in Toruń on Aug. 17 (date marked as questionable by the editors because it contradicts the royal itinerary).

<sup>213</sup> LM 14 (14), No. 817, records the King in Warszawa on Aug. 21 (date marked as questionable by the editors because it contradicts the royal itinerary).



	Aug. 22 – the King arrives in Sochaczew from Rawa: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 44v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki’s accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk, left Sochaczew for Rawa with the King), and stays there: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 134; LM 12 (12), Nos 593, 594; BEREZHKOVA, pp. 202, 203. Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264 (information about the stay, not the arrival).
	Aug. 23 – the King is in Sochaczew: MRPS 4/1, No. 5123; tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 134.
Aug. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 14839.	The King leaves Sochaczew for Błonie: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 32; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
<b>1526 Aug. 24 to 25 — Błonie</b>	
Aug. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Błonie: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 45v, 116v; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Aug. 25 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Aug. 24–25 in Błonie. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Aug. 25 to Sept. 23 — Warszawa</b>	
Aug. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Warszawa: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 45v, 117; DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 32; EMERYK, p. 222; WAPOWSKI, p. 212; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264, and stays there: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 135.
Aug. 28 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Warszawa: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 136; LM 12 (12), No. 595; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203. <sup>214</sup>
Aug. 29 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Warszawa: LM 14 (14), Nos 793, 796, 798, 803; GORCZAK 3, No. 302; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203.
Aug. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14840–14850.	
Sept. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 14852.	
Sept. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Warszawa: LM 12 (12), No. 597; LM 14 (14), No. 797; VMPL 2, No. 477.

<sup>214</sup> The royal document in LM 224 (4), No. 231, is dated for Gdańsk, 1526 Aug. 28, by the editors, but there was an obvious mistake in the dating clause in the manuscript. It reads “*feria 3 in crastina post [!] festum S. Bartholomei*”, but neither the day after the Feast of St Bartholomew (Aug. 25) nor the Tuesday after the Feast of St Bartholomew (Aug. 28) agrees with the royal itinerary.

Itinerary	Additional information
Sept. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14853, 14854.	
Sept. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 14855; GStA PK, Ostpr. Fol. 90, ff. 143–144v (Prussian envoy’s secret audience held in the presence of PT, as cited in SZYMANIAK, p. 44 and n. 29).	
Sept. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14856, 14857.	
Sept. 7 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Warszawa: DOGIEL 5, No. 103.
Sept. 8 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Warszawa: LM 7 (7), No. 294; LM 12 (12), No. 611.
Sept. 9 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Warszawa: LL 5, f. 331v; VMPL 2, No. 478.
Sept. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 14858.	
Sept. 12 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Warszawa: LM 12 (12), No. 600; APG, 300, 53/1, p. 60.
Sept. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14859, 14860.	
Sept. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14862, 14863.	
Sept. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Warszawa: LM 12 (12), Nos 601–603a, 610; LM 14 (14), Nos 799, 800.
Sept. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14864–14866.	
Sept. 17: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5126 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK), 5127 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 14867, 14868.	
Sept. 18 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Warszawa: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 138; LM 12 (12), Nos 604, 605, 765; LM 14 (14), No. 804; EFE 30, No. 28.
Sept. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14869–14878.	
Sept. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14879–14888; GROMNICKI, p. 406 (reports on the collection of Peter’s Pence, PT mentioned).	

Sept. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 14889.	
Sept. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 14890.	
Sept. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Warszawa: LM 12 (12), No. 609; LM 14 (14), Nos 808, 809; AGAD, pap. 525; IMT 3, No. 265; EFE 30, No. 30; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
<b>1526 Sept. 23 to 24 — Czersk</b>	
Sept. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14891, 14892.	The King's presence in Czersk on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
Sept. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Sept. 23–24 in Czersk. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>215</sup>
<b>1526 Sept. 24 to 25 — Warka</b>	
Sept. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Warka: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 54v, 119v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Sept. 25 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Sept. 24–25 in Warka. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1526 Sept. 25 to 26 — Radom</b>	
Sept. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Radom: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 119v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk); MRPS 4/1, No. 5135; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264. <sup>216</sup>
Sept. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	Sept. 26 – the King is in Radom: LM 14 (14), No. 812; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
<b>1526 Sept. 26 to ca. 29 — Iłża</b>	
Sept. 26 – PT hosts the King at the episcopal residence in Iłża: AT 8, No. 147 (Stanisław Górski's commentary, no exact date given).	The King is in Iłża: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 119v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>217</sup>

<sup>215</sup> According to GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King spent the night of Sept. 23–24 in Warka. The dates were derived from the misinterpreted entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 54v.

<sup>216</sup> GORCZAK 3, No. 306, records the King in Czersk on Sept. 25.

<sup>217</sup> According to GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King was in Kunów on Sept. 26, but the respective entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki indicate the place where the Treasurer's household stayed: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 55, 119v.

Itinerary	Additional information
Sept. 27: TOMASZEWICZ 1992, No. 95 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AT 8, Nos 179 (PT's letter, place supplied from internal evidence, date supplied from TG, No. 654), 180 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	The King is in Iłża: AT 8, No. 178; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
	Sept. 27 – the King is in Nowa Słupia: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 55, 119v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264. <sup>218</sup>
	Sept. 27–28 – the King spends the night in Nowa Słupia. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>219</sup>
	Sept. 28 – the King is in Łągów: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 55, 120 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Sept. 28–29 – the King spends the night in Łągów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
ca. Sept. 29 – PT departs from Iłża towards Kraków. <sup>220</sup>	Sept. 29 – the King is in Szydłów: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 55v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264. <sup>221</sup>
	Sept. 29–30 – the King spends the night in Szydłów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>218</sup> GORCZAK 3, No. 307, records the King in Czersk on Sept. 27.

<sup>219</sup> According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King spent the night of Sept. 27–28 in Łągów. The dates were derived from the misinterpreted entries in the accounts of Mikołaj Szydłowiecki: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 55.

<sup>220</sup> On Sept. 27, PT informed the Queen that he had to remain in Iłża for a few days due to personal issues and would soon follow the King to Kraków: AT 8, No. 180. As he arrived in Kraków two days after the King (see below, the information for Oct. 2 and 4), he likely stayed in Iłża for about two more days than the royal household.

<sup>221</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 14893, records PT and the King in Kraków on Sept. 29.

	Sept. 30 – the King is in Wiślica: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 120 (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Sept. 30–Oct. 1 – the King spends the night in Wiślica. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Oct. 1 – the King is in Proszowice: ASK 1, RK 61, ff. 55v, 120v (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki's accounts, the Treasurer accompanied the King from Gdańsk); GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264. <sup>222</sup>
	Oct. 1–2 – the King spends the night in Proszowice. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Oct. 2 – the King arrives in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 61, f. 56; BIEM I, f. 428; NOSKOWSKI, p. 416; SOKOLNICKI, f. Z <sub>11v</sub> – h. 18; AT 8, No. 180 (PT's letter to Queen Bona, expected day of arrival mentioned); EMERYK, p. 234; WAPOWSKI, p. 218; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
<b>1526 Oct. 4 to Dec. 8 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Oct. 4, h. 14 – PT arrives in Kraków: SOKOLNICKI, f. Z <sub>12</sub> .	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5136.
	Oct. 5 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), Nos 815, 816.
	Oct. 7 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 383.
Oct. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 14894.	
Oct. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14895–14897.	

<sup>222</sup> According to LM 14 (14), No. 814, and BEREZHKOVA, p. 203, the King was in Kraków on Oct. 1.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
ca. Oct. 11: AT 8, No. 185 (=BRODERICUS, No. 71, PT's letter, place and date supplied by Péter Kasza).	
Oct. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 14898.	
Oct. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14899, 14900.	
	Oct. 14 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 818.
Oct. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14901, 14902; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 111 (=f. 110 in old foliation).	
Oct. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14903, 14904.	
Oct. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 14905.	
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14906–14909.	
Oct. 19: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 112 (=f. 111 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AZ, 2999, f. 130; EFE 30, No. 31.
After Oct. 19: AT 9, No. 62 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Oct. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14910, 14911.	
Oct. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14912–14914.	
Oct. 22: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 112v (=f. 111v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5141.
	Oct. 24 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5142; RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, Nos 243, 244.
	Oct. 25 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5143, 5144.
Oct. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 14915.	
	Oct. 27 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5147–5149; LM 12 (12), No. 615; LM 14 (14), No. 820; EFE 30, No. 32.
Oct. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14916, 14917.	
Oct. 30: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 14v (=f. 11v in old foliation).	

Oct. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 14919.	
	Nov. 1 – the King is in Kraków: KAMMERER, p. 158.
Nov. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 14921; KAMMERER, pp. 159, 161 (diplomatic dispatch, PT mentioned).	
Nov. 3: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 113 (=f. 112 in old foliation).	
Nov. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 14922.	
Nov. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 14923; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 113v et seq. (=ff. 112v et seq. in old foliation).	
Nov. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 14924; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 114 et seq. (=ff. 113 et seq. in old foliation).	
Nov. 7: AOff. Cr. 112, f. 668v (=p. 1336 in old pagination, PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), Nos 794, 822.
	Nov. 9 – the King is in Kraków: SPPP 6, No. 369, p. 335.
	Nov. 10 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 620.
	Nov. 11 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5155.
	Nov. 13 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 823.
Nov. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14925–14928, 14931.	
Nov. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14933, 14935, 14937.	
Nov. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14938, 14939; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 118 (=f. 117 in old foliation); AT 8, No. 207 (PT's letter); AT 9, No. 16 (PT's letter).	
	Nov. 19 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5160.
Nov. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 14940.	

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Nov. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14941–14946; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 119 et seq. (=ff. 118 et seq. in old foliation).	
	Nov. 22 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5161.
Nov. 23: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 121v – date, 122 – record considered (=ff. 120v, 121 in old foliation).	
	Nov. 24 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 825; EFE 30, No. 33.
ca. Nov. 24: AT 8, Nos 115, 116 (PT's letters, place and date supplied from internal evidence and other sources).	
Nov. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14947–14949.	
	Nov. 27 – the King is in Kraków: EFE 30, No. 34.
	Nov. 28 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 829.
Nov. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14951–14954.	
Nov. 30: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 124v (=f. 123v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 830; LM 224 (4), No. 239.
Dec. 1: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 125 (=f. 124 in old foliation).	
	Dec. 4 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 832.
Dec. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 14956; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 125v et seq. (=ff. 124v et seq. in old foliation).	
Dec. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 14957.	
	Dec. 7 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5165, 5166.
Dec. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 14958.	
	Dec. 9 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5167; AT 8, No. 221 (place and date supplied from OS HHSA, Ungarische Akten Allgemeine Akten Fasc. 2. Konv. C. 148, as cited in <i>Viennese inventory</i> ).



	Dec. 10 – the King is in Kraków: EFE 30, No. 35.
<b>1526 Dec. 11 — Proszowice</b>	
PT presumably attends the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ).	The Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) was convoked on Dec. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 14929, and actually took place on that day: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 32.
<b>1526 Dec. 13 — Wiślica</b>	
PT attends the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ): AEp. Cr. 11, f. 128v (=f. 127v in old foliation).	The Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ) was convoked on Dec. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 14929, and actually took place on that day: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 32.
<b>1526 Dec. 18 — Dobrowoda</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 129 (=f. 128 in old foliation).	
	Dec. 27 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 621; CC 39, p. 885; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203.
	Dec. 29 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 838.
	Dec. 30 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 837; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203.
<b>1527 Jan. 1 to Sept. 11 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Jan. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 14959.	
	Jan. 2 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 622, 623; APG, 300, 53/2, pp. 1, 2, 6; AT 8, No. 105 (place and date supplied from EFE 30, No. 37); AT 9, No. 21 (=EFE 30, No. 36); BEREZHKOVA, p. 203.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14960–14977; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 130v (=f. 129v in old foliation); AT 9, No. 32 (=CIDTC, IDL 322, PT's letter).	
Jan. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 14979; APG, 300, 53/161, p. 3 (PT's letter).	
Jan. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14980–14985.	
Jan. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 14986.	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked in Kraków for that day: AT 9, Nos 1–5.
Jan. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 14988.	
	Jan. 11 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5169.
Jan. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 14989; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 130v (=f. 129v in old foliation).	
	Jan. 13 – the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) starts after that day: BIEM I, f. 432v. <sup>223</sup>
Jan. 14: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 131v (=f. 130v in old foliation).	
Jan. 15: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 132 (=f. 131 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków; the Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, No. 5170. <sup>224</sup>
Jan. 16: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 132v et seq. (=ff. 131v et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 792.
Jan. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 624; SPPP 6, p. 23.
Jan. 18 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: LM 25 (25), Nos 193, 197; SPPP 6, Nos 324–327.

<sup>223</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 37; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 11; and *Postłowie*, p. 71, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) commenced on Jan. 11. This is based on the date of the first document dated *in conventione* in MRPS 4/1, No. 5169. However, the corresponding entry in the record book, MK 42, f. 201, does not contain such a formula. For the first entry dated *in conventione*, see the additional information for Jan. 15.

<sup>224</sup> The earliest entry dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by PT is from Jan. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 14991.

Jan. 19 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5171; LM 14 (14), No. 841; SPPP 6, No. 328; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203.
Jan. 20: MRPS 5/1, No. 2679 (transumpt of royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT, witness list and formulas supplied from MK).	
Jan. 22 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5172; tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 155; LM 14 (14), No. 44; SPPP 6, p. 23.
Jan. 23 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 625; SPPP 6, No. 329.
Jan. 24: KACZMARCZYK, No. 401 (PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: SPPP 6, Nos 332–337.
Jan. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 14991, 14992.	
Jan. 26: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 134, 138 (=ff. 133, 137 in old foliation); KIRYK, No. 123 (PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5173–5175.
Jan. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 842; AT 9, No. 39 (=ANP 2, No. 30, p. 30, date supplied by Zygmunt Celichowski, place supplied by Henryk Damian Wojtyska).
Jan. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 14993; AGAD, perg. 1383 (=tzw. ML, IV B 17, p. 152, royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 136v – date, 137 – record considered (=ff. 135v, 136 in old foliation).	
Jan. 31: AT 9, No. 40 (=EFE 34, No. 66, PT's letter, place supplied from internal evidence).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5176–5178; LM 14 (14), No. 843.
Feb. 1: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 137 – date, 137v – record considered (=ff. 136, 136v in old foliation).	
Feb. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 14994.	
Feb. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: POECIHA 2, p. 552, n. 266.

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 14995.	
Feb. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 827.
Feb. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 14996.	
Feb. 7: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 138v et seq. (=ff. 137v et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5179.
Feb. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 14997.	
Feb. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5180.
Feb. 10 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5181.
Feb. 13: MRPS 4/1, No. 5182 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Feb. 14 – PT hosts academics at his home to celebrate the promotion of bachelors and masters: SOKOLNICKI, f. $\text{CA}_{3v}$ .	
Feb. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5185–5187.
Feb. 17 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5188, 5189; LM 12 (12), No. 627.
Feb. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 14998; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 140v (=f. 139v in old foliation); AT 9, No. 51 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from OS HHSA, Ungarische Akten Allgemeine Akten Fasc. 3. Konv. B. 52–53, as cited in <i>Viennese inventory</i> ).	
Feb. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 14999; CDUJ 4, No. 363 (=KACZMARCZYK, No. 403, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
Feb. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 15000.	
Feb. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15001, 15002.	

Feb. 22: MRPS 4/1, No. 5202 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from AGAD, perg. 1990); MRPS 4/2, No. 15003.	
Feb. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 15004.	
Feb. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15005–15008; AT 9, No. 53 (PT's letter, day-date supplied from OS HHSA Ungarische Akten Allgemeine Akten Fasc. 3. Konv. B. 92–93, as cited in <i>Viennese inventory</i> ).	
Feb. 25: MRPS 4/1, No. 5205 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15009–15011.	
Feb. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 15012.	
Shortly after Feb. 26: AT 9, No. 66 (=BRODERICUS, No. 81, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Feb. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15013, 15014; AT 9, No. 56 (=EFE 34, No. 70, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter, PT mentioned).	
Feb. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15015–15020; AT 9, No. 69 (place and date supplied from EFE 34, No. 71, PT's letter).	
Mar. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15022–15024.	
Mar. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15025–15028; AEp. Cr. 14, f. 15v (=f. 12v in old foliation).	
Mar. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 243.
Mar. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 15029.	
Mar. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 15030.	
Mar. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15031–15033; OS HHSA, Ungarische Akten Allgemeine Akten Fasc. 3. Konv. C. 41–42 (PT's letter, as cited in <i>Viennese inventory</i> ).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Mar. 10: DŁUGOPOLSKI, No. 100 (PT's document).	
Mar. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15034, 15035; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 142 (=f. 141 in old foliation); BN, BOZ, 148, p. 98 (cartulary of the Abbey of Wąchock, PT's document).	
Mar. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15036–15041; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 142v (=f. 141v in old foliation).	
Mar. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 15042.	
After Mar. 13: AT 9, No. 116 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Mar. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15043, 15044; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 142v et seq. (=ff. 141v et seq. in old foliation).	
Mar. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15045, 15046.	
Mar. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 15047; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 144v (=f. 143v in old foliation).	
Mar. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5211; LM 12 (12), No. 630.
Mar. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15048–15050.	
Mar. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15051–15059, 15061–15064; NABIALEK et al., No. 321 (royal document, witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus, relatio</i> and signature by PT); AEp. Cr. 11, f. 145v (=f. 144v in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529, No. 92 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	
Mar. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15065–15067. <sup>225</sup>	

<sup>225</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 37; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 11; and *Postowie*, p. 71, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) proceeded until Mar. 20, but the source of this information is unknown.

Mar. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 15068; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 146v (=f. 145v in old foliation).	
Mar. 22: AOff. Cr. 60, f. 57 (=p. 111 in old pagination, PT's document).	
Mar. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15069–15071.	
Mar. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 15073.	
Mar. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 15074.	
Mar. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15075–15079.	
Mar. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 15080; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 146v et seq. (=ff. 145v et seq. in old foliation).	
Mar. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15081, 15082.	
Mar. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15083–15092; GORCZAK 5, No. 149 (royal document, information about <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT supplied from NIEWODNICZAŃSKI, No. 166).	
Mar. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15093–15104, 15232 (No. 15232 – date corrected from KACZMARCZYK, No. 405); AOff. Cr. 59, f. 265 (=p. 527 in old pagination, royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 245 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
Mar. 31: AOff. Cr. 59, f. 211 (=p. 419 in old pagination, royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Apr. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15107–15136, 15138–15144.	
Apr. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15145, 15146, 15148–15160; <sup>226</sup> PIEKOSIŃSKI, No. 24 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); WIERZBOWSKI 1913, No. 32 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	

<sup>226</sup> In MRPS 4/2, No. 15147, the date of Apr. 2 was silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski, as the corresponding entry in MK 40, p. 547, lacks a date.

Itinerary	Additional information
Shortly after Apr. 2: AT 9, No. 112 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15161, 15163–15167; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 149 et seq. (=ff. 148 et seq. in old foliation).	
Apr. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 634, 635 (No. 635=LM 25 (25), No. 186).
Apr. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15168–15173; RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 248 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Apr. 6 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 3, No. 314.
Apr. 7 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: IMT 3, No. 273; GORCZAK 3, Nos 315, 316.
Apr. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15175–15181.	
Apr. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15182, 15183; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 152 et seq. (=ff. 151 et seq. in old foliation); AT 9, No. 119 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15162 (date corrected from KUPCHYNSKY & RUZH-YTSKY, No. 405), <sup>227</sup> 15184, 15185.	The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, No. 15184. <sup>228</sup>
Apr. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15186–15192; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 153v (=f. 152v in old foliation).	
	Apr. 13 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 50.

<sup>227</sup> The date in MRPS 4/2, No. 15162, was silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski as Apr. 3. The corresponding entry in MK 40, p. 581, has no dating clause. Wierzbowski repeated the date from the previous entry in the record book: MRPS 4/2, No. 15161.

<sup>228</sup> Chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki left Kraków on Feb. 26 (DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 33, cf. LUBCZYŃSKI & PIELAS, p. 557), prior to the conclusion of the General Diet (*sejm walny*). Consequently, only up until that day, documents dated *in conventione* could be recorded in the register under his supervision.



	Apr. 15 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), Nos 52, 53.
Apr. 16: MRPS 4/1, No. 5216 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from AGAD, perg. 3741); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15193, 15194.	
	Apr. 17 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 637; EFE 30, No. 43.
	Apr. 18 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 863.
Apr. 20: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 154 – date, 154v – record considered (=ff. 153, 153v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5218; GORCZAK 3, No. 317.
Apr. 21: WIŚNIEWSKI 1927, pp. 138–139 (PT’s document).	
	Apr. 25 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 636.
Apr. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15195–15197.	
Apr. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 15198; LM 18 (18), No. 146 (Stanisław Kieżgajło’s document witnessed by PT).	
Apr. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15199–15203; CC 48, p. 53 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
	Apr. 30 – the King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 3, No. 318.
After Apr. 30: AT 8, Nos 117–119 (PT’s letters, place and date supplied from internal evidence); AT 10, Nos 25, 29 (PT’s letters, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
	May 1 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 831.
	May 2 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 864.
May 4: LM 18 (18), No. 144 (Stanisław Kieżgajło’s document witnessed by PT).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 640.

Itinerary	Additional information
May 7: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 154v et seq. (=ff. 153v et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AT 9, No. 157.
May 9: AT 9, No. 162 (PT's letter, date supplied by Zygmunt Celichowski).	The King is in Kraków: AT 9, No. 161 (=EFE 30, No. 44).
May 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 15204.	
May 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15205, 15206.	
May 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 15207.	
May 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15208–15216; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 158 (=f. 157 in old foliation).	
May 16: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 158 et seq. (=ff. 157 et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AT 9, No. 136 (date supplied from OS HHSA, Ungarische Akten, Allgemeine Akten, Fasc. 4, Konv. B. 52, as cited in <i>Viennese inventory</i> ).
May 20: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 159 (=f. 158 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5220; LM 14 (14), No. 867.
May 21: AT 9, No. 174 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5221.
May 22: AT 9, No. 172 (=EFE 34, No. 73, PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5222; AT 9, No. 173; SPPP 6, No. 418.
May 23: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 159v (=f. 158v in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529, No. 114 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	
May 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15217–15219.	
May 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15220–15222; TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 845 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AT 9, No. 176 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	

May 26: AT 9, No. 177 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
May 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 15223; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 160 (=f. 159 in old foliation).	
May 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 15224; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 160 – date, 160v – record considered, 166 (=ff. 159, 159v, 165 in old foliation).	
	May 29 – the King is in Kraków: AT 9, No. 178 (=EFE 30, No. 46).
May 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15225, 15226; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 160v et seq. (=ff. 159v et seq. in old foliation).	
Jun. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 15234.	
Jun. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 15235; KUMOR 1960, No. 6 (PT's document).	
Jun. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 15236.	
	Jun. 5 – the King is in Kraków: CC 40, p. 66.
Jun. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 15237; OS HHSA, Allgemeine Akten, Fasc. 4, ff. 58–61 (Georg von Logschau's letter, as cited in POCIECHA 2, p. 569, n. 286, PT mentioned).	
Jun. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15239–15241; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 162v et seq. (=ff. 161v et seq. in old foliation).	
Jun. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 15242; AOff. Cr. 60, f. 165v (=p. 328 in old pagination, royal document, signature by PT).	
Jun. 9: OS HHSA, Allgemeine Akten, Fasc. 4, ff. 69–71 (Georg von Logschau's letter, as cited in POCIECHA 2, p. 571, n. 287, PT mentioned).	
	Jun. 10 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), Nos 644, 645.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
	Jun. 11 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 642.
Jun. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15243, 15244.	
Jun. 13: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 163v (=f. 162v in old foliation).	The Diocesan Synod of Kraków: BJ, 2931, ff. 41–41v (PT's letter, n.d., date of the planned synod mentioned).
	Jun. 14 – the King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 3, No. 320.
Jun. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 15245; AAWO, AB, D. 33, f. 31 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 15246.	
Jun. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 15247; CIDTC, IDL 363 (PT's letter).	
	Jun. 19 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 871.
	Jun. 20 – the King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 643; LM 14 (14), Nos 868, 872.
Jun. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15248–15250; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 157v (=f. 156v in old foliation).	
Jun. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 15251.	
	Jun. 23 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), Nos 873, 874.
Jun. 25: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 168 (=f. 167 in old foliation).	
Jun. 26: BK, 228, pp. 293, 295 (PT's document).	
Shortly after Jun. 26 and before Jun. 30: AT 9, No. 213 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jun. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15252, 15253.	
Jun. 28: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 168v (=f. 167v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AT 9, No. 211.

Jun. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15254–15256.	
Jun. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 15257.	
Jul. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15263–15265.	
	Jul. 2 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 858; CC 40, p. 67; AGZ 10, No. 388.
Jul. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15266–15268; EFE 34, No. 76 (PT’s letter).	PT is absent from the Provincial Synod in Łęczycza held on Jul. 3: ULANOWSKI 1895, pp. 9, 41. <sup>229</sup>
Jul. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 15269.	The King leaves Kraków for Niepołomice with Queen Bona: SOKOLNICKI, f. CA <sub>9</sub> , <sup>230</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 6: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 168v – date, 169 – record considered (=ff. 167v, 168 in old foliation).	The King is in Niepołomice: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5227, 5228; GORCZAK 5, No. 161, p. 198 (endorsed with place and date of receipt). <sup>231</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 8: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 170 et seq. (=ff. 169 et seq. in old foliation).	
Jul. 9: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 172 et seq. (=ff. 171 et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Niepołomice: LM 14 (14), No. 879 (the editors unnecessarily marked the date as questionable, alleging it contradicts the royal itinerary). <sup>232</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 10: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 173 (=f. 172 in old foliation).	
Jul. 11: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 174 et seq. (=ff. 173 et seq. in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 20 (=f. 19 in old foliation).	

<sup>229</sup> SUBERA 1971, p. 104, and SUBERA 1981, p. 83, erroneously assign the day of the synod as Tuesday following the Feast of Visitation. The Feast actually fell on Tuesday in 1527, and “Dies Mercurii” mentioned in the synod’s resolutions is certainly a Wednesday, not Tuesday.

<sup>230</sup> While the unclear entry in the diary of Mikołaj Sokolnicki could be referring to either Jul. 3 or Jul. 4, it is unlikely that the King was in Niepołomice for the whole day of Jul. 4 as his stay in Kraków on that day is well-documented. In addition to the cited entry in the record book supervised by PT (MRPS 4/2, No. 15269), the dating clauses of two other documents and a letter confirm the King’s presence in Kraków on Jul. 4: MRPS 4/1, No. 5226; ASK VI, KA 1, f. 13; and APG, 300, 53/11, p. 31.

<sup>231</sup> CC 40, p. 71 (royal document), records the King in Kraków on Jul. 6.

<sup>232</sup> LM 12 (12), No. 646, records the King in Kraków on Jul. 9.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Jul. 13: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 175 (=f. 174 in old foliation).	The King arrives in Kraków from Niepołomice: SOKOLNICKI, f. CA <sub>9</sub> . Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 15: MRPS 4/1, No. 5229 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); SOKOLNICKI, f. CA <sub>9</sub> .	
	Jul. 17 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 878.
Jul. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15270–15272.	
Jul. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15273–15275; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 175v – date, 176 et seq. – records considered (=ff. 174v, 175 et seq. in old foliation).	
	Jul. 22 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 389.
	Jul. 23 – the King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), No. 880.
	Jul. 24 – the King is in Kraków: SROKA 5, No. 1056.
	Jul. 26 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 249.
Jul. 27: APG, 300, 53/161, p. 7 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: LM 14 (14), Nos 882, 896.
Jul. 28: AT 9, No. 233 (PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 390.
Jul. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15276, 15349 (No. 15349 – date corrected from AGZ 10, No. 391=KAPRAL, No. 129); AEp. Cr. 11, f. 177 (=f. 176 in old foliation).	
Jul. 30: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 177v et seq. (=ff. 176v et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5235.
	Jul. 31 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5236; LM 12 (12), No. 648.
	Aug. 1 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), Nos 248, 251; IMT 3, No. 274.
Aug. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 15277.	

Aug. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15279–15281; GORCZAK 5, No. 162 (royal document, information about <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT supplied from NIEWODNICZAŃSKI, No. 172).	
Aug. 6: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 178 et seq. (=ff. 177 et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 12 (12), No. 652; IMT 3, No. 275.
Aug. 7: MRPS 4/1, No. 5240 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from AGAD, perg. 3742); MRPS 4/2, No. 15282.	
Aug. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 15283.	
Aug. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 15284.	
Aug. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15285–15290.	
ca. Aug. 10: AT 9, No. 138 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Aug. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 15291.	
Aug. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 179 – date, 179v – record considered (=ff. 178, 178v in old foliation).	
Aug. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15292, 15293.	
Aug. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15294–15297.	
	Aug. 15 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5242; AT 9, No. 247 (=CIDTC, IDL 361).
ca. Aug. 15: AT 9, No. 246 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Aug. 16: CIDTC, IDL 363 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5243, and departs from there for hunting in Niepołomice with Queen Bona: AT 9, No. 248 (=CIDTC, IDL 362, Jan Zambocki's letter). <sup>233</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. It is not excluded that PT accompanied the King to Niepołomice. See below, n. 237.
	Aug. 19 – the King is in Niepołomice: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 156. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>233</sup> FASTNACHT, No. 79, records the King in Kraków on Aug. 18.

Itinerary	Additional information
Aug. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 15298.	
Aug. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15299–15303.	
Aug. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 15304.	
Aug. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15305–15307; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 179v – date corrected, <sup>234</sup> 180v – record considered (=ff. 178v, 179v in old foliation).	
Aug. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15308, 15309; AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 181 et seq. (=ff. 180 et seq. in old foliation).	
Aug. 29: CC 40, p. 77 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT); AEp. Cr. 11, f. 182 (=f. 181 in old foliation).	
Aug. 30: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 182v et seq. (=ff. 181v et seq. in old foliation), cf. URBAN 2001, No. 8 (summary of one of the entries, place supplied by Waclaw Urban).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5245; CC 40, p. 74.
	Sept. 1 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5246; AT 9, No. 273. <sup>235</sup>
Sept. 1/2: AT 9, No. 275 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence). <sup>236</sup>	Due to the fear of the growing plague, the Queen, with her household, left Kraków for Niepołomice, and the King plans to follow her this week. PT and the members of the royal court will also depart from the capital, each in the direction that seems most convenient: PT's letter to Maciej Drzewicki, as referenced on the left.

<sup>234</sup> The heading for the group of records reads “Lunae XXVII Augusti” (AEp. Cr. 11, f. 179 =f. 178 in old foliation). However, this is incorrect since 1527 Aug. 27 falls on a Tuesday. The day of the month was likely mistakenly recorded, as the subsequent group of records is correctly dated as “Martis XXVII Augusti” (ibidem, f. 181=f. 180 in old foliation).

<sup>235</sup> LM 1 (1), No. 476, records the King in Niepołomice on Sept. 1.

<sup>236</sup> The letter mentions the Queen's departure occurred on the day of sending. According to the note in the records of the Consistory Court of Kraków (AOff. Cr. 43, f. 436v=p. 868 in old pagination), the Queen left Kraków on Sept. 2. However, the letter refers to the response given to the Hungarian envoy, which also took place on the day of sending. This response is dated Sept. 1 (AT 9, No. 273) and the date appears reliable as it is supplied on the rough draft in PT's handwriting (TG, No. 843).



	Sept. 2 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5247.
Sept. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15310–15312.	
Sept. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 15313.	
Sept. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15314, 15315; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 185 (=f. 184 in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 35 (=f. 34 in old foliation).	
Sept. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15316, 15318–15320.	
Sept. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15321–15326, 15329–15336 (No. 15356 – date supplied from KACZMARCZYK, No. 406), 15481 (date supplied from tzw. ML, IV B 17, p. 276); SZACHERSKA, No. 371 (royal document witnessed by PT); OS HHSA, Ungarische Akten Allgemeine Akten Fasc. 6. Konv. A., ff. 70–73 (Georg von Logschau’s letter, as cited in POCIECHA 2, n. 292, p. 576, PT mentioned). <sup>237</sup>	The King leaves Kraków: AOff. Cr. 43, f. 438v (=p. 872 in old pagination, note in the records of the Consistory Court of Kraków). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>238</sup>

<sup>237</sup> Several documents wrongly suggest PT’s presence at the royal court in Niepołomice during the King’s stay there in September and October of 1527, contradicting the Vice-Chancellor’s itinerary.

1) MRPS 4/2, No. 15340, records PT’s presence at the royal court in Niepołomice on Sept. 30. The document has a *relatio* by PT.

2) MRPS 4/2, No. 15357, records PT’s presence at the royal court in Niepołomice on Oct. 12. It is to be noted that the corresponding entry in MK 43, p. 154, does not contain the full text of the document, but only its summary, which increases the likelihood of a mistake.

3) MRPS 4/2, No. 15358, records PT’s presence at the royal court in Niepołomice in October. The month-date is silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski, as the corresponding entry in MK 43, p. 161, has no such information. As in the entry discussed above, the full text of the document is missing from MK and is substituted by the summary. Almost all chancellery formulas are omitted, except for the *relatio* by PT.

Although the documents appear misdated, when considered together, they provide relevant evidence that PT could have accompanied the King to Niepołomice during one of his earlier stays in 1527, even though no direct evidence has been found. The stay in Jul. 4–13 can be ruled out, as PT’s presence in Kraków is well-documented during that period. PT could have travelled with the King to the hunting lodge near the capital between Aug. 16–19, for which there is no evidence of his stay in Kraków. However, this hypothesis is based on weak grounds, as it is likely that not all of the King’s shorter trips to Niepołomice in 1527 have been recorded.

<sup>238</sup> According to GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King left Kraków after Sept. 12. He mistakenly considered the decree of the High Court of German Law at the Royal Castle of Wawel, dated Sept. 12, as a royal document. See MRPS 4/1, No. 5252.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
After Sept. 7: AT 9, No. 311 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Sept. 9: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 185v et seq. (=ff. 184v et seq. in old foliation).	
	Sept. 10 – the King is in Niepołomice: WALCZAK, p. 221. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Sept. 11 – PT leaves Kraków due to the plague (“propter vim pestilentiam”): AOff. Cr. 43, f. 439 (=p. 873 in old pagination, note in the records of the Consistory Court of Kraków).	The King is in Niepołomice: LM 12 (12), No. 655; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Sept. 12 – the King is in Niepołomice: LM 12 (12), No. 656. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Sept. 14 – the King is in Niepołomice: LM 12 (12), No. 657; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
<b>1527 Sept. 16 to 17 — Wawrzeńczyce</b>	
Sept. 16: APG, 300, 53/161, p. 11 (PT's letter).	The King is in Niepołomice: LM 12 (12), No. 657; NABIAŁEK et al., No. 324; AT 8, Nos 122, 124 (year-date supplied from internal evidence). The King left Kraków due to the fear of the prevalent plague and decided to stay with very few people for now. PT moved away to the episcopal estates: PT's letter to Gdańsk, as referenced on the left .
Sept. 17: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 186v (=f. 185v in old foliation).	PT's absence in Kraków on that day is additionally confirmed by Jan Zambocki's letter to him sent from the capital: AT 9, No. 297.
<b>1527 ca. Sept. 17 — Szczepanów</b>	
AT 9, No. 298 (PT's letter, travel to Szczepanów mentioned).	On Sept. 17, PT crossed the river Vistula on the way to Szczepanów. He most likely arrived at the destination that day: PT's letter to Piotr Kmita, as referenced on the left.

<b>1527 Sept. 21 to Oct. 29 — Radłów</b>	
Sept. 21: AT 9, No. 298 (PT's letter).	
	Sept. 30 – the King is in Niepołomice: LM 7 (7), No. 256; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203. <sup>239</sup>
Oct. 2: AAWO, AB, D. 33, f. 33 (PT's letter).	Due to the fear of the plague, the King and all the Royal Council members dispersed from Kraków to wherever they could most conveniently. PT is hiding from the pestilence in the episcopal estate called Radłów: AAWO, AB, D. 33, f. 32 (PT's letter to Mauritius Ferber). The King is in Niepołomice: LM 1 (1), Nos 121, 149, 249, 583; LM 12 (12), No. 660.
	Oct. 3 – the King is in Niepołomice: LM 12 (12), No. 658.
Oct. 4: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 187 (=f. 186 in old foliation).	The King is in Niepołomice: LM 14 (14), p. 255 (heading for the group of records).
	Oct. 6 – the King is in Niepołomice: LM 12 (12), No. 659; LM 18 (18), No. 122; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203.
	Oct. 7 – the King is in Niepołomice: CC 40, p. 78.
	Oct. 10 – the King is in Niepołomice: LM 14 (14), No. 623; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203. <sup>240</sup>
Oct. 15: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 187v (=f. 186v in old foliation). <sup>241</sup>	
	Oct. 16 – the King is in Niepołomice: CC 41, p. 125. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 17: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 188 (=f. 187 in old foliation).	The King is in Niepołomice: AGZ 10, No. 394. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Oct. 20 – the King is in Niepołomice: GORCZAK 3, No. 329. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>239</sup> Although MRPS 4/2, No. 15340, also records the King's presence in Niepołomice on that day, it is probably misdated because it contradicts the Vice-Chancellor's itinerary.

<sup>240</sup> Although MRPS 4/2, No. 15357, records the King's presence in Niepołomice on Oct. 12, it is probably misdated because it contradicts the Vice-Chancellor's itinerary, cf. n. 237.

<sup>241</sup> KRZYŻANOWSKI, No. 482 (PT's document), records PT in Kraków on Oct. 14.

Itinerary	Additional information
Oct. 21: AT 9, No. 317 (PT's letter).	PT moved to Radłów due to the plague, which spread throughout the Kraków diocese: AT 9, No. 317, p. 320 (PT's letter to Łukasz Górka). The King departs from Niepołomice towards Radom via Wawrzeńczyce: AT 9, No. 317 (travel mentioned). Cf. GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264 (information about the stay in Wawrzeńczyce, not the departure from Niepołomice). <sup>242</sup>
	Oct. 21–22 – the King spends the night in Wawrzeńczyce: AT 9, No. 317 (stay mentioned). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Oct. 22 – the King is in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5255, 5256; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
	Oct. 22–23 – the King spends the night in Nowe Miasto Korczyn.
Oct. 28: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 189 (=f. 188 in old foliation).	
Oct. 29: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 189v (=f. 188v in old foliation).	
Nov. 3 – PT is absent from the royal court: EFE 34, No. 84 (Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter, PT's absence mentioned).	The King is in Radom: VMPL 2, No. 488. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Nov. 7 – the King is in Radom: AT 9, No. 321; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.
<b>1527 Nov. 12 — Słomniki</b>	
PT attends the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ): AEp. Cr. 11, f. 189v (=f. 188v in old foliation).	The date of the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) in Słomniki remained unknown until now, cf. AT 9, Nos 285, 286; TG, No. 3410; <i>Postowie</i> , p. 72.
	Nov. 13 – the King is in Radom: LM 14 (14), No. 634; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264.

<sup>242</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 264, only mentions the King's stay in Niepołomice until Oct. 12. The information about the King's presence in Niepołomice on Oct. 12 is based on probably misdated entry in MRPS, see nn. 237, 240.

<b>[1527 Nov. 14 — Nowe Miasto Korczyn]</b>	
[PT probably attends the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny malopolski</i> ): PT was obligated to participate in the assembly as a member of the Royal Council.]	The Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny malopolski</i> ) was convoked on Nov. 14: AT 9, No. 287.
<b>1527 Nov. 16 — Dobrowoda</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 190 (=f. 189 in old foliation).	
	Nov. 18 – the King is in Radom: GORCZAK 3, No. 330. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>243</sup>
	Nov. 20 – the King is in Radom: GORCZAK 3, No. 331. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1527 Nov. 21 — Kielce</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 190v (=f. 189v in old foliation).	PT's presence in Kielce on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 537.
	Nov. 22 – the King is in Radom: GORCZAK 3, Nos 331, 332. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Nov. 25 – the King arrives in Piotrków: NAROPIŃSKI, p. 224; SKRODZKI, f. CA <sub>12v</sub> . <sup>244</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>245</sup> The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked on that day: AT 9, Nos 285–289.
<b>1527 Nov. 29 to 1528 Feb. 20 — Piotrków</b>	
Nov. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 15360. <sup>246</sup>	The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, No. 15360. <sup>247</sup>

<sup>243</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264, only mentions the King's stay in Radom until Nov. 13.

<sup>244</sup> According to AT 9, p. 341 (Stanisław Górski's commentary), the King arrived in Piotrków on Nov. 24.

All copies of the commentary originating from Górski contain this same date, see AT 9, p. 341, n. 3, and Kod. Jag. 7, p. 7.

<sup>245</sup> According to GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 264, the King arrived in Piotrków on Nov. 24. This is based on the information from Stanisław Górski's commentary. See n. 244.

<sup>246</sup> In MRPS 4/2, No. 15359, the date of Nov. 29 is silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski, as the corresponding entry in MK 43, p. 162, lacks a date.

<sup>247</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 38; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; and *Posłowie*, p. 71, consider that day as the commencement of the General Diet (*sejm walny*).

The earliest entry dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki is from Dec. 2: MRPS 4/1, No. 5260.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Dec. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5260.
Dec. 3 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: AT 10, No. 7; AGZ 10, No. 395.
Dec. 4 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: LM 14 (14), No. 898; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203.
Dec. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15361, 15362.	
Dec. 6: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5261, 5262 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15364, 15365.	
Dec. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15366, 15367.	
Dec. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15368, 15369.	
Dec. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: LM 14 (14), No. 624; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203.
Dec. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 15370.	
Dec. 13: MRPS 4/1, No. 5264 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, No. 15371.	
Dec. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5265, 5266.
Dec. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 15372.	
Dec. 16: MRPS 4/1, No. 5267 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15373, 15374.	
Dec. 17: POCIECHA 2, app. 14, p. 451 (Georg von Logschau’s letter, PT mentioned).	
Dec. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 15375; AT 11, No. 14 (=EFE 34, No. 91, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki’s letter, PT mentioned); EFE 34, No. 90 (PT’s letter).	

ca. Dec. 18: AT 10, No. 16 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Shortly after Dec. 18: AT 10, No. 17 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Dec. 19: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5272–5274 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – „praesentibus ut supra”).	
Dec. 20: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5275, 5276 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 15376.	
Dec. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: APG, 300, 53/11, p. 49.
Dec. 23 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5277.
Dec. 24 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5278, 5279; APG, 300, 53/2, p. 61.
Dec. 26 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5280.
Dec. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 15377; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 192v (=f. 191v in old foliation).	
Dec. 28 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: LM 14 (14), No. 626; GORCZAK 3, No. 336.
Dec. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15378–15380.	
Dec. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5283; LM 14 (14), Nos 631, 632; IMT 3, No. 282; AGZ 10, No. 397; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203.
Dec. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 15381; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 194 (=f. 193 in old foliation); AT 10, No. 23 (PT's letter, date supplied from AAWO, AB, D. 33, f. 46).	

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1528</b>	
Jan. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15382–15387.	
Jan. 2 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5284–5286; LM 14 (14), No. 633; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203.
Jan. 3: MRPS 4/1, No. 5285 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15388, 15389.	
Jan. 4: MRPS 4/1, No. 5287 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from B. Ossol., perg. 634); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15390–15393.	
Jan. 6 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: AT 10, No. 36.
Jan. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 15394.	
Jan. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15395–15402.	
Shortly after Jan. 8: AT 10, No. 42 (PT’s letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jan. 9: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5292 (royal document, PT mentioned), 5293, 5294 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15403–15409; MRPS 4/3, No. 23244 (transumpt of royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT, formulas supplied from MK).	
Jan. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 15410; AT 10, No. 46 (PT and others’ letter).	
Jan. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15411, 15412.	
Jan. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 15413; GROMNICKI, p. 405 (reports on the collection of Peter’s Pence, PT mentioned).	



Jan. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15414–15417.	
Jan. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 5296 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15418–15420; APG, 300, 53/10, p. 1 (royal document, signature by PT); AEp. Cr. 11, f. 195 (=f. 194 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 9).	
Jan. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15421–15430.	
Jan. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15431–15433.	
Jan. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15434–15437; TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 849 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jan. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15438, 15439; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 195 (=f. 194 in old foliation).	
Jan. 22: EFE 34, Nos 99 (Krzysztof Szydłowiecki’s letter, PT mentioned), 100 (PT’s letter).	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5299.
Jan. 24: MRPS 4/1, No. 5300 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from SZACHERSKA, No. 372); MRPS 4/2, No. 15440; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 195 (=f. 194 in old foliation); AT 10, Nos 3 (place and date supplied from EFE 34, No. 101, PT and Krzysztof Szydłowiecki’s letter), 55 (PT letter), 58 (=VMPL 2, No. 490, PT’s and others’ letter, date supplied by Zygmunt Celichowski).	
Shortly after Jan. 24: AT 10, No. 61 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Jan. 25: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5304, 5305 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witnessed lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15441–15445; WIŚNIEWSKI 1911, p. 21 <sup>bis</sup> (=WYROZUMSKA, No. 28=KIRYK, No. 124, royal document, signature by PT).	
Jan. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5308.
Jan. 27: MRPS 4/1, No. 5309 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); AEp. Cr. 11, f. 195v (=f. 194v in old foliation).	
Jan. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15446, 15447.	
Jan. 29: MRPS 4/1, No. 5315 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Jan. 30 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5317; LM 14 (14), Nos 635, 636; AGZ 10, No. 364; APG, 300, 53/3, p. 6.
Jan. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 15448; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 198v (=f. 197v in old foliation).	
Feb. 1: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 196 (=f. 195 in old foliation).	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5320, 5321.
Feb. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15451–15453.	
Feb. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15454–15459.	
Feb. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15460–15479.	
Feb. 5 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5334.
ca. Feb. 5: AT 10, No. 112 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	

Feb. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15482–15488; AGAD, perg. 1560 (royal document witnessed by PT, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Feb. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 15489.	
Feb. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15491–15495.	
Feb. 9: MRPS 4/1, No. 5340 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from WIERZBOWSKI 1913, No. 38).	
Feb. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 5342 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from AGAD, perg. 4907); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15496–15500; TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 851 (royal document, signature by PT).	
Feb. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 15501; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 196v (=f. 195v in old foliation).	
Feb. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 196v (=f. 195v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 12, f. 272v (=f. 248v in old foliation).	The King is in Piotrków: LM 1 (1), No. 280; LM 12 (12), Nos 664–666.
Feb. 13: MRPS 4/1, No. 5356 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from B. Ossol., perg. 260, and CC 48, p. 49); MRPS 4/2, No. 15502.	
Feb. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 15503; AGAD, perg. 5287 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Feb. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15504, 15506–15509; AGAD, perg. 1150 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Feb. 16: AAG, A Cons G VII 17 (former ms. 56a), f. 64v (royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT); AKKK, perg. 696 (=AAG, A Cons G VII 17, former ms. 56a, f. 65, PT's document).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15511–15517.	
Feb. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15510 (date supplied from transumpt in MRPS 5/1, No. 159), <sup>248</sup> 15518.	
Feb. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15519–15523.	
Feb. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 15524; CC 40, p. 378 (royal document witnessed by PT); AT 10, No. 83 (=ALLEN 7, No. 1953, PT's letter).	The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5374, 5383; <sup>249</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 15524. <sup>250</sup> The King departs from Piotrków towards Radom: SKRODZKI, f. CB <sub>3v</sub> . <sup>251</sup> Cf. GĄSIO-ROWSKI, p. 265 (information about the stay, not the departure).
<b>[1528 ca. Feb. 20 — Sulejów]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably passes through Sulejów on Feb. 20 or spends the night of Feb. 20–21 there: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Piotrków and Radom. <sup>252</sup> ] Not in GĄSIO-ROWSKI.

<sup>248</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 15510, is dated Feb. 15, but the date was silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski, as the corresponding entry in MK 43, p. 324, reads only “actum et datum ut supra”.

<sup>249</sup> In MRPS 4/1, Nos 5380–5382, 5384, the formula “in conventu” was silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski, as the corresponding entries in MK 44, pp. 55, 57, 59, lack it.

<sup>250</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 38; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 31; and *Posłowie*, p. 71, consider that day as the end of the General Diet (*sejm walny*).

<sup>251</sup> At first glance, the entry in the diary might suggest that the King departed from Piotrków for Radom on Feb. 19. However, it appears that the phrase “Ad Radom” was likely added above the previously written text of the entry, perhaps when the author realized the omission of information about the travel direction. This is suggested by the disruption of the usual order of diary entries, which typically start with “isto die” or “hic”. Only after the information about the direction of travel does it state, “Hic regia maiestas de Pyotrkov egressa est”.

<sup>252</sup> The standard royal itinerary between Piotrków and Radom consisted of three overnight stops: Sulejów, Opoczno and Skrzywno. However, if we assume that the King was to arrive in Radom on Feb. 22 (see below, the information for that day), he had to skip the stop at the Abbey of Sulejów, which was about 15 km away from Piotrków, and go straight to Opoczno, which would mean covering a distance of about 45 km. This is a distance greater than the average daily distance of about 30 km. Still, in any other case, he would have to skip one of the other two stops, which were farther apart, and then cover about 60 km during the day. Note that daily distances of over 40 km were not uncommon for the royal retinue. Therefore, the route with stops in Opoczno

<b>[1528 Feb. ca. 20–21 — Opoczno]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night ca. 20–21 in Opoczno: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Piotrków and Radom.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1528 Feb. ca. 21–22 — Skrzynno]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night ca. 21–22 in Skrzynno: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Piotrków and Radom.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1528 Feb. 22 to Mar. 6 — Radom</b>	
Feb. 22: GORCZAK 5, No. 174 (royal document, information about <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT supplied from NIEWODNICZAŃSKI, No. 177).	The King's presence in Radom on that day not recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Feb. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Radom: LM 14 (14), No. 58; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265; BEREZHKOVA, p. 203.
Feb. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 15525.	
Feb. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15526–15529.	
Feb. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15530, 15531; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 199v (=f. 198v in old foliation).	
Feb. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15532–15534; CIDTC, IDL 399 (PT's letter).	

and Skrzynno could be covered during the period in question, although less likely than the usual route with three stops.

It must also be considered whether the dates of departure from Piotrków and arrival in Radom are correctly established. The King's stay in Piotrków on Feb. 20 is not in doubt. In addition to the above sources, the following also supports it: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5374–5384; AT 10, Nos 87, 88. On the other hand, the King's stay in Radom on Feb. 22 is documented only by one document cited above. Stanisław Górski, in his commentary (AT 10, p. 113), mentions that the King stayed in Radom for two weeks (“*duas septimanas commoratus*”), but this cannot be taken literally because counting the full 14 days from the day of departure, i.e., Mar. 5 (see below, the additional information for that day), would give Feb. 21 as the day of arrival, which must be rejected as impossible. Until additional confirmation is found that the King arrived in Radom on Feb. 22, it is impossible to determine whether the King stopped for an overnight stay in Sulejów or just passed through it. Therefore, it is also impossible to give exact dates for the stays at the subsequent stops on the way to Radom.

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 15535.	
Mar. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15536–15542; GORCZAK 5, No. 176 (royal document, information about <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT supplied from NIEWODNICZAŃSKI, No. 179); AT 10, Nos 105 (=TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 852, royal document, signature by PT), 108 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	According to the King's own words to PT, the ruler decided to move from Radom four days afterwards; unless something delayed this plan. After the King's departure, PT will go to his episcopal estates to restore his strength and care for his health: AT 10, No. 108 (PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki).
Mar. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15543–15548.	
Mar. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15549–15554.	
Mar. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15555–15569, 15571–15573; AT 10, No. 111 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	As soon as PT bids farewell to the royal couple, who are leaving for Lithuania tomorrow, he will leave for Iłża: AT 10, No. 111 (PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki).
Shortly after Mar. 4: AT 10, No. 109 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Mar. 5: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 199 (=f. 198 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, Nos 10, 11); AT 10, Nos 116, 117 (PT's letters).	The King is in Radom: AT 10, No. 115, and departs from there towards Lithuania: BERNARD Z BISKUPIEGO, f. <b>CB</b> <sub>4v</sub> ; SKRODZKI, f. <b>CB</b> <sub>5</sub> ; SOKOLNICKI, f. <b>CB</b> <sub>5</sub> ; AT 10, No. 117 (the departure mentioned). <sup>253</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>254</sup>
Mar. 6: AT 10, No. 120 (PT's letter).	
<b>1528 Mar. 12 to 13 — Iłża</b>	
Mar. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 200 (=f. 199 in old foliation).	PT's presence in Iłża on that day as the first day of the nine-day stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538. <sup>255</sup>

<sup>253</sup> Several sources wrongly suggest the King's presence in Radom after Mar. 5: 1) According to AT 10, Nos 119–121, the King was in Radom on Mar. 6; 2) According to LM 224 (4), No. 255, and BEREZHKOVA, p. 203, the King was in Radom on Mar. 7; 3) MRPS 4/2, No. 15576, records PT and the King in Radom on Mar. 12. Maybe in the corresponding entry in MK 43, p. 402, the date "feria 5 ante Reminiscere" (Mar. 5) was confused by a scribe with "feria 5 post Reminiscere" (Mar. 12).

<sup>254</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265, mentions the King's stay in Radom until Mar. 12.

<sup>255</sup> According to Waclaw Urban, PT stayed in Iłża until Mar. 20. However, since he did not provide a reference to source evidence, this information may be based solely on the assumption that since PT is recorded in Bodzentyn on Mar. 20, he did not move from Iłża up to that point.

Mar. 13: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 200 (=f. 199 in old foliation).	
<b>1528 Mar. 20 to Jul. 5 — Bodzentyn</b>	
Mar. 20: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 203 (=f. 202 in old foliation).	PT's presence in Bodzentyn on that day as the first day of the longer stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538. <sup>256</sup>
ca. Mar. 20: AT 10, Nos 136, 137 (PT's letters, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Mar. 23: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 203v (=f. 202v in old foliation).	
Mar. 24: AT 10, No. 152 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 25: AOff. Lubl. 9, f. 269v (PT's document).	
Mar. 29: AT 10, Nos 160, 161 (PT's letters), 162 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	PT excuses himself from going to a meeting with John Zápolya and Antonio Rincon, attributing his absence to a severe catarrhal illness: AT 10, Nos 160 (PT's letter to John Zápolya), 161 (PT's letter to Rincon).
Shortly after Mar. 29: AT 10, No. 146 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 1: AT 10, No. 140 (letter to PT, endorsed with place and date of receipt).	
Apr. 4: AT 10, No. 174 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 7: AT 10, No. 176 (PT's letter); EFE 34, No. 106 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 9: AT 10, Nos 181, 182 (PT's letters).	
Shortly after Apr. 9: AT 10, No. 248 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	

<sup>256</sup> According to Waclaw Urban, PT remained in Bodzentyn until Jul. 23, which contradicts the Vice-Chancellor's itinerary (see below, the information for Jul. 8–23). This assertion is based on the fact that Urban documented PT's presence in Kielce on Jul. 23 and presumed that PT did not leave Bodzentyn before that date.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Apr. 10: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 203v (=f. 202v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 14, f. 18 (=f. 15 in old foliation); AT 10, Nos 183 (=EFE 34, No. 107, PT's letter), 184 (PT's letter).	PT promises that when he goes to Sandomierz restored to his former health, he will gladly visit Ćmielów and dedicate the chapel in the castle there: AT 10, No. 184, p. 184 (PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki).
Shortly after Apr. 10: AT 10, No. 180 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 11: AT 10, No. 187 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 12: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 18 (=f. 15 in old foliation); AT 10, Nos 131 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from TG, No. 930 <sub>b</sub> ), 191–193 (PT's letters).	PT declares he wants to go to Kraków for a meeting with the members of the Royal Council devoted to the situation in Hungary as soon as he is relieved from this catarrhal fever, which has not yet entirely left him: AT 10, No. 191, p. 188 (PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki).
Apr. 13: AT 10, Nos 194, 195 (PT's letters), 196 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence), 197 (PT's letter).	As soon as PT recovers from illness, he plans to travel directly to Kraków to attend to public affairs in the King's absence: AT 10, No. 158, p. 167 (PT's letter to the King, n.d., ca. Apr. 13).
Shortly after Apr. 13: AT 10, No. 178 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 14: AT 10, No. 199 (PT's letter).	As soon as PT is relieved from the catarrhal illness, he will gladly set out for Kraków for a meeting with King John Zápolya: PT's letter to Paweł Krassowski, as referenced on the left.
Apr. 17: AT 10, Nos 203 (PT's letter), 204 (PT's document), 205 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 18: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 18 (=f. 15 in old foliation).	
Apr. 19: AT 10, No. 189 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	



Apr. 20: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 204 (=f. 203 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 12 – summary provided by Waclaw Urban mistakenly carries the date of Mar. 20); AEp. Cr. 14, f. 18 (=f. 15 in old foliation); Kod. Jag. 12, f. 141 (PT's letter).	
Shortly after Apr. 19/20: AT 10, No. 190 (PT's letter, place supplied from TG, No. 1017, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Apr. 21: KURAŚ, No. 12 (=PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529=URBAN 2001, No. 86, No. 193, <sup>257</sup> PT's document).	
Shortly after Apr. 21: AT 10, Nos 211–214 (PT's letters, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	PT cannot attend Wincenty Świdwa Szamotulski's funeral due to his poor health: AT 10, No. 213, p. 203 (PT's letter to Łukasz Górka).
Apr. 22: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 205v (=f. 204v in old foliation).	
Apr. 23: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 205v (=f. 204v in old foliation).	
Apr. 24: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 206 (=f. 205 in old foliation).	
Apr. 25: AT 10, Nos 173 (=BRODERICUS, No. 97, PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence), 220 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 27: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529, Nos 196, 197 (PT's court records).	
Apr. 28: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 208 (=f. 207 in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 29 (=f. 28 in old foliation).	
Apr. 29: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 208v (=f. 207v in old foliation); AT 10, No. 206 (PT's letter, date supplied from TG, No. 1015).	

<sup>257</sup> In his summary, Waclaw Urban provides an incorrect folio number, citing AEp. Cr. 15, f. 22 in old foliation instead of the correct f. 28 in old foliation.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
May 1: AT 10, No. 237 (PT's letter).	PT is almost constantly confined to bed now: AT 10, No. 242, p. 229 (PT's letter to Stanisław Borek, n.d., ca. May 1).
May 2: AT 10, Nos 122 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from Kod. Jag. 12, f. 131v), 239, 240 (PT's letters), 241 (PT's letter, date supplied by Zygmunt Celichowski), 479 (PT's letter).	
May 4: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 209 (=f. 208 in old foliation).	
Shortly after May 5: AT 10, No. 245 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
May 11: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 209v (=f. 208v in old foliation).	
Shortly after May 15: AT 10, No. 254 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
May 16: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529, No. 203 (PT's document).	
May 18: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 210v (=f. 209v in old foliation).	
Shortly after May 18: AT 10, Nos 260–262 (PT's letters, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
ca. May 20: AT 10, No. 254 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
May 21: Dr Łukasz Noskowski arrives in Bodzentyn to treat PT: NOSKOWSKI, p. 417.	
May 22: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 210v (=f. 209v in old foliation); AT 10, No. 263 (PT's letter).	PT is confined to bed due to a prolonged illness: AT 10, No. 263 (PT's letter to Stanisław Tomicki).
May 25: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 211v (=f. 210v in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 13 <sup>258</sup> ).	

<sup>258</sup> In his summary, Waclaw Urban provides an incorrect folio number, citing 208v in old foliation instead of the correct 210v in old foliation.

May 26: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 212 (=f. 211 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 14).	
May 28: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529, No. 208 (PT's court record).	
May 31: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 214; AT 10, Nos 267, 269 (PT's letters).	As soon as PT feels better, he will go to Kraków: AT 10, Nos 234, 238 (PT's letters to Queen Bona, n.d., ca. May).
Jun. 1: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 214 (=f. 213 in old foliation).	
Jun. 3: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 214v (=f. 213v in old foliation).	
Jun. 5: AT 10, No. 274 (PT's letter).	
ca. Jun. 5: AT 10, Nos 282, 283 (PT's letters, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jun. 8: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 215 (=f. 214 in old foliation).	
Jun. 9: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 215v (=f. 214v in old foliation).	
Jun. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 215 (=f. 214 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 15); AOff. Wisl., B. Ossol., 2944, f. 128 (PT's document).	
Jun. 15: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 216 (=f. 215 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 16 – Waclaw Urban references the entry without specifying the place of issue).	
Shortly before Jun. 17: AT 10, No. 290 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jun. 17: AT 10, Nos 286, 287 (PT's letters), 289, 305 (PT's letters, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jun. 20: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 217 (=f. 216 in old foliation).	
Jun. 22: AT 10, No. 294 (PT's letter).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Jun. 24: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 217v (=f. 216v in old foliation); AT 10, No. 295 (=BRODERICUS, No. 101, PT's letter).	
Jun. 26: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 200v (PT's letter).	
Jun. 31: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 218 (=f. 217 in old foliation).	
Jul. 1: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 218 (=f. 217 in old foliation); AT 10, No. 309 (PT's letter, place supplied from internal evidence).	
Jul. 2: AT 10, No. 310 (PT's letter, place supplied from internal evidence).	
Jul. 4: AT 10, Nos 311 (PT's letter, place supplied from TG, No. 1072, date corrected from TG, No. 1072), 312 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jul. 5: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 29v (PT's letter).	Although PT has recovered from his illness, his swollen feet still prevent him from traveling to Kraków, as they are unstable, and he does not want to limp. He has decided to approach the capital slowly, first migrating to Kielce: AT 10, No. 318, p. 305 (PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, n.d., shortly before Jul. 8).
<b>1528 Jul. 8 to Aug. 4 — Kielce</b>	
Jul. 8: AT 10, No. 324 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 10: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 222 (=f. 221 in old foliation); Kod. Jag. 11, f. 242 (PT's letter); AT 10, No. 329 (PT's letter, date supplied from TG, No. 2891).	PT cannot go to Kraków because his swollen feet force him to live in solitude. If he were to go back there, he would have to stay home anyway and would not be useful. It seems more convenient for him to abstain from the hustle and bustle of people for a while longer. Once his feet have recovered and regained their previous strength, he will immediately return to the capital: AT 10, No. 329, p. 312 (PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki).

Jul. 11: AT 10, No. 328 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 15: AT 10, No. 337 (PT's letter).	
ca. Jul. 15: AT 10, No. 338 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jul. 17: AT 10, Nos 344 (PT's letter, date corrected from internal evidence), 345 (PT's letter).	
Shortly after Jul. 18: AT 10, No. 347 (=BRODERICUS, No. 104, PT's letter, date supplied by Péter Kasza).	PT will make his way to Kraków as soon as he can, despite his still swollen and unsteady feet, to carry out his duties: PT's letter to Ferenc Frangepán and István Brodarics, as referenced on the left.
Jul. 19: TG, No. 1199 (PT's letter, year-date corrected from internal evidence).	PT intends to depart for Częstochowa at the beginning of August to fulfil his vows of gratitude for his recovery, and then he plans to travel to Kraków and stay there: PT's letter to Jakub Buczacki, as referenced on the left.
Jul. 21: AT 10, No. 346 (PT's letter, date corrected from TG, No. 969).	PT intends to go to Kraków as soon as his feet are sufficiently restored, or at least more stable than they are now, but first, he will visit Częstochowa to fulfil a vow: PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, as referenced on the left.
Jul. 23: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 219v (=f. 218v in old foliation), cf. URBAN 2001, No. 18 (summary of one of the entries); AT 10, Nos 351, 352 (PT's letters).	PT's presence in Kielce on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
Jul. 25: AT 10, No. 354 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 27: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 221v (=f. 220v in old foliation).	
Jul. 31: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 221v (=f. 220v in old foliation).	
Aug. 1: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 222 (=f. 221 in old foliation); AT 10, No. 362 (PT's letter).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Aug. 4: AT 10, No. 363 (PT's letter).	PT departs from Kielce towards Częstochowa to make a votive offering in gratitude for his recovery from illness before continuing to Kraków: PT's letter to Łukasz Górka, as referenced on the left. PT's presence in Kielce on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
<b>1528 Aug. 6 — Częstochowa</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 223 (=f. 222 in old foliation).	
<b>1528 Aug. 9 — Siewierz</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 223v (=f. 222v in old foliation).	
<b>1528 Aug. 12 to Oct. 23 — Kraków</b>	
Aug. 12 – PT arrives in Kraków: AOff. Cr. 47, f. 114 (=p. 227 in old pagination, note in the records of the Consistory Court of Kraków); SOKOLNICKI, f. <b>CB</b> <sub>10</sub> .	PT, due to the fear of the pestilence whose beginnings are already evident, will not be able to stay in Kraków for an extended period: AT 10, No. 372, p. 360 (PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki, n.d., shortly after Aug. 12).
Aug. 17: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 184v (PT's letter).	Having finally regained his former health, PT, following the King's wish, has arrived in Kraków: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 184 (PT's letter to the King).
Aug. 21: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 224 (=f. 223 in old foliation).	
ca. Aug. 24: AT 10, No. 374 (Stanisław Górski's endorsement, episcopal household's whereabouts mentioned).	
Aug. 25: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529, No. 239 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise); AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 225 et seq. (=ff. 224 et seq. in old foliation).	

Aug. 26: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 226v (=f. 225v in old foliation); DŁUGOPOLSKI, No. 101 (PT's document); AT 10, No. 378 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 27: AT 10, Nos 379 (PT's letter), 380 (PT's letter, year-date corrected from Kod. Karn. 10, f. 243, and internal evidence), 381 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Sept. 2: AT 11, No. 104 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from Kod. Jag. 12, f. 152v).	
Sept. 9: AT 10, No. 391 (=BRODERICUS, No. 105, PT's letter).	
Sept. 15: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 227v (=f. 226v in old foliation).	
ca. Sept. 15: AT 10, No. 386 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Sept. 16: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 228 et seq. (=ff. 227 et seq. in old foliation).	
Sept. 18: AAWO, AB, D. 33, f. 44v (PT's letter).	
Sept. 20: SOKOLNICKI, f. CB <sub>11</sub> .	
Shortly after Sept. 23: AT 10, No. 403 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
Sept. 24: AA Cap. Cr. 3, f. 32 (PT mentioned).	
Sept. 25: AT 11, No. 108 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 26: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 226v, 239v – date, 240 – record considered (=ff. 225v, 238v, 239 in old foliation).	
Sept. 27: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 36v (=f. 35v in old foliation), cf. WIŚNIEWSKI 1913b, p. 518 (rough translation into Polish).	

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
After Sept. 28: AT 10, No. 411 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	The plague repeatedly emerges and shows no signs of abating; therefore, PT might consider leaving the capital for a safer location: AT 10, Nos 411 (PT's letter to Łukasz Górka), 416 (PT's letter to Queen Bona).
Sept. 29: AT 10, No. 407 (=BRODERICUS, No. 111, PT's letter).	
Oct. 2: AA Cap. Cr. 3, ff. 32v, 33 (PT mentioned).	
Oct. 3: AT 10, No. 413 (PT's letter, place supplied from internal evidence).	
Oct. 4: AT 10, No. 414 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 7: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529, No. 252 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise); BK, 228, p. 265 (PT's document).	
Oct. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 240v (=f. 239v in old foliation).	
Oct. 13: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 19 (=f. 16 in old foliation).	
Oct. 14: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 239v (=f. 238v in old foliation); AOff. Cr. 60, f. 56 (=p. 109 in old pagination, PT's document); TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 856 (PT's document).	
Oct. 15: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 238 et seq. (=ff. 237 et seq. in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529, No. 254 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 15579 (PT's document); AEp. Cr. 14, f. 19 (=f. 16 in old foliation); AT 10, No. 424 (PT's letter).	



Oct. 19: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 241 (=f. 240 in old foliation).	
Oct. 23: AT 10, No. 430 (PT's letter).	
<b>1528 Nov. 3 — Siedlec</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 241 (=f. 240 in old foliation).	
<b>1528 shortly before Nov. 7 — Jędrzejów</b>	
AT 10, No. 445 (PT's letter, previous location mentioned).	
<b>1528 Nov. 7 to Dec. 9 — Kielce</b>	
Nov. 7: AOff. Cr. 61, f. 305 (=p. 607 in old pagination, PT's document=BN, 12560, f. 446, cartulary of the Abbey of Tyniec).	
Nov. 10: AT 10, Nos 445, 446 (PT's letters).	Due to the spreading pestilence, PT recently left Kraków and withdrew to his episcopal estates. He will remain there until he needs to attend the Local Diets ( <i>sejmiki</i> ) and the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ): AT 10, No. 441, p. 424 (PT's letter to the King, n.d., ca. Nov. 10); No. 445, p. 426 (PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki); No. 465 (PT's letter to Queen Bona, n.d., ca. Nov. 10). PT's presence in Kielce on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538. <sup>259</sup>
Nov. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 241v (=f. 240v in old foliation).	
Nov. 20: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 241v (=f. 240v in old foliation); AT 10, No. 435 (=BRODERICUS, No. 113, letter to PT, endorsed with place and date of receipt).	PT has decided to attend the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ). If Krzysztof Szydłowiecki wishes to meet, PT will gladly go to Dobrowoda. Otherwise, they will meet at the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ): AT 10, No. 439, p. 422 (PT's letter to Szydłowiecki, n.d., ca. mid.-Nov.).

<sup>259</sup> Waclaw Urban erroneously noted PT's uninterrupted presence in Kielce up until Dec. 28.

Itinerary	Additional information
Shortly after Nov. 20: AT 10, No. 437 (=BRODERICUS, No. 115, place and date supplied by Péter Kasza).	
Nov. 28: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 242v (=f. 241v in old foliation); AT 10, No. 452 (PT's letter).	PT plans to attend the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) in Proszowice and the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ) in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: AT 10, No. 452, p. 437 (PT's letter to Piotr Firlej); No. 453, p. 438 (PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, n.d., [Nov. 28]).
Dec. 6: AT 10, No. 455 (PT's letter). <sup>260</sup>	
Dec. 8: AT 10, Nos 456–461 (PT's letters).	
Dec. 9: TG, No. 1256 (PT's letter, date corrected from internal evidence); AT 10, No. 463 (PT's letter).	
<b>1528 Dec. 9 — Jędrzejów</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 242v (=f. 241v in old foliation).	
<b>1528 ca. Dec. 13 — Proszowice</b>	
PT attends the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ): AT 10, No. 478 (PT's letter, presence mentioned, no exact date given).	The exact date of the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) in Proszowice is unknown. Still, that assembly was typically convoked two to three days before the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ) in Nowe Miasto Korczyn. See URUSZCZAK, p. 95.
<b>1528 Dec. 14 — Ksany</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 243 (=f. 242 in old foliation).	
<b>1528 Dec. 15 — Nowe Miasto Korczyn</b>	
PT attends the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ): AEp. Cr. 11, f. 243 (=f. 242 in old foliation).	The date of the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ) is additionally confirmed in DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 37.

<sup>260</sup> According to SZYMBORSKI 2008, p. 25, the King visited St Catharine's Church in Kraków on Dec. 5.

<b>1528 Dec. 17 to 19 — Dobrowoda</b>	
Dec. 17: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 243v (=f. 242v in old foliation); KUMOR 1965b, No. 44 (PT's document, place corrected from ADK, II KW-4, f. 126v).	
Dec. 18: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 245 (=f. 244 in old foliation).	
Dec. 19: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 19 (=f. 16 in old foliation).	
<b>1528 Dec. 23 to 30 — Kielce</b>	
Dec. 23: AOff. Lubl. 8, f. 397v (PT's document).	
Dec. 24: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 247 (=f. 246 in old foliation).	
Dec. 27: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 247 (=f. 246 in old foliation). <sup>261</sup>	
Before Dec. 28: AT 10, No. 467 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	PT is preparing to attend the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) and has already sent servants to Warszawa to make the necessary arrangements in a timely manner: PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki, as referenced on the left.
Dec. 28: AT 10, No. 474 (PT's letter).	PT plans to depart from Kielce on the Feast of St Thomas of Canterbury (Dec. 30), heading towards Bodzentyn, where he will stay for two days before proceeding to Iłża. From there, he will travel directly to Warszawa: PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki, as referenced on the left. PT's presence in Kielce on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538. <sup>262</sup>

<sup>261</sup> URBAN 1987, p. 538, records PT's travel to Bodzentyn on that date. Since he did not provide a reference to the source evidence, verifying this information is impossible. However, it's likely based on PT's misdated letter from Dec. 27. For reconstructing the proper dating, see the information in n. 263.

<sup>262</sup> According to Waclaw Urban, this was the final day of PT's stay in Kielce, which lasted over a month. He erroneously assumed that the Vice-Chancellor remained there uninterrupted from Nov. 10, only briefly visiting Bodzentyn on Dec. 27 (see nn. 261, 263).


Itinerary	Additional information
Dec. 30 – PT presumably departs from Kielce for Bodzentyn, as the expected departure date is mentioned in a letter dated Dec. 28 (see above, the information for Dec. 28).	
<b>1528 Dec. 30 to 1529 Jan. 1 — Bodzentyn</b>	
Dec. 30: AT 10, No. 473 (PT's letter, date corrected from internal evidence). <sup>263</sup>	PT intends to leave Bodzentyn within two or at most three days, planning his journey so that he can arrive in Warszawa on the Saturday following the Epiphany (Jan. 9): PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, as referenced on the left.
Dec. 31: AT 10, No. 476 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence). <sup>264</sup>	PT has decided to go to Warszawa but is uncertain about his arrival date since he has not yet planned his itinerary properly. He is considering arriving on the third or fourth day at the most after the Epiphany (Jan. 9–10): PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki, as referenced on the left.

<sup>263</sup> Manuscript copies of the letter are dated Dec. 27, which aroused suspicions in Zygmunt Celichowski, who pointed out in the commentary to the edition that this is likely incorrect as it contradicts evidence about PT's itinerary from other letters. This date can be corrected based on information about the course of matters regarding the shipment of letters to PT and Andrzej Krzycki from Vilnius, which were incorrectly addressed. Those intended for PT were sent to Krzycki and vice versa. The timeline is as follows.

On Dec. 28, Krzycki in Pułtusk receives letters addressed to PT and immediately forwards them to the addressee (AT 12, No. 475). On Dec. 29, PT receives letters addressed to Krzycki. The date can be inferred from a later mention in the letter to Krzycki from Dec. 31 of the event having occurred "nudius tertius" [the day before yesterday] (AT 10, No. 476, p. 456). On Dec. 30, the same event is described in a letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki as having occurred "heri" [yesterday] (AT 10, No. 473, p. 454). On Dec. 31, PT receives letters addressed to him from Krzycki's messenger and gives him a letter intended for his master, which he wanted to return to the sender but did not have time (AT 10, No. 476, p. 457). He writes about this in a letter to Krzycki that can be dated Dec. 31 because on Jan. 1, PT informs Szydłowiecki that a messenger from Krzycki arrived "heri" [the previous day] (AT 11, No. 3, p. 12).

The known date of the letter to Szydłowiecki from Jan. 1 allows us to establish the dates of the letters to Szydłowiecki and Krzycki as Dec. 30 (AT 10, No. 473) and Dec. 31 (AT 10, No. 476), respectively.

<sup>264</sup> One of the manuscript copies rejected by Zygmunt Celichowski bears the date of Dec. 27, which is impossible as the letter is a response to Andrzej Krzycki's letter from Dec. 28. For reconstructing the proper dating, see the information in n. 263.

<b>1529</b>	
Jan. 1: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 247v (=f. 246v in old foliation); AT 11, No. 3 (PT's letter, place supplied from internal evidence).	PT wants to arrive in Warszawa on the Saturday after the Epiphany (Jan. 9): AT 11, No. 3, pp. 12–13 (PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki). PT's presence in Bodzentyn on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
<b>1529 Jan. 5 — Hża</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 249v (=f. 248v in old foliation).	PT is setting out for Warszawa and plans to travel through the towns of Warka and Czersk. He hopes to arrive there on Saturday (Jan. 9): AT 10, No. 478, p. 458 (PT's letter to Mikołaj Niszczycycki, Hża, n.d., ca. Jan. 5). PT's presence in Hża on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
<b>1529 Jan. 6 — Jedlnia</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 250v (=f. 249v in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 19).	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked in Warszawa for that day: AT 10, No. 423; EFE 34, No. 123; SKRODZKI, f.  C <sub>2v</sub> .
<b>1529 ca. Jan. 6–8 — Warka</b>	
AT 10, No. 478 (PT's letter, expected stay mentioned, no exact day given).	
<b>1529 ca. Jan. 8–9 — Czersk</b>	
AT 10, No. 478 (PT's letter, expected stay mentioned, no exact day given).	
<b>1529 Jan. 9 to Feb. 22 — Warszawa</b>	
Jan. 9 – PT arrives in Warszawa: AT 10, No. 478; AT 11, No. 3 (PT's letters, expected arrival mentioned).	
Jan. 18: AT 11, Nos 10, 11 (PT's letters).	
Jan. 19: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 272v (PT's letter); AT 11, No. 12 (PT's letter).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 22: AT 11, No. 13 (PT and others' letter).	The letter referenced on the left, sent in the name of the Royal Council, is dated "in conventu", thereby providing the earliest evidence that the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) is already in session. <sup>265</sup>
Jan. 28: AT 11, No. 15 (PT and others' letter).	
Jan. 29: Kod. Jag. 11, ff. 273, 273v (PT's letters, in the second one date corrected from internal evidence); AT 11, No. 17 (PT's letter).	
Jan. 30: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 275v (PT's letter); AT 11, Nos 18 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from TG, No. 1084, day-date supplied from internal evidence), 19, 20 (PT's letters), 21 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence), 22, 23 (PT's letters).	
Jan. 31: AT 11, Nos 24, 26 (PT's letters).	
Feb. 1: AT 11, Nos 27 (PT's letter, place supplied from TG, No. 1091), 28 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 2: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 251v (=f. 250v in old foliation); AT 11, No. 33 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 5: AT 11, Nos 35, 36 (PT's letters).	
Feb. 7: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 252 (=f. 251 in old foliation).	
Feb. 8: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 222 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 9: AT 11, Nos 43, 44 (PT's letters).	
Feb. 11: AT 11, Nos 45 (PT and others' letter), 46 (PT's letter).	

<sup>265</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 39; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 49; and *Posłowie*, p. 72, consider that day as the commencement of the General Diet (*sejm walny*).

Feb. 12: AT 11, Nos 47, 48 (PT's letters); GROMNICKI, p. 406 (reports on the collection of Peter's Pence, PT mentioned).	
Feb. 17: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 252v (=f. 251v in old foliation); APG, 300, 53/3, pp. 21–22 (PT and others' letter); APG, 300, 53/161, p. 13 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 18: AT 11, Nos 53, 54 (PT's letters).	
Feb. 19: AT 11, Nos 56, 57 (PT's letters).	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) concludes: AT 11, No. 56 (PT's letter to Mikołaj Bedleński), <sup>266</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 39; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 50; <i>Posłowie</i> , p. 72.
Feb. 20: AT 11, No. 59 (PT and others' instructions).	
Feb. 22: Kod. Jag. 12, f. 170v (PT's letter): AT 11, Nos 60, 61 (PT's letters), 63 (PT's letter, previous location mentioned).	
<b>1529 Feb. 22 to 23 — Czersk</b>	
Feb. 22 – PT arrives in Czersk: AT 11, Nos 63, 65 (PT's letter, travel and previous location mentioned).	
Feb. 23: AT 11, Nos 63 (PT's letter), 65 (PT's letter, date Warka, Feb. 24 supplied by Zygmunt Celichowski, place and date corrected by me from the marginal note by Stanisław Górski and the internal evidence).	
<b>1529 Feb. 23 to 24 — Warka</b>	
Feb. 23: AT 11, No. 64 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 23–24 – PT spends the night in Warka.	

<sup>266</sup> SKRODZKI, f. ㊀C<sub>3v</sub>, states that the General Diet (*sejm walny*) concluded on Feb. 22. However, the credibility of this information is limited, as Stanisław Skrodzki was absent from Warszawa on that day, having departed from there on Feb. 15 (f. ㊀C<sub>4</sub>).

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1529 Feb. 24 — Radom</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 253 (=f. 252 in old foliation); Kod. Jag. 11, f. 269v (PT's letter, earlier location mentioned, no exact date given).	
<b>1529 Feb. 27 to Mar. 2 — Iłża</b>	
Feb. 27 – PT arrives in Iłża: AT 11, No. 68 (PT's letter, the arrival mentioned).	
Mar. 1: AT 11, Nos 68, 69 (PT's letters).	PT's presence in Iłża on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
Mar. 2: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 254 (=f. 253 in old foliation); AT 11, Nos 70–75 (PT's letters).	PT is going to leave Iłża for Bodzentyn, where he will stay for some time, and from there he will travel directly to Kraków for Easter (Mar. 28): AT 11, No. 75 (PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki). PT's presence in Iłża on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
ca. Mar. 2: AT 11, No. 77 (PT's letter, day-date supplied from internal evidence).	PT wants to arrive in Kraków before the upcoming Palm Sunday (Mar. 21): PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, as referenced on the left.
<b>1529 Mar. 3 to 12 — Bodzentyn</b>	
Mar. 3: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 268v (PT's letter).	
Mar. 5: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 253 (=f. 252 in old foliation).	PT's presence in Bodzentyn on that day as the first stay of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
Mar. 10: Kod. Jag. 12, ff. 173, 173v (PT's letters).	
Mar. 12: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 41 (=f. 40 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 87).	
<b>1529 Mar. 12 to 14 — Kielce</b>	
Mar. 12: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 19 (=f. 16 in old foliation). <sup>267</sup>	

<sup>267</sup> PT's letter from Kielce in AT 11, No. 84, bears a wrong date (Mar. 8), which contradicts the Vice-Chancellor's itinerary. The wrong date was supplied by Stanisław Górski in the rough draft



Mar. 14: AT 11, No. 86 (PT's letter).	
<b>1529 Mar. 17 — Dobrowoda</b>	
AOff. Wisl., B. Ossol., 2944, f. 173v (PT's document).	
<b>1529 Mar. 17 — Wiślica</b>	
AEp. Cr. 11, f. 257v (=f. 256v in old foliation).	
<b>1529 Mar. 19 to Jun. 20 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Mar. 19 – PT arrives in Kraków: BIEM I, f. 460v; SOKOLNICKI, f. C <sub>5</sub> .	
Mar. 21: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 262 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 23: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529, No. 310 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise, date corrected from AEp. Cr. 11, f. 257v=f. 256v in old foliation). <sup>268</sup>	
Mar. 24: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 19 (=f. 16 in old foliation).	
Mar. 29: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 191v (PT's letter); AT 11, Nos 99 (PT's letter), 109 (PT's letter, date supplied from Kod. Jag. 12, f. 149).	

(see TG, No. 1116). The erroneous dating clause appears to have been unquestioningly accepted by Waclaw Urban. URBAN 1987, p. 538, records PT in Kielce from Mar. 8 to 13. The end date is unverifiable, as Urban did not provide any citation for source evidence.

<sup>268</sup> URBAN 1987, p. 538, records PT's presence in Bodzentyn until Mar. 23, which contradicts the Vice-Chancellor's itinerary. Since Waclaw Urban did not provide a reference to source evidence, verifying this information is impossible.

Itinerary	Additional information
Mar. 31: Kod. Jag. 11, ff. 258 (PT's letter, year-date corrected from internal evidence), 258v (PT's letters, year-date supplied from internal evidence); AT 11, Nos 101, 110 (PT's letters).	
Apr. 1: AT 11, Nos 111, 113, 114 (PT's letters), 115 (PT's letter, date corrected by Zygmunt Celichowski); SOKOLNICKI, f. 6C <sub>5v</sub> .	
Apr. 2: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 258v (=f. 257v in old foliation); AT 11, Nos 116, 117 (PT's letters).	
Apr. 5: APG, 300, 53/161, p. 17 (PT's letter); AT 11, Nos 121 (PT's letter, place supplied from TG, No. 1142), 122 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 9: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 19v (=f. 16v in old foliation).	
Apr. 11: AT 11, No. 128 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 13: AT 11, Nos 129–132 (PT's letters).	
Apr. 14: BUJAK, No. 171 (PT's document).	
Apr. 15: AT 11, No. 134 (PT's letter).	PT stays home because he feels unwell after taking medicine: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 230v (PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, Apr. 16, indisposition from the previous day mentioned).
Apr. 16: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 231 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 17: GORCZAK 5, No. 192 (=NIEWODNICZAŃSKI, No. 182, PT's document).	
Apr. 18: AT 11, No. 136 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 21: AT 11, No. 138 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 23: AT 11, No. 142 (PT's letter).	

Apr. 24: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 263v (=f. 262v in old foliation); AT 11, Nos 146 (PT's letter, date supplied from TG, No. 1134 <sub>a</sub> ), 150 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 25: AT 11, No. 156 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 26: AT 11, Nos 162 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from TG, No. 1135 <sub>a</sub> ), 163 (PT's letter, date corrected from TG, No. 1135 <sub>b</sub> ).	
Apr. 27: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 264 (=f. 263 in old foliation).	
Apr. 28: AT 11, No. 161 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 30: AT 11, Nos 165–168 (PT's letters).	
May 1: AT 11, Nos 174, 176 (PT's letters).	
May 2: AT 11, No. 216 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from Kod. Jag. 12, f. 158v).	
May 4: AT 11, No. 179 (PT's letter).	
May 5: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 19v (=f. 16v in old foliation); AOff. Lubl. 8, f. 412 (PT's document); Kod. Jag. 11, f. 227v (PT's letter).	
May 6: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 203 (PT's letter).	
May 8: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 230 (PT's letter); APŁ, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, p. 430 (=f. 216v in old foliation, Stanisław Kilowski's letter, postscript, date supplied from internal evidence, PT mentioned).	
May 10: AT 11, No. 153 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from Kod. Jag. 12, f. 174v).	
ca. May 12: STARNAWSKI, No. 11, p. 123 (Stanisław Kilowski's letter, date supplied from internal evidence, PT mentioned).	

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
May 15: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 270v (PT's letter); AT 11, No. 186 (PT's letter).	
May 16: AT 11, Nos 187 (PT's letter), 188 (PT's letter, place supplied from internal evidence), 189–191 (PT's letters).	
May 20: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 220 (PT's letter); AT 11, Nos 194, 196 (PT's letters).	
May 21: AT 11, No. 199 (PT's letter).	
May 23: AT 11, Nos 200, 201 (PT's letters).	
May 24: AT 11, No. 202 (PT's letter).	
May 25: AT 11, No. 204 (PT's letter).	
May 26: AT 11, No. 207 (PT's letter).	
May 27: AT 11, No. 208 (PT's letter).	
May 28: AT 11, No. 209 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 2: AT 11, No. 217 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 3: AT 11, No. 220 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 4: AT 11, Nos 221–223 (PT's letters), 224 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence), 225 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 8: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 231v (PT's letter).	
Jun. 9: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 223 (PT's letter); AT 11, No. 228 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 11: AT 11, No. 233 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 12: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 221 (PT's letter); AT 11, No. 235 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 13: AT 11, Nos 236, 237 (PT's letters).	
Jun. 15: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 47 (=f. 46 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 88).	

Jun. 16: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 267v (=f. 266v in old foliation); RYKACZEWSKI, p. 365 (=AGAD, perg. 7550, PT's document); DZIWIK, No. 178 (PT's document); JASAS, No. 328 (PT's document); AT 11, No. 239 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 17: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 268 et seq. (=ff. 267 et seq. in old foliation); AT 11, Nos 240, 241 (PT's letters).	
Jun. 18: AT 11, Nos 243 (place supplied from internal evidence), 244 (PT's letters).	
Jun. 19: AT 11, No. 245 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 20: AT 11, Nos 246–248 (PT's letters).	
<b>1529 Jun. 20 to 23 — Bolechowice</b>	
Jun. 20: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 226v (PT's letter, year-date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jun. 21: BRODERICUS, No. 122 (PT's letter, year-date supplied by Péter Kasza). <sup>269</sup>	PT withdrew from Kraków to collect his thoughts (“animi colligendi causa”) and will return on Wednesday (Jun. 23): PT's letter to István Brodarics, as referenced on the left.
Jun. 23 – PT likely leaves Bolechowice for Kraków: expected day of departure mentioned in the letter from Jun. 21 (see above, the additional information for that day).	
<b>1529 Jun. 23 to Aug. 3 — Kraków</b>	
	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Jun. 23: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 49 (=f. 48 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 89).	

<sup>269</sup> Another letter of PT sent from Bolechowice to Jan Chojeński is preserved in Kod. Jag. 11, f. 213v, but the copy is dated 1529 Jun. 29 and appears to contradict data from other sources (see below, the information for Jun. 29 and the following days).

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Jun. 24: AT 11, Nos 251–255 (PT's letters).	
Jun. 25: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 270v – date, 271 – record considered (=ff. 269v, 270 in old foliation).	
Jun. 26: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 271 – date, 272 – record considered (=ff. 270, 272 in old foliation).	
Jun. 28: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 272v et seq. (=ff. 271v et seq. in old foliation).	
Jun. 29: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 256v (PT's letter); AT 11, No. 264 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 30: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 274 – date, 275v – record considered (=ff. 273, 274v in old foliation).	
Jul. 1: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 276 – date, 277 – record considered (=ff. 275, 276 in old foliation).	
Jul. 5: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 277 (=f. 276 in old foliation); AAG, A Cons G VII 17 (former ms. 56a), f. 51v (PT's document); TN, 43, No. 104 (PT's document); AT 11, No. 269 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 8: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 279 et seq. (=ff. 278 et seq. in old foliation).	
Jul. 10: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 280v (=f. 279v in old foliation); Kod. Jag. 11, f. 222v (PT's letter); APŁ, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, pp. 350–351 (=ff. 176v–177 in old foliation, Stanisław Kilowski's letter, PT mentioned).	
Jul. 11: AT 11, Nos 272–274 (PT's letters), 275 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from TG, No. 2942).	

Jul. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 280v et seq. (=ff. 279v et seq. in old foliation), cf. URBAN 2001, No. 23 (summary of one of the entries, with no specified place of issue); WIŚNIEWSKI 1913b, p. 521 (PT's document); AT 11, No. 276 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 14: AOff. Cr. 95, f. 509v (=p. 1016 in old pagination, PT's document).	
Jul. 17: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 283 et seq. (=ff. 282 et seq. in old foliation), 288.	
Jul. 18: AT 11, No. 283 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 19: AT 11, No. 284 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 24: AT 11, No. 289 (=CIDTC, IDL 3469, PT's letter).	
Jul. 25: AT 11, Nos 290–293 PT's letters), 294 (PT's letter, place supplied from internal evidence).	In response to the King's inquiry ( <i>deliberatorium</i> ) concerning the convocation of the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ), PT presents an argument for scheduling the assembly between Nov. 25 and the beginning of Lent (Mar. 2) and suggests Piotrków as the parliamentary meeting location: AT 11, No. 292.
Jul. 26: AT 11, No. 295 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 28: CDUJ, No. 355 (PT's document); TG, No. 1208 <sub>b</sub> (PT's letter); AT 11, Nos 296, 297 (PT's letters).	
Jul. 29: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 202v (PT's letter); AT 11, No. 298 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 31: AT 11, No. 299 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 3: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 284v (=f. 283v in old foliation).	
<b>1529 ca. Aug. 3 — outside Kraków</b>	
Aug. 3 – PT leaves Kraków: STARNAWSKI, No. 20, p. 132 (Stanisław Kilowski's letter, PT's departure mentioned). <sup>270</sup>	

<sup>270</sup> The edited version of the letter reads, “Episcopus Cracoviensis Severium iam abhinc discessit” [the Bishop of Kraków has already departed for Siewierz], but the reading and interpretation

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1529 Aug. 5 to Dec. 2 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Aug. 5: AGAD, perg. 1563 (PT's document).	
Aug. 9: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 284v (=f. 283v in old foliation); AT 10, No. 437 (=BRODERICUS, No. 124, PT's letter, place and date supplied by Péter Kasza and corrected by me from internal evidence).	
Aug. 10: AKKK, perg. 701 (PT's document).	
Aug. 11: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 35 (PT's letter); AT 11, Nos 307, 308 (PT's letters), 395 (PT's letter, date supplied from Kod. Jag. 12, f. 179).	PT plans to attend the upcoming General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Piotrków: AT 11, No. 308, p. 238 (PT's letter to Janusz Latański).
Aug. 13: AT 11, No. 309 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 19: APL, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, p. 359 (=f. 180v in old foliation, Stanisław Kilowski's letter, PT mentioned).	
Aug. 20: AT 11, Nos 322–324 (No. 324=EFE 34, No. 143, PT's letters).	

of the place name as Siewierz by the editor are highly questionable. Cf. the manuscript copy of the letter: APL, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, p. 352 (=f. 177 in old foliation). A satisfying emendation has not been achieved. It should be noted that the only preserved copy of the letter in question is fraught with errors and omissions, complicating the textual analysis and interpretation process.



Aug. 25: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 285v – date, 287v – record considered; PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1526–1529, No. 346 (PT’s document, place supplied from AA Cap. Cr. 3, f. 150v); AT 11, Nos 327 (PT’s letter), 328 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	PT plans to attend the upcoming General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Piotrków: AT 11, No. 328, p. 250 (PT’s letter to Wawrzyniec Prażmowski).
Aug. 26: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 288 – date, 289 – record considered; AT 11, Nos 333–335, 337 (PT’s letters).	
Aug. 28: AT 11, No. 338 (PT’s letter).	
Aug. 30: AT 11, Nos 339–342 (PT’s letters).	
Sept. 3: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 291 et seq.	
Sept. 8: AT 10, No. 390 (PT’s letter, date corrected from TG, No. 1229); AT 11, Nos 345, 346 (No. 345=EFE 34, No. 147, PT’s letters).	
Sept. 11 – PT falls ill: BIEM I, f. 467; AT 12, No. 167 (PT’s letter, the onset of illness mentioned).	
Sept. 12: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 50v (=f. 49v in old foliation).	
Sept. 15: AT 11, Nos 356, 357 (PT’s letters).	
Sept. 20: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 298.	
Sept. 23: AT 11, No. 359 (PT’s letter).	
Sept. 27: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 51v (=f. 50v in old foliation).	
Sept. 30: MRPS 4/1, No. 5407 (PT’s document).	
Oct. 3: AT 11, No. 382 (PT’s letter, date supplied from TG, No. 1238).	
Oct. 5: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 301 – date, 301v – record considered.	
Oct. 7: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 303v – date, 304 – record considered.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Oct. 8: AT 11, No. 369 (PT's letter).	PT had to stay home for several weeks due to grief following his brother's death (Mar. 29) and his own illness: AT 11, No. 369, p. 281 (PT's letter to Łukasz Górka). Around the same time, PT informs the King that, despite his illness, he will participate in Local Diets ( <i>sejmiki</i> ) and the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ), according to the monarch's order: AT 11, No. 370, p. 281.
Oct. 9: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 305; KUMOR 1965a, p. 311 (PT's document); AT 11, No. 371 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 305v – date, 306v – records considered.	
Oct. 14: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 307 – date, 308 – record considered.	
Oct. 15: AT 11, No. 377 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 16: TG, No. 2889 (PT's letter, year-date supplied from internal evidence); AT 11, Nos 378 (PT's letter), 379 (PT's letter, place supplied from TG, No. 2972).	
Oct. 18: AT 11, No. 381 (PT's letter).	PT plans to attend the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ): PT's letter to Jan Latałski, as referenced on the left.
Oct. 19: AT 11, No. 383 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 21: AT 11, Nos 361, 364 (letters to PT, endorsed with place and date of receipt).	
Oct. 25: AT 11, No. 388 (PT's letter, Siegmund von Herberstein's delivery of King Ferdinand's message to the Royal Council, including PT, mentioned, date supplied from HERBERSTEIN, p. 290).	

Oct. 28: AT 11, Nos 388, 389 (PT's letters).	
Oct. 30: Kod. Jag. 12, f. 187 (PT's letter); AT 11, Nos 393 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from Kod. Jag. 12, f. 167v), 397, 398 (PT's letters).	
Oct. 31: AT 11, Nos 365 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from TG, No. 1247 <sub>b</sub> ), 399 (=BRODERICUS, No. 127, PT's letter).	PT has been confined at home for nearly two months due to a certain ailment: AT 11, No. 365 (=BRODERICUS, No. 127, PT's letter to István Brodarics).
Nov. 2: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 95v (=f. 94 in old foliation).	
Nov. 3: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 316v; AT 11, Nos 385 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence), 401 (PT's letter).	PT informs the King and Andrzej Krzycki that, despite his previous declarations (see above, the additional information for Oct. 8), he will be unable to attend Local Diets ( <i>sejmiki</i> ) due to his poor health. He expresses hope that he will have recovered by the time of the King's arrival in Poland and before the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ): AT 11, Nos 385, 401, pp. 290, 299–300. At about the same time, PT informs Jan Tęczyński that he will not attend the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny</i> ), but he is concerned that he also may not be able to participate in the General Diet: AT 11, No. 384, p. 289.
Nov. 4: AT 11, No. 402 (PT's letter).	
Nov. 10: AT 11, No. 406 (PT's letter).	PT informs the nobility gathered at the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) in Proszowice that he cannot attend the assembly due to his health: PT's letter, as referenced on the left.
Shortly before Nov. 15: AT 11, No. 403 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	PT did not leave the house for almost two months due to illness: PT's letter to Mikołaj Niszczycki, as referenced on the left.
Nov. 16: AT 11, Nos 408, 409 (PT's letters).	PT does not feel completely healthy: AT 11, No. 409, p. 304 (PT's letter to the King).
Nov. 19: AEp. Cr. 11, ff. 322v – date, 323 – record considered (=ff. 321v, 322 in old foliation).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Nov. 20: AT 11, No. 410 (PT's letter).	When news arrived of the King's return to the Kingdom, PT had planned to meet him in Radom and accompany him to Piotrków. However, due to his poor health, he was forced to change his plans. If his illness persists, he will stay home and focus on his health. He cannot ultimately decide about his travel to the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ). If he recovers, he would not hesitate to join the King in Piotrków: PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki, as referenced on the left.
Nov. 22: AT 11, No. 411 (PT's letter).	
	Nov. 30 – the King is in Radom: LM 7 (7), No. 290; LM 224 (4), No. 411; BEREZHKOVA, p. 204; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265. The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked in Piotrków for that day: AT 11, Nos 343, 346; SKRODZKI, f. CC <sub>13</sub> .
	Dec. 1 – the King is in Radom: MRPS 4/1, No. 5409. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 2 – PT departs from Kraków towards Piotrków for the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ): BIEM I, f. 469v; SOKOLNICKI, f. CC <sub>13v</sub> .	
	Dec. 4 – the King arrives in Piotrków: ONB, Cod. 3597, f. 127 (Seweryn Boner's letter to Siegmund von Herberstein); DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 39; SKRODZKI, f. CC <sub>13v</sub> . Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>271</sup>
	Dec. 7 – the mass for the Holy Spirit: ONB, Cod. 3597, f. 127 (Seweryn Boner's letter to Siegmund von Herberstein).
<b>1529 Dec. 8 to 12 — Kielce</b>	
Dec. 8: AT 11, Nos 420, 421 (PT's letters).	PT received letters from the King and Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, urging him to promptly make his way to Piotrków for the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ). It has been eight

<sup>271</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265, only mentions the King's stay in Piotrków starting from Dec. 8.

	<p>days (“octavus [...] agitur dies”) since PT, despite not being in perfect health, set out from Kraków<sup>272</sup> to head to Piotrków. However, he had to pause his journey due to issues with horses and carriages: AT 11, Nos 420, 421 (PT’s letters to the King and Krzysztof Szydłowiecki).</p> <p>PT’s presence in Kielce on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.</p> <p>The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5410; AGAD, perg. 7565; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265.</p> <p>The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, No. 5410.</p>
	<p>Dec. 9 – the King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5411, 5412.</p> <p>The General Diet (<i>sejm walny</i>) begins: ONB, Cod. 3597, f. 127 (Seweryn Boner’s letter to Siegmund von Herberstein).<sup>273</sup></p>
	<p>Dec. 10 – the King is in Piotrków: LM 224 (4), No. 416; BEREZHKOVA, p. 204.</p>
Dec. 12: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 326v (=f. 325v in old foliation).	
	<p>Dec. 14 – the King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5413.</p>
<b>1529 Dec. 15 to 1530 Jan. 16 — Piotrków</b>	
Dec. 15 – PT arrives in Piotrków: AT 11, No. 427 (PT’s letter, the date of arrival mentioned).	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5414.
Dec. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5415, 5416.
Dec. 17: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 25 (=f. 3 in old foliation).	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5417.

<sup>272</sup> The departure date from Kraków mentioned in the letter to the King, i.e., Dec. 1 (AT 11, No. 420, p. 311), contradicts the information provided by two other sources (see above, the information for Dec. 2). Thus, PT either made a mistake, deliberately provided a date different from the actual one, or the date of the letters to the King and Krzysztof Szydłowiecki is incorrect and should be revised to Dec. 9.

<sup>273</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 40; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 63; and *Posłowie*, p. 73, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) commenced on Dec. 8.

Itinerary	Additional information
Dec. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 15610; AT 11, No. 425 (PT's letter, date corrected from Kod. Jag. 8, p. 41, and internal evidence).	The election of King Sigismund II Augustus.
Dec. 19 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5420.
Dec. 20 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5421–5424; LM 224 (4), No. 466.
Dec. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15611–15613; Kod. Jag. 8, p. 41 (PT's letter); GROMNICKI, p. 407 (reports on the collection of Peter's Pence, PT mentioned).	
Dec. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15614, 15615.	
Dec. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 15616.	
Dec. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5427–5430.
Dec. 25 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: AT 11, No. 433.
Dec. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 15617.	
Dec. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 15618.	
Dec. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5432–5434.
Dec. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15619, 15620; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 327v (=f. 326v in old foliation) – “in caminata curiae nostrae h. vesperorum vel quasi”; AT 11, No. 441 (PT's letter).	Some royal counselors have already been sent to Kraków to announce the election of Sigismund Augustus as King. The rest of them will soon follow, as the young King's coronation has been scheduled for Feb. 20: AT 11, No. 440, p. 328 (PT's letter to Olbracht Gasztold, n.d., [Dec. 30]).
Dec. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15621, 15622.	
<b>1530</b>	
Jan. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 15623.	
Jan. 2: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 23 (=f. 1 in old foliation).	

Jan. 3: MRPS 4/1, No. 5441 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 15624; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 66 (=f. 44 in old foliation).	
Jan. 4: MRPS 4/1, No. 5443 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”), 5446 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 15625.	PT hopes that the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) will conclude soon and the King will depart for Kraków. To reach the capital before the King and secure comfortable accommodations due to his illness, PT ordered his horses to be brought to him. He will set off directly to Kraków as soon as they arrive: AT 12, No. 2 (PT’s letter to Andrzej Krzycki, n.d., shortly before Jan. 5).
Jan. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 5449 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15626, 15627, 15629, 15630.	
Jan. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15631, 15632.	
Jan. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15633–15638.	
Jan. 8: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 277v (PT’s letter); AT 12, No. 12 (=EFE 34, No. 172, PT’s letter).	Due to physical weakness, PT decides to leave Piotrków without waiting for the conclusion of public affairs and head directly to Kraków: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 277v (PT’s letter to Stanisław Borek). The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5456–5460; CC 40, p. 315.
Jan. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5461.
Jan. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15639–15642.	
Jan. 11: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5470 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from WIERZBOWSKI 1913, No. 39), 5474 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from B. Ossol., perg. 966), 5476 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 15643.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 15644.	
Jan. 13: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5482–5484 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15645–15650, 15652–15654; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 23v (=f. 1v in old foliation).	
Jan. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15655–15659.	
Jan. 15: MRPS 4/1, No. 5494 (royal document, PT mentioned); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15660, 15661.	
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15662–15665. <sup>274</sup>	
	Jan. 17 – the King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5497, 5498; MRPS 5/1, No. 806 (transumpt); LM 224 (4), Nos 430, 432, 434.
	Jan. 18 – the King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5499–5502; LM 224 (4), No. 435; APG, 300, D/5b, 150; BEREZHKOVA, p. 204.
	Jan. 19 – the King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5503–5511; SZACHERSKA, No. 375. The King’s presence in Piotrków on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in GAŚCIOROWSKI, p. 265. The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5503–5511. <sup>275</sup>

<sup>274</sup> Three entries in MK 44, pp. 299, 311, 317, corresponding to MRPS 4/1, Nos 5503–5505, suggest that PT was in Piotrków on Jan. 19. Instead of witness lists, they read “praesentibus ut supra”, theoretically referencing the previous full witness list in the record book in which PT was considered: MK 44, p. 182. However, the reference is certainly misleading, as PT is absent from the full witness list of the document summarized in MRPS 4/1, No. 5503, preserved in another copy: AAG, A Cons G VII 17 (former ms. 56a), f. 64.

<sup>275</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 40; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 63; and *Postowie*, p. 73, consider that day as the end of the General Diet (*sejm walny*). According to SKRODZKI, f. CD<sub>2v</sub>, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) concluded on Jan. 11, when the taxation agreement was reached (“hic ad finem deducta est in finem [!] conventio et contributio est laudata”).



<b>1530 Jan. 20 to Feb. 1 — Kraków</b>	
Jan. 20 – PT arrives in Kraków: BIEM I, f. 472v.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK VI, KA 1, f. 26, and departs from there towards Kraków: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 40. <sup>276</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Jan. 21: AOff. Cr. 48, f. 500v (=p. 998 in old pagination, PT's document); AT 12, No. 26 (PT's letter).	
Jan. 23: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 25 (=f. 3 in old foliation); AT 12, No. 27 (PT's speech, date supplied from other sources).	The King arrives in Kraków: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 389 (note in the records of the Consistory Court of Kraków); BIEM I, f. 472v; SOKOLNICKI, f. <b>CD</b> <sub>2v</sub> <sup>277</sup> and stays there: LM 224 (4), No. 436; BEREZHKOVA, p. 204. Cf. GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265 (information about the stay, not the arrival).
	Jan. 25 – the King is in Kraków: AT 12, No. 28.
Jan. 26: MRPS 4/1, No. 5524 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); AT 12, No. 31 (PT's letter).	
	Jan. 27 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 437.
	Jan. 28 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 438; GORCZAK 3, No. 380.
	Jan. 29 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5512; LM 224 (4), No. 439.
	Jan. 31 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5513.
Feb. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 15667.	
	Feb. 2 – the King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 3, No. 381; AT 12, No. 38.

<sup>276</sup> According to SKRODZKI, f. **CD**<sub>3</sub>, the King departed from Piotrków on Jan. 13.

<sup>277</sup> According to SKRODZKI, f. **CD**<sub>3</sub>, the King arrived in Kraków on Jan. 18.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>[1530 Feb. 3 — Proszowice]</b>	
[PT probably attends the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) in Proszowice: PT was obligated to participate in the assembly as a member of the Royal Council.]	The Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) was convoked on Feb. 3: AT 12, Nos 4, 5. <sup>278</sup> The King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), Nos 440, 442, and leaves for Niepołomice: SOKOLNICKI, f. CD <sub>4</sub> . <sup>279</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1530 Feb. 4 to Jul. 16 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Feb. 4: AEp. Cr. 11, f. 27 (=f. 5 in old foliation).	
Feb. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 15668.	
Feb. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 5515 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – "praesentibus ut supra").	
Feb. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 15669; AOff. Wisł., B. Ossol., 2944, f. 172 (PT's document).	
Feb. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 15670.	
	Feb. 13 – the King is in Niepołomice: LM 224 (4), No. 444. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>278</sup> The royal missive summoning the General Diet (*sejm walny*) and Local Diets (*sejmiki*) suggests that, contrary to usual practice (URUSZCZAK, p. 95), all *sejmiki* were convoked for the same day. This is further confirmed by the fact that the royal mandate addressed to the starosts of Mazovia specified the date of the Local Diet in Warszawa as Feb. 3 (AT 12, No. 15). Moreover, the Local Diet in Szadek actually took place on that day (NAROPIŃSKI, p. 224). Another anomaly in the established parliamentary procedure was the absence of Provincial Diets (*sejmiki generalne*). They are not mentioned in the previously referenced royal missive that summons the General Diet and Local Diets.

<sup>279</sup> LM 224 (4), Nos 441, 443, record the King in Kraków on Feb. 4.

Feb. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 15671; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 29v (=f. 7v in old foliation).	
Feb. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 15672.	
Feb. 17: AT 12, No. 45 (=SROKA 5, No. 1159, PT's letter).	
	Feb. 19 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5517, and visits the shrine in Skałka: BORKOWSKA, p. 199; <sup>280</sup> SZYMBORSKI 2007, p. 176 (repeated from BORKOWSKA). The King's visit to Skałka not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Feb. 20: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 396 (commentary on the coronation of King Sigismund Augustus, PT mentioned); AT 12, Nos 47 (PT's letter), 48 (Stanisław Górski's commentary, PT mentioned).	The coronation of King Sigismund II Augustus.
Feb. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 15675; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 31 (=f. 9 in old foliation).	
Feb. 22: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 261 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5518. The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked on that day: AT 12, Nos 4, 5, 15.
Feb. 23: MRPS 4/1, No. 5520 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 15676.	The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5519–5521. <sup>281</sup>
Feb. 24 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), Nos 447, 449.

<sup>280</sup> BORKOWSKA, p. 199, n. 67, suggests that the young King Sigismund Augustus, in accordance with the *ordo coronandi* of Polish monarchs, made a procession to Skałka on the eve of his coronation (Feb. 19) with his parents, King Sigismund and Queen Bona. While this is a reasonable supposition, the source reference (ASK 1, RK 35, f. 24) is mistaken, as the account book mentioned only includes materials from 1507–1524. In an attempt to find the correct reference, ASK 1, RK 53, f. 24, was also checked, assuming that the number of the record book could have been mistakenly transposed. It was discovered that this entry in the book actually contains information about the King's and Queen's visit to Skałka, but on 1521 Jul. 26.

<sup>281</sup> The first entry dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by PT is from Mar. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 15682.

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 25 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5522, 5523; LM 224 (4), No. 452.
Feb. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 15677.	
Feb. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: AT 12, Nos 49, 50.
Feb. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 15678.	
Mar. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 15681. <sup>282</sup>	
Mar. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 15682.	
Mar. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5528; LM 224 (4), Nos 457, 458.
Mar. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 5529 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15683–15688. <sup>283</sup>	
Mar. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 15689.	
Mar. 7: MRPS 4/1, No. 5533 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from transumpt in MRPS 5/1, No. 477, where witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15690–15694.	
Mar. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 15695.	
Mar. 9: MRPS 4/1, No. 5537 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15696–15698; BORZEMSKI, No. 1, p. 85 (=FASTNACHT, No. 95, Jan Karnkowski’s document, PT’s seal).	

<sup>282</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 41; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 76; and *Posłowie*, p. 73, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) commenced on Mar. 2. This is based on the first entry dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by PT (MRPS 4/2, No. 15681). This entry was mistakenly considered the inception of the formula’s use by the Royal Chancellery, disregarding the earlier entries from the register supervised by Chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (see above, the additional information for Feb. 23).

<sup>283</sup> HRUSHEVSKY 1901, No. 37, records the King in Radom on Mar. 5.

Mar. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 5543 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 15699.	
Mar. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15700, 15701.	
Mar. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15702, 15703.	
Mar. 13: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5545, 5546 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 15704; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 126v (=f. 104 in old foliation); AT 12, No. 58 (=CIDTC, IDL 472, Jan Benedyktowicz Solfa’s letter, PT mentioned).	
Mar. 14: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5548, 5550–5552 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15705, 15706.	
Mar. 15: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5559, 5560 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15707–15709; AT 12, No. 62 (=CIDTC, IDL 3471, PT’s letter).	
Mar. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 15710.	
Mar. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 15711.	
Mar. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15712, 15713.	
Mar. 19: MRPS 4/1, No. 5567 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15714, 15715.	
Mar. 20 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 472.
Mar. 21 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5569; AGAD, perg. 6841.

Itinerary	Additional information
Mar. 22: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5600 (royal document witnessed by PT, date corrected from AGAD, perg. 7568, <sup>284</sup> witness list supplied from AGAD, perg. 7568), 5604 (royal document witnessed by PT, date corrected from AGAD, perg. 7567, <sup>285</sup> witness list supplied from AGAD, perg. 7567); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15716–15718.	
Mar. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5572; LM 224 (4), Nos 473, 475.
Mar. 24: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5573, 5576 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15719–15721; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 39 (=f. 17 in old foliation); SROKA 5, No. 1168 (PT’s letter).	
Mar. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5578; AT 12, No. 67.
Mar. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15722–15725; AGAD, perg. 3754 (royal document, signature by PT).	
Mar. 27 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5585.
Mar. 28: MRPS 4/1, No. 5588 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15727–15730.	

<sup>284</sup> In MRPS 4/1, No. 5600, the date Mar. 31 is silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski. The corresponding entry in MK 44, p. 702, has no full dating clause and reads only “Cracoviae in conventione generali ut supra”.

<sup>285</sup> In MRPS 4/1, No. 5604, the date Mar. 31 is silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski. The corresponding summary of the document in MK 44, p. 710, bears no date and reads only “anno, loco et die quibus supra”.

<p>Mar. 29: MRPS 4/1, No. 5593 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “<i>praesentibus ut supra</i>”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15731–15735; KUPCHYNSKY &amp; RUZHYTSKY, No. 418 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AT 12, No. 74 (PT’s letter).</p>	
<p>Mar. 30: MRPS 4/1, No. 5596 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “<i>praesentibus ut supra</i>”).</p>	
<p>Mar. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 15736; BUCHOLTZ 2, p. 62 (preliminary agreement with Saxon envoys with PT’s signature mentioned).</p>	
<p>Apr. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15739, 15740; AT 12, No. 78 (PT’s letter); AEp. Cr. 12, f. 43 (=f. 21 in old foliation); STARNAWSKI, No. 21 (Stanisław Kilowski’s letter, date corrected from APL, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, p. 315=f. 158v in old foliation, PT mentioned).<sup>286</sup></p>	
<p>Apr. 2: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5611, 5612 (royal documents witnessed by PT, witness lists supplied from MK).</p>	
<p>Apr. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15741, 15742; Kod. Jag. 12, f. 192v (PT’s letter).</p>	

<sup>286</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 41; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; and *Posłowie*, p. 73, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) continued until Apr. 1. This is based on the final entry dated *in convention* in the register supervised by PT (MRPS 4/2, No. 15739). This entry was mistakenly regarded as the termination of the formula’s use by the Royal Chancellery, overlooking the subsequent entries from the register supervised by Chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (see below, the additional information for Apr. 4). The last day when the Royal Chancellery used the formula was accurately identified as Apr. 4 in VC 1/2, p. 76.

Itinerary	Additional information
Apr. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5613–5622; LM 224 (4), Nos 482, 484; AGAD, pap. 1599; SPPP 6, Nos 436, 438–440; AT 12, Nos 81–83 (No. 83=CIDTC, IDL 709). The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5616, 5617, 5620, 5621.
Apr. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 5617 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15743, 15744.	
	Apr. 6 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5624; LM 224 (4), No. 487; SPPP 6, Nos 446–450.
Apr. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 15745; ZBUDNIEWEK, No. 398 (PT’s document).	
Apr. 8: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 48 – date, 49 et seq. – records considered (=ff. 26, 27 et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5628–5631; SPPP 6, Nos 456, 458; AT 12, No. 86.
Apr. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 15746; AEp. Cr. 11, f. 51 (=f. 29 in old foliation).	
Apr. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 15747.	
	Apr. 11 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5638, 5639; LM 224 (4), No. 492; APG, 300, D/5b, 156.
Apr. 12: TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 870 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Apr. 13: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 32v (PT’s letter).	The King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 493.
	Apr. 14 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5641; APG, 300, D/5b, 157.
	Apr. 15 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 491.



Apr. 16: AT 12, No. 93 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from TG, No. 1292).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5642.
	Apr. 19 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5643.
Apr. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15749, 15750.	
Apr. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15751, 15752.	
Apr. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15753–15756.	
Apr. 23: MRPS 4/1, No. 5647 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 15757.	
Apr. 25: MRPS 4/1, No. 5653 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15758, 15759; AT 12, No. 105 (=CIDTC, IDL 3477, PT's letter).	The King departs from Kraków towards Częstochowa to fulfil a vow, and his return is planned after 9 days (May 4): AT 12, Nos 100 (=CIDTC, IDL 484, Iustus Ludovicus Decius' letter), 147 (=EFE 34, No. 185, Seweryn Boner's letter). <sup>287</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Apr. 26: AT 12, No. 109 (=CIDTC, IDL 3479, Jan Chojeński's letter, PT mentioned).	
Apr. 27: AT 12, No. 110 (=CIDTC, IDL 3481, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter, PT mentioned). <sup>288</sup>	
Apr. 29: AT 12, No. 115 (PT's letter).	
ca. May 1: AT 12, No. 121 (=CIDTC, IDL 488, Fabian Wojanowski-Damerau's letter, PT mentioned).	

<sup>287</sup> Several documents incorrectly suggest the King's presence in Kraków between Apr. 25 and May 4:

- 1) MRPS 4/2, No. 15760, records the King in Kraków on Apr. 26;
- 2) MRPS 4/1, No. 5655, records the King in Kraków on Apr. 27;
- 3) MRPS 4/1, No. 5656, records the King in Kraków on Apr. 30.

<sup>288</sup> MRPS 4/1, No. 5655, is probably misdated as it mentions PT's petition made in the presence (“coram”) of the King in Kraków on Apr. 27 (see MK 44, p. 602), while at that time, the King was absent on his pilgrimage to Częstochowa.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
May 2: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 53v (=f. 31v in old foliation).	
May 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 15761.	The King arrives in Kraków from Częstochowa: SOKOLNICKI, f. <b>CD</b> <sub>6v</sub> . Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
May 5: AEp. Cr. 14, f. 19v (=f. 16v in old foliation); AT 12, No. 125 (=CIDTC, IDL 3482, PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 12, Nos 122–124 (No. 124=CIDTC, IDL 490).
May 6: MRPS 4/1, No. 5669 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); AEp. Cr. 14, f. 20 (=f. 17 in old foliation).	
May 7: OSK, Fol. Lat. 258, f. 283 (PT and Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5669; LM 224 (4), No. 496; BEREZHKOVA, p. 204.
May 8: MRPS 4/1, No. 5671 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15762, 15763; AKKK, perg. 712 (PT's document); B. Ossol., 2160, p. 848 (cartulary of the Abbey of Tyniec, PT's document); AT 12, No. 128 (=EFE 34, No. 179, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter, PT mentioned).	
May 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15764–15769; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 53v (=f. 31v in old foliation).	
May 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15770–15774; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 54v – date, 55 – record considered (=ff. 32v, 33 in old foliation=URBAN 2010, No. 31 – Waclaw Urban references the entry without specifying the place of issue); AEp. Cr. 14, f. 20 (=f. 17 in old foliation); AOff. Sand., p. 694 (PT's document).	

May 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15775–15777; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 55 – date, 55v – record considered (=ff. 33, 33v in old foliation).	
May 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15778–15783; OSK, Fol. Lat. 258, f. 282 (PT's letter).	
	May 13 – the King is in Kraków: AT 12, No. 132; AZP, No. 235, and departs with Queen Bona for the pilgrimage to Święty Krzyż: SOKOLNICKI, f. $\text{CD}_{6v}$ . Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265 (information about the stay, not the departure).
	[May 13–14 – the King probably spends the night in Proszowice: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Kraków and Wiślica.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	May 14 – the King arrives in Wiślica. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
May 15: AT 12, No. 134 (PT's letter).	The King is in Wiślica: GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265 (inferred from Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter: AT 12, No. 133=EFE 34, No. 181, and the presumption of the Chancellor's presence with the King).
	[May 15–16 – the King probably spends the night in Szydłów: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Wiślica and Łagów.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	May 16 – the King arrives in Łagów. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
May 17: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 57v (=f. 35v in old foliation).	The King is in Łagów: LM 224 (4), No. 497; BEREZHKOVA, p. 204; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265.
	[May 17 – the King probably arrives in Nowa Słupia: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Łagów and Święty Krzyż.] Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	May 17 – the King visits Święty Krzyż: the date inferred from the standard distance per day of the royal retinue. <sup>289</sup> Cf. BORKOWSKA, p. 186 (no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>289</sup> It is more likely that the King visited Święty Krzyż on the day of his arrival in Nowa Słupia rather than the following day when he moved to Opatów, which is approximately 30 km away. This is because the distance between Łagów and Nowa Słupia is only around 10 km, and the royal retinue covers a distance of about 30 km daily.

Itinerary	Additional information
	[May 17–18 – the King probably spends the night in Nowa Słupia: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Nowa Słupia and Sandomierz. <sup>290</sup> ] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	[May 18–19 – the King probably spends the night in Opatów: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Nowa Słupia and Sandomierz.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	May 19 – the King arrives in Sandomierz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
May 20: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 60v (=f. 38v in old foliation).	The King is in Sandomierz: MRPS 4/1, No. 5679; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265.
May 21: AT 12, No. 140 (PT’s letter).	The King is in Sandomierz: inferred from the information in PT’s letter, which states that the King, Queen, and royal children planned to stay in Sandomierz for a while (“aliquantisper”) after fulfilling their vows. This suggests they would remain there for at least two nights: AT 12, No. 115. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	[May 21–22 – the King probably spends the night in Osiek: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Sandomierz and Połaniec.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	May 22 – the King is in Połaniec: LM 224 (4), No. 498; BEREZHKOVA, p. 204; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265.
	May 23 – the King leaves Połaniec. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	May 23 – the King is in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5681, 5682; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265.

<sup>290</sup> I assumed that the King did not spend the night at the Święty Krzyż Monastery, as the royal itineraries published so far do not provide sufficient evidence to support such a practice.

	May 24 – the King is in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: MRPS 4/1, No. 5683; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265. <sup>291</sup>
	[May 24–25 – the King probably spends the night in Proszowice: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Nowe Miasto Korczyn and Kraków.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
May 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 15785.	The King arrives in Kraków from Święty Krzyż: SOKOLNICKI, f. CD <sub>7</sub> . <sup>292</sup> Cf. GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265 (information about the stay, not the arrival).
May 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 15786.	
May 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15787–15789; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 58v (=f. 36v in old foliation).	
	May 29 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5686; AT 12, No. 148.
May 30: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 59 (=f. 37 in old foliation).	
May 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 15790.	
Jun. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 15791; AT 12, No. 154 (=CIDTC, IDL 3483, PT's letter).	
Jun. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15792, 15793.	
Jun. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 15794; AT 12, Nos 161 (PT's letter), 162 (Jan Chojeński's letter, PT mentioned).	
Jun. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 15795.	
	Jun. 5 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 515.
Jun. 6: AT 12, No. 167 (PT's letter).	
	Jun. 7 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5693; LM 17 (17), No. 12=LM 224 (4), No. 502.

<sup>291</sup> JATULIS 1, No. 149, records the King in Kraków on May 24.

<sup>292</sup> According to AT 12, No. 147 (=EFE 34, No. 185, Seweryn Boner's letter), the King returned to Kraków on May 26.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jun. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15796, 15797; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 62 – date, 62v – record considered (=ff. 40, 40v in old foliation).	
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5700 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK), 5701 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 15798; TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 873 (royal document, witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from BCz, perg. 795).	
Jun. 10: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 74 (=f. 73 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5703–5705.
Jun. 11: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 411 (=f. 412 in old foliation, royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jun. 12: MRPS 4/1, No. 5707 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
	Jun. 13 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5708.
	Jun. 14 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5709–5714.
Jun. 15: MRPS 4/1, No. 5716 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); NABIALEK et al., No. 327 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
Jun. 16: AT 12, No. 173 (PT’s letter, place supplied from TG, No. 1304).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5717.
	Jun. 17 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 504; CC 40, p. 362.
	Jun. 18 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5718, 5719; AOff. Cr. 61, f. 106v (=p. 270 in old pagination).

Jun. 19: AT 12, No. 177 (=EFE 34, No. 186, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter, PT mentioned).	PT is among the few members of the Royal Council present at the royal court: Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter to Duke Albrecht, as referenced on the left.
Jun. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 15799.	
Jun. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15800, 15801; AT 12, No. 178 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 15802.	
Jun. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15803, 15804.	
	Jun. 24 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 510; AGZ 10, No. 448, and, together with Sigismund Augustus, departs for Niepołomice, he is scheduled to return to Kraków on the following Monday (Jun. 27): AT 12, No. 183 (=EFE 34, No. 192, travel mentioned). <sup>293</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>294</sup>
Jun. 25: AT 12, No. 184 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 27 – PT presumably attends the Diocesan Synod of Kraków.	The Diocesan Synod of Kraków was convened for Jun. 27: BJ, 2931, ff. 77–78 (PT's letter, n.d.). The King probably returns to Kraków from Niepołomice: see above, the additional information for Jun. 24. The King's arrival not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jun. 28: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 65 – date, 65v – record considered (=ff. 43, 43v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 509; BEREZHKOVA, p. 204.
Jun. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15805, 15806.	
	Jun. 30 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5725.

<sup>293</sup> LM 224 (4), Nos 508, 512, record the King's presence in Kraków on Jun. 26.

<sup>294</sup> In the summer and autumn of 1530, the King frequently went hunting in Niepołomice, which was noted by Fabian Wojanowski-Damerau. On Jul. 27, he shared his observation with Ioannes Dantiscus, stating that "Maiestas regia optime valet, saepe in Nepolomicze venatum cum maiestate reginali, serenissimo filio et duabus reginulis proficiscitur" [His Royal Majesty is in excellent health and frequently goes hunting in Niepołomice, accompanied by the Queen, his son, and the two young princesses] (CIDTC, IDL 657). However, it is difficult to establish the precise dates of departures and arrivals due to the current state of knowledge on the royal movements. None of these travels were included in Antoni Gaśsiorowski's work, as he relied on inaccurate data gathered by Nikolay Berezkhov for periods not covered by MRPS.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15808, 15809; AKKK, perg. 713 (PT's document).	
Jul. 2: AOff. Cr. 60, f. 139 (=p. 275 in old pagination, PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5728.
Jul. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 15810.	
Jul. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15811, 15812.	
Jul. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 15815; SMK 16, No. 410 (transumpt of royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT, witness list and formulas supplied from MK).	
Jul. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 15816.	
	Jul. 7 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5735–5737; AT 12, No. 191 (=CIDTC, IDL 511).
Jul. 8: MRPS 4/1, No. 5739 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut proxime supra</i> ”).	
	Jul. 9 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5742, 5743. <sup>295</sup>
	Jul. 10 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 521.
	Jul. 11 – the Provincial Synod in Piotrków is held on this day: ULANOWSKI 1895, No. 6, p. 54; SKRODZKI, f. $\text{CD}_{8v}$ <sup>296</sup> in the absence of PT. <sup>297</sup>

<sup>295</sup> Although the entry in MK 44, p. 738, corresponding to MRPS 4/1, No. 5743, suggests PT's presence in Kraków on that day because it uses the formula “*praesentibus ut supra*”, PT does not appear in the full text of the witness list (see the entry in MK 78, f. 130v, corresponding to the transumpt in MRPS 5/1, No. 920). Therefore, it must be assumed that in the full witness list from the other document issued on the same day and entered in MK 44, p. 747, corresponding to MRPS 4/1, No. 5742, which uses the formula “*praesentibus ut proxime supra*”, PT is also absent.

<sup>296</sup> According to SUBERA 1971, p. 107, and SUBERA 1981, p. 85, the Provincial Synod was convened on Jul. 18. ULANOWSKI 1895, p. 9, incorrectly converted the date from the resolutions of the synod “*die Lunae ante festum S. Margaretae*” as Jul. 12.

<sup>297</sup> At present, there is no evidence to determine PT's whereabouts between Jul. 8 and 15. This interval would have provided ample time for him to travel to Piotrków, attend the Provincial



	Jul. 12 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5745; LM 17 (17), No. 1.
	Jul. 13 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5746; LM 224 (4), No. 523.
Jul. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 15818.	The King leaves Kraków for Niepołomice: SOKOLNICKI, f. <b>CD</b> <sub>9</sub> , Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 16: AT 12, No. 200 (PT's letter).	
<b>1530 Jul. 17 — Wawrzeńczyce</b>	
Jul. 17: AT 12, Nos 201, 202 (PT's letters).	The King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 524.
	Jul. 20 – the King is in Kraków: LM 224 (4), No. 525.
<b>1530 Jul. 22 to Dec. 1 — Kraków</b>	
	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Jul. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 15819.	
Jul. 23: AT 12, No. 206 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5751.
Jul. 24: AT 12, No. 237 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Jul. 25: AT 12, No. 207 (PT's letter, date corrected from TG, No. 1316).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 22, 25; AT 12, No. 208.
Jul. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15820, 15821.	

Synod on Jul. 11, and return to Kraków. Nevertheless, existing sources do not attest to his attendance at the synod.

According to SKRODZKI, f. **CD**<sub>8v</sub>, the attendees included Archbishop of Gniezno and Primate Jan Łaski, Bishop of Kuyavia Maciej Drzewicki, Bishop of Poznań Jan Latalski, and Bishop of Płock Andrzej Krzycki. The expected presence of Krzycki is also mentioned by Jan Wiczwieński in a letter dated Jun. 24, stating: “pro illis diebus cum aliis episcopis omnibus Regni interest synodo” [in these days he participates in the synod together with all the other bishops of the Kingdom] (AT 12, No. 182, p. 169=EFE 34, No. 191).

Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 15822; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 69 (=f. 47 in old foliation).	
Jul. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 15823.	
Jul. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 15824; AT 12, Nos 211, 212 (PT's letters).	
Aug. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 15825; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 69v et seq. (=ff. 47v et seq. in old foliation).	
	Aug. 2 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5757, 5758; SROKA 5, No. 1185.
Aug. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 5759 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 15826.	
Aug. 6: Kod. Jag. 12, f. 196v (PT's letter); AT 12, No. 219 (PT's letter).	
	Aug. 7 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 10, 18.
Aug. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 15827.	
Aug. 9: MRPS 4/1, No. 5760 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Aug. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15828, 15829.	
Aug. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 15830; AGAD, perg. 1022 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AEp. Cr. 12, f. 72v (=f. 50v in old foliation); AT 12, No. 233 (PT's letter).	
	Aug. 12 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5762, 5763; LM 17 (17), Nos 4, 8.
Aug. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15832–15842; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 73v (=f. 51v in old foliation).	
	Aug. 14 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 3, 5.

	Aug. 15 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5765; LM 17 (17), No. 11; AT 12, No. 238.
	Aug. 16 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5766; AT 12, No. 239.
Aug. 17: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 74 et seq. (=ff. 52 et seq. in old foliation).	
	Aug. 18 – the King is in Kraków: AT 12, No. 239.
Aug. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15843, 15844; ONB, Cod. 13597, f. 139v (Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter, PT mentioned).	
Aug. 20: MRPS 5/1, No. 2210 (transumpt of the royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> and signature by PT, witness list and formulas supplied from MK); AT 12, Nos 229 (letter to the King, PT's endorsement including place and date of receipt), 244 (=CIDTC, IDL 530, PT's letter).	
	Aug. 21 – the King is in Kraków: AT 12, Nos 248–251, and departs towards Niepołomice for hunting: SOKOLNICKI, f. <b>CD</b> <sub>9v</sub> . Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Aug. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 15845; AT 12, No. 254 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Aug. 23: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 225 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 20.
	Aug. 24 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 14.
	Aug. 25 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 15.
Aug. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 15846; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 80v (=f. 58v in old foliation).	
Aug. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 15847.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Aug. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 15848; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 81v (=f. 59v in old foliation); AOff. Cr. 48, f. 492v (=p. 982 in old pagination, PT's document). <sup>298</sup>	
Aug. 31: AT 12, Nos 266–268 (PT's letters).	The King is in Kraków: AT 12, Nos 263–265.
Sept. 1: MRPS 4/1, No. 5768 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut proxime supra”).	
	Sept. 3 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5769, 5770; CC 40, p. 389.
Sept. 4: AT 12, No. 271 (=CIDTC, IDL 3490, Fabian Wojanowski-Damerau's letter, PT mentioned).	
Sept. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 5771 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
Sept. 6: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 84v (=f. 62v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 26; AT 12, No. 273 (=EFE 30, No. 62).
Sept. 7: MRPS 4/1, No. 5772 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15850, 15851; AT 12, No. 276 (=CIDTC, IDL 540, Fabian Wojanowski-Damerau's letter, PT mentioned).	
	Sept. 8 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5774; LM 17 (17), Nos 27, 31; APG, 300, 53/3, p. 35.

<sup>298</sup> LM 7 (7), No. 380, records the King in Osiek on Aug. 30. Although the corresponding entry in the record book indicates the year as 1528, it was erroneously corrected to 1530 in the first edition of the document: GORCZAK 3, No. 389. Both year dates conflict with the royal itinerary.

Sept. 9: AOff. Cr. 60, f. 180 (=p. 357 in old pagination, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5775, 5776; LM 17 (17), No. 41; AT 12, Nos 280, 281; APG, 300, 53/3, p. 35, and departs from there towards Niepołomice for hunting: AT 12, No. 271, p. 251 (=CIDTC, IDL 3490, Fabian Wojanowski-Damerau's letter, expected day of departure mentioned); SOKOLNICKI, f. CD <sub>11</sub> . Not in GAŚTOROWSKI.
Sept. 10: AT 11, No. 350 (year-date corrected from TG, No. 1230, and internal evidence).	
Sept. 12: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 86 – date, 86v – record considered (=ff. 64, 64v in old foliation).	
Sept. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 15852; DŁUGOPOLSKI, No. 103 (PT's document).	
	Sept. 14 – the King is in Kraków: AT 12, No. 310.
Sept. 17: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 478 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	
Shortly after Sept. 17: AT 12, No. 311 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Sept. 18: AT 12, No. 290 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 19: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 89v (=f. 67v in old foliation).	
Sept. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 15853; AT 12, No. 294 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 15854; AT 12, Nos 301, 303 (PT's letters).	
Sept. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 15855; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 90v (=f. 68 in old foliation).	
	Sept. 23 – the King is in Kraków: SPPP 6, p. 24.
Sept. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15856, 15857.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Sept. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 15858; AT 12, No. 305 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 27: AA Cap. Cr. 3, f. 53v (PT mentioned).	
Sept. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 15859.	
Sept. 29: AGAD, perg. 5889 (royal document, signature by PT).	
	Sept. 30 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 35. <sup>299</sup>
Oct. 1: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 92 et seq. (=ff. 70 et seq. in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 485 (summary of PT's court record, relevant chancery formulas supplied from AEp. Cr. 12, f. 95=f. 73 in old foliation, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	
	Oct. 2 – the King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 3, No. 394.
Oct. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15862–15865.	
Oct. 5: KRZYŻANOWSKI, No. 493 (PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 36, 37.
	Oct. 6 – the King is in Kraków: SROKA 5, No. 1190.
	Oct. 7 – the King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), No. 91; LM 17 (17), No. 42; BEREZHKOVA, p. 204.
Oct. 8: KUPCHYNSKY & RUZHITSKY, No. 421 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
	Oct. 10 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 40.
	Oct. 12 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 44–46; AGAD, perg. 7570.
Oct. 13: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 99 (=f. 77 in old foliation).	

<sup>299</sup> LM 17 (17), No. 33, records the King in Kraków on Sept. 31 [!].

Oct. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15866–15873, 15876.	
	Oct. 15 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 47.
Oct. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15878–15882; AGZ 4, No. 121 (royal document witnessed by PT, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
	Oct. 17 – the King is in Kraków: AT 12, No. 332.
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 15883; AT 12, Nos 333–336 (PT’s letters).	PT plans to attend the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Piotrków: AT 12, No. 334, p. 307 (PT’s letter to Andrzej Krzycki).
	Oct. 19 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 51.
	Oct. 20 – the King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), No. 214.
Oct. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15884–15886.	
Oct. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 15887.	
	Oct. 23 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 52.
	Oct. 24 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 59.
	Oct. 25 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 55, 56.
Oct. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15888, 15889.	
Oct. 27: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 103 (=f. 81 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 58.
Oct. 28: AT 12, No. 347 (PT’s letter, date corrected from TG, No. 1373).	The King is likely absent from Kraków, as PT sends a letter to him from there. He is probably in Niepołomice, from where his arrival to Kraków is recorded on Oct. 31. See below, the additional information for Oct. 31. <sup>300</sup> The King’s absence from Kraków on that day not recorded in GĄSIO-ROWSKI.

<sup>300</sup> Several documents erroneously state that the King was in Kraków when he was, in fact, residing in Niepołomice: 1) LM 17 (17), Nos 43, 57, record the King in Kraków on Oct. 28; 2) AGZ 10, No. 455, records the King in Kraków on Oct. 28; 3) LM 17 (17), No. 50, records the King in Kraków on Oct. 30.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Oct. 31 – the King returns to Kraków from Niepołomice: SOKOLNICKI, f. <b>CD</b> <sub>11v</sub> . Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Nov. 1: AT 12, No. 352 (=CIDTC, IDL 560, PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 12, No. 351.
Nov. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 15891; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 106v – date, 107 – record considered (=ff. 84v, 85 in old foliation).	
Nov. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15892, 15893; AT 12, No. 355 (PT's letter).	
	Nov. 6 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 60.
Nov. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15894–15896.	
	Nov. 8 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 61–63.
Nov. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 15897.	
Nov. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 15899.	
Nov. 13: AT 12, No. 366 (PT's letter).	PT has remained homebound for four weeks and is now weak and feeble. He harbours significant doubts about his ability to attend the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Piotrków: PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, as referenced on the left.
Nov. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15900–15904; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 111v (=f. 89 in old foliation).	
Nov. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15905, 15906.	
Nov. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15907, 15908; AT 12, No. 368 (=CIDTC, IDL 3496, PT's letter).	
Nov. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15909, 15910.	
	Nov. 20 – the King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 3, No. 396; APG, 300, D/5b, 161; AT 12, No. 369.
	Nov. 21 – the King is in Kraków: AT 12, No. 340.



Nov. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15911, 15912.	
Nov. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 15913.	
Nov. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15914, 15915; AT 12, No. 373 (PT's letter, date corrected from TG, No. 1383).	
Nov. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 15916.	
Nov. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15917, 15918. <sup>301</sup>	The King departs from Kraków towards Piotrków for the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ): SOKOLNICKI, f. CD <sub>12v</sub> . <sup>302</sup> Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265 (information about the stay, not the departure).

<sup>301</sup> Despite the royal document in MRPS 4/2, No. 15923, being dated Książ, Nov. 30, and included in the register of royal documents issued under the supervision of PT, it should not be considered a reliable source for establishing PT's location on that day.

The date in the copy of the document is not quite accurate. MK 48, p. 2, reads: "feria 3 in Divi Andreae", while the Feast of St Andrew in 1530 fell on a Wednesday. Teodor Wierzbowski corrected the suspected reading by changing "feria 3" to "feria 4". I think that adding the word "vigilia" after "in" would be more in line with the chancery practice of dating and, at the same time, coherent with the actual date.

No matter which date was accurate, PT's contribution to the document remains problematic. The copy lacks any formulas confirming he was co-responsible for the contents and was present at the time of the issue, such as signature and *relatio*. However, this is not a conclusive argument against his presence at the royal court. Some documents were composed by clerks supervised by a chancellor or vice-chancellor staying with the King, subsequently authenticated only by the royal signature and copied into the respective register after being issued. Reasonable doubts over following the standard procedure in this case are caused mainly by the fact that the document was registered separately from other documents issued in 1530. The copy is in the very beginning of the book of MK 48, containing only much later entries – from the second half of 1532 and 1533. It is also to be noted that the document was copied by a different scribe on leaves that were initially left blank.

On the other hand, PT's presence in Kraków on Dec. 1, several days after the King's departure, is sufficiently proven by two different sources (see below, the information for that day). It must be assumed that he has not gone anywhere in the meantime, especially since it was not believed that he was able to attend the General Diet (*sejm walny*) at all. He set out a few days after the royal household (see below, the information for Dec. 1), travelled separately (PT's letter to Queen Bona, Dec. 9, AT 12, No. 387, p. 372: "quando huc veni, reperi sacram maiestatem regiam" [when I came here, I encountered his Sacred Royal Majesty]), and when arrived in Piotrków, caused surprise (Fabian Wojanowski-Damerau's letter to Ioannes Dantiscus, Dec. 9, CIDTC, IDL 3499: "reverendissimus dominus Cracoviensis etiam illic est, quod non sperabatur" [the most reverend Bishop of Kraków is also there, which was not expected]). All things considered, his stay with the King in Książ on Nov. 29 or 30 is out of the question.

<sup>302</sup> In a letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki dated Nov. 13, PT indicated that the King's scheduled departure from Kraków was set for Nov. 29: AT 12, No. 366, p. 355.

Itinerary	Additional information
	[Nov. 28–29 – the King probably spends the night in Słomniki: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Kraków and Książ.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Nov. 29 – the King is in Książ: ASK 1, RK 64, ff. 87, 97v (=ff. 5, 15v <i>a tergo</i> ). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Nov. 29–30 – the King spends the night in Książ. <sup>303</sup> Cf. GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265 (the King's presence recorded, but the date of source evidence is vague, see n. 301).
	Nov. 30 – the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked on that day: AT 12, Nos 321–324; SKRODZKI, f. CD <sub>12v</sub> .
	[Nov. 30–Dec. 1 – the King probably spends the night in Jędrzejów: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Książ and Piotrków.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 1 – PT is in Kraków: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 121v – date, 122v – record considered (=ff. 99v, 100v in old foliation), and departs from there towards Piotrków for the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ): SOKOLNICKI, f. CD <sub>13v</sub> .	
	[Dec. 1–2 – the King probably spends the night in Małogoszcz: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Książ and Piotrków.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	[Dec. 2–3 – the King probably spends the night in Przedbórz: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Książ and Piotrków.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Dec. 3 – the King arrives in Piotrków: AT 12, No. 385, p. 370 (Maciej Drzewicki's letter, date corrected from internal evidence,

<sup>303</sup> LM 17 (17), No. 66, and GORCZAK 3, No. 398, record the King in Kraków on Nov. 30.

	the arrival mentioned); <sup>304</sup> AT 12, No. 366, p. 355 (the date of expected arrival mentioned); <sup>305</sup> SKRODZKI, f. <b>CD</b> <sub>13v</sub> . Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. <sup>306</sup>
	Dec. 4 – the King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 97v (=f. 5 <i>a tergo</i> ). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Dec. 5 – the King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 87 (=f. 15v <i>a tergo</i> ). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Dec. 6 – the King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 80v (=f. 22 <i>a tergo</i> ). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Dec. 8 – the King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 80v (=f. 22 <i>a tergo</i> ). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1530 shortly before Dec. 9 to 1531 Jan. 8 — Piotrków</b>	
Dec. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 15924; AT 12, Nos 386 (=CIDTC, IDL 3499, Fabian Wojanowski-Damerau’s letter, PT mentioned), 387 (PT’s letter, recent arrival mentioned).	The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, No. 15924. <sup>307</sup> The King’s presence in Piotrków on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265.

<sup>304</sup> In the letter dated Dec. 8 (I confirmed the accuracy of the reading in the edition from the original letter: BCz, 249, p. 106), Maciej Drzewicki states that it was the eighth day following the King’s arrival in Piotrków: “octavus dies est, quod huc sacra maiestas regia [...] applicuit”. This would imply that the King arrived in Piotrków on Dec. 1. However, departing from Kraków on Nov. 28, the King would not have reached Piotrków on Dec. 1, even if he had traversed the fastest variant of this route, namely Kraków–Miechów–Secemin–Przedbórz–Piotrków. This scenario becomes even less plausible considering the King’s journey via the more time-consuming route through Książ.

Fortunately, the dispatch date can be rectified based on the mention that “officium divinum hodie Spiritui Sancto est celebratum” [the Divine Office in honor of the Holy Spirit has been celebrated today]: AT 12, No. 385, p. 370. The mass for the Holy Spirit took place on Dec. 11 (see below, the additional information for that day). Assuming Drzewicki made an error and his letter should be dated Dec. 11, the information regarding the King’s arrival would align with the date inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Książ and Piotrków and from the mention in Stanisław Skrodzki’s diary.

<sup>305</sup> The anticipated day of the King’s arrival in Piotrków mentioned in PT’s letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki dated Nov. 13 agrees with the date inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Książ and Piotrków. However, the credibility of the information from the letter is limited, given that PT suggests another day for the King’s departure from Kraków than the real one – Nov. 29 instead of Nov. 28.

<sup>306</sup> GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265, only mentions the King’s stay in Piotrków starting from Dec. 9.

<sup>307</sup> The first entry dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki is from Dec. 10: MRPS 4/1, No. 5779.

Itinerary	Additional information
Dec. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 97v (=f. 5 <i>a tergo</i> ); MRPS 4/1, No. 5779; LM 17 (17), Nos 72, 73; AT 12, Nos 390, 391; BEREZHKOVA, p. 204.
Dec. 11: CDUJ 4, No. 356 (=KACZMARCZYK, No. 413, PT's document).	The mass for the Holy Spirit: AT 13, No. 385, p. 370 (Maciej Drzewicki's letter, date corrected, see n. 304); No. 393, p. 376 (Jan Chojeński's letter); SKRODZKI, f. CD <sub>14</sub> .
Dec. 12: AT 12, No. 393 (Jan Chojeński's letter, PT mentioned). <sup>308</sup>	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) probably begins: assembly proceedings commenced at the earliest <sup>309</sup> on the day after the mass for the Holy Spirit. <sup>310</sup>
Dec. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 15925.	
Dec. 14 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 97v (=f. 5 <i>a tergo</i> ); MRPS 4/1, No. 5780.
Dec. 15: AT 12, No. 398 (=CIDTC, IDL 3501, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter, PT mentioned).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5781.
Dec. 16: AT 12, No. 401 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5782; AT 12, Nos 400, 402.
Dec. 17: AT 12, No. 406 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 12, No. 403 (date corrected from TG, No. 1395).
Dec. 18: AT 12, No. 405 (PT's letter).	
Dec. 19 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 97 (=f. 5v <i>a tergo</i> ); MRPS 4/1, No. 5783; CC 43, p. 6; AT 12, Nos 409, 410.

<sup>308</sup> The document by PT in ZBUDNIEWEK, No. 416, is wrongly dated as Kraków, 1530 Dec. 12, since PT was not in Kraków that day. The manuscript copy is damaged, missing the month and year, and the dating clause was supplied by Janusz Zbudniewek without explanation.

<sup>309</sup> See n. 63.

<sup>310</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 42, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) commenced on Dec. 9. This is based on the first entry dated *in conventione* in MK (see above, the additional information for that day).

According to URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 84; and *Posłowie*, p. 74, the General Diet commenced on Dec. 8. This is based on the mention of the mass for the Holy Spirit in Maciej Drzewicki's letter, which was mistakenly dated as Dec. 8. See n. 304.

Dec. 20: MRPS 4/1, No. 5784 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 15926.	
Dec. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15927, 15928.	
Dec. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 15929; AT 12, No. 417 (PT's letter).	
Dec. 23 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 96v (=f. 6 <i>a tergo</i> ).
Dec. 24: MRPS 4/1, No. 5788 (royal commissioners' document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	The King is in Piotrków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5787; LM 17 (17), No. 74; BEREZHKOVA, p. 204.
Dec. 25 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 80 (=f. 22v <i>a tergo</i> ).
Dec. 26: MRPS 4/1, No. 5789 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); AT 12, No. 420 (PT's letter).	
Dec. 27: MRPS 4/1, No. 5790 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15930, 15931.	
Dec. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 15932.	
Dec. 29: MRPS 4/1, No. 5792 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
Dec. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15934, 15935; AOff. Cr. 60, f. 180 (=p. 357 in old pagination, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
Dec. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 15936; GROMNICKI, p. 406 (reports on the collection of Peter's Pence, PT mentioned).	
<b>1531</b>	
Jan. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 15941.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 2: MRPS 4/1, No. 5801 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15942–15945.	
Jan. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15946–15949; AT 13, No. 4 (PT’s letter).	PT and the King are diligently addressing the outstanding legal cases, aiming to expedite their departure from Piotrków and return to their respective estates (“in propria”): AT 13, No. 4, pp. 10–11 (PT’s letter to Queen Bona).
Jan. 4 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5805; AT 13, No. 7 (=EFE 30, No. 63).
Jan. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 15950; SPPP 6, p. 443 (royal document witnessed by PT).	
Jan. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15952–15957.	
Jan. 7: MRPS 4/1, No. 5818 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 15958–15960; WIŚNIEWSKI 1911, p. 119 <sup>bis</sup> (sentence of the Land Court, i.e., <i>sąd ziemski</i> , witnessed by PT); AT 12, No. 226 (letter to the King, Stanisław Górski’s note with place and date of transcription).	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) concludes: AT 13, No. 15 (the end of the proceedings mentioned). <sup>311</sup>

<sup>311</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 42, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) continued until Jan. 12. This conclusion is based on documents erroneously dated Jan. 12: MRPS 4/1, No. 5838, and MRPS 4/2, No. 15966. See n. 313.

According to URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 84; and *Postowie*, p. 74, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) concluded on Jan. 8. This assertion is based on references in two letters that were not precisely interpreted. In a letter to Queen Bona, dated Jan. 8, the King informs his wife, “absolvimus heri [Jan. 7] reliquias negotiorum omnium publicorum” [we finished yesterday the remnants of all public matters] (AT 13, No. 15, p. 22). It, therefore, appears that the King was referring specifically to the end of the assembly’s proceedings. In another letter dated Dec. 8, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki mentions the conclusion of the proceedings – “conventum hunc absolvimus” [we finished the General Diet] (AT 13, No. 18, p. 24), but without specifying the date, which only provides a *terminus ante quem* for the end of the assembly.

Jan. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15961–15965; AT 13, No. 16 (PT's letter).	The final day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5829–5836. <sup>312</sup>
	Jan. 9 – the King is in Piotrków: JASAS, No. 354, and departs from there towards Kraków: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 41; SKRODZKI, f. <b>CE</b> <sub>2v</sub> ; AT 13, No. 15 (expected day of departure mentioned). <sup>313</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>314</sup>
	Jan. 9 – the King is in Przedbórz: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 75 (=f. 27v <i>a tergo</i> , no exact date given). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Jan. 12 – the King arrives in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 75 (=f. 27v <i>a tergo</i> ), and stays there: GORCZAK 3, No. 402. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>315</sup>
	Jan. 13 – the King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 22. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1531 Jan. 15 to 18 — Kielce</b>	
Jan. 15: Kod. Jag. 12, f. 222v (PT's letter).	
	Jan. 17 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5839, 5840; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265.

<sup>312</sup> The latest entries using the *in conventione* formula in the register supervised by PT are from Jan. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15958–15960.

Contrary to the information provided by Teodor Wierzbowski in MRPS 4/2, Nos 15961–15963, which are dated Jan. 8, the dating clauses of the corresponding entries in MK 45, pp. 600, 601, do not contain the formula *in conventione*.

For entries misdated as Jan. 12, see n. 313.

<sup>313</sup> The royal proclamation of the excise (*czopowe*) approved by the General Diet (*sejm walny*) in 1531 was erroneously recorded in both series of MK books with the date of Piotrków, 1531 Jan. 12 (the register of the Vice-Chancellor – MRPS 4/2, No. 15966, the register of the Chancellor – MRPS 4/1, No. 5838). On Jan. 12, the King had already reached Kraków after informing the Queen of his imminent return from Piotrków in a letter dated Jan. 8. The letter indicated that he would depart Piotrków on Jan. 9 and arrive in Kraków on Jan. 12: AT 13, No. 15, p. 22. Consequently, it would have been impossible for PT to be with the King in Piotrków on Jan. 12, as implied by the entry in MRPS 4/2, No. 15966.

<sup>314</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265, mentions the King's stay in Piotrków until Jan. 12. Cf. n. 313.

<sup>315</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265, only mentions the King's stay in Kraków starting from Jan. 17.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 18: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 232v (PT's letter); Kod. Jag. 12, f. 193 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5842.
	Jan. 19 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5843; AT 13, No. 26 (=JATULIS, No. 150).
	Jan. 20 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5844.
<b>1531 Jan. 21 to shortly after Jan. 29 — Bodzentyn</b>	
Jan. 21: KURAS, No. 14 (PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5845, 5846; LM 17 (17), Nos 75, 76; CC 43, p. 5.
	Jan. 23 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5847–5851.
	Jan. 24 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5852; AT 13, No. 31 (=CIDTC, IDL 583).
Jan. 25: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 133 (=f. 111 in old foliation).	
Jan. 27: APG, 300, 53/161, p. 19 (PT's letter).	
Jan. 28: AT 13, Nos 37 (PT's letter), 39 (PT's letter, date supplied by Zygmunt Celichowski).	PT will not be able to attend the upcoming wedding of Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's daughter (it took place on Feb. 5 in Kraków, see Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter to Duke Albrecht, Feb. 11, AT 13, No. 56=EFE 35, No. 218) due to the limited time, his poor health, and other reasons ("alias rationes"). Despite having begun taking care of his personal affairs ("domesticorum negotiorum curam exercere") and facing unfavorable travel conditions, he will expedite his departure to Kraków according to the will of the King and the advice of Szydłowiecki, spending only a few days on these matters: AT 13, No. 37 (PT's letter to Szydłowiecki).



	<p>Again mentioning his commenced personal affairs, PT assures that he will abandon them and comply with the King's command to come to Kraków as quickly as possible. However, he will first celebrate the Purification of Mary (Feb. 2) at home before setting out: AT 13, No. 39 (PT's letter to the King).</p> <p>PT's presence in Bodzentyn on Jan. 28 as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.</p>
Jan. 29: AT 13, Nos 38 (PT's letter, date corrected from TG, No. 1424), 40 (PT's letter), 406 (PT's letter, date corrected from Kod. Jag. 11, f. 66v).	<p>PT intends to journey to Kielce in the coming days, where he will await the conclusion of the Purification of Mary's solemnity (Feb. 2) before proceeding to Kraków in response to the King's summons: AT 13, No. 406 (PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki).</p> <p>The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5854.</p>
	Jan. 30 – the King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 41 (=EFE 30, No. 65).
	Jan. 31 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5855.
	Feb. 1 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5856, 5857.
<b>1531 ca. Feb. 2 — Kielce</b>	
AT 13, Nos 39, 406 (PT's letters, expected location mentioned).	
	Feb. 3 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5858–5861; LM 17 (17), No. 77; AT 13, No. 46 (=EFE 30, No. 66).
	Feb. 5 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5862; AT 13, No. 49.
	Feb. 6 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5863, 5864; LM 17 (17), Nos 78, 79.
	Feb. 8 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5865–5867.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Feb. 9 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5868–5876.
<b>1531 Feb. 10 — Brzeziny</b>	
PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 552 (PT's court record).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5877, 5878.
<b>1531 Feb. 11 — Pińczów</b>	
AEp. Cr. 12, f. 133v (=f. 111v in old foliation). <sup>316</sup>	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5879–5883.
	Feb. 12 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5884, 5885.
	Feb. 13 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5886, 5887.

<sup>316</sup> The entries in MRPS 4/2, Nos 15967 and 15968, are dated Kraków, Feb. 11, but only the first one actually reflects the date from the corresponding record in MK 45, p. 673. The date is missing in the copy of the other document in the record book MK 45, p. 675, but Teodor Wierzbowski assumed that it must have been the same as in the preceding document and silently supplied it. This means that only the entry with *relatio* from PT in MK 45, p. 673, corresponding to MRPS 4/2, No. 15967, suggests his presence at the royal court on that day.

However, since it contradicts the evidence of episcopal court records, its date (“Sabbato ante Dominicam Sexagesimae”) must be called into question. It was barely possible for PT to be both in Pińczów and in Kraków on Feb. 11 as the two locations are over 70 km apart. Furthermore, there’s no way PT could be in Brzeziny near Kielce on Feb. 10 and the next day in Kraków, which is about 100 km away. It should be noted that the entry in MK is at the same time, the first one in February, the only one of that day, and a few days earlier than entries made on a daily basis from Feb. 14, usually a few each day. Despite the early date, the copy is located among entries dated mid-February and later.

The five preceding entries are dated Feb. 18 (“Sabbato ante Dominicam Carnisprivii”, MK 45, p. 671=MRPS 4/2, No. 15981), Feb. 20 (“feria 2 Carnisprivii”, *ibidem*, p. 671=MRPS 4/2, No. 15984), Feb. 20 (“feria 2 Carnisprivii”, *ibidem*, p. 671=MRPS 4/2, No. 15985), Feb. 15 (“feria 4 ante Dominicam Carnisprivii”, *ibidem*, p. 672=MRPS 4/2, No. 15976), Mar. 10 (“feria 6 ante Dominicam Oculi”, *ibidem*, p. 672=MRPS 4/2, No. 16000). The five following entries are dated: n.d. (*ibidem*, p. 674=MRPS 4/2, No. 15968), Feb. 17 (“feria 6 ante Dominicam Carnisprivii”, *ibidem*, p. 675=MRPS 4/2, No. 15979), Feb. 28 (“feria 3 post Dominicam Invo-cavit”, *ibidem*, p. 676=MRPS 4/2, No. 15989), Feb. 28 (“feria 3 post Dominicam Invo-cavit”, *ibidem*, p. 677=MRPS 4/2, No. 15990), Feb. 17 (“feria 6 ante Dominicam Carnisprivii”, *ibidem*, p. 680=MRPS 4/2, No. 15980).

Although adjacent entries are not arranged in strict chronological order, placing the entry in question among later records adds another argument for a dating error. The most likely explanation is that a scribe simply confused *Dominica Sexagesimae* (Feb. 12) with the following *Dominica Quinquagesimae* (another name for *Dominica ante Carnisprivii*, 19 Feb.). That would give Feb. 18 instead of problematic Feb. 11.

<b>1531 Feb. 14 to May 12 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Feb. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15969–15973; AT 13, No. 407 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15974–15977.	
Feb. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 15978; ONB, Cod. 13597, ff. 178v–179 (Seweryn Boner's letter, PT mentioned). <sup>317</sup>	
Feb. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15979, 15980.	
Feb. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15981–15985; AGAD, perg. 1355 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AEp. Cr. 12, f. 134v (=f. 112v in old foliation).	
	Feb. 19 – the King is in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 85 (=f. 17v <i>a tergo</i> ).
Feb. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15984, 15985; AT 13, No. 410 (PT's letter).	
	Feb. 21 – the King is in Kraków: AZ, 2999, p. 101.
Feb. 22: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 135 (=f. 113 in old foliation); Kod. Jag. 11, f. 34v (PT's letter).	
	Feb. 23 – the King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 66 (=EFE 30, No. 68).
	Feb. 24 – the King is in Kraków: AT 13, Nos 67, 69.

<sup>317</sup> According to Seweryn Boner's letter, dated Feb. 17, "heri [Feb. 16] dominus episcopus Cracoviensis vicecancellarius huc advenit" [yesterday, the Bishop of Kraków, the Vice-Chancellor, arrived here]. This information contradicts the evidence of MK (see above, the information for Feb. 14 and 15).

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Feb. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15986, 15987; AT 13, Nos 411 (PT's letter), 412 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from Kod. Jag. 12, f. 219v).	
Feb. 26: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 136 (=f. 114 in old foliation); AT 13, No. 72 (=EFE 35, No. 225, PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 71 (=EFE 30, No. 69).
Feb. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 15988.	
Feb. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 15989–15991.	
Mar. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 15994.	
Mar. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 15995.	
Mar. 3: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 137 (=f. 115 in old foliation).	
Mar. 4: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 137v – date, 138v et seq. – records considered (=ff. 115v, 166v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: SPPP 6, Nos 487, 490, 491.
Mar. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 15996; AT 13, No. 413 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 15997.	
Mar. 7: AT 13, No. 81 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 80, 81.
Mar. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 15998.	
Mar. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 15999; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 141 et seq. (=ff. 119 et seq. in old foliation).	
Mar. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 16000.	
Mar. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 16001; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 142v (=f. 120v in old foliation).	
	Mar. 12 – the King is in Kraków: AT 9 ed. 1, No. 213 (date corrected from TG, No. 1443); AT 13, No. 85.
	Mar. 13 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 87; AT 9 ed. 1, No. 214 (date corrected from TG, No. 1445).

Mar. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 16002; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 143 et seq. (=ff. 121 et seq. in old foliation).	
Mar. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 16003.	
Mar. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 16004.	
Mar. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16005–16007.	
	Mar. 19 – the King is in Kraków: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 195.
Mar. 20: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 146 – date, 146v – record considered (=ff. 124, 124v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), No. 92=LM 17 (17), No. 90; LM 17 (17), Nos 82, 85, 86.
Mar. 21: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 577 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	The King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 90.
Mar. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 16008; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 148v, 150v (=ff. 126v, 128v in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 40); AT 13, No. 93 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16009–16011.	
Mar. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 16012.	
Mar. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 16013.	
Mar. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16014–16017; AGAD, perg. 2304 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 151 – date, 151v – record considered (=ff. 129, 129v in old foliation).	
Mar. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16018–16021; AGAD, perg. 3756 (royal document witnessed by PT, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 590 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Mar. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16022–16024; AGZ 2, No. 97 (=KUPCHYNSKY & RUZHYTSKY, No. 422, royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); KUPCHYNSKY & RUZHYTSKY, No. 423 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Apr. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16028–16035.	
Apr. 2: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 155v et seq. (=ff. 133v et seq. in old foliation).	
Apr. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16036–16040.	
Apr. 4: AOff. Cr. 60, f. 294 (=p. 585 in old pagination, PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5893.
Apr. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 16041.	
	Apr. 6 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 461.
	Apr. 11 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, 53/11, p. 85.
	Apr. 12 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5895.
Apr. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 16042.	
Apr. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16043–16045; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 157 (=f. 135 in old foliation).	
	Apr. 15 – the King is in Kraków: CC 43, p. 37; APG, 300, D/5b, 167; AT 13, No. 104 (=CIDTC, IDL 613); EFE 30, No. 70.
Apr. 16: AOff. Lubl. 12, f. 129v (PT's document); AT 13, No. 108 (PT's letter); APG, 300, 53/161, p. 23 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 17: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 157v et seq. (=ff. 135v et seq. in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 98 (=f. 97 in old foliation).	
Apr. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 16046.	

	Apr. 21 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5902.
Apr. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16047–16049.	
Apr. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16050, 16051.	
Apr. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16052, 16053.	The King, accompanied by the Queen and the young King, visits the monastery in Mogiła: ASK 1, RK 64, f. 78 (=f. 24v <i>a tergo</i> ). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Apr. 25 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5905, 5906; LM 17 (17), No. 92; AT 13, No. 117 (=PSGPK 3, No. 2, p. 34); EFE 30, No. 70.
	Apr. 26 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5907.
Apr. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16054, 16055; AT 13, No. 123 (=EFE 35, No. 237, PT's letter).	
Apr. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 16056; AT 13, Nos 136, 137 (PT's letters, date supplied from Kod. Jag. 12, ff. 211, 212).	
	Apr. 29 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5908; LM 17 (17), No. 96; AT 13, No. 132 (=DOGIEL 4, No. 196=EFE 30, No. 71).
Before Apr. 30: AT 13, No. 147 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence).	
	Apr. 30 – the King is in Kraków: SOKOLNICKI, f. $\text{CE}_6$ .
May 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16062–16064; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 164v (=f. 142v in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 41).	
	May 3 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5909.
May 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 16065.	
May 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 16066; AT 13, No. 142 (PT's letter).	

Itinerary	Additional information
	May 7 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 98.
May 9: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 165v et seq. (=ff. 143v et seq. in old foliation).	
May 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16067, 16068; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 167 (=f. 145 in old foliation); AT 13, No. 145 (=EFE 35, No. 243, PT's letter).	
May 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 16070; GORCZAK 5, No. 224 (royal document, information about <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT supplied from NIEWODNICZAŃSKI, No. 198); AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 168 et seq. (=ff. 146 et seq. in old foliation); AT 13, Nos 146, 149, 150 (PT's letters).	
May 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 16071; AT 13, No. 153 (PT's letter).	
	May 13 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5911; SPPP 6, No. 497.
	May 14 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5912.
	May 15 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5913; CC 43, p. 65; SPPP 6, No. 498.
<b>1531 May 16 — Częstochowa</b>	
PT has come to Jasna Góra Monastery to fulfil a vow: AT 13, No. 159 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5915, 5916; LM 17 (17), No. 102.
	May 17 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5917–5919.
<b>1531 May 18 to 19 — Koziegłowy</b>	
May 18: AT 13, No. 164 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 163; AGZ 10, No. 464.
May 19: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 168v (=f. 146v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5921.



	May 20 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5922; LM 17 (17), No. 97=LM 226 (7), No. 8; APG, 300, 53/3, p. 48; AT 13, No. 168 (=EFE 30, No. 73).
	May 21 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5923.
<b>1531 May 22 to shortly after Jul. 26 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
May 22: KURAŚ, No. 15 (PT's document).	
May 23: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 169 (=f. 147 in old foliation); AOff. Lubl. 12, f. 137v (PT's document); APG, 300, 53/161, p. 25 (PT's letter).	
May 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16072, 16073; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 170v – date, 171 – record considered (=ff. 148v, 149 in old foliation).	
May 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 16074.	
May 27: AT 13, No. 171 (=EFE 35, No. 249, PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5926–5928; LM 17 (17), Nos 100, 101; AT 13, No. 169 (=EFE 30, No. 75).
May 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 16075.	
	May 30 – the King is in Kraków: LM 1 (1), No. 351=LM 17 (17), No. 103=LM 25 (25), No. 192.
May 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16076, 16077; PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 626 (Kraków Cathedral Chapter's document witnessed by PT).	
Jun. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 16078; PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 630 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	

Itinerary	Additional information
	Jun. 2 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5930–5933.
Jun. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16079, 16080; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 172v (=f. 150v in old foliation).	
	Jun. 4 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5936; APP, Akta miasta Poznania, D. 607.
Jun. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16082, 16083; AOff. Cr. 60, f. 336 (=p. 669 in old pagination, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
Jun. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16084, 16085; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 173v et seq. (=ff. 151v et seq. in old foliation).	
Jun. 7: MRPS 4/1, No. 5938 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from AGAD, perg. 3357); MRPS 4/2, Nos 16086–16088; APG, 300, 53/161, p. 27 (PT's letter); AT 13, No. 189 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
	Jun. 8 – the King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), No. 96=LM 17 (17), No. 108.
	Jun. 9 – the King is in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 48v; MRPS 4/1, No. 5940.
Jun. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16089, 16090.	
	Jun. 11 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5941.
Jun. 12: AT 13, No. 191 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 109, 112; AT 13, No. 192 (=EFE 30, No. 77).
Jun. 13: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 176v (=f. 153av in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 49; MRPS 4/1, Nos 5942, 5943; CC 43, p. 89.
Jun. 14: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 177v (=f. 154v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5944–5946.

Jun. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16091, 16092.	
Jun. 16: AT 13, No. 196 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 16093; AEp. Cr. 14, f. 24 (=f. 21 in old foliation).	
Jun. 18: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 179 (=f. 156 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5951; LM 15 (15), No. 98.
Jun. 19: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 179 – date, 179v – record considered (=ff. 156, 156v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 466.
Jun. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 16095; AEp. Cr. 14, f. 24v (=f. 21 in old foliation).	
Jun. 21: MRPS 4/1, No. 5952 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from transumpt in MRPS 5/1, No. 1483, where witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 16096.	
	Jun. 22 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5953–5959; AT 13, No. 203.
Jun. 23: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 640 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise); CDUJ 4, No. 357 (=KRZYŻANOWSKI, No. 500, PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5960–5965.
Jun. 24: AT 13, Nos 204, 205 (PT's letters).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5966–5969.
Jun. 26: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 182 – date, 183 et seq. – records considered (=ff. 159, 160 et seq. in old foliation), cf. URBAN 2001, No. 42 (summary of one of the entries); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 77 (=f. 76 in old foliation)=URBAN 2001, No. 90); AT 13, No. 206 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 5970; LM 17 (17), No. 115.
	Jun. 27 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5971–5979; LM 17 (17), No. 117.
Jun. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16097–16099.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Jun. 29: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5991 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK), 5992 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut proxime supra”).	
	Jun. 30 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 5993–5999.
Jul. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 16101; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 186v (=f. 165v in old foliation).	
Jul. 3: AKKK, perg. 720 (PT’s document).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6003. <sup>318</sup>
Jul. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 16102.	
Jul. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 6004 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from transumpt in MRPS 5/1, No. 832, where witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 16103–16105; AT 13, No. 214 (PT’s letter).	
Jul. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16106–16108; AT 13, No. 216 (PT’s letter).	
	Jul. 7 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6010, 6011; AT 13, No. 217.
Jul. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16109–16114; KUPCHYNSKY & RUZHITSKY, No. 427 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jul. 9: MRPS 4/1, No. 6014 (royal document, PT mentioned); MRPS 4/2, No. 16115.	The King departs from Kraków towards Niepołomice for hunting: SOKOLNICKI, f. $\text{CE}_0$ . <sup>319</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>318</sup> The document of the King and Queen found in RYKACZEWSKI, p. 175, dated 1531 Jul. 3, is recorded as 1537 Jul. 3 in MPRS 5/1, No. 18590.

<sup>319</sup> The King spent three days in Niepołomice during the week of Jul. 6–12 and two days during the week of Jul. 13–19, as recorded in ASK 1, RK 67, f. 22v (the accounts of the royal kitchen). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

Jul. 10: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 193v et seq. (=ff. 170v et seq. in old foliation).	
	Jul. 11 – the King is in Niepołomice: MRPS 4/1, No. 6015; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265.
Jul. 12: Kod. Jag. 12, ff. 203v, 204, 207 (PT's letters); AT 13, No. 231 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 13, Nos 227 (=VMPL 2, No. 524), 229. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Shortly after Jul. 12: AT 13, No. 232 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
	Jul. 13 – the King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 26; MRPS 4/1, Nos 6016–6018; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265.
Jul. 14: AT 13, No. 235 (PT's letter).	PT did not go with the King to Niepołomice: AT 13, No. 235, p. 220 (PT's letter to Maciej Drzewicki). The King is in Niepołomice: MRPS 4/1, No. 6019; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265; on the same day, he is back in Kraków: AT 13, No. 234. The King's arrival on that day in Kraków not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16116–16118.	
Jul. 17: AT 13, No. 237 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6020; AT 13, No. 238.
Jul. 18: AT 13, No. 239 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6021, 6022; AGZ 10, No. 470.
Jul. 19: AOff. Lubl. 12, f. 140 (PT's document).	
	Jul. 20 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 121; GORCZAK 3, No. 412.
	Jul. 21 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6025; AGAD, perg. 7574.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16119, 16120.	
Jul. 23: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 197 (=f. 174 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AAG, A Cons G VII 17 (former ms. 56a), f. 86v.
Jul. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16121–16123; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 197v (=f. 174v in old foliation).	
Jul. 25: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 198 et seq. (=ff. 175 et seq. in old foliation); AT 13, Nos 249 (=CIDTC, IDL 661), 256 (PT's letters).	The King is in Kraków: CC 43, p. 120; CC 44, p. 173; AT 13, Nos 248 (=CIDTC, IDL 660), 251–255.
Jul. 26: AT 13, No. 259 (PT's letter).	PT plans to leave Kraków in a few days to visit the countryside to refresh his mind ("animi recreandi causa"): AT 13, No. 259, p. 243 (PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki). The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6028; RGADA, Fond 389, LM 13 (13), No. 2; AT 13, No. 263.
<b>[1531 ca. Jul. 26–Aug. 1 — Wawrzeńczyce]</b>	
[PT probably spends at least one night in Wawrzeńczyce on the way to Radłów; the episcopal residence in Wawrzeńczyce is conveniently situated halfway between Kraków and Radłów; PT used the road through Wawrzeńczyce when travelling to Radłów on 1527 Sept. 16 to 17 (see above, the information for that days).]	
	Jul. 27 – the King is in Kraków: CC 43, p. 126; AT 13, No. 264. <sup>320</sup>
	Jul. 29 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6029.

<sup>320</sup> The King spent three days in Niepołomice during the week of Jul. 27–Aug. 2: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 22v (the accounts of the royal kitchen). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

	Jul. 30 – the King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 268.
<b>1531 Aug. 1 to 3 — Radłów</b>	
Aug. 1: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 245 (PT’s letter). <sup>321</sup>	The King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 3, Nos 413, 414. <sup>322</sup>
Aug. 3: AT 13, Nos 272–275 (No. 273=BRODERICUS, No. 138, PT’s letters).	The King is in Niepołomice: LM 17 (17), No. 125. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>[1531 ca. Aug. 3–13 — Wawrzeńczyce]</b>	
[PT probably spends at least one night in Wawrzeńczyce on the way to Kraków; the episcopal residence in Wawrzeńczyce is conveniently situated halfway between Radłów and Kraków.]	
	Aug. 4 – the King is in Niepołomice: GORCZAK 3, No. 415 (=FASTNACHT, No. 103). <sup>323</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Aug. 5 – the King is in Niepołomice: LM 17 (17), Nos 122, 124; ANTONOVYCH & KOZLOVSKY, No. 28. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Aug. 6 – the King is in Niepołomice: LM 15 (15), No. 104, and in Kraków: CC 43, p. 139. The King’s arrival from Niepołomice on that day not recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Aug. 7 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6031, 6032.

<sup>321</sup> The royal document in MRPS 4/2, No. 16125, is dated Aug. 1 and claims to be issued in Kraków, with a *relatio* formula by PT. However, this contradicts evidence from PT’s letters, which suggest he left Kraków shortly after Jul. 26 and was in Radłów in early August. Furthermore, the dating clause of the document (“feria 3 post diem festum S. Iacobi Ap.”) is suspect, as the Feast of St James in 1531 fell on a Tuesday and would not be a convenient reference point for the following Tuesday. In addition, the respective record book (MK 47) contains no other entries dated between Jul. 24 and Aug. 18, adding further doubts about the document’s date. As a result, it must be assumed that the date was mistaken and the document cannot provide reliable evidence of PT’s and the King’s whereabouts.

<sup>322</sup> LM 15 (15), No. 102, records the King in Kraków on Aug. 1, but the same document is also published in LM 17 (17), No. 122, with a different date of Niepołomice, Aug. 5 (see the additional information for that day). GORCZAK 3, No. 416, also dates the document as Niepołomice, Aug. 5.

<sup>323</sup> The King spent two days in Niepołomice during the week of Aug. 3–9: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 23 (the accounts of the royal kitchen). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Aug. 8 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6033.
	Aug. 9 – the King is in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 49v; MRPS 4/1, No. 6034; LM 17 (17), No. 127; APG, 300, D/5b, 170.
	Aug. 10 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6035.
	Aug. 11 – the King is in Kraków: JASAS, No. 358.
<b>1531 Aug. 13 to Nov. 23 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Aug. 13: MRPS 4/1, No. 6037 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
	Aug. 14 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6038–6043.
Aug. 15: AT 13, No. 281 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 17: WIERZBOWSKI 1900 (=ALLEN 9, No. 2521, PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 126.
Aug. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16126–16128.	
Aug. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 16129.	
Aug. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 16130; AT 13, No. 285 (PT's letter).	PT reminisces about his recent stay outside Kraków for mental relaxation (“animi relaxandi gratia”): AT 13, No. 285, p. 262 (PT's letter to Łukasz Górka).
	Aug. 21 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/2, No. 128; LM 17 (17), No. 128.
Aug. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 16131.	



Aug. 23: MRPS 4/1, No. 6049 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 16132–16137.	
Aug. 24: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 203 (=f. 180 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 123.
Aug. 25: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 203 – date, 203v et seq. – records considered (=ff. 180, 180v et seq. in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 663 (PT’s court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise); AT 13, No. 293 (PT’s letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 292 (=EFE 30, No. 78).
Aug. 26: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 205 et seq. (=ff. 182 et seq. in old foliation).	
Aug. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 16138.	
Aug. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 16139 (=MRPS 4/3, No. 23277 – transumpt); AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 210v – date, 211v – record considered (=ff. 187v, 188v in old foliation); AOff. Cr. 60, f. 384v (=p. 766 in old pagination, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
Aug. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 16140.	
ca. Aug. 29: AT 13, No. 294 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Aug. 30: AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 213 et seq. (=ff. 190 et seq. in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 80 (=f. 79 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6053.
Aug. 31: AT 13, No. 416 (PT’s letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 415.
Sept. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16144, 16145.	
Sept. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 16147; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 214 – date, 214v – record considered (=ff. 191, 191v in old foliation).	

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Sept. 3: AT 13, Nos 306, 309 (No. 309=CIDTC, IDL 679, PT's letters).	The King is in Kraków: AT 13, Nos 305, 307.
Sept. 4: MRPS 4/3, No. 23278 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Sept. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 16148; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 216 (=f. 193 in old foliation); AT 13, Nos 314, 417 (PT's letters).	
Sept. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16149–16151.	
Sept. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 16152; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 217 – date, 218v – record considered (=ff. 194, 195v in old foliation); AT 13, No. 420 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 10: TG, No. 1680 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6061.
Sept. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16153, 16154; Kod. Jag. 12, f. 198 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 12: MRPS 4/1, No. 6063 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “ <i>praesentibus ut supra</i> ”); AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 219 – date, 220 – record considered (=ff. 196, 197 in old foliation); MRPS 4/2, Nos 16155, 16156.	
Sept. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 16157; AT 13, No. 318 (=EFE 35, No. 275, PT's letter).	
Sept. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16158–16160; AT 13, Nos 323 (=EFE 35, No. 278, PT's letter), 324 (=EFE 35, No. 277, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter, PT mentioned); ASK 1, RK 67, f. 113 (PT's payment).	
Sept. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 16161.	

Sept. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 16162; MRPS 5/2, No. 6399 (transumpt of royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT, witness list and formulas supplied from MK); Kod. Jag. 11, f. 66 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 16163.	
Sept. 19: AT 13, No. 330 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 328 (=EFE 30, No. 82).
Sept. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16164–16166.	
Sept. 22: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 222v (=f. 199 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 334; EFE 30, No. 83.
Sept. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 16168.	
	Sept. 24 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, D/5b, 172.
Sept. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 16169; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 224v (=f. 201v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 83 (=f. 82 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 91).	
ca. Sept. 25: AT 13, No. 327 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	
Sept. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 16170.	
Sept. 27 – PT attends the general session of the Kraków Cathedral Chapter: AA Cap. Cr. 3, ff. 69v–70 (PT's speech); AOff. Radom., f. 24 (PT's document).	
	Sept. 28 – the King is in Kraków: LM 226 (7), No. 3.
	Sept. 29 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 133.
Sept. 30: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 227 (=f. 204 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6069; LM 17 (17), No. 134; CC 43, p. 151; SPPP 6, No. 505.

Itinerary	Additional information
Oct. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16172, 16173.	The King departs towards Niepołomice: SOKOLNICKI, f. $\text{CE}_{12}$ ; ASK 1, RK 67, f. 33v. <sup>324</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 3: ANK, Akta miasta Pilzna, perg. 10 (PT's document).	
Oct. 8: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 235 (=f. 212 in old foliation).	The King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 27v. <sup>325</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 9: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 235v (=f. 212v in old foliation).	
Oct. 10: TROJANOWSKA, No. 52 (=RIABININ, No. 130, royal document, signature by PT); AEp. Cr. 12, f. 236 (=f. 213 in old foliation).	
Oct. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 16174; AT 13, No. 349 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 16175.	
Oct. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16176–16178.	
Oct. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 16179.	
Oct. 15: AT 13, No. 357 (=CIDTC, IDL 699, PT's letter).	
Oct. 16: AT 13, No. 358 (PT's letter, date supplied from Kod. Op. 26, f. 40v).	
Oct. 17: DŁUGOPOLSKI, No. 104 (PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: RYKACZEWSKI, p. 304.
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 16180.	
Oct. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16181–16183.	
	Oct. 20 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 137–142; AT 13, Nos 359, 364.

<sup>324</sup> The King spent three days in Niepołomice during the week of Sept. 28–Oct. 4: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 23v (the accounts of the royal kitchen). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>325</sup> The King spent four days in Niepołomice during the week of Oct. 5–11: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 23v (the accounts of the royal kitchen). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

Two documents seem to contradict the data from the royal accounts, as they suggest the King's presence in Kraków on Oct. 5, and Oct. 7: LM 17 (17), Nos 135, 136.

Oct. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 16184; PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 685 (summary of PT's court record, relevant chancery formulas supplied from AEp. Cr. 12, f. 240=f. 217 in old foliation, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise); AT 13, No. 362 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 22: AT 13, No. 366 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 367.
Oct. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16185–16190, 16193, 16194; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 241 – date, 241v – records considered (=ff. 218, 218v in old foliation).	
Oct. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 16195.	
Oct. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 16196.	
Oct. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 16197.	
Oct. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16198–16200; AEp. Cr. 15, f. 90v (=f. 89 in old foliation); AOff. Lubl. 9, f. 56v (PT's document).	
Nov. 3: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 693 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	
Nov. 4: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 248v (=f. 225v in old foliation).	
	Nov. 5 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6074.
Nov. 6: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 249 (=f. 226 in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 697 (excerpt from PT's court record, relevant chancery formulas supplied from AEp. Cr. 12, f. 249v=f. 226v in old foliation); AT 13, No. 384 (PT's letter).	
Nov. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 16202; AT 13, No. 287, p. 274 (Stanisław Górski's commentary, PT mentioned).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Nov. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16203–16205; AEp. Cr. 12, ff. 250v et seq. (=ff. 227v et seq. in old foliation).	
Nov. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16206, 16207.	
	Nov. 12 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 145. <sup>326</sup>
Nov. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16208, 16209.	
Nov. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 16210.	
Nov. 15: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 256v (=f. 233v in old foliation); AT 13, No. 387 (PT's letter).	
Nov. 16: AEp. Cr. 12, f. 257v (=f. 234v in old foliation).	
Nov. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 16211; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 258 (=f. 235 in old foliation).	
Nov. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 16212.	
	Nov. 19 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6080.
	Nov. 20 – the King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), No. 105; LM 17 (17), Nos 146–148; <sup>327</sup> TG, No. 1537; AT 12, No. 369.
Nov. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16213, 16214; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 262 (=f. 239 in old foliation).	
Nov. 22: AT 13, No. 394 (=CIDTC, IDL 714, Fabian Wojanowski-Damerau's letter, PT mentioned).	The King is in Kraków: AT 13, No. 392.
Nov. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16215, 16216; TG, No. 1709 (PT's letter, year-date supplied from OSK, Fol. Lat. 258, f. 116); AT 13, No. 395 (PT's letter).	The King spends three days in Niepołomice during the week of Nov. 23–29: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 29 (the accounts of the royal kitchen). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>326</sup> The same document is erroneously dated as Nov. 30 in LM 15 (15), No. 110.

<sup>327</sup> Another copy of the document from LM 17 (17), No. 147, is dated 1532 Jan. 17 in LM 15 (15), No. 113.

	Nov. 27 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 149; AGAD, perg. 8648.
<b>[1531 Nov. 28 — Proszowice]</b>	
[PT probably attends the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) in Proszowice: PT was obligated to participate in the assembly as a member of the Royal Council.]	The Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) was convoked on Nov. 28: AT 13, No. 372 (in n. 3, the date incorrectly converted into the modern form as Nov. 26), and actually took place on that day: DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 43. The King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), No. 173.
	Nov. 29 – the King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), No. 172.
<b>[1531 Nov. 30 — Nowe Miasto Korczyn]</b>	
[PT probably attends the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny malopolski</i> ) in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: PT was obligated to participate in the assembly as a member of the Royal Council.]	The Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny malopolski</i> ) was convoked on Nov. 30: AT 13, No. 372. The King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 28v. <sup>328</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1531 Dec. 3 to 1532 Feb. 4 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Dec. 3: AT 13, No. 397 (PT's document).	The King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 28v.
Dec. 4: AT 13, No. 398 (PT's letter).	
	Dec. 6 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 173. The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked on that day: AT 13, Nos 371–377.

<sup>328</sup> The King spent three days in Niepołomice during the week of Nov. 30–Dec. 5: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 24 (the accounts of the royal kitchen). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

According to LM 15 (15), Nos 106, 110, the King was in Kraków on Nov. 30. The date of the first document is likely incorrect since in LM 17 (17), No. 145, it is dated Nov. 12 (see above, the additional information for that day).

Itinerary	Additional information
Dec. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16218, 16219.	
Dec. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16220–16222; APG, 300, 53/161, p. 30 (PT's letter). <sup>329</sup>	
Dec. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 16223.	
Dec. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16224–16226; Kod. Jag. 11, f. 234 (PT's letter).	
Dec. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16227, 16228; PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 722 (commentary on the investiture of the pallium for Maciej Drzewicki, PT mentioned).	
Dec. 15: AEp. Cr. 12. ff. 273v et seq. (=ff. 249v et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6082, 6083. The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/1, No. 6083. <sup>330</sup>
Dec. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 16229.	
Dec. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16230–16233.	
Dec. 20: MRPS 4/1, No. 6085 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, Nos 16234–16237.	
Dec. 21 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6090, 6091.
Dec. 22 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6092–6094.
Dec. 23 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 153.
Dec. 24: CIDTC, IDL 730 (Fabian Wojanowski-Damerau's letter, PT mentioned).	

<sup>329</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 43; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 92; and *Posłowie*, p. 75, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) commenced on Dec. 10, but the source of this information is unknown.

<sup>330</sup> The first entries dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by PT are from Dec. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16231–16233.



Dec. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6095.
Dec. 29: MRPS 4/1, No. 6092 (royal document witnessed by PT, date corrected from MK, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 16238.	
Dec. 30: MRPS 4/1, No. 6096 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”).	
<b>1532</b>	
Jan. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 16239.	
Jan. 2: AT 14, No. 1 (PT’s letter).	The King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, Nos 478, 479.
Jan. 3 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: AT 14, Nos 4, 5.
Jan. 4: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 2v (=f. 1v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: B. PAU-PAN, 926, f. 40.
Jan. 5: MRPS 4/1, No. 6097 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, No. 16241; AT 14, No. 8 (Krzysztof Szydłowiecki’s letter, PT mentioned).	
Jan. 6 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 154; CC 49, p. 313.
Jan. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 16242.	
Jan. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16243, 16244; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 3v et seq. (=ff. 2v et seq. in old foliation).	
Jan. 9 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6098–6101; LM 17 (17), No. 155; ANK, pap. 9.
Jan. 10 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 171=LM 25 (25), No. 62.
Jan. 11: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 6v (=f. 5v in old foliation).	
Jan. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 16245.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16246, 16247; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 7 – date, 7v et seq. – records considered (=ff. 6, 6v et seq. in old foliation); AV Cr. 56, p. 1147 (PT's document).	
Jan. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16248–16250; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 9v (=f. 8v in old foliation).	
Jan. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 16251.	
Jan. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), Nos 112, 113. <sup>331</sup>
Jan. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16252, 16253.	
Jan. 19: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 13 et seq. (=ff. 12 et seq. in old foliation).	
Jan. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16254–16257, 16259, 16260. <sup>332</sup>	
	Jan. 21 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6116–6119; AGZ 10, No. 478.
Jan. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16261–16263; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 15v (=f. 14v in old foliation).	
Jan. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 16264; KIRYK, No. 127 (PT's document).	
	Jan. 24 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6121, 6122; IMT 3, No. 315; AT 14, No. 27 (place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).
Jan. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16265–16274; KUPCHYNSKY & RUZHITSKY, No. 429 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	

<sup>331</sup> Another copy of the document from LM 15 (15), No. 113, is dated 1531 Nov. 20 in LM 17 (17), No. 147.

<sup>332</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 43; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 92; and *Posłowie*, p. 75, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) concluded on Jan. 20. This is based on the date of the resolutions (*konstytucje*): AT 14, Nos 23–25.

Jan. 26: MRPS 4/1, No. 6126 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 16275–16277.	
Jan. 27: MRPS 4/1, No. 6128 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut supra”); MRPS 4/2, Nos 16278, 16279; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 22v (=f. 21v in old foliation); AT 14, No. 31 (=EFE 35, No. 292, PT’s letter).	
	Jan. 28 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 164; AT 14, Nos 33, 34.
Jan. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16280–16286; ANTONOVYCH & KOZLOVSKY, app., No. 2 (royal document witnessed by PT).	
Jan. 30: MRPS 4/1, No. 6130 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from CDIAUL, Fond 181, Op. 1, Spr. 3671); MRPS 4/2, Nos 16287–16289; AT 14, No. 43 (=EFE 35, No. 294, PT’s letter); B. PAU-PAN, 2810, f. 51 (royal accounts, PT’s payment).	
Jan. 31: MRPS 4/2, No. 16290; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 27 – date, 27v et seq. – records considered (=ff. 26, 26v et seq. in old foliation).	
Feb. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16291–16295; AT 14, No. 53 (=CIDTC, IDL 742, Maciej Drzewicki’s letter, PT mentioned).	
Feb. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16296–16298; POLKOWSKI, No. 83 (document of the Kraków Cathedral Chapter witnessed by PT).	
Feb. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16299–16310.	
Feb. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 16311.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16312–16314.	The last day when the Royal Chancellery uses the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16312–16314. <sup>333</sup>
<b>1532 Feb. 5 — Modlnica</b>	
PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 747 (PT's court record, visit mentioned).	
<b>1532 Feb. 6 to Jul. 6 — Kraków</b>	
Feb. 6: AT 14, No. 60 (PT's letter).	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.  The King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 484; AT 14, No. 61 (=EFE 30, No. 91). The King spent two days in Niepołomice during the week of Feb. 1–7: ASK 1, RK 67, f. 24v (the accounts of the royal kitchen). Considering that the monarch's presence in Kraków is confirmed for Feb. 1–6, it can be reasonably assumed that he departs from the capital on Feb. 6 and spends Feb. 6–7 in the suburban hunting lodge. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>333</sup> The last entries dated *in conventione* in the register supervised by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki are from Feb. 3: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6153, 6154.

According to GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265, n. 1531/1, the last entry dated *in conventione* is from Feb. 8, based on a summary of the royal document in PROCHASKA, No. 252. The document formerly housed in the Moscow archive under reference number 193 was described in the inventory of the record books and documents of the Lithuanian Metrica as being dated Jan. 31: PTASZYCKI, p. 236. This document is preserved and stored at AGAD. In the 1984 annotated reprint of Stanisław Ptaszycki's inventory, Patricia Kennedy Grimested supplied the incorrect current reference code for the item: perg. 4769 instead of perg. 4770.

The document is dated "in conventu generali feria 5 ante festum Purificationis" (Feb. 1). Antoni Prochaska appears to have confused "ante" with "post", which resulted in Feb. 8. Ptaszycki incorrectly converted the date to modern form as Jan. 31, not considering that 1532 was a leap year. The document was entered in MK and summarized by Teodor Wierzbowski under the correct date: MRPS 4/2, No. 16294.

Feb. 7: AT 14, No. 63 (=EFE 35, No. 298, PT's letter).	
	Feb. 9 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, D/5b, 175.
	Feb. 10 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, 53/11, p. 114.
	Feb. 11 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6160.
Feb. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16315, 16316.	
Feb. 13: TG, No. 1564 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 14, No. 69.
Feb. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16317, 16318; PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 750 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	
Feb. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16319–16323.	
Feb. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16324, 16325.	
Feb. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16326–16330.	
Feb. 18: AT 14, No. 82 (=CIDTC, IDL 749, PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 14, Nos 78 (date corrected from internal evidence and other sources), 81.
Feb. 19: MRPS 4/1, No. 6165 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from CDIAUL, Fond 131, Op. 1, Spr. 371); MRPS 4/2, Nos 16331, 16332.	
Feb. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16333; AT 14, No. 91 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> by PT).	
Feb. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 16334.	
Feb. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16335, 16336; AT 14, No. 97 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 16337.	
Feb. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16338, 16339; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 47v (=f. 46v in old foliation); AT 14, No. 101 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 16340.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 26: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 181v (PT's letter).	
Feb. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 16341.	
Feb. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 16342.	
Feb. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16343–16345; AEp. Cr. 15, f. 99 (=f. 98 in old foliation).	
Mar. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16346, 16347.	
	Mar. 2 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6172; SROKA 6, No. 1256.
	Mar. 3 – the King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 5, No. 232.
Mar. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 16349; AT 14, No. 117 (PT's letter).	PT remains at home due to his illness: AT 14, No. 117, p. 184 (PT's letter to Maciej Drzewicki).
Mar. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 16351; AT 14, No. 118 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Mar. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 16352; APG, 300, 53/161, p. 33 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 16353; AT 14, No. 119 (PT's letter).	PT has been staying at home for some time due to his illness: AT 14, No. 119, pp. 186, 187 (PT's letter to Łukasz Górka).
Mar. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 16354; GORCZAK 5, No. 234 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Mar. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 16355; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 51v (=f. 50v in old foliation).	
Mar. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 16356.	
Mar. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 16357.	
Mar. 13: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 83 (=f. 82 in old foliation).	
Mar. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 16358.	
	Mar. 15 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 198–201; Kod. Jag. 11, f. 198v.

Mar. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 16359.	
	Mar. 18 – the King is in Kraków: AT 14, No. 143.
Mar. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16360, 16361.	
Mar. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16362, 16363; WYCZAWSKI, No. 27 (PT's document).	
Mar. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 16364.	
	Mar. 22 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, Nos 491, 492.
	Mar. 23 – the King is in Kraków: AT 14, No. 153 (date corrected from TG, No. 1590).
Mar. 24: AT 14, No. 156 (=EFE 46, No. 69, Nikolaus Nibschitz's letter, PT mentioned).	The King is in Kraków: AT 14, Nos 152, 154.
Mar. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16365, 16366; AT 14, No. 158 (PT's letter, place and day-date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).	
Mar. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 16367; AT 14, No. 161 (=EFE 46, No. 70, Nikolaus Nibschitz's letter, PT mentioned).	
	Mar. 27 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 204.
Mar. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 16368.	
	Mar. 30 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 205.
Apr. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16369–16371; CC 43, p. 235 (royal document, signature by PT).	
Apr. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 16372; AT 14, No. 167 (PT's letter).	
	Apr. 5 – the King is in Kraków: AT 14, No. 169.
	Apr. 6 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, D/5b, 178a.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Apr. 7 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 206.
Apr. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16373–16377; tzw. ML, IV B 17, p. 297 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
Apr. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 16378; AT 14, No. 178 (PT's letter).	The King leaves Kraków for Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 74, f. 44v; RK 75, f. 109v. <sup>334</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Apr. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 16379; AT 14, No. 181 (=BRODERICUS, No. 152, PT's letter).	
Apr. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 16380.	
	Apr. 14 – the King leaves Kraków for Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 75, f. 109v. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Apr. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16381–16383.	
Apr. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 16384; AOff. Lubl. 12, f. 164 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16385, 16386; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 62v – date, 64v – record considered (=ff. 61, 63v in old foliation).	
Apr. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 16387; AGAD, perg. 4970 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Apr. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 16388.	
Apr. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16389–16391; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 66 – date, 66v – record considered (=ff. 65, 65v in old foliation).	
Apr. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16392, 16393.	
Apr. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 16394.	

<sup>334</sup> The King spent two days in Niepołomice during the week of Apr. 7–13: ASK 1, RK 75, f. 94 (the accounts of the royal kitchen). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.



Apr. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16395, 16396; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 68v – date, 69v – record considered (=ff. 67v, 68v in old foliation).	
Apr. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16397, 16398; PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 786 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	
Apr. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16399, 16400.	
Apr. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16401–16404.	
Apr. 29: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 73v (=f. 72v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 207; AT 8, No. 111 (date corrected from TG, No. 1726).
Apr. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16405–16411; AT 14, No. 210 (PT's letter).	
May 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 16412.	
May 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16413, 16414.	
May 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 16415; MRPS 4/3, No. 23285 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
	May 5 – the King is in Kraków: AT 14, No. 226.
May 6: AT 14, Nos 231–233 (No. 233 =CIDTC, IDL 786, PT's letters).	The King is in Kraków: AT 14, Nos 229, 230 (No. 230 – place and date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).
May 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 16417; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 77 et seq. (=ff. 76 et seq. in old foliation).	
May 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16418–16420; AEp. Cr. 15, ff. 100, 101 (=ff. 99, 100 in old foliation).	
May 10: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 83v (=f. 82v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 208; AGZ 10, No. 494.
May 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16421, 16422.	
May 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16423–16425.	
May 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16426–16428.	

Itinerary	Additional information
	May 15 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6178; LM 25 (25), No. 39.
May 16: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 87v (=f. 86v in old foliation).	
May 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 16429.	
May 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 16430.	
	May 19 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 210, 211.
	May 20 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 213.
May 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 16431; AT 14, No. 244 (PT's letter).	
May 22: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 801 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6179; LM 226 (7), No. 13.
May 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 16436; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 92 – date, 92v – record considered (=ff. 91, 91v in old foliation).	
May 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 16437; AT 14, No. 246 (PT's letter).	
May 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 16439; WYCZAWSKI, No. 24 (PT's document).	
May 28: B. PAU-PAN, 926, f. 170v (cartulary of the Abbey of Jędrzejów, royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
May 29: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 807 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	The King is in Kraków: LM 1 (1), No. 289 (date corrected). <sup>335</sup>
	May 30 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 214.

<sup>335</sup> The editors mistakenly converted the date “w wilją Bożego Ciała” into modern form as 1532 May 30.

May 31: MRPS 4/1, No. 6185 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK – “praesentibus ut proxime supra”); SROKA 6, No. 1268 (PT’s letter).	
Jun. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16440–16443; KACZMARCZYK, No. 421 (PT’s document).	
Jun. 2: MRPS 4/1, No. 6189 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK).	
	Jun. 3 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6190; tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 159; LM 1 (1), No. 456 (date corrected from AT 14, No. 255); <sup>336</sup> LM 226 (7), No. 23.
Jun. 4: MRPS 4/1, No. 6192 (royal document witnessed by PT, witness list supplied from MK); MRPS 4/2, No. 16444.	
	Jun. 5 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6193–6201.
Jun. 6 or shortly before: AT 14, No. 259 (PT’s speech on behalf of the King, identification of the speaker inferred from other sources, place and date supplied by Władysław Pociecha, day-date corrected by me from mention in letter by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki in AT 14, No. 259).	
Jun. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16445, 16446.	
Jun. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16447, 16448; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 99v – date, 101 – record considered (=ff. 98v, 100 in old foliation).	The King spends two days in Niepołomice during the week of Jun. 7–13: ASK 1, RK 74, f. 33v (the accounts of the royal kitchen). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jun. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 16449.	
Jun. 9: AT 14, No. 271 (PT’s speech on behalf of the King, identification of the speaker inferred from other sources).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6205–6209.

<sup>336</sup> The editors of LM surmised that the fifth indiction in the dating clause was erroneous and adjusted it to the 10th indiction, amending the year to 1522.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Jun. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 16450; AT 14, No. 274 (=EFE 35, No. 308, PT's letter).	
Jun. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16451, 16452.	
Jun. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 16453; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 101v – date, 102 – record considered (=ff. 100v, 101 in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 801 (PT's court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	
Jun. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16454, 16455.	
Jun. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16456–16458; AT 14, Nos 278, 286, 287 (PT's letters).	PT favors convening the Provincial Synod in Piotrków on either Jul. 25 or Aug. 1, as he can attend the meeting on those dates per his previous decision. In the autumn, his attendance will not be possible due to obligations at the royal court, the risk of plague, and his frail health: AT 14, No. 278, p. 441 (PT's letter to Maciej Drzewicki).
Jun. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 16459.	
Jun. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 16460.	
Jun. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 16462.	
Jun. 19: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 110 et seq. (=ff. 109 et seq. in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 105 (=f. 104 in old foliation).	
Jun. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 16463.	
ca. Jun. 20: AT 14, No. 295 (PT's letter, date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).	
Jun. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16464, 16465.	
Jun. 22: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 117v (=f. 116v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AT 14, No. 296.
Jun. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 16466.	

Jun. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16467, 16468; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 119 (=f. 118 in old foliation).	
Jun. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 16469.	
Jun. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 16470.	
Jun. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16471–16474.	
Jun. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16475, 16476.	
	Jun. 30 – the King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 499; RIABININ, No. 133.
Jul. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 16478; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 125 (=f. 124 in old foliation).	
	Jul. 2 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 221.
Jul. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16479–16482.	
Jul. 4: AT 14, No. 319 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 232; IMT 3, No. 324; AZ, 2999, p. 213; EFE 30, No. 93, and in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 69, f. 6v; RK 74, f. 34=RK 75, f. 94v. The King's stay in Niepołomice on that day not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 5: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 131v – date, 134 et seq. – records considered (=ff. 130v, 133 et seq. in old foliation)	The King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 74, f. 34=RK 75, f. 94v. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 6: AT 14, No. 320 (PT's letter).	
<b>1532 Jul. 6 to 12 — Bolechowice</b>	
Jul. 6 – PT leaves Kraków for Bolechowice: PADNIEWSKI, p. 898.	
	Jul. 7 – the King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 74, f. 39v=RK 75, f. 102. <sup>337</sup> The King spends five days in Niepołomice in the week of Jul. 7–13: ASK 1, RK 74, f. 34v=RK 75, f. 95 (the accounts of the royal kitchen). <sup>338</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>337</sup> The King's letter, dated Kraków, Jul. 7 (AT 14, No. 321), fails to offer trustworthy information regarding the King's whereabouts. The dating clause is missing from the existing rough draft of the letter (TG, No. 3698); Władysław Pocięcha obtained it from the letter copy in *Acta Tomiciana*, in which the date was likely appended by Stanisław Górski: cf. Kod. Jag. 11, p. 195v.

<sup>338</sup> Given that the King returned to Kraków on Jul. 12, the five days in the week of Jul. 7–13 mentioned in the accounts correspond to Jul. 7–11. However, several royal documents

Itinerary	Additional information
	Jul. 8 – the King is in Niepołomice: see n. 338. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Jul. 9 – the King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 74, f. 46v. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Jul. 10 – the King is in Niepołomice: see n. 338. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
	Jul. 11 – the King is in Niepołomice: see n. 338. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 12 – PT leaves Bolechowice for Kraków: inferred from the details of his arrival in Kraków on that day (see below, the information for Jul. 12), given that Bolechowice is merely 15 km away from Kraków.	
<b>1532 Jul. 12 to Aug. 20 — Kraków</b>	
Jul. 12 – PT arrives in Kraków from Bolechowice: APL, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, p. 339 (=f. 170v in old foliation, Stanisław Kilowski's letter), and stays there: MRPS 4/2, No. 16483; AT 14, Nos 334–336 (PT's letters).	The King arrives in Kraków from Niepołomice: APL, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, p. 339 (=f. 170v in old foliation, Stanisław Kilowski's letter). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16484, 16485; AT 14, No. 338 (Nikolaus Nibschitz's letter, PT mentioned).	
Jul. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16486–16488; AGAD, perg. 2712 (royal document witnessed by PT, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT, cf. transumpt in MRPS 5/2, No. 6109); AT 14, Nos 339 (PT's letter), 340 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), 342 (PT's letter).	

incorrectly suggest the King was present in Kraków within that period:

- 1) LM 17 (17), No. 233, records the King in Kraków on Jul. 8;
- 2) LM 17 (17), No. 230=LM 226 (7), No. 27, records the King in Kraków on Jul. 10;
- 3) LM 17 (17), No. 222, records the King in Kraków on Jul. 11.

ca. Jul. 15: AT 14, No. 341 (PT's letter, approx. day-date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).	
Jul. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 16489; AT 14, No. 343 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16490–16492; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 144 – date, 144v – record considered (=ff. 143, 143v in old foliation); APŁ, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, p. 365 (=f. 183v in old foliation, Stanisław Kilowski's letter, PT mentioned).	
Jul. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 16493; AT 14, No. 290 (PT's letter, date corrected from internal evidence).	
Jul. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 16494; AT 14, No. 346 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16495, 16496.	
	Jul. 21 – the King is in Kraków: AT 14, Nos 348, 349.
Jul. 22: TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 881 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); APŁ, Zbiór archiwalnych rękopisów staropolskich, 3, p. 366 (=f. 184 in old foliation, Stanisław Kilowski's letter, PT mentioned).	The King arrives in Kraków from Niepołomice via Kazimierz: ASK 1, RK 75, f. 111, and stays there: GORCZAK 5, No. 238. The King's stay in Niepołomice not recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Jul. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16497–16500.	
Jul. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16501–16505, 17145 (No. 17145 – date corrected) <sup>339</sup> ; AT 14, No. 350 (royal verdict, PT mentioned); APG, 300, 53/161, p. 37 (PT's letter).	

<sup>339</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 17145, provides the wrong date of the document as 1533 Jul. 24, based on the misdated entry in MK 48, p. 658: “feria 4 in vigilia S. Iacobi Ap. anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tertio”. This date contradicts the known royal itinerary, as the King was in Lithuania in the summer of 1533: GAŚSIOROWSKI, pp. 265–266. Additionally, St James' Eve in 1533 did not fall on a Wednesday, contrary to what the copy suggests. The correct date can be determined from the year of the King's reign stated in the dating clause: “regni vero nostri anno vigesimo sexto”. As such, the 26th year of King Sigismund's reign was 1532.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 25: AT 14, Nos 355 (=EFE 35, No. 312, PT's letter), 356 (=EFE 46, No. 77, Nikolaus Nibschitz's letter, PT mentioned).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 224.
	Jul. 26 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 225.
Jul. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 16506; AEp. Cr. 12, f. 145v (=f. 144v in old foliation).	
Jul. 28: AT 14, Nos 360 (PT's letter), 361 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	The King is in Kraków: AT 14, No. 359.
Jul. 29: AT 14, No. 366 (PT's letter, date corrected from internal evidence).	
Jul. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16507, 16508.	
Jul. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16509–16511.	
Aug. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16512–16518.	
Aug. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16519–16521.	
Aug. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16522–16528. <sup>340</sup>	
	Aug. 4 – the King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 70, f. 63v=RK 75, f. 102v. <sup>341</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Aug. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 16529; AT 14, No. 377 (PT's letter).	
	Aug. 6 – the King is in Kraków: tzw. ML, II A 5, p. 165; LM 17 (17), No. 242.
Aug. 7: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 146 – date, 146v – record considered (=ff. 145, 145v in old foliation).	
Aug. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 16530.	The King departs from Kraków towards Niepołomice for hunting: CIDTC, IDL 814 (Ioannes Dantiscus' letter). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>340</sup> The document from MRPS 4/2, No. 16526, in KUPCHYNSKY & RUZHITSKY, No. 436, is dated Aug. 1.

<sup>341</sup> LM 17 (17), No. 240, records the King in Kraków on Aug. 4.



Aug. 11: AT 14, Nos 385, 386 (PT's letters), 387 (=EFE 35, No. 312, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's letter, PT mentioned).	
Aug. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 16531; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 148 (=f. 147 in old foliation).	
Aug. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 16532; AKKK, perg. 724 (PT's document).	
Aug. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16533–16536, 16683 (No. 16683 – date supplied from KUTRZEBA 1912, No. 18); CC 48, p. 54 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); KUTRZEBA 1912, No. 17 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Aug. 15: AT 14, No. 392 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 243.
ca. Aug. 15: AT 14, No. 393 (PT's letter, approx. day-date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).	PT ultimately decided to go to the Provincial Synod but will quickly return to Kraków to perform his duties as the royal counsellor: PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki, as referenced on the left.
Aug. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16537, 16538; AT 14, No. 394 (PT's letter).	PT plans to depart from Kraków on Tuesday (Aug. 20) to attend the Provincial Synod, which was convened for the Feast of St Bartholomew (Aug. 24) in Piotrków. Afterwards, he plans to visit his episcopal estates for a short break from labours and cares: AT 14, No. 394, p. 591 (PT's letter to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki).
	Aug. 17 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 244; LM 226 (7), No. 37.
Aug. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16539–16544; CC 47, p. 991 (royal document, signature by PT); AT 14, No. 398 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 20 – PT is in Kraków: MRPS 4/2, No. 16545, and departs towards Piotrków for the Provincial Synod: AT 14, No. 394 (PT's letter, expected	

Itinerary	Additional information
day of departure mentioned); PADNIEWSKI, p. 898. <sup>342</sup>	
<b>1532 Aug. 24 to 30 — Piotrków</b>	
Aug. 24 – PT attends the Provincial Synod: ULANOWSKI 1895, No. 8, p. 62 (Maciej Drzewicki's document, PT mentioned).	The Provincial Synod is convened in Piotrków for that day: SUBERA 1971, p. 108; SUBERA 1981, p. 85.
Aug. 28: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 324 (=f. 325 in old foliation); AT 14, No. 409 (PT and other bishops' letter).	
Aug. 29: AT 14, No. 412, p. 620 (Maciej Drzewicki's document witnessed by PT).	
Aug. 30 – PT leaves Piotrków for Sulejów: PADNIEWSKI, p. 898.	
<b>1532 Aug. 30 [to 31] — Sulejów</b>	
[PT probably spends the first night after his departure from Piotrków in Sulejów.] <sup>343</sup>	
<b>1532 Sept. 3 to 9 — Ilża</b>	
Sept. 3 – PT arrives in Ilża: PADNIEWSKI, p. 898.	PT's presence in Ilża on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
	Sept. 4 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6210, 6211; LM 17 (17), Nos 249, 250; LM 226 (7), No. 41.

<sup>342</sup> According to a 19th-century transcription of Filip Padniewski's diary made by Żegota Pauli, PT departed from Kraków for the Provincial Synod in Piotrków on Aug. 28 (BJ, 5358, f. 96). However, in light of other sources, this should be recognized as a scribal error.

I was unable to verify the date's accuracy in the original manuscript of the diary, as the copy of the annotated almanac from the Library of the Seminary in Włocławek was lost during World War II: WÓJCIK, p. 173, n. 29. For further information regarding the wartime fate of the collection, where the item was stored, see RULKA, pp. 437–439. Thanks to the courtesy of Reverend Dr Krzysztof Kamiński, Director of the Library of the Seminary in Włocławek, I have consulted the current card catalog of the library's early printed books, but the result was negative.

<sup>343</sup> If PT followed the royal route from Sulejów to Ilża, he would have made overnight stops at the following locations: Opoczno from Aug. 31 to Sept. 1, Skrzynno from Sept. 1 to 2, and Radom from Sept. 2 to 3. However, he could also use the southern route via Żarnów, as he did in January 1534, travelling from Piotrków to Kielce (see below, the information for 1534 Jan. 29).

	Sept. 5 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 251 (=LM 25 (25), No. 52=LM 226 (7), No. 93), 252.
	Sept. 6 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6212–6214.
Sept. 7: AOff. Radom., f. 66v (PT's document).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 253, 254.
	Sept. 8 – the King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), No. 120; RADZIMIŃSKI & TANDECKI, No. 252.
Sept. 9 – PT departs from Iłża for Kunów: PADNIEWSKI, p. 898. <sup>44</sup>	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6215; AT 14, No. 427 (=CIDTC, IDL 830).
<b>1532 ca. Sept. 9 — Kunów</b>	
PT most likely arrives in Kunów on the same day he departs from Iłża, given that the distance between the two places is less than 30 km.	PT's presence in Kunów on Sept. 9 as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
	Sept. 10 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 255.
<b>1532 Sept. 14 — Kielce</b>	
PADNIEWSKI, p. 898.	PT's presence in Kielce on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538. <sup>345</sup>
	Sept. 17 – the King is in Kraków: EFE 30, No. 95 (=IMT 3, No. 325a).
	Sept. 19 – the King arrives in Kraków from Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 75, f. 130v, and stays there: MRPS 4/1, No. 6215. The King's stay in Niepołomice not recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Sept. 20 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6217–6219; LM 17 (17), No. 256.

<sup>344</sup> According to URBAN 1987, p. 538, PT only stayed in Iłża until Sept. 4. Since Waclaw Urban did not provide a reference to source evidence, verifying this information is impossible.

<sup>345</sup> According to Waclaw Urban, PT stayed in Kielce until Sept. 24. However, this date as the final day of the stay is incorrect, as PT arrived in Kraków on that day (see below, the information for Sept. 24). Urban likely overlooked the fact that Kielce is located more than 100 km away from Kraków, and the journey between the two locations usually takes more than two days.

Itinerary	Additional information
	Sept. 21 – the King is in Kraków: EFE 30, No. 96.
	Sept. 23 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6221.
<b>1532 Sept. 24 to Oct. 24 — Kraków</b>	
Sept. 24 – PT arrives in Kraków: PADNIEWSKI, p. 898. <sup>346</sup>	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 257–259; LM 226 (7), No. 38; IMT 3, No. 326.
Shortly after Sept. 24: TG, No. 3630 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence).	

<sup>346</sup> Several sources wrongly suggest PT’s presence in Kraków before that day.

1) The copy of the royal document misdated Kraków, 1532 Sept. 1, with PT’s signature and *relatio*: AOff. Cr. 48, f. 241 (=p. 479 in old pagination). For the correct date, see the copy in MK, dated 1531 Sept. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 16144.

2) The royal provision of the office (*ekspektatywa*), dated Kraków, 1532 Sept. 4, in MRPS 4/2, No. 16546, is registered in MK 48, p. 694, with the formula “*relatio ut supra*” (as in the preceding entries in MK 48), suggesting that PT participated in issuing the document. The date clearly contradicts PT’s itinerary, but the problem of its credibility is complex. The place and date from the dating clause should not be questioned because the same document, identically dated, is also registered in MRPS 4/1, No. 6210. The copy in the register supervised by Chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki has “*actum et datum*” instead of “*datum*”, includes the royal signature at the end “*Sigismundus rex significat*”, and lacks the *relatio* (MK 46, f. 200v). There are no other significant differences between the two copies. Minor text alterations indicate that each copy was produced independently.

At the current state of knowledge on MK, providing a fully satisfactory explanation for the double registration is impossible, but some hypotheses can be proposed. It must be noted that the entry in the register supervised by PT is located among documents issued in early 1533, after Szydłowiecki’s death on 1532 Dec. 30 (LUBCZYŃSKI & PIELAS, p. 561). Access to MK books produced when the Chancellor was in office may have become more difficult or even temporarily impossible at that time. Perhaps, since the legal effect of the provision in question was postponed until an indefinite future – until the incumbent’s death or promotion – the recipient of the document may have wanted it registered again to better secure his right and make the legal status easier to determine for all interested parties (the Royal Chancellery, local officials, local community). This reasoning has several weaknesses. Similar cases have not been analyzed, so there is no data for comparison. Moreover, even if the reason for the second registration is correctly identified, the key problem of using the *relatio* formula remains unexplained unless we assume that, in this case, *relatio* refers not to the authentication of the document but only to its registration in the record book.

3) The record in MRPS 4/2, No. 16547, is dated Kraków, Sept. 6, but cannot be considered as evidence of PT’s presence at the royal court that day. The entry in the record book of the Royal Chancellery supervised by PT must be made later, after the Vice-Chancellor arrives in Kraków. It is worth noting that the entry in question in MK 48, p. 9, contains only a summary of the document without any formulas confirming PT’s involvement in issuing it.

Sept. 25: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 151v (=f. 150v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), No. 117.
Sept. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16549, 16550.	
	Sept. 27 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6225–6227; LM 17 (17), No. 260.
Sept. 28: MRPS 4/2, No. 16551.	
Sept. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 16552.	
Sept. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16553, 16554; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 151v et seq. (=ff. 150v et seq. in old foliation).	
Oct. 1: AT 14, No. 455 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6232; CC 43, p. 460; AT 14, Nos 453, 454.
Oct. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16555, 16556.	
Oct. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16557, 16558; AT 14, No. 458 (=BRODERICUS, No. 172, PT's letter).	
Oct. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16559–16563; MRPS 4/3, No. 23291 (transumpt of royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); ŁUSZCZYŃSKI, p. 55 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> and signature by PT); STADNICKI, pp. 39 (=FASTNACHT, No. 109, royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT, cf. transumpt in MRPS 5/2, No. 7241), 66 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 155 – date, 155v – record considered (=ff. 154, 154v in old foliation); AT 14, Nos 459 (=CIDTC, IDL 3541, Jan Chojeński's letter, PT mentioned), 460 (=CIDTC, IDL 3542, PT's letter).	PT recalls his recent return to Kraków from the Provincial Synod and subsequent stay at his episcopal estates: AT 14, No. 460, p. 702 (=CIDTC, IDL 3542, PT's letter to Ioannes Dantiscus).

Itinerary	Additional information
Oct. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16564–16567; MRPS 4/3, No. 23292 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT, signature supplied from MK).	
	Oct. 6 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, Nos 6236–6238.
Oct. 7: MRPS 4/2, No. 16568; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 159 – date, 160v – record considered (=ff. 158, 159v in old foliation).	
Oct. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 16569.	
	Oct. 9 – the King is in Kraków: MRPS 4/1, No. 6241.
Oct. 10: MRPS 4/2, No. 16570.	
Oct. 11: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 161v – date, 162 – record considered (=ff. 160v, 161 in old foliation).	
	Oct. 12 – the King is in Kraków: LM 226 (7), No. 39.
Oct. 15: STADNICKI, pp. 46–47 (royal document, witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> and signature by PT).	
Oct. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 16572.	
Oct. 18: MRPS 4/2, No. 16573; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 164 – date, 164v – record considered (=ff. 163, 163v in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 869 (PT’s court record, place supplied – court sessions were held in Kraków unless stated otherwise).	
Oct. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 16574; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 165v (=f. 164v in old foliation); CDUJ 4, No. 358 (=KACZMARCZYK, No. 424, PT’s document).	
Oct. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 16575.	

Oct. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 16576; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 169v – date, 170v – record considered (=ff. 168v, 169v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AT 14, No. 473, but leaves Kraków for Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 70, f. 62v=RK 75, f. 104, and stays there: ASK 1, RK 70, f. 55v=RK 75, f. 113v. The King's departure from Kraków on that day not recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Oct. 23 – the King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 70, f. 55v; RK 75, f. 113v. <sup>347</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Oct. 24: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 171v – date, 172 – record considered (=ff. 170v, 171 in old foliation).	The King is in Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 70, ff. 55v, 62v=RK 75, ff. 104, 113v. <sup>348</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1532 Oct. 25 — Niepołomice</b>	
Oct. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 16585.	The King's presence in Niepołomice on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265, n. 1531/1. <sup>349</sup>
	Oct. 26 – the King arrives in Kraków from Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 70, f. 62v=RK 75, f. 104.
<b>1532 Oct. 27 to Dec. 3 — Kraków</b>	
Oct. 27: MRPS 4/3, Nos 23293–23295 (entries not considered in MRPS 4/2).	
	Oct. 28 – the King is in Kraków: LM 226 (7), No. 42.3; AT 14, No. 489.
Oct. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16586–16589; MRPS 4/3, No. 23296 (entry not considered in MRPS 4/2); AEp. Cr. 13, f. 173 (=f. 172 in old foliation).	
Oct. 30: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 173v – date, 175 – record considered (=ff. 172v, 174 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 268–270; LM 226 (7), No. 43; AGZ 10, Nos 504, 505.
Oct. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16590–16594.	
Nov. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 16595.	
	Nov. 3 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 271, 272.

<sup>347</sup> MRPS 4/2, Nos 16577–16581, record PT and the King in Kraków on Oct. 23.

<sup>348</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 16584, records PT and the King in Kraków on Oct. 24.

<sup>349</sup> AT 14, No. 484 (royal mandate), records the King in Kraków on Oct. 25.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Nov. 5: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 176 – date, 176v et seq. – record considered (=ff. 175, 175v et seq. in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AT 14, Nos 494, 495.
	Nov. 6 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 273.
Nov. 7: AT 14, Nos 498 (=CIDTC, IDL 3546, PT's letter), 499 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 274, 275.
Shortly after Nov. 7: AT 14, No. 500 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, date corrected by me from internal evidence).	
Nov. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 16596; AT 14, No. 501 (=CIDTC, IDL 3547, Jan Chojeński's letter, PT mentioned).	
Nov. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16597, 16598; AT 14, No. 503 (PT's letter).	
	Nov. 10 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 276–278; AT 14, No. 504.
	Nov. 11 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 279; LM 226 (7), Nos 44, 45.
Nov. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16599, 16600.	
Nov. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 16601.	
Nov. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 16602; AOff. Lubl. 9, f. 21 (PT's document).	
Nov. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16603, 16604.	
Nov. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16605–16609.	
Nov. 20: MRPS 4/2, No. 16610; MRPS 4/3, No. 23297 (entry not considered in MRPS 4/2).	
Nov. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16611–16616.	



Nov. 22: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 185 – date, 185v – record considered (=ff. 184, 184v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 109v (=f. 108v in old foliation).	
Nov. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16617–16620; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 186v (=f. 185v in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 60).	
Nov. 24: MRPS 4/2, No. 16621.	
Nov. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16622, 16623; AT 14, No. 553 (=CIDTC, IDL 870, Ioannes Dantiscus' letter, PT mentioned).	
Nov. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 16624.	
Nov. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16625–16629.	
Nov. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16630–16633; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 187 (=f. 186 in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 14, f. 33v (=f. 30v in old foliation).	
Nov. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16634–16644; APG, 300, 53/4, p. 64 (PT's letter).	
Nov. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 16645.	
Dec. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 16646; AT 14, Nos 530, 531 (PT's letters).	The King leaves Kraków for Niepołomice: ASK 1, RK 70, ff. 53v, 61v=RK 75, ff. 104v, 115. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Dec. 2: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 189 – date, 189v et seq. – records considered; AEp. Cr. 15, ff. 114, 125 (=ff. 113, 124 in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: AT 14, No. 532 (=RYKACZEWSKI, p. 175=PROCHASKA, No. 254).
Dec. 3 – PT departs from Kraków for the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) in Proszowice and the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ) in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: PADNIEWSKI, p. 898.	
<b>1532 ca. Dec. 5 — Proszowice</b>	
PT attends the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ), having left Kraków to do so (see above, the information for Dec. 3).	The Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) was convoked on Dec. 5: AT 14, No. 482.
	Dec. 8 – the King is in Kraków: LM 226 (7), No. 50.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1532 ca. Dec. 10 — Nowe Miasto Korczyn</b>	
PT attends the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ), having left Kraków to do so (see above, the information for Dec. 3).	The Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ) was convoked on Dec. 10: AT 14, No. 482.
	Dec. 10 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 289; LM 226 (7), No. 51.
	Dec. 11 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 290.
	Dec. 12 – the King is in Kraków: CC 45, p. 17.
	Dec. 13 – the King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), Nos 112, 122 (No. 122=LM 17 (17), No. 291).
	Dec. 15 – the King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), No. 123; LM 226 (7), No. 53.
<b>1532 Dec. 16 to 1533 Jan. 4 — Kraków</b>	
Dec. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16647–16649.	
Dec. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16650–16653; AGAD, perg. 1183 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Dec. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 16654.	
Dec. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16655–16658; AOff. Cr. 61, f. 496v (=p. 990 in old pagination, royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 195 – date, 195v et seq. – records considered; CDUJ 4, No. 359 (=KACZMARCZYK, No. 426, PT's document).	
Dec. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 16686 (date supplied from CDUJ 4, No. 360 =Dziwik, No. 181); MRPS 4/3, Nos 23300–23303 (entries not considered in MRPS 4/2); AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 196v, 201.	

Dec. 22: MRPS 4/3, Nos 23304, 23305 (entries not considered in MRPS 4/2); AT 14, No. 543 (=CIDTC, IDL 866, PT's letter).	
Dec. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16659–16668; MRPS 4/3, No. 23306 (entry not considered in MRPS 4/2); AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 197 – date, 197v et seq. – records considered; AOff. Lubl. 9, ff. 46v, 49v, 53 (PT's documents).	
Dec. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16669–16672; AT 14, No. 546 (PT's letter).	
Dec. 25: MRPS 4/2, No. 16673.	
Shortly before Dec. 26: AT 14, No. 549 (=CIDTC, IDL 869, Queen Bona's letter, PT mentioned).	
Dec. 26: MRPS 4/2, No. 16674.	
Dec. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 16675.	
	Dec. 28 – the King is in Kraków: AGAD, pap. 861.
Dec. 29: MRPS 4/2, No. 16676.	
Dec. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16677–16679; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 199.	
Dec. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16680–16682; AT 14, No. 556 (PT's letter).	
<b>1533</b>	
Jan. 2: tzw. ML, IV B 9, p. 614 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT); KUTRZEBA 1909, No. 19 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, f. 202v.	
Jan. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16688–16690; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 203.	
Jan. 4 – PT is in Kraków: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16691, 16692, and departs towards Piotrków with the King: AT 15, No. 8 (PT's letter, departure mentioned); PADNIEWSKI, p. 899.	The King departs from Kraków towards Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 70, ff. 49v (=RK 75, f. 119v), 61; RK 75, f. 92v; AT 15, No. 8 (departure mentioned); DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 45; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265. <sup>350</sup>

<sup>350</sup> At least two sources incorrectly suggest the King's presence in Kraków after Jan. 4.

1) LM 17 (17), No. 303, records the King in Kraków on Jan. 5.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>[1533 Jan. 4 to 5 — Słomniki]</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	[The King probably spends the night of Jan. 4–5 in Słomniki: inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Kraków and Książ.] Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 Jan. 5 to 6 — Książ</b>	
Jan. 5: AT 15, No. 8 (PT's letter).	PT is with the King, as mentioned in the letter referenced on the left. The King's presence in Książ on that day not recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Jan. 6 – PT is presumably with the King. The last day of the journey from Kraków to Piotrków during which it can be confirmed that PT travelled with the King. <sup>351</sup>	The King spends the night of Jan. 5–6 in Książ. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI. The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked on Jan. 6: AT 14, Nos 477–479.
<b>1533 ca. Jan. 6–8 — Jędrzejów</b>	
PT presumably travels along the royal route from Książ to Piotrków: see n. 351.	Jan. 6 – the King is in Jędrzejów: ASK 1, RK 69, f. 17; RK 70, f. 61=RK 75, f. 105v. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

2) The royal document in MRPS 4/2, No. 16693, is misdated as Kraków, Jan. 6 (“feria 2 Trium Regum”). Teodor Wierzbowski made a silent correction to the date in MK 48, p. 375, which reads differently: “feria 2 proxima ante festum Sanctorum Trium Regum”. Wierzbowski likely ignored “ante”, which does not make sense in the original reading. The Epiphany in 1533 fell on Monday, so it is barely possible that it was used to express the date of the previous Monday (1532 Dec. 30). However, the proposed conjecture of Wierzbowski must be refuted due to its incompatibility with the royal itinerary. In my opinion, emending “secunda” to “sexta” would afford the most probable reading. Firstly, “sexta” could easily be misread by a scribe of the copy as the abbreviated form “scda”. Secondly, the date of the subsequent entry in the record book (MK 48, p. 377) reads exactly the same as my conjecture: “feria sexta proxima ante festum Sanctorum Trium Regum”. Such a reading gives the date of 1533 Jan. 3, which perfectly agrees with the royal itinerary.

<sup>351</sup> If the entry in Filip Padniewski's diary accurately records PT's arrival in Piotrków on Jan. 10 (see below, the information for that day), it is likely that the Vice-Chancellor stayed one night longer than the King at one of the stops between Książ and Piotrków, perhaps at the Abbey of Jędrzejów. Given the above, I can only provide approximate dates for PT's stays at respective locations during the journey between Książ and Piotrków.

The possibility of an error in the diary's edition should be ruled out. Although the original annotated almanac is lost (see above, n. 342), the 19th-century transcription of the diary, created by Żegota Pauli, also lists PT's arrival date in Piotrków as Jan. 10 (BJ, 5358, f. 96v).

	Jan. 6–7 – the King spends the night in Jędrzejów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 ca. Jan. 7–9 — Małogoszcz</b>	
PT presumably travels along the royal route from Książ to Piotrków: see n. 351.	Jan. 7 – the King is in Małogoszcz: ASK 1, RK 70, f. 61=RK 75, f. 106v (no exact date given). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Jan. 7–8 – the King spends the night in Małogoszcz. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 ca. Jan. 8–10 — Przedbórz</b>	
PT presumably travels along the royal route from Książ to Piotrków: see n. 351.	Jan. 8–9 – the King spends the night in Przedbórz: ASK 1, RK 70, f. 60v=RK 75, f. 105v (no exact date given); date inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Małogoszcz and Piotrków. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
	Jan. 9 – the King arrives in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 70, f. 60v=RK 75, f. 105v. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 Jan. 10 to Feb. 13 — Piotrków</b>	
Jan. 10 – PT arrives in Piotrków: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899.	
Jan. 11 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: AT 15, Nos 10, 11; GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265.
Jan. 12 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: LM 226 (7), No. 57.
Jan. 14 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 69, f. 17; RK 73, f. 88.
Shortly before Jan. 16: AT 15, No. 18 (=CIDTC, IDL 3550, Maciej Drzewicki's letter, PT mentioned).	
Jan. 17 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: LM 17 (17), No. 310.
Jan. 18: FASTNACHT, No. 110 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT, formula supplied from B. Ossol., perg. 957); AT 15, No. 20 (=CIDTC, IDL 3553, PT's letter); EFE 35, No. 325 (PT's letter).	The King is in Piotrków: EFE 30, No. 97.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 19: AT 15, No. 24 (=CIDTC, IDL 3554, Jan Chojeński's letter, PT mentioned).	
Jan. 20: AV Cr. 5, p. 12 (PT's document); AT 15, No. 27 (PT's letter, earlier presence mentioned).	The opening of the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ), PT delivers the speech from the throne on behalf of the King: AT 15, No. 27, p. 42 (PT's letter to an unknown recipient); VC 1/2, p. 115; <i>Posłowie</i> , p. 81.
Jan. 21: AT 15, No. 27 (PT's letter, earlier presence mentioned).	
Jan. 22: AT 15, No. 27 (PT's letter).	
Jan. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16694, 16695; AT 15, No. 32 (PT's letter).	The Royal Chancellery starts using the formula <i>in conventione</i> in dating clauses of issued documents: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16694, 16695. <sup>352</sup>
Jan. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16696–16703.	
Jan. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16704–16714.	
Jan. 26 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 75, f. 87.
Jan. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16715, 16716.	
Jan. 29 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Piotrków: AT 15, No. 39.
Jan. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16717–16720.	
Jan. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16721–16727.	
Feb. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16731, 16732; AGAD, perg. 3760 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Feb. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 16733.	
Feb. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16734–16736 (No. 16736 – date corrected from transumpt in MRPS 5/2, No. 5496).	
Feb. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16737–16741; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 203v.	

<sup>352</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 44, and URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193, consider that day as the commencement of the General Diet (*sejm walny*).

Feb. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16742–16750.	
Shortly before Feb. 6: AT 15, No. 58 (PT's letter, date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, corrected by me from internal evidence).	
Feb. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16751–16756, 16758–16761; GÓRSKI, No. 15 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AT 15, No. 59 (PT's letter).	PT is convinced that he will depart with the King from Piotrków to Kraków within a week: AT 15, No. 59, p. 84 (PT's letter to Mikołaj Bedleński).
Feb. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16762–16766; AGAD, perg. 1182 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Feb. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16767–16772; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 204.	
Feb. 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 16773.	
Feb. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16774–16793. <sup>353</sup>	
Feb. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16794, 16795.	
Feb. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16796, 16797; APG, 300, 53/4, p. 71 (PT's letter); AT 15, Nos 73 (PT's letter, date corrected from EFE 35, No. 335), 76 (PT's letter).	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) concludes before that day: AT 15, No. 76, p. 108 (PT's letter to Queen Bona). <sup>354</sup> The King's departure from Piotrków towards Kraków is set for the next day (Feb. 13): AT 15, No. 76, p. 108 (PT's letter to Queen Bona).

<sup>353</sup> The document from MRPS 4/2, No. 16774, was mentioned in the later confirmation by King Sigismund Augustus of the privilege of the city of Pułtusk under a slightly different date – instead of “feria secunda post Dorotheae” (Feb. 10), it is dated “feria sexta post Dorotheae” (Feb. 7): see MRPS 5/1, No. 1936.

<sup>354</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 44, and URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) concluded on Feb. 14. This is based on the misdated royal documents with the formula *in conventione*. See n. 355.

In VC 1/2, p. 115, the letter from PT to Queen Bona was taken into account and the conclusion drawn was that the General Diet had concluded before Feb. 14. In *Posłowie*, p. 81, the same letter from PT was cited as evidence to assert that the assembly was dissolved on Feb. 12. However, it's important to note that, in the mentioned letter, PT merely hinted that as of Feb. 12, the General Diet was no longer in session, employing the ablative absolute phrase “absoluto conventu”.

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King departs from Piotrków: ASK 1, RK 70, ff. 60 (=RK 75, f. 106), 65v. <sup>355</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI. <sup>356</sup>
<b>1533 Feb. 13 to 14 — Przedbórz</b>	
Feb. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Przedbórz: ASK 1, RK 70, f. 60=RK 75, ff. 106 (no exact date given), 122v. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Feb. 14 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Feb. 13–14 in Przedbórz. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 Feb. 14 to 15 — Secemin</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Secemin: ASK 1, RK 70, f. 60=RK 75, f. 106 (no exact date given); date inferred from the standard royal itinerary between Przedbórz and Miechów. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 Feb. 15 to 16 — Miechów</b>	
Feb. 15 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Miechów: ASK 1, RK 70, f. 60=RK 75, f. 106 (no exact date given); RK 75, f. 122v. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Feb. 16 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Feb. 15–16 in Miechów. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.

<sup>355</sup> Several royal documents bear the date of Piotrków, *in conventione*, Feb. 14, the day after the King and PT departed from the city.

Only in one of these documents does the date appear to be unintentionally misdated. The date in MRPS 4/2, No. 16798 (MK 48, p. 555), is recorded as “*feria sexta post Dominicam Sepuagesimae*”. Dating on a Friday after Sunday seems improbable, as it would have been more practical to reference the approaching Sunday Sexagesimae (compare the date of MRPS 4/2, No. 16803: “*feria sexta ante Sexagesimae*”). Furthermore, it’s noteworthy that in the record book, both the entry preceding the one in question (MK 48, p. 553=MRPS 4/2, No. 16783) and the subsequent entry (MK 48, p. 556=MRPS 4/2, No. 16784) are dated as “*feria secunda post Dominicam Sepuagesimae*”. The word “*sexta*” could have been easily mistaken by a scribe for “*secunda*”.

As for the other entries in MK, the dating clauses seem to be accurately formulated: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16799–16802. Additionally, I found two more royal documents dated in Piotrków on the same day: AGAD, perg. 5682 (=CWWKP, 807, p. 50, cartulary of the Abbey of Sulejów, signature and *relatio* by PT); CWWKP, 807, p. 232 (cartulary of the Abbey of Sulejów, signature and *relatio* by PT).

I cannot explain the discrepancy between the large number of documents dated Piotrków, Feb. 14, and PT’s and the King’s itinerary.

<sup>356</sup> GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265, mentions the King’s stay until Feb. 14. This is based on the misdated royal documents with the formula *in conventione*. See n. 355.



<b>1533 Feb. 16 to Jun. 10 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question.
Feb. 16 – PT arrives in Kraków: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899.	The King arrives in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 70, f. 60=RK 75, f. 106. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
Feb. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 16804.	The King's presence in Kraków on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265.
Feb. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 16805.	
	Feb. 20 – the King is in Kraków: ANTONOVYCH & KOZLOVSKY, No. 29.
Feb. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 16806.	
Feb. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 16807.	
	Feb. 24 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 311; LM 226 (7), No. 70; <sup>357</sup> APG, 300, 53/5, p. 2; AT 15, Nos 91–96; CIDTC, IDL 901; EFE 30, No. 98.
Feb. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16808–16813; AT 15, No. 98 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16814–16816; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 204 et seq.	
Feb. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16817–16819.	
Mar. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16821–16823.	
Mar. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16824, 16825; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 206; AT 15, No. 271 (Girolamo Ghinucci's letter, lost PT's letter mentioned).	
Mar. 4: MRPS 4/2, No. 16826; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 207.	

<sup>357</sup> The copy of the same document in LM 17 (17), No. 312, is dated Feb. 27.

Itinerary	Additional information
Mar. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 16827; <sup>358</sup> AT 15, Nos 112, 113, 116 (PT's letters), 117 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Mar. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16828–16831; AT 15, No. 278 (Stanisław Kostka's letter, PT mentioned).	
Mar. 7: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 208 – date, 208v et seq. – records considered.	The King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), No. 124; LM 226 (7), No. 60.
Mar. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16833–16835.	
Mar. 9: AT 15, No. 129 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 322, 323; AT 15, Nos 128, 130.
Mar. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16836–16840; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 210 – date, 210v – record considered.	
Shortly before Mar. 11: AT 15, No. 132 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, corrected by me from internal evidence).	
Mar. 11: MRPS 4/2, No. 16841; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 211 – date, 212 – record considered; AT 15, Nos 136 (PT's letter), 137 (=CIDTC, IDL 909, Wojciech Kijewski's letter, PT mentioned).	

<sup>358</sup> The copy of the document in BN, 12535, f. 82v (cartulary of Szafranec family), is dated differently from the document in MK. It is dated 1533 Mar. 12 (“*feria quarta proxima post Dominicam Reminiscere*”) instead of “ante” has “post”. This kind of unintentional alteration was frequently made by scribes of MK. Therefore, it is not possible to definitively decide which copy is dated correctly.

However, it should be noted that the date Mar. 12 would fit better with the chronological sequence of the adjacent records in MK. The three preceding entries are dated Mar. 10 (“*feria secunda post Dominicam Reminiscere*” – MK 48, pp. 707, 710=MRPS 4/2, Nos 16838, 16839), Mar. 11 (“*feria tertia proxima post Dominicam Reminiscere*” – *ibidem*, p. 711=MRPS 4/2, No. 16841). The three following entries are dated Mar. 14 (“*feria sexta proxima post Dominicam Reminiscere*” – *ibidem*, p. 714=MRPS 4/2, No. 16844), Mar. 13 (“*feria quinta proxima post Dominicam Reminiscere, quae fuit tredecima mensis Martii*” – *ibidem*, p. 716=MRPS 4/2, No. 16843), and Mar. 12 (“*feria quarta ante Dominicam Oculi*” – *ibidem*, p. 718=MRPS 4/2, No. 16842).

Mar. 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 16842; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 212v; AT 15, No. 139 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 16843; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 213; CDUJ 4, No. 360 (=DZIWIK, No. 182=PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1535, No. 910, PT's document); AT 15, No. 141 (=CIDTC, IDL 911, Jan Chojeński's letter, PT mentioned).	
Mar. 14: MRPS 4/2, No. 16844; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 214v – date, 215 – record considered.	
Mar. 15: MRPS 4/2, No. 16846; AT 15, No. 147 (=CIDTC, IDL 3558, PT's letter).	
Mar. 16: APG, 300, 53/5, p. 9 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16847, 16848; KUPCHYNSKY & RUZHYSKY, No. 438 (royal document, signature by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 215v et seq.	
Mar. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16849, 16850.	
Mar. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16851–16853.	
Mar. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16854, 16855; AT 15, No. 152 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16856, 16857.	
Mar. 22: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16858, 16859.	
Mar. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 16860; GORCZAK 5, No. 245 (royal document, information about <i>relatio</i> by PT supplied from NIEWODNICZAŃSKI, No. 219).	
Mar. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16861, 16862.	
Mar. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16863, 16864; AOff. Cr. 61, ff. 90v, 247 (=pp. 178, 491 in old pagination, royal documents, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT); CDUJ 4, No. 362 (=KACZMARCZYK, No. 431, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 219v et seq.	

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Mar. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16865, 16866; BUJAK, No. 181 (PT's document).	
Mar. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16867–16869 (No. 16869 – PT's document).	
Mar. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16870–16872.	
Shortly before Mar. 31: AT 15, No. 163 (Jan Tarnowski's response for PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, date corrected by me from mention in PT's letter in AT 15, No. 237, p. 237).	
Mar. 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16873–16877; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 226 – date, 227 – record considered; AT 15, Nos 162, 164, 166 (PT's letters).	
Apr. 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 16878; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 228.	
Apr. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16879–16881; AT 15, No. 173 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16883–16887; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 229 – date, 230 – records considered.	
Apr. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16888–16890; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 231 – date, 231v – record considered.	
Apr. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16891–16895; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 232v – date, 233 – record considered; AT 15, Nos 175 (=CIDTC, IDL 3559, PT's letter), 176 (PT's letter).	The King is preparing to travel to Lithuania after Easter (Apr. 13): AT 15, No. 175, p. 251 (=CIDTC, IDL 3559, PT's letter to Ioannes Dantiscus).
Apr. 6: AT 15, No. 179 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 331; AT 15, No. 178.
Apr. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16896–16906; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 233.	

Apr. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 16907; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 234; AT 15, Nos 185 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), 187 (=CIDTC, IDL 3560, Jan Chojeński's letter, PT mentioned).	
Apr. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16908–16911; AT 15, Nos 188 (PT's letter), 189 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), 190 (PT's letter).	
	Apr. 10 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 333; APG, 300, 53/5, p. 38.
Apr. 11: AT 15, No. 195 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: AT 15, No. 194.
Apr. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16912, 16913.	
Apr. 17: AKKK, perg. 726 (PT's document).	
Apr. 19: MRPS 4/2, No. 16914; AT 15, No. 215 (=EFE 46, No. 92, Nikolaus Nibschitz's letter, PT mentioned).	
	Apr. 20 – the King is in Kraków: AT 15, Nos 216 (=EFE 30, No. 103), 217; EFE 30, No. 102.
Apr. 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16915, 16916.	PT falls seriously ill: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899. Likely, from this point on, he is confined at home until May 17 (see below, the information for that day).
Apr. 22: AT 15, No. 219 (PT's letter).	The King is in Kraków: EFE 30, No. 104.
Apr. 23: MRPS 4/2, No. 16917; AT 15, No. 225 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	

Itinerary	Additional information
	Apr. 24 – the King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), No. 335; LM 18 (18), Nos 57, 58.
Apr. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16918–16922.	
Apr. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16923–16925.	
Apr. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16926–16929; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 237 et seq. (=ff. 238 et seq. in old foliation); KACZMAR-CZYK, No. 432 (PT's document).	
Apr. 30: MRPS 4/2, No. 16930; CC 46, p. 23 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); APG, 300, 53/161, p. 39 (PT's letter); AT 15, No. 238 (=CIDTC, IDL 3563, PT's letter).	PT plans to depart from Kraków soon and accompany the King to Radom on his progress towards Lithuania, after which he will go to the episcopal estates and stay there for some time: AT 15, No. 238, p. 331 (=CIDTC, IDL 3563, PT's letter to Ioannes Dantiscus).
May 1: MRPS 4/2, No. 16931.	
May 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16932, 16933.	
May 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16934–16936.	
	May 4 – the King is in Kraków: PSGPK 3, No. 7, p. 141.
May 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 16938; AT 15, No. 245 (=CIDTC, IDL 3565, PT's letter).	PT feels a little better, but despite this, he remains at home: AT 15, No. 245, p. 338 (=CIDTC, IDL 3565, PT's letter to Ioannes Dantiscus).
	May 6 – the King is in Kraków: AT 15, Nos 246, 247, 249–251.
ca. May 6: AT 15, No. 248 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
May 7: TROJANOWSKA, No. 57 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
	May 8 – the King is in Kraków: EFE 30, No. 105.

<p>May 9: MRPS 4/2, No. 16940; tzw. ML, IV B 9, p. 515 (royal document, <i>datum per manus, relatio</i> and signature by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 245 – date, 245v – record considered (=ff. 246, 246v in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 930 (PT and Kraków Cathedral Chapter’s document).</p>	
<p>May 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16941, 16942; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 246 – date, 248 – record considered (=ff. 247, 249 in old foliation); AT 15, Nos 256 (PT’s letter), 257 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pociecha), 258 (=CIDTC, IDL 946, Iustus Ludovicus Decius’ letter, PT mentioned).</p>	
<p>May 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16943, 16944.</p>	
<p>May 12: MRPS 4/2, No. 16945; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 249v (=f. 250v in old foliation).</p>	
<p>May 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 16946; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 252 (=f. 253 in old foliation); AOff. Cr. 61, f. 98 (=p. 193 in old pagination, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).</p>	
<p>May 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16947–16949; AOff. Cr. 61, f. 192 (=p. 381 in old pagination, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, f. 252 (=f. 253 in old foliation).</p>	
<p>May 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16950–16952; ZBUDNIEWEK, No. 448 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT); WIERZBOWSKI 1913, No. 42 (royal document, signature by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 252v et seq. (=ff. 253v et seq. in old foliation); AOff. Radom., f. 79v (PT’s document).</p>	

Itinerary	Additional information
<p>May 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16953–16963; NABIAŁEK et al., No. 336 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus, relatio</i> and signature by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 254 – date, 254v – record considered (=ff. 255, 255v in old foliation).</p>	<p>After his long and severe illness, PT begins to make public appearances: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899.</p>
<p>May 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16964–16968; MRPS 5/2, No. 5059 (transumpt of royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT, formulas supplied from MK); AEp. Cr. 13, f. 255 (=f. 256 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 66).</p>	<p>PT visits the royal castle: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899.</p>
<p>May 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16969–16971.</p>	
<p>May 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16972–16975; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 256 (=f. 257 in old foliation).</p>	
<p>May 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16976, 16977; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 256v – date, 257 – record considered (=ff. 257v, 258 in old foliation).</p>	
<p>May 21: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16978–16981; TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 885 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 258 – date, 258v – records considered (=ff. 259, 259v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 121 (=f. 120 in old foliation=CDUJ 4, No. 362=KACZMARCZYK, No. 433, PT's document).</p>	
<p>May 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 16982; TROJANOWSKA, No. 58 (=RIABININ, No. 138, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).</p>	



May 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16983, 16984; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 259v – date, 260 – record considered (=ff. 260v, 261 in old foliation); AT 15, No. 273 (PT's letter).	
May 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16985–16990.	
May 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16991, 16992.	
May 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16993–16997; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 262 – date, 263 – record considered (=ff. 263, 264 in old foliation).	
May 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 16998, 16999; CC 46, p. 68 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 264 – date, 264v – record considered (=ff. 265, 265v in old foliation); AT 15, No. 281 (PT's letter).	
May 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17000–17003.	
May 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17004–17008; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 265 – date, 266v – record considered (=ff. 266, 267v in old foliation).	
May 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17009–17017; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 266v et seq. (=ff. 267v et seq. in old foliation).	
May 31: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17018–17025; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 267v (=f. 268v in old foliation); ASK VI, KA 1, f. 43 (PT's document).	
Jun. 1: SZANIAWSKI, No. 33 (royal document, signature by PT).	
Jun. 2: OSK, Fol. Lat. 258, f. 258 (PT's letter); AT 15, Nos 285, 287 (PT's letters).	The King is in Kraków: AGZ 10, No. 515; AT 15, Nos 286, 288.
	Jun. 3 – the King is in Kraków: APG, 300, 53/5, p. 40; OSK, Fol. Lat. 258, f. 17; AT 15, No. 289.
Jun. 4: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 268v (=f. 269v in old foliation).	The King is in Kraków: LM 17 (17), Nos 354, 355.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jun. 5: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17026, 17027; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 269v – date, 270 – record considered (=ff. 270v, 271 in old foliation).	
Jun. 6: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17028–17039; FASTNACHT, No. 111 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT, formula supplied from B. Ossol., perg. 2638); AEp. Cr. 13, f. 270v (=f. 271v in old foliation).	
Jun. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17040–17060.	
Jun. 8: AT 15, No. 293 (PT's letter); KILOWSKI, p. 57 (=f. 29 in old foliation); MPH 3, p. 97 (annals from Święty Krzyż Monastery, year-date inferred from other sources, PT mentioned).	PT intends to accompany the King to Radom: AT 15, No. 293, p. 405 (PT's letter to Andrzej Tęczyński). The King is in Kraków: LM 15 (15), Nos 134, 136.
Jun. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17061–17088; tzw. ML, IV B 17, p. 364 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, f. 274 (=f. 275 in old foliation); BN, 12535, f. 11 (cartulary of Szafraniec family, royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Jun. 10 – PT is in Kraków: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17089–17099, and departs from there: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899.	The King departs from Kraków towards Lithuania: ASK 1, RK 73, ff. 65v, 71; PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, Nos 942, 943 (notes in the records of the Consistory Court of Kraków) – ca. h. 12; NAROPÍŃSKI, p. 224; AT 15, Nos 297, 314 (Stanisław Górski's commentaries); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265. <sup>359</sup>

<sup>359</sup> The plan for the King to leave Kraków on that day was mentioned by Seweryn Boner in a letter dated 1533 Jun. 5: OSK, Cod. Lat. 258, f. 259v.

Several royal documents, misdated as Kraków, 1533 Jun. 11, wrongly suggest that the King was still in Kraków after Jun. 10:

- 1) MRPS 4/2, No. 17103;
- 2) LM 17 (17), No. 357;
- 3) AGZ 10, No. 522.

<b>1533 Jun. 10 to 11 — Proszowice</b>	
Jun. 10 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King arrives in Proszowice. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Jun. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17100–17102.	The King's presence in Proszowice on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265.
<b>1533 Jun. 11 — Wiślica</b>	
KUPCHYNSKY & RUZHYTSKY, No. 441 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	The King's stay in Wiślica on that day is additionally confirmed in: ASK 1, RK 73, f. 65v; KIŁOWSKI, p. 57 (=f. 29 in old foliation). Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 Jun. 11 — Dobrowoda</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, f. 273v (=f. 274v in old foliation), cf. WIŚNIEWSKI 1929, p. 66 (PT's court record mentioned).	PT probably leaves the royal court to go to Dobrowoda, located around 10 km from Wiślica, to conduct a land exchange deal for some fields that belonged to the episcopal estates, as mentioned in the source material referenced on the left.
<b>1533 Jun. 12 — Wiślica</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Wiślica: ASK 1, RK 73, ff. 65v, 71v. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 Jun. 12 to 13 — Szydłów</b>	
Jun. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17104–17111.	The King's presence in Szydłów on that day recorded in GĄSIOROWSKI, p. 265.
Jun. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King leaves Szydłów: ASK 1, RK 73, f. 66. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 Jun. 13 to 14 — Łagów</b>	
Jun. 13 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Łagów: ASK 1, RK 73, f. 66. <sup>360</sup> Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
Jun. 14 – <i>ut supra</i> .	The King spends the night of Jun. 13–14 in Łagów. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 Jun. 14 — Nowa Słupia</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Nowa Słupia: ASK 1, RK 73, f. 66. Not in GĄSIOROWSKI.

<sup>360</sup> AGZ 10, No. 527, records the King in Łagów on Jun. 20.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1533 Jun. 14 — Święty Krzyż</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King is in Święty Krzyż: ASK 1, RK 73, f. 66. Cf. BORKOWSKA, pp. 186, 187 (no exact date given, royal stay stated as two days). Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 Jun. 15 — Nowa Słupia</b>	
PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Jun. 14–15 in Nowa Słupia. <sup>361</sup> Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 Jun. 15 to 16 — Wąchock</b>	
Jun. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17112–17114.	The King's presence in Wąchock on that day recorded in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265.
Jun. 16 – PT is presumably with the King.	The King spends the night of Jun. 15–16 in Wąchock. Not in GAŚSIOROWSKI.
<b>1533 Jun. 16 to 17 — Radom</b>	
Jun. 16 – PT arrives in Radom with the King: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899, <sup>362</sup> and stays there: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17115–17124, 17136 (No. 17136 – date corrected from HORODYSKI, No. 25=AGAD, perg. 6826).	Cf. in GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265 (information only about the stay, not the arrival).
Jun. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17125–17135, 17137–17144; BN, 12535, f. 84v (=tw. ML, IV B 9, p. 426, royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AT 15, Nos 306 (PT's letter, place supplied by Władysław Pociecha), 307 (PT's letter), 309 (=BRODERICUS, No. 198, PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).	The King departs from Radom towards Lithuania: AT 15, No. 314 (Stanisław Górski's commentary); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 265. <sup>363</sup>

<sup>361</sup> I assumed that the King did not spend the night at the Święty Krzyż Monastery, as the royal itineraries published so far do not provide sufficient evidence to support such a practice.

<sup>362</sup> According to KIŁOWSKI, p. 57 (=f. 29 in old foliation), the King was in Radom already on Jun. 15, and PT was in Hża on Jun. 16.

<sup>363</sup> Several documents mistakenly suggest the King was still in Radom after Jun. 17:

- 1) LM 17 (17), Nos 360 and 361, record the King in Radom on Jun. 20;
- 2) LM 17 (17), No. 363, records the King in Radom on Jun. 27;
- 3) LM 17 (17), No. 364, records the King in Radom on Jun. 30.

<b>1533 Jun. 18 to 25 — Hża</b>	
Jun. 18: AT 15, No. 316 (PT's letter).	PT's presence in Hża on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
Shortly after Jun. 18: AT 15, No. 317 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, corrected by me from internal evidence).	
Jun. 19: AT 15, Nos 320 (PT's letter), 321 (PT's letter, place supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Jun. 22: AT 15, Nos 324 (PT's letter, place supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), 325 (PT's letter), 326 (PT's document), 327 (PT's letter, place supplied by Pocięcha); CIDTC, IDL 964 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 23: AT 15, No. 328 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 24: AT 15, No. 329 (=CIDTC, IDL 3567, PT's letter); KILOWSKI, p. 57 (=f. 29 in old foliation).	PT, after accompanying the King to Radom, went to the episcopal estates, where he plans to stay for some time to administer justice to episcopal subjects and afterward return to Kraków: AT 15, No. 329, p. 444 (=CIDTC, IDL 3567, PT's letter to Ioannes Dantiscus). PT's presence in Hża on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
Jun. 25 – PT departs from Hża for Kunów: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899.	
<b>1533 Jun. 25 to 27 — Kunów</b>	
Jun. 25 – PT most likely arrives in Kunów on the same day he departs from Hża, given that the distance between the two places is less than 30 km.	PT's presence in Kunów on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
Jun. 26: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 274v (=f. 275v in old foliation).	PT's presence in Kunów on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.

Itinerary	Additional information
Jun. 27 – PT most likely departs from Kunów on the same day he arrives in Bodzentyn, given that the distance between the two places is approximately 30 km.	
<b>1533 Jun. 27 to Jul. 10 — Bodzentyn</b>	
Jun. 27 – PT arrives in Bodzentyn: KIŁOWSKI, p. 57 (=f. 29 in old foliation), and stays there PADNIEWSKI, p. 899.	PT's presence in Bodzentyn on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
Jun. 29: APG, 300, 53/161, p. 42 (PT's letter); KIŁOWSKI, p. 57 (=f. 29 in old foliation).	
Jun. 30: AT 15, Nos 332 (PT's letter), 333 (=ZBUDNIEWEK, No. 450, PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Jul. 2: KIŁOWSKI, p. 58 (=f. 29v in old foliation). <sup>364</sup>	
Jul. 3: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 275 (=f. 276 in old foliation), cf. URBAN 2001, No. 68 (summary of one of the records).	
Jul. 4: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 275v (=f. 276v in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 69 – summary provided by Waclaw Urban mistakenly carries the date of Jul. 7).	
Jul. 5: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 276 (=f. 277 in old foliation).	
Jul. 7: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 276 (=f. 277 in old foliation), cf. URBAN 2001, No. 70 (incomplete summary of one of the entries); KURAŚ, No. 16 (PT's document).	

<sup>364</sup> Stanisław Kilowski, a member of the episcopal household, was in Bodzentyn on that day, so, likely, PT had not departed from there as well.

Jul. 8: AT 15, Nos 347, 348 (PT's letters), 349, 350 (PT's letters, date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), 351 (PT's letter).	PT alludes to his future return to Kraków: AT 15, No. 349, p. 478 (PT's letter to the Kraków City Council).
Jul. 9: AT 15, No. 352 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 10 – PT is in Bodzentyn: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 276v (=f. 277v in old foliation); OSK, Fol. Lat. 258, f. 239 (PT's letter); AT 15, No. 353 (PT's letter), and departs from there towards Sandomierz: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899.	PT's presence in Bodzentyn on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
<b>1533 Jul. 12 to 15 — Sandomierz</b>	
Jul. 12 – PT arrives in Sandomierz: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899, and stays there: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 276v (=f. 277v in old foliation).	
Jul. 13: AT 15, No. 356 (PT's letter); KIŁOWSKI, p. 58 (=f. 29v in old foliation).	
Jul. 14: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 277 (=f. 278 in old foliation).	
Jul. 15: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 277 (=f. 278 in old foliation).	
<b>1533 Jul. 17 to 18 — Złota</b>	
Jul. 17: AT 15, No. 362 (PT's letter).	PT pays a brief visit to Złota to assess and enhance the performance of the administrators of the episcopal estates in Złota and Biskupice. He intends to return to Sandomierz the following day (Jul. 18) and carry out a visitation of the local clergy. He plans to be in Kielce on Aug. 1: PT's letter to Stanisław Borek, as referenced on the left. <sup>365</sup>

<sup>365</sup> PT's letter to Giovanni Andrea de Valentinis, dated 1534 Feb. 11, AT 16/1, No. 98, p. 203, evokes the completed visitation of 1533 in Sandomierz: "Cum aestate praeterita Sandomiriam descendissem, ut de moribus et vita loci illius sacerdotum, qui pessime audiebant, pro pastoralis officio inquirerem" [when I descended to Sandomierz in the past summer to inquire about the morals and way of life of the local priests, who had a very bad reputation, as part of my pastoral duties].

Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 18 – PT leaves Złota for Sandomierz: AT 15, No. 362 (PT’s letter, expected departure mentioned).	
<b>1533 Jul. 18 to 23 — Sandomierz</b>	
Jul. 18: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 277v (=f. 278v in old foliation).	
Jul. 19: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 954 (PT’s court record).	
Jul. 20: AT 15, Nos 363–365 (PT’s letters).	
Jul. 21: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 278 (=f. 279 in old foliation).	
Jul. 22: KIŁOWSKI, p. 58 (=f. 29v in old foliation).	
Jul. 23 – PT departs from Sandomierz: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899.	
<b>1533 Jul. 25 — Kunów</b>	
KIŁOWSKI, p. 58 (=f. 29v in old foliation).	
<b>1533 Jul. 27 — Krynki</b>	
PT consecrates a church in Krynki: KIŁOWSKI, p. 58 (=f. 29v in old foliation).	
<b>1533 Jul. 28 to 30 — Bodzentyn</b>	
Jul. 28: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899.	PT’s presence in Bodzentyn on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
Jul. 29: AT 15, No. 375 (PT’s letter).	
Jul. 30 – PT departs from Bodzentyn towards Kielce: KIŁOWSKI, p. 58 (=f. 29v in old foliation).	PT’s presence in Bodzentyn on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
<b>1533 Jul. 30 to Sept. 12 — Kielce</b>	
Jul. 30 – PT arrives in Kielce: PADNIEWSKI, p. 899.	PT’s presence in Kielce on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538. <sup>366</sup>
Aug. 1: AT 15, No. 380 (PT’s letter).	

<sup>366</sup> Waclaw Urban suggests that PT stayed in Kielce until Sept. 17. He likely assumed that the Vice-Chancellor left Kielce on the same day his arrival in Dobrowoda was recorded (see below, the information for Sept. 17). However, considering the approximately 60 km distance between the two locations, it cannot be ruled out that the episcopal household lodged somewhere overnight on the way to Dobrowoda.



ca. Aug. 1: AT 15, No. 379 (PT's letter, date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Aug. 4: AT 15, Nos 387, 388 (PT's letters). <sup>367</sup>	
Aug. 7: AT 15, No. 391 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 10: AT 15, No. 394 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 12: AT 15, No. 396 (PT's letter).	
ca. Aug. 12: AT 15, No. 397 (PT's letter, place supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Aug. 17: AT 15, Nos 406 (PT's letter), 407, 408 (PT's letters, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, corrected by me from internal evidence).	PT alludes to his future return to Kraków: AT 15, No. 406, p. 558 (PT's letter to the King).
Aug. 18: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 610 (PT's letter, year-date corrected from internal evidence).	
Aug. 20: KILOWSKI, p. 59 (=f. 30 in old foliation). <sup>368</sup>	
Aug. 21: AT 15, Nos 411, 412 (PT's letters).	
Aug. 25: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 279v (=f. 280v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 163v (=WIŚNIEWSKI 1913a, p. 154 <sup>bis</sup> ); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1530–1533, No. 975 (PT's court record, place supplied from AEp. Cr. 13, f. 280v=f. 281v in old foliation); AT 15, No. 417 (=WIERZBOWSKI 1900, No. 477=ALLEN 10, No. 2861, PT's letter, place corrected). <sup>369</sup>	

<sup>367</sup> URBAN 2001, No. 71, considers PT's court record dated Aug. 4 as issued in Sandomierz, based on the place of issue from the margin of the previous page in the record book. See: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 278v (=f. 279v in old foliation – place of issue), 279 (=f. 280 in old foliation – entry in question).

<sup>368</sup> On that day, Stanisław Kilowski, a member of the episcopal household, left Kielce for Pułtusk, so probably PT was still in the first place.

<sup>369</sup> The well-known PT's letter to Erasmus is misdated as Kraków, 1533 Aug. 25. Since the contents correspond with the given date, only the place of writing is likely mistaken.

Itinerary	Additional information
Aug. 26: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 281 (=f. 282 in old foliation).	
Aug. 27: AT 15, No. 419 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 28: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 281v (=f. 282v in old foliation); AT 15, No. 423 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 30: AT 15, Nos 425 (PT's letter), 426 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Sept. 2: AT 15, No. 433 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 4: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 282 (=f. 283 in old foliation).	
Sept. 5: AT 15, Nos 438, 439 (PT's letters).	
Sept. 6: AT 15, No. 441 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 8: AT 15, Nos 445, 447 (No. 447 =CIDTC, IDL 3576, PT's letters).	
ca. Sept. 8: AT 15, No. 446 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Sept. 9: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 282v (=f. 283v in old foliation).	
Sept. 10: AT 15, No. 448 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 11: AT 15, Nos 451–453 (PT's letters).	PT wishes to come to Kraków this year to consecrate the Chapel of St Thomas of Canterbury: AT 15, No. 453, p. 623 (PT's letter to Stanisław Borek).
Sept. 12: AOff. Radom., f. 103v (PT's document).	
<b>1533 Sept. 17 to 24 — Dobrowoda</b>	
Sept. 17 – PT arrives in Dobrowoda from Kielce: PADNIEWSKI, p. 900.	
Sept. 18: AT 15, No. 458 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 19: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 283 (=f. 284 in old foliation).	

Sept. 21: AT 14, No. 435 (PT's letter, date corrected from Kod. Op. 14, f. 361, and internal evidence).	
Sept. 22: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 283, 283v (=ff. 284, 284v in old foliation).	
Sept. 24: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 283v (=f. 284v in old foliation); AT 15, Nos 464 (PT's letter, place corrected from internal evidence), 465, 466 (PT's letters).	
<b>1533 Sept. 26 — Złota</b>	
AT 15, No. 431 (PT's letter, expected visit mentioned).	
<b>1533 Sept. 27 to Oct. 3 — Sandomierz</b>	
Sept. 27 – PT arrives in Sandomierz to reconcile Mikołaj Pilecki and Mikołaj Odnowski: PADNIEWSKI, p. 900. <sup>370</sup>	Reconciliation of Mikołaj Pilecki and Mikołaj Odnowski as the purpose of the visit in Sandomierz, also mentioned in a much later letter: AT 16/1, No. 93, p. 190 (PT's letter to Jan Chojeński, 1534 Feb. 11).
Oct. 2: AKKK, Libri archivi, 4, f. 166, No. 117 (PT's letter, year-date supplied from internal evidence); AT 15, Nos 480 (PT's letter), 481 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).	
Oct. 3 – PT is in Sandomierz: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 284v (=f. 285v in old foliation), and departs from there: PADNIEWSKI, p. 900.	
<b>1533 Oct. 9 to Dec. 10 — Kraków</b>	
Oct. 9 – PT arrives in Kraków: PADNIEWSKI, p. 900.	
Oct. 13: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 284v et seq. (=ff. 285v et seq. in old foliation).	
Oct. 14: AT 15, No. 498 (PT's letter).	

<sup>370</sup> PT's document in AGAD, perg. 3129, is dated Kraków, 1533 Sept. 27, but the year of issue on the document was faded and later corrected by a different hand.

Itinerary	Additional information
Oct. 16: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 285v – date, 286 – record considered (=ff. 286v, 287 in old foliation); AT 15, No. 508 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 17: PIEKOSIŃSKI, No. 54 (=KRZYŻANOWSKI, No. 514, PT, Piotr Kmita and Seweryn Boner's document).	
Oct. 20: OSK, Fol. Lat. 258, f. 152 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 23: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 287v – date, 288 – record considered (=ff. 288v, 289 in old foliation).	
Oct. 24: AT 15, Nos 514, 515 (PT's letters).	
Oct. 27: AT 15, No. 519 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 30: AT 15, No. 521 (PT's letter).	
Nov. 3: AT 15, No. 526 (PT's letter).	
Nov. 4: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 290v – date, 291 et seq. – records considered (=ff. 291v, 292 et seq. in old foliation); AT 15, Nos 528–532 (PT's letters).	
Nov. 5: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 294 (=f. 295 in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 139v.	
Nov. 6: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 294v – date, 295 – record considered (=ff. 295v, 296 in old foliation).	
Nov. 7: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 295v (=f. 296v in old foliation).	
Nov. 10: AT 15, Nos 539, 541 (PT's letters).	PT plans to attend the upcoming General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Piotrków, as well as the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) in Proszowice and the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ) in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: AT 15, No. 541, p. 756 (PT's letter to Jan Chojeński).
Nov. 12: AT 15, No. 543 (PT's letter).	

Nov. 13: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 312 (=f. 313 in old foliation).	
Nov. 18: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 299 (=f. 300 in old foliation).	
Nov. 22: AT 15, No. 555 (PT's letter).	
Nov. 23: KIŁOWSKI, p. 62 (=f. 31v in old foliation).	
Nov. 24: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 300 et seq. (=ff. 301 et seq. in old foliation).	
Nov. 27: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 304 (=f. 305 in old foliation).	
Dec. 1: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 304v – date, 305 – record considered (=ff. 305v, 306 in old foliation).	
Dec. 2: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 305 (=f. 306 in old foliation); AT 15, No. 576 (PT's letter, place supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Dec. 4: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 306, 311 (=ff. 307, 312 in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, ff. 130–130v (=ff. 129–129 in old foliation=WENZEL-HOMECKA & WOJAS, No. 38).	
Dec. 5: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 306v – date, 307 – record considered (=ff. 307v, 308 in old foliation); AT 15, No. 581 (PT's letter).	
Dec. 8: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 307v (=f. 308v in old foliation).	
Dec. 10 – PT departs from Kraków for the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) in Proszowice: PADNIEWSKI, p. 900.	
<b>1533 ca. Dec. 11 — Proszowice</b>	
PT attends the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) in Proszowice: AT 16/1, No. 99 (PT's letter, presence at the assembly mentioned, no exact date given).	The Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) was convoked on Dec. 11: AT 15, No. 501.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1533 Dec. 13 to 14 — Nowe Miasto Korczyn</b>	
Dec. 13 – PT attends the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ) in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 316v (=f. 317v in old foliation); AT 16/1, No. 99 (PT’s letter, presence at the assembly mentioned, no exact date given).	The Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ) was convoked on Dec. 13: AT 15, No. 501.
Dec. 14: AT 15, No. 587 (PT’s letter “ex conventu”).	
<b>1533 Dec. 15 — Dobrowoda</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, f. 317 (=f. 318 in old foliation).	
<b>1533 Dec. 17 — Siedlec</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, f. 318 (=f. 319 in old foliation).	
<b>1533 Dec. 19 to 1534 Jan. 3 — Kraków</b>	
Dec. 19 – PT arrives in Kraków: PAD- NIEWSKI, p. 900.	
Dec. 28: APG, 300, 53/161, p. 46 (PT’s letter).	
Dec. 29: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 319 (=f. 320 in old foliation).	
Dec. 30: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 320v (=f. 321v in old foliation).	
Dec. 31: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 321 – date, 321v – record considered (=ff. 322, 322v in old foliation); AT 15, Nos 605, 606 (PT’s letters).	
<b>1534</b>	
Jan. 2: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 323v (=f. 324v in old foliation).	

Jan. 3 – PT departs from Kraków for the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Piotrków: PADNIEWSKI, p. 901.	
	Jan. 6 – the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked in Piotrków for that day: AT 15, Nos 487–490. <sup>371</sup>
<b>1534 Jan. 8 to 28 — Piotrków</b>	
Jan. 8 – PT arrives in Piotrków: KIŁOWSKI, p. 64 (=f. 32v in old foliation); NAROPIŃSKI (entry supplied from BK, 185, f. 68v); PADNIEWSKI, p. 901.	
Jan. 13: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 324 (=f. 325 in old foliation).	
Jan. 14: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 324 (=f. 325 in old foliation).	
Jan. 16: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 324v (=f. 325v in old foliation).	
Jan. 18: AT 16/1, No. 60 (=CIDTC, IDL 1106, Achatius von Zehmen's letter, PT mentioned).	
Jan. 20: AT 16/1, No. 60 (=CIDTC, IDL 1106, Achatius von Zehmen's letter, PT mentioned).	
Jan. 23: AT 16/1, Nos 45, 46 (PT's letters).	
Jan. 24: AT 16/1, Nos 48 (PT and others' letter), 49, 50 (PT's letters).	
Jan. 25: AT 16/1, Nos 55 (PT and others' letter), 56–58 (No. 57=CIDTC, IDL 1104, PT's letters).	
Shortly before Jan. 26: AT 16/1, No. 60 (=CIDTC, IDL 1106, Achatius von Zehmen's letter, PT mentioned).	

<sup>371</sup> KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 45; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 122; and *Posłowie*, p. 82, consider that day as the commencement of the General Diet (*sejm walny*).

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 26: AT 16/1, Nos 61 (=CIDTC, IDL 1105, Ioannes Campensis' letter, PT mentioned), 62–64 (No. 64=EFE 35, No. 373, <sup>372</sup> PT's letters).	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) is concluded on Jan. 26 (AT 16/1, Nos 66, 69, 71) or Jan. 27 (AT 16/2, No. 70). <sup>373</sup>
Jan. 27: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 324v (=f. 325v in old foliation); AT 16/1, Nos 65, 66, 69, 71 (PT's letters).	
Jan. 28 – PT departs from Piotrków: PADNIEWSKI, p. 901.	
<b>[1534 Jan. 28 to 29 — Sulejów]</b>	
[PT probably spends the first night after departing from Piotrków in Sulejów, as he did in August 1532, travelling from the Provincial Synod to his episcopal estates (see above, the information for 1532 Aug. 30).]	
<b>1534 Jan. 29 — Żarnów</b>	
AT 16/1, No. 77 (PT's letter); AT 16/2, No. 505 (PT's letter, the stay mentioned, no exact date given).	
<b>1534 Feb. 1 to 17 — Kielce</b>	
Feb. 1: AT 16/1, Nos 81, 82 (PT's letters).	PT's presence in Kielce on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
Feb. 2: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 325v (=f. 326v in old foliation).	

<sup>372</sup> The edition of the letter in EFE 35, No. 373, bears a slightly different date – Jan. 25.

<sup>373</sup> PT, in the letters dated Jan. 27 to the King, Queen Bona, and Jan Chojeński (AT 16/2, Nos 66, 69, 71), refers to the General Diet (*sejm walny*) as having already concluded. In the first letter, he additionally describes the final session, which he says extended into the late night and ended with an agreement reached with the envoys of the nobility concerning taxation.

However, Andrzej Krzycki dated his letter of Jan. 27 from Piotrków as “ex conventu generali” (AT 16/2, No. 70) whereas his letter sent the following day no longer mentions the General Diet in the dating clause (AT 16/2, No. 72). This might suggest that the assembly was still in session on Jan. 27.

According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 45; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; and *Posłowie*, p. 82, the General Diet continued until Jan. 28, but the source of this information is unknown. VC 1/2, p. 122, cautiously proposes that the General Diet concluded before Jan. 28. This suggestion is based on information provided by Władysław Konopczyński and the reference to the conclusion of the assembly found in the aforementioned letter from PT to Queen Bona (AT 16/2, No. 69).



Feb. 3: AT 16/1, No. 83 (PT's letter).	Fatigued by parliamentary affairs, PT has withdrawn to the episcopal estates to rest and attend to his health for a while: AT 16/1, No. 83, p. 177 (PT's letter to Jan Łaski Jr). PT provided a similar explanation for the stay in Kielce to Seweryn Boner: AT 16/1, No. 140, p. 273 (no specific date, February).
Feb. 7: AT 16/1, No. 87 (PT's letter).	PT, fatigued by both parliamentary affairs and his personal responsibilities, has retreated to his episcopal estates in Kielce and Bodzentyn to rest until the upcoming <i>Judica</i> Sunday (Mar. 22). After this, he plans to return to Kraków: PT's letter to Jan Tarnowski, as referenced on the left.
Feb. 10: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 325v (=f. 326v in old foliation); AT 16/1, No. 88 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 11: AT 16/1, Nos 89–98 (PT's letters).	
Feb. 12: AT 16/1, No. 99 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 13: AT 16/1, Nos 100 (PT's letter), 101 (PT's letter, date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Feb. 14: AT 16/1, No. 103 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 16: AT 16/1, Nos 108–110 (PT's letters).	
Feb. 17: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 326 (=f. 327 in old foliation); AT 16/1, No. 111 (PT's letter).	PT's presence in Kielce on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
<b>1534 Feb. 20 to Mar. 19 — Bodzentyn</b>	
Feb. 20: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 326v (=f. 327v in old foliation), cf. URBAN 2001, No. 74 (summary of one of the entries); AT 16/1, Nos 117–119 (PT's letters).	PT's presence in Bodzentyn on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
Feb. 21: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 327 (=f. 328 in old foliation).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 23: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 327v (=f. 328v in old foliation); AT 16/1, No. 123 (PT's letter).	It is presumed that PT will not return to Kraków before Palm Sunday (Mar. 29): AT 16/1, No. 124, p. 246 (Ioannes Campensis' letter to Ioannes Dantiscus, the relevant sentence corrected from CIDTC, IDL 900). <sup>374</sup>
Feb. 26: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 327v (=f. 328v in old foliation).	
Feb. 27: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 327v (=f. 328v in old foliation); AT 16/1, Nos 126, 127 (PT's letters).	
Mar. 2: AT 16/1, No. 143 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 3: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 328 (=f. 329 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 73).	
Mar. 4: AT 16/1, Nos 151, 152 (PT's letters).	
Mar. 5: AT 16/1, No. 153 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 6: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 328 (=f. 329 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 74); AGAD, perg. 6331 (PT's document =CWWKP, 807, p. 164, cartulary of the Abbey of Sulejów).	
Mar. 7: AT 16/1, No. 158 (PT's letter, previous day's location mentioned).	
Mar. 8: AT 16/1, No. 158 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 9: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1059 (PT's court record); AT 16/1, Nos 159, 160 (PT's letters); DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 46. <sup>375</sup>	PT is devoting himself to peace and leisure in Bodzentyn, but he plans to depart and head directly to Kraków in no more than ten days (by Mar. 19): AT 16/1, No. 159, p. 311 (PT's letter to Maciej Drzewicki).

<sup>374</sup> CIDTC, IDL 900, reads “[PT] non venturus Cracoviam ante festum Palmarum” [PT will not come to Kraków before Palm Sunday] instead of “[PT] me accessurus Cracoviam ante festum Palmarum” [PT will approach me in Kraków before Palm Sunday] in AT 16/1, No. 124.

<sup>375</sup> The entry in Paweł Dunin-Wolski's diary edition reads: “veni ad dominum episcopum Cracoviensem ad [I visited the Bishop of Kraków in] Lozaczyn”, but the place-name is undoubtedly incorrect. Andrzej Obrębski mistakenly read the name “Bozaczyn” from the manuscript of the diary: BJ, Cim. 5511, f. E<sub>5</sub>. It is certain that Dunin-Wolski actually arrived in Bodzentyn on Mar. 9, as he appeared before the episcopal court that day: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1059.

Mar. 11: AT 16/1, No. 163 (PT's letter).	PT plans to travel to Kraków shortly: PT's letter to Jakub Groffik a.k.a. Grosik, as referenced on the left.
Mar. 12: AT 16/1, Nos 168, 169 (PT's letters).	
Mar. 13: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 329 (=f. 330 in old foliation).	
Mar. 14: AT 16/1, Nos 180–182 (PT's letters).	
Mar. 16: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 329 (=f. 330 in old foliation).	
Mar. 17: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 329v (=f. 330v in old foliation).	
Mar. 18: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 330 (=f. 331 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 75); AT 16/1, No. 193 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 19: AT 16/1, Nos 194–198 (PT's letters).	PT's presence in Bodzentyn on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
<b>1534 Mar. 19 — Kielce</b>	
AT 16/1, Nos 199 (PT's letter), 200 (PT's letter, place supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, date supplied from TG, No. 2017).	PT's presence in Kielce on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
<b>1534 Mar. 20 — Brzeziny</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, f. 330 (=f. 331 in old foliation); AT 16/1, No. 199 (PT's letter, expected location mentioned).	
<b>1534 Mar. 22 — Dobrowoda</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, f. 330v (=f. 331v in old foliation).	
<b>1534 Mar. 23 — Siedlec</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, f. 331 (=f. 332 in old foliation).	

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1534 Mar. 26 to Nov. 14 — Kraków</b>	Note that not all days within this relatively extensive period are documented. Some gaps in the source material may indicate PT's brief absence from Kraków. This row serves only to compile the data collected so far and should not be treated as evidence of the Vice-Chancellor's constant presence in the city during the period in question. Nevertheless, PT's severe illness, which he contracted on Jun. 14 (see below, the information for that day), caused him to stay bedridden and at home until Nov. 14 (see below, the information for that day). Therefore, despite the lack of evidence for his stay on all days, it can be considered that PT remained in Kraków continuously between mid-June and mid-November.
Mar. 26 – PT arrives in Kraków: AT 16/1, No. 216 (=CIDTC, IDL 1138, Ioannes Campensis' letter, PT's arrival mentioned).	
Mar. 27: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 331v (=f. 332v in old foliation); AT 16/1, No. 216 (=CIDTC, IDL 1138, Ioannes Campensis' letter, PT mentioned).	
Mar. 29: AT 16/1, Nos 219, 220 (PT's letters), 221 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Mar. 31: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 332 (=f. 333 in old foliation).	
Apr. 4: AT 16/1, No. 228 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 7: AT 16/1, No. 231 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 8: AT 16/1, Nos 232, 233, 235 (PT's letters).	
Apr. 10: AT 16/1, No. 244 (=CIDTC, IDL 1147, Ioannes Campensis' letter, PT mentioned).	
Apr. 11: AT 16/1, Nos 241, 242 (No. 242 =CIDTC, IDL 1142, PT's letters).	

ca. Apr. 11: AT 16/1, No. 243 (PT's letter, date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).	
Apr. 12: AT 16/1, Nos 245 (=CIDTC, IDL 1144, Ioannes Campensis' letter, PT mentioned), 246 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 13: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 332v et seq. (=ff. 333v et seq. in old foliation); APG, 300, 53/161, p. 49 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 19: AT 16/1, No. 254 (PT's letter); KILOWSKI, p. 67 (=f. 34 in old foliation).	
Apr. 21: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 337v (=f. 338v in old foliation).	
Apr. 22: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 338 – date, 338v – record considered (=ff. 339, 339v in old foliation).	
Apr. 27: KIRYK, No. 131 (PT's document).	
Apr. 28: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 339v (=f. 340v in old foliation).	
May 5: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 341 – date, 341v – record considered (=ff. 342, 342v in old foliation).	
May 6: AT 16/1, Nos 275 (=EFE 35, No. 383), 276 (=EFE 35, No. 384), 277 (PT's letters).	
May 9: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 343v – date, 344 et seq. – records considered (=ff. 344v, 345 et seq. in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, ff. 174, 210.	
May 11: MK 50, pp. 409–410 (mention of previous court session attended by PT in the later verdict, cf. MRPS 4/2, No. 17157); AEp. Cr. 13, f. 347v (=f. 348v in old foliation, PT's sentence).	
May 13: AT 16/1, No. 285 (PT's letter).	

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
May 17: AT 16/1, Nos 288 (PT's letter), 289 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
May 18: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 353 (=f. 354 in old foliation).	
May 19: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 534v et seq. (=ff. 535v et seq. in old foliation).	
May 20: AT 16/1, Nos 294 (PT's letter, day-date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), 295 (PT's letter).	
May 21: AT 16/1, Nos 297, 298 (PT's letters).	
May 27: AT 16/1, No. 303 (PT's letter).	PT plans to depart from Kraków either after the octave of Corpus Christi (Jun. 11) or following the Feast of St John the Baptist (Jun. 24) and head to his episcopal estate in Radłów. He hopes to meet with Jan Tarnowski there, should he be nearby in Tarnów: PT's letter to Tarnowski, as referenced on the left.
May 29: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 358 (=f. 359 in old foliation); APL, Akta parafii rzymskokatolickiej w Kozim Rynku (Radzynie), 1 (PT's document).	
May 30: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 359 – date, 359v et seq. – record considered (=ff. 360, 361 et seq. in old foliation).	
Jun. 1: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 360 (=f. 361 in old foliation).	
Jun. 2: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 361 et seq. (=ff. 362 et seq. in old foliation).	
Jun. 4: AT 16/1, No. 319 (=EFE 35, No. 387, PT's letter).	
Jun. 12: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 366v et seq. (=ff. 367v et seq. in old foliation); AT 16/1, No. 334 (=CIDTC, IDL 1175, PT's letter).	
Jun. 13: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 368 et seq. (=ff. 369 et seq. in old foliation).	

	<p>ca. Jun. 14 – PT starts experiencing a severe illness: PADNIEWSKI, p. 901 (“ichternicia”, i.e., jaundice starts on Jun. 14); AT 16/1, No. 347, p. 640 (PT’s letter to Maciej Drzewicki, dated Jun. 23, mentioning that the severe illness started 10 days prior); No. 370, p. 674 (PT to Jan Łaski Jr, dated Jul. 10, information about the severe illness that lasts for more than three weeks); AT 16/2, No. 472, p. 168 (PT’s letter to Jan Tęczyński, dated Sept. 15, information about the severe and persistent illness lasting for three months); No. 499, p. 210 (PT’s letter to Princess Anna of Mazovia, n.d., ca. late September, the octave of Corpus Christi, i.e., Jun. 11, mentioned as the day when the illness began); No. 576, p. 365 (PT’s letter to the King, dated Nov. 15, mentioning that severe illness made PT stay at home for five months); HOZJUSZ, p. CLXVII (the severe illness, identified as “morbus regius”, or jaundice, followed by other afflictions, began a month after the Ascension of Jesus, which fell on May 14).</p>
<p>Jun. 15: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 368v (=f. 369v in old foliation).</p>	
<p>Jun. 18: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 133; AT 16/1, No. 339 (PT’s letter).</p>	<p>PT lies down in such a severe state of illness that he believes it is more appropriate to care for his own health rather than attending to the affairs of others: AT 16/1, No. 339, p. 625 (PT’s letter to the King).</p>
<p>Jun. 20: AT 16/1, No. 341 (PT’s letter).</p>	<p>PT had planned to go to Radłów to meet with Jan Tarnowski (see above, the additional information for May 27), but his current illness prevented him from doing so. Once he recovers, he will resume his plan and inform Tarnowski of the time they can meet: PT’s letter to Tarnowski, as referenced on the left.</p>

Jun. 22: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 372v, 378 et seq. (=ff. 373v, 379 et seq. in old foliation).	
Jun. 23: AT 16/1, No. 347 (PT's letter).	
ca. Jun. 23: AT 16/1, No. 348 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	PT lies in bed, struck by a severe illness; although it does not afflict him as much as before, he still feels weakness in his limbs: PT's letter to Jan Tarnowski, as referenced on the left.
Jun. 25: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 373v (=f. 374v in old foliation).	
Jun. 26: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 374v et seq. (=ff. 375v et seq. in old foliation).	
Jun. 27: AT 16/1, No. 355 (PT's letter).	PT still feels ill, but if he recovers his former health, he will inform Jan Tarnowski and be eager to meet him upon Tarnowski's return from Ruthenia: PT's letter to Tarnowski, as referenced on the left.
Jun. 29: AT 16/1, No. 357 (PT's letter, place supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Jun. 30: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 376v – date, 377 et seq. – record considered (=ff. 377v, 378 et seq. in old foliation).	
Jul. 5: BJ, Przyb. 185/59, f. 120v (PT's letter, summary by Władysław Pocięcha based on †Kod. Karn. 16).	
Jul. 6: AOff. Radom., ff. 139v, 140v (PT's documents); AT 16/1, Nos 362–364 (PT's letters).	
Jul. 10: AOff. Lubl. 9, f. 81 (PT's document); CDUJ 4, No. 363 (=KACZMARCZYK, No. 436, PT's document); AT 16/1, No. 370 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 11: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 381 (=f. 382 in old foliation).	
Jul. 15: LL 10, f. 120 (PT's document).	
Jul. 17: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 382 (=f. 383 in old foliation).	



Jul. 21: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 382 (=f. 383 in old foliation).	
Jul. 27: AT 16/2, No. 393 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 3: AT 16/2, Nos 397, 398 (PT's letters).	
Aug. 4: SROKA 6, No. 1363 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 5: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 160.	
Aug. 13: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 385v – date, 386 – record considered (=ff. 386v, 387 in old foliation).	
Aug. 14: AT 15, No. 401 (PT's letter, year-date corrected from internal evidence).	
ca. Aug. 14: AT 15, No. 402 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, year-date corrected by me from internal evidence).	
Aug. 15: AT 16/2, No. 412 (PT's letter).	<p>PT seems to have recovered from the intense illness, but he still experiences weakness, and therefore, he confines himself to his home, focusing on regaining his full health: AT 16/2, No. 412, pp. 69–70 (PT's letter to Jan Chojeński).</p> <p>It is presumed that PT will make a public appearance soon, having overcome the weakness that had remained in his body due to the illness, which is gradually subsiding day by day: AT 16/2, No. 411 (=CIDTC, IDL 1213, Wojciech Kijewski's letter to Ioannes Dantiscus).</p>
Aug. 18: AT 16/2, No. 416 (=EFE 35, No. 393, PT's letter); CIDTC, IDL 1216 (Jan Konopacki Jr's letter, PT mentioned).	<p>PT plans to attend the upcoming General Diet (<i>sejm walny</i>) to be convoked for the time before winter or the early winter: AT 16/2, No. 416, p. 76 (=EFE 35, No. 393, PT's letter to Duke Albrecht).</p> <p>PT is bedridden and weakened by fever and jaundice: CIDTC, IDL 1216 (Jan Konopacki Jr's letter to Ioannes Dantiscus).</p>

Itinerary	Additional information
Aug. 19: AT 16/2, Nos 418, 419 (No. 419 =CIDTC, IDL 1217, PT's letters).	PT has not fully recovered from the illness and lacks the strength to leave his home. In his opinion, the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) should be convoked for the height of winter: AT 16/2, No. 418, pp. 78–79 (PT's letter to Maciej Drzewicki).
Aug. 20: AT 16/2, Nos 422, 423 (PT's letters).	
Aug. 21: AT 16/2, Nos 426–429 (PT's letters).	
Aug. 23: AT 16/2, No. 430 (PT's letter, earlier location mentioned).	
Aug. 24: AT 16/2, Nos 430, 431 (PT's letters).	
Aug. 25: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 388 – date, 388v et seq. – records considered (=ff. 389, 389v et seq. in old foliation).	
Aug. 26: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 389v – date, 390v – record considered (=ff. 390v, 391v in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1151 (=TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 892, PT's document).	
Aug. 29: AT 16/2, No. 437 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 30: AT 16/2, No. 439 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 31: AT 16/2, Nos 440–442 (PT's letters).	
Sept. 3: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 394 (=f. 395 in old foliation).	
Sept. 5: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1156 (PT's court record, place supplied from AEp. Cr. 13, f. 395v=f. 396v in old foliation); KIRYK, No. 333 (PT's document); AT 16/2, Nos 452 (PT's letter), 453 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	

	Sept. 6 – PT has been afflicted by such excessive pain in his stomach and kidneys that it is feared he may not survive: PADNIEWSKI, p. 901.
Sept. 9: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1158 (PT’s court record, place supplied from AEp. Cr. 13, f. 396v=f. 397v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, f. 143v (=KRZYŻANOWSKI, No. 519).	
Sept. 11: AT 16/2, No. 461 (PT’s document).	
Sept. 14: AT 16/2, No. 470 (PT’s letter).	
Sept. 15: AT 16/2, Nos 472, 473 (PT’s letters); BJ, Przyb. 185/59, f. 127 (PT’s letter, extract by Władysław Pocięcha from †Kod. Karn. 16).	PT’s illness is so persistent that he has been bedridden for three months, and it is extremely variable. It left him three times, only to return and shake him so violently that even in Kraków there were rumours claiming that he had already passed away. Now he feels somewhat better: AT 16/2, No. 472, p. 168 (PT’s letter to Jan Tęczyński). PT confirms he is still alive, as not long ago two relay messengers were sent from Kraków to the royal court to deliver information about his death: AT 16/2, No. 473, p. 169 (PT’s letter to Sebastian Opaliński). <sup>376</sup>
Sept. 18: AT 16/2, No. 476 (PT’s letter).	
Sept. 20: OSK, Fol. Lat. 258, f. 194 (PT’s letter); AT 16/2, Nos 478, 479 (PT’s letters).	

<sup>376</sup> The false news of PT’s death spread widely. Over two weeks after PT’s letter was sent, Achatius von Zehmen and Nikolaus Nibschitz on Oct. 4 recommended Jan Chojeński as PT’s successor for the office of the chancellor and bishop of Kraków: AT 16/2, No. 513. Shortly before Oct. 15, PT was informed about the widespread rumor of his death: AT 16/2, No. 537, p. 288 (PT’s letter to Jakub Buczacki, dated Oct. 15). On Oct. 15, Duke Albrecht still believed that the Vice-Chancellor had passed away: EFE 53, No. 1049 (Duke Albrecht’s letter to King Sigismund). In 1535, on Feb. 20, PT mentions that in certain areas, people still believe he is deceased: AT 17, No. 99 (summary of PT’s letter to Andrzej Tęczyński, the mention in question taken from the manuscript copy of the letter in TG, No. 2453).

Itinerary	Additional information
Sept. 21: AT 16/2, No. 485 (PT's letter).	PT spent almost the entire past summer lying in bed with a severe and persistent illness, which returned to him three times. Now, he feels better, although he is still weak due to the prolonged infirmity: AT 16/2, No. 485, p. 190 (PT's letter to Jan Tęczyński); No. 499, pp. 210–211 (PT's letter to Princess Anna of Mazovia, n.d., ca. late September); No. 500, p. 211 (PT's letter to Jan Łoski, n.d., ca. late September).
Sept. 24: AT 16/2, No. 487 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 27: AKKK, perg. 738 (=AEp. Cr. 15, f. 147=PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1171, PT's document); APG, 300, 53/161, p. 51 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 28: AT 16/2, Nos 495, 496 (PT's letters).	PT was seriously ill throughout the entire summer. His pain subsided three times, only to be aggravated more severely each occasion. Now he is feeling better but still affected by a great weakness in all his limbs: AT 16/2, No. 496, p. 205 (PT's letter to Achatius von Zehmen).
Sept. 30: AT 16/2, No. 498 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 2: WOLFF, No. 287 (PT's document); AT 16/2, Nos 505, 506, 508 (PT's letters).	
Oct. 5: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 153; AA Cap. Cr. 3, f. 117 (PT's document); AT 16/2, No. 515 (=BRODERICUS, No. 233, PT's letter).	Throughout the past summer, PT suffered from recurring fever and stomach pain. Until now, although the fever has partly diminished, his limbs are very weak: AT 16/2, No. 515, pp. 244–245 (=BRODERICUS, No. 233, p. 430, PT's letter to István Brodarics).
Oct. 6: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 406 – date, 407 – record considered (=ff. 407, 408 in old foliation); AT 16/2, No. 517 (PT's letter).	After the long and severe illness, PT is feeling a little better now, but he still is not entirely free from it: AT 16/2, No. 517, p. 249 (PT's letter to Jan Tęczyński).

Oct. 7: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 407v – date, 408 et seq. – records considered (=ff. 408v, 409 et seq. in old foliation); AT 16/2, Nos 520 (PT's letter), 521 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Oct. 8: AT 16/2, No. 527 (PT's letter).	
ca. Oct. 8: AT 16/2, No. 529 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	Throughout the past summer, PT experienced a severe and fluctuating illness. Although it has now become milder, it has not completely left him, resulting in being confined to his home for four months: PT's letter to Stanisław Rzeczyca, as referenced on the left.
Oct. 14: AT 16/2, No. 535 (PT's letter, date corrected by Władysław Pocięcha).	PT has not ventured out in public due to his weakened limbs: PT's letter to Maciej Drzewicki, as referenced on the left.
ca. Oct. 14: AT 16/2, No. 536 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	In the King's letter, PT was urged to attend the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) and Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny małopolski</i> ). However, significant weakness in his limbs may prevent him from participating. As a result, he stays home and refrains from going out, fearing that his condition could worsen: PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki, as referenced on the left.
Oct. 15: AT 16/2, No. 537 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 16: AT 16/2, No. 540 (PT's letter).	PT is still very weak: PT's letter to Jan Łaski Jr, as referenced on the left.
Oct. 17: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 149.	
Oct. 21: AT 16/2, No. 547 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 22: ANK, <i>Variae civitates et villae</i> , 314 (former reference code – IT 228, PT's document, as cited in RUCIŃSKI, pp. 33–36); BCz, 403, p. 637 (PT's letter).	PT feels better but is very weak and does not leave his house because he fears that raw air may revive the previous illness: BCz, 403, p. 637 (PT's letter to Mauritius Ferber).
Nov. 3: AT 16/2, No. 561 (PT's letter).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Before Nov. 14: AT 16/2, Nos, 445, 557 (PT's letters, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, date corrected by me from internal evidence).	PT was afflicted by the illness but is recovering. Soon, having fully regained the strength he had completely lost due to prolonged infirmity, he will reappear in public: AT 16/2, No. 445, p. 131 (PT's letter to Jakub Wedelicjusz of Oborniki). PT plans to start going out of the house soon and intends to leave Kraków for Kielce, seeking rest and recovery there. However, he is sceptical whether he will be able to attend the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) due to his infirmity: AT 16/2, No. 557 (PT's letter to Jan Chojeński).
Nov. 14 – PT makes his first public appearance after the lengthy illness: PADNIEWSKI, p. 901.	
<b>1534 Nov. 14 — Proszowice</b>	
PT attends the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ): ASK VI, KA 1, f. 54 (PT and others' document). <sup>377</sup>	The Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) was convoked on Nov. 14: AT 16/2, No. 492.

<sup>377</sup> The information on PT's attendance at the Local Diet (*sejmik*) is based on the treasury warrant (*asygnata*) for the envoys of Kraków Voivodship to the General Diet (*sejm walny*) issued by PT, Piotr Kmita, Mikołaj Cikowski and Seweryn Boner that their seals authenticated.

This compelling evidence, however, contradicts the mention of the Vice-Chancellor's absence at the assembly in his letter to Queen Bona (AT 16/2, No. 577) dated Nov. 15, one day after the assembly was conducted. It is worth noting that the manuscript copy utilized in the edition bears no date, and the date was inferred and supplied by Władysław Pocięcha. Therefore, re-examining the date of dispatch is crucial for properly evaluating the evidence from the referenced document. The accurate date of PT's letter to the Queen can only be provided in the context of the rest of PT's correspondence related to his involvement in the Local Diets and the General Diet.

The royal missives dispatched from Vilnius, which summoned the assembly, bear the date of Sept. 20: AT 16/2, Nos 480–482. Likely, the copy of the letter concerning this matter addressed to the members of the Royal Council reached PT in Kraków approximately two weeks later, in the early days of October.

The earliest of PT's letters related to his involvement in local assemblies and the General Diet is addressed to Andrzej Krzycki: AT 16/2, No. 536. The manuscript copy used in the edition is undated; however, Pocięcha reconstructed the date as approximately Oct. 14, based on similarities in mentions of Hungarian affairs with PT's letter to Maciej Drzewicki: AT 16/2, No. 535. In the letter to Krzycki, PT acknowledges receipt of a royal missive summoning the assemblies and encouraging him to attend. Although PT's health has improved, he expresses uncertainty regarding

<b>1534 Nov. 15 to 29 — Kraków</b>	
Nov. 15: AT 16/2, Nos 576 (PT's letter), 578 (Bernard Wapowski's letter, PT mentioned).	PT justifies himself to the King for his expected absence in the forthcoming General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) by arguing that he has not fully recovered from the severe illness that made him stay home for five months: AT 16/2, No. 576. On Nov. 14 or 15, PT visited the Cathedral Church and celebrated the mass there; he decided to go to Kielce for a change of environment ("mutandi aeris gratia"), following the advice of doctors; it is doubtful whether he will be able to attend the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) because he has not fully recovered from his illness: AT 16/2, No. 578 (Bernard Wapowski's letter to Jan Chojeński, Nov. 16).

his ability to comply with the King's directive, given that he has yet to recover fully and remains confined to his home.

Another undated letter from PT was sent to Jan Chojeński, who was with the royal court in Lithuania, between Oct. 27 (referring to the recent passing of Bartłomiej of Szydłów) and Nov. 14 (with PT's first public appearance expected shortly). Pocięcha suggested an early November date for this letter. PT again mentions his recuperating health, but not sufficiently to enable his attendance at the General Diet. Instead, he plans to visit Kielce. It is important to note that his absence from the local assemblies (*sejmiki*) is not discussed. Moreover, the decision to forgo participation in the assemblies is conveyed with concern, not about the King's reaction but that of Queen Bona referred to as secret counselor ("occultus consiliarius"). Consequently, it seems that PT, in the first half of November, is convinced of three facts: his imminent return to public appearances, his nonattendance at the General Diet, and his travel to Kielce, while he is still unsure about Queen Bona's response to his decision.

In a letter to the King, dated Nov. 15 (AT 16/2, No. 576), PT reiterates the story of his recently recovered health, which remains fragile enough to prevent him from participating in the General Diet. Once again, there is no mention of the local assemblies; however, this time, the omission is justified as the assembly in Proszowice had taken place the day before the letter was sent, and the Provincial Diet in Nowe Miasto Korczyn was scheduled for the following day. Thus, any justification for a potential absence there would have reached the King approximately two weeks after the fact.

The problematic letter from PT to Queen Bona (AT 16/2, No. 577) is dated by Pocięcha on Nov. 15 because the editor determined that it was sent simultaneously with the letter above to the King. This conclusion was drawn from the placement of the manuscript copy within Kod. Jag., where the letter to the Queen follows immediately after the letter to the King. Moreover, in both letters, PT addresses the same issue, informing them about his unlikely participation in the General Diet.

In the letter to Queen Bona, however, there are significant differences. First and foremost, only in this letter does PT mention that he received the King's letter summoning him to participate in the

Itinerary	Additional information
	Nov. 16 – the Provincial Diet ( <i>sejmik generalny malopolski</i> ) in Nowe Miasto Korczyn was convoked for that day: AT 16/2, No. 492. PT probably is absent. Since the Vice-Chancellor was recorded in Kraków the previous day (see above, the information for Nov. 15), he must have returned from the Local Diet ( <i>sejmik</i> ) in Proszowice to Kraków. In such a case, he would unlikely have managed to travel from Kraków to Nowe Miasto Korczyn in just one day.
Nov. 18: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 429 (=f. 430 in old foliation).	

Diet and local assemblies. This event took place around early October, approximately a month and a half before the letter's assumed date. Moreover, PT appears to imply that Queen Bona's reminder on the same subject reached him concurrently with the royal letter or shortly after, to which this particular letter serves as a response. It seems improbable that PT would have postponed his reply to the Queen for such a lengthy period. The letter does not discuss any substantial improvement in health; on the contrary, it introduces the necessity of remaining at home, a topic present in letters composed several weeks before PT's initial public appearance on Nov. 14. Lastly, it is essential to observe that the local assemblies are mentioned as upcoming events, which would be peculiar if one had already been held and another was scheduled for the day after the letter was sent. In my opinion, therefore, the date of the letter to Queen Bona should be moved back. It seems that it preceded the letter to Chojeński from early November or was sent simultaneously with it to Lithuania, given that it mentions Queen Bona was not yet aware of PT's decision regarding his absence from the General Diet.

With such a change in the sequence of letters, the PT's involvement in the local assemblies (*sejmiki*) and the General Diet (*sejm walny*) unfolds as follows. PT was already aware in October that, due to his health condition, the chances of participating in the assemblies were slim. As his health partially improved in November, he decided that instead of attending the General Diet, he would travel to Kielce for recovery and rest. Thus, he relinquished the long journey to Piotrków, where he would have been burdened with numerous responsibilities. Nonetheless, this decision did not necessarily equate to abstaining from one-day local assemblies closer to Kraków. PT's participation in the local assembly in Proszowice would fit well into this sequence of events.

On the other hand, the silence on this matter in the sources, which usually diligently record PT's involvement in parliamentary activities at both central and local levels, cannot be overlooked. While far-reaching conclusions should not be made from the *ex silentio* argument, it is worth noting that PT's travel to Proszowice finds no confirmation in Stanisław Górski's commentaries, Filip Padniewski's diary, or known correspondence. Particularly significant is Bernard Wapowski's letter dated Nov. 16, sent on the day the provincial assembly was to be held in Nowe Miasto Korczyn: AT 16/2, No. 578. The letter informs about the improvement in the Vice-Chancellor's health and mentions activities he undertook during the two previous days, Nov. 14 and 15, the first days after



Nov. 24: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 432 – date, 433v – record considered (=ff. 433, 434v in old foliation).	
Nov. 25: Kod. Jag. 11, f. 193v (PT's document).	
Shortly before Nov. 29: AT 16/2, No. 602 (Stanisław Borek's and Samuel Maciejowski's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence, PT mentioned).	PT will soon leave Kraków for Kielce, where he will stay: the letter referenced on the left.
Nov. 29 – PT departs from Kraków towards Kielce: PADNIEWSKI, p. 901; HOZJUSZ, p. CLXVII.	
	Nov. 30 – the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) was convoked in Piotrków for that day: AT 16/2, Nos 480–482.
<b>1534 Dec. 5 to 6 — Dobrowoda</b>	
Dec. 5: AT 16/2, Nos 610–612 (PT's letters).	The mass for the Holy Spirit in Piotrków: NAROPIŃSKI (entry supplied from BK, 185, f. 79v).
Dec. 6: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 439v (=f. 440 in old foliation); AT 16/2, No. 614 (PT's letter).	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Piotrków probably begins: assembly proceedings commenced at the earliest <sup>378</sup> on the day after the mass for the Holy Spirit. <sup>379</sup>
<b>1534 Dec. 9 — Brzeziny</b>	
TG, †No. 2133 (=Kod. Jag. 9, f. 358v, PT's letter); AT 16/2, No. 630 (PT's letter, earlier location mentioned, no exact date given).	

leaving his home. Notably, it is only reported that he visited the Cathedral Church and conducted a mass there (presumably, it was on Sunday, Nov. 15).

Nevertheless, I believe there are not enough grounds to undermine the reliability of the evidence on PT's presence in Proszowice from the document I utilized for reconstructing his itinerary.

<sup>378</sup> See n. 63.

<sup>379</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 46; URUSZCZAK, pp. 68, 193; VC 1/2, p. 129; and *Posłowie*, p. 83, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) commenced on Nov. 30. This is based on the questionable assumption that the proceedings started precisely on the day the assembly was convened (see above, the additional information for Nov. 30).

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1534 Dec. 9 to 1535 Feb. 3 — Kielce</b>	
Dec. 9 – PT arrives in Kielce: AT 16/2, No. 621 (PT's letter, the arrival mentioned); PADNIEWSKI, p. 901. <sup>380</sup>	
Dec. 10: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 440 (=f. 441 in old foliation); AT 16/2, Nos 620, 621 (PT's letters).	PT is not going to the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Piotrków because he's too weak to carry out his official duties; instead, he decided to move away to Kielce for a while, where, far from public affairs, he expects to regain his health: AT 16/2, No. 620, p. 439 (PT's letter to Łukasz Górka).
Dec. 11: CIDTC, IDL 1246 (PT's letter).	
Dec. 12: AT 16/2, Nos 630, 631 (PT's letters).	
Dec. 14: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 442 (=f. 443 in old foliation); AT 16/2, No. 635 (PT's letter, place supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Dec. 15: AT 16/2, Nos 638, 641, 642 (PT's letters).	
Dec. 16: AT 16/2, No. 645 (PT's letter).	
Dec. 17: AT 16/2, Nos 647, 648 (PT's letters).	
Dec. 18: AT 16/2, Nos 649, 650 (PT's letters).	
Dec. 19: AT 16/2, Nos 659–669 (PT's letters).	The General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) in Piotrków is concluded: AT 16/2, Nos 657, 658, 679 (No. 679=CIDTC, IDL 1251); URUSZCZAK, p. 193; VC 1/2, p. 129; <i>Posłowie</i> , p. 83. <sup>381</sup> PT does not attend the General Diet ( <i>sejm walny</i> ) out of concern for his health, which deteriorated half a year ago and is still

<sup>380</sup> According to URBAN 1987, p. 538, PT arrived in Kielce shortly after Nov. 29. Waclaw Urban seems to have only known the date of departure from Kraków on Nov. 29 (see above, the information for that day) and the final destination, without any knowledge of the travel details.

<sup>381</sup> According to KONOPCZYŃSKI, No. 46, and URUSZCZAK, p. 68, the General Diet (*sejm walny*) continued into January of 1535.

	fragile; instead, he tries to lead a quiet life in solitude according to the recommendations of doctors: AT 16/2, Nos 664, pp. 535–536 (PT's letter to the King), 665, p. 537 (PT's letter to Jan Chojeński), 668, p. 540 (PT's letter to Maciej Drzewicki). He decided to stay in the episcopal estates until spring: AT 16/2, No. 666, p. 538 (PT's letter to Chojeński).
Dec. 20: AT 16/2, Nos 670, 671 (PT's letters).	PT feels better but is still not fully recovered, so he moved from Kraków to the episcopal estates to take a break from his duties and unwind his mind from the fatigue, according to the advice of doctors: AT 16/2, No. 670, pp. 542–543 (PT's letter to Andrzej Krzycki).
Dec. 21: AT 16/2, No. 672 (=WIERZBOWSKI 1900, No. 72, PT's letter).	
Dec. 25: TG, No. 3298 (PT's letter, place and date supplied from internal evidence); AT 16/2, Nos 675 (PT's letter), 676 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).	
Dec. 26: AT 16/2, Nos 680–682 (PT's letters).	
Dec. 27: AT 16/2, No. 683 (PT's letter).	
Dec. 30: AT 16/2, Nos 685–687 (PT's letters).	
Dec. 31: AT 16/2, No. 692 (PT's letter).	
ca. Dec. 31: AT 16/2, No. 691 (PT's letter, date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).	
<b>1535</b>	
Jan. 1: AT 17, Nos 4 (=CIDTC, IDL 1256, PT's letter), 6 (=CIDTC, IDL 4539, Wojciech Kijewski's letter, PT mentioned); CIDTC, IDL 1258 (Jan Konopacki Jr's letter, PT mentioned).	PT is in better health but not fully recovered, so he left Kraków not to be disturbed by constant duties, and decided to stay in the episcopal estates until Easter (Mar. 28): AT 17, No. 6 (=CIDTC, IDL 4539, Wojciech Kijewski's letter to Ioannes Dantiscus).

Itinerary	Additional information
Jan. 2: Kod. Jag. 10, pp. 111, 112 (PT's letters); AT 17, Nos 8 (PT's letter), 9 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Jan. 4: BCz, 1596, p. 398 (PT's letter); AT 17, No. 11 (PT's letter).	PT fought off his severe illness and gradually gets well, but left Kraków to convalesce and rest: AT 17, No. 11 (PT's letter to Mauritius Ferber).
Jan. 9: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 440v (=f. 441v in old foliation).	
Jan. 12: AT 17, No. 24 (PT's letter).	
Jan. 13: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 115 (PT's letter).	PT will stay in Kielce for the whole month because astrologers advise against travel during this period: PT's letter to Stanisław Borek, as referenced on the left.
Jan. 16: Kod. Jag. 12, f. 296v (PT's letter); AT 17, Nos 27–29 (PT's letters), 30 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Jan. 18: AT 17, No. 39 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, day-date corrected by me from internal evidence).	
Jan. 20: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 441 (=f. 442 in old foliation); TG, Nos 2429, 2430 (PT's letters); Kod. Jag. 9, f. 371v (PT's letter).	
Jan. 21: AT 17, No. 42 (PT's letter).	
Jan. 22: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 441v (=f. 442v in old foliation); Such. 22/32, p. 770 (PT's letter); AT 17, Nos 43–46 (PT's letters).	Having been relieved from his serious and lengthy illness, PT has retreated to the solitude in Kielce to restore and strengthen his health: AT 17, No. 46, p. 65 (PT's letter to Siegmund von Herberstein).
Jan. 23: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 441v (=f. 442v in old foliation).	
Jan. 24: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 442 (=f. 443 in old foliation); Kod. Jag. 11, f. 285v (PT's letter).	

Jan. 25: TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 894 (PT's document); AT 17, Nos 49, 50 (PT's letters).	
Jan. 26: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 127 (PT's letter).	
Jan. 27: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 444 (=f. 445 in old foliation).	PT's presence in Kielce on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538. <sup>382</sup>
Jan. 28: AT 17, Nos 56, 57 (PT's letters).	
Jan. 29: AT 17, No. 59 (PT's letter).	PT intends to arrive in Bodzentyn on Feb. 4, relying on the advice of astrologers: PT's letter to Stanisław Borek, as referenced on the left.
Jan. 31: AT 17, No. 63 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 1: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 445v (=f. 446v in old foliation); AT 17, No. 68 (PT's letter).	PT's presence in Kielce on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
Feb. 2: AT 17, Nos 70 (=VMPL 2, No. 567), 71 (PT's letters).	
Feb. 3: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 445 (=f. 446 in old foliation).	
<b>1535 Feb. 4 to Apr. 28 — Bodzentyn</b>	
Feb. 4: Kod. Jag. 10, pp. 149, 154, 166 (PT's letters); AT 17, No. 59 (PT's letter, expected day of arrival mentioned).	
Feb. 5: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 480v (=f. 481v in old foliation); Kod. Jag. 10, p. 150 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 6: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 152 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 8: AT 17, No. 81 (PT's letter).	PT's presence in Bodzentyn on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538, but unnecessarily marked as questionable. <sup>383</sup>

<sup>382</sup> Waclaw Urban incorrectly believed that it was also the first day of the stay in Bodzentyn.

<sup>383</sup> The uncertainty arose from the fact that Waclaw Urban perceived a contradiction in PT's itinerary that he compiled. On the one hand, he documents PT's presence in Bodzentyn from Jan. 27 to Feb. 8, but on the other hand, he also reports PT's presence in Kielce from Feb. 1 to 19.

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 9: AT 17, Nos 82, 83 (PT's letters); Kod. Jag. 10, pp. 158, 159, 160 (PT's letters).	
Feb. 11: Kod. Jag. 12, f. 342v (PT's letter).	
Feb. 12: AT 17, Nos 88 (PT's letter), 89 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).	
Feb. 13: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 467 (PT's letter); AT 17, No. 90 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 14: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 168 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 15: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 444v, 446 et seq. (=ff. 445v, 447 et seq. in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1222 (PT's court record).	PT's presence in Bodzentyn on that day recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538, but unnecessarily marked as questionable. <sup>384</sup>
Feb. 16: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 170 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 17: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 171 (PT's letter).	
Feb. 19: TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 894 (PT's document); Kod. Jag. 10, p. 172 (PT's letter). <sup>385</sup>	
Feb. 20: AT 17, Nos 98–100 (PT's letters).	Having barely escaped with his life from the severe and recurring illness that persisted for nearly six months, PT withdrew to his episcopal estates to concentrate on recuperating. He would be glad to host Andrzej Tęczyński, who is returning from abroad, at his estate in Bodzentyn: AT 17, No. 99 (summary of PT's letter to Tęczyński; see also the full text in TG, No. 2453, which is erroneously

<sup>384</sup> The uncertainty arose from the fact that Waclaw Urban perceived a contradiction in PT's itinerary that he compiled. On the one hand, he documents PT's presence in Kielce from Feb. 1 to 19, but on the other, he also reports PT's presence in Bodzentyn from Feb. 15 to May 7.

<sup>385</sup> URBAN 1987, p. 538, records PT's presence in Kielce on Feb. 19 as the final day of the stay.

	<p>referenced as TG, No. 2455, in the edition of AT).</p> <p>Similarly, PT expresses satisfaction in meeting with Jan Tarnowski, who is accompanying Tęczyński on their journey: AT 17, No. 100, p. 131 (PT's letter to Jan Tarnowski).</p>
<p>Feb. 21: AT 17, Nos 102–104 (PT's letters), 106 (PT's document, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).</p>	<p>While PT would be pleased to host Andrzej Tęczyński, Jan Tarnowski, and Spytek Tarnowski in Bodzentyn, he has decided to relocate the meeting to Wiślica, near Kraków due to Tęczyński's fatigue from the lengthy journey and Spytek Tarnowski's engagement in public affairs. PT is not feeling entirely healthy but plans to arrive at the meeting location by the upcoming Saturday or Sunday (Feb. 27–28): AT 17, No. 102, pp. 132–133 (PT's letter to Spytek Tarnowski).</p> <p>Simultaneously, PT provides instructions concerning organizing the meeting in Wiślica: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 431 (PT's letter to Stanisław Baranowski, n.d., ca. Feb. 21).</p>
<p>Feb. 23: AT 17, No. 93 (PT's letter, date corrected from internal evidence).<sup>386</sup></p>	<p>Convinced by Spytek Tarnowski, who suggested meeting at a location closer to Kraków for the convenience of Andrzej Tęczyński, PT initially decided to travel to Wiślica and informed Stanisław Borek (in an unknown letter). However, when Tęczyński's messenger announced that he was already <i>en route</i> to PT, he gladly altered his plans and awaits the guests at his residence. Their arrival is anticipated the following day (Feb. 24): AT 17, No. 93 (summary of PT's letter to Borek, referenced information available only in the full text of the letter in Kod. Jag. 10, pp. 168, 169).</p>

<sup>386</sup> The letter is dated “feria 3 post Dominicam Invocavit” (Feb. 16), but its contents clearly suggest a later dispatch. It was only on Feb. 18 that Andrzej Tęczyński arrived in Kraków (PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1224, note in the records of the Consistory Court of Kraków). According to the letter, if the Feb. 16 date were accurate, he would have arrived in Bodzentyn, located

Itinerary	Additional information
Feb. 24: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 447v (=f. 448v in old foliation).	
Feb. 26: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 448 (=f. 449 in old foliation); AT 17, No. 114 (PT's letter); Kod. Jag. 10, pp. 178, 184 (PT's letters).	
Feb. 27: APG, 300, 53/161, p. 53 (PT's letter); AT 17, No. 115 (PT's letter).	Since the meeting with Andrzej Tęczyński and other dignitaries has already taken place in Bodzentyn, <sup>387</sup> PT no longer plans to travel to Wiślica, where the meeting was initially scheduled and where Stanisław Borek and Jan Antonin intended to visit him: AT 17, No. 115, p. 146 (PT's letter to Stanisław Borek).
ca. Feb. 27: AT 17, No. 116 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Shortly after Feb. 27: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 180 (PT's letter, dated supplied from internal evidence).	In opposition to Stanisław Borek's recommendation, which proposes relocating for health reasons, PT contends that Bodzentyn adequately meets his needs for rest and leisure, and therefore, has no desire to move to a different location: PT's letter to Stanisław Borek, as referenced on the left.
Feb. 28: TG, No. 2458 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 1: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 242 (PT's letter); AT 17, Nos 130–134 (PT's letters), 135 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), 136–138 (PT's letters).	

140 km away, on Feb. 17. I assume that a scribe wrote "Invocavit" instead of the name of the following Sunday, namely "Reminiscere". Such a conjecture gives Feb. 23, which is congruent with information from other sources.

<sup>387</sup> PADNIEWSKI, s. 902, mentions this visit, although the entry lacks a date. It appears to be a typographical error, but it's not corrected in the Erratum (MPH 5, p. 1171). I could not verify the accuracy of the edition against the original annotated almanac, as it is lost (see above, n. 342). Żegota Pauli's 19th-century transcription of the diary dates the visit to Feb. 28 (BJ, 5358, f. 97v). However, it is important to note that Pauli's transcription is not completely reliable. It is not only incomplete, but also differs in several places from the published edition (for significant differences relevant to this documentary edition, see nn. 342, 395).



Mar. 4: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 448 (=f. 449 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 78).	
Mar. 8: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 449 (=f. 450 in old foliation).	
Mar. 9: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 450v (=f. 451v in old foliation); TG, No. 2473 <sub>a-b</sub> (PT's letters); Kod. Jag. 10, p. 473 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 13: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 467 (PT's letter); AT 17, No. 154 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 14: TG, No. 2479 <sub>b</sub> (PT and others' letter); AT 17, No. 156 (PT and others' letter).	
Mar. 15: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 451v (=f. 452v in old foliation).	
Mar. 16: AT 17, No. 159 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 19: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 451v (=f. 452v in old foliation).	
Mar. 24: TG, No. 2318 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 25: AT 17, Nos 174, 175 (PT's letters), 176, 178 (PT's letters, date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), 179, 180 (PT's letters).	
Mar. 26: AT 17, No. 184 (PT's letter).	
Mar. 29: AT 17, No. 186 (PT's letter).	
ca. Mar. 30: AT 17, No. 188 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Mar. 31: TG, Nos 2220 (PT's letter, date supplied from internal evidence), 2325, 2329 <sub>a</sub> (PT's letters), 2332 <sub>b</sub> (PT's letter, place and date supplied from Kod. Jag. 10, p. 311); AT 17, Nos 189–194 (PT's letters), 196 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Apr. 2: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 452 (=f. 453 in old foliation); AT 17, Nos 204 (PT's letter), 205 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), 206, 207 (PT's letters).	
Apr. 3: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1250 (PT's document).	
Apr. 5: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 452v (=f. 453v in old foliation).	
Apr. 6: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 453 (=f. 454 in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 79); TG, No. 2340 (PT's letter); AT 17, Nos 217 (=EFE 35, No. 421), 218–220 (PT's letters).	PT has been suffering from a recurring illness for nine months and has been unable to recover fully: AT 17, No. 220 (summary of PT's letter to Mauritius Ferber, see also the full text in Kod. Jag. 10, pp. 320–321).
ca. Apr. 6: AT 17, No. 221 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Apr. 7: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 454 (=f. 455 in old foliation); Kod. Jag. 10, pp. 327, 336 (PT's letters).	
Apr. 12: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 454v (=f. 455v in old foliation); AT 17, Nos 230 (PT's letter), 231 (PT's letter, date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha). <sup>388</sup>	
Apr. 13: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 455 (=f. 456 in old foliation).	
Apr. 16: TG, No. 2350 (PT's letter); Kod. Jag. 10, p. 424 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 17: AT 17, No. 236 (PT's letter).	

<sup>388</sup> URBAN 1987, p. 538, records PT's presence in Kielce on Apr. 12 as the first day of the stay there. This is probably based on the dating clause of the letter in AT 17, No. 231. However, the date of the letter is absent from the manuscript copies and was supplied by Władysław Pocięcha.

Apr. 19: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 455v (=f. 456v in old foliation); AT 17, No. 241 (PT's letter). <sup>389</sup>	
Apr. 22: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 456 (=f. 457 in old foliation).	
Apr. 23: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 456v (=f. 457v in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 81).	
Apr. 24: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1256 (PT's court record, place supplied from AEp. Cr. 13, f. 457v=f. 458v in old foliation); HORODYSKI, No. 27 (=AGAD, perg. 6829, PT's document); AT 17, No. 255 (PT's letter, place corrected from Kod. Jag. 12, f. 302). <sup>390</sup>	
Apr. 26: ALLEN 11, No. 3014 (PT's letter); Kod. Jag. 10, p. 436 (PT's letter, place corrected from other sources). <sup>391</sup>	
Apr. 27: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 339 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 28: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 458 (=f. 459 in old foliation).	
<b>1535 Apr. 28 to May 10 — Kielce</b>	
Apr. 28: AT 17, No. 263 (PT's letter).	
Apr. 30: AT 17, No. 267 (PT's letter).	
May 2: AT 17, Nos 277–280 (PT's letters).	

<sup>389</sup> Dating clauses of two of PT's letters (AT 17, Nos 250 and 251) incorrectly suggest that PT was present in Kielce on Apr. 20. In one of the letters (AT 17, No. 250), PT mentioned his letter to the King dated Kielce, May 2 (AT 17, No. 279). The mistake in dating was made by Stanisław Górski, who added the place and date of sending in the rough draft of the letter (see TG, No. 2359). Although the rough draft of the other letter is lost, it is highly likely that the incorrect date was also added there in the same manner.

<sup>390</sup> PT's letter to an unknown recipient in Kod. Jag. 10, p. 437, has an incorrect date of Kielce, Apr. 25.

<sup>391</sup> PT's letter in AT 17, No. 260, has an incorrect date of Kielce, Apr. 26.

Itinerary	Additional information
Shortly after May 2: AT 17, Nos 250, 251 (PT's letters, date corrected from internal evidence), 281 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, approx. day-date corrected by me from internal evidence).	PT intends to depart from Kielce for Częstochowa on May 10 and plans to return by May 23: AT 17, No. 281, p. 379 (PT's letter to Stanisław Borek).
May 4: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 458v (=f. 459v in old foliation=URBAN 2001, No. 83).	
May 5: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 443 (PT's letter).	
May 6: AT 17, No. 288 (PT's letter).	
May 7: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 459 (=f. 460 in old foliation). <sup>392</sup>	
May 8: AGAD, perg. 3037 (PT's document); AT 17, No. 290 (PT's letter).	
May 10 – PT is in Kielce: Kod. Jag. 12, f. 305 (PT's letter); AT 17, No. 293 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), and probably departs from there towards Częstochowa: AT 17, No. 281 (PT's letter, expected day of departure mentioned).	
<b>1535 May 13 to 14 — Częstochowa</b>	
May 13: AT 17, No. 233 (letter to PT, endorsed with place and date of receipt).	PT makes the pilgrimage to Częstochowa to give thanks for his recovery from the severe illness and to present an <i>ex-voto</i> offering: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 448 (PT's letter to Stanisław Borek, n.d., before May 28).
May 14: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 639 ( <i>ex-voto</i> dedication).	

<sup>392</sup> URBAN 1987, p. 538, records PT's presence in Bodzentyn on May 7 as the final day of the stay, although this date is marked as questionable. The uncertainty arose from the fact that Waclaw Urban perceived a contradiction in PT's itinerary that he compiled, as he recorded PT's presence in Kielce from Apr. 12 to Jun. 8.

<b>1535 May 15 — Kozięłowy</b>	
KACZMARCZYK, No. 447 (PT's document).	
<b>1535 May 23 — Kraków</b>	
PT is in Kraków: KACZMARCZYK, No. 448 (PT's document), and around that day, gives thanks for his recovery from the severe illness by leaving an <i>ex-voto</i> on the tomb of St Stanislaus: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 639 ( <i>ex-voto</i> dedication, no exact date given).	
<b>1535 May 28 to Jun. 7 — Kielce</b>	
May 28: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 447 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 4: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 459v, 460v, 473 (=ff. 460v, 461v, 474 in old foliation), cf. URBAN 1996, No. 1054 (summary of one of the entries).	
Jun. 5: AT 17, No. 320 (PT's letter).	
Shortly before Jun. 6: AT 17, No. 315 (PT's letter, excerpt, missing part supplied from Kod. Jag. 10, pp. 452–453, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, approx. day-date corrected by me from internal evidence).	PT plans to depart from Kielce towards Szczepanów on the following Monday (Jun. 7): PT's letter to Stanisław Borek, as referenced on the left.
Jun. 6: AT 17, No. 323 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 7 – PT likely departs Kielce for the pilgrimage to Szczepanów: AT 17, No. 315 (PT's letter, expected day of departure mentioned).	
<b>1535 Jun. 8 — Szaniec</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, f. 461 (=f. 462 in old foliation). <sup>393</sup>	
<b>1535 Jun. 10 — Dobrowoda</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, f. 461v (=f. 462v in old foliation); Kod. Jag. 10, p. 184 (PT's letter); AT 17, No. 333 (PT's letter).	

<sup>393</sup> URBAN 1987, p. 538, records PT's presence in Kielce on Jun. 8 as the final day of the stay there. Since Waclaw Urban did not provide a reference to source evidence, verifying this information is impossible.

Itinerary	Additional information
<b>1535 Jun. 11 to 13 — Radłów</b>	
Jun. 11: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 462 (=f. 463 in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1273 (PT's court record); Kod. Jag. 10, p. 476 (PT's letter).	PT is on his way to Szczepanów: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 476 (PT's letter to Jan Tęczyński).
Jun. 12: Kod. Jag. 10, pp. 477, 478 (PT's letters).	
Jun. 13: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 462v (=f. 463v in old foliation).	
<b>1535 Jun. 13 — Szczepanów</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 467v et seq. (=ff. 468v et seq. in old foliation).	
<b>1535 Jun. 14 to 15 — Jaksice</b>	
Jun. 14: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 469 (=f. 470 in old foliation).	
Jun. 15: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 469 (=f. 470 in old foliation); Kod. Jag. 10, pp. 456, 475 (PT's letters).	
<b>1535 Jun. 16 — Siedlec</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 463 (cf. WIŚNIEWSKI 1927, p. 71), 469v, 470 (=ff. 464, 470v, 471 in old foliation). <sup>394</sup>	
<b>1535 Jun. 19 to Jul. 27 — Kielce</b>	
Jun. 19 – PT, having offered an <i>ex-voto</i> for his recovery, returns to Kielce from Szczepanów: PADNIEWSKI, p. 902.	PT's presence in Kielce on that day as the first day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
Jun. 25: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 463v (=f. 464v in old foliation); Kod. Jag. 12, ff. 311, 311v (PT's letters); AT 17, No. 360 (PT's letter).	
Jun. 28: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 464 (=f. 465 in old foliation).	

<sup>394</sup> PT's decree in MRPS 4/2, No. 17157, is dated Kraków, 1533 Jun. 16, but the place of issue is silently supplied by Teodor Wierzbowski. No place of issue is given in the copy of the document in MK 50, p. 410, inserted in the royal transcript, nor in the original document: AKKK, perg. 741. The decree is also recorded in AEp. Cr. 13, f. 470 (=f. 471 in old foliation), where the correct place of issue (Siedlec) is specified in the heading.

Jun. 30: TG, No. 2415 (PT's letter); Kod. Jag. 12, f. 310v (PT's letter); AT 17, Nos 367, 368 (No. 368=CIDTC, IDL 1324, PT's letters), 370 (=CIDTC, IDL 1325, Wojciech Kijewski's letter, PT mentioned).	
ca. Jun. 30: AT 17, No. 373 (PT's letter, date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
Jul. 2: TG, No. 2419 <sub>b</sub> (PT's letter); AT 17, No. 377 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 5: AT 17, No. 389 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 10: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 472 (=f. 473 in old foliation).	
Jul. 12: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 474v (=f. 475v in old foliation); AT 17, No. 401 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 15: TG, No. 2274 (PT's letter); AT 17, Nos 405 (=CIDTC, IDL 1332, PT's letter), 406 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), 407, 408 (PT's letters).	Since PT has been ill for most of the year, he has spent most of his time away from Kraków: AT 17, No. 405, p. 510 (=CIDTC, IDL 1332, PT's letter to Ioannes Dantiscus).
ca. Jul. 15: AT 17, No. 409 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha).	
After Jul. 15: AT 17, No. 435 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pocięcha, approx. day-date supplied by me from internal evidence).	
Jul. 17: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 476 (=f. 477 in old foliation).	
Jul. 19: AT 17, No. 417 (PT's letter).	
Jul. 20: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 476 (=f. 477 in old foliation); AT 17, Nos 418 (PT's letter), 420 (PT's letter, place supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), 421 (PT's letter, day supplied by Pocięcha), 422 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Pocięcha).	Despite being ill, PT wants to participate in the wedding of Joachim II Hector and Hedwig Jagiellon. He plans to arrive in Kraków before the King and later leave the city with him to greet Joachim II Hector: AT 17, No. 418, p. 524 (PT's letter to Stanisław Borek).

Itinerary	Additional information
Jul. 27 – PT is in Kielce: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 476v (=f. 477v in old foliation); AT 17, No. 429 (PT's letter), and not yet fully recovered ("nondum bene firmus") departs towards Kraków: PADNIEWSKI, p. 902.	PT is unable to greet the arriving King at the border with Lithuania due to his poor health: AT 17, No. 429, p. 537 (PT's letter to the King). PT's presence in Kielce on that day as the final day of the stay recorded in URBAN 1987, p. 538.
<b>1535 Jul. 28 — Pińczów</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, f. 477 (=f. 478 in old foliation).	
<b>1535 Jul. 30 — Siedlec</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, f. 477 (=f. 479 in old foliation).	
<b>1535 Jul. 31 — Proszowice</b>	
AEp. Cr. 13, f. 477v (=f. 478v in old foliation).	
<b>1535 Aug. 3 to Oct. 29 — Kraków</b>	
Aug. 3 – PT arrives in Kraków very weak and ill ("valde debilis et aeger"): PADNIEWSKI, p. 902. <sup>395</sup>	Although not all days within this period are documented, PT was so severely ill that it should be assumed he did not leave Kraków until his death.
Aug. 5: KRZYŻANOWSKI, No. 526 (PT's document).	
Aug. 6: AT 17, No. 439 (PT's letter).	
Aug. 8: MRPS 4/2, No. 17158.	
Aug. 9: AT 17, No. 443 (Stanisław Górski's commentary, PT mentioned).	The King arrives in Kraków: ASK 1, RK 81, ff. 2, 20; RK 361, f. 5; DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 49; NAROPIŃSKI, p. 226; PADNIEWSKI, p. 902; OSK, Fol. Lat. 258, f. 215. Cf. GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 266 (information about the stay, not the arrival). PT delivers the welcoming speech and, growing weaker, meets the King personally for the last time: HOZJUSZ, p. CLXVIII.

<sup>395</sup> According to a 19th-century transcription of Filip Padniewski's diary made by Żegota Pauli, PT arrived in Kraków on Aug. 2 (BJ, 5358, f. 97v). I could not verify the accuracy of the edition against the original annotated almanac, as it is lost (see above, n. 342).



	Aug. 10 – the King is in Kraków: SZACHERSKA, No. 401.
Aug. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17159, 17160; CDUJ 4, No. 364 (=KACZMARCZYK, No. 450, royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Aug. 12: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17161–17165; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 478 (=f. 479 in old foliation); AT 17, No. 447 (=CIDTC, IDL 1347, PT’s letter); CIDTC, IDL 257 (Piotr Konarski’s letter, PT mentioned).	PT’s health is severely compromised due to a persistent fever that has lasted for approximately a year and a half, accompanied by additional painful symptoms that cause him great distress: AT 17, No. 447, p. 552 (=CIDTC, IDL 1347, PT’s letter to Ioannes Dantiscus).
Aug. 13: MRPS 4/2, No. 17166; GORCZAK 5, No. 262 (=NIEWODNICZAŃSKI, No. 236, royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> and signature by PT).	
	Aug. 14 – the King is in Kraków: GORCZAK 5, No. 263; AT 15, No. 448.
Aug. 16: MRPS 4/2, No. 17167.	
Aug. 17: MRPS 4/2, No. 17168.	
	Aug. 18 – the King is in Kraków: CC 50, p. 45.
Aug. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 17169.	
Aug. 23: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 479 (=f. 480 in old foliation).	
Aug. 24: AT 17, No. 454 (PT’s letter).	
Aug. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17170–17172; TROJANOWSKA, No. 62 (=RIABININ, No. 143, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	
Aug. 27: MRPS 4/2, No. 17173; WADOWSKI, p. 111 (PT’s document mentioned).	
Aug. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17174, 17175; TG, No. 2292 (PT’s document).	
Aug. 29: BASTRZYKOWSKI, p. 466 (PT’s document).	

Itinerary	Additional information
Aug. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17176–17178.	
Sept. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17180–17183; AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 484v – date, 485 – record considered (=ff. 485v, 486 in old foliation).	
Sept. 2: MRPS 4/2, No. 17184.	
Sept. 3: MRPS 4/2, No. 17185; AGAD, perg. 1891 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, f. 485v (=f. 486v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 14, f. 38 (=f. 35 in old foliation); AT 17, Nos 469 (=BRODERICUS, No. 256, PT’s letter), 470 (PT’s letter, place supplied by Władysław Pocięcha), 471 (PT’s letter), 472 (PT’s letter, place and date supplied by Pocięcha).	
Sept. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17186–17191.	
Sept. 5: MRPS 4/2, No. 17192.	
Sept. 6: MRPS 4/2, No. 17193.	
Sept. 7: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17194–17196; PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1298 (PT’s document).	
Sept. 8: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17197, 17199–17201. <sup>396</sup>	
Sept. 9: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17202–17207; AOff. Cr. 52, ff. 168v–169 (=pp. 336–337 in old pagination, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT); TROJANOWSKA, No. 67 (=RIABININ, No. 148, royal document, <i>relatio</i> and signature by PT).	

<sup>396</sup> MRPS 4/2, No. 17198, is misdated as Sept. 8, as Teodor Wierzbowski followed the misleading dating clause (“anno, die, loco quibus supra”) from the entry in MK 50, p. 96. For the correct date of the document, see below, the information for Sept. 25.

ca. Sept. 9: AT 17, No. 479 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).	
Sept. 10: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17208, 17209; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 488 (=f. 489 in old foliation).	
Sept. 11: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17210–17212; KUPCHYNSKY & RUZHYSKY, No. 448 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Sept. 12: Kod. Jag. 12, f. 324v (PT's document).	
Sept. 13: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17213, 17214; SYGAŃSKI, pp. 194, 195 (royal document, witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AEp. Cr. 13, f. 489 (=f. 490 in old foliation).	
Sept. 14: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17215–17217.	
Sept. 15: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17218–17221.	
Sept. 16: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17222–17224.	
Sept. 17: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17225–17227.	
Sept. 18: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17228–17232.	
Sept. 19: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17233–17236; tzw. ML, IV B 6, p. 72 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Sept. 20: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17237–17242.	
ca. Sept. 20: AT 17, No. 484 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).	PT has been severely ill for a long time, so he could not leave the house yet and personally meet the King: Kod. Jag. 10, p. 507 (PT's letter to Mikołaj Sieniawski, cf. inaccurate summary in AT 17, No. 484).
Sept. 21: MRPS 4/2, No. 17243; TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 899 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Sept. 22: MRPS 4/2, No. 17244.	
Sept. 23: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17245–17252.	
Sept. 24: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17253–17256.	

Itinerary	Additional information
Sept. 25: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17198 (date supplied from TROJANOWSKA, No. 68=RIABININ, No. 149), 17257–17262; PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1305 (PT's court record, place supplied from AEp. Cr. 13, f. 498v=f. 499v in old foliation).	
Sept. 26: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17263, 17264; AT 17, Nos 489 (=EFE 35, No. 446, PT and Jan Chojeński's letter), 497 (=EFE 35, No. 445, PT's letter).	
Sept. 27: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17265–17268; AEp. Cr. 15, f. 165; AA Cap. Cr. 3, ff. 128v–129 (PT's document); OSK, Fol. Lat. 258, f. 187 (PT's letter).	
Sept. 28: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17269–17278; TROJANOWSKA, No. 69 (=RIABININ, No. 153, royal document, signature by PT); Kod. Jag. 12, f. 325 (PT's letter); Such. 22/32, p. 747 (PT's letter); AT 17, Nos 495, 496 (PT's letters).	
Sept. 29: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17279–17282; AEp. Cr. 13, f. 502 (=f. 503 in old foliation).	
Sept. 30: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17283–17292.	
Oct. 1: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17293, 17294; AT 17, No. 507 (PT's letter).	
Oct. 2: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17295–17317; tzw. ML, IV B 6, p. 119 (royal document witnessed by PT, <i>datum per manus</i> , signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); KUPCHYNSKY & RUZHYTSKY, No. 451 (royal document, <i>relatio</i> by PT).	
Oct. 3: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17318–17322.	

<p>Oct. 4: MRPS 4/2, Nos 17323–17340; SZACHERSKA, No. 409 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); TOMASZEWICZ 1991, No. 900 (royal document, signature and <i>relatio</i> by PT); AT 17, No. 514 (=CIDTC, IDL 1359, Jan Benedyktowicz Solfa's letter, PT mentioned).</p>	<p>PT, diagnosed as terminally ill, will most likely die within a month: AT 17, No. 514 (=CIDTC, IDL 1359, Jan Benedyktowicz Solfa's letter to Ioannes Dantiscus). The King departs from Kraków towards Vilnius: ASK 1, RK 81, ff. 21, 37v; RK 91, IIa, f. 3; DUNIN-WOLSKI, p. 49; ŻDŻAROWSKI, p. 22; OSK, Fol. Lat. 258, f. 150v (Seweryn Boner's letter); GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 266.<sup>397</sup></p>
	<p>Oct. 4 – the King is in Proszowice: CC 49, p. 688; AT 17, No. 517; GAŚSIOROWSKI, p. 266.</p>
<p>ca. Oct. 4: AT 17, No. 518 (PT's letter, place and date supplied by Władysław Pociecha).</p>	
<p>Oct. 6: AT 17, No. 520 (PT's letter).</p>	
<p>Oct. 14: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 511 (=f. 512 in old foliation); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1311 (PT's court record, place supplied from AEp. Cr. 13, f. 511v=f. 512v in old foliation).</p>	
<p>Oct. 17 – PT grows weaker daily and is not expected to live long: EFE 46, No. 169, p. 171 (Iustus Ludovicus Decius' letter to Duke Albrecht).</p>	
<p>Oct. 18: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 512v – date, 514 – record considered (=ff. 513v, 515 in old foliation).</p>	
<p>Oct. 22: AEp. Cr. 15, f. 180; AA Cap. Cr. 3, f. 128 (PT mentioned).</p>	
<p>Oct. 25: AEp. Cr. 13, ff. 517 – date, 518 – record considered (=ff. 518, 519 in old foliation); AT 17, No. 537 (=WIERZBOWSKI 1900, No. 480=ALLEN 11, No. 3066, PT's last letter).</p>	
<p>Oct. 26: AOff. Cr. 52, f. 285 (=p. 569 in old pagination, PT's document).</p>	

<sup>397</sup> According to PADNIEWSKI, p. 903, the King left Kraków on Oct. 10.

<b>Itinerary</b>	<b>Additional information</b>
Oct. 27: AEp. Cr. 13, f. 518v (=f. 519v in old foliation); AEp. Cr. 15, ff. 195–195v (=CDUJ 4, No. 365=KACZMARCZYK, No. 452, PT's document).	
Oct. 28: HOZJUSZ, p. CLXIX.	
Oct. 29 – PT passes away: AT 17, Nos 543 (=PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1320, commentary about PT's death in the records of PT's court, cf. almost identical piece in AOff. Cr. 52, f. 199=p. 397 in old pagination), 552 (=CIDTC, IDL 1369, Jan Chojeński's letter, Nov. 13, PT's death mentioned), 599 (biography of PT by Chojeński and commentary by Stanisław Górski); CC 49, p. 682 (commentary about PT's death in the records of the Castle Court of Kraków); PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1534–1535, No. 1321 (commentary about PT's death in the records of the Consistory Court of Kraków); PADNIEWSKI, p. 903; HOZJUSZ, p. CLXIX; MPH 3, p. 110 (annals from Święty Krzyż Monastery, date corrected).	

## OVERVIEW

### 1515

- Mar. 4–5 Kraków  
Mar. 5–6 Tynec  
Mar. 6–7 Lipowiec  
Mar. 7–8 Oświęcim  
Mar. 8–9 Pszczyna  
Mar. 9–10 Strumień  
Mar. 10–11 Fryštát  
Mar. 11–12 Ostrava  
Mar. 12–13 Nový Jičín  
Mar. 13–14 Hranice  
Mar. 14–15 Lipník  
Mar. 15–16 Přerov  
Mar. 16–17 Kroměříž  
Mar. 17–18 Uherské Hradiště  
Mar. 18–19 Veselí nad Moravou  
Mar. 19–20 Skalica  
Mar. 20–23 Trnava  
Mar. 23–24 Senec  
Mar. 24–Jul. 11 Pressburg  
Jul. 14–16 Hainburg  
Jul. 16 Bruck/Hainburg  
Jul. 16–17 Enzersdorf  
Jul. 17–31 Wien  
Aug. 1–3 Wiener Neustadt  
Aug. 3–6 Wien  
Aug. 6–7 Ulrichskirche  
Aug. 7–8 Mistelbach  
Aug. 8 Falkenstein  
Aug. 8–9 Mikulov  
Aug. 9–10 Hustopeče  
Aug. 10–11 Vyškov  
Aug. 11 Prostějov  
Aug. 11–12 Olomouc  
Aug. 12 Helfštýn  
Aug. 12–13 Hranice  
Aug. 13–14 Nový Jičín  
[Aug. 14–15 Ostrava]  
[Aug. 15–16 Fryštát]  
[Aug. 16–17 Strumień]  
[Aug. 17–18 Pszczyna]  
[Aug. 18–19 Oświęcim]  
[Aug. 19–20 Lipowiec]  
[Aug. 20–21 Tynec]  
Aug. 21–Nov. 8 Kraków  
Nov. 8–9 Skała  
[Nov. 9–10 Proszowice]  
Nov. 10–11 Książnice  
Nov. 11 Nowe Miasto Korczyn  
Nov. 13–14 Połaniec  
[Nov. 14–15 Osiek]  
Nov. 15–29 Sandomierz  
[Nov. 29–30 Zawichost]  
[Nov. 30–Dec. 1 Urzędów]  
Dec. 1–2 Lublin  
[Dec. 2–3 Kolechowice]  
Dec. 3–4 Parczew  
[Dec. 4–5 Łomazy]  
Dec. 5– Brest-Litovsk

**1516**

–Jan. 27 BrŁagest-Litovsk  
 Jan. 28 Kamyenyets  
 Feb. 2 Krynki  
 Feb. 4–11 Grodna  
 [ca. Feb. 11–13 Pryvalki]  
 [ca. Feb. 12–14 Merkinė]  
 [ca. Feb. 13–15 Varėna]  
 Feb. 15 Valkininkai  
 [ca. Feb. 15–22 Rudninkai]  
 Feb. 22–Sept. 10 Vilnius  
 [ca. Sept. 10–12 Rudninkai]  
 Sept. 12–18 Valkininkai  
 Sept. 20–22 Varėna  
 Sept. 23 Valkininkai  
 [ca. Sept. 23–Oct. 1 Rudninkai]  
 Oct. 1– Vilnius

**1517**

–Feb. 3 Vilnius  
 [Feb. 3–4 Rudninkai]  
 Feb. 4–8 Valkininkai  
 [ca. Feb. 8–11 Rudninkai]  
 Feb. 11–Jul. 30 Vilnius  
 Aug. 5–6 Markovo  
 Aug. 10 Maladzyechna  
 Aug. 23–Sept. 24 Polotsk  
 Sept. 29–Oct. 26 Braslaw  
 Oct. 30–Dec. 4 Vilnius  
 [Dec. 4–5 Rudninkai]  
 [Dec. 5–6 Valkininkai]  
 Dec. 6–7 Varėna  
 [Dec. 7–8 Merkinė]  
 [Dec. 8–9 Pryvalki]  
 Dec. 9–10 Grodna  
 Dec. 10–11 Krynki  
 Dec. 11–12 Kołodziejna  
 Dec. 12–13 Rudniki  
 Dec. 13–14 Narew  
 Dec. 14–15 Bielsk

Dec. 15–16 Milejczyce  
 Dec. [16–17] Mielnik  
 [Dec. 17–18 Łosice]  
 [Dec. 18–19 Trzebieszów]  
 Dec. 19–20 Łuków  
 Dec. 20–21 Zadybie  
 Dec. 21–22 Kozienice  
 [Dec. 22–23 Jedlnia]  
 Dec. [23–26] Radom  
 Dec. [26]–27 Wąchock  
 Dec. 27–28 Nowa Słupia  
 Dec. 28 Święty Krzyż  
 Dec. 28 Nowa Słupia  
 Dec. 28–29 Łagów  
 Dec. 29–30 Szydłów  
 Dec. 30–31 Wiślica  
 [Dec. 31– Proszowice]

**1518**

[–Jan. 1 Proszowice]  
 Jan. 1–Apr. 13 Kraków  
 Apr. 13 Morawica  
 Apr. 13–Nov. 4 Kraków  
 [Nov. 4–5 Proszowice]  
 Nov. 5–6 Nowe Miasto Korczyn  
 Nov. 6–7 Połaniec  
 Nov. 7–8 Osiek  
 Nov. 8–9 Sandomierz  
 Nov. 9–10 Zawichost  
 Nov. 10–11 Urzędów  
 [Nov. 11–12 Lublin]  
 Nov. 12–13 Kolechowice  
 Nov. 13–14 Parczew  
 [Nov. 14–15 Łomazy]  
 Nov. 15– Brest-Litovsk

**1519**

–Jan. 3 Brest-Litovsk  
 Jan. 3–4 Janów  
 Jan. 4–5 Łosice



[Jan. 5–6 Trzebieszów]  
 Jan. 6–7 Łuków  
 Jan. 7–8 Zadybie  
 Jan. 8–9 Kozienice  
 [Jan. 9–10 Jedlnia]  
 Jan. 10–[12] Radom  
 [Jan. 12–13 Wąchock]  
 Jan. 13–14 Nowa Słupia  
 Jan. 14 Święty Krzyż  
 Jan. 14 Nowa Słupia  
 Jan. 14–15 Łagów  
 Jan. 15–16 Szydłów  
 Jan. 16–17 Wiślica  
 [Jan. 17–18 Proszowice]  
 Jan. 18–Feb. 4 Kraków  
 Feb. 8–Mar. 13 Piotrków  
 Mar. 13–14 Przedbórz  
 Mar. 14–15 Secemin  
 Mar. 15–16 Miechów  
 Mar. 16–Aug. 20 Kraków  
 Aug. 20–21 Proszowice  
 Aug. 21–22 Nowe Miasto Korczyn  
 Aug. 22–23 Połaniec  
 [Aug. 23–24 Osiek]  
 Aug. 24–28 Sandomierz  
 [Aug. 28–29 Osiek]  
 Aug. 29–30 Połaniec  
 [Aug. 30–31 Nowe Miasto Korczyn]  
 Aug. 31–Sept. 1 Proszowice  
 Sept. 1–Nov. 15 Kraków  
 Nov. 15–16 Słomniki  
 Nov. 16–17 Książ  
 Nov. 17–18 Jędrzejów  
 Nov. 18–19 Małogoszcz  
 Nov. 19–20 Przedbórz  
 Nov. 20–21 Piotrków  
 Nov. 21–22 Ujazd  
 Nov. 22–23 Rawa  
 Nov. 23–24 Skierniewice  
 Nov. 24 Bolimów

Nov. 24–25 Sochaczew  
 Nov. 25–26 Gąbin  
 Nov. 26–28 Gostynin  
 Nov. 28–29 Kowal  
 Nov. 29–Dec. 1 Brześć Kujawski  
 Dec. 1–2 Służewo  
 Dec. 2– Toruń

**1520**

–Oct. 1 Toruń  
 Oct. 1–3 Inowrocław  
 Oct. 4 Żnin  
 Oct. 5–Nov. 2 Wągrowiec  
 [Nov. 2–3 Żnin]  
 Nov. 3–Dec. 6 Bydgoszcz  
 Dec. 13 Gniezno

**1521**

Jan. 3–late Feb. Ciążen  
 Feb. 28–May 13 Poznań  
 shortly after May 24–Oct. 28 Kraków  
 Oct. 28–29 Słomniki  
 Oct. 29–30 Książ  
 Oct. 30–31 Jędrzejów  
 Oct. 31–Nov. 1 Małogoszcz  
 Nov. 1–2 Przedbórz  
 Nov. 2–13 Piotrków  
 Nov. 23–25 Środa  
 ca. Nov. 30– Piotrków

**1522**

–Jan. 7 Piotrków  
 [Jan. 7–8 Sulejów]  
 Jan. 8–9 Opoczno  
 Jan. 9–10 Skrzynno  
 Jan. 10–14 Radom  
 [Jan. 14–15 Jedlnia]  
 Jan. 15–16 Kozienice  
 Jan. 16–17 Zadybie  
 Jan. 17–18 Łuków

[Jan. 18–19 Trzebieszów]  
 [Jan. 19–20 Łosice]  
 [Jan. 20–21 Mielnik]  
 [Jan. 21–22 Milejczyce]  
 Jan. [22]–23 Bielsk  
 Feb. 2–Apr. 3 Grodna  
 [Apr. 3–4 Pryvalki]  
 [Apr. 4–5 Merkinė]  
 [Apr. 5–ca. 6 Varėna]  
 [ca. Apr. 6–8 Valkininkai]  
 [ca. Apr. 7–9 Rudninkai]  
 Apr. 9–Sept. 14 Vilnius  
 [ca. Sept. 14–15 Rudninkai]  
 ca. 15 Sept. Valkininkai  
 Sept. 17 Varėna  
 [ca. Sept. 18 Valkininkai]  
 [ca. Sept. 19 Rudninkai]  
 Sept. 20–Dec. 9 Vilnius  
 [Dec. 9–10 Rudninkai]  
 [Dec. 10–11 Eišiškės]  
 [Dec. 11–12 Radun]  
 Dec. 12–13 Vasilishki  
 Dec. 13–14 Masty  
 Dec. 14–15 Vawkavysk  
 Dec. 15–16 Novy Dvor  
 [Dec. 16–17 Sharashova]  
 Dec. 17–18 Kamyenyets  
 Dec. 18–20 Brest-Litovsk  
 Dec. 20–21 Łomazy  
 Dec. 21–22 Parczew  
 Dec. 22–23 Kolechowice  
 Dec. 23–26 Lublin  
 Dec. 26–27 Urzędów  
 Dec. 27–28 Zawichost  
 Dec. 28–29 Sandomierz  
 Dec. 29–30 Osiek  
 Dec. 30–31 Połaniec  
 Dec. 31– Nowe Miasto Korczyn

**1523**

–Jan. 1 Nowe Miasto Korczyn  
 Jan. 1–2 Proszowice  
 Jan. 2–Apr. 20 Kraków  
 Apr. 20–21 Olkusz  
 Apr. 21–22 Kromolów  
 [Apr. 22–23 Olsztyn]  
 Apr. 23–24 Częstochowa  
 [Apr. 24–25 Olsztyn]  
 Apr. 25–26 Kromolów  
 Apr. 26–27 Rabsztyn  
 Apr. 27–Jun. 10 Kraków  
 before Jun. 16 Przedbórz  
 Jun. 22–23 Ciążeń  
 Jul. 3–Aug. 26 Poznań  
 Aug. 31 Pызdry  
 Sept. 1 Ciążeń  
 Shortly before Sept. 2 on the way to  
     Kraków  
 Sept. 11–Oct. 13 Kraków  
 Oct. 16–Dec. 18 Piotrków  
 Dec. 26–Kraków

**1524**

–Jun. 14 Kraków  
 [Jun. 14–15 Niepołomice]  
 [Jun. 15–16 Bochnia]  
 Jun. [16] Szczepanów  
 [Jun. 16–17 Bochnia]  
 Jun. 17–19 Niepołomice  
 Jun. 20–Dec. 6 Kraków  
 ca. Dec. 7 Proszowice  
 ca. Dec. 9 Nowe Miasto Korczyn  
 Dec. 17–20 Kraków  
 Dec. 23–Piotrków

**1525**

–Feb. 24 Piotrków  
 after Mar. 6–May 12 Kraków

[ca. May 12–16 Wawrzeńczyce]  
 May 16–17 Radłów  
 [ca. May 17–23 Wawrzeńczyce]  
 May 23–Jun. 22 Kraków  
 Jun. 22 Miechów  
 Jun. 25 Przedbórz  
 Jun. 26–Jul. 1 Piotrków  
 Jul. 10–11 Iłża  
 Jul. 13 Kunów  
 Jul. 15–26 Bodzentyn  
 Aug. 5–Nov. 19 Kraków  
 ca. Nov. 22 Proszowice  
 ca. Nov. 24 Nowe Miasto Korczyn  
 Nov. 27 Dobrowoda  
 Nov. 29–Dec. 4 Kielce  
 Dec. 11– Piotrków

### 1526

–Jan. 29 Piotrków  
 Feb. 8–14 Kraków  
 Feb. 17–21 Jędrzejów  
 Feb. 21–22 Małogoszcz  
 Feb. 22–23 Przedbórz  
 Feb. 23–24 Piotrków  
 Feb. 24–25 Tuszyn  
 Feb. 25–26 Zgierz  
 Feb. 26–27 Łęczyca  
 Feb. 27–28 Przedecz  
 Feb. 28–Mar. 1 Brześć Kujawski  
 Mar. 1–2 Służewo  
 Mar. 2–4 Toruń  
 Mar. 4–5 Chełmża  
 Mar. 5–6 Grudziądz  
 Mar. 6–7 Kwidzyn  
 Mar. 7–8 Sztum  
 Mar. 8–ca. Apr. 23 Malbork  
 Apr. 25–Jul. 23 Gdańsk  
 Jul. 23–24 Tczew  
 Jul. 24–31 Malbork

Jul. 31–Aug. 1 Sztum  
 Aug. 1–2 Kwidzyn  
 Aug. 2–3 Grudziądz  
 Aug. 3–4 Chełmża  
 Aug. 4–5 Toruń  
 Aug. 5–6 Służewo  
 Aug. 6–7 Brześć Kujawski  
 Aug. 7–8 Gostynin  
 Aug. 8–9 Gąbin  
 Aug. 9–24 Sochaczew  
 Aug. 24–25 Błonie  
 Aug. 25–Sept. 23 Warszawa  
 Sept. 23–24 Czersk  
 Sept. 24–25 Warka  
 Sept. 25–26 Radom  
 Sept. 26–ca. 29 Iłża  
 Oct. 4–Dec. 8 Kraków  
 Dec. 11 Proszowice  
 Dec. 13 Wiślica  
 Dec. 18 Dobrowoda

### 1527

Jan. 1–Sept. 11 Kraków  
 Sept. 16–17 Wawrzeńczyce  
 Sept. ca. 17 Szczepanów  
 Sept. 21–Oct. 29 Radłów  
 Nov. 12 Słomniki  
 [Nov. 14 Nowe Miasto Korczyn]  
 Nov. 16 Dobrowoda  
 Nov. 21 Kielce  
 Nov. 29– Piotrków

### 1528

–Feb. 20 Piotrków  
 [ca. Feb. 20 Sulejów]  
 [Feb. ca. 20–21 Opoczno]  
 [Feb. ca. 21–22 Skrzynno]  
 Feb. 22–Mar. 6 Radom  
 Mar. 12–13 Iłża

Mar. 20–Jul. 5 Bodzentyn  
 Jul. 8–Aug. 4 Kielce  
 Aug. 6 Częstochowa  
 Aug. 9 Siewierz  
 Aug. 12–Oct. 23 Kraków  
 Nov. 3 Siedlec  
 shortly before Nov. 7 Jędrzejów  
 Nov. 7–Dec. 9 Kielce  
 Dec. 9 Jędrzejów  
 ca. Dec. 13 Proszowice  
 Dec. 14 Ksany  
 Dec. 15 Nowe Miasto Korczyn  
 Dec. 17–19 Dobrowoda  
 Dec. 23–30 Kielce  
 Dec. 30– Bodzentyn

**1529**

–Jan. 1 Bodzentyn  
 Jan. 5 Iłża  
 Jan. 6 Jedlnia  
 ca. Jan. 6–8 Warka  
 ca. Jan. 8–9 Czersk  
 Jan. 9–Feb. 22 Warszawa  
 Feb. 22–23 Czersk  
 Feb. 23–24 Warka  
 Feb. 24 Radom  
 Feb. 27–Mar. 2 Iłża  
 Mar. 3–12 Bodzentyn  
 Mar. 12–14 Kielce  
 Mar. 17 Dobrowoda  
 Mar. 17 Wiślica  
 Mar. 19–Jun. 20 Kraków  
 Jun. 20–23 Bolechowice  
 Jun. 23–Aug. 3 Kraków  
 ca. Aug. 3 outside Kraków  
 Aug. 5–Dec. 2 Kraków  
 Dec. 8–12 Kielce  
 Dec. 15– Piotrków

**1530**

–Jan. 16 Piotrków  
 Jan. 20–Feb. 1 Kraków  
 [Feb. 3 Proszowice]  
 Feb. 4–Jul. 16 Kraków  
 Jul. 17 Wawrzeńczyce  
 Jul. 22–Dec. 1 Kraków  
 shortly before Dec. 9–Piotrków

**1531**

–Jan. 8 Piotrków  
 Jan. 15–18 Kielce  
 Jan. 21–shortly after Jan. 29 Bodzentyn  
 ca. Feb. 2 Kielce  
 Feb. 10 Brzeziny  
 Feb. 11 Pińczów  
 Feb. 14–May 12 Kraków  
 May 16 Częstochowa  
 May 18–19 Koziegłowy  
 May 22–shortly after Jul. 26 Kraków  
 [ca. Jul. 26–Aug. 1 Wawrzeńczyce]  
 Aug. 1–3 Radłów  
 [ca. Aug. 3–13 Wawrzeńczyce]  
 Aug. 13–Nov. 23 Kraków  
 [Nov. 28 Proszowice]  
 [Nov. 30 Nowe Miasto Korczyn]  
 Dec. 3–Kraków

**1532**

–Feb. 4 Kraków  
 Feb. 5 Modlnica  
 Feb. 6–Jul. 6 Kraków  
 Jul. 6–12 Bolechowice  
 Jul. 12–Aug. 20 Kraków  
 Aug. 24–30 Piotrków  
 Aug. 30–[31] Sulejów  
 Sept. 3–9 Iłża  
 ca. Sept. 9 Kunów

Sept. 14 Kielce  
 Sept. 24–Oct. 24 Kraków  
 Oct. 25 Niepołomice  
 Oct. 27–Dec. 3 Kraków  
 ca. Dec. 5 Proszowice  
 ca. Dec. 10 Nowe Miasto Korczyn  
 1532 Dec. 16–Kraków

### 1533

–Jan. 4 Kraków  
 [Jan. 4–5 Słomniki]  
 Jan. 5–6 Książ  
 ca. Jan. 6–8 Jędrzejów  
 ca. Jan. 7–9 Małogoszcz  
 ca. Jan. 8–10 Przedbórz  
 Jan. 10–Feb. 13 Piotrków  
 Feb. 13–14 Przedbórz  
 Feb. 14–15 Secemin  
 Feb. 15–16 Miechów  
 Feb. 16–Jun. 10 Kraków  
 Jun. 10–11 Proszowice  
 Jun. 11 Wiślica  
 Jun. 11 Dobrowoda  
 Jun. 12 Wiślica  
 Jun. 12–13 Szydłów  
 Jun. 13–14 Łagów  
 Jun. 14 Nowa Słupia  
 Jun. 14 Święty Krzyż  
 Jun. 15 Nowa Słupia  
 Jun. 15–16 Wąchock  
 Jun. 16–17 Radom  
 Jun. 18–25 Iłża  
 Jun. 25–27 Kunów  
 Jun. 27–Jul. 10 Bodzentyn  
 Jul. 12–15 Sandomierz  
 Jul. 17–18 Złota  
 Jul. 18–23 Sandomierz  
 Jul. 25 Kunów  
 Jul. 27 Krynki

Jul. 28–30 Bodzentyn  
 Jul. 30–Sept. 12 Kielce  
 Sept. 17–24 Dobrowoda  
 Sept. 26 Złota  
 Sept. 27–Oct. 3 Sandomierz  
 Oct. 9–Dec. 10 Kraków  
 ca. Dec. 11 Proszowice  
 Dec. 13–14 Nowe Miasto Korczyn  
 Dec. 15 Dobrowoda  
 Dec. 17 Siedlec  
 Dec. 19– Kraków

### 1534

–Jan. 3 Kraków  
 Jan. 8–28 Piotrków  
 [Jan. 28–29 Sulejów]  
 Jan. 29 Żarnów  
 Feb. 1–17 Kielce  
 Feb. 20–Mar. 19 Bodzentyn  
 Mar. 19 Kielce  
 Mar. 20 Brzeziny  
 Mar. 22 Dobrowoda  
 Mar. 23 Siedlec  
 Mar. 26–Nov. 14 Kraków  
 Nov. 14 Proszowice  
 Nov. 15–29 Kraków  
 Dec. 5–6 Dobrowoda  
 Dec. 9 Brzeziny  
 Dec. 9– Kielce

### 1535

–Feb. 3 Kielce  
 Feb. 4–Apr. 28 Bodzentyn  
 Apr. 28–May 10 Kielce  
 May 13–14 Częstochowa  
 May 15 Koziegłowy  
 May 23 Kraków  
 May 28–Jun. 7 Kielce  
 Jun. 8 Szaniec

Jun. 10 Dobrowoda

Jun. 11–13 Radłów

Jun. 13 Szczepanów

Jun. 14–15 Jaksice

Jun. 16 Siedlec

Jun. 19–Jul. 27 Kielce

Jul. 28 Pińczów

Jul. 30 Siedlec

Jul. 31 Proszowice

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## ON THE SERIES

# CORPUS EPISTULARUM IOANNIS DANTISCI

### Part I – *Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae*

- Vol. 1 *Epistulae Latinae Ioannis Dantisci a. 1537 (Ioannes Dantiscus' Latin Letters, 1537)*, ed. Anna Skolimowska, Warsaw–Cracow, 2004
- Vol. 2 *Epistulae Latinae Ioannis Dantisci a. 1538–1539 (Ioannes Dantiscus' Latin Letters, 1538–1539)*, ed. Anna Skolimowska & Katarzyna Gołabek with collaboration of Katarzyna Tomaszuk, Warsaw–Cracow, 2021
- Vol. 3 *Epistulae Latinae Ioannis Dantisci a. 1540–1543 (Ioannes Dantiscus' Latin Letters, 1540–1543)*
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- Vol. 5 *Epistulae Latinae Ioannis Dantisci a. 1515–1536 adhuc ineditae (Ioannes Dantiscus' Inedited Latin Letters, 1515–1536)*

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Skolimowska with collaboration of Katarzyna Jasińska Zdun & Katarzyna Gołąbek, Warsaw–Cracow, 2015

- Vol. 3 *Epistulae Alphonsi Valdesii et Ioannis Dantisci. Supplementum: Epistula Ioannis Valdesii ad Ioannem Dantiscum; Epistulae Mercurini Gattinariae et Ioannis Dantisci (Ioannes Dantiscus' Correspondence with Alfonso de Valdés. Supplement: Ioannes Dantiscus' Correspondence with Juan de Valdés and Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara)*, ed. Anna Skolimowska, Warsaw–Cracow, 2013

This part includes correspondence between Dantiscus and those of his friends whose contacts with him as documented by their letters are of major importance for studies on European humanism. Volume 4 could include correspondence between Ioannes Dantiscus and a few selected humanists of different nationalities, if such a solution proves advisable after the construction of Part III of the series and the preparation of a complete inventory.

### **Part III – *Epistulae et Commentationes***

- Vol. 1 *Ioannes Dantiscus' Itinerary*
- Vol. 2 *Sources for the Cultural and Political History of the Baltic Sea Region and subsequent volumes*

This part would include several volumes devoted to selected interesting currents and issues that can be explained on the basis of Dantiscus' correspondence. The core of each volume would be a selection of letters or fragments thereof. The source text would be given in two languages, i.e. the original and an English translation (especially in the case of excerpts), or as a comprehensive register in English. In addition to a section discussing the sources, an extensive introduction by the editor would outline the current presented in the volume.

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- Vol. 3 *Inventory of Latin Letters to Ioannes Dantiscus with Addition of Letters in Spanish, Polish, Italian, Dutch, Czech and French, a. 1511–1548*, compiled by Anna Skolimowska with collaboration of Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, Warsaw–Cracow, 2016
- Vol. 4 *Chronological Index of Ioannes Dantiscus' Correspondence* This part includes all known manuscript documents of Dantiscus' correspondence (approx. 12,000 documents). The inventory will contain data on where a document is kept, together with the pressmark, the letter's sender and addressee, the place and date of its posting and receipt, the letter's incipit, and information on any previous published editions.

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and subsequent volumes

This part includes materials presented and discussed during sessions accompanying the presentation of successive volumes of the *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci* to the International Board of the research project “Registration and Publication of the Correspondence of Ioannes Dantiscus (1485–1548)”. Discussions concern various aspects of the *Respublica Litteraria* in the 16th century, the source materials recording this phenomenon, its territorial scope and its role in the development of European culture.

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The *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus, Texts & Correspondence* was published online in 2010 at <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl>. The publication contains an inventory of all surviving correspondence of Dantiscus and his Latin texts (letters, poems, speeches, documents and other texts) comprising the *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Latin Texts* and *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' German Texts*, as well as a selection of other letters (addressed to Dantiscus) deemed necessary for the proper execution of the entire research program.

The online publication serves as an advance version of the *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci* published in book form.

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